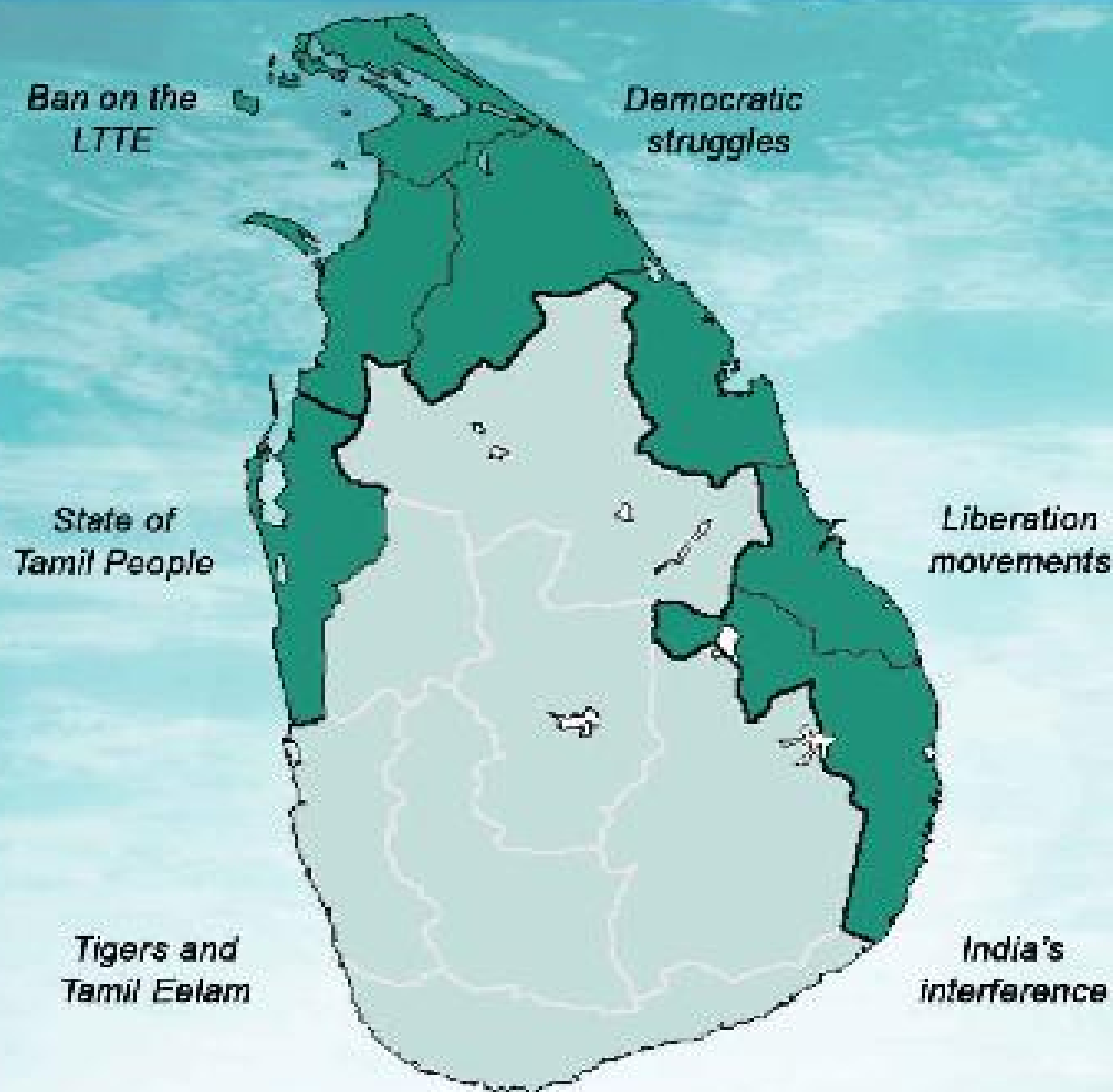


# Tamil Eelam

## Liberation Struggle

**State Terrorism and Ethnic Cleansing 1948 -2009**



**DR. MURUGAR GUNASINGAM**

# Tamil Eelam

## Liberation Struggle

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**DR. MURUGAR GUNASINGAM**

The  
**Tamil Eelam Liberation**  
**Struggle**  
State Terrorism and Ethnic Cleansing  
(1948-2009)

Murugar Gunasingam

B.A. Hons. (Jaffna), Dip.Lib.Sc. M.Lib.Sc. (London), Ph.D. (Sydney)

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MV Publications  
South Asian Studies Centre  
P.O. Box 5317  
Chullora  
Sydney, NSW 2190,  
Australia.

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# C O N T E N T S

*Preface*

*Acknowledgements*

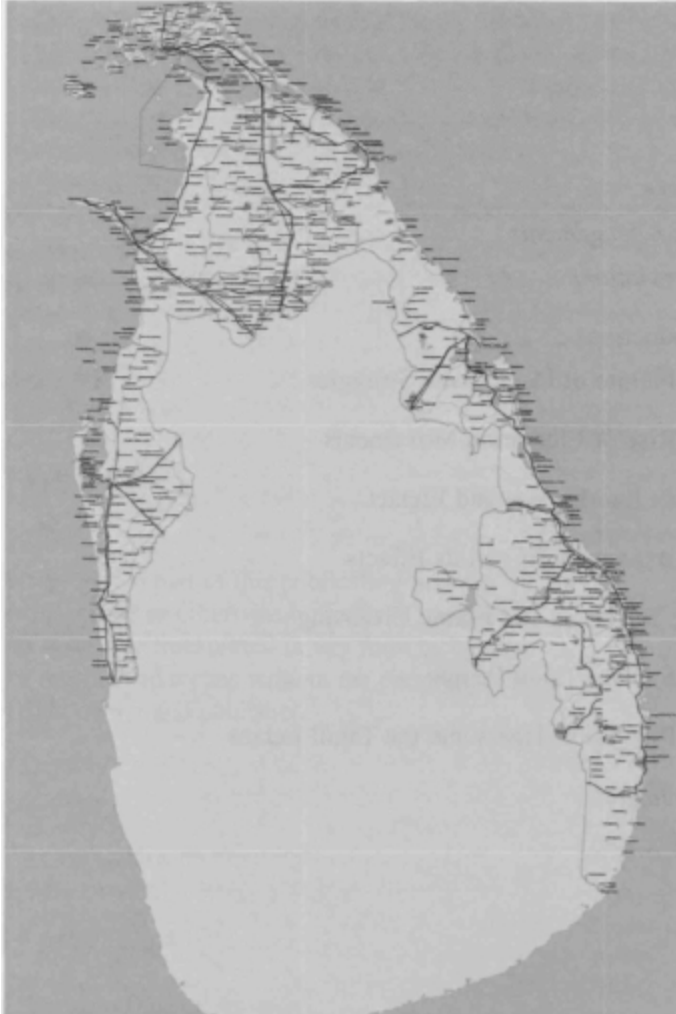
*Abbreviations*

*Introduction*

- 1 *The Failure of Democratic Struggles*
- 2 *The Rise of Liberation Movements*
- 3 *India's Interference and Impact*
- 4 *The Ban on LTTE and its Effects*
- 5 *State Terrorism and Ethnic Cleansing*
- 6 *The State of Tamil People*
- 7 *The Liberation Tigers and the Tamil Eelam*

*Conclusion*

*Bibliography*



Tamil Homeland in Sri Lanka



## PRE FAC E

The prime objective of my involvement in this research is to present a clean picture of the immediate and fundamental causes for the launch of the Tamil Eelam freedom struggle by a chronological record of the events. Further, it is a historical necessity to make the world realise that the struggle for Tamil Eelam is not a demand for separation but an attempt to retrieve the independent Tamil Eelam which was lost. It is the compulsion of circumstances that it must be shown to the world with irrefutable evidence that the LTTE, which has been incessantly carrying on the struggle, is not a terrorist organisation but a freedom movement. Again, the world must be made to understand beyond any doubt that the ruling class of Sri Lanka follows the policy of ultra-Buddhist Sinhalese superiority and all their activities against the Tamils are the product of terrorism. This must be shouted from rooftops so that the world realises this.

It is also necessary to make it crystal clear that the two major parties of Sri Lanka which alternately rule the country always secure power by focussing on the ethnic problems of the Tamils, and are intent upon unleashing all those acts which will oppress and even destroy the Tamils. The only strength of the ultra-Buddhist Sinhalese governments of Sri Lanka is their numerical majority. They also have armed forces which are one hundred percent Sinhalese. Having both of these as their strengths, and receiving military assistance from the countries of the world through mischievous propaganda, they are engaged in all the acts which will totally remove the (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) LTTE and the Tamil people from Sri Lanka. This work is triggered by the dire necessity of undertaking the enormous responsibility of proclaiming these facts to the world.

Hundreds of thousands of Tamils have been massacred by the ruthless terrorist activities of the Sri Lankan government. There is no limit to the suffering, pain and tribulations undergone by the entire Tamil community caught in the grip of the state terrorism of Sri Lanka. The Tamils are subjected to miseries which the human race has never seen. There is a need for the humanitarian people of the world and the countries housing just and

fair governments to realise this, and act accordingly. It is the expectation and the desire of this author that this work must portray the combined agony of all the Tamils and must open the eyes of the world.



The LTTE is an organisation fighting for the liberation of Tamils. They have made extensive studies as to what kind of country that Tamil Eelam must be and have made plans for realising it. The Sinhalese government and the countries that branded the LTTE as a terrorist organisation used it as an excuse for destroying them. These countries must be put account for this. There is yet another historical necessity of clarifying to the Tamils that there have been many conspiracies behind the persecution to the Tamil people and the LTTE. The Tamils must be made aware of the restlessness of the conspirators in realising their political objectives. All this will goad the Tamils to march courageously towards the liberation of Tamil Eelam. This publication carries all facts with the belief that justice, fair play and integrity still exist in the world and to remind the world of their responsibility to return Tamil Eelam to the Tamils whose land it has always been.

This study will certainly shake the conscience of the Sri Lankan government and those countries which supported it. This research finding proposes to bring to the bar of public opinion of the entire world, all the officialdom and the centres of authority that were determined to annihilate the Tamils and their struggle, as well as the traitors who attempted a total sell-out of Tamil Eelam. This research will not swerve from proclaiming to the entire world that the Tamil Eelam freedom struggle is based on the principles of justice, fair play and righteousness and will open their eyes. It will not fail in the purpose of giving a detailed account of the Tamil Eelam struggle to the Tamil people, Sinhalese people and the people of the world. This work will also pave the way for the Tamils, of the younger generation, to take all the steps and make all the endeavours and march forward with courage and faith.

Many publications have appeared on the Tamil Eelam freedom struggle. They have concentrated on wars and peace initiatives and traced the history of the Eelam struggle. This study does not give any predominance to those matters. Out of need and for the sake of continuity a few matters which have appeared in other works also have been discussed. Most of the matters revealed in this study have never been revealed or have been studied before. This book is a continuation of this author's *Tamils in Sri Lanka: A Comprehensive History (C. 300 BC - C. 2000 AD)*. This work opens up many fields of study for the research students of the future.

Many countries, institutions and individuals have been connected with this work, since it discusses current political history, and this author has no animosity towards any of them. Everyone concerned is informed beforehand that all these facts have been brought to light after intense study of reliable evidence and scholarly discussions.

*M. Gunasingam. 18*

*June 2012*

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My research work *Tamils in Sri Lanka: A Comprehensive History (C. 300 B.C. C. 2000 A.D)* was published in the latter part of 2008. In the same year I had the opportunity of meeting Prabhakaran, Castro, Thamilenthi and Natesan in Vanni. We discussed my research and at this juncture Prabhakaran suggested that it will be good to conclude my analysis with the events of 1983. Further, he advised that the happenings that occurred after 1983 could be analysed and discussed at a later date. I was very surprised by his advice at that time.

But after the holocaust in Vanni that happened in May 2009 my mind kept repeatedly thinking back to that advice. My publication gained exposure in the meantime. The late S. Sivanayagam, reputed media person and the author of many research works, contacted me over the phone and said 'the history of the Eelam Tamils from 1983 onwards, covering the last 30 years, is very important and it is your responsibility to complete it'. All that I could say in response to his friendly request was iet me think about it'. He died soon after. At this stage, the holocaust of 2009 continued to adversely affect me in many ways. There were many days when my beloved daughter Vasuki consoled my condition, reiterating that I should continue my research. All these people have been a great inspiration throughout the whole process of conducting and completing this research. I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to them for motivating and encouraging me in this endeavour.

During the course of this study I have required financial resources which the course of research naturally demanded. The Tamil well wishers of Paris, Baskaran of Holland and my daughter Vasuki all contributed heavily in this respect and without them this study could not have been completed. I am ever appreciative of all of them for their support in this venture.

In order to carry out this research I required a level of solitude and peace of mind owing to the darkness of the subject matter. I was blessed with the opportunity of staying by the Indian sea shore for the last two years whilst conducting this study. During this period I received assistance from many people who had a helping hand in this project. My particular thanks are

extended to Ilango, Gopinath, Vimalini, Thanusha, Thachayini and Tharmini who all selflessly lent me their time and effort which I will never forget. Further, many Eelam fighters, political leaders and scholars shared their experiences, ideologies and visions with me, constantly contributing to the improvement of this work. I would like to express my sincere thanks to all of them.

I would like to make particular mention of the epic efforts of Tharmini who contributed countless hours of work around the clock in the typing of the study in Tamil. She repeatedly mentioned that she considered this to be her contribution to the nation of Eelam its people. I cannot but admire and be in awe of her selfless service. I express my deepest gratitude to her. In addition, writer Arunagiri did the proofreading and publication design under tough time constraints. Being an Indian Tamil, he was very happy to receive this opportunity to help the Eelam Tamils and played his role willingly and with great enthusiasm. I would like to convey my greatest appreciation to him.

Many contributions were made by Sooriaprakash and Prof. Ayasamy to the typing of the research in English. Both of them are Indian Tamils who have expressed their happiness at being given the opportunity to contribute to the struggle of Tamils of Eelam. I would like to extend my warmest gratitude to them. My son Mugunthan flew from Sydney to India and stayed with me for three months while helping me type and improve the English version. I would like to thank him dearly.

During the process of my research I often needed different documents and factual evidence that I did not physically have with me. My dear and respected friend Sanchayan sourced them and sent them to me at once, contributing his fair share to this research. I am very appreciative of his continued efforts.

Over the last two years I have lived away from my family whilst completing this research in India. As usual, my beloved wife Ranjini, son Mugunthan and daughter Vasuki would have been put through many difficulties and inconveniences. Yet they were always supportive of my work, continuously encouraging me and contributing all kinds of help. I do not know how to express my gratitude to them.

*M. Gunasingam 18*  
*June 2012*

## ABBREVIATIONS



ACTC	All Ceylon Tamil Congress
AIADMK	All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BC Pact	Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact
CAS	Ceylon Administrative Service
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CNA	Ceylon National Association
CNC	Ceylon National Congress
CRL	Ceylon Reform League
CVF	Citizen Volunteer Force
CWC	Ceylon Worker's Congress
DCR	Donoughmore Commission Report
DCS	Department of Census and Statistics
DDC	District Development Council
DK	Dravida Kazhagam
DMK	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
ENDLF	Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front
ENLF	Eelam National Liberation Front
EPDP	Eelam People's Democratic Party
ENRLF	Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front
EROS	Eelam Revolutionary Organisers
FP	Federal Party
IAC	Interim Administrative Council
ICJ	International Commission of Jurists
IPKF	Indian Peace Keeping Force
ISLA	Indo-Sri Lanka Accord
ITAK	Ilankai Tamil Arasu Katchi
JUTHR	Jaffna University Teachers for Human Rights
JVP	Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna
KMS	Keenie Meenie Services
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam

MDMK	Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
NAM	Non Aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NEPC	North-East Provincial Council
NEPG	North and East Provincial Government
NGO	Non Government Organisation
NESOHR	North East Secretariat on Human Rights
PA	People's Alliance
PC	Provincial Council
PFLT	People's Front Liberation Tigers
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organisation
PLOTE	People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam
PTA	Prevention of Terrorism Act
RAW	Research and Analysis Wing
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SAS	Special Air Service
SC Pact	Senanayake-Chelvanayakam Pact
SIHRN	Secretariat for Immediate Humanitarian and Rehabilitation Needs
SLFP	Sri Lanka Freedom Party
STF	Special Task Force
TELO	Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation
TESO	Tamil Eelam Supporter's Organisation
TIC	Tamil Information Centre
TNA	Tamil National Army
TNA	Tamil National Alliance
TSF	Tamil Student Federation
TUF	Tamil United Front
TULF	Tamil United Liberation Front
TYF	Tamil Youth Federation
UF	United Front
UN	United Nations
UNP	United National Party
USA	United States of America

USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VOA	Voice of America
WFLT	Women's Front of the Liberation Tigers



## INTRODUCTION

The uprising of nationalism which began with the partition of Poland in the mid-19th century was fortified by the astounding success of the likes of the French and the American Revolutions. In many European societies, this paved the way for the rise of nationalist sentiments against oppressive governments and led to the eventual birth of many democratic countries. The repercussions of this global trend saw the birth of different independent countries in Asia and Africa. The flooding of European imperialistic powers throughout the Indian subcontinent, which began in 1498 with the landing of the first fleet of Vasco da Gama, had almost completely dried up by the end of the 20th century. Propelled by the shocking episodes of World War II, the colonial powers had started to recede from the Asian continent.

In the course of their retreat, these collapsing empires were content in floating new political structures in the countries they had once dominated, holding ill-conceived notions of future safety, stability and security of these regions. Within a decade of the departure of these imperialistic powers, the socio-political boundaries that had been erased by these rulers had resurfaced in almost all of these nations. This invariably led to the fracture of these newly formed political structures. The newfound political identities which had clearly materialised by the end of the 20th century in multiple Asian regions, had started to shake up the existing national power structures, from Indonesia up to Pakistan, from India down to Sri Lanka and from Burma across to the Philippines. A clear understanding of the background of these wide spread developments is inevitable for a thorough analysis of the freedom struggle of the Eelam Tamils.

A detailed investigation reveals that the root cause of this struggle lies in the Colebrooke Reforms which were introduced in 1833 under the British rule of Sri Lanka. This new plan merged the North and East provinces, which till then were administered separately, with the other Sinhalese provinces of Sri Lanka, in order to bring them under a single 'centralised administration'.



This also led the British to vest the power to rule the entire island in the hands of the Sinhalese majority when they finally set their sails from Sri Lanka. This historic blunder serves as the root cause of the entire political crisis faced by Sri Lankan Tamils.

The Tamils in Sri Lanka have always maintained a unique national identity by living in their traditional homelands with a separate language, religion, art and culture. Historically, they have forever been a self-governing ethnic group. Ever since the Tamils in Sri Lanka lost their sovereignty and autonomy to the invading Portuguese in the 16th century, their thirst for freedom has remained unquenched. This still remains to be a subject of astonishment to many. To clarify the issue, we need to perform a brief analysis over a critical period extending from 1948, signalling the power transfer by the British Colonialists to the Sinhalese majority, until the year 1976, which marks the failure of the democratic struggle launched by the Tamils against the Sinhalese regime.

The research publication *Tamils in Sri Lanka: A Comprehensive History 300 BC - AD 2000* was released, in both Tamil and English, by the author of this book in late 2008. This document, built completely on primary source materials, remains an unbiased, authentic chronology of Sri Lankan Tamil history, exploring religious, socio-political, cultural, linguistic, economic and other relevant dimensions. For this reason, this publication has the distinctive recognition of many eminent scholars as being a most authentic source of Sri Lankan Tamil history.

Any scholar in this domain will agree that the aforementioned publication is unprecedented as there had never been any research performed by an academic which has presented the complete history of the Sri Lankan Tamils. The research publication documents the history of Tamils starting from as early as 300 BC, lining up all historic events in continuous fashion, and concludes the analysis in 1983. The year of 1983 can be considered as the beginning of an intense war between Tamil militants and Sinhalese armed forces. Since this war continued to escalate in the years that followed, it became inappropriate and infeasible to analyse the political developments of the ensuing period at the time of publication.

The years from 1983 till 2009 mark a period of extreme conflict between Tamil liberation movements, the Sinhalese Army and the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF). With the war still raging, fragile peace processes were unable to solidify into political milestones, creating a prevalence of confusion and ambiguity, with this period turning out to be the darkest interval in the modern era of this struggle. These uncertainties prevented any detailed analysis of this period for about a quarter of a century. The liberation struggle of Eelam was claimed to have come to a tragic end on 17 May 2009.

The final assault was perpetrated by the state-sponsored terrorism of the Sinhalese regime, the actions of the Indian government, as well as the direct and indirect betrayals of around 22 nations including the United States (US), Israel, Pakistan, China and Russia.

Thousands upon thousands of children, pregnant women and the elderly were all viciously drawn into the so-called <sup>4</sup>'no fire' zones, which included hospitals and schools, and were then mercilessly massacred. The Sinhalese Army launched systematic airborne, naval and ground attacks using all kinds of armaments including a variety of shells, mechanized artillery, tanks, high profile automated and semi-automated assault rifles and hand guns, also the cruel use of chemical warfare through the use of phosphorous and other prohibited toxins. Innocent Tamil civilians were mutilated and maimed. Thousands of freedom fighters were mercilessly and inhumanely massacred. Hundreds of thousands of fighters surrendered to government forces only to be locked up behind the barbed wire fences of concentration camps. Many of them were ruthlessly executed. Numerous freedom fighting Tamil women were cruelly gang-raped and then shot to death. After these atrocities, the world stood by and witnessed the victorious march of the Sri Lankan Government, claiming the complete decimation of the (LTTE) and the proud declaration that there was no more room for any voice of an independent Eelam.

At this critical juncture, it is the prime motive of this book to analyse the religious, linguistic and socio-political bearings that this extensive aggression has had on Tamil people during this terrible era and how this sustained antagonism has brought about the ruthless destruction of the Tamil nation and its people. This book holds an inquiry into the stand and state of the moderate Tamil politicians and the liberation movements. There is also a need to assess whether the offensive carried out by the Sri Lankan Government was a precise and well devised act of genocide to sustain the ethnic cleansing of the people of Tamil Eelam.

Moreover, it is quite important to examine the future political status of Tamils and gain perspective as to who could lead the political struggle against oppression on behalf of the Tamils of Eelam. To have a clear view on this issue, it is all the more important to understand the outlook of the Tamil Diaspora. Hence, in this broader context, there arises a historic compulsion to scrutinise this dark period and present a factual account of the happenings of this period as they unfolded.

To keep it brief, the Sri Lankan island is made up of two separate nations. One is the Sinhalese nation and the other is the nation of Tamil Eelam. These two nations have existed as separate entities since the dawn of history. The Sinhalese have ruled and lived in the Southern and Central parts of the island

with the Tamils ruling and living in the Northern, Eastern and North-Western parts of the present day Sri Lanka. This fact has been established by all major historic evidence. The two ethnic groups have forever lived in their traditional homelands with their separate language, culture and lifestyles, as well as socio-political and religious philosophies. As previously mentioned, a detailed account of these elements have been explored and substantiated with primary evidence in the earlier publication by this author.

It should be noted that there has been a meticulously planned Sinhalisation of the traditional Tamil homelands including the North, East and North-West since the 19th century. The Jaffna Kingdom of the Tamils remained a powerful empire from the 13th century until the mid-16th century. With reference to a variety of original primary evidence from the earlier book, the author has clearly established that the North and the East were lands of prosperity, enriched with economic opportunity and controlled by the Tamils with a strong, well-laid rule of law in addition to being guarded by a fair political and administrative structure.

The notes of the famous traveller Ibn Battuta, written during his visit to the island, hold testimony to the wealth and well-being of the Jaffna Kingdom. Also, the detailed report submitted by British Civic Servant Cleghorn to the British Empire in 1796, explains the social status in the North and East and also stands as evidence that those regions were inhabited by Tamils for a sustained period. This fact is reinforced by the accounts of the Portuguese and Dutch settlers as well.

The Portuguese who overpowered the Sinhalese in the 16th century also managed to suppress the Tamil Kingdom by the end of the same century. Portuguese documents talk in length about the unscrupulous deeds of local betrayers who aided them in annexing traditional Tamil homelands and subjugating Tamil people. Alien powers have been oppressing the native Tamils for more than 500 years, beginning with Portuguese domination, which was won over by the Dutch and later by the British, and finally being persecuted by an extremist Sinhalese regime. It is an undeniable fact that these heartless regimes have caused untold misery to the Tamil people and exploited the prosperity of traditional Tamil homelands for centuries.

The pitiless massacre of the Eelam Tamils in May 2009 has made them vulnerable and inactive, reducing them to mere slaves of the Sinhalese nation. The aid and supplies being granted by international non government organisations (NGOs) will undoubtedly provide great relief and serve as an invaluable commodity to the war torn people of the Tamil nation. But these measures are only temporary and are insufficient for Tamil people to rebuild their livelihood in order to meet their long term needs. Will the Eelam Tamils be satisfied with this short term relief of aid and supplies? Or will they

choose to break free from the clutches of Sinhalese chauvinism and live as liberated people in their rightful homeland? The inquiries made by this study will provide answers to these vital questions.

Tamil people and the global community have now realised that Sinhalese ultra-Buddhist chauvinism has reached its peak. The trends seen in the recent parliamentary, presidential and local body elections have reinforced this obvious fact. The first of the infamous ethnic riots, propagated by the Sri Lankan Government and perpetrated by Sinhalese thugs, started in 1956 which witnessed the killings of numerous Tamils accompanied by the looting, razing and burning of Tamil properties.

A similar set of tragedies were repeated many times in the years 1977, 1981 and 1983 spreading terror amongst the Tamils. Thousands were killed, many of them torched to death. Tamil women were raped in the middle of the street in broad daylight. Tamil properties were looted and vandalised in a pre-planned manner resulting in the complete destruction of Tamil livelihood. Contemporary Sinhalese politicians, leaders and others have developed their ideologies from a society carrying the stereotypes of this nationalistic Sinhalese ultra-Buddhist chauvinism that was explicitly demonstrated in 1958. Was the globally infamous offensive perpetrated by the Sri Lankan Government in 2009, a well-orchestrated plan, fuelled by extremist Sinhalese ultra-Buddhist agendas to completely annihilate Tamil people from their homelands? This study will make inquiries into these aspects and bring critical facts to light.

The international community also acknowledges that more than 40,000 out of the 400,000 civilians who were thrust into a small patch of land in the final stages of battle in Mullivaikal were all slaughtered. Their fate was no different from the members of the LTTE's political wing who surrendered to the occupying Sinhalese Army, placing their trust in United Nations (UN) mediation. All of those who surrendered were stripped, butchered and killed after torture. The mutilated corpses were heaped into large trucks and buried en masse in huge trenches. Many bodies were deserted in Mullivaikal only to decompose in the open air causing the terrible stench of dead corpses to fill the region.

Many of those who surrendered were stripped naked and shot dead after callous torture. More than 10,000 cadres of the LTTE were jailed. More than 300,000 people were held captive in open-air prisons with barbed-wire fences without any access to basic amenities. These actions very clearly demonstrate the attitudes and nationalistic sentiments of the Sinhalese ultra-Buddhist chauvinists.

The Sri Lankan Government made sure to preclude all NGOs from these regions. The UN continued to remain a silent spectator to these inhuman

atrocities during the final stages. The absolute inaction of the state government of Tamil Nadu and central government of India reminded us of the tale of Emperor Nero who sat quietly playing on his fiddle while Rome burned. Amazingly, the British who were responsible for the woeful condition of the Tamils and hence hold a moral obligation towards preventing this catastrophe, and some other European countries, were looking at American faces and Indian eyes for any symptoms of action. The Eelam Tamil Diaspora took to the streets, along with the elderly and children, protesting and condemning this deafening silence.

Agitated by this carnage, many Tamils from Tamil Nadu burnt themselves to death and gave up their lives in denouncing these atrocities. The Tamil Nadu politicians and the public, those who had some traces of justice and morality left in them, put in their best efforts to stop this carnage. Neither the excruciating last cries of the dying Eelam Tamils nor the global street protests revealing raucous agitations had managed to break the silence of Tamil politicians, the Tamil Nadu State Government nor the Indian Central Government. They all seemed to be stone hearted monsters whose eyes remained dry whilst bearing witness to atrocities of the greatest magnitude.

The spirit of the UN, which was formed to ensure global security and the rights of all people, as well as the conscience of other international powers, remained unshaken by these cries for help. Over and above all this, it is a matter of great shame and distress that even the moderate Sinhalese from the South failed to condemn this state sponsored terrorism.

Hence, at this juncture, it becomes obligatory to answer the questions that would naturally arise in the mind of a common man, a humanitarian or a student of history, on different aspects of this bloody tragedy. What fuels this long running Tamil slaughter and the persecution of innocent civilians? Is this genocide or an attempt at ethnic cleansing? Why did the Tamils lose their rights to a decent living in their own lands? Why do India, the USA and the rest of the world continue to play dumb through the entire stretch of this infamous disaster?

Why do some of these listed nations directly and/or indirectly support the Sri Lankan Government? Why did the Tamil Tigers, who fought for a quarter of a century and managed to control over 70 per cent of the Tamil Eelam homeland with a sturdy Army, Navy and Air Force, fail to contain the invading Sinhalese military? Why was the LTTE considered to be a terrorist organisation rather than a freedom fighting movement, with an established impartial judiciary and administrative structure, which advanced the liberation struggle of the Tamil people of Eelam? Why did the moderate Sinhalese public and scholars alike tolerate these state sponsored atrocities?

In order to find answers to these questions, it is vital to take a look at the

issue from a scientific perspective. Therefore, we need to perform a scientific inquiry into the contemporary history of Eelam Tamils starting from 1948.

Ever since the independence of Sri Lanka in 1948, Tamil political leaders have employed all forms of democratic and non-violent struggles to secure the rights of Tamil people. But these have all eventually ended up in failure. It is this continued collapse of democratic effort that has taught the Tamils that their persistence within the framework of a united Sri Lanka will not gain them any of their rightful aspirations. Tamils then realised that they had virtually no option except to seek self-determination, in order to allow Tamil people to rule themselves. They recognised this could only be achieved through an armed struggle. Tamils were eventually forced into this final deliberation and all the Tamil political parties had gathered under the one umbrella of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF).

In 1976, the coalition declared this path of self-determination as the only solution in its historic deliberation in Vaddukoddai, situated in the Jaffna district. With all democratic struggles mercilessly overpowered by the Sinhalese majority, the year 1976 also saw the need and rise of armed liberation movements. Hence, it will be most sensible and meaningful to begin the exploration of the modern history of Tamil Eelam from this year. Many books encompassing the last three decades of the modern history of this conflict have been published by Sri Lankan, Indian, Diaspora Tamil and international academics, scholars and historians. Almost all of these books lay their focus mostly on the war between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan Government or the war between the LTTE and the IPKF. They also describe in detail the peace talks held between the leaders of the liberation movements and the Sri Lankan, Indian and Norwegian governments, highlighting the reasons for their failures.

In the host of titles written on this subject, it is essential to mention some of these standout publications. The following are some of the critical works in this domain: Anton Balasingham, *War and Peace* (2004), *Freedom* (2003); Adele Balasingham, *Will to Freedom* (2002); Dr. K. Roopasingam, *Talking Peace in Sri Lanka* (Part I, 1998 & Part II, 2008); C. Pushparaja, *My Witness in the Eelam Struggle* (2003); Dr. R. Thiranagama, R. Hoole, D. Somasundaram and K. Sridharan, *Broken Palmyra* (1996); A. Pararasasingam, *Sri Lanka: 60 Years of Independence and Beyond* (2009); P. Chanthiran, *Eelam Thamizharin Poratta Varalaaru* (Parts I & II, 2010); D. Singh, *Indian Peace Keeping Force in Sri Lanka* (2001); M.R. Narayanasamy, *Tigers of Sri Lanka: From Boys to Guerrillas* (1994); D. Justin, *Democracy and Violence in India and Sri Lanka* (1994); Prof. S. J. Tambiah, *Sri Lanka: Ethnic Fratricide and the Dismantling of Democracy* (1986); Prof. C. Manoharan, *Ethnic Conflict and Reconciliation in Sri Lanka* (1987); and Dr. A.K. Manoharan, *Sri Lanka: Ethnic Conflict and Peace Initiation* (2008).

From 1948, Tamil leaders adopted all possible democratic techniques against alternating Sinhalese majority governments in order to secure the rights of Tamils and facilitate the political freedom of shaping their own future. We have already seen that in 1976 the all-party conference in Jaffnas Vaddukoddai unanimously voted for the historic resolution that, a separate Tamil Eelam would be the only political solution for the Tamil people. It was also decided that a fully fledged planned struggle would be initiated to achieve this goal. The people gave their mandate for a separate Tamil Eelam to the Tamil political leaders in the parliamentary elections that followed the resolution in 1977. But these Tamil politicians failed to keep their promise to the Tamil people. They also started engaging in talks with the Sri Lankan Government on various other political solutions.

Tamil political leaders, who proclaimed the need for a separate Eelam and aroused the spirit of independence within the Tamil youth, now geared up for talks with the Sri Lankan Government over a multitude of other post-election political solutions. Naturally, this double standard led to wide spread resentment amongst the Tamil youth. In the above mentioned research title by Dr. A.K. Manoharan, these prevalent trends in the period between 1948 and 1976 have been examined in detail. The academic book by Prof. A.J. Wilson titled *The Breakup of Sri Lanka: The Sinhalese-Tamil Conflict* (1988) also touches upon the general aspects of this development. Further, in his previously mentioned research, the author of this book explains the happenings of this period in great detail using a variety of original evidence. In order to set the context and ensure continuity, the events from this period will be compiled in a concise manner within the first chapter of this book titled 'The Failure of Democratic Struggles'.

After 1977, moderate Tamil political leaders abandoned the struggle for an independent Eelam and went back to the timeworn impasse of engaging in meek bargaining activities. As a consequence, young Tamil men and women alike were completely upset with the progress of their national aspirations. They set the prelude to the struggle against the government in this period. The Sri Lankan Government chose to crush their rebellions with harsh military retaliation. This violent repression from the government left the youth with no option other than to seek arms to tackle the hegemony in order to ensure the safety of Tamil civilians and the freedom of their nation from Sinhalese shackles. This led to the eventual birth of many rebel groups all over the Tamil homeland. Finally, the LTTE alone rose to prominence with the perpetual aspiration to create the independent Tamil Eelam required by the Tamils. The Tamil community had also rested their extensive faith on the Tamil Tigers from this point onwards.

Though there are separate books elaborating the various liberation



movements of the time, it becomes pertinent to place this subject concisely in the second chapter titled 'Rise of the Liberation Movements', with the inclusion of some previously untold facts. Tamils on the island have long running traditions of religious, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, scholastic, economic and political connections, generally with India but specifically with the state of Tamil Nadu. The author of this book has completed extensive research on this area as established in his earlier publication. In the past few decades, India and particularly Tamil Nadu has had excessive involvement in the political affairs and lives of the Sri Lankan Tamils. We have to cautiously note the role played by India's foreign policies and activities in nurturing and later exterminating the Tamil rebellions. Hence, the third chapter in this saga is titled 'India's Interference and Impact'.

It is a known historical fact that the Sri Lankan island is composed of two separate sovereign nations. The concept of considering Sri Lanka as one nation was completely created by the British Empire, in contradiction to historical actuality, to concur with policies that benefited their administrative function. Hence, no academic or historian can deny the fact that there have always been two nations in Sri Lanka, the Sinhalese nation and Tamil Eelam. The British government committed a historic blunder at the time of Sri Lanka's independence, by handing over power to the majority Sinhalese on the basis of false statistics and ambiguous political ideologies. The contemporary history of Sri Lanka, and especially that of the Tamils, is concerned with the refusal of democratic rights to Tamil people as well as the subjugation and extermination of the Tamil ethnicity by two major successive Sinhalese regimes.

In 1976, due to the obstruction of all their democratic avenues, the Tamil politicians and youth decided to win back their lost Tamil Eelam homelands and live a life of dignity through self-autonomy. This gave rise to an armed struggle against the oppressive Sri Lankan Governments and their military. But carefully executed diplomatic measures by successive Sri Lankan Governments have managed to brand the freedom struggle of the LTTE as mere terrorism. Neighbouring India, as well as the majority of countries around the world all fell prey to the propaganda of the Sri Lankan Governments. They banned the LTTE as a terrorist organisation and this had the impact of inflicting immeasurable damages and restrictions upon the liberation struggle of the Tamil people. Hence, we should inquire whether the LTTE who fought and are continuing to fight for the freedom of the Tamil people are in fact a freedom movement or a terrorist organisation. We should also analyse whether the bans imposed by many nations of the world on the LTTE are justified or whether these implementations are on the basis of

hidden agendas. Therefore, the quintessential fourth chapter has been titled 'The Ban on LTTE and its Effects'.

Upon analysis, we can clearly perceive that the aforementioned research titles have failed to portray the Sri Lankan Governments systematic elimination of Tamils, firstly from their homelands and finally from the island itself. This has been executed through state-sponsored terrorism, the confiscation of traditional Tamil homelands as well as the organised destruction of these lands and its natives. The mentioned publications have also failed to assess in any great detail, the techniques and methodologies adopted by the Sri Lankan Government in inflicting permanent damage to the religious, linguistic, scholastic, cultural, artistic and commercial establishments of the Tamils. Issues that have demanded close examination, such as the well-planned Sinhalese colonisation of traditional Tamil lands in the North and East, the massacre of Tamils in their own lands, as well as the consequential forced exodus of Tamil civilians, have not been dealt with.

In summary, there is a lack of analysis into these atrocities to identify if the actions of the Sri Lankan Government are a part of democratic practice or whether they stand as well-executed Tamil genocide. Above all, it has not been examined to the required extent as to whether the sequences of tragedies that unfolded against the Tamils on their homeland at the hands of the extremist Sinhalese regime, constitutes mere suppression or state terrorism, or rather an attempt to wipe the island of its native Tamil community. Hence, the fifth chapter titled 'State Terrorism and Ethnic Cleansing' aims to answer these questions based on primary evidence and exposes a series of hidden facts to the eyes of the world.

In the last three decades, Tamils of the North-East regions and those in the Southern Sinhalese regions had to stomach gut-wrenching brutalities varying from cruel killings, pogroms, torture, forced displacements, imprisonments and succumb to the bearings of refugee life. Inestimable destruction was inflicted on the religion, language, education culture and economy of the Tamils. Today the Tamils of the island are in a state of complete economic stalemate following the looting and burning of Tamil properties, appropriation of Tamil lands and financial formations, and the total obliteration of Tamil livelihood by the Sinhalese army and public. Having lost all their livelihood and experiencing untold humiliation every day, the Tamils in Sri Lanka have turned into a symbol of absolute poverty.

Numerous Tamils have had to embrace pitiful deaths due to the lack of even basic medical aids. From minor girls to women approaching menopause, numerous women were gang raped, sexually assaulted and abused. The temples of Tamil Hindus and the churches of Tamil Christians

were all razed to the ground, with innumerable Tamil priests being burned to death and many Christian priests being brutally tortured before being imprisoned and killed. We cannot overlook the obvious structural amendments, as well as the marginalisation of Tamils from all walks of life in critical areas such as education and employment through the rampant use of sectarian rules and regulations.

These direct and indirect measures have challenged the very existence of the Tamil community and ultimately reduced the Tamils to the most economically and socially retarded status in society. The deliberate actions of the Sinhalese regime, in the exclusive colonisation of the North and East resulting in the seizure of Tamil homelands, are very explicit. There are many incidents of Tamil people having been killed, their properties being looted and the sons of the soil being chased away from the native villages permanently, by Sinhalese thugs and Muslim Mafioso. Their cultivable lands, houses, educational institutions and industrial establishments were seized to dish up to the Sinhalese army.

Nobody can deny the fact that the Sri Lankan Government, while proclaiming to the world that Sri Lanka is a united nation and that the Tamils are an equal citizen of the country, has played its Sinhalese racial majority card and adopted all available means to disintegrate the Tamils as an ethnicity, through the use of its exclusively Sinhalese army and state sponsored Sinhalese mafia. The Sinhalese common men and women who account for more than 70 per cent of the country's population have turned a blind eye to these state sponsored atrocities. The country's nearest neighbour India, along with the rest of the world has remained silent, simply acting as spectators to these crimes against humanity. Whilst the LTTE have sought to combat the Sinhalese armed forces, the Sri Lankan government should have also only fought against the Tamil Tigers instead of targeting innocent civilians.

In no case can this be accepted as an excuse for the ethnic cleansing of the Tamil race. A student of political history cannot help but wonder as to what compelled so many nations to stay tight-lipped in the face of all this barbarianism. As a corollary, a question will loom in the mind as to why these brutalities of the Sri Lankan Government cannot be considered to constitute genocide. Students and scholars of history will agree that there has

so far not been any clear, detailed research into this aspect of the conflict. In an attempt to assess the damage left in the wake of this monstrous carnage, chapter six titled 'State of the Tamil People' will provide an overall account of the suffering, agony and loss of the Tamil people.

In the long history of the struggle for the independence of Eelam, many armed groups have participated, even though some of these groups later withdrew from the struggle of their own volition and eventually disappeared.

Some of the remaining groups were antagonistic to Tamil national aspirations and were hence banned by the LTTE.

Walking taller, the cadres of the LTTE alone held the attainment of an independent Tamil Eelam as their ultimate aspiration, taking oath on the cyanide capsule tied around their neck. The LTTE had taken their national aspiration and grown it to be larger than their regards for their own lives. With an untiring effort to clear the Tamil homeland of the occupying Sinhalese Army, the LTTE marched proudly as the sculptors of independence. The LTTE's unyielding cadre sacrificed their own lives, precious parents and siblings as well as the euphoric youthfulness of their own desires and aspirations, and gave precedence to their civic duty to chase off the enemy and attain independence for their Tamil homeland. This elevated the LTTE from being a mere rebel group to the paramount status of the foremost Tamil peoples' movement.

In a fitting manner the leadership whole-heartedly embraced the role of bearing the beast of burden for the attainment of an independent Eelam upon its shoulders. With the uncompromising will for an independent Eelam, the LTTE leadership withstood incomprehensible suffering, torture, pain and challenges for over three decades proving their mettle as an absolutely incorruptible leadership. In a world where people find it exhausting to live a life of hiding or imprisonment for even a day or week, the LTTE leadership bore the agony of living in hiding, migrating from place to place, one forest to another, one town to another, one country to another, for more than three decades, only to grow impetus to their national aspiration.

Anti-Tamil mobs, Sinhalese ultra-Buddhist extremists, pseudo-Tamil nationalists acting as the "aide-de-camp" of a nationalistic Sinhalese regime, and even many countries around the world tried their best to demean the LTTE as a terrorist organisation that was based on fascist ideals. But the Tamil Tigers still rule the hearts of millions of patriotic, authentic, Tamil people across the globe and hold a prominent place in the lives of those who still hold an unswerving aspiration for the independence of their traditional homeland. An honest assessment of modern political history as well as recent trends and facts will highlight this fact.

The Tamil Tigers were not solely focusing on a victory on the war front; they were deeply concerned about the lives and well-being of the Tamil people and the creation of a prosperous Tamil Eelam. This can be cognized from the fact they did not tend to use the financial aid in the scales of millions that they received from the Tamils of Eelam as well as from the Diaspora to only purchase military supplies. They could have very well made massive investments in the procurement of a range of arms, stealth tanks, warships, fighter jets and anti-missile defence systems, which would have

aided in the military combat against the Sinhalese army. But the LTTE had the foresight to build a great nation and hence they engaged in large-scale spending on the construction of financial institutions, legal structures and administrative assemblies as well as an assortment of infrastructure facilities.

This view is further bolstered by fact that the Tamil Tigers spent millions of their critical reserve on rehabilitation projects for the Tamil people of the North and East who were greatly affected by the catastrophic tsunami of 2004, whilst the Sri Lankan Government discarded the Tamils that were affected. The LTTE was also heavily involved in large scale humanitarian projects. In the light of this historical evidence it needs to be assessed as to whether the Tamil Tigers were merely a terrorist organisation or whether they could be deemed as national liberation fighters. Chapter seven titled 'The Liberation Tigers and the Tamil Eelam' analyses this aspect of the Tamil Eelam liberation struggle.

This research adopts a chronological approach, based on primary sources of information at all possible times as well as information collected from various interviews and the like. This research also constitutes original evidence, documents and information collected directly from various political leaders, academics and combatants. On the basis of need, a few references have also been made to reliable information available from secondary sources such as other research books published previously. This research has largely been based on the personal experiences of the author and the first-hand knowledge and information gathered by him in person from concerned people.

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## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **The Failure of Democratic Struggles**

The infamous Soulbury Constitution was prepared in 1947 by the British constitutional expert and the first Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ceylon, Sir Ivor Jennings, with the consultation of the first Prime Minister of Sri Lanka D.S. Senanayake and his group of ministers. The Soulbury Constitution was based on erroneous statistics and documents as well as a series of fallacious promises. It was then implemented by Lord Soulbury with the approval of the British rulers. The 1947 general elections based on this constitution demonstrated the lack of representation of minorities to the dismay of even Lord Soulbury himself. This delivered the first mortal blow to the proclaimed fundamental motives of these constitutional amendments. Further, the Tamil politicians of the time let the Tamil nation down, by extending their support to the United National Party (UNP) led by Senanayake, in exchange for a few positions as ministers, deputies and members of the upper house in some ministry portfolios. Immediately following the independence of Sri Lanka, through the declaration of dominion status, Senanayake adopted devastating political measures sending shock waves across the British elite, Lord Soulbury and the members of his commission, as well as the minorities of Sri Lanka, particularly the Tamil political leaders.

Though the Soulbury Constitution laid extensive stress on the protection of the welfare and political rights of minorities, Senanayake who was now operating on a preconceived agenda, summoned a second parliamentary session and deprived the migrant Indian Tamil plantation workers of their citizenship. These workers were brought from Tamil Nadu in India, to work in the Sri Lankan hill country plantations which were owned by the British landlords, during the middle of 19th century. This



event in itself demonstrated beyond doubt the utter failure of the Soulbury Constitution. The world now knows that this sowed the seeds of the oppressive political agenda perpetrated by the majority Sinhalese regime against the minority Tamil community that has continued in Sri Lanka until today. This first chapter will hence focus on the critical political developments in the period starting from 1948, the year Sri Lanka achieved independence from the British, to the year of 1976, when the leaders of the Tamil political parties jointly passed a unanimous resolution declaring that a separate nation of Tamil Eelam was the only solution for the Tamil people.

Since the history of this period has already been documented in the works of other scholars in this domain, such as A.J. Wilson, A. Sivarajah, K.M. de Silva and M. Roberts, we will lay stress only on the most important activities of this period to ensure completeness and readability of this book. However, we will take a deeper look at the political happenings of the period between 1947 and 1956 since there is a lack of clearly documented publications on the Tamil political history of this period. At this stage, it is quite important to comprehend the social and economic backdrop of the Tamil community during this period in order to clearly understand the state of affairs of Sri Lankan politics at that time.

### **Indigenous Tamils of Sri Lanka**

Since prehistoric times, Tamils have been living in the Northern and Eastern provinces of the island which is now identified as Sri Lanka. Although the entire populace of Tamil people living on the island shares a common ethnicity, religion, language and culture, there have been diversities in their economic status, traditional legal systems and customs. These changes are prevalent especially in their economic structures as explained in detail in the earlier book by this author. In the Eastern province, Tamils are predominant in the Trincomalee and Batticaloa (Mattakalappu) districts. The social structures of the Trincomalee district tends to represent a mix and match. It represents an intermediate state of the cultural and social setups from Jaffna and Batticaloa, which are the two districts on either side of Trincomalee. Traditionally, whilst Batticaloa depends largely on paddy cultivation, the Jaffna district depends more on cash crops such as tobacco, chilli and onion, with only a small share of the district being dependent on traditional paddy cultivation.

The Tamils of Jaffna have traditionally played an active role in the trade and commerce of the major towns and cities of Sri Lanka, especially Colombo. Since the Eastern province was stagnant in academic pursuit, they were not able to avail their share of employment in the government sector.

The Tamils of Jaffna were predominant in public sector jobs during the later stage of the British rule and immediately after the independence of Sri Lanka. This can be attributed to the fine academic infrastructure that was prevalent in Jaffna.

The predominance of Tamils in employment and business ownership, especially in high profile ones, can be understood from the following statistics from 1921. This table shows the distribution of occupational opportunities amongst the different ethnicities by showing the number of positions occupied by Tamils, Sinhalese, British, Muslims and other communities. An assessment will be made a little later as to why this situation has gone through tremendous changes since the independence of Sri Lanka in 1948. This assessment will also explain the reason for the exponential growth in the number of positions occupied by the Sinhalese as highlighted in later statistics acquired from 1948.

**Table 1.1: Ethnic Distribution of Preferred Positions - 1921**

<b>Ethnicity/Community</b>	<b>Number of Men in Preferred Occupations</b>	<b>Total Population of Sri Lanka (Men above 20 Years of Age)</b>
Sinhalese from Coastal Areas	912	509,909
Sinhalese from Kandy	75	281,045
<b>Sinhalese (Total)</b>	<b>987</b>	<b>790,954</b>
Sri Lankin Tamils	684	139,361
British	380	83,070
Muslims	40	7,852
Others including Malays	51	18,970
<b>Sri Lankans (Total)</b>	<b>2,142</b>	<b>1,040,207</b>

Among the Tamils of the Northern province, especially in the Jaffna peninsula, Tamils of the Vellalar caste, who formed the topmost layer, were dominant through the possession of land and English education as well. A similar situation prevailed in the Sinhalese society as well with members of

the highest caste, Goyigama, occupying most of the high profile jobs and also commanding an elite social status. Unlike the Tamil community, there were clear competitors to the dominant Goyigama, namely Karava and Salagama, who posed stiff contest to the social status of the Goyigama and managed to accomplish a decent level of economic and social advancements.

The Tamils who exploited the opportunities opened up through the capitalist economy which was introduced and endorsed by the British, were also mostly Vellalars. Hence, the Vellalar community of the time was comprised largely of landlords, higher officials, mid-level industrial workers, businessmen, pawn brokers, medium scale farmers and shop owners. Bolstered by their authoritative presence in the educational domain and ownership of land, the Vellalars played a decisive role in politics as well. Until 1977, they managed to exclusively control the leadership of the Tamil political parties of the time/

**Table 12: Population of Sri Lanka by Geographic Region and District.**

<b>Geographic Region</b>	<b>District</b>	<b>1921</b>	<b>1946</b>
South West	Colombo	923,143	1,420,332
South West	Kalutara	323,704	456,572
South West	Galle	313,118	459,785
South West	Matara	238,509	351,947
	<b>Total</b>	<b>1,798,474</b>	<b>2,688,636</b>
Hill Country	Kandy	433,993	711,449
Hill Country	Matale	116,584	155,720
Hill Country	Nuwara Eliya	167,162	268,121
Hill Country	Badulla	233,864	372,238
Hill Country	Ratnapura	202,975	343,620
Hill Country	Kegelle	268,839	401,762
	<b>Total</b>	<b>1,423,417</b>	<b>2,252,910</b>
East Coast	Batticaloa	158,709	203,186
East Coast	Trincomalee	34,112	75,926
	<b>Total</b>	<b>192,821</b>	<b>279,112</b>
Jaffna District	Jaffna	330,541	424,768
Dry Zone	Mannar	25,582	31,538
Dry Zone	Vavuniya	18,706	23,246

Dry Zone	Anuradhapura	96,525	139,534
Dry Zone	Kurunegala	354,197	485,042
Dry Zone	Puttalam	35,610	43,033
Dry Zone	Chilaw	102,374	139,764
Dry Zone	Hambantota	119,607	149,686
	<b>Total</b>	<b>1,083,142</b>	<b>1,436,611</b>

The above statistics from 1946 presents the population of Sri Lanka in terms of districts and circles. The same statistic if re-classified in terms of the communities or ethnicities will help us better understand the basis of the major political activities that took place in 1948.

**Table 13: Sri Lankan Population Based on Ethnicity - 1946**

<b>Ethnicity/Community</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Percentage of Population</b>
Coastal Sinhalese	2,902,509	43.9%
Kandy Sinhalese	1,718,998	26.0%
Sri Lankan Tamils	733,731	11.1%
Indian Tamils	780,589	<b>11.8%</b>
Sri Lankan Muslims	373,559	<b>5.6%</b>
Indian Muslims	35,624	<sup>^</sup> <b>0.5%</b>
Malay People	22,508	<b>0.3%</b>
British Eurasian	41,926	<b>0.6%</b>
Europeans	5,418	<b>0.1%</b>
Veda	2,361	<b>0.0%</b>
Others	411	<b>0.0%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>6,617,634</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Particularly, in the Sri Lankan population census of the year 1946, it can be found that the Sinhalese accounted for about 70 percent of the total population while Tamils formed about 23 percent. Further, there were more Indian Tamils than the native Eelam Tamils during the period immediately preceding the independence of Sri Lanka.

### **Hill Country Tamils**

This research is about the native ethnic Tamils of Sri Lanka. There are Muslims as well who speak Tamil in Sri Lanka, but as they are segregated from the boundaries of the Tamil nation, research on them has not been included here. The Indian Tamils were brought from South India, especially Tamil Nadu, by the plantation landlords to work in their newly created coffee, tea and rubber estates in the hill country. Indian Tamils started migrating from the 1830s onwards and continued to settle and work in those plantations. These Indian Tamils had a close affinity in terms of religion, language, art, culture, social and political structures of the native Tamils of Sri Lanka.

Though Indian Tamils have a host of similarities with Sri Lankan Tamil

national ideologies, they differ from the native Sri Lankan Tamils in their demographic and historical backgrounds. Since they have migrated to Sri Lanka and have engaged in continuous occupation in the plantations in the hill country since the 1830s, they have obtained their citizenship and the consequential right to vote. After the independence of Sri Lanka in 1948, the issues related to hill country Tamils continued to embroil Sri Lankan polity. In the period that followed, the hill country Tamils took active participation in the politics of Sri Lanka, especially that of the Eelam Tamils.

Also in the pogroms unleashed against the Tamils of the island by the Sinhalese regime, hill country Tamils also had to bear the brunt of the wrath of the Sinhalese thugs. To safeguard their lives, a sizeable number of hill country Tamils deserted their livelihood and settled in native Tamil areas, especially in the Vanni region. This trend may resurface in the face of ethnic cleansing activities against the Tamils and more hill country Tamils may end up settling down in traditional Tamil areas alongside the native Eelam Tamils. Whether it is to their liking or not, the hill country Tamils will be forced to live alongside the Eelam Tamils in the traditional Tamil lands, in order to guarantee the safety of their livelihood. In the midst of this sea of affairs, hill country Tamils will ultimately have to be integrated into the Eelam Tamil nation. It may be noted here that a common misconception exists even today, that the hill country Tamils are the native Tamils of Sri Lanka, even though they only started migrating to Sri Lanka in the 1830s to work in the plantations.

In the 1850s, the Tamil nationalist movement blossomed through the efforts of English educated Tamil scholars, who propounded the Tamil national ideology in an effort to protect the Tamil cultural and religious identities from the influence of Western imperialistic powers and Christianity. Hence, the Tamil national uprising grew in its initial phases as a 'cultural nationalist' movement.

The Tamil political organisations that arose to prominence in the early 20th century such as the Jaffna Association (1905), Tamil Maha Jana Sabhai (1921) and Jaffna Youth Congress (1924), engaged in continued democratic struggles with the British rulers to ensure their rightful participation in the government of Sri Lanka through various amendments to the prevalent



constitution. Till the 1940s, Tamil political leaders were involved in a number of demonstrations and struggled to bring in adequate changes to the constitution to enable their participation in governing the country.

They floated a multitude of arguments to obtain representations equal to that of the majority communities. They demanded such provisions of representation for all minorities, as well as for the native Tamils, who remained to be a major community among all the other minorities. They also

pushed for wider autonomy in the rule and administration of traditional Tamil areas. It can be observed that such arguments and counter-arguments laid the stepping stones for the evolving Tamil nationalism.

Unfortunately, the 1947 Soulbury Constitution handed over the entire balance of power to the majority Sinhalese community. The Soulbury Constitution, which was based on the British Westminster Parliamentary structure and the imposition of a unitary rule, was in no way conducive to the government of a multiethnic country like Sri Lanka. In a country where the Sinhalese population was about 70 percent and Tamil population was about 23 percent, the Westminster model was obviously incompatible and it clearly failed to meet the aspirations of all ethnic groups.

None of the provisions of the Soulbury Commission that stressed the representation of minorities, as well as the protection of their political rights and benefits, was implemented and was conveniently ignored. The result was the shattering of all the ideals, plans, concepts and beliefs upon which Soulbury built his constitution. In 1947, Senanayake pre-empted the dominion status that Sri Lanka would achieve in the following year, making planned moves to gain the confidence of the Tamil politicians and other minority leaders to take part in his ministry, thereby projecting a fake image of equal participation and fair governance and winning the confidence of the British rulers. The drastic reversal in policies and dastardly acts of suppression that immediately followed the declaration of independence laid bare the ulterior motives behind his temporary co-operation with the Tamils.

In his earlier book this author has clearly explained the tragic history of how Senanayake and his allies betrayed the Tamil political leaders in the parliamentary elections of 1947. Further, the author explains how G.G Ponnambalam, the leader of All Ceylon Tamil Congress (ACTC), and other elected Tamil representatives of parliament acted in cohesion to abandon 'equal representation' demands and fell prey to the 'responsive cooperation' gimmick, thereby letting down the entire Tamil nation.

To keep it brief, the Tamil cultural national awakening and uprising initiated by Arumuga Navalar in the 1850s made a lot of positive impacts on the Tamil society. The Tamil national uprising roused by Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam in the 1920s became stagnant after his demise in 1924. Tamil political leaders hailing from Colombo had absolutely no foresight about the political future of the Tamil nation. History proved this to be a fatal error and in the light of the above, the Tamils were in no position to consolidate on their national aspirations during the time of independence in 1948.

The part-time political activism of Tamil leaders, which weighed far lighter than the dedicated full-time efforts of the Sinhalese nationalists, who worked steadfastly towards their goals, completely shattered Tamil national

aspirations. But then, it has to be admitted that the demands for equal representation and autonomy of the North and East, raised during the 1930s did rekindle the spirit of Tamil nationalism, and this was later expanded and accelerated by the renewed activism of Tamils in the post-independence era. It can also be witnessed that the continued neglect of minority protection ideologies outlined in the Soulbury Constitution as well as the chauvinism displayed by the majority Sinhalese regime against the democratic proceedings of Tamil leaders, had set the course for the Tamil struggle towards an independent Eelam by the 1970s.

In the parliamentary elections that concluded in 1947 based on the Soulbury Constitution, 12 members of parliament representing the Sri Lankan Tamils and eight members representing the Indian Tamils were elected. Sri Lankan Tamils fought the elections under the banner of the ACTC and the Indian Tamils under the Ceylon Worker's Congress (CWC). When the UNP introduced the bill to snatch the citizenship and voting rights of the Indian Tamils, many among these 20 Tamil representatives voted in favour of the bill with only a few voting against, which brought the political future of Indian Tamils to a bleak end.

The aforesaid Sri Lankan Tamil representation was at 12 members, while that of Indian Tamils was at 8 members, making a total of 20 representatives. Muslims, particularly from the Eastern province and Colombo, ended up with six members, and the British with one member for representation in parliament. This gave a total of 27 members representing the various minorities of the country, against the 68 members representing the Sinhalese majority. The draft of the UNP's ministry was presented to Lord Soulbury based on these numbers which the Soulbury Constitution deemed to be adequate, with minorities being represented sufficiently.

To meet the ideals of minority representation, there were two models proposed at the time. One was modelled on population based representation, giving weight to numbers, and the other advocated to provide one representative for every one thousand square miles of land area. The second model was based on geographic extents giving weight to land area. The Sinhalese later found the second model to be buttressing to their cause since many of the Sinhalese regions were sparsely populated. When this model was widely adopted on a national level, the Sinhalese, who already enjoyed a larger majority in parliament, gained even more seats tilting the balance of power even further in their favour.

The Tamils accounted for 22.9 percent of the population. The Sinhalese accounted for 69.8 percent. In an assembly of 101 seats, the Governor of Ceylon was given the exclusive authority to appoint six members to the parliament in an attempt to balance the representation of the minor minorities

to protect their interests. The Governor chose five British members and one Portuguese member for these seats. From the remaining 95 seats the Sinhalese were elected in 68 seats when they should have received 66 seats in accordance with their population. The Tamils were elected in 20 seats when they should have received 22 seats in accordance with their population. This provided a power imbalance of four seats which served as a massive gap in representation of the newly formed Sri Lankan parliament in 1947. This clearly reveals that the Soulbury Constitution had been created on the incorrect statistics provided by Senanayake.

The expectations of the Soulbury Constitution to provide adequate representation for the minorities, especially the Tamils, were not met. This was expected as the draft plan was based on misleading and erroneous data, presented to the Soulbury Commission by the ministry of Senanayake with the connivance of Sir Ivor Jennings. After winning the 1947 elections, Senanayake made momentous efforts to gain the support of minorities, especially the Tamils, nominating them to his ministry with the ultimate aim of obtaining the dominion status for Sri Lanka. First he gained the support of the Muslim representatives. Then he approached the ACTC to gather the support of Tamil representatives. C. Sundaralingam, who had been elected from the Vavuniya constituency as an independent candidate, had already secured his place in Senanayake's ministry as the Minister of Commerce. The grudge he carried against the likes of Ponnambalam and S J.V Chelvanayakam of the ACTC, for their role in defeating him at Vavuniya in the elections of 1943 and 1944, made it an easy decision for him to join Senanayake's ministry. Whatever the reason, it is quite startling to believe that at a time when all Tamil leaders should have been united in their fight for a permanent political solution to the Tamil problem, Sundaralingam chose to sell himself to the Sinhalese political leadership for his personal gains.

In the resulting government of Senanayake, formed in September 1947, two Tamil representatives from the Northern province, most of the Tamil representatives from the Eastern province, the Sri Lankan Muslim members. and the six appointed members, all extended their support to the prime minister.

Senanayake was obviously desperate to gather the support of the minority Tamils in order to gain the confidence of the British rulers. He called upon the representatives of the minority communities to support his government which he claimed to be lacking the necessary strength to gain independence for the country. He invited all the ethnicities of the island to keep their differences aside and join his effort in gaining freedom for the Sri Lankan nation from the clutches of the invading foreign powers. The Muslim

and Indian Tamil representatives had already pledged their support to Senanayake.

The leftist parties may have extended their indirect support to Senanayake treating the independence of Sri Lanka to be the larger cause. Also, all the 21 independent parliament members supported his interim internal self-government. The Senanayake government also propagated rumours about the possibility of its government's dismissal if it could not prove a clear majority. A.J. Wilson, in his book about Tamil nationalism, notes that the independents who did not want to face another election chose to support Senanayake.

Hence, all these parliamentary members extended their support to Senanayake's interim internal self-government. The British rulers were convinced with the composition of parliamentary representation and granted independence to Sri Lanka on 4 February 1948.

We can very well assume that this could have landed the Colombo based Tamil representatives as well as a few other Tamil representatives in a problematic situation. The unrelenting efforts of Ponnambalam, who spearheaded the fight against the Soulbury Constitution and the Sri Lankan government's domination, had a profound impact on the Tamils. Ponnambalam, who earlier sought a fifty-fifty representation for minorities against the majority Sinhalese, abandoned his policy and proposed a more lenient theory of 'responsive cooperation' before the Tamil community in an election meeting on 5 February 1946. He eventually settled for a portfolio in Senanayake's ministry in 1948.

Sundaralingam was a well read Tamil politician, who after pursuing his higher education in the Law and Science Departments of Britain's Oxford University, excelled as an authoritative civil and criminal lawyer and was elevated to the status of Queen's Attorney. Sundaralingam and Ponnambalam were easily deceived and defeated disgracefully in a political battle with Senanayake, Sri Lanka's first Prime Minister who was educated up to the eighth grade.

The Soulbury Constitution introduced a 30 member advisory council, of which 15 members were to be elected by members of parliament and another 15 members were to be nominated by the president, to suitably safeguard the welfare of the minority communities of Sri Lanka. Senanayake made best use of this opportunity by offering valuable ministerial positions to influential minority leaders making them ministers and deputy ministers in both the parliament and the upper house. With these carefully executed steps he ensured minimal dissent, from within the government and minority groups, for offensive actions against Tamils, that he had planned to execute immediately after independence.

The Soulbury Commission also introduced a second assembly with 15 members from the minority communities to be appointed on the discretion of the president to defend minority interests. The Soulbury Commission approved the establishment of an independent Public Service Commission and a Legal Service Commission. The members of these commissions were again to be chosen discretionarily by the president. Finally, to ensure that no law is passed against the minority communities, the commission also approved *Section 29(2)*. Though these arrangements would not have been able to completely prevent discrimination against minorities executed with the concurrence of the majority members, the provisions could very well have served the interests of minorities to some extent if executed with sincerity by an impartial interim independent self-government under the guidance of an impartial prime minister.

But this situation changed immediately after the proclamation of independence on 4 February 1948. Starting with the first session of the national parliament, which was formed on the basis of the Soulbury Constitution on 14 October 1947, many issues including multiple development projects, administrative structural changes and fund allocations were tabled and subjected to extensive discussion in the parliament and then implemented. A careful examination of the parliamentary *Hansard*, from the first *Hansard* to the fourth one at the end of 1948, highlights a political environment with a very healthy democratic process with all members of both houses of parliament enthusiastically participating in discussions.

At this juncture, the British government had already informed Senanayake that independence would be granted in the early months of 1948. Meanwhile, Senanayake decided that at the dawn of independence when the British flag was to be replaced by the Sri Lankan flag, it would be the Sinhalese Lion flag. This came under heated debate in Parliament during January 1948 with key Sinhalese leaders including Senanayake, J.R. Jeyewardene and A.E. Gunasinghe pushing for a Lion flag. The deliberations included discussions on the national flags of the Jaffna Kingdom and Kandy Kingdom. Tamil leaders including Ponnambalam, Sundaralingam, Chelvanayakam and C. Vanniasingam, wanted an inclusive flag that represented the identities of all the ethnicities of Sri Lanka namely the

Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims. At this juncture, Senanayake placed the following argument in parliament:

I want the Lion Flag hoisted for this main reason. When we lost our country, when the people chose the King of England as their sovereign, this was the flag (Lion Flag) of the last Kandyan King. who was dethroned, that was pulled down. Now that England is

transferring sovereignty to the people of this island, I want England also to replace that flag along with the sovereignty they are giving us back. It is for this main reason that we intend hoisting the Lion Flag on Independence Day.

The representative of Batticaloa, Mudaliar A.L Sinnalebbe, tabled the bill for this purpose with Senanayake completing the proposal. The Lion flag was hence adopted through the approval of the entire house and during the Independence Day celebrations the Lion flag was eventually hoisted.

During the discussions on the issue of the national flag, Sinhalese leaders were very adamant and uncompromising in their stand to bring in the Lion flag. They had hence clearly established their predilection for the Sinhalese national identity. Though the minority leaders elucidated a great deal of reasoning in this discussion, the Sinhalese leaders, especially Senanayake and Jeyewardene, remained steadfast in their decision to have a Lion flag, flexing their muscle of majority for their uncompromising loyalty for their Sinhalese nationality. This stood as a fine example of the perspective that Sinhalese leaders would adopt in future, even while assessing the rightful aspirations of minority races, and it became explicit that all the rights of the minority communities would be suppressed by the nationalistic Sinhalese regime. Further, this was definitely a clear warning to the leaders of the leaders of the Tamil nationality. The above instance can be seen as the first open manifestation of the Sinhalese agenda of rejecting any kind of democratic rights that the minorities deserved, right from the conception, where a carefully mended draft for the interim independent self-government was presented.

It has to be noted that Senanayake was very careful not to bring up issues related to the citizenship and voting rights of the hill country Indian Tamils until the declaration of independence. On the contrary, he extended all possible dividends to cajole every minority community in Sri Lanka. From the *Hansard*, it is evident that the first solid discussion in this regard was put forth by Senanayake in March 1948, only after independence had been achieved. Though the issue had been debated since 1945, the Senanayake government avoided taking any decisions or expressing any extreme stands on this issue until the second session of parliament on 14 October 1948. It



was too late by the time Tamil leaders had realised Senanayake's political mastermind. He had exercised the utmost cooperation with minorities in the pre-independence era, showering them with ministerial and deputy berths as well as memberships to the upper house, and waiting until he had gained the confidence and respect of the British government leading to the declaration of independence, before tabling the question of citizenship rights of the Indian Tamils in parliament.

When introducing their constitution, the Soulbury Commission made their stance clear on the issue of Indian Tamils' citizenship rights:

...the present franchise and election law has been incorporated with the revised draft with merely consequential amendments. The reform of the law will thus be a task for the new Parliament of Ceylon as the Soulbury Commission recommended.

This elucidates the fact that the commission did not want to take a decision on the voting rights and citizenship of Indian Tamils before the independence of Sri Lanka. The decision was left pending with the new to-be-formed parliament. But the decision taken by the new parliament post-independence proved fatal to the future of hill country Tamils, much to the shock of Ponnambalam and the sections of Sri Lankan Tamils who supported him.

As per the recommendations of the Soulbury Commission and his own plans, Senanayake tabled the bill regarding the voting rights and citizenship of the Indian Tamils in the second session of the parliament on 4 August 1948." The parliament was engulfed with vociferous arguments and counter arguments with key Sinhalese leaders including Senanayake, Dudley Senanayake, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, Jeyewardene and many other representatives from the UNP openly expressing their dissent in parliament to allowing the franchise to Indian Tamil workers. Even though he was a Tamil, Sundaralingam was seen in compulsion to support the government that he belonged to. The Sinhalese leftists C.R. de Silva, N.M Perera and others were completely pitched against disenfranchising the Indian Tamils. In this discussion, while answering a question, N.M Perera said:

...why should you not treat the Indians as your countrymen? Why do you treat only the Sinhalese as your countrymen? If the Indians are prepared to live here, work here and even die here, it is the barest justice that we give them citizenship rights. They should be treated as human beings and not as unwanted beings.

Muslim representatives, especially T.E. Jeyah, M.S. Ismail and Sinnalebbe extended their support to the Senanayake government to disenfranchise the Indian Tamils. Additionally, there were Sri Lankan Tamil representatives and

a few Indian Tamil representatives, especially Ponnambalam, Sundaralingam, K. Kanagaratnam, V. Nalliah, S.U Ethirmanasingam, T. Ramalingam and A.LTambiyah who also committed injustice to the Indian Tamils of Sri Lanka.

A few noteworthy people among the Tamil representatives who supported

the Indian Tamils by vehemently opposing the resolution were S.J. Chelvanayakam, P. Kumarasiri, K. Rajalingam, D. Ramanujam, S. Sivapalan, M. Suppaiah, S. Thondaiman, C. Vanniyasingam and V. Vellupillai. When the above draft was introduced in the parliament, it received 52 votes in its favour with 32 votes against it. Thus the unfortunate law to snatch the voting rights of the Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka was passed in the Sri Lankan Parliament on 10 December 1948 with a large margin of 20 votes.

There are a few key observations that we have to make from this ill-fated event. The support extended by the members of UNP to disenfranchise the Indian Tamils is of no surprise and is not worth any further analysis. Most of the members of the ruling UNP wanted the Indian Tamils to leave Sri Lanka and return to their Indian homeland. But what is heart breaking is the cruel injustice meted out by Bandaranaike and Jeyewardene, who were in fact descendants of Indian Tamil Chetty lineage, who had migrated to Sri Lanka only four or five generations ago. In order to assimilate well with the Sinhalese and identify themselves as pure Buddhist Sinhalese nationalists they even changed their Christian names to Buddhist Sinhalese names. The ruthless efforts they invested in disenfranchising their own Tamil brethren deserve deep consideration. Y. Guneratne, K.M de Silva and H. Wriggins have conducted research and written extensively on these shocking facts. In his recent publication, K. Indrapala has also made detailed notes of this.

The leftist representatives who had a natural ideological inclination towards labour welfare and rights were all supportive of the Tamil cause. The well educated leftist leaders chose to take a humanitarian view of the political state of the Indian Tamils who had contributed to the economic growth of Sri Lanka for more than a century. But the Muslim representatives on the other hand, in an attempt to woo the Sri Lankan government, pitched strongly against the Indian Tamils largely on account of their direct rivalry with them in trade and commerce.

The biggest shock that created despair, hatred and frustration amongst the Tamils, was the assistance provided by Ponnambalam, who was considered the foremost Tamil leader at the time, in confiscating the voting rights of Indian Tamils. When the Indian Tamils lost their citizenship, they would naturally lose their right to vote as well. The statistics have already revealed to us that the population of Indian Tamils was higher than even that of the native Eelam Tamils. Tamils and others alike wondered how there was even the slightest chance, that a person who had completed higher studies in the West and worked as a well-known criminal lawyer, could miss the fact that Tamils as a whole would lose about a half of their representation if the Indian Tamils were to be disenfranchised. Their dismay was justified. The dismal status of Tamils today gives us a final answer to the questions raised

by this intriguing political move made by Ponnambalam, who was once revered for fighting for over twelve years for the equal representation of minorities in the Sri Lankan parliament, and even went to the doorstep of Britain to advocate their cause. He did not just extend his support to the majority Sinhalese government by simply letting the draft be introduced and later be set for voting in parliament. He went to the extreme by voting in favour of the bill. A scientific view of this incident clearly forces us to accept the fact that at this stage Ponnambalam had no political foresight or national aspiration.

The political view of Sundaralingam on this issue has already been outlined previously. He was no different from Ponnambalam and remained tight-lipped in the Sri Lankan parliament throughout the three month long deliberation on this issue. We can only assume that he was muted by the ministerial berth that he had been occupying in the UNP government. The parliamentary *Hansard* proves that Sundaralingam was shrewdly not present when the aforementioned draft was introduced and put for voting but was later present in parliament only after the voting was over. It is a shocking fact that these elite erudite lawyers could not fathom a future where they would be held accountable by the students of history and public alike, who would learn of their betrayals and abandon them to be subjected to curses of many generations to come.

But Sundaralingam definitely started to feel the painful effects of his guilty conscience. This can be seen in his opposition to the Sinhalese flag, after the Sri Lankan independence in the 1950s, and the resulting resignation of his parliamentary membership. He was unopposed for the same Vavuniya constituency and returned to the seat once again. We cannot help but wonder whether his staunch opposition to the Sinhalese flag issue and subsequent resignation was not an attempt to recover his image that he had damaged in his support of the disenfranchisement of Indian Tamils.

Sri Lankan Tamils are generally considered to be a forgiving, polite, hard working and well-educated society by most sociology experts. But the immense drawback against them has been the scanty respect they have traditionally bestowed upon their local leaders from the North and the East. But the Colombo based elitist Tamils were well versed in English and

Sinhalese and amongst them were these criminal lawyers with prodigious practices who easily commanded great respect from all Tamils of the island. The prominence of the Colombo based Tamil leaders Ponnambalam and Sundaralingam, in the political life of Tamils from the early days till 1956, should be attributed largely to the adoration extended to them by the Tamils of the island. This tendency of the Tamils also paved the way for the election of Sundaralingam to parliament from the Vavuniya constituency in both

1952 and 1956. The fact that he was adored as 'the Tamil who will not be bowed down' further highlights this Tamil propensity.

Though they had occupied the driving seat of Tamil politics for so long, these leaders failed to push for any far reaching changes in the lives of Tamils. The efforts made by Sundaralingam in the final phase of his political life, including the 1954 motion of 'Restored Ceylon Free State' that he moved in parliament, failed to have any serious impact on Sri Lankan politics. He once again resigned his post as a member of parliament, in protest of the deliberations and subsequent motion that successfully adopted Sinhala as the only official language of the nation. We can clearly see that these reactions were far too late though, and when the Tamil people started to engage in serious soul searching about their political future, these once admired leaders were promptly discarded by the public. After this period, Sundaralingam never managed to make his way through the election process to parliament in the 1960s. The same fate was also bestowed upon Ponnambalam and the ACTC as well. There is no doubt that the experiences of these irrevocable public rejections will serve as a good lesson to politicians elsewhere who misuse their position as societal leaders for their own benefits.

The two prominent voices, expressing dissent against the disenfranchisement bill amongst the parliament, were those of Chelvanayakam and Thondaiman. These two leaders were able to clearly foresee the long term permanent blow that this move would inflict on the political future of the Tamils and fought fervently with the aid of other Tamil representatives, debating endlessly over the three months of the second session of the Sri Lankan parliament, against the ratification of this law. But despite their opposition, the bill was passed in the Sri Lankan parliament, sealing the political future of Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka.

The impact was virtually immediate. By the end of 1952, leaders such as Chelvanayakam, Vanniyasingam and E.M.V. Naganathan had left the ACTC, opposing their support of disenfranchisement of the Indian Tamils and they had started the new Federal Party (FP). In the parliamentary election that succeeded in 1952, the FP secured two seats whilst the ACTC secured four seats. The overall representation of Tamils, which had stood at 12 seats at the

end of the 1947 Parliamentary elections, had now fallen to a mere six seats. The Indian Tamils did not get to vote in this election and consequently the CWC which had previously contested in 1947 on behalf of the Indian Tamils was snubbed. As a result, there was not even a single representative on behalf of the Indian Tamils in the Sri Lankan Parliament. The CWC which won eight seats in the 1947 elections was prevented from contesting at this time and this pathetic situation continued till 1977.



In the analysis of these political offensives we can perceive that *Section 29(2)* of the Soulbury Constitution, which is aimed at securing and safeguarding the rights of minorities, has been rendered totally ineffective in its entirety. The aspirations of the Soulbury Commission to provide for the provincial representation of the island's minorities, especially the Tamils, were also shattered. In precise terms, the Soulbury Commission carried completely incorrect assumptions about the rights and livelihoods of minorities, especially Tamils, and therefore relied merely on its faith in the good will of Senanayake and other Sinhalese nationalist political leaders. The Soulbury Commission's sheer neglect of even the most reasonable aspirations of the Tamil people remains the basis of their current political turmoil.

The fifty-fifty representation proposed by Ponnambalam since 1936, has been subjected to detailed deliberation and debate in parliament, the public arena and amongst the common people. There was consistent coverage of this proposal with the print media of the time publishing a wide spectrum of articles and news items on the proposition. The struggle for the rights and welfare of minorities was prevalent in the public space, fuelling the rise of Tamil nationalist aspirations. The petitions made by the Tamil leaders of Jaffna to the Sri Lankan prime minister and British rulers, emphasising the need for a federal set up had fuelled Tamil nationalistic sentiment.

Despite the struggle put up by the Tamils to implement a fifty-fifty representational constitution, the British government pushed the Soulbury Commission to adopt a Westminster parliamentary model, based on the draft proposed by the ministry of the majority Sinhalese government. This has become a clear reason for discontent among the Tamils. The inconsistent behaviour of Tamil leaders at this juncture, who gave up their demand for equal representation and ended up supporting the Sinhalese regime with the implementation of the Soulbury Constitution, also created deep rooted frustration amongst the Tamils and forced them into serious contemplation about their political future. The cooperation extended to the majority Sinhalese government, by Ponnambalam and other Tamil leaders, in exchange for ministerial berth under the pretext of larger national interests, had clearly infuriated the Tamils and pushed them beyond their limits. There

can be no doubt that these frustrations fuelled an ever increasing Tamil nationalist sentiment.

In whatever form it materialised, Ponnambalam was in a way responsible for the rise of Tamil nationalistic sentiment, as the Tamil community renounced their affinity to the idea of an integrated Sri Lankan government and a united Sri Lankan identity. Through his negative actions, Ponnambalam did indeed help the Tamil people recognise their separate

ethnicity and unique national identity, and created the epiphany when they realised they had all the necessary constituents of a separate nation. But it fell to the lot of the parties with the strength of conviction and national fervour, such as the Tamil FP, to carry on this process of consolidation.

Discussions on the issue of the national flag of Sri Lanka revealed how the Tamil political leaders had, in their arguments during the debate on the subject, clearly presented the fact that the Tamils were a separate nation and supported this with evidence of their independent kingdoms of Jaffna and the Vanni. And, if the government wanted them to join the national stream of the island and work for its development, they requested a place for their distinct Tamil identity on the national flag of Sri Lanka. The Tamils were certainly aware of these sentiments presented by the Tamil political leaders. The Sinhalese political leaders, however, accepted the Lion flag as the country's national flag, and were determined to have it hoisted on the Independence Day celebrations. The Tamils in the North and East conveyed their wishes in this context to the Sri Lankan government but the Sinhalese majority government remained steadfast. These acts affected the Tamils deeply and pushed them towards Tamil nationalism.

Great alarm and fear would have also been generated among the Tamils with the stripping of citizenship rights from the Indian Tamils in the latter part of 1948 especially as it was supported by the majority of Sinhalese representatives and some minority Tamil representatives. This was indeed the cause that drove Chelvanayakam and his colleagues to leave the ACTC that was a partner in the Sinhalese regime and establish the FP in 1949. The launching of this political party which aimed to win the political aspirations of the Tamils through democratic means was a milestone in the Tamil nationalist movement.

The UNP, after winning the 1952 general election, formed the second parliament of Sri Lanka. The ACTC although a partner to the UNP rightist regime, maintained itself as a separate political party. FP representatives were continuously engaged. FP representatives were continuously engaged in non violent struggles to win democratic rights for the Tamils from 1952 and demanded a federal system of governance. This demand for a federal government and Sundaralingam's motion for a 'Restored Ceylon Free State'

bill submitted to the upper house created a thirst for freedom in the hearts of Tamils.

Scholars who have investigated the historical background of the political affairs of the Tamils from 1947 to 1952 discussed in this chapter have failed to clarify the issues. This has created the need for an extensive study with authoritative evidence as presented in this chapter. The various political issues relating to the Tamils in the period from 1952 to 1976 have been

extensively researched by able political historians who have published information on this subject which is freely available. Hence, it is fitting to throw light only on the most important historical events concerning the political situation of the Tamils and the extent to which they contributed to the rise and growth of Tamil nationalism and the Tamil national struggle, by giving a brief account of the historical background to these events.

There were a few critical developments in the political space of Sri Lanka, and especially that of the Tamils, during the period between 1952 and 1956. A few months prior to the 1952 general elections, Senanayake, labelled as the 'father' of the nation by the majority Sinhalese population, had passed away, and his son Dudley Senanayake was sworn in as the prime minister. The ACTC won four seats in this election and also came forward with open support to the Dudley Senanayake government. As a consequence Ponnambalam was given a ministerial berth once again. Dudley Senanayake was then caught in a tug-of-war, with his relative Sir John Kotelawala, over policy issues and this political conflict resulted in his resignation. He was replaced as prime minister by Kotelawala.

When Kotelawala became prime minister he stripped Ponnambalam of his ministerial portfolio. From this instance the political authority of the ACTC started to decline amongst the Tamils. In the 1952 elections, the FP managed to secure only two constituencies. Chelvanayakam contested for the second time in 1952 from the same Kankesanthurai constituency. At this juncture, S. Natesan, who was the son-in-law of Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan and the Principal of Jaffna Parameswara College, also contested the election from the same constituency. He enjoyed the popular support of the Jaffna residents. The Tamils also hoped that a ministerial portfolio would be assigned to him as he was contesting on behalf of the UNP.

All these reasons together worked in favour of Natesan and he eventually won the election. Even after losing the election and therefore losing any access to the Parliamentary framework, Chelvanayakam continued his struggle for the political rights of Tamils. Vanniyasingam operated as the Deputy Leader and the right hand of Chelvanayakam inside the Parliament. Naganathan also extended great co-operation to Vanniyasingam. Chelvanayakam also had the support of the FP representative of the

Trincomalee constituency from the Eastern province. Though Chelvanayakam initially enjoyed the support of elected Tamil representatives from the Batticaloa constituency, he lost this later as he joined hands with the UNP. A good majority of members from the Leftist parties had extended their support to the FP in most of the issues related to the rights of the Tamil minorities.

On 12 July 1951, Bandaranaike resigned his position as Minister of

Heath and his leadership of parliament. On 15 July 1951 he left the government and declared that he intended to form a new party that would adopt a balanced stand, placed between the extremist right wing UNP and the extremist left wing Marxist Party. Thus, when Bandaranaike inaugurated his new Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) in early September 1951, the electorate found a democratic alternative for the very first time. However, this hope was very short lived with the UNP winning 54 of the 81 parliamentary constituencies that it contested. Its presumed alternative, the SLFP, won only nine of the 48 contested seats.

In this context, and in consideration of the political background of the Sri Lankan parliament, it should be an easy job to explain some of the key incidents that have occurred in the political horizon of Sri Lankan Tamils. During the period from 1952 till 1956, there are four major events that took place. The first and foremost of these is the demand for a government with equal representation that was propounded by the FP. This is followed by the staunch opposition expressed by the FP, ACTC and other independent Tamil representatives to the *Sinhala Only Act*. Third is the serious objection by Tamil leaders to the pre-planned Sinhalese colonisation of traditional Tamil homelands. The fourth is the opposition voiced by Tamil parties against the disenfranchisement of the Indian Tamils of Sri Lanka. Since the issues surrounding the well devised Sinhalese colonisation of Tamil areas have been dealt with in greater detail in a different section, we shall attempt to very briefly explain the other three events.

As mentioned already, the Indian Tamils were mostly plantation workers, who confined themselves to the boundaries of their estates and lived an isolated life, lacking contact with the external world. They were secluded from the Sri Lankan Tamils by both social detachment and geographical distance. In the words of R. Kearney:

Language and religion are common to the two communities, but differences of historical background, economic position, caste and intangible factors of identification have militated against a close unity.

Though such differences existed at the time, we can observe that the immediate reason for the formation of the FP was to safeguard the rights of the Indian Tamils. The voting rights of the Indian Tamils were revoked in 1948 and 1949. When Senanayake introduced the bill to deny the voting rights of Indian Tamils at this time, he intended to regulate their immigration activities. This provided a chance for Indian Tamils to prove themselves as eligible voters and had they registered themselves as Sri Lankan citizens in



accordance with the statutory regulations of the *Indian Tamil Citizenship Rights Bill*, many of them would have been deemed as eligible voters and would have been added to the electoral roll as per the *Citizenship Bill of 1948*, but it did not happen due to maladministration of government or deliberate exclusion.

The talks which the Sri Lankan government held with the Indian government did not yield any profit for Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka. The FP and Chelvanayakam continuously fought, both within the Parliament and in the public arena, to regain the voting rights of Indian Tamils. When Chelvanayakam established the FP in 1949, he also started a Tamil weekly *Suthanthiran* to be used as a print medium to propagate the ideals of his party. The newspaper continuously published news items and gave highest priority to issues relating to the voting rights of Indian Tamils. He called for the integration and unity of Tamils across all the parties of Sri Lanka, to fight for the common Tamil cause, under the banner of an all-island Tamil front. It can be clearly observed that the struggle carried forward by Chelvanayakam, and the FP as a whole, made a very crucial contribution towards the consolidation of Tamil nationalistic uprising. In the aforementioned period, the equal representation proposal made by the FP was considered to be the most predominant amongst all the political issues relating to Tamils at the time, by both the Tamil people and the Sri Lankan government.

Chelvanayakam and his political associates started the new FP in opposition to the support extended by Ponnambalam to the bill that ultimately disenfranchised the Indian Tamils as well as to propose alternate solutions for the safeguarding of Tamil political rights. It was through this new party that they proposed the Federal System. The alternative propounded by Chelvanayakam and the FP for an autonomous government for Tamil speaking people' in the 1970s was based on two key aspects of Tamil national identity, namely, the Tamil language and the traditional Tamil homelands. This alternative represented the justified struggle of Tamils against the majority Sinhalese government in relation to their livelihood and rights that they had fought for in their homelands. In the light of this situation, the leaders of the FP convened a conference in Trincomalee and passed seven important resolutions in 1952.

The foremost among them was a resolution to secure an indissoluble government for the Tamils through a federal system policy. It was also declared that Trincomalee would become the capital for this new government. This served as a major breakthrough in achieving a political bond between the Tamils of the Eastern and Northern provinces. There were many democratic and peaceful protests advocating the demand for a federal

structure, between 1951 and 1972, until the FP advocated an independent Tamil Eelam with the cooperation of other Tamil political parties.

The Tamil nationalistic struggle that grew against the Sinhalese hegemony did in fact assert the possibility of pushing for an independent Tamil nation in case their demands for a federal system were denied. Strong propaganda in support of the Federal System, served by the aforementioned political leaders within Parliament, media outlets as well the public arena, had far reaching effects on how Tamils contemplated their political future and operated as stepping stones for the propagation of Tamil nationalism.

In the 1956 elections the FP won eight constituencies while Ponnambalam's ACTC captured only one/ These results clearly demonstrated the public support of the Federal System proposed by Chelvanayakam and the extensive reach of nationalistic ideals among the Tamil people. The results also proved that Ponnambalam and his ACTC had suffered severely from the trust deficit owing to their unsatisfactory actions in dealing with Tamil issues, with Tamils of both regions clearly expressing their public disappointment. On the whole, these election results proved that the FP, led by Chelvanayakam, had grown into a full-fledged Tamil peoples' movement who endeavoured to achieve their independence through political success. In this regard, Wriggins records the following:

He (Chelvanayakam) had been the most outspoken and consistent Tamil leader to warn of Sinhalese domination and had refused all offers of office made by the UNP in the past. Ever since the first independent parliament he had maintained that the present unitary constitution was inappropriate to a country of mixed population, that only a federal constitution could protect the rights of the Tamil speaking minority. When the Tamils began to feel seriously threatened by the Sinhalese language reform that would clearly be to their disadvantage, they naturally turned to a man known of integrity."

During the period from 1952 till 1956 when the FP proposed the Federal System, the Sinhala *Swabasha* movement was in full swing in the Sri Lankan political arena. Since the 1940s, the Sinhala linguistic rebellion was poised

against the English language. This uprising later changed its course to be positioned against the Tamil language and has remained a critical political issue since 1951. Later when Jeyewardene became president he enacted a motion in parliament on 24 May 1944 to make Sinhala the official language within a specific time period. He elucidated his views in the following speech:

...the great fear I had was that Sinhalese, being a language spoken by only three million in the whole world, would suffer if Tamil was also placed on equal footing with Sinhalese. The influence of Tamil literature, a literature used in India over forty million, and the influence of Tamil films and Tamil culture in this country I thought it might be detrimental to the future of the Sinhalese language.

The same views were expressed by Bandaranaike in 1955 during deliberations on the *Sinhala Only Act* as published on 8 November 1955 in the *Daily News* magazine:

With their books and culture and will and strength characteristic of their race, the Tamils (if parity were given) would soon rise to exert their dominant power over us.

Owing to opposition from the Tamil representatives of parliament, the bill was amended to include Tamil also as an official language. The *Swabasha* movement of the Sinhalese people was carried forward mostly by the lower middle class section of society. While giving official status to both Sinhalese and Tamil was their original stand, they later changed it to implement Sinhala only as the official language.

In 1951 when the FP demanded the Federal System of rule, the Sinhalese movements like the All Ceylon Buddhist Congress worked intensely on their *Sinhala Only* proposal. During the period from 1953 till 1956, the political rivalry between Kotelawala and Bandaranaike added fuel to the already burning issue of the *Sinhala Only* demand. In a social gathering in Jaffna, Kotelawala announced that he would take actions to include both Sinhala and Tamil as official languages of the country. This was met with serious objections from the Sinhalese public which strengthened the resolve on the part of the Sinhalese to make Sinhala the only official language.

Sundaralingam, after having left the UNP and winning a seat as an independent candidate from Vavuniya in the 1952 elections, raised staunch opposition to the *Sinhala Only Act*. He warned that the Tamils would be forced to establish a separate government of their own if the *Sinhala Only Act* were to be passed. Ponnambalam stressed the same views. Natesan and V.

Kumaraswamy, who were a part of the UNP, also fiercely opposed the *Sinhala Only Act* and threatened to abandon the party if it pushed further on the issue."

A vast majority of the members of leftist parties, Perera for example, stated in Parliament that both Sinhalese and Tamil should be constituted as official languages. All these opinions given in favour of the inclusion of Tamil as an official language further strengthened the Federal System

demand proposed by Chelvanayakam. The general recognition that the Federal System alone will solve the issues related to the language and traditional homelands of Tamils gained huge momentum. Chelvanayakam and his FP were extended a warm welcome by the Tamil people, which led to the further broadening of Tamil nationalism.

When the demand for the *Sinhala Only Act* gathered impetus in the Sinhalese regions, Bandaranaike's SLFP which earlier adopted a stand to accept both Sinhala and Tamil as official languages, was forced to change their stance. They too had to profess support for the *Sinhala Only Act* to appease the general Sinhalese population. In 1955, his party proposed the *Sinhala Only Act* with a clause appealing for the proper recognition of the Tamil language. As a consequence, the UNP broke the promise made by Kotelawala to the Tamils of North, that both Sinhala and Tamil would be equally listed as official languages, through their adoption of the *Sinhala Only Act*.

As a result the *Sinhala Only Act* was successfully passed in the Sri Lankan parliament in 1956. This forced many Tamils to lose their jobs due to their lack of expertise in the Sinhala language. Tamils were forced to learn Sinhala since all letters and official communications were now exclusively in Sinhala. This language discrimination further escalated the sentiments of the Tamil people. Tamils expressed their dissatisfaction and anger in all possible arenas including Parliamentary debates, dissenting rallies and other anti-governmental demonstrations. This was accompanied by many peaceful protests and Satyagraha movements in the Tamil regions.

The hatred towards the Tamil people that had intensified and spread in the Sinhalese regions had now begun to spread panic amongst the Tamil population. Tamils were depressed that they were being forced to lose their cultural traditions and unique identity. When the *Sinhala Only Act* was passed in parliament, the FP which had given utmost priority to Tamil language issues expressed their opposition via a Satyagraha demonstration in the grounds which lay a few hundred yards opposite to the parliamentary building. The Satyagraha did not achieve its purpose. On the contrary, ethnic riots against the Tamils had spread in the city of Colombo and the Gal Oya settlement schemes. Whilst the Sri Lankan government extended absolutely no respect to the Satyagraha, vicious Sinhalese mob attacked the Satyagraha

activists at the Parliament's doorsteps. As the Sinhalese mob gathered strength, the Tamils had to give up their peaceful protest.

After the demise of Bandaranaike, who implemented the *Sinhala Only Act*, his wife Sirimavo Bandaranaike became the prime minister, and she engaged in steps to implement the law across the country, including the Tamil regions. The FP which was vehemently pitched against this implementation, engaged in non-violent Satyagraha protests in the Tamil regions in response to the

imposition of Sinhala as the only official language used in the courts and administration of the Tamil homelands. The Satyagraha protests adopted a strategy to obstruct the proceedings of the courts through demonstrations which prevented officials from entering the premises.

In all the places affected by the Satyagraha protests of the FP, the government declared a 'state of emergency' in 1961. The protests went ahead for more than two months. The government then brought their military into action and arrested the Tamil parliamentary representatives under the *Emergency Act*, taking them all into preventive custody. After the arrest of these leaders, the army heavily attacked demonstrators in order to disperse the Satyagraha volunteers. The government then banned the FP and continued its implementation of the *Sinhala Only Act*.

With non-violent protests and non co-operation struggles being forged ahead by Tamils all over the country, Bandaranaike realised that this would cause a set back to the economic growth of the country and create a financial crisis, entered into an agreement with Chelvanayakam, which was famously known as the *Banda-Chelva Pact*. Jeyewardene who was the leader of the opposition, found an immense political opportunity in this move by Bandaranaike, and conducted a march towards Kandy to oppose the *Banda-Chelva Pact*, hence rekindling anti-Tamil sentiments amongst the Sinhalese public.

Jeyewardene rushed ahead with vast propaganda via the UNP's magazines and pamphlets and carried on a virulent campaign that Bandaranaike had sold the country to the Tamils by signing this pact.

In early 1958, the Sri Lankan government had sent a certain number of buses to Jaffna whose number plates carried the Sinhala letters for 'Sri' in place of the English letters being used earlier.

This proved to be a clear message from the government that it was determined to complete its implementation of the *Sinhala Only Act*. The Tamil leaders and public alike, who were already infuriated over the implementation of the *Sinhala Only Act*, proceeded to apply tar on these number plates obliterating the Sinhala letters and then wrote their Tamil equivalent of 'Sri' on those plates. This news spread like a wildfire to the Northern and Eastern provinces and was met with great reception from Tamils of both regions. These incidents proved beyond doubt that the Tamil people had embarked on a resistance movement against Sinhalese domination. In May 1958, by the time the annual conference of the FP was held in Vavuniya, the *Banda-Chelva Pact* had been completely abrogated. The conference passed key resolutions to oppose this trend and to launch direct non-violent struggles. As a consequence, during June and July of 1958, large scale riots were accompanied by ensuing blood bath.



At this juncture, Sinhalese thugs unleashed vicious acts of aggression and abuse against Tamils living in the Sinhalese areas of the South, on such a broad scale that was symbolic of ethnic cleansing. Many Tamils were murdered in these riots. Tamil women were raped and sexually assaulted. The properties and belongings of Tamils were not only looted but also razed and burnt to ashes. The Tamils in these regions felt the insecurity of living on alien land and began to migrate to their traditional homelands in the North and East in search of security and safe haven. Though the genocides of 1958 that were unleashed against Tamils were based on language issues, they played a critical role in reinforcing the need for Tamils to prioritise the attainment of a separate Tamil nation through the linkage of their language and traditional homelands.

After the elections of March 1960, the FP acquired an opportunity to utilise their power. The results of this election suggested a hung parliament with neither of the Sinhalese parties attaining a clear majority to form a government. They naturally had to turn to the FP. The FP presented their bare minimum demands based on the *Banda-Chelva Pact* to Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake. They were as follows:

- Formation of district councils
- Recognition of Tamil as the language of the national minorities
- Amendment to the Sri Lankan *Citizenship Act*
  - Inclusion of at least six Indian representatives among the appointed members of parliament

This led to the signing of *Dudley-Chelva Pact* that was duly authorised by Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake and Chelvanayakam who was the leader of the FP. Even after the signing of the pact, Dudley Senanayake was not able to implement any of his promises to the FP, due to the vicious propaganda that had already been disseminated by his UNP against the previously created *Banda-Chelva Pact*. As a consequence, the FP voted against the UNP in a no confidence motion and toppled the Dudley Senanayake government.

In the general elections held in 1960, the SLFP, led by the widow of the assassinated former Prime Minister Bandaranaike, won by a thumping majority. During the period from 1960 till 1965, her party blatantly neglected all the promises made earlier to the FP. She adopted an even stronger standpoint than before and continued with the blatant implementation of the *Sinhala Only Act* from 1 January 1961. Much to the dismay of the FP, she also imposed Sinhala as the only official language of trials in all courts of the country, including the courts of the North and East.

The FP and greater Tamil community held mass demonstrations against the anti-Tamil activities of the Sri Lankan government. These protests also accelerated the nationalistic sentiments of the Tamils. The FP carried out non-violent rallies in particular opposition to the *Sinhala Only Act*. The politics of the Tamils, confined till then only to the upper class, had now been transformed into a mass movement. It also supplied the right momentum to the Tamil nationalist movement that arose against the Sinhalese hegemony.

Further to buttressing the beginning of a Tamil language renaissance, the FP succeeded in consolidating all the Tamils of the island under a single umbrella. This also pushed the Tamil leaders and members of the public, who had been fighting for a federal system, to the stage of fighting for the right for self-determination. It is not a mistake to mention here, that the actions taken by the Sri Lankan government against the language of the Tamils served as key stimulators to Tamil nationalistic uprising. Languages play a great role in the rise of nationalist sentiments. J.H. Hayes argues that language is principal among the cultural identities of any nationality, now and forever.

The ethnic cleansing of 1958 which forced Tamils to flee to their traditional areas in the North and East in search of safety, further reinforced the need to secure a separate independent Tamil nation in this region, through the connection of their language to their traditional homelands. As a part of their party's primary policy decisions, as well as their pacts with Bandaranaike and Dudley, the FP had clearly held that there could be no Sinhalese colonisation of the traditional Tamil homelands in the North and the East. The support extended by the ACTC members to the majority Sinhalese government for denying the citizenship to the Indian Tamils, gave the government enough courage to push for extensive colonisation of the Tamil areas. Indian Tamils had lost all seven representatives because of the passage of the *Citizenship Bill* in Parliament. Now with its pre-planned colonisation of Tamil areas, the Sri Lankan government took major initiatives to tamper with the parliamentary representation of the Tamils. The Sri Lankan government adopted a clear policy of invalidating the concept of a traditional Tamil homeland through its colonisation activities and its resolve to weaken the Tamils in parliament."

Following these actions Chelvanayakam charged the Sri Lankan government as follows:

The Tamils had these North and Eastern provinces for the last three thousand years and now the Sinhalese, not satisfied with the seven provinces they occupy, are trying to usurp our lands as well.

Chelvanayakam was very accurate in his prediction about the impending

proceedings of the Sinhalese majority. First they disenfranchised the Indian Tamils and later they occupied the traditional Tamil homelands. This was followed by the adoption of the *Sinhala Only Act* and the elevation of Buddhism to the foremost status in the Sri Lankan constituency. He also charged that the Sinhalese lacked any kind of moral right to exercise control over the Tamils. He also argued that prior to the elections of 1956, the Sinhalese political leaders D.S. Senanayake, Dudley Senanayake and Kotelawala were all unfaithful to the trust that the British had placed upon the Sinhalese leadership at the time of Independence. During the time of Sri Lankan Independence, the British took for granted that the majority Sinhalese would not exercise any dictatorship over the minority Tamils. But the Sinhalese leaders cunningly exploited this trust and used their numerical majority to deny legal rights to the Tamils.

The Sinhalese colonisation of the Tamil homelands was first carried out at places like Gal Oya and Kantalai in the Eastern province. Initially, these rehabilitation measures of the government were aimed at improving the nation's economy through human resources, reducing unemployment and encouraging the migration of people from densely populated lands adjacent to the west coast of these provinces to more sparsely populated fertile lands, which had ample irrigation for carrying out farming activities. The North Central province and its neighbourhood seemed to be the best fit geographies for rehabilitation. Historically, this geographical region has remained to be at the boundary of Tamil and Sinhalese controlled areas and had been a target of the Sri Lankan

46

government for resettlements from as early as 1932.

In the period up to 1951, as many as 24 colonisation projects had been executed in this region. Until recently, these projects were promoted by the Sri Lankan governments in a completely pre-planned manner. The projects which began with Gal Oya extended to the other areas on a large scale, including the famous Mahaweli Development Project, covering one area at a time from 1977 onwards. Tamils strongly believed that such illicit encroachments in the guise of development projects were explicit actions of the Sri Lankan government to diminish the parliamentary representation of Tamils, as well as to confiscate their traditional homelands and hence

suppress their nationalistic uprising. The subsequent projects, such as the Gal Oya, Kantalai and Mahaweli schemes, saw the disappearance of a few traditional Tamil areas as they either became appended to existing Sinhalese regions or were devoured by newly created Sinhalese regions.

Tamils very clearly recognised that the ultimate motive of the government was to completely colonise the entire Tamil area and thereby eradicating the existence of or potential integration of any traditional Tamil homeland. The fear and despair created by these actions became the primary

reason for the rebellion of the Tamil people. These actions forced the Tamils to fight peacefully against the Sri Lankan government as well as the Sinhalese people in order to regain their homelands and safeguard them from invasion. After a prolonged failure of the democratic process, Tamils were forced to indulge in an armed struggle to protect their nation and their land.

After 1956, Ponnambalam's ACTC was completely rejected by the general public owing to its erroneous policies and programs. The FP and its chief Chelvanayakam, as well as other key leaders, had come to prominence in Tamil political circles. The FP had taken swift actions on strong policies and gained public support in relation to solving all the problems faced by the Tamils including the Indian Tamil voting rights issue, the national flag issue and the Federal System policy. Further, the party had taken initiative with regard to the fundamental rights of Tamils in relation to language, the demand for an establishment of a Tamil university with Tamil as a medium of instruction, the provision of Tamil registration plates for motor vehicles operating in the Tamil areas and, most importantly, the struggle against the Sinhalese colonisation of traditional Tamil homelands in the North and the East. This support extended to the FP is reflected in the results of the 1956 election where Ponnambalam's ACTC won one seat, which was by Ponnambalam himself, whilst the FP won eight seats.

Chelvanayakam, who had lost the election in 1952, was elected this time by the Tamil voters in response to his untiring efforts and policies. Chelvanayakam was supported immensely in his struggle to safeguard Tamil rights by new and existing parliamentary representatives of the FP such as Vanniyasingam, Naganathan, A. Amirthalingam (a new representative from the Northern province), V. Navaratnam (Jaffna province), V.N. Navaratnam (Jaffna province), R. Rajadurai (Eastern province) and B. Neminathan (Eastern province).

As already mentioned earlier, the ministries formed during the period from 1947 till 1953 comprised of at least two or three Tamil representatives from the UNP. But from 1956 till 1965, there was not even a single Tamil representative in the Sri Lankan Ministry. In 1970, C. Kumarasuriyar, an upper house member of the SLFP was given a ministerial portfolio. In any case, these Tamils who received seats from the Sri Lankan government were ardent supporters of the regime and would not extend any support to Tamil issues and hence their representation was of no use to the Tamil people. Yet it is worth noting that these ministers have made some contributions to economic development of the Tamil areas. It needs to be mentioned that Tamil ministers, especially Ponnambalam and Sundaralingam who occupied seats in the Sri Lankan governments of the early days, managed to divert some economic opportunities through the Tamil regions via a few

development projects such as the cement factory in Kankesanthurai and chemicals factory in Paranthan which provided employment opportunities to many Tamils of the North and East provinces.

At the end of the 1965 elections, when none of the major parties of the Sri Lankan government managed to secure a clear majority of seats, the FP once again received an opportunity to make use of its power. The formation of a new government necessitated the support of the FP.

The FP supported the UNP of Dudley Senanayake based on the promises he made to Chelvanayakam. But the Tamil people did not accept this allegiance. The Tamil people firmly believed that the Sinhalese extremists would fight tooth and nail even the bare minimum demands of the Tamils. The FP managed to enact the *Tamil Language Usage Law* which enabled Tamil to be used as the language of trials within the courts of the North and East Tamils regions. But Dudley Senanayake was unable to implement any other items that were agreed upon in the *Dudley-Chelva Pact*. Some of the key members of the UNP, especially Jeyewardene, expressed strong opposition to any such implementations. As expected by the Tamils, the FP had to withdraw its support to the Dudley Senanayake government. At one point, the member of parliament V. Navaratnam, who was described by Bandaranaike as the 'brains of the Federal Party', had left the FP in protest of the support it extended to the UNP. He launched his own party named the Tamil Self-rule Party. Navaratnam can definitely be praised as a forerunner in his unyielding adherence to policies, honesty and the untiring efforts he extended towards the political future of the Tamils.

The Literary Renaissance Movement was forged by the Jaffna Youth Congress from the 1920s till the mid 1930s. In its first conference in 1924, it adopted a resolution to perform research on the need for the renaissance of Tamil literature. In the conferences that followed, a day was dedicated for inquiry into this matter. Prof. K. Kailasapathy has written about this movement, highlighting that though these literary progressions did not make any significant impacts on the political platform, they did indeed encourage creative Tamil literature.

Following the events from 1920 till 1948, there was a zealous rise in the Tamil cultural movement. A well known scholar and a nationalist, Rev. Dr. Xavier Stanislaus Thaninayagam, who was Professor to the Department of Education at the University of Peradeniya, functioned as a beacon of light to this Tamil cultural movement from 1948 till 1970. Thaninayagam enlightened the young academics of the university on the subjugation of Tamil culture and the pitiful state of Tamil people. Many of his new notions and reflections were published in his brain child, the periodical *Tamil Culture*, which he had published from Chennai. The articles published in this

periodical laid stress on issues relating to the suppression of Tamils. This served as a catalyst to induce the public to think deeply on the critical plight of Tamils.

Thaninayagam, who was also appointed Professor to the Department of Indian Studies at the University of Malaysia, dedicated all his time and effort towards research on Tamil history. He also holds accreditation for the commencement of the renowned International Tamil Conference. He also established the International Association of Tamil Research for this purpose and his untiring efforts were largely responsible for the successful conduction of successive international Tamil conferences. These conferences attracted the attention of international research fellows and also aided the progress of modern day Tamil linguistic research. Prof. K. Kanapathipillai was his most important associate in these efforts. A play written by him titled *Sangili* gained the appreciation of many. Prof. S. Vithiyananthan, who contributed immensely towards folk dance, is another person worth mentioning.

*Tamil Element in Ceylon Culture* by K. Navaratnam and *The Laws and Customs of the Tamils in Ceylon* by H.W Tambiah are two creations worth a special note here. Also, the renowned academic research titles *Dravidian Settlements in Ceylon and the Beginning of the Kingdom of Jaffna* by Prof. K. Indrapala and *The Kingdom of Jaffna* by Prof. S. Pathmanathan assumed great significance considering the time in which they were published.

The space occupied by creative Tamil literature from 1948 till 1970 was soon to be replaced by revolutionary literature. Prof. Kailasapathy discussed about this trend as follows:

...this (i.e. to 1970) linguistic consciousness would appear to have had its full run. Emanating from the upper classes it had touched the entire society in different ways. Although a general consciousness of language and culture was probably common to the entire community, its significance and importance was relative and felt differently by different social groups and classes. Furthermore what were at the beginning purely sentimental and symbolic issues evolved into concrete problems vitally affecting the social, economical and political life of the people.

The abovementioned literature is intellectually oriented and was created during a time when the rights of minority Tamils were being denied by the Sri Lankan government. While the parliament was embroiled in heated discussions, on the history of the Tamils, their kingdoms, language, culture and traditional homelands, Tamil communities all across the country were



being subjected to constant oppression. At this juncture, these literary works roused the nationalistic emotions of Tamil people. As a consequence, various sections of society including Tamil scholars, political leaders and students alike, who were all aspiring for independence, wanted to understand the causes behind their current crisis through reference to their historical background.

The 17th and 18th century Tamil literary works such as *Yalpana Vaipavamalai*, *Kayilayamalai* and *Vaiyapatal*, which traced the early history of the Tamils, as well as the early 20th century creation of Mudaliar C. Racanayagam titled *Tamils of Ceylon in 1920*, as well as books by A. Muthuthamby, K. Vellupillai, were widely read with great passion. These titles were not the result of research or scholarship, but the Tamil literary awareness initiated by Arumuga Navalar in the mid-19th century was sustained by them, from their origin at the beginning of the 20th century for at least another two to three decades. It will be apt to claim that these books, which were published between the 1940s and 1970s, worked to intensify sentiments amongst the Tamil people and made valuable contributions to the growth of Tamil nationalism.

The political direction of the Tamils went through a defining era during the 1970s, which saw key parties such as S. Bandaranaike's SLFP, the UNP and the Marxist Party, all lose heavily in elections. S. Bandaranaike had given the Minister of State position to her son-in-law, Felix Dias Bandaranaike, during her tenure as prime minister. S. Bandaranaike along with F.D. Bandaranaike, who lacked any sort of practical experience in politics, was completely insensitive to the emotions and problems faced by the Tamils. Hence, these two became the foremost external contributors who unconsciously assisted the rise of Tamil nationalism.

The *Sirimavo-Marxist* united front was so strong that they did not have to seek any support from FP. Hence, the new government that formed in 1972 turned out to be a major road block for the FP in achieving its primary goal of securing autonomy for the Tamil areas. This increased frustration on the part of the FP. The new government intensified the hostility that had prevailed between the Sinhalese and the Tamils.

The new government had proclaimed that Sinhalese would be the sole official language and gave special status to the Sinhalese peoples' Buddhist religion through its constitution. It also dissolved the upper house of the parliament. The upper house was established with the aim of preventing any law that could be passed by majority Sinhalese members of the House of Representatives targeted at hampering the fundamental rights of the minority races of the country. The new government had thus removed the only provision available to minority communities who may not have been

represented adequately otherwise. The most terrible damage inflicted upon the minorities came with the removal of *Section 29(2)* from the Sri Lankan legal system, which was originally introduced by the Soulbury Commission, to protect the interests and safety of minorities. A new law titled *Fundamental Rights* was introduced instead.

When the House of the Representatives rejected the Federal System proposal, the FP did not participate in the proceedings of the House and began to boycott Parliament. To safeguard the Tamils from the threats posed by the new government the ACTC tried to unite all the Tamil people by merging other Tamil movements to forge a new political party known as the Tamil United Front (TUF) in 1972.

This party later changed its name to the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). This is not just a simple name change but instead a declaration of the changed policy of Tamil politics which had now moved to demand a separate state rather than simply demanding regional autonomy. When the TUF insisted the ruling government to consider the fair demands of the Tamil people, the request was simply rejected. Hence, for the first time in history there were talks initiated regarding the need to form a separate nation for Tamils.

As explained already, the Sinhalese majority governments did not take any steps to protect the rights of minority Tamils, acting contrarily to the expectations of the Soulbury Commission. The government further impaired the rights and status of the Tamils by discriminating against the Tamil language as well as disenfranchising the Indian Tamils and nullifying their political representation. Further, the special status that was provided to Buddhism, which was followed by the Sinhalese majority, was denied to the Saivism which was followed by the Tamils. The government had snatched away the traditional rights of the Tamil people through the systematic colonisation of traditional Tamil homelands, which also sought to weaken the voting base of Tamil parties.

Through this pre-planned colonisation of the areas that lay between Tamil and Sinhalese boundaries, the government managed to shrewdly create new Sinhalese controlled constituencies. The Ampara constituency in the East stands as the best example of this conniving tactic. The Soulbury Commission's expectation, that minorities would be safeguarded through the active upper house, also failed as the house was eliminated. The practice of appointing members from the minorities who lacked sufficient representation had also been abrogated. To top this all off, Section 29(2) of the constitution introduced by the Soulbury Commission, to protect the rights and interest of the minorities, had been replaced by a broad based generic *Fundamental Rights* law, which has no specific provision which

would safeguard minorities. Thus, the Sri Lankan government had introduced a permanent state of fear and frustration within the Tamil people, through the continued and well-orchestrated deprivation of their fundamental rights.

The Soulbury Commission rejected the fifty-fifty representation proposed by Ponnambalam with the assumption that the leftist parties would not join hands with the right wing extremist Sinhalese nationalist parties due to contradicting policies. Also, since the leftist parties had a reasonable level of representation, the Soulbury Commission assumed that they would support the Tamil minorities. They expected that the other minority communities like the Muslims and Indian Tamils would serve as allies of the Sri Lankan Tamils. It was based on these naive assumptions that the Soulbury Commission implemented a constitution based largely on the draft proposal prepared by the Sinhalese majority ministry. But history has often shown this theory to fail, as seen for example in 1960 and again in 1970, when the leftist parties joined hands with the SLFP to form a coalition government with the name United Front. In 1970 and 1977, the SLFP and the UNP strengthened their government by getting the support of minority Muslim representatives. We have to also realise that Indian Tamils have also largely supported the majority Sinhalese parties ever since their voting rights were returned to them in 1977. Therefore, what can be clearly witnessed is that the rights of minority Tamils, especially those of the Sri Lankan Tamils, have been denied and disrespected continuously ever since independence in 1948, highlighting the obliteration of all the regulatory hopes and aspirations of the Soulbury Commission.

These changes were not limited to the constitution and legal framework, but were also implemented in other areas of the government, such as administration and policy decisions. In 1970, the United Front introduced a process called 'standardisation' for the admission process to university. Based on this new practice, a Tamil student had to obtain more marks than a Sinhalese peer to secure admission to the University. K.M. de Silva and C.R. de Silva have shed valuable light on this issue. K.M. de Silva explains as follows:

The qualifying marks for admission to the Medical Faculties was 250 out of 400 for Tamil students where as it was only 229 for the Sinhalese students. Worst still, the pattern of a lower qualifying mark applied even when Sinhalese and Tamil students sat for the same exam in English. In short, students sitting for the same examinations in the same language, but belonging to two ethnic groups had different qualifying marks.

The District Reservation Scheme also turned hostile to the opportunities of Sri Lankan Tamils. K.M. de Silva explains this as follows:

By 1977 the issue of University admissions had become the focal point of the conflict between the government and the Tamil leaders. Tamil youth, embittered by what they considered discrimination against them formed a radical wing of the Tamil United Liberation Front. Many advocated the use of violence to establish a Separate State of Tamil Eelam. It was an object lesson of how inept policy measures and insensitivity to minority interests can exacerbate ethnic tensions.

The opinion expressed by Jeyewardene in an interview to the *Tribune* weekly in August 1979 seemed to justify the policies adopted by S. Bandaranaike. His words below will elucidate this:

We have given up standardisation according to media and race. It's now standardisation according to districts, developed and undeveloped. What these people (namely the Tamils) say is unfair. But it is not fair not only to the Tamils but also the Sinhalese.

Jaffna was comprised completely of Tamils whilst a good number of Tamils also lived in Colombo. Hence, the standardisation process which was based on developed and undeveloped districts, labelled the geographically larger Sinhalese districts to be undeveloped, thereby proving to be helpful only to these undeveloped Sinhalese regions. It also needs to be noted that there were two Tamil districts and seven Sinhalese districts in Sri Lanka at this time. The Northern province, which consisted almost exclusively of Tamils, was classified as a developed province and hence was denied its due share in the standardisation process and therefore, subjected to domination. The fate was similar for Colombo as well, which too had a vast majority of Tamil residents. As a result, a great number of aspiring Tamil boys and girls lacked the opportunity to pursue higher education.

The explicit marginalisation that was adopted in admissions to public service employment further worsened an already dismal situation. An economic expert, S.W.R. de Amarasinghe, in his article titled 'Ethnic

Representation in Central Government Employment and Sinhala-Tamil Relations in Sri Lanka: 1948-81' wrote the following:

If the present recruitment patterns which often offer less than 10 percent of the places to the Tamils are continued, it will almost certainly aggravate inter-ethnic tensions.

It has to be noted that all the three experts quoted above who have explained the marginalisation of Tamil minorities by the majority Sinhalese governments, are all of Sinhalese origin themselves. In addition, R.N. Kearney states the following:

A rapidly worsening employment situation was felt with particular severity by the Tamil youths as they suffered not only from the general dearth of employment opportunities but from disadvantageous and discrimination in obtaining the few existing jobs.

The usual argument propounded by the Sinhalese people was that the British did not maintain a process of proportional allotment of employment and hence the Tamils enjoyed more opportunities than what they should have received based on their population and consequently were better placed to capitalise. But the underlying reason for this Tamil domination was that the establishment of high quality educational institutions in Jaffna helped the Tamils, who eagerly learnt the English language skills needed to hold a good number of positions in administrative services, both within the government and other private establishments.

But statistical information will show how this situation underwent a complete change after the independence of Sri Lanka. For example, in 1948, 38 out of 154 (24.7 percent) Civil Service opportunities were occupied by Tamils. But by 1981, when Sri Lankan Civil Services was replaced by Sri Lankan Administrative Services, only 203 out of 1545 (13.1 percent) administrative positions were occupied by Tamils. But the proportion of employment opportunities occupied by the Sinhalese rose from 53.9 percent in 1948 to the current level of 85.2 percent.

The Soulbury Commission established separate commissions for administrative services and judicial services, with the sole purpose of maintaining parity among various ethnicities, in the allotment of employment opportunities in public service departments and the maintenance of fairness in the delivery of judgments on a variety of legal issues. But from the data highlighted above, it can clearly be seen that the majority Sinhalese governments have meted out large scale injustice to the Tamil people.



When the United Front government attempted to introduce a new constitution in 1972, Tamil political leaders expressed their desire to hold talks in order to arrive at Federal based amendments that would pacify the Tamil people. They requested the government to arrive at a solution that would provide provincial autonomy to the traditional Tamil homelands of the North and East provinces. But S. Bandaranaike and F.D. Bandaranaike

denied the demands of the Tamil political leaders. The Sinhalese leftist leaders N.M. Perera, K. R. de Silva, L. Gunawardane and P. Keuneman, who had up till then supported the fair demands of the Tamil people based on their leftist leanings, had now made a turnaround in parliament and supported the United Front government, and thus were also culpable in their share of the responsibility of the appalling events that would ensue.

The disgusting incidents that took place during the International Tamil Conference in Jaffna in 1974 are seen as important events that changed the political situation from bad to worse. This conference was conducted by Thaninayagam, Vithiyananthan, P. Poologasingam, V.S. Thurairajah and M. Sachithananthan, as well as many other scholars from the Jaffna University Campus. Withstanding the extreme pressure exerted on them by the Sri Lankan government, this event was conducted from 3-10 January 1974. On the final day of the conference, the Sinhalese police force unleashed ferocious attacks on the Tamils who were celebrating the event, through the use of tear gas, hand held grenades, batons and rifle butts. The author of this book is an eye witness to this entire account. An independent commission, comprising of the retired Supreme Court Judges O.L. de Krester, V. Manicavasagar and the Jaffna Bishop of the Church of South India S. Kulendran, condemned these attacks. This commission also declared that an officer of the Sinhalese police force had fired at a power line which in turn caused the death of nine people who were celebrating the event. As expected the government did not take any action based on the findings of this commission's inquiry. This event aggravated the already seething emotions of the Tamil youth who later took to arms in their struggle to condemn these atrocities.

When all the key Tamil political parties gathered in a conference in Trincomalee on 14 May 1972, the youth who were in a state of despair, bestowed their strong support to this event. The TUF was inaugurated here. In a major boost to this event, Thondaiman's CWC joined this front. The ACTC comprising of Ponnambalam, the strong Vavuniya parliamentary representative M. Sivasithamparam and celebrated long time Tamil leader T. Sivasithamparam, also joined this front.

Even at this juncture, Tamil leaders demanded a Federal System based on an autonomous regional government, whilst the Tamil youth insisted that a separate Tamil nation should be established for the Tamils. Since both M. Sivasithamparam and Amirthalingam had lost in the 1970 elections they dedicated all their time to visiting each village in the North and East region in order to explain the prevailing state of political affairs to their Tamil people. Other Tamil representatives went ahead clearly explaining their standpoint to the public both within and outside the parliament. But the Sri Lankan government rejected the demands of the Tamil political leaders and was poised

to implement its planned amendments to the constitution. It was resolved in the Federal Party General Council held in Jaffna on 21 June 1971, that if the Constituent Assembly chose not to discuss the Party's resolution, Chelvanayakam should be mandated to give directive to the FP members of the Constituent Assembly, as to the course of action they should adopt.

From this point onwards, the affair took a serious turn and the Tamils started gravitating towards a fight for separation. At this time the Sri Lankan government introduced a constitutional amendment changing the name of the country from 'Ceylon', which had been in use from a time immemorial, and rechristening it as 'Sri Lanka'. This act infuriated the entire Tamil population and further deepened their frustration. It should be noted that the nomenclature of Sri Lanka has very close connections with the Sinhalese language and ethnicity. Hence the imposition of this name sent out an explicit message to all the people of the country that the island now belonged solely to the Sinhalese and there was no place for Tamils. This forced the Tamil political leaders into the very delicate situation of taking a strong and clear cut decision on the future of their political course.

In a historic move on 2 October 1973, Chelvanayakam resigned his parliamentary representation and made an open challenge to the Sri Lankan government. He suggested that the government should make use of the by-election caused by his resignation to find out if the Tamils accepted the new constitution or rejected it. Yet as the government chose its own candidate to oppose him, he said:

If I lose, I give up my policy. If the government loses, let it not say that the Tamil people support its policy and its constitution.

This statement from Chelvanayakam assumes added importance, as it seems to act as a self-fulfilling prophecy. For the first time in 25 years, since the inception of the FP, he showed signals of an intention to pursue a policy of self-determination. At this juncture, Chelvanayakam also sent a very strong message:

In the view of the events that have taken place, the Tamil people of Ceylon should have the right to determine their future, whether they are to be a subject race in Ceylon or they are to be a free people.

But the government adopted a dodging and dragging technique for close to two years, and finally when it conducted the by-election to the Kankesanthurai constituency, Chelvanayakam won with the thumping support of the Tamil people and returned to parliament. His opponent from

the Communist Party, V. Ponnambalam, who stood as the representative of the government, had to embrace a defeat.

At the 12th National Convention of the Federal Party held at Mallakam in 1973, a new notion relating to the future of Tamil speaking people was adopted as a resolution. The party leadership decided to demand a separate nation for Tamils which was then accepted and authenticated at the conference. The statement of the resolution reads:

...The Tamil speaking people of Ceylon are in every way fully qualified to be regarded as a separate nation by virtue of their language, culture, history, territory and the innate and intense desire to live as a separate nation, and that is the only path for them... is the establishment of the right to self-rule in their legitimate homeland based on the internationally recognised principle of the right to self-determination to every nation.

After this, they propagated the new resolutions of the party in public arena at all possible instances. But as far as the TUF was considered the avenues of negotiation were still open.

But in 1975, a Tamil youth group assassinated Alfred Durraipappah, who was a former mayor, as well as the organiser of the *SLFP* in the region. Further, the Tamil youth who were still incensed by the oppression unleashed on them by the Sinhalese police on the final day of the International Tamil Conference, continued to attack and kill police officials.

Tamil youth were now also exerting pressure on their political leaders to broaden the Tamil struggle. Thousands of youth had been affected by the unfair process of standardisation introduced in 1972 and hence they were refused admission to the university. This resulted in greater unemployment and deeper state of depression and distress. The hegemony and economic embargos inflicted by the Sri Lankan government had forced Tamils to suffer multidimensional social, political and economic turmoil. At this point in time, it became highly critical for all the Tamil political parties to unite under one umbrella to fight for the rights of all Tamil people. As a consequence, the major Tamil political parties including FP, ACTC and CWC merged together to form the TUF on 13 June 1972.

Though the Tamil political leaders still extended their proposals for negotiation, the majority Sinhalese government continued to remain insensitive to any of their offers. In view of the inconsiderate fundamentalist attitude of the Sri Lankan government, which was continually on the rise through the sole operation of the majority-based power, the Tamil youth pressured their own political leaders to take a

stronger stand. The Sri Lankan government was now constantly engaging in using its military to suppress the revolutionary uprising of the Tamil youth who were in search of the attainment of their political independence. The arrests, tortures and senseless killings of Tamil youth became a common phenomenon. The Tamil political leaders could not foresee any resolution to this carnage other than an approach to reclaim the lost Tamil homelands in order to protect the rights and lives of the Tamil people from the chauvinist Sinhalese domination and the clutches of a ruthless, exclusively Sinhalese military. Amidst all this, the working committee of the TUF met in May 1973 and made a sweeping declaration that the ultimate aim of their struggle was the attainment of an 'Independent Nation of Tamil Eelam'.

In particular, in the light of this event the Tamil youth began to secretly engage in anti-governmental activities, across the Northern and Eastern regions. They engaged in opposing pro-government personnel, blocking the normal proceedings of government machinery as well as fabricating explosives in their early days to ensure their own safety. It had now become routine for government forces to mercilessly hunt down and imprison Tamil Eelam freedom fighters, brutally torturing and callously killing them, in an effort to crush the spirit of the freedom movement in its initial stages.

Further, as mentioned previously, the violence perpetrated against the Tamils at the International Tamil Conference, had a profound impact on the politics of this period. The Sri Lankan government's array of anti-Tamil activities had forced Tamil political leaders to aspire for the creation of an independent Tamil Eelam and compelled the formation of many independent movements amongst the Tamil youth. These areas will be discussed briefly in the subsequent chapter.

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## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **Rise of the Liberation Movements**

After the continued failure of all their discussions, with one Sri Lankan government after another, as well as the breakdown of all their other democratic struggles, the Tamil political leaders were forced to adopt an alternate approach to secure their democratic rights. It became the inevitable fate of the Tamil youth and political leaders to fight the chauvinistic Sri Lankan government and their senseless oppression of the Tamil people. The atrocities committed by the Sri Lankan army and police force, which was comprised completely of Sinhalese nationals, against ordinary Tamil men and women, which included a variety of imprisonments and tortures, grew rapidly in number with each passing day.

Further, the prejudice shown by the Sinhalese political leadership against Tamils, in the sectors of education and employment as well as other areas, had spread hatred and distress amongst the Tamil youth in the period immediately preceding and succeeding 1974. Also the new constitutional amendment of 1972 had now given preferential treatment to the Sinhala language and Buddhist religion. The island which had for so long been called 'Ceylon' or 'Tlankai' from the early days of history had now been given the new name of 'Sri Lanka' in order to signify its connection with Sinhalese history and this served to further alienate Tamil people in their own territory. This had the combined effect of agitating not only the Tamil political leaders but also the future of young Tamil men and women.

Tamils completely rejected the new constitution introduced on 22 May 1972, and led various annual protests on this day every year labelling it as 'Black Day'. They also opposed visits made by government representatives, leaders and ministers to the North and East. They did not fail to seek vengeance by slaying Tamil political leaders and police officials who

extended support to the Sri Lankan government. For example the Mayor of Jaffna, Duraiappah, was shot dead by Tamil youth in July 1975. In a similar fashion, other betrayers of the Tamil struggle such as Shanmuganathan, Perambalam, Kumar and Giirusamy, who were all officials in the police department, were shot dead." The Sinhalese state sponsored violence which had been executed upon the innocents who were celebrating the International Tamil Conference in 1974, and the consequential damages, cruelties and killings that Tamils continued to receive, had now pushed the entire anxious Tamil minority over the edge.

The Tamils continued campaigns to explicitly express their resistance through road blockades, fasting strikes, closure of shops and commercial activities, boycotting school and college classes, as well as circulating anti-government propaganda. In this aforementioned period, Tamil political leaders and the youth had started to focus on improving their relationship with foreign countries, such as the Indian state of Tamil Nadu, and received support from them in many ways. This will be discussed in detail in a different section. It can be observed that the discontent among the Tamils, especially the youth, against the chauvinistic attitude of the Sri Lankan government, had spread its roots and strongly solidified itself during the period from 1972 till 1976. These reactions had radically differed from the traditional ways in which Tamils had politically responded to oppression, since the time of Sri Lankan independence in 1948 till the introduction of the new constitution in 1972.

We can see that during the period prior to 1972, Tamils believed that it was possible to be part of a united Sri Lanka and secure their political future through federal arrangements. But post 1972, it became very clear that the political struggle of the Tamils had evolved through an agenda of self-determination. They had now raised a bid to fight the Sinhalese hegemony in order to regain their lost rights, livelihood and traditional homelands through the establishment of an independent Tamil Eelam nation. We can see that the Tamil political leaders and youth of the time were progressing towards their renewed political agenda. The political leaders of the moderate Tamil parties such as the FP, ACTC and CWC all played a key role amongst the Tamils.

It would not be wrong to admit that during that period there was no single disciplined freedom movement or powerful independence group among the youth. But based on the news items published in the books and newspapers of this period, we can observe that a few important Tamil youth organisations had already started to operate in Tamil Eelam within this time. There are two organisations which assumed prominence in the early days of this period.

In the 1970s the Sri Lankan government introduced an educational policy of standardisation to limit the number of seats acquired by the Tamils students in the universities. Some of the worst affected Tamil students were of the Jaffna Peninsula and they had joined hands with Tamil students from other areas and formed the Tamil Student Federation. They started to engage in small scale revolts against the government in various forms. The most important member of this movement was Sivakumaran who was very famous among the Tamil people and Sinhalese soldiers. Whilst Sivakumaran conducted many revolts and uprisings against the Sri Lankan government and Sinhalese military he could not achieve any major milestones in his time. This was mostly because his movement was not strong or well organised. For these reasons Sivakumaran's organisation failed to escape the clutches of the Sinhalese military and police force, and was eventually disbanded after his assassination.

Nevertheless, it is true beyond doubt that these organisations, and the courageous deeds of fighters like Sivakumaran, served as pioneers and driving force for the freedom movements that rose to prominence after 1976. Moreover, in April 1972 three Tamil political parties, the FP, ACTC and CWC all forged into the newly created TUF. This event served as a clarion call for the Tamil Eelam freedom struggle and would definitely have terrified the Sri Lankan government. The Tamil Youth Federation (TYF) also came into existence and enjoyed the sponsorship of the TUF.

Some members with leftist leanings broke away from the TUF and formed the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO) which managed to shape itself into an organisation but later became inactive and disappeared for some time. It was known to many that this organisation operated secretly under the guidance of Kuttimani and Thangadurai who were both killed in Velikadaai Prison by Sinhalese thugs during the ethnic pogroms of 1983. Similarly, an organisation named Tamil New Tigers (TNT) led by Velupillai Prabhakaran, who would later lead the LTTE, was also seen to be having very close contact with the moderate political leaders of the time. Also in early 1975, the Tamil youth and supporters of Tamil Eelam, who were pursuing their higher education in London, had launched a movement called the Eelam Revolutionary Organisers (EROS) outside the geographical



boundaries of the Tamil Eelam nation. After 1976 this movement routed all its activities towards the formation of Tamil Eelam.

There is an abundance of documented evidence that provides a host of information on the aforementioned movements, which fought for the formation of an independent Tamil Eelam. during the period from 1970 till 1975. An important era in Tamil political history began in 1976 and continued for the next few years. Moderate Tamil political leaders were now compelled to give up their democratic struggles and rapidly proceed towards

the pursuance of an alternate course of struggle against the Sinhalese ascendancy. They were of the strong belief that an independent Tamil Eelam alone would let them regain their stolen rights, livelihoods, dignities and freedoms within their traditional homelands. At this juncture, on 5 May 1976, the TNT under the leadership of Prabhakaran renamed their organisation as 'Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam'. Also on 14 May 1976 in its Vaddukoddai conference, the TUF changed its name to 'Tamil United Liberation Front'. This sent a loud and clear message to the Sinhalese nation and the rest of the world that the Tamils in Sri Lanka were determined to win their home back.

On 14 May 1976 in Vaddukoddai in Jaffna, during the first national conference of the TULF, their leader Chelvanayakam tabled a historic resolution popularly known as the 'Vaddukoddai Resolution'<sup>7</sup> which was passed unanimously. This resolution would have definitely churned in the stomachs of the chauvinist Sri Lankan government and military. At this juncture it will prove beneficial to highlight the Vaddukoddai Resolution in its entirety as follows:

### **THE VADDUKODDAI RESOLUTION**

Unanimously adopted at the First National Convention of the

**Tamil United Liberation Front**

Held at Vaddukoddai on May 14, 1976

Chairman S.J.V. Chelvanayakam Q.C., M.P. (K.K.S)

Whereas, throughout the centuries from the dawn of history, the Sinhalese and Tamil nations have divided between themselves the possession of Ceylon, the Sinhalese inhabiting the interior of the country in its Southern and Western parts from the river Walawe to that of Chilaw and the Tamils possessing the Northern and Eastern districts; And, whereas, the Tamil Kingdom was overthrown in war and conquered by the Portuguese in 1619, and from them by the Dutch and the British in turn, independent of the Sinhalese Kingdoms; And, whereas, the British Colonists, who ruled the territories of the Sinhalese and Tamil Kingdoms separately, joined under compulsion the territories of the Sinhalese and

the Tamil Kingdoms for purposes of administrative convenience on the recommendation of the Colebrooke Commission in 1833; And, whereas, the Tamil Leaders were in the forefront of the Freedom movement to rid Ceylon of colonial bondage which ultimately led to the grant of independence to Ceylon in 1948; And, whereas, the foregoing facts of history were completely overlooked, and power over the entire country

was transferred to the Sinhalese nation on the basis of a numerical majority, thereby reducing the Tamil nation to the position of subject people; And, whereas, successive Sinhalese governments since independence have always encouraged and fostered the aggressive nationalism of the Sinhalese people and have used their political power to the detriment of the Tamils by:

- (a) Depriving one half of the Tamil people of their citizenship and franchise rights thereby reducing Tamil representation in Parliament,
- (b) Making serious inroads into the territories of the former Tamil Kingdom by a system of planned and state-aided Sinhalese colonisation and large scale regularisation of recently encouraged Sinhalese encroachments, calculated to make the Tamils a minority in their own homeland,
- (c) Making Sinhala the only official language throughout Ceylon thereby placing the stamp of inferiority on the Tamils and the Tamil Language,
- (d) Giving the foremost place to Buddhism under the Republican constitution thereby reducing the Hindus, Christians, and Muslims to second class status in this Country,
- (e) Denying to the Tamils equality of opportunity in the spheres of employment, education, land alienation and economic life in general and starving Tamil areas of large scale industries and development schemes thereby seriously endangering their very existence in Ceylon,
- (f) Systematically cutting them off from the main-stream of Tamil cultures in South India while denying them opportunities of developing their language and culture in Ceylon, thereby working inexorably towards the cultural genocide of the Tamils,
- (g) Permitting and unleashing communal violence and intimidation against the Tamil speaking people as happened in Ampara and Colombo in 1956; all over the country in 1958; army reign of terror in the Northern and Eastern Provinces in 1961; police violence at the International Tamil Research Conference in 1974 resulting in the death of nine persons in

Jaffna; police and communal violence against Tamil speaking Muslims at Puttalam and various other parts of Ceylon in 1976 all these calculated to instil terror in the minds of the Tamil speaking people, thereby breaking their spirit and the will to resist injustices heaped on them,

(h) By terrorising, torturing, and imprisoning Tamil youths without trial for long periods on the flimsiest grounds,

(i) Capping it all by imposing on the Tamil Nation a constitution drafted, under conditions of emergency without opportunities for free discussion, by a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of the Soulbury Constitution distorted by the Citizenship laws resulting in weightage in representation to the Sinhalese majority, thereby depriving the Tamils of even the remnants of safeguards they had under the earlier constitution, And, whereas, all attempts by the various Tamil political parties to win their rights, by co-operating with the governments, by parliamentary and extra-parliamentary agitations, by entering into pacts and understandings with successive Prime Ministers, in order to achieve the bare minimum of political rights consistent with the self-respect of the Tamil people have proved to be futile; And, whereas, the efforts of the All Ceylon Tamil Congress to ensure non-domination of the minorities by the majority by the adoption of a scheme of balanced representation in a Unitary Constitution have failed and even the meagre safeguards provided in article 29 of the Soulbury Constitution against discriminatory legislation have been removed by the Republican Constitution; And, whereas, the proposals submitted to the Constituent Assembly by the Federal Party for maintaining the unity of the country while preserving the integrity of the Tamil people by the establishment of an autonomous Tamil State within the framework of a Federal Republic of Ceylon were summarily and totally rejected without even the courtesy of a consideration of its merits; And, whereas, the amendments to the basic resolutions, intended to ensure the minimum of safeguards to the Tamil people moved on the basis of the nine point demands formulated at the conference of all Tamil Political parties at Valvettithurai on 7 February 1971 and by individual parties and Tamil members of Parliament including those now in the government party, were rejected in total by the government and Constituent Assembly; And, whereas, even amendments to the draft proposals relating to language, religion, and fundamental-rights including one calculated to ensure that at least the provisions of the Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Regulations of 1956 be included in the

Constitution, were defeated, resulting in the boycott of the Constituent Assembly by a large majority of the Tamil members of Parliament; And, whereas, the Tamil United Liberation Front, after rejecting the Republican Constitution adopted on the 22nd of May, 1972, presented a six point demand to the Prime Minister and the Government on 25th June, 1972, and gave three months time within which the Government was called upon to take

meaningful steps to amend the Constitution so as to meet the aspirations of the Tamil Nation on the basis of the six points, and informed the Government that if it failed to do so the Tamil United Liberation Front would launch a non-violent direct action against the Government in order to win the freedom and the rights of the Tamil Nation on the basis of the right of self-determination; And, whereas, this last attempt by the Tamil United Liberation Front to win Constitutional recognition of the rights of the Tamil Nation without jeopardising the unity of the country was callously ignored by the Prime Minister and the Government; And, whereas, the opportunity provided by the Tamil United Liberation leader to vindicate the Government's contention that their constitution had the backing of the Tamil people, by resigning from his membership of the National State Assembly and creating a by-election was deliberately put off for over two years in utter disregard of the democratic right of the Tamil voters of Kankesanthurai; And, whereas, in the by-election held on the 6 February 1975, the voters of Kankesanthurai by a preponderant majority not only rejected the Republican Constitution imposed on them by the Sinhalese Government, but also gave a mandate to Mr. S.J.V. Chelvanayakam, Q.C. and through him to the Tamil United Liberation Front for the restoration and reconstitution of the Free Sovereign, Secular, Socialist State of TAMIL EELAM.

The first National Convention of the Tamil United Liberation Front meeting at Pannakam (Vaddukoddai Constituency) on the 14th day of May, 1976, hereby declares that the Tamils of Ceylon by virtue of their great language, their religions, their separate culture and heritage, their history of independent existence as a separate state over a distinct territory for several centuries till they were conquered by the armed might of the European invaders and above all by their will to exist as a separate entity ruling themselves in their own territory, are a nation distinct and apart from Sinhalese and this Convention announces to the world that the Republican Constitution of 1972 has made the Tamils a slave nation ruled by the new colonial masters, the Sinhalese, who are using the power they have wrongly usurped to deprive the Tamil Nation



of its territory, language citizenship, economic life, opportunities of employment and education, thereby destroying all the attributes of nationhood of the Tamil people. And, while taking note of the reservations in relation to its commitment to the setting up of a separated state of TAMIL EELAM expressed by the Ceylon Workers Congress as a Trade Union of the Plantation Workers, the majority of whom live and work outside the Northern and Eastern areas.

This convention resolves that restoration and reconstitution of the Free, Sovereign, Secular, Socialist State of TAMIL EELAM, based on the right of self determination inherent to every nation, has become inevitable in order to safeguard the very existence of the Tamil Nation in this Country. This Convention further declares:

- (a) That the State of TAMIL EELAM shall consist of the people of the Northern and Eastern provinces and shall also ensure full and equal rights of citizenship of the State of TAMIL EELAM to all Tamil speaking people living in any part of Ceylon and to Tamils of EELAM origin living in any part of the world who may opt for citizenship of TAMIL EELAM
- (b) That the constitution of TAMIL EELAM shall be based on the principle of democratic decentralisation so as to ensure the non-domination of any religious or territorial community of TAMIL EELAM by any other section.
- (c) That in the state of Tamil Eelam caste shall be abolished and the observance of the pernicious practice of untouchability or inequality of any type based on birth shall be totally eradicated and its observance in any form punished by law.
- (d) That TAMIL EELAM shall be a secular state giving equal protection and assistance to all religions to which the people of the state may belong.
- (e) That Tamil shall be the language of the State, but the rights of Sinhalese speaking minorities in Tamil Eelam to education and transaction of business in their language shall be protected on a reciprocal basis with the Tamil speaking minorities in the Sinhala State.
- (f) That Tamil Eelam shall be a Socialist State wherein the exploitation of man by man shall be forbidden, the dignity of labour shall be recognised, the means of production and distribution shall be subject to public ownership and control while permitting private enterprise in these branches within limit prescribed by law, economic development

shall be on the basis of socialist planning and there shall be a ceiling on the total wealth that any individual of family may acquire.

This Convention directs the Action Committee of the TAMIL UNITED LIBERATION FRONT to formulate a plan of action and launch without undue delay the struggle for winning the sovereignty and freedom of the

Tamil Nation; And this Convention calls upon the Tamil Nation in general and the Tamil youth in particular to come forward to throw themselves fully into the sacred fight for freedom and to flinch not till the goal of a sovereign state of TAMIL EELAM is reached.

**The Vaddukoddai Resolution that was unanimously adopted at the 1st National Convention of the Tamil United Liberation Front, held at Pannakam (Vaddukoddai Constituency) on May 15 1976, Presided over by Mr. Chelvanayakam, Q.C, M.P. The TULF went to polls in 1977 with this and received an overwhelming mandate from the Tamil electorate. This was the last time Tamils of Eelam were able to express their wish freely at a democratically conducted poll.**

This conference assigned the working committee of the TULF with the duty of preparing an action plan to take forward the struggle to win the sovereignty and independence of the Tamil national ethnicity.

The conference called upon the whole Tamil ethnic nationality, especially the Tamil youth, to commit completely to this righteous struggle for independence and to fight with conviction and valour until the attainment of an independent Tamil Eelam nation.

The young Tamil men and women, who had already teamed up to fight for the independence of their nation, absorbed each word of this proclamation into their minds and souls. They had already lost trust in the democratic process of the parliament and the course of Sinhalese politics. The heroic deeds of the young Tamil men and women after 1976 stand as testimony to the fact they strongly believed that an armed struggle was the only way to independence and hence were ready to lay down their lives instead of living as slaves.

In continuation to these events, a few highly important incidents happened in all over Sri Lanka, and especially in the Tamil provinces. Prominent among them was the sad demise of Ponnambalam in February 1977, a very important and highly experienced leader of the TULF. This was followed by another shock to the Tamils with the death of Chelvanayakam, who enjoyed the trust and respect of the entire Tamil community for being a

man of incorruptible spirit and having fought an unwavering battle against the Sinhalese hegemony, in his quest to secure the political rights of Tamil people and establish their bright future, from as early as 1949.

At this stage, Amirthalingam took charge as the leader of the TULF. We can observe very clearly, from the speech delivered by Chelvanayakam in parliament a few months before his demise, that he was completely

committed to the establishment of an independent Tamil nation. During the deliberations on a motion in parliament on 19 November 1976 he had confessed in a spirited manner, that he could not lay any more trust in the concept of a united Sri Lanka. He explained the pathetic failures of his Federal System policy in regaining the lost rights of the Tamil speaking people. We can also learn from his speech that he openly declared that there was no alternative available to the Tamil people apart from seeking an independent Tamil Eelam.

We have abandoned the demand for federal constitution. Our movement will be all non-violent(...) We know that the Sinhalese people will one day grant our demand and that we will be able to establish a state separate for the rest of the island.

This declaration clearly explains how committed Chelvanayakam was to the establishment of Tamil Eelam. Without doubt, many Tamil youth had started to follow Chelvanayakam, working secretly to resist the Sri Lankan government by carrying their dreams of an independent Tamil Eelam within their hearts. It became a common trend for Tamil youth to target the government's executives, pro-Sinhalese Tamil leaders as well as government security personnel, in order to accumulate small guns and explosives, for use on later occasions. Many of these youth were arrested, tortured and imprisoned by the Sinhalese armed forces.

Some of the incidents that took place in 1977 highlight that Amirthalingam and his colleagues did not realise the seriousness of the commitment that the Tamil youth had showed towards their dream for an independent Tamil Eelam. In this situation, we need to observe the role played by Jaffna University in the growth of Tamil nationalism. The Jaffna Campus which started the Jaffna Parameswara College in 1974 was named the 'University of Jaffna' in 1977. Many renowned scholars and academics flew from the southern universities and other parts of the world to join the University of Jaffna in a bid to return to their homeland and serve the younger generation's educational needs. Many academics such as Professors Kailasapathy, Indrapala, Maheswaran, Kanesalingam, Kailasanatha Kurukkal and Chelvanayakam had rendered their services from the inception

of the Jaffna Campus and contributed greatly to its upgrading as the University of Jaffna.

After its elevation as Jaffna University, S. Vithiyananthan was appointed as its Vice Chancellor. During this time, eminent scholars such as Professors Sivagnanasundaram, Rajaratnam and Sridharan had also joined the Jaffna University. Sinhalese students, lecturers and professors

were also admitted into this university from its inception. It was a period when the key departments of the university such as the arts, sciences, technology and medicinal department, were all busy catering to the needs of students. It was a golden period for the Jaffna University, which glittered with all sorts of facilities including its auditorium, extensive library, men and women's hostels as well as ample playgrounds. The most important fact related to the Jaffna University was that it set the stage for the conceptualisation, growth and intensification of the Tamil national struggle. As a consequence, many young Tamil men and women entered into direct action for the repossession of their lost nation and also joined the growing independence organisations.

Though Amirthalingam, who had become the leader of TULF after the death of Chelvanayakam, proclaimed along with his associates that their motive was to establish an independent Tamil Eelam, they had decided to contest the parliamentary general elections in 1977. In the election manifesto they mentioned the following:

When the elected Tamil speaking representatives serve as members of the Sri Lankan Parliament they will organise themselves, at the same time, as the Parliament of Tamil Eelam and ensure the independence of Tamil Eelam through peaceful methods, direct actions or struggles.

The Vaddukoddai Resolution of 1976 was proclaimed to secure the independence of Tamil Eelam after the failure of all democratic struggles against the Sri Lankan governments. Amirthalingam and his party would have already known that their democratic struggles would be fruitless. Their jugglery of words in the election manifesto would not have helped them hide this fact from the eyes of the Tamil youth. It is also evident that the Tamil political leaders tried to appease the Tamil youth, by publicising that they were contesting the elections in order to get the mandate of the Tamil people to forge ahead with the Tamil Eelam struggle.

As expected, the Tamil political leaders won in all fourteen constituencies in the Northern province. They managed to win four seats out of the eleven seats in the Eastern province. In this election, the UNP won an unprecedented majority of seats by securing 139 of the total 168 seats available in the entire parliament. The Sinhalese ultra-Buddhist nationalist, Jeyewardene, was elected as the Prime Minister of this new government. The TULF was the second largest party and naturally became the opposition with Amirthalingam at the helm. As the Leader of the Opposition, Amirthalingam explained the position of his party as follows:



The members of Tamil United Liberation Front were elected to the Parliament to work for the independence of the Tamil nation and for the formation of Tamil Eelam on the basis of self-determination.

This phase showed up in Sri Lankan history as a period where the Sinhalese rulers of Sri Lanka, under the leadership of Jeyewardene, delved deep into their Sinhalese ultra-Buddhist ideologies with an arrogance that was bolstered by the overwhelming majority of Sinhalese voters. In a similar vein, the Tamil people also provided their mandate to the Tamil political leaders based on their demand for Tamil Eelam. Without doubt, the history of Sri Lankan Tamils will keep reminding the world that the Tamil people never failed to extend their complete support to the Tamil political leaders and freedom fighters at all critical political junctures. It is because of this tendency that the TULF received the opportunity to work as the opposition party for the first time in history.

Nobody can reject the fact that some of these opportunistic Tamil leaders had aligned themselves behind the Tamil youth and their democratic struggles for commercial political gain. If their ultimate motive for contesting the elections was to ascertain the mandate of the Tamil people, then they should have resigned their representations to parliament immediately after the elections. This would have clearly proclaimed the position of the Tamil people to the Sinhalese nation and to the rest of the world. Further, the Tamil youth would have accepted these Tamil politicians as their leaders and continued their struggle in an appropriate manner. But the behaviour of the Tamil political leaders, after the death of Chelvanayakam, had given room to suspicion among the Tamil youth. Nevertheless, the extensive propaganda released by the Tamil leaders about securing the mandate for Tamil Eelam, did in fact elevate these politicians to the status of the opposition party and did provide heavy impetus to the movements fighting for the independence of Tamil Eelam.

In this situation, on 16 August 1977, ethnic riots broke out in the South due to clashes between Tamil students and the Sinhalese police force, at an event in a college in Jaffna, thousands of Tamils were attacked and injured, with many being killed." Their houses and commercial establishments were

looted and then burned to ashes. The hill country Tamils were also severely affected because of these riots. This turned out to be the third such pogrom against Tamils, after those of 1956 and 1958. Thousands of Tamils from the South, from the Sinhalese areas and from the hill country had fled to the North and the East as refugees seeking security in the traditional Tamil regions. This pitiful situation added fuel to the burning determination for the independence of Tamil Eelam. The Sinhalese nation had proved to the Tamil

people and to the world that there was no other place in Sri Lanka that was safe for the Tamils except for the provinces of the North and East. This event further accelerated the resolve of the organisations fighting for the independence of Tamil Eelam.

Even after the Tamil people were pushed into such a disastrous situation and the Tamil youth had consequently begun to revolt against the Sri Lankan government and military, the leaders of the TULF seemed to still maintain belief in the democratic process. They entrusted in peace talks to gain the rights of Tamils and again continued to engage in diplomatic struggles such as fasting in the Tamil areas. The Tamil political leaders may not have taken up arms to fight the Sinhalese domination, but anyone who sees the justice in the Tamil Eelam struggle, will know that the least they could have done is to stand with these fighters by providing support and encouragement. The activities of the Tamil youth clearly demonstrated that they never deviated from their determination to fight for Tamil Eelam and struggle to establish an independent Tamil nation, a battle which they found to be legally and morally correct.

The youth, who by this time had reposed all their faith in independence and self-determination, naturally failed to be attracted by the hunger strikes of the TULF. Wherever the Tamil leaders tried to organise such hunger strikes, the youth assembled quickly and obstructed the event. Following such happenings, the Tamil political leaders were thrown out of the political life of the Tamil people as the youth had now gathered under the leadership of a new generation of fighters. After the 1977 ethnic pogroms against the Tamils, many Tamil youth joined one of the many freedom movements such as LTTE, TELO and EROS. This gave impetus to fights of the Tamil Eelam freedom movements against the Sri Lankan government and military across the Tamil regions.

In this period, the Sri Lankan government tried its best to crush the freedom struggles of the Tamil youth through the use of armed forces, violence and statutory regulations. As a result, in 1979 the government passed a bill in the parliament called the *Prevention of Terrorism Act*. Anyone who was arrested under this act could be held in detention for a period of up to 18 months without any investigation. Many Tamil youth were arrested, tortured and imprisoned using this act purely on suspicion. The Sri Lankan government was totally reluctant to find a solution to the political problems related to Tamils and was instead determined to use the aforementioned law to suppress the Tamil youth and their freedom struggle. But the resolve of the Tamil youth grew stronger with every offensive that was carried out by the Sri Lankan government. We can observe that no one could stop the thousands of young Tamil men and women who were joining the Tamil Eelam liberation struggle. Also, the freedom movements which had predominantly operated on guerrilla warfare tactics had

grown in strength to now engage in conventional warfare against the Sinhalese army's major offensives.

These developments in the 1980s were not without setbacks, especially due to differences in opinion that grew among factions within LTTE. A group led by Umamaheswaran parted from the LTTE to form the People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE). In the same period, Prabhakaran, the leader of the LTTE improved his relationship with the TELO headed up by Kuttimani and Thangadurai. In 1979, Padmanaba and Premachandran, who had left EROS due to differences in opinion, had started a new organisation named Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) under the leadership of Padmanaba. We can say without a doubt that the fighting tactics of the Tamil freedom movements would have left Jeyewardene and his Sinhalese majority government in a perplexed state.

At this time, in 1981 Jeyewardene's government thought that it could pacify the Tamils through the establishment of district councils. The bill for the enactment of district councils was introduced and passed in parliament in the same year and the government declared that the elections for these councils would also be held in July of 1981. Leaders of the Tamil front also decided to contest this election and hence were involved in momentous election propaganda. Though the scholars of the Jaffna University said that the district council bill would not be beneficial to Tamils in any way, the leaders of the Tamil front were all supportive of this bill. But ultimately this bill was not adopted and hence these district councils never came to existence. At this time, R. Thiyagarajah, who was Jaffna's prime candidate for the UNP, was killed by Tamil youth. In a separate event, two police force officials were also shot dead.

Consequently ethnic riots broke out in town of Jaffna in May 1981. The Sinhalese forces burnt down the famous Jaffna Library which contained invaluable artefacts, including about 95,000 books, magazines, manuscripts and palm-leaf manuscripts. The headquarters of the *Eela Nadu* newspaper published out of Jaffna, the Jaffna market and about another thousand commercial establishments were all burnt to ground. The Ministers of the UNP, Cyril Mathew and Gamini Dissanayake, were present in town during these riots and much proof has already been brought to light to establish that

they served as key instigators to this violence. After these riots of May 1981, the standoff between the Tamils and Sinhalese worsened. The ethnic riots had spread to the South as well. But this time they all seemed to be properly orchestrated and targeted primarily at the regions predominantly occupied by the Tamils. The Sinhalese leaders who lacked any sort of ideological background provoked Sinhalese mobs which then in turn attacked the Tamils by looting, destroying and burning down properties.

Also during the state sponsored ethnic riots that were orchestrated on a genocidal scale at the end of July 1983, thousands of Tamils were attacked and tortured and about 3,000 Tamils were burnt alive and killed. Many Tamil women were sexually assaulted by Sinhalese thugs. Commercial establishments, shops and industries worth millions were looted and senselessly burnt down and destroyed inflicting large scale damages. These attacks generated more than 100,000 helpless Tamil refugees. More than 40,000 Tamils had to take refuge in India and throughout the rest of the world. The Sri Lankan government has been reciting the same chant that these repulsive pogroms started due to the guerrilla attack of LTTE on a military convoy killing 13 soldiers. During one of the worst pogroms of the time, Tamils were subjected to extensive ethnic cleansing by the Sinhalese and within a single day, thousands of Tamils were forced to flee to India and other parts of the world to find safe havens. Also within a day, thousands of Sri Lankan Tamils and hill country Tamils in the South were forced to board ships and flee to the North and East to take refuge.

Shortly after these events, a constitutional amendment was implemented which ruled that anyone who failed to take oath on the unity and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka, would lose their representation to the parliament. Members of the TULF, who objected to taking such an oath, lost their parliamentary representations. Hence, they lost the chance to show their opposition from within the parliamentary premises, and many of them sought to take refuge in India.

Through the ethnic cleansing of July 1983, the Sinhalese nation sent across a few loud and clear messages to the Tamil politicians, the Tamil nation and to rest of the world. The first of these was that the moderate Tamil politicians would never be able to achieve any meaningful solution to the Tamil problem by contesting the Sri Lankan government through democratic avenues. The second message was that minority Tamils did not have any other option than to gel themselves to the Tamil Eelam liberation struggle, in order to actively participate in a youth movement that would strive for the creation of the independent nation which they sought. The third message it sent to the international community, and especially to the Tamils, was that the Tamils should only live in the Northern and Eastern provinces which had forever been their traditional homelands, and could not live in any southern regions which were populated by the Sinhalese. The final message was that Sri Lanka was not a single country and that it was comprised of two nations, one being the Sinhalese nation and the other being the Tamil nation. The Sinhalese nation proved this beyond doubt in their actions.

This ethnic cleansing of July 1983 created more opportunities for the liberation movements. Firstly, the Tamil people and Tamil Eelam liberation

fighters secured the sympathy of Indira Gandhi and her Congress Party. Secondly, the Tamil Eelam liberation fighters had won the emotional support and sympathy its entirety, from the erstwhile Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, M.G. Ramachandran. Thirdly, the Tamil Eelam people and their fighters had gained enough attention from the international community, through the genocide of July 1983, to justify their freedom struggle. Fourthly, the liberation movements had started to receive the complete support of the Tamil people. Fifthly, this paved the way for gathering the limitless support of Tamils who had fled during these riots to take refuge in various parts of the world like India's Tamil Nadu, Europe, America, Canada, Australia and many other countries in the future. Sixthly, the doors of India had now opened widely to the Tamil people and their fighters. This helped them consolidate their strength in multiple ways. Above all it was a driving factor for thousands of Tamil men and women to take part in the fight for liberation.

The Tamil Eelam liberation fighters' organisations which had all started as small clandestine outfits amongst the Tamils in the 1970s, such as the LTTE, TELO, EPRLF, PLOTE and EROS, had all grown into full-fledged freedom movements after 1976. Their evolution has already been explained. But after the 1983 riots, we can realise from researching many news items and magazines that about 30 different fighting groups had emerged in the fight for the liberation of Tamil Eelam. The chauvinistic Sri Lankan government's ethnic cleansing, which was cruelly unleashed upon the Tamil people had turned out to be the fundamental reason for this immediate situation. Also we can observe the bitter fact that changes within the political frameworks of Tamil Nadu and India, which in turn affected their local and foreign policies, had stemmed the formation, growth, expansion and eventual uprising of various fighting groups. These changes often became the reason for clashes between these fighting groups and in some case the reason for their ultimate failure.

Whether it helped in other matters or not, these riots set the stage for Tamil political leaders and freedom fighters to explain the legitimacy of their struggle. Also, this enabled the Tamil Eelam fighters to reach the shores of Tamil Nadu, which is only 17 miles away, in order to strengthen their army and obtain proper training for combat against the Sinhalese army. It was after the riots of 1983, that India felt the need to engage itself and take full interest in the affairs of Sri Lankan Tamils. Even before 1983, some of the Eelam freedom fighters had started to acquire training in some other countries of the world. Particularly, EROS had been receiving training in Lebanon during the period around 1976. The LTTE had also been receiving training in Lebanon. After this, towards the end of 1983 until 1986, key fighting groups were given proper war training by the Indian army. Because of this the Eelam

fighting movements rose to prominence with valour and strength. The Tamil Eelam liberation fighters gained their strength with the support of Tamil Nadu and India extended to the thousands of young men and women who had joined the liberation movements. Because of these factors, the Tamil fighters were able to put up a massive resistance which baffled the Sri Lankan government and the Sinhalese army.

During 1984 the Tamil fighting groups which had been operating predominantly in Jaffna, became very powerful and wide spread and were seen to be extending their operations beyond the Vanni region into the Eastern and Southern regions. The Tamil Eelam liberation fighters who until then had been mostly attacking the armed forces on their patrol routes had now pleated up enough strength to conduct sudden attacks and surprise military raids on naval camps. Further, the movements were quick to retaliate against the Sinhalese army whenever they engaged in ethnic cleansing in the Tamil regions. These fighters who had incorporated their military prowess in all possible ways, through the acquisition of combat training in countries like India, Israel and Lebanon, had turned themselves into a highly disciplined freedom movement.

Due to this training they progressed into a courageous freedom fighting movement with the expertise and training needed to handle ground to air missiles, small sized tanks, grenades and other weaponry. They became masters of targeting military convoys using explosives, employing remote controlled devices to detonate buildings and meeting the army in face to face combat for battle in fully fledged conventional warfare. The Sri Lankan government as well, spent a large share of its national income on consolidating its military infrastructure, through the procurement of heavy armaments and engaging in heavy recruitment for the army. Onlookers would have clearly observed that not just Tamil Eelam but the entire nation had now turned into a battle field. In this critical situation, it became the need of the hour for the various key fighting movements such LTTE, EPRLF, TELO, EROS and PLOTE to forge an alliance and fight the Sinhalese army together with complete integration and cooperation. As a result, firstly the leaders of the fighting movements EPRLF, TELO, EROS and PLOTE joined hands to form the Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF). These leaders agreed to fight the Sinhalese army with full cooperation though preserving their individualities at the same time. The LTTE, which did not join this front initially, later joined them in April 1985.

After forging the ENLF alliance, the above mentioned movements jointly participated for the first time in the *Thimphu* talks organised by the Indian government. But unfortunately the talks ended up as a failure. It was during August of 1983 that the Tamil parliamentary representatives had lost



their representations for not parting with their aspiration to form an independent Tamil Eelam. Many of them fled to India seeking refuge. Some of them had to remain in Sri Lanka due to unavoidable circumstances. Though these members were in a state of destitution, they also participated in the *Thimphu* talks. Anyone who clearly observes these happenings will accept the bitter fact that the members of the TULF were all but sidelined from the mainstream Tamil Eelam struggle by the Tamil people and the fighters.

The year 1986 records itself permanently as a very miserable and unfortunate period in the history of the Tamil Eelam Liberation movements. Due to prolonged efforts, with a clear realisation of the need to work together and on the basis of trust, the five key liberation movements had joined together to form the ENLF. But due to unavoidable circumstances the above alliance had to be broken within a span of two years. Also one organisation went to the extreme of terminating another movement. This was the first major internal setback to the Tamil Eelam liberation struggle. For example, hostility might have developed between LTTE leader Prabhakaran and PLOTE leader Umamaheswaran, following their gun fight in early 1982 in Pandi Bazaar in Chennai. In an attempt to avoid the armed clashes with the LTTE, PLOTE had left the Jaffna peninsula and other areas and operated as an underground fighting group. With its leader Umamaheswaran being assassinated in Colombo on 15 July 1989, widely believed to be a Sri Lankan government conspiracy, PLOTE ceased to exist. We can observe that the fundamental reasons for the pathetic situation that PLOTE had to face, was mostly due to infighting, organisational chaos, internal killings and the vindictive mindsets of key figures."

In May 1986, the LTTE inflicted a major offensive on the TELO movement killing many and also banning the movement. They held TELO responsible for looting properties, disproportionately punishing co-fighters, the killings of fighters, the abduction of people and the seizure of vehicles. Above all, the LTTE held TELO culpable for maintaining a close and secret connection with the Indian government and their intelligence wings. We can find that many of their claims are substantiated. The LTTE seized the public properties looted by TELO and displayed them in a cinema complex in Jaffna to be returned to their respective owners after they had identified their belongings.

The author of this book had the opportunity to work on a part-time basis in an organisation in London called the 'Tamil Information Centre' while pursuing his further studies at London University. In this period, he worked alongside Pastor Pathinathar, Pastor Bernard, Mr. Varadakumar and the legal expert Mr. Kandasamy, in serving the rehabilitation needs of Tamil refugees.

Kandasamy was a long-time patron and staunch supporter of the FP and maintained a very cordial relationship with the government of India as well. Kandasamy was actively involved and held key responsibilities in the rehabilitation projects for Tamil people living in Tamil Eelam and elsewhere in the world following the ethnic riots of 1983. The author of this book stands as an eye witness to the massive amounts of money that was donated liberally by many countries of the world to the aforementioned organisation. Many liberation movements blamed Kandasamy for having channelled a major chunk of the money, which was intended for restoration and rehabilitation works in the affected areas, to the TELO movement. It was known later as well, that he did not hesitate to pay smaller amounts to the other organisations to appease them. The author is also aware that Kandasamy had engaged himself in heated altercations with other London based members of the organisation.

Kandasamy could have had the same assumption as that of the TULF that a reasonable solution to the Eelam Tamil issue could only be provided by India. Hence he may have extended major help to TELO which maintained a close relationship with India. With his support, TELO could have augmented its fighting force and armaments. In this situation, it should have been possible for TELO to exercise domination over all the other liberation movements. There is every chance that this could have created a deep resentment and animosity amongst the other truly genuine movements which were fighting for the liberation of their homelands.

Following this, the governments of Sri Lanka and India signed an agreement on July 1987 called the 'Indo-Sri Lanka Accord' (ISLA) and this enabled stationing of Indian defence forces in the Tamil provinces of Sri Lanka. Kandasamy, led by his undue miscalculation that the Sri Lankan Tamil issue would come to an end due to India's direct involvement, pulled the shutters on the Tamil Information Centre and Tamil Refugee Rehabilitation wings in the matter of a single night and rushed to Jaffna immediately. This incident proved the enormous level of trust that he had placed on India and his extensive funding of TELO which had been nurtured by India's warmth. Consequently, Kandasamy was shot dead in Jaffna by a freedom movement. At the time all blame for any unclaimed killing was automatically assigned to the LTTE by default, regardless of whether another movement was really involved or not.

The assassination of Kandasamy became a matter of fervent discussions during 1987 in European countries and in Eelam as well. People of Tamil Eelam expressed their vehement anger that it was indeed the LTTE that killed Kandasamy. In 1990, the author of this book had to travel from Australia to Sri Lanka. During his travels, he had the opportunity to meet

Castro, who was responsible for the LTTE's International Communications. Whilst discussing the assassination of Kandasamy, the author conveyed his deep regret about the wide discussions abroad of the assassination of Kandasamy, who commanded a huge level of respect from the Tamils, which had earned the LTTE a deep resentment from the Tamil people. In response, Castro called upon his secretary and requested him to go to the Data Treasury and fetch relevant documentary evidence in relation to the assassination of Kandasamy. The author was shown these documents. After careful examination, the author came to understand that it was in fact EROS that had carried out the assassination.

The above incident has been quoted here to highlight that the LTTE had the policies in place as well as the discipline to stay composed and carefully examine every aspect of an action before fully engaging in it. Hence, it would not be erroneous to perceive that the key reason for the termination of TELO was that they had become India's marionette, selling themselves to the designs of their powerful neighbour. It would not be a mistake to deliberate that the LTTE were not prepared to pawn the Tamil nation to the hands of Indian ascendancy straight after rescuing it from the clutches of Sinhalese domination.

The LTTE, which had banned TELO in May 1986 had also attacked, destroyed and banned the leftist outfit EPRLF. In spite of this, the EPRLF continued to operate secretly by moving their defence lines into the jungle regions of Vanni and the East. When the author of this book returned from London to Sri Lanka to continue his services to the University of Jaffna, he stayed in Vavuniya for a day. On that day, the author met a person by the name of Rasalingam, who was a resident of the authors native area and also a Commander in the organisation mentioned above. When the author was spotted by Rasalingam, he was enthusiastically called upon to meet Varadarajamperumal, who was hiding in the jungles of Vanni at the time. Varadarajamperumal had also studied at Jaffna University at the same time as the author.

The author had known him previously and was also well aware of his policies. Hence, he rejected his invitation and advised that he was not interested in a meeting. Rasalingam and the author exchanged discussions

for a while during this meeting, with Rasalingam stating during the course of discussion:

The primary motive of our organisation is to destroy the LTTE who destroyed us. We will destroy the Sinhalese Army as well.

After this meeting, the author met with some of the fighters of LTTE and made an enquiry about this issue. Their response was that 'EPRLF organisers

have killed many LTTE members'. This statement seemed to have truth in it as can be understood from factual information learned through the author's personal experiences to be mentioned here.

The author's nephew was a member of the EROS organisation. His name was Gunapalarasa. Rasalingam had requested him and two other LTTE members to attend a meeting at a rice mill in Vavuniya. But as these three men assembled for the meeting at the rice mill at the specified time, they were butchered by Rasalingam and his associates with their bodies being dumped in a mountain of sawdust. Three days later after the corpses had begun to create a heavy stench, they were noticed by the public then the police were notified. The author's brother came to know about this as he reached the rice mill and found the decomposing bodies of his son and two other fighters.

The reason for quoting this incident is to prove that certain claims that were made by the LTTE against the EPRLF, as to their involvement in criminal activities including theft, abductions and murders, had truth in them. Finally, on 19 June 1990, with the assassination of the leader of EPRLF Padmanaba as well as another 13 key operatives in Chennai, the movement became defunct. When the author of this book made an enquiry to a key commander of LTTE about the reasons behind banning the EPRLF, he only said that 'they are engaging in many anti-social activities'. Due to the situations explained above and the immense power, patriotism and devotion of the Tigers, the organisers of EROS were seen to be operating in harmony with the LTTE.

Many smaller factions of fighters had also disbanded, scattering themselves across the globe, due to the banning of the above mentioned movements. Many of them fled to Europe, America, Canada, Australia and other countries as refugees. Those with utmost patriotism would have joined the formidable LTTE who led a strong and resilient struggle for the independence of Tamil Eelam with the complete support of the Tamil people. Some Tamils, out of sheer selfishness combined with their hatred of the Tamil Tigers, chose to join hands with the Sri Lankan government. For example, Douglas Devananda, who was a key Commander in EPRLF, left the organisation to form the Eelam People's Democratic Party (EPDP) and later joined the Sri Lankan government. He has now been enjoying his position as a minister for many years.

After the ethnic cleansing of July 1983, the LTTE's leader Prabhakaran, along with his key operatives and combatants, had established training camps in Tamil Nadu. At this juncture, Anton Balasingham and his wife Adele Balasingham travelled to India to meet Prabhakaran. As a result of this meeting, Balasingham was introduced to the world as the political adviser of

the LTTE. The world knows that Balasingham has made enormous contributions in defining the policies and philosophies of the LTTE. We can ascertain from his book *War and Peace* that his thoughts were strongly influenced by leftist ideals. From his publications we can also see that whilst composing the policies and theories of the LTTE, he was perfectly aligned to the thoughts, opinions and stern regulations exhibited by Prabhakaran and his central committee members.

Since 1987, the LTTE have been seen as the singleton movement leading the independent struggle of Eelam Tamils, administering politics and warfare simultaneously, whilst abiding by their respective morals as well. Thus they had evolved into a people's movement. Above all, their strong and well regulated Tamil national ideals, unwavering nature in all circumstances and with all parties, as well as their ultimate motive of establishing an independent Tamil Eelam nation, will remain to brightly shine in the history of Tamil Eelam. For example, every single fighter has remained to be a true patriot, by wearing a cyanide vial around their neck to be consumed in the unlikely event of being encircled by the Sinhalese Army. This was to commit suicide instead of getting caught by the enemy. It would not be out of place here to submit the doctrine of the LTTE in regards to the nation of Tamil Eelam.

The policy of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam is based on a clearly demarcated political agenda. Its motive is to attain self-determination for the Tamil people. The right to self-determination is the fundamental theory for the liberation struggle of the Tamils for their political freedom. The LTTE is well determined that the Tamils form an ethnic nationality and that they have a traditional homeland which has remained to be their place of residence forever in history comprising the Northern and Eastern provinces with an incessant history of having ruled the territory. The Tamils have all the qualities of a unique ethnic nationality or a distinct people with their own homeland, a discrete language, culture, a unique economic life and a long history that runs for more than three thousand years. As a distinct people they have undeniable right to self-determination. This right makes it inevitable for the people of an ethnic nationality to have the freedom to decide their own political standing. LTTE cogitates that in the 1977 general elections the Tamil people have demanded the protection of their right to self-determination and have chosen to fight for their proper self-governing status and political independence. The struggle of the LTTE is based on the Tamil people's mandate for self-determination."

It also declares:

The policy of the LTTE to fight for the political independence of the Tamil national ethnicity is not a self-directed decision of the organisation. On the contrary, it is what was proposed and manifested by the Tamil people as their collective wish, decision and aspiration. The domination and suppression meted out to the Tamil people by the Sinhalese has induced the Tamil people to demand for their right to self-determination through the democratic methods. This right to self-determination is a fundamental human right agreed and approved by the international community. The International Law of the United Nations Constitution explains self-determination as follows: 'All people have the right to self-determination. By virtue of this right, they shall decide their political status independently and continue their economic, social and cultural advancements independently.' The general elections of 1977 which holds the quality of being the people's mandate on the question of self-determination, the Tamil nation decide to part ways to establish its sovereignty in its homeland and hence decide its political status. The Tamil Parliamentary political party 'Tamil United Liberation Front' which placed the promise to establish an independent nation 'through peaceful methods or direct action or through struggle' and eventually won the clear mandate of the Tamil people invited the fighters to achieve this aim. But the LTTE which supports the wishes and national aspirations of the Tamil people are determined to continue to fight for their self-determination.

In 1987, the LTTE flourished as a powerful liberation movement comprised of thousands of fighters and endorsed by a great number of Tamil people. The entire Jaffna peninsula came under the control of the Tamil Tigers. The Sinhalese military stationed in these places were seen either chased away from the region or holed inside their military camps. The government administration was completely inoperative. The military strength and weaponry of the Tamil Tigers had grown by many folds. Because of this, they were formidable enough to run civil administrations themselves. At the

same time, the Sri Lankan government headed by Jeyewardene as President also increased its military capacity.

Countries like America, Britain, Pakistan and Israel all extended their support to the Sri Lankan government directly and indirectly. The speeches of President Jeyewardene and Prime Minister Premadasa clearly demonstrated that they were acting with the strong belief that they could



completely eradicate the Tamil Tigers through a major military offence. One reason for this belief was that they would not have to face multiple opponents since the LTTE had already banned the other organisations. The other reason was a fatal miscalculation that the Tamil Tigers would not have the weapons to counter a three pronged attack from the Sri Lankan military, navy and air force. Since 1983 India has all along been involved in this issue due to its geopolitical interests and the historical relationship which the Tamils of India had with the Sri Lankan Tamils. India was also irritated at the military support provided by the above mentioned nations to Sri Lanka.

At this critical phase, the Sri Lankan military engaged in an attempt to recapture the entire Jaffna peninsula from the Tamil Tigers by showering the entire region with shells, conducting tank raids, as well as a series of attacks from its naval settlements, army bases and through the air. In this offensive, which Jeyewardene called 'Operation Liberation', the Tamil Tigers did lose Vadamaratchi initially. The Tamil Tigers also faced severe losses after this but never stopped their retaliation efforts. From media news items we can find that the entire Jaffna peninsula looked like a grave yard. Further, the Sri Lankan government had imposed an economic ban on the Jaffna Peninsula.

At this juncture, India involved itself in the issue citing a humanitarian crisis. On 4 June 1987, Indian aircraft flew over the skies of Jaffna and dropped packages containing essential commodities/ Following this the Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi, conducted talks with the President of Sri Lanka, Jeyewardene, on 29th June 1987 and arrived at the ISLA signed by both leaders." On the third day after the signing of this agreement, the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) was sent to the North and East provinces of Sri Lanka. Very soon after their arrival, the Indian forces which were sent to maintain peace started to attack the Tamil Tigers and went to the extreme limit of exterminating them. With the ultimate failure of the ISLA, on 24 March 1990, the IPKF was expelled from Sri Lanka. We will analyse these issues in detail in the next chapter.

There is a specific purpose for briefing these events here. The Tamil Tigers, who had just completed their struggles with other Tamil liberation movements, were now facing heavy losses in their fight with the Sri Lankan army. In the same period, they were continuously forced to engage in a full-fledged war with the

Indian army, which was the fourth largest army in the world. These conflicts were well above their capacity. But these events proved that the Tamil Tigers were indeed a truly patriotic group of soldiers with indomitable courage, determination and motivation to enter the battlefield and fight any power that would interfere with their dream of an independent Tamil Eelam. In the early 1990s, after the IPKF had left Sri Lanka, the Tamil Tigers started to grow exponentially, spreading their wings across various sectors.

From this period onwards, the Tamil Tigers controlled about 70 percent of the territories in the Tamil homelands of the North and East and a considerable amount of maritime limits up until 2008. From the limited data available, we can construe that the Tamil Tigers had grown into an organisation which had built a huge army of about twenty five thousand soldiers. We can also see that they had built a paramilitary from the general public, whose size was almost three times that of its regular military. The world knows that they nurtured themselves into a massive organisation with a strong, eminent and well regulated army, police, navy and air force. The world also bears testimony to the fact that they had built a nation with a world class infrastructure comparable to other developed countries, comprising of commercial, administrative and judicial structures, with active avenues of international communication such as radio, television and other media. The LTTE had also initiated a multitude of infrastructure projects with a far-sighted approach for the welfare of the imminent Tamil Eelam nation. They did not just run a fighting movement. They had made a great achievement in creating a nation which had the entire political infrastructure that it required and this has been applauded widely by numerous visitors to Tamil Eelam from across the world.

At this juncture, it is absolutely critical to note that as the LTTE was on the verge of attaining an independent Tamil nation, many countries around the world joined hands with the Sri Lankan government and overpowered them. We will analyse this issue in a little more detail in a different chapter. To keep it brief, when we look at the history of the freedom struggle of any nation, we can always observe that it has been supported by many other nations of the world. For example, when Mao Zedong fought for the liberation of China he was amply supported by the Soviet Union. It extended enormous military and financial assistance to his struggle. When Ho Chi Minh fought for the liberation of Vietnam he was fully supported by the Soviet Union and Red China. When Yasser Arafat fought for the independence of Palestine, all the Arab countries assisted him. He was also supported by the Soviet Union as well as extended support from India and other non-aligned countries. Such support has inevitably played a role in defining the success of these budding nations.

When Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose took up arms against the British imperialism, he was supported by Germany, Japan, Italy and many other countries. Towards the end of the 20th century and in the beginning of the present century, many countries of significance were victorious in their struggle for freedom. In 1992 Eritrea People's Liberation Front attained freedom from Ethiopia, first with the support of the Soviet Union and later with that of the United States. In the same manner, East Timor's guerrilla

force got independence from Indonesia with the help of Portugal, Australia and the United States. Mervri Neteeiru got independence from Serbia in 2006 with the support of many European countries. The conflict between Kosovo and Serbia which shook the world claimed thousands of lives. Kosovo Liberation Army fought against the oppression of Serbia. Many European countries lent their support to the Kosovo Liberation Army. As the result of the resolution passed in the UN Security Council, the NATO Peace Keeping Forces were despatched to Kosovo and it blossomed into a free country.

But, the LTTE which fought for the liberation of Tamil Eelam did not receive any kind of help from any country at any time except the nominal help it received from India in the initial stages. They waged the war with the assistance rendered by the Tamils from both within and outside the country. It is a fact borne out by history that no other country which fought for its freedom had developed to the extent of the LTTE and neither could any country have even thought of equalling the LTTE in their accomplishments or administrative structure. This fact will certainly not escape the attention of any future historian who undertakes to write the history of the world.

Whatever it could be, each of these young men and women jumped into the struggle with an unquenchable thirst to free Tamil Eelam from the Sinhalese oppression and occupation and establish an independent Tamil Eelam. Sacrificing the pleasures and pursuits characteristic of youth, all of them totally dedicated themselves for the free and prosperous life of the Tamil people. Right now the struggle for Tamil Eelam has met a colossal reversal of fortunes. Yet no one can deny that they have made so much of self-abnegation and self-sacrifice that, not only now but at any point in the future, the Tamil liberation movements and the fighters will be looked upon with awe and respect by the people of the world and Tamil people in particular.

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## CHAPTER THREE

### **India's Interference and Impact**

Throughout ancient history, India and especially Tamil Nadu, has maintained a close social, religious, linguistic, artistic, cultural and political relationship with Sri Lanka. The previously mentioned book by this author contains many detailed reports in regards to this. The command extended by the powerful kingdoms of South India, namely the Pallavas, Pandyas and Cholas, on the Sri Lankan island since the 6th century, has been discussed in the above mentioned research title. The book also gives detailed accounts of the control thrust upon Sri Lanka, as it was invaded and ruled as a province of the mighty Chola Empire for around 77 continuous years. This was when the Cholas were at the peak of their power in Tamil Nadu, during the reigns of the Chola Kings, Rajaraja Chola and Rajendra Chola, in the period between AD 900 and AD 1200. The political picture of both India and Tamil Nadu had changed after AD 1300. The Muslims, who were of Arabian origin, had come to India at first to conduct business and then eventually ended up ruling India continuously until the early 16th century. During this period, the Jaffna Kingdom rose to prominence having its territories extended over the North and East provinces. As a consequence, we can learn that the Muslims who ruled India always maintained a cordial relationship with the Jaffna Kingdom. But by the beginning of the 15th century we can witness the birth of an extraordinary era in modern world history.

In the mid-15th century an important event unfolded in Europe. On 29 May 1453, the Turkish troops occupied Constantinople (now known as Istanbul) which remained a highly sophisticated and prosperous city for more than 1000 years in Europe and also served as the capital of the Roman Empire. This event did not only cause the fall of the city, but instead acted as a trigger for a plethora of changes in the European continent and beyond. With the Turkish occupation of Constantinople, the 1500 year old trade links that European traders had maintained with India had come to an abrupt end.

The European traders who were enjoying the riches earned from selling Indian spices could not do so any more since they could not get past the Turkish Empire to reach India for trade. The Islamic traders had now taken over the spice trade from the Europeans. The Muslims traders now sold the Indian spices to the European traders and hence made even larger profits. The European traders, especially the Italian traders, were acutely affected due to this new order. They then approached the coasts of the Atlantic Ocean in a bid to find an alternate sea route to India.

The coastal countries of Atlantic Ocean, namely Spain and Portugal, were forerunners and carried on huge efforts in their attempt to find an alternate sea route to India. Be it the discovery of America by Columbus, or Vasco da Gamma laying anchor at the shores of Kallakottai off India's Kerala Coast, or Lourenco De Almeida landing at the Kottai Harbour at Sri Lanka's Colombo, these major historic events were essentially triggered by the Turkish interference in the affairs of the Roman Empire. The involvement of India in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka has been insignificant since the day the Portuguese landed in Sri Lanka in early 1506. This Indian involvement has not been significant through the subsequent Dutch rule, from 1658 till 1796, and the period of British rule, from 1796 till Sri Lanka's independence in 1948.

The commercial and religious connections between the two countries flourished during this period. Also as discussed earlier, many thousands of Tamils from Tamil Nadu were brought over by the plantation owners to work in their tea, rubber and coffee plantations, during the British rule. India secured its independence from the British colonialists in 1947, which was followed by Sri Lanka's independence in 1948. After their independence, India and Sri Lanka actively revived their mutual connections.

A total population number of around one million Tamils from Tamil Nadu had been brought in by the tea, coffee and rubber plantation landlords before the independence of Sri Lanka in 1948. This has already been discussed. We have also discussed the disenfranchisement of these Tamils in 1949 by the passage of a parliamentary bill. The Sri Lankan government cruelly disenfranchised the Indian Tamils who had worked tirelessly, for little remuneration, to contribute to the great tea production business which formed a major share of the net national revenue of the country. The fact that these workers were Indian Tamil, gave the chauvinist Sinhalese government enough reason to snatch their voting rights, in order to weaken the parliamentary representation of the native Sri Lankan Tamils.

The first attempt to send a major share of the hill country Tamils back to India was made through the dialogues between the then Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Sri Lankan Prime Minister Kotelawala. But

this effort did not bring about any major success in this regard. Sirimavo Bandaranaike who came to power in 1965 later signed an agreement with the then Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri regarding the Indian Tamils living in Sri Lanka. As per the agreement, India was supposed to call back about half a million hill country Tamils out of the total one million that were present in Sri Lanka. Though the terms of this agreement were not implemented properly, they served as enough of an excuse for the Sri Lankan police force to encircle thousands of hill country Tamils as if they were hunting for wild animals, and then forcibly transport them to India overnight. After the ethnic riots of 1958, many hill country Tamils had to leave the South, which was their birthplace, where they were brought up and had engaged in their day to day business, to the Vanni province in order to reconstruct their social lives and achieve some financial stability. As a consequence of the signing of this agreement, the Sri Lankan police force actively engaged in search operations to find Indian Tamils living in the Vanni region. During this period, the author of this book personally witnessed many of the cruelties meted out to the Indian Tamils whilst they were hunted down by the Sri Lankan police force and immediately taken for deportation without even being given a moment to gather their belongings apart from what they were wearing. But due to the protests of Tamil leaders and the Sinhalese left wing parties, the above agreement was never implemented in full force. Fortunately in 1977, the Indian Tamils regained their right to vote and claim citizenship. The purpose of highlighting this example is to bring to light the fact that India, despite being a powerful country controlling a vast sub continent, faced complete political failures when dealing with such a small and feeble country as Sri Lanka, since the early days of post-independence till today.

When Sri Lanka compelled India to take back about fifty percent of the Indian Tamils that were brought over, India obliged and signed off on this agreement. But the then Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Bakthavatchalam, voiced his staunch opposition to this arrangement. The Tamil political leaders in Sri Lanka were also vociferous in their opposition. Even some of the humanitarian Sinhalese leaders were against this level of senseless deportation. But eventually India gave in to the Sri Lankan request. This can



be attributed to the notion that the Indian Tamils are a marginalised ethnicity in the eyes of the Indian government, in a similar vein to both the Indian Tamils and the Sri Lankan Tamils being second rate citizens in the eyes of the Sri Lankan government. A student of history or a researcher of the aforementioned Tamil communities, would not be incorrect in their assumption that the Indian and Sri Lankan governments have adopted undemocratic policies and an underhanded approach in their treatment of

Indian Tamils and Sri Lankan Tamils alike, as these communities have always posed a threat to broader political ambitions and iniquitous national integrities. On the basis of right to self-determination, any democratic country should respect the decisions of its people to secede from a chauvinistic government and live a separate and independent life. This is a key ideal of the democratic principle. But why democratic countries such as India and Sri Lanka have failed to respect the aspirations of its people, and have instead resorted to extreme measures to subjugate them, remains a burning question to all onlookers. It is the purpose of this chapter to explore the nature and effects of India's intervention in the political course of Sri Lankan Tamil lives and their quest for liberation.

It can be said that, after the signing of the agreement in 1965 regarding pulling back the Indian Tamils, India did not involve itself much in the internal politics of Tamils living in Sri Lanka till 1983. But India did allow the Tamil fighters to set their feet in India and proceed with their operations, after the ethnic cleansing activities unleashed against the Tamils by the Sinhalese nationalists. The Sinhalese chauvinistic government, following its perpetration of ethnic cleansings in 1956 and 1958, engaged in the same activity in 1977. At this juncture, the Tamils of Tamil Nadu launched a strong fight in protest of the atrocities imposed on the Tamils of Sri Lanka. All political parties united on this particular issue and expressed their objection to the Sri Lankan government. They also sent their appeals to the Indian Union government. Also, in the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam's (AIADMK) Legislative Assembly, led by Nanjil Manoharan who was also the Minister of Law, a resolution was proposed against the Sinhalese government and was passed unanimously. Also, the Legislative Assembly brought in motions urging the Prime Minister of India, Morarji Desai, and Minister of External Affairs, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, to involve the Indian government in Sri Lankan Tamil issues. The Indian government issued some advisory statements to Jeyewardene, the ultra-Buddhist Sinhalese President of Sri Lanka.

The Indian government was caught in the delicate position of being unable to express anything explicitly due to complaints from the Sri Lankan government that India was involving itself in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka. The Sri Lankan government believed that India would be restricted from getting involved in their national politics due to this reason. The first set of ethnic riots took place in 1956 and 1958, the period in which the Tamil political leaders were demanding a Federal System. But the second set of ethnic riots in 1977, 1981 and 1983 took place at a time when the Tamil leaders were demanding a separate Tamil Eelam. These riots were in fact a set of meticulously planned ethnic cleansing activities which were executed

by the Sinhalese chauvinistic powers. The 1977 ethnic riots did not elicit any involvement from India except for a few condemning statements. The 1981 ethnic riots against the Tamils were sponsored and carried out by the Sinhalese chauvinistic government. In these riots, the Jaffna Library which was an invaluable treasure of the Tamil people was set on fire and completely destroyed by the Sri Lankan military. Also, the new Jaffna Market, the *Eela Nadu* media house, the residence of V. Yogeswaran who the parliamentary member for the Tamil Liberation Union, as well as many other commercial establishments were destroyed by the Sinhalese military.

At this time, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, M.G Ramachandran, travelled to Delhi to meet the then Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, to urge her to take measures to ensure the safety and security of Sri Lankan Tamils. Also the Tamil Nadu state assembly adopted an all party resolution to take the Sri Lankan Tamil issue to the UN and sent it to Narasimha Rao, who was the Minister of External Affairs at that time. Rao rejected this resolution stating that the issue was 'a completely internal affair'. The Sri Lankan President, Jeyewardene, also reflected a similar stance stating in an *India Today* interview:

India or anyone else in the world has nothing to teach us on how to govern a country.

Hence, India was forced to pull back from the Sri Lankan Tamil issue in 1981 as well. But after the July 1983 riots, in which the level of ethnic cleansing unleashed by the government of Sri Lanka had reached a pinnacle, India seemed to have intensified its interest in involving itself in the issue, especially in regards to protecting the safety and security of Sri Lankan Tamils and their political future. But it seems apt to assume that this Indian involvement was driven for the most part by its regional interests and geo-political stance at the time. But India had not failed to bare its fangs in the past, which can be seen in the consideration of the circumstances and external influences that played key roles in the political instabilities and internal commotions of the South Asian region. We must consider here the conception of the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) by the then Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi in 1968, which she kept under her personal supervision. This supposition is strengthened by the enormous contributions and impact of RAW in the division of East Pakistan from Pakistan, and the eventual formation of Bangladesh.

Also we can sense the involvement of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, and her intelligence agency RAW, in the internal affairs of Sri Lankan politics and especially those of the Sri Lankan Tamils, following the

ethnic riots of 1983. In the 1970s about 100,000 people escaped the civil war in East Pakistan and fled to India. This movement of civilians, as well as other reasons such as India's regional interests and internal security, forced Indira Gandhi to get fully involved with the issue and engage with Pakistan to ultimately create Bangladesh. During 1983, almost 200,000 Tamils fled to India in search of refuge. But it was both shocking and surprising as to why Indira Gandhi was unable to take any effective measures on this issue. Had Indira Gandhi involved herself in this issue in 1983, there would have been a greater chance for the creation of a separate Tamil Eelam at that time. If that had materialised, it would not be a mistake to assume that India would have had Tamil Eelam as a trustworthy ally securing its southern doors at the hub of the Indian Ocean. Considering the absence of iron-fist international intervention, a meagre Sri Lankan military force, the yet to blossom nationalism of the ultra-Buddhist Sinhalese accompanied by the worst ethnic cleansing experienced by the Sri Lankan Tamils in their history, the government of India was in a position of power to act. The plight of the 200,000 Tamils who took refuge in India had stirred the emotions of the 60,000,000 Tamils of Tamil Nadu who supported them unanimously and hence, Indira Gandhi could have easily engaged India at this critical moment to favourably decide the political future of the Sri Lankan Tamils. But the Indian government skilfully maintained that it could not do anything further in the Sri Lankan Tamil issue since this was an internal affair of a sovereign state and any interference would directly contradict the foreign policies of India. If this was the case, then how would India have answered the question of whether Pakistan is not a sovereign state? The argument that India extended here is very peculiar. The true reason behind India's stand was that it saw the separation of the Tamil homelands from the Sinhalese nation, and the subsequent formation of a separate Tamil nation in the North and East of Sri Lanka, as a major threat to its own stability. This reasoning points to the demand made by the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) and its leaders since its inception in 1949, for the formation of a separate Dravidian nation claiming that 'the Dravidian nation belongs to the Dravidians alone'. Further, Tamil Nadu also seemed set to move apart as a separate nation based on linguistic lines as well.

But after the Indo-Chinese wars of 1962, all the national leaders decided to extend their support to the territorial integrity of the Indian nation. In 1967, the Congress lost the elections in Tamil Nadu for the first time and the DMK, under the leadership of C.N. Annadurai, won the elections and formed the government. After this success, there was a major weakening of the demand made by the DMK for the formation of the separate nation of Tamil Nadu. It was said that the demand for a separate Tamil nation was dropped

in consideration of the territorial integrity of the Indian nation. But after the ethnic riots by the Sinhalese mobs against the Tamils in 1977, 1981 and 1983, Tamil Nadu political parties and leaders often insisted that the Indian government needed to get involved in the Sri Lankan Tamil issue and find a feasible political solution. They kept reiterating that if India failed to meet the aspirations of Sri Lankan Tamils, then India would have to face Tamil Nadu's compulsion to part ways with the Indian nation and hence bear witness to the formation of a separate Tamil Nadu. It was probably because Indira Gandhi saw such parallels as a threat to India's regional integrity that she refused to involve herself in the affairs of Sri Lankan Tamils, claiming that they were the internal issue of Sri Lanka, and that India could not poke its nose into the internal affairs of another sovereign state.

Despite all of this, the bloody massacres of July 1983, unleashed against the Eelam Tamils by the Sinhalese government and their thugs, drove India to act. Following the ethnic riots where more than 200, 000 Eelam and hill country Tamils fled to India as refugees, even the Tamil political leaders had taken refuge in India. Many freedom fighters also left for India and joined those fighters who were already residing there. After these riots Indira Gandhi sent Narasimha Rao, who was the Minister of External Affairs in her ministry, to Colombo to discuss the Eelam Tamil issue with Jeyewardene, the then Sri Lankan President. This was the first major involvement that India had made in the issue of Tamil Eelam since 1965.

Though one may consider this as a diplomatic move, from the Sri Lankan government's standpoint this push from India was clearly an act of intimidation. For India, this can be seen as a clear first step for getting involved in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka and in the political future of Eelam Tamils. This brave act by Indira Gandhi was received with much praise from common Tamil citizens all the way through to Tamil politicians, as can be ascertained through various media reports as well as the first hand experience of the author of this book. But it must be noted that these moves were applauded by everyone from the common Tamil man to the Tamil politicians, which can be ascertained through the reports in the media and through the first hand experiences of the author of this book. But it must be noted that these moves by Indira Gandhi did not impress the Tamil Eelam

freedom fighters to a great extent. These fighting movements held the very clear notion that Indian involvement in their freedom struggle could in fact heavily hamper their cause. But they did not show any specific opposition to India in this regard, so as to avoid any disruptions in the benefits they were already receiving such as their war training that had already started in India. India, on its part as well, did not project these acts as an attempt to exercise any dominance or over Sri Lanka or as an act of invasion. Instead India

initially attempted to portray a humanitarian image and a compassionate motivation for their efforts. Many newspapers of the time kept on publishing materials that compared these efforts of Indira Gandhi to the stance she took during the formation of Bangladesh. This also created the illusion that she would fight on behalf of the Sri Lankan Tamils and help them establish the Eelam nation. It is a bitter fact that all the parties responsible for presenting a realistic picture to the general public, including the Tamil political leaders, academics, political commentators, as well as mainstream and independent media houses, all failed to perform a scientific analysis of the Indian government's tactics and strategies.

Though the LTTE and PLOTE repeatedly deliberated that the Eelam Tamils expected only humanitarian aid and did not want military intervention from India, the mindset of the Tamil public was hard to change. The moderate Tamil politicians and TELO, which was being groomed by India's RAW, expressed a warm welcome to Indian efforts.

As a consequence of the ethnic riots, thousands of Tamil youth, both men and women, had voluntarily joined the liberation struggle. In fact, this situation made the success of an armed struggle and the establishment of Tamil Eelam a lot more viable. India would never have seen this as a favourable situation as it would not have wished for the formation of a separate Tamil Eelam based on the lessons that it had learned from Bangladesh. In particular, the Indian government would not have viewed the formation of a separate nation through an armed struggle as favourable to its own political future. Hence, India's plan was to involve itself in Sri Lanka's affairs under the guise of humanitarian aid and then extend a full and permanent domination. It planned on achieving this goal primarily through the supply of arms, as the Sri Lankan government and freedom fighters were all on the lookout for arms supply from various foreign countries, and hence dictate terms to Jeyewardene and the Sri Lankan government. Naturally, India did not fail to extend its support to the freedom fighters, claiming to take their side in an attempt to provide them with just enough power to find an incomplete solution that would also curb the activities of the Tamil Eelam freedom movements. Again, the reason for this is that India would have wanted to avoid the formation of Tamil Eelam in consideration of its own regional interests and territorial integrity. The political acumen of India can be very clearly studied from the steps it enacted after 1983. Based on this fundamental agenda, Indira Gandhi and RAW groomed TELO, who were also given some perks by the Indian government and this was keenly noticed by the other fighting movements. In an attempt to hide these above mentioned tactical moves, Indira Gandhi strongly denied the presence of any training camps for these liberation movements in India, and especially in



Tamil Nadu. She would have hoped that this would alleviate the suspicions of Sri Lanka and the rest of the world.

It was during and after these events that the close links of TELO and RAW came to the knowledge of the LTTE. As they knew that this connection would definitely impede the freedom struggle for Tamil Eelam, the LTTE were forced to ban TELO at this juncture. This event became a major setback to the diplomatic measures of India. Around this period, Indira Gandhi was mysteriously assassinated by a Sikh terrorist, who was a part of her personal security team. Following her demise, her son Rajiv Gandhi took charge as the Prime Minister of India. At this stage, EPRLF became the new replacement for TELO, and was the new chosen puppet of both Rajiv Gandhi and RAW. Therefore, with the failure of the diplomatic steps taken by Indira Gandhi, her son attempted to carry on the process, but this time with the EPRLF in place.

Before the 1983 ethnic riots, the politics of Tamil Nadu and that of the Indian Union underwent a few changes. In the 1980s, the Indian Congress broke its alliance with the DMK and joined hands with AIADMK, which secured a clear majority to form a government on its own. The new Chief Minister, M.G. Ramachandran always showed extensive sympathy and support towards the Eelam Tamil issue. He had great respect and confidence in Prabhakaran, the leader of the LTTE, and taking into account the needs of the LTTE, extended to Prabhakaran large financial support. Ramachandran very emotionally raised his voice in both Tamil Nadu and Delhi in support of the Eelam Tamils. He had helped the Tamil freedom fighting movements to operate out of Tamil Nadu and build their strength. He also allowed the establishment of a Tamil Information Centre, which disseminated extensive propaganda for Tamil Eelam, as well as the formation of a radio station that would broadcast Eelam news in both Tamil and Sinhala. In addition, he was the leader that broke tradition and allowed the liberation movements to roam freely in Tamil Nadu, carrying defence equipment with them. Further, he deserves great respect for the generous support he extended to more than 200,000 Sri Lankan Tamils who landed in India seeking refuge. He was also responsible for raising and sustaining the sentiments of the Tamil Nadu people in favour of the legitimate struggles of the Eelam Tamils. At this

juncture when the Indian Congress joined hands with AIADMK, this forced the DMK and other political parties to support the general emotions of the people in the electorate that supported the Eelam Tamils. Also the Sri Lankan request for arms from foreign countries such as the US, Britain, Israel, China, Pakistan and South African countries proved to be a clear diplomatic attempt to sideline Indira Gandhi and the Indian government. This was considered to be a major threat to the regional interests of India. Meanwhile,

Sinhalese thugs had continued to spread havoc destroying and looting the commercial establishments of Indian traders, including the State Bank of India, to avenge the support provided in Tamil Nadu to the fighting movements.

These were among the major events which definitely triggered anger in the Indian establishment. In this situation, on the orders of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, India's Ministry of External Affairs sent out an important intimation of warning to the above mentioned countries 'to stay off the internal disputes of Sri Lanka'. But Sri Lanka did not mind these threats and continued to send its emissaries to these countries. In addition to this, Sri Lanka had also complained that the LTTE, with the support of India, were trying to disrupt its national integrity and requested these countries to extend a helping hand. Following the request of the Sri Lankan government, in October 1983 the American Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger made a visit to Sri Lanka. Also, during November 1983, the Central Intelligence Agency's (CIA) General Vernon Walters was sent to Sri Lanka by the American President Ronald Reagan. Preparations were also underway for a branch of the Israeli intelligence agency to be set up in Sri Lanka as well.

At this juncture, in an attempt to counter the activities of Sri Lanka, Indira Gandhi formulated a plan regarding regional security. The key points in this policy document include the following:

India does not have any intention to involve in the internal affairs of a South Asian country. And India also condemns the involvement of other nations in this issue.

It also reads:

In the involvement that any foreign nation may have in the internal affairs of any South Asian country, if there is any direct or indirect policy that will prove damaging to India, such an involvement cannot be tolerated by India. Hence any government in South Asia shall not request for a military assistance from any country that is oriented against India.

Based on the above said policy, on 25 August 1983, Indira Gandhi sent the External Affairs Minister Narasimha Rao and Policy Planning Chief G. Parthasarathy to meet Sri Lankan President Jeyewardene. Through these emissaries, Indira Gandhi sent a clear message to the Sri Lankan President that India does not intend to create any partition in Sri Lanka but at the same

time India could not tolerate any policy of Sri Lanka that could pose a threat to Indian interests.

Parthasarathy, after his talks with Sri Lankan President, engaged in continued dialogues with the Tamil political leaders and leaders of Tamil liberation movements as well. Based on his plan, on 23 January 1984, an all party conference was conducted. In this conference the recommendations of Parthasarathy were appended and proposed as *Annexure C*. This annexure included the following key deliberations:

1. Instead of the District Development Councils (DDC) proposed in 1981, Provincial Councils were to be introduced. North and East provinces were to be given special concessions. This meant that the District Councils would be integrated into a Provincial Council without any public referendum.
2. Provincial Councils would have the right to create and enact laws.
3. Provincial Council would be comprised of a Chief Minister and a Council of Ministers.
4. Armed forces and police forces would be comprised proportional to the population of various ethnic groups.
5. The land would be common to all people of Sri Lanka

The above annexure did not attract any great satisfaction from the Tamils. This was because this proposal did not include the aspiration of the Tamil people to have the North and East provinces to be ruled as a separate governing body. On the other hand, Prime Minister Premadasa had completely opposed this proposal since there was no clear policy on the control of law, order and peace. President Jeyewardene expressed his clear opposition to the proposals of Parthasarathy since he was convinced that the recommendations provided everything to the Tamils except a separate Eelam nation. He was sure that granting such rights would only result in the creation of Tamil Eelam. Also Jeyewardene induced the emotions of his Sinhalese nationalists to oppose this proposal. He also decided that this proposal could not be implemented as it was not unanimously accepted across the country. During October 1984, Indira Gandhi was assassinated by her personal Sikh guard. From this information we can clearly conclude that Indira Gandhi was

actively involved in the Sri Lankan Tamil issue since the ethnic riots of July 1983.

Anyone would agree that the sad demise of Indira Gandhi, who was a remarkable, experienced leader with great political acumen, was an immeasurable loss to India and the wider South Asia, including the Sri Lankan Tamils. Indira remained to be a leader who was able to understand

the Sinhalese extremist attitudes and cunning plots of Jeyewardene all through the times. This is probably why she dubbed Jeyewardene as the 'South Asian Fox' during a conversation about him. Also, Indira Gandhi was surrounded by eminent scholars and luminaries with deep political experience. These associates possessed excellent knowledge about the history and the background of the Sri Lankan Tamil issue. They undoubtedly would have carefully examined the activities of the Sri Lankan government since the ethnic riots broke against the Tamils in 1977 and 1981. When Indira Gandhi got involved in the Sri Lankan Tamil issue, Tamils were essentially hopeful that she would help bring them a fruitful solution to the ethnic issue. But unfortunately, Indira Gandhi always proposed ideas which basically refrained from disturbing the territorial integrity of Sri Lanka. She advanced the regional interests and integrity of India and South Asia as a reason for her acts. We can assume that she was not able to understand that Sri Lanka would never be an ally of India.

It is a known fact that the Sinhalese governments in Sri Lanka had always calculated the population of Tamils by adding up the population of the Sri Lankan Tamils with that of the Indian Tamils. Hence, they always carried a minority sentiment and feared the Tamils. The incidents from the past also forced them to such conclusions. As a consequence, there was always a big question mark over whether Sri Lanka would ever be a friend of India. For Indira Gandhi, the internal political affairs and the external geopolitical changes were heavily disadvantageous at her time. At one end it was Pakistan flexing its muscles and on the other end she had China. Even internally, she encountered a lot of conflict in Punjab and Kashmir, demanding partition from India. She may have thought that if a separate Eelam was created, even the Indian Tamils whose aspirations for partition had subdued could be revitalized and they might also renew their fight for a separate nation. She might have also assumed that if a separate Eelam was formed, then India would have to bear the permanent enmity of the majority of Sri Lanka.

But Indira Gandhi could have made use of the situation in Sri Lanka, reviewed her foreign policy and taken steps for the creation of Tamil Eelam. This could have created a stable defence fortification in Sri Lanka for India, and earned India the permanent friendship of Tamil Eelam. This view is strengthened by the events which happened in Sri Lanka after 1985. In total, the sudden demise of Indira Gandhi proved to be an invaluable loss and a major setback to the Sri Lankan Tamils. There are no doubts that Jeyewardene himself would have been the most joyous upon hearing the news of the Indian leader's demise. Dictators and racists have always destroyed so many nations and ethnicities around the world. People like Jeyewardene are good examples for this. But unfortunately these bigots do

not realise the fact that their atrocities will be judged by the students of history and in the future their cruelties will be bared open to the world.

Following the death of Indira Gandhi in October 1984, Rajiv Gandhi became the Prime Minister of India during December 1984. Rajiv Gandhi was too young. From many news reports we can find that Rajiv Gandhi was a man of limited political knowledge, inadequate wisdom and mercurial temperament, and was also known to be someone who loses his temper very easily. Hence, Jeyewardene would have found it very easy to manipulate and handle Rajiv Gandhi. At this time, Rajiv had the intention to complete the unfinished work left behind by his mother. In early 1985, he would have planned to get involved in the Sri Lankan issue. In this situation, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (S AARC) conference was about to be held in Bangalore, India. The Sri Lankan President Jeyewardene was about to attend this conference. Suspecting that his life could be at stake, the Indian government asked the Tamil Nadu government to seize the arms and communication equipments of LTTE operatives. Then Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Ramachandran, advised his Intelligence Chief K. Mohandas to carry out this direct order. Hence the LTTE's arms and communications devices were snatched. Prabhakaran and Anton Balasingham who were taken to Bangalore for the peace talks returned to Chennai since the talks had ended in failure. In Chennai, both these leaders as well as the leaders of other such organisations were all kept under house arrest. Prabhakaran went on a hunger strike and consequently got his arms and communications equipment returned. Because of these events, the LTTE and other organisations thought that they were at considerable risk by basing their operations in Chennai and began to move their operations back to Tamil Eelam slowly and steadily. Also, TULF leaders had announced that the all party conference did not fetch any constructive solutions and was futile. At this juncture, the Tamil liberation movements were engaged in strengthening themselves. As a result, in April 1984, EPRLF, TELO and EROS joined to form the organisation Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF) to work under the one umbrella. In April 1985, the LTTE also joined this front.

After the death of Indira Gandhi, Jeyewardene was actively engaged in strengthening the Sri Lankan military and also in securing military assistance



from the other nations of the world. He was also continuing to carry out his well planned colonisation of Tamil regions as well. He had also intensified the military offensive. Under these circumstances, in May 1985 in Anuradhapura about 150 Sinhalese civilians were shot dead by the LTTE. These people were newly settled in Trincomalee by the Sinhalese government. From these activities, the Sinhalese public started urging Jeyewardene to start the dialogue process with India. Because of this,

Jeyewardene conducted talks with Rajiv Gandhi in Delhi during June 1985, which paved way for a renewed set of peace talks. Rajiv Gandhi's agenda was to suggest a plan to decentralize power to enable Tamils to sort out their issues through self administration within a united Sri Lanka. Also Rajiv had replaced an experienced Parthasarathy with Romesh Bhandari as the advisor to the peace talks.

On the demands of Rajiv Gandhi, the Sri Lankan government had agreed to engage the leaders of the liberation movements in the peace talks as well. In the peace talks held in Thimphu, the capital of Bhutan, the leaders of the Tamil liberation movements participated on behalf of the Tamils. The peace talks between the leaders of the liberation movements, Sri Lankan government representatives and the leaders of TULF started during July 1985. In this meeting, both sides agreed to implement a ceasefire. Tamil movements were determined not to agree to the deliberations proposed in the earlier all party conference. They urged the Sri Lankan government to table its proposed solution. They also handed over their policy decisions to the government. Tamil parties had included four major factors as a part of their recommendations.

1. Recognition of the Sri Lankan Tamils as a distinct ethnic nationality.
2. Recognition of the Tamil homeland and guarantee its integrity.
3. Recognition of the Tamil nation's right to self determination
4. Approval of all democratic rights to the Tamils

The talks started again on 12 August 1985. The government representatives clearly rejected the proposal tabled by the Tamil liberation movements. With the parties holding stubbornly to their opinions, heated altercations ensued and eventually the talks ended up in failure.

During November 1985, in London the abovementioned organisations convened a meeting to discuss these peace talks. The author of this book was also invited to this event. Karunanidhi, the son of Tamil Nadu's M.K Muthu, was also invited. The alliance forged by the Tamil liberation movement was a major boost to the Tamil fight for Eelam. The alliance was determined that the entire strength of the Tamil movement should be consolidated under one umbrella and that a war should be waged against the

Sinhalese government to bring the Tamil homelands under the control of the Tamil movements. From this advantageous position, the alliance should start its next set of talks with the Sinhalese government. From this stage they should strive towards securing Tamil Eelam with the support of the international community.

The author of this book made the following statement in this meeting:

With the Sri Lankan army at its weakest stage and with ultra-Buddhist Sinhalese nationalism still far from its peak, as well as very limited interference from foreign countries, it is the most important time for the liberation movements to fight against the Sri Lankan regime to gain freedom. Further, India will never support the establishment of an independent Eelam.

There were many attendees to this meeting who still reside in London and will without a doubt remember these comments made by the author.

To keep it brief, the failure of the peace talks can be attributed to the way in which a highly tactical Jeyewardene, through the use of his diplomatic skills, had manipulated the less politically equipped Rajiv Gandhi to the greatest extent possible. Further, the replacement of the experienced Parthasarathy who was appointed by Indira Gandhi, with the relatively less experienced and irresponsible Romesh Bhandari, a man of many weaknesses, was a major blunder committed by Rajiv Gandhi. If we had had a leader with sagacity and diplomatic skills during the discussions at Thimphu, where all the liberation movements had united together to discuss and agree upon a solution, we might have had a fruitful discussion with a solution being negotiated. Though the Thimphu talks ended up in failure, India had continued to engage enthusiastically in the mediation process. From the talks between Rajiv Gandhi and S.W. Jeyewardene, the brother of J.R. Jeyewardene, the stage was set for the renewed peace talks to take off. Based on the recommendations from the governments of India and Sri Lanka, a solution plan was prepared regarding the power sharing deals. Though the government proclaimed that it was a blueprint for complete power decentralization, the solution was severely defective as it lacked any reference to the integration of the North and East provinces. The liberation movements were initially excluded from these talks during December 1985, with the leaders of TULF participating. Tamil representatives impressed upon Rajiv Gandhi, that nothing less than the integration of provinces on linguistic lines would meet the political aspirations of the Tamil people. The Sri Lankan government forever rejected the proposal to unite these provinces

of the North and East. They argued that this would pave the way for the formation of a separate Tamil Eelam nation.

Despite this, on 4 September 1986, the Sri Lankan government proposed another plan for power sharing in which it proposed to promote provincial councils instead of district development councils. It also explained that the items related to law, order and land administration would be discussed in detail once they were accepted as a part of the provincial councils list. The aforementioned draft had a lot of ambiguities and was far from complete.

Further, the draft did not make any provision for the integration of the North and East Provinces. The fact that the national policies shall be followed in all matters of the provincial councils and the refusal of the Sri Lankan government to handover the administration of law, order and land administration to provincial councils, were seen as major setbacks to any further discussions. On this basis, the members of TULF declared this draft as meaningless and thus the talks concluded in failure once again.

In this situation, the LTTE moved to ban other armed movements, due to a growing of differences in opinion. Because of this action, Jeyewardene miscalculated that the Tamil Eelam liberation struggle and the popularity of the LTTE were at historic lows. The situation was quite the contrary, because as the LTTE banned the other organisations they were able to recover huge reserves of arms from them, and many cadres of the other organisations had now joined the Tamil Tigers. Further, the Tigers also received vast amounts of monetary support from Diaspora Tamils as well, which helped bolster their military capabilities in many ways. The Sri Lankan government which did not have a clue about all these developments was busy planning its offensive. This situation served as a grave embarrassment to India. With all the peace talks so far proving to be futile, Rajiv Gandhi had started to initiate his dialogue in a more forceful and assertive tone. Rajiv Gandhi called upon the Sri Lankan government to stop the killings and military offensives and urged them to submit a comprehensive solution which could bring the Sri Lankan Tamil issue to a permanent end.

During April 1986, a high level committee headed up by Union State Minister Chidambaram had reached Colombo. The deliberations proposed in July 1985 were reviewed and updated. Indian ministers Chidambaram, Natwar Singh and other Indian officials all held talks with J.R. Jeyewardene on 19 December 1986. A solution proposal called the 'December 19th Deliberations' was prepared." To keep it brief, this package suggested a Federal System in which the provinces would get powers which were far more limited than what individual states in India received under the Indian Union. Hence, the Tamil Tigers rejected this proposal and these proposals were kept in cold storage until the signing of the ISLA.

From 1987 onwards, the Sri Lankan government had started to vigorously promote its military offensives. It continued its attacks via land, sea and air. From the military bases, it conducted major raids with tanks and shell bombs, causing heavy damage to properties and inflicting losses of life to the liberation fighters as well as the general public. The military of the Sri Lankan government was also receiving contributions from Israel and the branch protecting Israeli interests which was started in May 1984 in the office of the American Ambassador in Colombo. It is worth mentioning here

also, that the Sri Lankan military was already receiving training from the Israeli military. It was also popularly mentioned in the news media of those days that the British Special Air Service (SAS) which operated under the banner 'Keenie Meenie Services' (KMS) based in the Channel Islands in Britain, had also trained Sri Lankan Air Force officers with the support of the Defence Ministry of Britain.

The Sri Lankan government also continued to get the military support of countries such as America, Pakistan, South Africa and China. The Tamil Tigers had to face the Sri Lankan army all by itself, since it had already destroyed and banned the other fighting organisations. The Sri Lankan government did not hesitate to cut the supply of essential commodities to the people of the Jaffna gulf through economic sanctions.

In this situation, Rajiv Gandhi and the Indian government had clearly understood that though Sri Lanka attended all of its peace initiatives, it had always wanted a military solution to the ethnic conflict. Hence, the Indian government thrust the 'December 19th Deliberations' upon the Sri Lankan government and insisted on it to ensure its implementation." This would have definitely put the Sri Lankan government under pressure and rung a warning bell. Following this, Rajiv Gandhi sent this message to the Sri Lankan government.

For the benefit of all parties, the military offensives should be stopped. This is because, as you may know, it will be difficult for India to call the fighting movements for a renewed dialogue in such a predicament. Since the Sri Lanka has rejected the path of dialogue which has in fact resulted in heightened violence, we will be forced to reassess the entire issue from a new direction."

But the speeches of President Jeyewardene and Prime Minister Premadasa clearly showed that Sri Lanka was sticking to its military solution. Jeyewardene never seemed to be concerned about any of the threats posed by India. On the contrary, on 26 May 1987 Jeyewardene started an all out offensive codenamed 'Operation Liberation' with the motive 'to fight till the end'. Within a week from the initiation of this operation, Vadamaratchi which was earlier under the control of the LTTE had now come under the control of the Sri Lankan army.

In this situation, India was not ready to inflict a military defeat on Sri Lanka by strengthening the LTTE, which could then fight against the Sri Lankan army. India may have deliberated that this may have a long term impact on the future of India. They also may have wondered whether strengthening the LTTE would in fact make it possible for them to defeat the Sri Lankan military. India also

knew that they could be subject to the overwhelming wrath of the people of Tamil Nadu if it did not stop the military offensives of the Sri Lankan government. This was because all of the groups from the ruling party, opposition parties and other mass movements were pressing the Indian government to stop the war, voicing their concern through democratic protests as well as filing petitions with the Indian Union government.

The major opposition parties of Tamil Nadu forged a movement named Tamil Eelam Supporter's Organisation (TESO) in 1986, which built up considerable pressure on the Indian government. In a similar fashion, on 4 May 1986 the Tamil Nadu parties also convened a conference to save the Eelam Tamils, from which it sent a petition to the Indian government condemning the Sri Lankan government. For these reasons, India did not have any choice apart from involving itself directly in the issues of Sri Lankan Tamils. As a result, on 3 June 1987, India sent about 19 fishing boats loaded with essential commodities and food supplies to the Jaffna gulf. These boats were blocked by the Sri Lankan government. Following this blockade, India launched '*Operation Poomala*' on the very next day of 4 June 1987, through which it loaded air force flights with essential commodities and food supplies. The aircraft took off from Bangalore Airport and dropped the supplies in the Jaffna gulf with the aid of parachutes. Though this action is contradictory to International Law, it should have been seen as an acceptable and justified step from India by the other countries of the world, since all the peace initiatives propounded by Indian government had ended up in failures so far. Also, considering the economic sanctions imposed upon Jaffna by the Sri Lankan government, this initiative from India should have also been seen as humanitarian aid relief by the international community. Additionally, on 5 July 1987, Vallipuram Vasanthan alias Captain Miller of the exclusive 'Black Tigers' team drove a truck loaded with explosives into a Sri Lankan military base in Nelliyadi killing more than 100 Sri Lankan soldiers. This event shook the confidence of Jeyewardene in his ability to carry on with his 'Operation Liberation' military offensives. Eventually, a helpless Jeyewardene had to bring 'Operation Liberation' to an end.

The dialogue process started again with J.N Dixit, a top Indian diplomat who was appointed by Rajiv Gandhi as the Indian representative for the



peace talks." At this juncture on 19 July 1987, Karthik Poori who was the Chief Secretary at the Indian Embassy in Colombo, following the orders of Rajiv Gandhi, met Prabhakaran and his associate Yogi and informed them of the proposed travel to Delhi for talks. Prabhakaran considered it most important to not neglect any important solution that could alter the lives of the people of Tamil Eelam. Further^ he could not reject an official invitation from the Prime Minister of India. Prabhakaran, the leader of the LTTE

along with his other important associates, Thileepan and Yogi, were taken to New Delhi by air from Suthumalai in Jaffna. Anton Balasingham who was residing in Chennai also joined them during the course of their journey.

Once they had reached Delhi, Prabhakaran and his team were arranged to stay at The Ashok hotel under very tight security. They were rejected any opportunity to meet or talk to anyone and were even denied telephone access. In his book, Anton Balasingham observed that they were all treated like prisoners in Delhi. Prabhakaran said to Anton Balasingham 'I am caught in a trap once again'. Dixit, who met the LTTE leaders in The Ashok hotel, handed over the document related to the ISLA and also gave a detailed explanation of it. Prabhakaran, after careful examination of the document completely rejected it. A heated debate with Dixit ensued. This would have placed Rajiv Gandhi in an embarrassing situation. Hence, Rajiv Gandhi invited the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, M.G. Ramachandran, from Chennai to Delhi and requested him to talk to Prabhakaran in order to convince him of the proposal. On 26 July 1987, Prabhakaran clearly explained the problems with the accord and clarified that he could not be a party to it. The Tamil Nadu State Minister Panruti Ramachandran and Dixit were also present during this elaboration. Prabhakaran has said in relation to the ISLA:

The proposal for a provincial council with highly limited powers does not fulfil any of the aspirations of the Tamil people. It is dangerous to temporarily unite the Tamil state based on a public referendum. At a time when there is no permanent solution to the national issues of the Tamil people, when the Tamil homelands are fully occupied by the Sinhalese army, it is completely unfair to ask us to give up all our arms and let our fighters surrender.

M.G Ramachandran, who listened to Prabhakaran with utmost attention, carefully assessed the details of the pact, and should have definitely understood that the ISLA was built only to satisfy the strategic and geopolitical interests of India. Having accepted all the arguments of Prabhakaran, he appreciated Prabhakaran for his uncompromising stance and promised his full support to any decision taken by the leadership of the Tamil Tigers.

After the failure of all these steps, at midnight on 28 July 1987, Rajiv Gandhi invited Prabhakaran and his team to his residence and conducted a final round of talks with them. At this time, the Head of Intelligence Bureau, M.K Narayanan, and Tamil Nadu Minister Ramachandran were also present. Rajiv Gandhi told Prabhakaran that he understood that Prabhakaran had

rejected the ISLA and wanted Prabhakaran to explain the shortcomings in accord. Prabhakaran requested that Balasingham translate his response English. Balasingham's statement is as follows:

Sri Lanka's constitution is very rigid and is composed of regulations which cannot be relaxed. Under the majority, it is impossible to have any meaningful sharing of power between the union government and the status government. Sri Lankan constitution has created an inflexible singular rule system in which the President with his widespread executive rights remains to be the head of the state. In this governing setup all the administrative rights of the government have been piled up at the central level. The Indo-Sri Lankan Accord fully and unconditionally envisages such a singular rule. Hence, it will be impossible to make any fundamental change to the current political system to allow for a meaningful power sharing. The Indo-Sri Lankan accord does not define the powers, activities and administrative departments of the provincial council uniformly. The 'December 19' solution has many pitfalls. The right over the territory is supreme in the issues related to the Eelam Tamil nation's ethnic problem. In the Sri Lankan island, the vast expanse of land containing the North and East provinces was inhabited by the Tamil people and Tamil speaking Muslim people from the historic period. This land is their own. This is their traditional home land. Tamils will not accept any plan that would propose to split this land. The integration of North and East as a separate administrative province in the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord is a constructive achievement. But this integration is temporary. Tamil people will not accept the proposal to make this integration permanent only after a public referendum. This is because, if a majority of Muslim and Sinhalese people vote against the integration, these two provinces will be separated permanently and will be decimated in the course of time. The right to dissolve the Provincial council of the North and East has been given to the President of Sri Lanka Jeyewardene. He is a Sinhalese chauvinist and is poised against the Tamil people. We don't believe that he will provide justice to Tamil people. In the issues regarding the surrender of arms of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the demand that our movement should surrender all our arms within 72 hours of the signing of the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord is iniquitous. The accord forces us to surrender and submit all our arms which we have collected over so many years by sacrificing our lives and shedding our blood.

When Balasingham had completed the above given statement, Prabhakaran did not fail to append it with these words:

Before finding a permanent solution to the ethnic problems of Tamils, before having in place a suitable guarantee for the safety of Tamil people, it will not be fair in any way to force us to surrender the arms which are protecting the Tamil people.

Rajiv Gandhi after carefully listening to these arguments spelt his opinion as follows:

There are a lot of pitfalls in the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord as you have rightly pointed out. I understand the problem in letting the integration of North and East happen based on a public referendum. I will discuss with Jeyewardene in regards to this. I will ask him not to postpone the referendum and not to implement it. In any case, you don't have to believe the Indian government. We are working with due concern in improving the benefits of the Tamil people. Hence we need the support and co-operation of your organisation. This accord will win the rights of the Tamil people and guarantee their safety and security. If you support this accord it will strengthen our hands and help us in implementing this accord.

As soon as Rajiv Gandhi completed his statement, Prabhakaran put forth his stance in an assertive tone as follows:

This accord does not safeguard the interests of Tamil people. On the contrary, this impedes with the well-being of Tamil people. Hence we cannot accept this agreement.

After learning of Prabhakaran's stance, Rajiv Gandhi stated the following:

You do not have to change your stance. It is sufficient if you do not express any opposition to this agreement.

He also added:

Regarding the issue of integrating the North and East, I will ensure that a referendum to hear the opinion of people of the East is not conducted. Hence North and East will be under your administration. Also I urge you to stop levying tax in the Tamil regions. Instead I

will arrange for a monthly payment equivalent to that amount to be settled by the Indian government. Also you shall surrender only a small share of your arms. I guarantee your safety and security. You can trust me on this.

Hence, this was the promise delivered directly by Rajiv Gandhi.

At this juncture, Prabhakaran asked Rajiv Gandhi to give this guarantee in writing. Rajiv Gandhi avoided a written statement citing that it would lead to a lot of issues and suspicions, but instead guaranteed that this would be a gentlemen's agreement.

From the above discussion we can observe a few important things. Firstly, that the ISLA was written predominantly to safeguard India's geopolitical interests and security, and that the interests of India overshadowed those of the Eelam Tamil people. Secondly, neither Rajiv Gandhi nor India could stand its ground before the deceitful, tactical and diplomatic game plan of Jeyewardene. Thirdly, this accord was created through discussions between India and Sri Lanka without the consultation of the Tamil people and their representatives and hence, turned out to be a trap for the Tamil people. Further, this accord undermines a fact of historic significance that the North and East are the traditional homelands of the Tamils. Fourthly, it is very obvious that this accord was a tool clearly crafted by Jeyewardene to put an end to the armed struggle of the Tamil Tigers once and for all. Finally, more than the Indian government it would be the Sri Lankan government which would become the real beneficiary of this accord.

Also, the opinion expressed by the Sri Lankan President Jeyewardene regarding the ISLA turned out to be of utmost importance in the clarification of the ulterior motives surrounding this agreement. On 26 July 1987, in the National Executive Council of the UNP, he expressed his views about the agreement as follows:

We should think of one thing alone. This integration of the North and East is temporary. It will be decided by the President to gather the opinion of the people of the East to see if they approve of the integration before the end of next year. On a specific day, a public referendum will be conducted. The decision will be taken based on a

simple majority vote. In the Eastern province including the Ampara there are about 33 percent Muslims, 27 percent Sinhalese and the remaining 40 percent are Tamils. There are two sections in this Tamil population. More than half of them are from Batticaloa and the rest are Jaffna Tamils. Hence if the Jaffna Tamils constitute only 20 percent of the population, I believe that the remaining 60 percent of

the populace will oppose the integration. This is what Mr. Devanayagam and Mr. Majid have told me. Hence when an opinion poll is conducted to know the views of the people of the Eastern province, I believe that a majority of them will oppose the integration. And the integration will end at that point.'

He questioned the gathering:

What is the profit we are getting out of this temporary integration?

Then he immediately gave the answer himself:

This will put an end to terrorism.

The above speech of Jeyewardene clearly depicts his cunningness and the dishonesty he had whilst preparing the ISLA in which he manipulate India to repose faith in it. Prabhakaran was already aware of the wily nature of Jeyewardene which is why he expressed his complete opposition to the referendum during his talks with Rajiv Gandhi.

Hence, the Gentleman's agreement as promised by Rajiv Gandhi shows itself as an act which lacked credibility, was far from being practical and therefore, was completely undiplomatic. It was an emotional and unscientific promise, aimed only at convincing Prabhakaran to give his nod to the accord. In a system where an individual could be the Prime Minister for only a span of five years, this promise from Rajiv Gandhi is insensible and irrelevant.

In summary of the analysis of all of the facts presented above, it becomes aptly clear that the Indian Prime Minister was misled by the Sri Lankan governments ill conceived advice to make a hasty decision. The culmination of this was the signing of the ISLA on 29 July, 1987 in Colombo, between the Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, and the Sri Lankan President J. R. Jeyewardene. In this context, it will be pertinent to present the nuances of the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord.

## INDO-SRI LANKAN ACCORD

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

Attaching utmost importance to nurturing, intensifying and strengthening the traditional friendship of Sri Lanka and India and



acknowledging the imperative need of resolving the ethnic problem of Sri Lanka, and the consequent violence, and for the safety, wellbeing and prosperity of people belonging to all communities of 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 multi-lingual plural society consisting, *inter-alia*, of Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims (Moors) and Burgers,
- 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 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 May 25, 1987. The process of surrendering 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 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 co-operate 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 forthwith.

2.14 The Government of India will underwrite and guarantee the resolutions, and cooperate 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 finalized 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 co-operating 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 cooperate 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 Sri Lanka and India will co-operate 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 co-operation 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 Twenty Ninth 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 Jeyewardene**

President of the Democratic  
Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka

#### ANNEXURE TO THE AGREEMENT

His Excellency the President of Sri Lanka and the Prime Minister of India 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.

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 His Excellency the President of Sri Lanka.

His Excellency the President of Sri Lanka agrees that the Home guards would be disbanded and all para-military 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 para-military forces, which came into being due to ethnic violence, into the regular security forces of Sri Lanka.

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 Lankan Red Cross and the Indian Red Cross.

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

6. The President of Sri Lanka and the Prime Minister of India also agree that in the 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 above accord was signed on 29 July 1987. After the signing of the ISLA, Jeyewardene had organised a farewell and a guard-of-honour. While Rajiv Gandhi had accepted the symbolic honour of the Sri Lankan forces and was walking past the parade, a soldier named Vijayamunige Rohana de Silva, belonging to the Sri Lankan navy, assaulted Rajiv with his hand held rifle. India was the fourth major power in South Asia, the second most populous country in the world and was said to have the fourth largest armed forces of any nation. Whilst being called upon to find a political solution for a country that is essentially a small island, with not much economical or military strength to boast of, the Indian Prime Minister who enjoyed great power back home was assaulted and undeniably shamed. This disgraceful act can never be denied and was, in essence, a planned assault by the chauvinistic ultra-Buddhist Sinhalese elite, who were hell bent on bringing disgrace to India. How this act was perceived and tolerated by one billion Indian people and their Prime Minister is a matter that cannot be answered.

Within a day after the accord was signed, India ordered General Depinder Singh to move the IPKF to the North-Eastern province. Within a few days the IPKF's 58th Division landed in the Palali air field. This operation was given the nomenclature of Operation Pawan\ The Indian forces that came in the name of 'peace keeping' came with tanks, canons, motors, machine guns and other heavy weaponry. As per the ISLA, the Sri Lankan army was confined to their camps. Tamils rejoiced that they were going to receive permanent peace and welcomed the Indian forces by garlanding them. On the contrary, the Sinhalese openly vented their anger on the Indian forces by conducting demonstrations and processions.

Under the circumstance, the Tamil Tigers gave an explanation on their



stand on ISLA for the benefit of Tamils and their armed supporters. In this regard they had organised a large public gathering in Suthumalai on 4 of August 1987. An estimated 100,000 Tamils participated. It is appropriate here to present the excerpts of the speech delivered by the leader, Prabhakaran, to the Tamil people and their armed supporters.

My Beloved and Esteemed People of Tamil Eelam, Today, a turning point of immense significance has taken place in the history of our struggle. This turn of events occurred so suddenly that it stunned us as if it has happened beyond our powers. We have to wait and see whether the consequences of this turn of events will be favourable to us or not.

You are aware that this Agreement, concluded suddenly in haste between India and Sri Lanka, without consulting us as the representatives of our people, is being implemented with expedition and urgency. I was not aware of this Agreement until I reached Delhi. Having convinced me that the Indian Prime Minister desired to meet me, I was taken to Delhi in a hurry. The Agreement was shown to us when we reached Delhi. There are a lot of flaws and defects in the Agreement. We doubt whether the Agreement will bring a permanent settlement to the problems of our people. Therefore, we explained to the Government of India in clear terms, that we cannot accept this Agreement. But the Indian government was firmly determined to implement the Agreement whether we opposed or not. We are not surprised over the position of the Indian government. The Agreement is not primarily concerned about the Tamil question. It is essentially a bi-lateral Agreement concerned with Indo-Sri Lanka relations. There are obligations in the Agreement that binds Sri Lanka to India's geo-strategic sphere of influence. It prevents the penetration into Sri Lanka external subversive forces inimical to Indian interests. It is for this reason India showed extraordinary interest in the Agreement. At the same time, this Agreement contains elements that determine the political destiny of the Eelam Tamils. That is why we are strongly opposed to the Agreement since it was concluded without taking into

consideration our views and the opinion of our people. But our protests are meaningless. When a mighty super-power has determined to decide the political destiny of our people it is beyond our ability to do anything. The Agreement directly affects the political projects of our liberation organisation; it affects the mode of our struggle; it attempts to put an end to our armed struggle. The mode of our heroic struggle, fought

for the last 15 years and built on the blood and sacrifice of our fighters, is to be dismantled in a few days time. This, we cannot digest. This Agreement suddenly disarms us, without providing adequate time, without getting the consent of our fighters, without offering guarantees for the safety and security of our people. Therefore, we refused to lay down arms.

It was in these circumstances the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, invited me for a discussion. I spoke to him frankly about our problems. I confided to the Indian Prime Minister that I do not repose the slightest trust in the Sinhala state nor do I believe that the Sinhalese will implement the Agreement. I spoke to him about the issue of security of our people and the guarantees for their safety. The Indian Prime Minister has given me certain pledges. He has offered to guarantee the security of our people. I trust his sincerity. I have faith in his assurances. We trust that the Government of India will not allow the Sinhalese state to resume genocidal violence against our people. It is because of this trust we have decided to lay down our weapons to the Indian Peace Keeping Force. I need not elaborate here the immense sacrifices we have made for the protection of our people. Our people are fully aware of the nature and character of our deep devotion and commitment to the cause. 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. From the very moment we handover our weapons we hand over the responsibility of protecting our people to India. In receiving our weapons from us the only means of protection for the Eelam Tamils the Indian government takes over from us the tremendous responsibility of protecting our people. The handing over of arms signifies the handing over, or rather the transfer of this responsibility. Were we not to hand over our weapons we would be placed in a perilous situation of clashing with the Indian Army? We do not want that. We love India. We love the people of India. We are not prepared to deploy our arms against Indian soldiers. The soldiers of the Indian army are taking the responsibility of safeguarding and protecting us against our enemy. I wish to emphasize that by the virtue of our handing over our weapons, the Indian

government should assume full responsibility for the life and security of every one of the Eelam Tamils. My beloved people, we have no alternative other than to co-operate with this Indian endeavour. Let us offer them this opportunity. However, I do not think that this Agreement will bring a permanent

solution to the Tamil question. The time is not far off when the monster of Sinhalese racism will devour this Agreement. I have an unshakable faith that only an independent state of Tamil Eelam will provide a permanent solution to the problem of the Tamil Eelam people. Let me make it absolutely clear to you that I will continue to struggle for the cause of Tamil Eelam. The forms and modes of struggle may change but the goal of our struggle will never change. If our cause is to triumph we should have the whole - hearted support of our people. Circumstances might arise for our liberation organisation to participate in the interim government, or in the election for the sake of promoting the interests of our people. But I wish to declare, firmly, that under no circumstances and at any point in time will I ever contest the elections or accept the office of Chief Minister.

The above speech of Prabhakaran was well published in the Sri Lankan, Indian and global media. The speech of Prabhakaran was well received by the Indian media which went on to add that the words he chose to describe the ISLA to the world were careful, to the point and realistic.

As promised in his Suthumalai speech on 5 of August 1987. Prabhakaran's sent his associate Yogi to the IPKF to hand over his hand held pistol as a mark of keeping up his word. After this incident, the Tamil Tigers started to handover small firearms to the IPKF. The Tamil Tigers had earlier informed that only after an interim government had taken over in the North-East province shall they be prepared to handover their large haul of weapons to the IPKF. Only because of Rajiv Gandhi's advice and respect to his words did the Tamil Tigers start to handover their weapons to the Indian forces. In the aftermath of handing over these weapons, the Tamil Tigers were anxious to know what kind of actions the Indian government intended for the installation of an interim government in the North-East province. Quite unfortunately, the Sri Lankan government began to open more police stations in the Tamil speaking areas to strengthen the existing government machinery. Also, the Sri Lankan government began a systematic process of Sinhalisation by creating new Sinhalese settlements with the help of the Sri Lankan army. The amount of financial aid promised by the Indian government to the Tamil

Tigers was stopped within one month. To top it all, the Indian intelligence wing started to bring the armed members of organisations such as TELO, EPRLF, and PLOTE, who were against the Tamil Tigers, back to the regions of Tamil Eelam. This was done purely to checkmate the Tamil Tigers. Though the Tamil Tigers had lodged an official complaint with the IPKF, they had not acted on the same.

Deeply disturbed and frustrated by this trend, the Jaffna District Secretary of Tamil Tigers, Thileepan, felt that the assurance given by Rajiv Gandhi to Prabhakaran was being shattered. As a fall out of this situation, Thileepan had commenced a fast unto death in the Nallur Kandaswamy Temple complex in Jaffna city.

The five demands that Thileepan had earlier asked for are:

1. Those detained / arrested or serving prison terms under the *Terrorism Prevention Act* should be released immediately.
2. Sinhalese settlements being carried out on Tamil lands in the name of rehabilitation should be stopped immediately.
3. Till such time as an interim government takes over, all activities carried out under the misleading banner of 'rehabilitation' have to be stopped.
4. Opening government police stations in the North and Eastern provinces have to be stopped.
5. Weapons given to what were called the Village Protection Forces, under the supervision of the Indian Peace Keeping Force, have to be handed back immediately and all the army garrisons and police units stationed in Tamil villages and schools have to be closed with immediate effect.

The above demands were sent to the office of the Indian Consulate on 13 of August 1987 but given the fact that no response was received, Thileepan went ahead with his fast unto death in the place mentioned. Thileepan was visited by many including Prabhakaran. Hundreds and thousands of Tamils would throng day and night at the Nallur Kandaswamy Temple. On the second day of his fast unto death, Thileepan made his last speech to the people. The short speech was as follows:

My fellow citizens!

I cannot speak much. But I have a longing to speak to you all. It gives me immense pleasure seeing you all and the support you have been giving. Till such time all my five demands are met, I shall not drink a drop of water. I am strong in my resolve. I have communicated this to our leader, Prabhakaran. If I am to die, I shall accept death with happiness. After my death, with my friends in the heaven, I shall wait for the day when Tamil Eelam shall be established. I cannot speak more. I thank you all for being a part of my fast unto death. Vanakkam.

Everywhere in the North and Eastern provinces, many fasts were simultaneously organised expressing solidarity with Thileepan's fast unto death. Even the ambassadors of Norway, Sweden, England and Australia visited the fasting Thileepan. There was a live television relay of the fast unto death by *Nitharsanam*. Prabhakaran had met the leader of the IPKF, General Depinder Singh, as well as the Indian Ambassador, Dixit, to urge them to accept the demands of Thileepan, which were in essence a few clauses of the ISLA in addition to the personal commitments given by Rajiv Gandhi but to no avail. The fast unto death lasted for 265 hours, or 12 full days, before culminating in the immortality of Thileepan at 10:48 am on 26 of September 1987, in the presence of a large number of people. During the immortality of Thileepan many key figures were present, and in his speech Pala Nedumaran quipped that Thileepan had created history not just in his life but also in his death. He went on to compare that what Captain Miller did was an example of sacrifice filled with valour (*maram*) but what Thileepan did was an example of sacrifice filled with compassion (*aram*). This speech would have definitely shaken the hearts and minds of Tamil youth.

The death of Thileepan and the impact it had created amidst Tamils in Sri Lanka, the Tamils of India and Diaspora Tamils, would have shaken the consciousness of the Indian establishment. When the Tamil Tigers had asked Dixit on many occasions to meet Thileepan while he was fasting, these pleas were refused out of sheer arrogance. Within exactly 15 minutes of Thileepan's death, the Tiger's representatives received a call from Dixit to arrange a time for a meeting. Later on at the meeting, Dixit promised to accept the demands of Thileepan and put them into action. This was primarily because Thileepan's death had caused violent protests in all Tamil speaking areas and melted even the arrogance of India.

The steps taken by the Sri Lankan government against Tamils by way of standardization seriously affected Tamil students in general and the Jaffna Tamils in particular. In particular, to get an admission to a medical college was always an elusive goal to them. Under such a challenging environment, Thileepan had gotten himself admitted into a medical college and was a student of medicine at the time of his fast. With his uncompromising zeal and urge to save the Tamil lands and its people from the clutches of ultra-



Buddhist Sinhalese chauvinism, Thileepan made the ultimate sacrifice to join the Tamil Tigers movement. He not only adored Prabhakaran, but was also a close confident of his. He was not just a great fighter but an iconic youth who had great political acumen. He had lived for the Tamil people, sacrificed his interests, and then ultimately sacrificed his life for the cause he stood for. He not only got himself a political role in the Tamil Tigers movement, but was also instrumental in setting up organisations such as

Tamil Tigers Student Wing, Tamil Eelam Women's Movement, Free Birds Movement, Movement of Tamil Eelam Patriots, Tamil Eelam Awareness Group, Village Courts of Tamil Eelam, and many more.

Even Mahatma Gandhi, who had fought the British in making Indian independence a reality, had consumed liquid food while fasting. Bobby Sands, an Irish volunteer of the Provisional Irish Republican Army, took water while fasting. The fact that Thileepan, who did not consume a single drop of water for the whole 12 days of his fast unto death, will be forever remembered not just in the history of Eelam Tamils but in world history, cannot be denied.

After the death of Thileepan, it could be observed that the Indian government was acting with renewed vigour in the establishment of an interim council. The clauses as laid out in the ISLA were the basis of vesting powers to the interim council. These clauses incorporated as the *13th Amendment* to the Sri Lankan Constitution were passed in the Sri Lankan Parliament in August 1987. The Tamil Tigers rejected the *13th Amendment* introduced by the Sri Lankan government, citing the same reasons for which they refused to accept the ISLA.

On the 28 September 1987 Prabhakaran met with the Indian ambassador, Dixit, at the Palali air base. The talks continued on the issue of who should be selected as the leader of the interim council. Dixit asked Prabhakaran to provide him with a list of three people out of which the Sri Lankan President could make a choice. Prabhakaran gave the name of N. Pathmanathan who belonged to the Eastern province, and who had earlier served as a government representative to the province, as his first choice. He had also given two other names. The third choice given by Prabhakaran was C.V.K. Sivagnanam. Jeyewardene, who had no intention of choosing Pathmanathan, cited fabricated charges about him and rejected his candidature to finally choose the third candidate Sivagnanam. After a long debate the Tamil Tigers gave into the deliberations of Dixit to accept the candidature of Sivagnanam. The intention of Jeyewardene was to reject each and every choice of Tamil Tigers, in order to make the Indian government continually feel dejected with the attitude of Tamil Tigers. Jeyewardene hoped to prevent the ISLA from being implemented, which would suit the ultimate needs of the Sri Lankan government. This was clearly evident from the speeches made by Jeyewardene and his statements that were widely published during those days.

Thileepan's death and the drama of selecting the leader of the interim council would have caused deep frustration and a sense of betrayal in the minds of Prabhakaran and his supporters. With this background, in the first week of October, 17 Tamil Tiger personnel including Kumarappa and

Pulendran made a boat trip to Tamil Nadu, to collect their belongings that were in Chennai. After the signing of the ISLA, the Sri Lankan government had given general amnesty to all the Tamil rebels. Moreover the details of this trip to Tamil Nadu had been informed in advance to the office of the IPKF and Indian ambassador Dixit.

But the Sri Lankan navy surrounded the 17 Tamil Tigers in mid-sea and took them to the Palali army camp. Even after repeated efforts by the Tamil Tigers and representations by Anton Balasingham, the Sri Lankan government decided to pursue the interrogation of the 17 rebels, taking them to Colombo. The President of Sri Lanka, Jeyewardene and the Defence Minister of Sri Lanka, Athulathmudali, stuck to their stand even after much persuasion by the Indian ambassador and the IPKF. The flight to carry the 17 Tamil Tiger personnel to Colombo was organised. The 17 Tamil Tiger rebels that included Kumarappa and Pulendran would certainly have thought of the torture they would be subjected to if they were taken to Colombo. All of them decided to bite the cyanide capsule, resulting in the immediate death of 12 Tamil Tigers that included Kumarappa and Pulendran. The other five were admitted to hospital.

The death of the 12 Tamil Tigers was seen as a sacrifice made to the xenophobia of the Sri Lankan President and the Defence Minister. What had happened to the general amnesty that was promised by the Sri Lankan President? Rajiv Gandhi had assured that the safety of the Tamil Tigers was his responsibility. What had happened to that assurance? As discussed earlier, it will not be erroneous to conclude that the political immaturity of Rajiv Gandhi was easily and extensively utilised by Jeyewardene to his benefit. The diplomatic flaws in the approach of the Indian ambassador and officials, as well as their unethical disposition of giving in to the cheap offerings made by the Sri Lankan government, would have been seen as a blessing by Jeyewardene who was a conspirator that practiced cunning diplomacy.

It can be inferred clearly from the notifications of General Singh that Jeyewardene and Rajiv Gandhi had decided to destroy the Tamil Tigers. On 6 October 1987, K. Sundarji, the Indian Army General, came to Jaffna and met with General Singh to tell him that it has become imperative to fight the

Tamil Tigers. When advised by Singh that the move would not be realistic, it is learned that Sundarji expressed in clear terms 'I hereby order you to carry on with my command'. After this they had left for Colombo to meet with the Sri Lankan President Jeyewardene. During this time the Indian Defence Minister K. C. Pant and Sundarji met with the Sri Lankan President Jeyewardene, with media present at the meeting. On this occasion, Jeyewardene gave the following orders:

1. Hereafter, there would not be any interim administrative council in the North and East provinces.
2. The Tamil Tiger movement has been banned herewith.
3. Anyone capturing Prabhakaran, either alive or dead, would be awarded Rs. 1,000,000.
4. Since the Sinhalese present in Eastern province do not have confidence in the Indian forces, the Sri Lankan army shall be sent to protect them.
5. The Indian Peace Keeping Force in Sri Lanka shall hereafter operate under my instruction.

The two Indian higher officials present in this meeting were mute listeners to the instructions made by Jeyewardene and were embarrassingly reduced to the status of mere 'yes' ministers. The above instructions of Jeyewardene also saw the effective demise of the ISLA.

In this backdrop, the political office of the Tamil Tigers released the following announcement:

Whilst we mourn the death of our martyrs and when we Eelam Tamils are immersed in a state of sorrow, the Indian government has mustered an army by the name of the Indian Peace Keeping Force and has waged an unjust war on the Tamils. Neither our fellow Tamils nor did our rebel forces thought in our wildest of dreams that we would be pitted against India. Our People always anointed India as their saviour and security provider. They saw the Indian forces here as a symbol that has come to implement the spirit of love and peace. Our Tamil Tiger movement has always seen India as an ally that not only provided arms and ammunitions but also refuge in times of crisis, and an important role in our liberation struggle intertwining the political importance they attached with us. Those were the reasons why the Tamil nation is in an awful state of shock and disbelief to know that India has

decided to wage a war on us.

General Singh openly criticized the decision to confront the Tamil Tigers by force.

He enumerated the reasons for the failure of the Indian war efforts in Sri Lanka in his book *The IPKF in Sri Lanka* published in 1992. In his book General Singh, while providing insight into the strategy to confront the Tamil Tigers, mentions his discussions with Army General Sundarji and the excerpts are given below:

It was that the decision to confront LTTE through force was a political decision that was already taken. I was giving my opinion to General Sundarji that we should not be taking a confrontational approach. I explained to him that if we take a confrontational approach then we may have to face a counter revolution for another 20 years. They condemned me that my stand was the reflection of my mentality of accepting the defeat. I insisted that I was talking reality. After that General Sundarji left to Colombo. The next day, the office of the Indian Peace Keeping Force received a direct order to use force against the LTTE.

The Indian government's helplessness and their move to confront the Tamil Tigers have been documented by a Sinhalese academic, who goes on to say:

When the future historians shall record the 20th century history, they shall note the four failed war games of greater powers in equal terms. The drubbing at the hustling the Americans received in Vietnam, the Chinese had in Cambodia, the Soviet troops in Afghanistan and the drubbing of the Indian Forces in Sri Lanka are the four great wars in which the greater powers tasted defeat. In these four war fronts, the four great powers were pitted against an enemy who were invariably small in size, less in power and trained lesser. But the enemies of these great powers were resolute in their willpower, strategized like Chanakya and were cruel to their enemies...The 'enemies' of India were omnipresent and they came from ordinary people. They were celebrated as war heroes. They derived their support base from the local population.

In this scenario, it will be apt to present an excerpt of the interview of the ex-chief minister of Tamil Nadu and the Opposition Leader at that point in time, M. Karunanidhi, given to *'The Week'* magazine:

Editor's Question: Who is responsible for all the atrocities that are committed by the Indian Forces?

Karunanidhi's Answer: I will castigate Rajiv Gandhi who lacks necessary experience. Jeyewardene utilised Rajiv's immaturity to his

needs. This agreement was not drafted in the right sense. Why did Rajiv accept the proposal to ask people about the merger of the North and East province? That belongs to the Eelam people. Why should the Eelam People be subject to an internal referendum?



The Indian government and Rajiv Gandhi were made fools by the acts of Jeyewardene and his cunning diplomacy. The overwhelming truth is that India and Rajiv Gandhi were caught in the conspiracy net cast by Jeyewardene. The future students of history must get a fitting answer to this.

The IPKF started its armed conflict with the Tamil Tigers on the 10 of October 1987. This shocking twist was something that Eelam Tamils could neither anticipate nor accept in their psyche. For the Sinhalese supremacists this came as a blessing in disguise. Above all, this turn would have gone down well with Jeyewardene who was himself an ultra-Buddhist Sinhalese chauvinist. The media of those times had written Jeyewardene himself boasted that his diplomacy of confronting the Tamil Tigers with the Indian forces had amply succeeded.

During the confrontations of warfare, an army would generally want to dismantle the institutions of news media in a war zone. These measures are essential to them to ensure that the masses do not get to know the ground realities and also ensure that their enemy is not privy to information on what is actually happening in the war zone. The IPKF also operated initially on the same line of thinking. During the wee hours of the morning, the IPKF entered the offices of *Eelamurazu* and *Murasoli*, located in downtown Jaffna City, vandalized the building and arrested some of the employees. Later, they went to the extent of destroying the two print media offices by planting bombs there. Further, the office of *Nitharsanam TV*, the television station belonging to the LTTE, was also destroyed by bombing. The Tamil Tigers began retaliating. The IPKF retracted to the Jaffna Fort. The Tamil Tigers began shelling the Indian army station at Thellipalai. In a nutshell, a full blown war between the IPKF and the LTTE had started on this day. This war lasted until 1990, when the IPKF left Sri Lanka, and played havoc with the livelihood of the Tamil people, as well as bringing a detrimental level of damage to the Tamil freedom movement.

Kittu was in Chennai during the days of the fighting between the Indian army and Tamil Tigers. The Indian government asked the Tamil Nadu police to arrest Kittu. With the timely intervention of Tamil leaders in Tamil Nadu, he was just detained in his house for a day and was later released. During these crucial days M.G. Ramachandran was receiving medical treatment in

the US. The Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, had made a visit to Washington at the same time. During this time, Ramachandran met with Rajiv Gandhi in Washington and pleaded for a ceasefire and asked him to open up dialogue with Prabhakaran. This request was summarily turned down by Rajiv Gandhi. Ramachandran returned to Chennai on 31 October 1987. Even on his deathbed, Ramachandran went all out to persuade Rajiv Gandhi to declare a ceasefire and bring back peace. The curse over the Eelam

Tamils did not stop here. Ramachandran died in December 1987. He had always nurtured a great love for the Eelam Tamils and Prabhakaran, and had provided all possible assistance to the Eelam Tamil cause. The sudden demise of Ramachandran came as a shock to the Tamils of Eelam, the Tamil Tiger rebels and Prabhakaran. The leader of the Tamil Tiger movement organised for a memorial function on Ramachandran's demise. The Tamils would neither deny nor forget the fact that the demise of the erstwhile Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, as well as the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, M.G. Ramachandran, proved to be immeasurable losses to the political life of Eelam Tamils.

After a month long battle between in the IPKF and the Tamil Tigers in the Jaffna peninsula, the area was captured by the Indian Forces in October 1987. This prompted Prabhakaran and some key personnel of the Tamil Tiger movement to shift their base to the Vanni region. After this incident, the focus of the Indian forces shifted to the Tamil speaking Eastern province. Over there, the Indian forces rounded up 2,500 Tamil youths and detained 800 of them in the Kankesanthurai Camp. What happened to the rest is not known to this date. Indian forces also committed large scale sexual atrocities on women in the Eastern province. In this backdrop, the Mother's Front commenced a fasting exercise against the atrocities of the IPKF. A woman named Mrs. Annammah David, commenced her fast unto death and attained martyrdom. Later she was followed by Annai Poopathy to attain martyrdom by her fast unto death.

Death, displacement, helplessness, and seeking refuge became commonplace in the Tamil speaking areas. The atrocities of the Indian forces were highlighted in the media of India, Tamil Nadu and the world. Coverage of such news was often observed in popular media like *Asia Week*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, *India Today*, and *Sunday*. During these dark days, a popular Sinhalese cine-hero, Vijaya Kumaratunga, husband of Chandrika Bandaranaike, took valuable measures for bringing about a solution to the vexed ethnic issue. He travelled to Jaffna, met up with Kittu and made honest efforts through open dialogues. He was seen as a vibrant Sinhalese youth from the South who was well educated on the problems faced by Tamils.

This prompted the JVP, an ultra-Buddhist Sinhalese establishment, to assassinate him on 16 February 1988.

Though many letters were dispatched from Prabhakaran to Rajiv Gandhi, requesting a ceasefire, the Indian Prime Minister stuck to his guns. During this period, RAW, the Indian Intelligence wing was determined to bring together as many of the armed supporters of various other Tamil rebel movements as possible in order to more easily fight the LTTE. The EPRLF, a Tamil rebel organisation led these efforts. On a separate track, Jeyewardene

and Rajiv Gandhi planned to conduct elections in the North and East to install an interim council that would essentially be their puppet. As per their plan, the EPRLF and ENDLF were groomed and asked to contest in the elections. This election was opposed by organisations like the LTTE, EROS, moderate Tamil politicians, and other general organisations. People boycotted this election by citing that this election was not a feasible option, given the general conditions of war, displacement and their life in refugee camps. Amidst charges of corruption and fraudulency, the filing of nomination papers for the election went ahead on 10 October 1988. Newspapers like *Uthayan* and *Virakesari* that documented the truth behind the electoral process, had their distribution severely curtailed. Curfews were imposed, transportation was cut off, and an artificial fuel shortage situation was created in the immediate aftermath. The Indian forces ensured that none could even contest the elections except the EPRLF. In the East, a few Muslim parties were in the fray. The elections that were conducted in November 1988 and characterized by wide scale irregularities and fraud, did ensure that the EPRLF won power as desired by India. Varadaraja Perumal, who was one of the members of the core committee of the EPRLF, was elected as the Chief Minister. Trincomalee was selected as the administrative capital of the North and East Province. These actions by India were detested by the majority Sinhalese and Jeyewardene. So Jeyewardene refused to empower the Provincial Council. This forced Varadaraja Perumal to alternatively knock on the doors of Colombo and Delhi. Sri Lanka's apathy towards the provincial council caused it to refuse to part with the administrative expenses of the provincial council, and therefore India was in the sorry state of dolling out the required expenses from its exchequer. During the time of Jeyewardene's power he resolutely kept in his stance. The state of affairs at the time brought about a bundle of shame on the ISLA and upon India, which claims to be a regional power in South Asia, all brought about by a tiny island country and one very crafty individual named Jeyewardene.

During this period, General V.N. Sharma arrived in Jaffna and took over as the new Commander of the IPKF. He ordered the establishment of a force that could help in the implementation of the administrative decisions of the North-East province. Amidst the difference of opinions, a force called Tamil

Eelam Army was established by Varadaraja Perumal with the help of the Sri Lankan army and with the financial assistance of India. The young men necessary for the establishment of this force could not be mustered in the North and hence they looked out for young male children in the East in their residences, educational institutions and public places. They managed to collect 10,000 such young child soldiers and raise the army. After committing all these atrocities against the Eelam Tamils, Jeyewardene retired

from his active political role in the month of December 1988. It can be rightfully said that if a student of history wants to write a biography of a politician who brought about the total destruction of an ethnic group with his anarchy, arrogance and racist philosophy, then J.R. Jeyewardene would be a more than fitting candidate. His action will form a fitting subject matter for a student of history.

After the retirement of Jeyewardene, a presidential election was conducted and Ranasinghe Premadasa was elected President. Sirimavo Bandaranaike who was instrumental in the ethnic issue in the island not only tasted defeat in the election but was also thrown out of Sri Lankan politics forever. Following this, on 15 February 1989 a parliamentary election was called for, and in this too Premadasa's UNP captured power by staging a resounding victory. The Tamil Tigers shunned the elections and also asked the Tamils to boycott the elections. It is worth mentioning that the leaders of TULF, Amirthalingam and Yogeswaran, were also defeated in this election. In the same period, after the death of M.G. Ramachandran, the Tamil Nadu assembly was placed under Governor's rule for a year. An election was conducted later which paved the way for the election of M. Karunanidhi, as the Chief Minister, and J. Jayalalitha as the leader of the opposition in the Tamil Nadu assembly. During this period widespread anti-Indian demonstrations took place in the Sinhalese South of the Sri Lankan island. The demonstrations started to grow more violent as days passed by. President Premadasa and the Defence Minister Athulathmudali took an anti-Indian stand from the very beginning. Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), a Sinhalese terrorist organisation, took an openly violent stand against the Indian presence. Even in Tamil Nadu, the ISLA was symbolically set on fire and demands to withdraw the IPKF from the Tamil Eelam soil grew loud.

Within a few days after taking over as the President, Premadasa gave an open call that he was ready for talks with the JVP and the Tamil Tigers. He contacted Anton Balasingham and expressed his wish. Anton Balasingham in turn contacted Prabhakaran who was stationed in the Vanni jungle, and explained the ground realities. As a consequence, Premadasa announced a ceasefire on the Tamil and Sinhalese New Year's Day that fell on 12 of April, 1989. He went on to announce that the IPKF should also abide by his order

not to fight. On the above assertions of Premadasa, the Tamil Tigers sent a letter to him explaining their stand that since the IPKF was hell bent on wiping them out, until such time that the IPKF withdraws from Eelam soil there was no possibility of a ceasefire. The very next day Premadasa ordered that the IPKF had to leave the Sri Lankan soil within three months and the External Affairs Minister of Sri Lanka, Ranjan Wijeyratne, called the Tamil Tigers to come in for the peace talks they had initiated. Anton



Balasingham stationed in London asked the Sri Lankan government to go ahead in their efforts of arranging the peace talks. Anton Balasingham and Adele Balasingham arrived in Colombo on the 26 April 1989. The representatives of Tamil Tigers were brought from Vanni to Colombo by special planes chartered by the Sri Lankan government. On the 4 May 1989, the Tamil Tigers, under the leadership of Anton Balasingham, met with Premadasa in his presidential palace. The meeting was more of a customary introduction session. During the meeting Premadasa was very appreciative of Prabhakaran, saying that he was a real hero who had the audacity to confront the Indian forces and that the JVP were a bunch of cowards who could not even throw a single stone at them. From then on, in the period from 5 May 1989 till 30 May 1989, nine rounds of peace talks revolving around different subjects took place.

After the first round of peace talks, Anton Balasingham and his Tamil Tiger team went to the Alambil forest of Vanni by an aircraft arranged by the Sri Lankan government. This was the same period when the Indian forces began a series of attacks in the Vanni forest, mobilising its air force and ground forces in an effort to capture Prabhakaran. But the commanders and fighters of Prabhakaran strongly fought back to thwart the Indian attempts to capture Prabhakaran. Nevertheless, there were many occasions in which the Indian forces came close to the hiding place of Prabhakaran.

During 2002, the author of this book had a chance to meet with Prabhakaran in Vanni. In that meeting, Thamilenthi, the Head of Finance, Natesan, the Head of Police, and Castro, the Head of International Relations, were also present. When the author was talking about a particular cave that was in Vanni, Prabhakaran started talking with joy about the experiences he had in the Vanni forest. At this point he mentioned a shocking episode recounted as follows:

The Indian army had come very closer to his hideout. Lt. Col. Navam and his fighters were waging an all out battle near his hideout and news had arrived that many Tiger fighters were killed while on their way. The Indian army were to arrive at any moment and with no escape he wanted to kill himself rather than risk getting captured.

We all noticed how his eyes turned red while he was describing this incident. After pausing for a moment, he went on to tell us that he had ordered his security men to shoot him, leave no trace of him by immolating his body in gasoline, and then to try and escape from the scene. But the security men with Prabhakaran did not heed his words, and instead chose to speak to the Lt. Col. Navam who was in the battlefield over a satellite phone to understand the ground

realities. He finished by saying that Navam informed the security men that they have almost succeeded in breaking the defence of the Indian forces and that they would return soon to their garrison and not to worry about the situation. He paused for some more time and said that in that battle they lost Navam who was a great warrior. He finished sharing his experiences by saying that in remembrance of Navam's sacrifice he had decided that the LTTE's centre for the disabled was to be named 'Navam Science Academy'.

For the sake of the liberation of his motherland and for the sake of the liberty of his own people, Prabhakaran had kissed the doors of death from a young age since 1974 till 2009. The numerous nations that waged war and terror, the numerous armies that confronted him, the numerous non-partisans that never agreed with him, the numerous fighters that belonged to different rebel groups that targeted him, his own that turned against him, the various guns, the various canons, the various bombs from the air of all these people were all aimed at eliminating his life. Could nothing touch Prabhakaran? Only time will provide us an answer to this.

The beginning of talks between the Tamil Tigers and the Sri Lankan government, and the ultimatum served to the IPKF by Premadasa to leave Sri Lanka within a three month period, angered the Indian government. The widespread destruction and atrocities committed by the IPKF in the Tamil speaking provinces were being well highlighted in the world media. This caused a huge embarrassment to the Indian government. In the World Tamils Conference that took place in London on 29-30 April 1989, many politicians from around the world, noted educationists and human rights activists, condemned in chorus the atrocities of India and the need for it to get out of the Tamil speaking region of Sri Lanka.

It was during this period, on 16 and 19 of June 1989 that the second round of talks between the Tamil Tigers and the Sri Lankan government took place. Though many issues were discussed, it was decided that the ceasefire should be jointly declared by the Sri Lankan government and the Tamil Tigers.

In this condition many other incidents did happen. Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and the Sri Lankan President Premadasa were waging a war of words through their letters. Premadasa was angered to the extent of issuing promulgation and giving a written instruction to the IPKF Commander Amarjit Singh, asking for the IPKF to leave within July or be confined inside the garrison. In retaliation, the IPKF commander issued a strongly worded warning letter to the Sri Lankan army that if they leave their garrison, they shall be attacked by the Indian army.

It was during this period, that Amirthalingam and Yogeswaran, belonging to TULF, were shot dead at their door steps in Colombo on the 13 July 1989. It was widely believed that the Sri Lankan government was involved in this dastardly act. The Tamil Tigers officially announced from their London office that they had no role in this double murder.

The following week saw the assassination of Umamaheswaran, who was the leader of PLOTE. His assassination came under the shadow of the protection extended to him by the Sri Lankan army, and this raised some serious doubts about the army which naturally lost their steam in due course.

The demand made by Premadasa on the exit of IPKF from Sri Lanka, had angered the Indian government and officials of the IPKF. The immediate consequence of this was the systematic destruction of the Vanni region and the Eastern province by the IPKF. The Chief Minister of North-East province, Varadaraja Perumal threatened the Sri Lankan government that if it failed to implement the ISLA, it would go ahead with the declaration of independence from Sri Lanka. He also declared that the Tamil National Army would join hands with the IPKF and fight against the LTTE. During this period, the IPKF started a massive bombing operation in Valvettithurai, Jaffna and started killing innumerable innocent civilians. They pillaged, looted and burnt down houses, properties, shops and other establishments. These shameful acts by Indian Forces were given wide coverage in the media around the world, throughout India and Tamil Nadu. All the media houses of the world were of the opinions that the Indian forces had to leave Tamil Eelam. Human rights organisations, various neutral agencies, political leaders, many noted scholars, and every other diplomat, lent their voices uniformly in demanding that the IPKF should move out of Sri Lanka. The Tamil Tigers, the Sri Lankan government, the Tamils and the Sinhalese who were the main players in the arena of this ethnic issue in Sri Lanka, also demanded that the IPKF leave their soil. By and large, the Indian forces were seen as unwanted and a detested armed force, looking forlorn and helpless.

At this critical juncture, as a consequence to the dialogue between the Sri Lankan President Premadasa and the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, the IPKF stopped its offensive on 20 September 1989. Based on the agreement made between the two politicians mentioned above, it was agreed

that the IPKF would start their withdrawal from Tamil Eelam during the second week of October 1989. Meanwhile, in the parliamentary elections held in India, the Indian Congress was defeated and Rajiv Gandhi lost his position as the Prime Minister of India. A coalition called the National Front headed by V.P Singh came to power and he became the new Prime Minister. V.P Singh condemned the mistakes committed by Rajiv Gandhi. He did not want to continue those mistakes. He promised the Sri Lankan President

Premadasa, that the IPKF would leave the soils of Sri Lanka by 31 March 1990, at the latest. At this time, the Chief Minister of the North-East province, Varadaraja Perumal, was fully preoccupied with travelling between Delhi, Tamil Nadu and Colombo, desperately trying to save the provincial council and his authority. Premadasa did not take into account the pleadings of Varadaraja Perumal and ignored him. Rajiv Gandhi who himself was busy with his tight election campaign schedule was in no mood to listen to him. A deserted Varadaraja Perumal took refuge in India. The IPKF had also left India for good by that time. There were more than 10,000 cadres in the Tamil National Army, which was raised through unethical and improper means. When the IPKF started to leave Sri Lanka, the places in the East which were under the control of IPKF till then had now come under the control of the LTTE. It was announced that Varadaraja Perumal's Tamil National Army must surrender or go back to their families. Many fighters surrendered to the LTTE and dedicated themselves to the freedom struggle. When those who surrendered no longer wanted to fight, the LTTE facilitated their reunion with their parents. The North and East resembled silent graveyards and maintained a war free environment.

The books referred to in this chapter carry clear and detailed accounts of the war that ensued between the LTTE and IPKF and also carry detailed information on the consequential damages that were inflicted. Hence, it becomes redundant to cover these details again here. But we can understand from various documents that the IPKF had killed about 5,000 Eelam Tamils. Also many thousands of young men and women that had been arrested by the IPKF had been destroyed without a trace with no information available till date about them or their whereabouts. Thousands have been maimed by air strikes, shelling, motor attacks and firing from the Indian army. Hundreds of girls of minor age, women at their puberty, married women and elderly women were raped and violently abused by the Indian army. Thousands of Tamil homes had been completely destroyed. Schools, colleges, university premises, Hindu temples, Christian churches, hospitals, shops, industries, markets, press establishments, radio and television stations had all been razed by the Indian army. The people who welcomed the Indian army with garlands, mistaking them to be their saviour, would never have imagined in

their wildest nightmares that they would face such deplorable atrocities and intolerable cruelties in what would turn out to be a modern historical tragedy. The large scale human brutality perpetrated by the Indian army will definitely have permanent psychological effects on the minds of the Eelam Tamils. The histories of India, Sri Lanka and that of Tamil Eelam are going to hold the atrocities committed by the Indian army against the Eelam Tamils as a deep and incurable scar, and will remain as an unforgivable felony that



will haunt the Indian army throughout history. The lack of experience, skill and knowledge of the Indian government's leaders and the lack of self-discipline and restraint of many soldiers in the Indian army, had lead to the consequential blunder of the destruction of a great ethnic nationality and the dismantling of their aspirations for independence. This historic blunder is an absolutely inexcusable disgrace that as students of the future will clearly see and nobody will be able to justify the contrary. Also, there is no factor which can impede a student of history from declaring that these acts of the Indian army have delivered a mortal blow to the principle of non-violence adopted by Mahatma Gandhi in his fight against the British to peacefully attain India's independence.

India is a sacred land and the home of great virtues like non-violence, justice and spirituality. It is a great throne duly decorated by the spirit of Mother India; a cradle of many civilizations; a nation which has great respect for the notions of democracy; a country which carries the second largest population in the world and shines with a great collection of natural resources; a land that has the world's fourth largest army and an advanced military infrastructure; a great nation which has grown itself to the scales of the developed nations of the world in terms of advanced technologies and the information industry. Those who make a scientific analysis on the present state of the country will be able to appreciate the fact that such a great nation is rapidly on its way towards destruction on account of its political leaders who lack patriotism, knowledge, wisdom, diplomacy and leadership. No one can deny the fact that bribery and financial swindles have plagued the nation on all levels from the lowest grade government official all the way to the high profile diplomats, and from ordinary citizens all the way till the leaders who guide the nation. India has been pushed into a state of despair due to uncontrolled evils, such as murders and robberies which occur every day. India has lost its rationality and hence failed to update its antediluvian ideals in its domestic, regional and foreign policies and thus is lagging far behind in its ability to cope with the changing trends of this modern world. It is precisely because of these reasons that the lives, dreams and political freedoms of the Tamil Eelam people have been destroyed and their territory ruined beyond recovery. There is no doubt that India will be busy travelling

steadfastly in its journey towards calamity until the antiquated politicians, those who were so accustomed to bribery and scams, leaders who lack political wisdom, vision and clarity, public servants who have lost all sense of patriotism, sectarians, religious political parties and people who are unrelated to the country are all removed and replaced with a new generation of leaders who are the sons and daughters of this soil, who carry great knowledge, intellect, vision, patriotism, honesty and self-discipline.

Only a generation of leaders who love India will carefully and justly handle the issues related to Eelam Tamils and Sri Lanka. India is comprised of many states which share power in a federal setup. The states are divided on linguistic lines. When the union government acts against the fair interests of a state, other states oppose it. Also members selected at the state levels make up the Parliament of the nation. Hence the central government exercise utmost care when taking decisions related to the state governments. But when we consider the situation of Sri Lanka, such an environment does not exist. Sri Lanka is a nation composed of about 70 percent majority Sinhalese and 17 percent minority Tamils. Hence a federal setup or a provincial council will be completely meaningless. There will be nothing to prevent the all-powerful President or Sri Lankan parliament run by the majority Sinhalese from dismissing or intruding with or influencing the provincial councils at any point in time. The current generation of Indians will never be able to appreciate this. Hence, only when a new generation of Indians come to control their government can we expect India to provide fair treatment to the ethnic issues of the Eelam Tamils. We think that this will take a long time.

Therefore, as we can clearly perceive from the above analysis, there is no other viable option for the Tamils other than the establishment of a free Tamil Eelam in order for them to regain their lost traditional homelands, as well as live with freedom and self determination. This is the only permanent solution for the Tamil people and no other solution will work for them.

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## CHAPTER FOUR

### **The Ban on LTTE and its Effects**

#### **Sri Lanka's LTTE Ban**

After the ethnic holocaust unleashed in 1977 by the Sri Lankan government against the Sri Lankan Tamils, many young men and women revolted against the government in multiple ways and created an uprising. Particularly in the Jaffna Gulf, the Vanni region and the Tamil regions of the East, many violent incidents took place. Many liberation movements started to make their appearance. The immediate reason for this situation was the impact TULF's 1976 Vaddukoddai resolution had on the younger generation, which declared the need for an independent Tamil Eelam. The brutalities, imprisonments and tortures against the Tamil people had also worsened the situation. The birth and subsequent growth of liberation movements, as well as armed struggles, intensified at a swift pace on a daily basis.

In the light of this situation, the Sri Lankan government issued a ban on the LTTE for the first time, intending to crush the Tamil Eelam liberation struggle, destroy their fighters and thereby, protect Sinhalese regional integrity and sovereignty. The UNP and its leader J.R. Jeyewardene, having captured power in Sri Lanka with a thumping majority, were key elements for passing a law to ban the LTTE. In 1978, the LTTE were legally banned by the Sri Lankan government for the first time. But in 1987, after the signing of Indo-Sri Lankan Peace Accord by the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and the Sri Lankan President Jeyewardene, this ban was revoked. The reason was that the LTTE alone was in a position to operate on behalf of the Tamil people. The Sri Lankan government was wooed by the Indian government to remove the ban on LTTE based on the reality that the peace talks could not be held with the LTTE if they remained a legally banned entity.

As a reaction to the failure of the ISLA and the bomb attacks on the Sinhalese Buddhist Shrine Dalada Maligawa, the Sri Lankan government banned the LTTE for a second time on 26 January 1998. The government announced that the LTTE organisation was banned under *Section 1* of the *Emergency Order Act of 1998*. Also, the Sri Lankan government had passed *Section 48* of the *Prevention of Terrorism Act of 1979* on 20 July 1979. The Sri Lankan government tried to justify the passage of these two laws by stating that the terrorist organisations posed a threat to the integrity and security of the nation by their activities to carve out a separate Tamil Eelam nation. But through a deeper analysis of these two laws, one can perceive that the actual purpose of these two laws differs from what was conveyed. The two drafts along with their implementation can be seen only as an action plan to totally annihilate the Tamil race through every possible means. Though the law is comprised of some complicated legal terminology it will be quite essential and appropriate to present them in their entirety in consideration of many other factors.

**Emergency (Proscribing of Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam)  
Regulations No. 1 of 1998**

1. These regulations may be cited as the Emergency (Proscribing of Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) Regulations No. 1 of 1998.
2.
  - (1) The organisation styled as the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam is hereby proscribed.
  - (2) The provisions of this regulation, shall also apply to every other organisation and to everybody or group of persons engaged in activities substantially similar to those carried on, or formerly carried on, by the organisation styled as the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (hereinafter referred to as the 'proscribed' organisation) in like manner as though it, or they, were also the proscribed organisation.
3. Any person who:
  - (a) wears any uniform, dress, symbol or other emblem which signifies or indicates any association with, or membership of, or adherence to, the proscribed organisation; or
  - (b) summons or attends a meeting of such proscribed organisation, or participates or engages in any activity, of, or connected with, or related to, such proscribed organisation; or

- (c) supports such proscribed organisation by inviting or exhorting persons to be enrolled as members, contributing or collecting funds, or furnishing information or securing other assistance to such proscribed organisation; or
- (d) harbours, conceals or in any other manner assists, any member of such proscribed organisation with intent thereby to prevent, hinder or interfere with the apprehension, trial or punishment of such member; or
- (e) makes, prints, distributes or publishes in any way concerned in the making, printing, distribution or publication, of any writing or printed matter which is or purports to be published by or on behalf of such proscribed organisation or by any member thereof; or
- (f) communicates or attempts to communicate to any other person in any manner any order, decision, declaration or exhortation made or purported to have been made by such proscribed organisation by any member thereof or any information relating thereto for the purpose of advancing the objectives of such Proscribed organisation shall be guilty of an offence under these regulations and shall on conviction be liable to imprisonment for a period not less than seven years and not exceeding fifteen years.

4.

- (1) Where the Minister is satisfied, after such inquiry as he may think fit, that any person has custody of any moneys, securities or credit which are being used, or are intended to be used, for the purposes of the proscribed organisation, the Minister may, by order in writing, declare that such moneys, securities or credits are in the custody of such person or any moneys, securities or credits which may come into his custody after the making of such order and any other moveable and immovable property belonging to such organisation, shall be forfeited to the State.
- (2) The decision of the Minister under subsection (1) shall be final and conclusive and shall not be called in question in any court of law by way of writ or otherwise.

5. For the avoidance of doubts it is hereby declared that the provisions of these regulations will not in any way affect the right of any international organisation which has entered into an



agreement with the Government of Sri Lanka, and which is specified by the Secretary to the Ministry of the Minister in charge of the subject of Defence, from time to time, to engage in any activity connected with the rendering of humanitarian assistance.

## **Sri Lanka Prevention of Terrorism Act**

### **Investigation of Offences 6.**

(1) Any police officer not below the rank of Superintendent or any other police officer not below the rank of Sub-inspector authorised in writing by him in that behalf may, without a warrant and with or without assistance and notwithstanding anything in any other law to the contrary:

- a) arrest any person;
- b) enter and search any premises;
- c) stop and search any individual or any vehicle, vessel, train or aircraft; and
- d) seize any document or thing, connected with or concerned in or reasonably suspected of being connected with or concerned in any unlawful activity.

### **About Places of Cross Examination**

A police officer conducting an investigation under this Act in respect of any person arrested under this act shall have the right of access to such person and the right to take such person from place to place for the purposes of investigation

### **Detention and Restriction Orders**

7. (1) Where the Minister has reason to believe or suspect that any person is connected with or concerned in any unlawful activity, the Minister may order that such person be detained for a period not exceeding three months in the first instance, in such place and subject to such conditions as may be determined by the Minister, and any such order may be extended from time to time for a period not exceeding three months at a time: Provided, however, that the aggregate period of such detention shall not exceed a period of eighteen months.

### **Regarding the Request for Clarification against Detention**

8. An order made under section 9 shall be final and shall not be called in question in any court or tribunal by way of writ or otherwise. An order made by the Minister under subsection (1) shall be final and shall not be called in question in any court or tribunal by way of writ or otherwise.

### **About Evidences Section VI - Explanation 9.**

(1) Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, where any person is charged with any offence under this Act, any statement made by such person at any time, whether:

- a) it amounts to a confession or not;
- b) made orally or reduced to writing;
- c) such person was or was not in custody or presence of a police officer;
- d) made in the course of an investigation or not; it was or was not wholly or partly in answer to any question

(2) The burden of proving that any statement referred to in subsection (1) is irrelevant under section 24 of the Evidence Ordinance shall be on the person asserting it to be irrelevant.

(3) Any statement admissible under subsection (1) may be proved as against any other person charged jointly with the person making the statement, if, and only if, such statement is corroborated in material particulars by evidence other than the statements referred to in subsection (1).

10.

(1)

- (a) a statement recorded by a Magistrate, or made at an identification parade by a person who is dead or who cannot be found, shall be admissible in evidence notwithstanding that such person is not present or cannot or has not been cross-examined; and
- (b) any document found in the custody, control or possession of a person accused of any offence under this Act or of an agent or representative of such person may be produced in court as evidence against such person without the maker of such

document being called as a witness and the contents of such document shall be evidence of the facts stated therein

### **About Bail**

Every person convicted by any court of any offence under this Act shall, notwithstanding that he has lodged a petition of appeal against his conviction or the sentence imposed on him, be kept on remand until the determination of the appeal

### **Retrospective Actions**

#### **PART VII - Provision 22**

Any person who has committed any offence under section 296 or section 297 or section 300 of the Penal Code prior to the date of coming into operation of Part VI of this Act or has abetted or has conspired to abet the commission of any such offence prior to such date, in relation to any person who is a specified person or a person who was a witness to any offence which if such offence had been committed after the date of coming into operation of Part I of this Act would have constituted an offence under this Act shall, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law to the contrary, be triable without a preliminary inquiry, on an indictment before a Judge of the High Court sitting alone without a jury

### **Immunity to Defence Personnel from Punishment:**

#### **Part VIII - Provision 26**

No suit, prosecution or other proceeding, civil or criminal, shall lie against any officer or person for any act or thing in good faith done or purported to be done in pursuance or supposed pursuance of any order made or direction given under this Act.

### **Highest Law of the Land**

The provisions of this Act shall have effect notwithstanding anything contained in any other written law and accordingly in the event of any conflict or inconsistency between the provisions of this Act and such other written law, the provisions of this Act shall prevail

Genocide is known as the act of destroying an ethnic group from its country or region, either in whole or in parts, and thereby eradicating any trace of the

existence of this group from the land or the region. This is precisely how the Jewish ethnicity was exterminated in Germany and other European countries for centuries. The same Jews then attained a nation of their own called Israel in the year 1949. But the same Jews have now been fighting for more than half a century to eradicate the Palestinians from their homelands and hence, are embarked on an act of genocide on their own. Human rights abuses are always happening throughout many nations of the world. All the people who live in a democratic set up are entitled to basic human rights as per the provisions of the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC). But there have been many instances where such rights have been denied by a specific group, ruling elite or a power centre. When such rights are denied it is seen by the world as a human rights violation. But there is a huge difference between human rights violations and genocide.

The countries of the world have now started to realise that what Sri Lanka is doing to the Tamils is not simply a violation of human rights but an act of genocide. It looks as if even the UNHRC, graded by a feeling of guilt in spite of all the seemingly diplomatic stances seems to have realised for sure that what is happening to the Sri Lankan Tamils is nothing short of genocide. When someone looks into the scope of the two laws listed above, one can easily fathom the realities hidden in these acts. Not just a member of the LTTE, but any Tamil from the entire Sri Lankan nation from any station of the society, can be trapped with one provision or another of these laws. They can also be remanded or imprisoned for many years without any enquiry whatsoever. The captured people are often subjected to heinous tortures and can be easily amputated or even killed in custody. Many thousands have disappeared after being taken into custody. This trend is so wide spread that there is a 'Missing Persons Organisation' in Sri Lanka that is run by the parents and relatives of those who have disappeared.

Subjecting the Tamils to torture unto death in the name of enquiry, open killing in battles, widespread killing with guns and shells, blanket bombing from the skies, preventing food and medicine from reaching the Tamil areas with a view to causing their death from starvation and disease, subjecting the Tamil women to sexual assault and killing them afterwards, instigating violence against Tamils in Sinhalese areas so as to killing - there has been

no end to the way through which the Sri Lankan government has been engaged in the mass killing of the Tamils for more than half a century. No right thinking person can deny that this has been the history of the island for more than half a century. The above mentioned laws have but given public sanction to the extermination of Tamils to the defence personnel without being penalized.

As pointed out earlier, the Sri Lankan government issued a ban against

the LTTE in 1978 and then later revoked it in 1987 when the ISLA was signed. The failure of this accord, followed by the continuing peace talks between the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE in the 1990s, extended this period where the ban was not imposed until 1997. But after the failure of the peace talks and the resumption of the war between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan government, the ban was once again imposed on 26 January 1998.

When Norway was involved as a mediator to the peace talks in 2001 to help find a permanent political solution to the Sri Lankan Tamil issue, the Sri Lankan government revoked the ban again in February 2002 and enabled the LTTE to participate in the talks. But after the failure of these peace talks, President Mahinda Rajapaksa imposed the ban on the LTTE again. Thus, in the last three decades the Sri Lankan government has issued a legal ban on the LTTE on four separate occasions.

The Sinhalese forms a majority race accounting for about 70 percent of the entire population. Tamils account for only about 17 percent. Thus, the majority Sinhalese population vests the Sinhalese political parties with the power to rule the land. Also, the police department and especially the Sri Lankan military are seen as exclusively all-Sinhalese units. Hence, the Sri Lankan government, using its majority powers in the parliament, is capable of implementing or repealing any law at any point in time. The ban on the LTTE and the *Prevention of Terrorism Act* are typical examples for this behaviour. Thus, Tamil politicians only have the right to take part in deliberations and express their dissent, but will never have the power at any point in time to alter these laws and regulations. Also, the exclusively all-Sinhalese police and military units are perfect aids to the government in implementing any anti-Tamil legislation without obstruction. To keep it short, it is a clear fact that the ethnic rift in the island nation will continue to explode for years to come until the Tamils get their separate Tamil Eelam, on the basis of self determination, and hence are able to decide their own political future.

### **India's LTTE Ban**

The failure of the ISLA and the atrocities of the IPKF in Tamil regions made the Indian government put up a sorry face in front of its own people and the rest of the world. It reflected badly on Rajiv Gandhi and his party which suffered electoral loss in 1991. Rajiv Gandhi was keen on coming back to power in the ensuing Indian parliamentary elections and was in the process of vigorous canvassing. During his visit to Sriperumbudur in Tamil Nadu, as he was approaching a stage during a campaign, he was blown to pieces along with 18 others by a female suicidal bomber. As expected, the Indian media

were unified in blaming the LTTE for this shocking murder. It is worth mentioning here that when the former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was murdered following conspiracies within her family, Indian Congress supporters then massacred thousands of Sikhs. The political advisor of the LTTE, Yogi, denied any possible links between the LTTE and Rajiv's murder in his replies to the media. He further stated that the LTTE had been condemned in order to prevent any protests, riots or loss of Indian life on Indian soil. But, interestingly, there was no retribution against the more than 200,000 Sri Lankan Tamils who were residing in India by the Tamils of Tamil Nadu or Indians in general. Kittu, one of the chief commanders of the LTTE, residing in London at that time, stated in his interview to the *SUNDAY* program:

There is no association between Rajiv Gandhi's murder and our organisation. We never interfered in Indian politics... We didn't interfere in this. This will be understood at the right time.

Anton Balasingham, in his BBC interview, stated that Rajiv's murder was an unfortunate incident. Prabhakaran stated that Rajiv's murder was a tragedy on 10 April, 2002, in his press meet with international media. Pala Nedumaran, in his view about Rajiv's murder has stated the following:

A completely fictitious drama that has masked justice, honesty and truth has been planned and executed. From the start of enquiry, the trial, to the judgement, a lot of truths have been deeply buried. The CBI didn't want the trial of a former Prime Minister to be held transparently. It feared the buried truths would surface. Hence, the trial was a secret one.

A.P. Venkateswaran, Secretary of Ministry of External Affairs, India, in his interview to *Virakesari*, Colombo notes:

Considering the situations, LTTE don't seem to have motive to kill Rajiv Gandhi. In fact, they were in talks with him recently (before 1991 elections) in March 1991. Also, he was positive about renewing contacts with LTTE.

Viewed in the light of the above mentioned facts, if it is accepted that the LTTE had no role to play in Rajiv's murder then we are left with the million dollar question. Who else? A detailed analysis of the news in various Indian media during that time as well as further information from investigative



reports and books lead us to various shocking facts that point to many key figures associated with the murder.

The Indian government made sure that the investigative reports of the Verma Commission and Jain Commission with regard to Rajiv's assassination did not reach the public. There was no fair trial in the High Court. Notwithstanding this, India banned the LTTE in 1991. That it was an unjustified act was the talk of the town. Much has been spoken and written about the totally unacceptable and unjustified ban of the LTTE since then. Let us analyse the various evidence obtained so far that can solve the mystery behind Rajiv's murder. It is essential to analyse how this posed a setback to the struggle for Tamil Eelam as other nations such as America and various European countries were quick to follow suit in irrationally banning the LTTE.

### **Rajiv Gandhi's Assassination**

It was a well known fact that after losing his Prime Minister's office, Rajiv Gandhi was carrying on a hectic campaign for the parliamentary elections of 1991. Through his experience and lessons learned from past mistakes, he had devised strategies to become a powerful statesman in India and controlling power in the Asian region. He had also endured many bitter experiences during his reign as Prime Minister and consequentially as the Opposition Leader. His debacle in Sri Lanka and the serious aftermath it led to may be cited as an instance.

The people of Tamil Eelam, the LTTE and its leader Prabhakaran had placed enormous trust in India, Indira Gandhi and her son Rajiv Gandhi. They never did anything against the interests of India during their stay there and soon after they eventually returned to Tamil Eelam forever. They never had any associations with India's enemies. Though they were aware that India would never allow the bisection of Sri Lanka, they had immense hope that India would save the Sri Lankan Tamils by helping them receive political justice.

Two Tamil scholars who were pioneers in the Tamil Eelam struggle met Rajiv Gandhi in Delhi shortly before the elections, as per the request of Prabhakaran, on 5 March, 1991. The author of this book had the opportunity to later speak to one of the two scholars who stated:

He (Rajiv Gandhi) thinks he has faulted in matters of the LTTE in the past... Not only that, he also promised to help them after he resumes office and asked them to continue their fight till then.

Above all, in his interview with the *Indian Express*, Murasoli Maran, Minister of Business and Development, revealed shocking information

which reinforces the above statement. The Sri Lankan Prime Minister Premadasa had vehemently opposed the ISLA from start. He had made a secret agreement with Prabhakaran and helped the LTTE in sending the IPKF back. After this came to Rajiv's knowledge he has said the following to Murasoli Maran:

We will help Prabhakaran. I wasn't aware of the real situation of LTTE. Ask Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Karunanidhi to talk with them. We will help them in forming an independent Tamil Eelam province.

Maran further stated:

Rajiv was in the mindset to help LTTE. He had given bullet proof jacket to Prabhakaran. Tamil scholars represented Prabhakaran in the meeting with Rajiv.

As per the request of these scholars to the author, their identities have not been revealed here, though their names have been recorded elsewhere. The earlier mentioned interview of A.P. Venkateswaran, Secretary of External Affairs, authenticates the above meeting. One of the scholars mentioned has said that the details of their conversation with Rajiv were immediately despatched to Prabhakaran. In this background, there are no grounds whatsoever, for the LTTE to have been involved in his murder. But the Indian court has imposed the death penalty upon 26 innocent Tamils stating that there is ample evidence available that connects them to Rajiv Gandhi's murder. We can note that there were many LTTE members that had continued to reside in India. It is quite possible that a few unsuspecting LTTE members may have been led into believing that certain others were still key members of the organisation. This group may in turn have been bribed by another power and exploited the unsuspecting LTTE members into assassinating Rajiv. After knowing that some LTTE members were involved in it, Prabhakaran and his advisor Anton Balasingham did not have much to say on Rajiv's murder. Further, Rajiv had failed to keep his promise to Prabhakaran and indulged in destroying the LTTE and Tamil civilians through the IPKF. Above all, he invited Prabhakaran and his group to Delhi

and treated them like prisoners. It may be due to these reasons, that neither Prabhakaran nor Anton Balasingham bothered much about the murder.

Taking advantage of this, the Indian government and law courts, as well as the Verma and the Jain Commissions, all put the blame on the LTTE without any difficulty and paved the way for their ban in India. The other

nations of the world, oblivious of India's conspiracy, developed animosity towards the LTTE, who were later banned in USA and Europe. But of late, we have seen the surfacing of a plethora of reports and analytical studies stating that the truth behind Rajiv's assassination has been masked by the unjust and iniquitous approach of the Indian government.

A brief analysis of a few such documents and happenings, can easily lead us to a conclusion as to whether those accused in the murder had a role in the foul play or not. Further, in the case that the accused are actually innocent, we can perceive the action of the court of law establishing blame, and then sentencing 26 innocent Tamils to death is far from fair and objective. Further, the banning of the LTTE on the basis of the false premise can also be found to be wrong. Instead of treating this as a belated post-mortem, it must be considered proper and unavoidable to treat this as a good lesson in political science for the younger generation of India. It will also be an educational experience.

Rajiv Gandhi was doing the last rounds of his campaigning for the first phase of the Parliamentary election a few days before they were due. On 21st May, 1991, his Sriperumbudur meeting was squeezed into an already organised campaign schedule yielding to the compulsion of few party leaders. It is here that Rajiv Gandhi's murder was planned to take place. Is this not a deserving reason for a number of suspicions? The murder has taken place when Chandrasekhar was the Prime Minister. Home Minister Subkanth Sakai and the Law Minister Subramanian Swamy were in charge of appointing the Verma Commission and they restricted the inquiry to the security arrangements during the assassination. The Bharatiya Janata Party and National Congress Front had jointly emphasized that the background of the murder also be investigated by the commission but this was summarily turned down by the concerned Ministers. Interestingly, for two months after its appointment, the Commission did not have an office allocated or necessary staff appointed. This situation did not improve in Narasimha Rao's rule that followed the Congress election victory. Justice Verma's frustration is evident in his following words:

This shows how mature India's democracy is. This is a question of India's pride. The world is observing this.

Subramanian Swamy was close to Chandra Swamy, who was associated with Rajiv's murder. Both of them are known to have had contacts with international intelligence agencies. The Indian intelligence wing had tapped and documented conversations between such agencies and Subramanian Swamy. Further, Veluchamy who was the Tamil Nadu State Secretary of the

Bharatiya Janata Party was with Subramanian Swamy when the murder took place.

These are a few important excerpts from Veluchamy's oral evidence given to the Jain Commission:

- (1) Subramanian Swamy came to Tamil Nadu on 19 May 1991, and took part in campaigns throughout the state. He had stated to me (Veluchamy) that he had important work to attend to in Delhi on 21 May 1991 and that he would leave to Delhi on the morning of 21 May 1991 returning to Chennai on 22 May 1991 and then travelling to Madurai via Trichy.
- (2) But he did not go to Delhi on 19 May 1991, as scheduled. In fact, he had stayed at the Hotel Trident in Tamil Nadu on that day, without my (Veluchamy's) knowledge or that of his other friends.
- (3) When I (Veluchamy) had contacted Subramanian Swamy's Delhi residence on 21 May 1991, Mrs. Swamy had replied that her husband was in Chennai.
- (4) Subramanian Swamy left for Bangalore on 21 May 1991, from Chennai in a car, through Sriperumbudur, where Rajiv was murdered on the same day.
- (5) Around 10.25pm on 21 May 1991, I (Veluchamy) contacted Subramanian Swamy's residence to confirm his Trichy programme on 23rd May 1991. On hearing my voice he casually asked if I (Veluchamy) had called to tell him news about Rajiv's assassination. I (Veluchamy) was shocked as to how he knew the news which the outside world was yet to receive.

Seen together, all this clearly indicates that Subramanian Swamy had a key role in the well-planned murder. His international connections and espionage activities show that he had his own part in the murder, which he did for personal benefit. His role must have been quite significant.

Jawaharlal Nehru was Mahatma Gandhi's prime associate in his struggle to free India from centuries of British slavery. Many facts indicate that Subramanian Swamy helped murder Rajiv Gandhi, who belonged to Nehru's lineage, with purely selfish motive for furthering his interests. How did India allow him to go free? How did Indians permit this? Have the courts and judges failed to enforce the law of the nation? Is India being sold out for a price by some leaders bereft of patriotism, by some who hold high positions, by some who are aliens in the soil?

Why is it that the people of India, those who love their country more than

their own lives, are unable to think along these lines? Do they think and yet feel helpless and frustrated? When India is being destroyed by these people how does Eelam get entangled with it? What did Eelam do to deserve this fate? Was the LTTE alienated from India after pre-determined and pre-panned strategies of the Indian government blaming on them a crime which they never committed? Have law, justice and righteousness totally disappeared from the Indian soil?

After all these happenings, the Verma Commission conducted its inquiries and submitted the report to the Central Government in June 1992. No action has been taken on the report till date. In 1996 the Commission had collected evidence from V. Pandey, Head of Intelligence M.K. Narayanan, Home Secretary S. Sharma and Defence Secretary G.S. Vajpayee, who were all senior officials in the Central Government, and recorded them in detail. The immediate reaction of the Central Government was to relieve these officers of their duties and send them home. When the government came round to getting testimony from the officers, on the evidence, the High Court decreed that such testimony cannot be asked from those who have relinquished office.

Apart from the fact that this action is strange and irresponsible behaviour on the part of a government, it must be obvious even to a person of average intelligence that all the four officers must be in some way connected with the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi and they should have had knowledge of those who were connected with it.

Members of Indian Parliament pressed for a detailed investigation on the conspiracies involving the murder. Home Minister S. B. Chavan's speech during one such discussion highlighted the following:

The government failed to identify the forces behind Indira Gandhi's assassination. That should not happen with Rajiv. Though the role of the LTTE is being mentioned, the government is determined in tracing out the other powers. Rajiv Gandhi had evolved into an icon of third world nations. It is to be remembered that he was instrumental in creating the 'Africa Fund'. Seeing his chances in recapturing power, unchallenged, it is unquestioned that super power nations were obviously irritated.

This statement made in the Indian parliament makes clear that international elements certainly had a hand in this matter. Yet the government refrained from identifying the elements.

The Verma Commission's probe was confined only to the drawbacks in security arrangements. The Special Investigation team of the CBI,

headed by D.R. Karthikeyan, had to obey orders from high command as per their plan and ended up wrongfully accusing the LTTE. Apart from these, The Jain Commission that followed both of them, investigated the background in which the murder took place, motives, persons and agencies connected with it, as well as the conspiracies behind it. It submitted its interim report to the central government based on events that took place between 1981 and 1991. It had asked for time extensions on a total of 12 occasions within six years, and then asked for one more extension for three months. But the government had changed following general election. The United Front government denied permission for any further time extension. The Jain Commission left office after submitting its incomplete report. Also, many important files which contained previously documented evidence had now gone missing. It is based on such incomplete reports, without having access to files containing important evidence, that the High Court passed its judgment. It is a bitter truth that even the court of law had gone into tyrannical hands of powerful lobby groups.

The Court started its inquiry in 1993, strictly in camera with its sessions extending for more than 50 months. A total of 288 persons were questioned with more than 3000 documents being submitted. The members of the enquiry commission were unable to answer most of the questions raised by the Defence. Such an inconclusive, perfunctory trial was all that was conducted, but the Central Government was satisfied with that and brought the trial to an end, placing the blame on the LTTE. At the time this judgment happened to be convenient, safe, advantageous and beneficial to the Central Government, as well as to the enquiry commission in more ways than one. As a result, those who were connected with it might have had a temporary relief. All the same, it is inevitable that they will be brought to justice and sentenced by someone who holds sacred the Indian soil more than his own life.

Chandra Swamy was an associate of Subramanian Swamy and a long term friend of Narasimha Rao and enjoyed his heyday during Rao's rule. He left India when Rajiv Gandhi came to power and returned within a few days after Chandrasekhar assumed office. He continued to be Chandrasekhars mentor. Within a week of his return to India he was found thrice at parties with Chandrasekhar. Many cases against him had been pending in courts including the Hawala scandal. K. Ranganathan, who was interrogated by the Jain Commission as a witness and sentenced to death by Courts, had divulged very important information about Chandra Swamy. First, Ranganathan has made public the connection between Chandra Swamy and Sivarasan, who was the mastermind behind the

murder. Secondly, he stated that CBI officer Karthikeyan threatened him not to mention to anyone the connection between Sivarasan and Chandra Swamy. Thirdly, when Sivarasan and Subha were hiding in his house after the murder, Sivarasan has said to Ranganathan that he was expecting a message from Chandra Swamy and that Chandra Swamy will take them to Delhi and from there he will pack them off to a foreign country.

Ramesh Dalai, a Haryana based Bharatiya Janata Party member, in his statement to the Jain Commission has mentioned more damaging facts:

Chandra Swamy was my friend for more than 10 years. After Rajiv's murder, he took me to his home and threatened me not to reveal his association with the murder. Also, even before the murder, in March 1991, he had told me that Rajiv will be murdered, that Congress will be split and that Chandrasekhar will continue to remain in power. Another witness A. C. Manlal has also stated the association of Chandra Swamy in the murder.

Above all these witnesses an important piece of information has been published in the newspaper *India Today*. It says that Babloo Srivastava, accused of criminal charges and a known hoodlum of Chandra Swamy's, has testified before the Jain Commission as follows:

Chandra Swamy was dancing with delight as he heard the news about the death of Rajiv Gandhi and he was telling all that he is going to make Narasimha Rao the next Prime Minister. He called up Narasimha Rao on his residential telephone and was talking to him for half an hour.

At this juncture, *India Today* released more information that strengthened the testimony of the above said witness. Narasimha Rao tried to hide important facts and put up barriers in the enquiry of Rajiv's murder. In the same article, the following has been revealed:

It can be found from the documents of the Jain commission that Narasimha Rao strongly objected to the intentions of the commission to enquire the conspiracy behind the murder. In February 1994, he has also suggested to dissolve the commission.



Also it listed the files which were destroyed or tampered with. The Delhi based magazine *Outlook* gave in details, citing relevant evidence, of the

destruction of important files in Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's office connected with Rajiv's murder. The important fact is that the key information destroyed were that related to the testimonies on Chandra Swamy and other vital information about him.

Hence, when we look at the abovementioned facts we can observe a few key facts. Firstly, Chandra Swamy had a definite role in Rajiv's murder. Secondly, there has been a long term relationship between Chandra Swamy, Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar and Narasimha Rao who followed Chandra Shekhar. Hence, we can find that the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi has been carefully planned and executed by people of the likes of Subramanian Swamy and Chandra Swamy. We can also see that the leaders in the government and other officials have all helped in saving the perpetrators of the crime from the clutches of law.

However, they did not fail to destroy those who carried out the murders on their behalf and their minions. We can observe this from the way Sivarasan, who acted as a black demon for the sake of money, and his team, were all killed by Subramanian Swamy and Chandra Swamy with the help of the CBI officials. From witnesses we can understand that they have executed the murderers to ensure that their identities are not revealed. By the execution of Sivarasan \*s team, Subramanian Swamy and Chandra Swamy have successfully obliterated evidence regarding their role in the murder of Rajiv. Consequently, Sivarasan was dubbed as a member of the LTTE on the basis of suspicion and hence, thirteen Eelam Tamils and thirteen Indian Tamils were sentenced to death. But from a variety of sources it has been established that Sivarasan is a representative of another organisation. Also it needs to be noted that Sivarasan has been a government official of Sri Lanka and his mother is a Sinhalese women. Sivarasan also had drinking and smoking habits as per the records of the investigative teams. The CBI also knows this very well. But the LTTE has always maintained a very strong regulation among its members that they should be completely free of drinking and smoking. Even though the CBI knew all these details they still decided to label Sivarasan as a member of the LTTE. But the commission failed to analyse if he had been a former member of the LTTE who then later became antagonistic towards the LTTE, or whether he was an assassin recruited by the Sri Lankan government to murder Rajiv Gandhi. Above all, we need to consider if Prabhakaran would have wanted to earn the permanent enmity of India and Tamil Nadu by killing Rajiv Gandhi? Is he the type of leader who was incapable of realising the consequences? The committee was unable to consider these options.

At this juncture, the statement of Dr. Norman Baker, an American analyst, has been highlighted to provide more insight into this issue:

It is wrong on the part of the Special Investigation Team to have made a preconceived notion that the LTTE killed Rajiv and carry out the entire investigation in that direction. Though they had evidences that the LTTE may not be involved in the murder of Rajiv Gandhi they carefully tried to utilise the same to link the LTTE with Rajiv's murder.

Also from the plethora of evidence and news reports we can find that there were foreign hands behind the murder of Rajiv Gandhi. In any case, it will be proper to consider that foreign powers murdered Rajiv with the support of treacherous elements at home. Hence, there are very important reasons for providing all the relevant facts, evidences and information about the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi in this chapter.

The first reason is to prove that the LTTE were not involved in the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, and secondly to make it clear that the actual perpetrators of the crime purposely blamed the LTTE to save themselves from the accusation. The third reason is to explain the fact that the LTTE did not have any need to assassinate Rajiv and fourthly to explain to the world that the people who were most terribly affected by the murder of Rajiv Gandhi were the LTTE, the people of Tamil Eelam and the Tamil Eelam liberation struggle. The final reason for this evidence is to finally highlight the fact that the ban on the LTTE was a well planned scheme by senior Indian diplomats and power brokers to make the LTTE a scapegoat in Rajiv's murder without any credible reasons. Hence, there were no sound reasons for banning the LTTE in India. It is because of this action from India that the European countries also blindly banned the LTTE. Though these countries did not realise their mistake when they imposed the ban, recently they seem to be in a mindset to reconsider the same, whilst examining the deteriorating conditions of human rights in Sri Lanka.

On the whole, the biggest beneficiary of Rajiv Gandhi's murder is the Sri Lankan government. From the ground realities in India at the time, Rajiv Gandhi would have won the elections. If he did and came back to office as the Prime Minister in the Central government, he would have definitely involved himself in the Sri Lankan Tamil issue once again. The promises

made by Rajiv Gandhi to the two visiting Tamil leaders and Murasoli Maran highlight the same approach. The sudden death of Rajiv Gandhi became a matter of great relief for the Sri Lankan government and the Sinhalese executive section. Hence, as said earlier, those who were the most affected by Rajiv Gandhi's death were the Eelam Tamils, the LTTE and the Tamil Eelam liberation struggle.

## **Ban on LTTE by Other Countries**

### **America**

America issued a ban on the LTTE in October 1997. In the list of the names for 'foreign terrorist organisations' the name of the LTTE was also included. The American government ordered that the LTTE should not indulge in the procurement of armaments and the collection of funds. The impact of the ban issued on the LTTE was lesser when compared to the other banned organisations like the 19 Islamic terrorist organisations, like Al-Qaida. Also, when the front organisations of the LTTE collected funds for the welfare of affected Tamil people, the American government did not interfere with them. But after the attacks on the Twin Towers on 11 September 2001, the American government tightened the noose on so-called terrorist activities by implementing stricter laws, bans and regulations. It may be stated that until 2001, the term 'terrorism' did not create any great fear or horror in minds of the people across the world, including those in Europe, Australia, Canada and America.

But after 2001, the term assumed a disproportionate significance sending Shockwaves of panic amongst the governments and people of the countries listed above. Terrorism became synonymous with any thought or action which was deemed completely anti-democratic and hence was given a monstrous image. The impact and repercussions of this global trend became a major reason for the ban issued on the LTTE in these countries. It is true that many Tamil fighting movements and individuals were involved in anti-social activities such as credit card fraud, kidnapping and drug trafficking from 1983 onwards in various parts of the world. But when the perpetrators of such crimes were caught, it was a common trend among them to most often shift the blame to the LTTE. The individuals concerned will most probably not deny this fact. Also, the Tamil Eelam Diaspora living as refugees in these countries spent all their days contemplating ways and means of liberating their homeland, their people and their loved ones from the clutches of the Sinhalese occupation to eventually lead a life of dignity in their traditional lands. At this juncture, the LTTE turned out to be the only organisation operating in Tamil Eelam which was determined to meet their dreams and

aspirations. Hence, the people of Tamil Eelam living in those countries extended all sorts of support and contributions to bolster the LTTE. The respective countries were concerned that a share of their national resources was being drained to the Eelam struggle. These above mentioned reasons have also been responsible for the ban issued on the LTTE by America, Canada and European nations.

It will not be wrong to conclude that even though America issued their ban on the LTTE in 1997, they did not actually take any stern measures towards the LTTE's activities until 2006. But on 21 August 2006, the District Court of Brooklyn took legal action against eight LTTE members suspecting them of involvement in many criminal activities including the smuggling of arms and took them under custody. It should be noted here that the American government only took serious legal actions against the LTTE in 2006, five years after the twin tower attacks of 2001.

Whatever the case, it is a bitter fact that the Eelam Tamils could not gain the support or sympathy of America in their liberation struggle. It is also an explicit fact that the US has always extended its support solely to the Sri Lankan government in regards to this issue. Hence, it becomes imperative to look at the background from which America is inclined to support the Sri Lankan government.

After World War II, America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) rose to prominence as the two global powers. Both these nations entered into treaties with neighbouring and other countries to form alliances, America into NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) and the USSR into Warsaw Agreement, in order to strengthen themselves. The nations which chose not to fall under the alliances forged by America or Russia formed the Non Aligned Movement (NAM) to avoid being dominated by the aforementioned countries. Most of the South Asian countries including Sri Lanka became members of this NAM. But India showed itself to be more inclined towards the Soviet Union and hence America started to befriend Pakistan. Thus, India and Pakistan became two archrivals pitched against each other in the grip of the two global powers. But in this situation, as far as Sri Lankan politics is concerned, the foreign policy of the two key Sinhalese parties, the UNP and the SLFP, was based strongly on their national economic policy. The UNP preferred to accept the dominance of powers like America and Western European countries. The SLFP, on the other hand, chose to work under the influence of Russia and Eastern European countries.

Agonised by the ethnic riots being sponsored by Sri Lankan government, many younger generation Tamils joined the LTTE and other such liberation movements. Also, the Diaspora Tamils living in countries such as America, Australia, Europe and Canada had started to extend their support to these movements with all possible means. The Sri Lankan President Jeyewardene his government was afraid of this development and they approached countries like America, Britain, China, Pakistan and Israel and requested their help and support in this matter. This action from Sri Lanka in fact worried India as it could hamper India's regional sovereignty and safety at a

time when it was emerging as a big power in South Asia. As discussed previously, the Indian government headed by Indira Gandhi was anxious and annoyed by the behaviour of Sri Lanka. Hence, India sent letters of caution to Sri Lanka and its supporting countries that have been listed above. India also kicked its diplomacy into gear by starting to nurture the Tamil liberation movements. The strategic position of Sri Lanka in the Indian Ocean, as well as the potential of Trincomalee as a natural harbour, had become key attractions for arousing the interests of foreign super powers in the Sri Lankan issue. The Tamil Eelam liberation struggle then became an opportunistic platform for these powers to enhance their influence in the region and hence, the struggle and LTTE were unabashedly utilised in a calculated manner for their selfish gains.

The predominance of India in South Asia is something which America did not wish for. America developed its foreign relations cordially with Pakistan which is India's permanent enemy. America took a strategic approach to improve its relationship with Sri Lanka and thus restrict India from becoming a super power in the South Asian region. Consequently, America as part of its Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), sanctioned a grant of about US\$600 million to the Sri Lankan government for utilising the Trincomalee harbour for its naval operations for its oil refinery projects. Also in 1983, 1984 and 1985, ships from the American Navy and the giant aircraft carrier *Kitty Hawk* frequented the Trincomalee harbour."

During their rule in Sri Lanka in the 1930s, the British established 100 oil containers which could store about 10,000 tonnes of oil. After the planned usage period, these containers were handed over to the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation in 1957. After this many of these containers remained uncared for. In 1991 the Sri Lankan government decided to lease these containers and issued tenders in this regard. Many countries including America sent in their proposals and quotations. India also filed its quotation. India developed strong suspicions and anxiety when Sri Lanka deliberately rejected their proposal. This event became a major trigger in creating mistrust and had a lasting impact on the relationships between Sri Lanka, India and America. This event also had an indirect adverse impact on the political future of the Sri Lankan Tamils and the liberation struggle of the LTTE.

The next major move from America was to establish its own broadcasting service, the *Voice of America* in Sri Lanka at Silabam. In 1983, an agreement was signed between the Sri Lankan government and America in this regard. As per the agreement, the Sri Lankan government sanctioned 1000 acres of land in Trincomalee and permitted the installation of broadcasting equipment with a capacity of about 600 kilowatts." This move by Sri Lanka and America both shocked and infuriated India. Due to the



bandwidth under which these communication devices operated, defence communication equipment in India could easily come under heavy interruption. Also, it was feared that these devices could be used to track the regional military activities of India in the Indian Ocean region. These developments also become reasons for the pressure that India exerted on the Sri Lankan government in regards to the Eelam Tamil issue, also coming forward to nurture and strengthen the liberation movements.

Also, it will not be incorrect to assume that when Rajiv Gandhi, the son of Indira Gandhi, became the Prime Minister of India he was forced to get involved in the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. It was discussed earlier that American diplomats had paid visits to Sri Lanka since 1983 and an Israeli Secret Services Office was established within the campus of the American Embassy. In 1984, a 'Defence Cooperation Agreement' was signed between Sri Lanka and America. Following this agreement America supplied large scale military ware, training and funds accounting to the tune of many millions of dollars. Further, the visit by the South Asian and South East Asian Head of the American Diplomatic Mission and Vice-secretary of the Government, Richard Murphy, to Sri Lanka should be noted as a major event. Murphy headed the conference of the American Ambassadors to the Indian Subcontinent held in Colombo. The main agenda of the meeting was to discuss the growing supremacy of India in the South Asian region and to find and adopt methods to restrict it.

The events that followed including the landing of the IPKF in Sri Lanka, the war that ensued between them and the LTTE, the many thousands of senseless murders inflicted on the Eelam Tamils by the Indian Army, and finally the devastating carnage that morphed the traditional Tamil homelands into a mere graveyard, can all be seen as the inevitable consequences of these callous actions. Anybody would accept that these moves towards the end had also become reasons behind the political assassination of Rajiv Gandhi by foreign powers. The diplomatic push of the super power governments in their struggle for control and establishing their supremacy served as the basis of the blanket ban imposed by 30 international countries on the LTTE and subsequently shattered the base of their operations to liberate Tamil Eelam. America which had so far extended military and diplomatic assistance to Sri Lanka in its endeavour to deactivate the freedom struggle of Tamil Eelam has now decided to conveniently take up the issue of 'war crimes' to mount pressure on a strained Sri Lankan government. America has now tabled a motion against Sri Lanka's war crimes in the UNHRC. Out of the 47 member nations, 24 have voted in favour of the motion tabled by the United States. Another eight countries chose not to participate in the voting. And the remaining countries have voted in favour of Sri Lanka. The above move by

America is seen as a curious measure. Is this a diplomatic move by America or an attempt to improve its influence in South Asia? Or is this an expression of its interest towards the strategically located Trincomalee harbour? Or is it possible that this is an act of conscience for the wrongs it has committed on the Sri Lankan issue stemming from a late realisation of ground realities? Further contemplation may be needed to find these answers. Only time can resolve these questions.

### **Britain, European Union and Other Nations**

Wherever British imperialism rose to power on the globe, it always employed its policy of 'divide and rule' and made a mess of the political affairs of the nations it ruled. It did not fail to cause political havoc in Asian and African nations. After World War II when Britain started to get out of their conquered nations, they left behind political turmoil, local rebellions and liberation struggles. Many countries in Asia and Africa have already secured their independence through struggles. But even these days there are some Asian and African countries which still fight against the ruling class to attain political independence. Amongst these struggles is the liberation movement of Tamil Eelam which is continuing to fight the Sri Lankan government.

India fought for its independence from the British which it finally attained in 1947. At the same time, the Muslim people who migrated to the Indian subcontinent from the Middle Eastern countries during 13th century, managed to carve out Pakistan from India on a religious basis. At this juncture, in 1948 Sri Lanka was naturally released from the British Empire. The alien powers, such as the Portuguese and Dutch, respectively ruled the nation from the early 16th century till the mid-18th century. When the Portuguese set their feet in Sri Lanka, Tamils in the North and East of the island nation inhabited and ruled themselves in their traditional homelands. The Tamil Kingdom of Jaffna was at its peak in those days. At the same time, the Sinhalese people also ruled their traditional homelands in the South and Central parts of the country excluding the Tamil regions in the North and East. They had two separate kingdoms of their own named the Kottai Kingdom and the Kandy Kingdom. During the Portuguese and Dutch regimes the Tamil and Sinhalese regions were administered separately.

The British who captured control of Sri Lanka from the Dutch in 1796 also continued to govern the Tamil regions as a separate administrative unit until 1833. It was only in 1833 that they decided to merge the Tamil and Sinhalese regions for their administrative convenience and introduced a Centralised Administration. Hence, they should have handed over the Tamil

regions to the Tamils and the Sinhalese regions to the Sinhalese when they left Sri Lanka. But the British failed to do that and ended up handing over the control of the entire nation to the Sinhalese people. In addition to handing over the merged nation to the Sinhalese, who formed 70 percent of the population, they also introduced an erroneous and incompatible political constitution. They have left the political future of a 23 percent Tamil minority in the hands of the 70 percent majority ethnicity.

The events that unfolded in Sri Lanka after the British regime left make it very explicit that every action or step taken by the British rulers was destructive to the well being of the nation. When the British left the nation they should have returned Eelam to the Tamil people who own the right to rule their traditional homelands as ascertained from earlier history. Though there was no basis for carving out Pakistan for the Muslims, Jinnah did fight with the Indian leaders and the British ruling class and created Pakistan. But though the Tamil regions had belonged to the Tamils, the Tamil politicians committed a historic blunder by their failure to win over the right to rule their Tamil homelands. It was a mistake beyond resolution to create a single rule method in a nation consisting of a large majority and a smaller minority population. On the whole, no one can deny the fact that the British rulers were solely responsible for all the sufferings, losses and agony experienced by the Tamils of Sri Lanka.

As mentioned above, the British colonial masters who had previously shattered the political future, freedom and peace of the Tamil people in Sri Lanka were now once again ruining the liberation struggle for an independent Eelam. It is a fact that the British tried to compensate for their historic blunders in Sri Lanka by assuming a humanitarian approach in accepting the Tamils as refugees during the ethnic riots of 1977, 1981 and 1983.

Israel which has experienced so much of harassment and been subjected to genocide in various parts of the world is now seen to be helping Sri Lanka by supplying arms to the chauvinistic Sri Lankan government to wipe out the Tamil people permanently. It has not only offered training to the Sinhalese army, but it has actually got itself involved directly and indirectly in decimating the Tamil fighters and civilians on the ground. Israel and its key partner America, seems to be unaware of how Jews themselves have suffered in the past from gruesome political happenings attributed to the clutches of American conspiracies, and now have heavily contributed to the Sri Lankan government's project of slaughtering the Tamil people to achieve the ultimate goal of the annihilation of the Eelam Tamil ethnicity. China and Pakistan have based their assistance to the Sri Lankan government on the basis of their sustained hatred of India and their need to protect geopolitical interests. But naturally, it is China rather than Pakistan which is gaining more

from its Sri Lankan alliance. China which has been pitched against India did not fail to land a solid foot in Sri Lanka.

South Africa is a nation which received its independence by fighting for so many years against the British minority who were oppressing the majority African people. The price they paid for freedom and the impending recovery of their nation is very high. Despite this, even South Africa is extending military support to Sri Lanka to satisfy its self-serving motives. We cannot imagine the shock and surprise that a student of history will have upon learning that the British, who are the sole reason for the sufferings and losses of the Tamil Eelam people, are of course extending wide military support to the Sri Lankan government in their ethnic cleansing of the Tamil race.

Britain came forward to extend military support to Sri Lanka based on the Defence Agreements of 1947. Between the years of 1985 and 1986, it gave arms worth US\$30 million to the Sri Lankan government." It is worth mentioning that the British 'Keenie Meenie' private flight services, war planes and choppers, were already being used to unleash large scale attacks on the Tamil regions. The British funded troops were also engaged in ground attacks. As a consequence, innumerable Tamils were killed, along with the razing of Tamil houses and properties. Though the British government denied these facts, a journalist Simon Winchester challenged them on this matter and submitted proof sustaining his claims. He has declared that the aircraft which shelled targets in the Northern Province was piloted by two British soldiers and one South African soldier."

The above actions of the British are considered to be atrocious historical blunders. The military support extended by the British to the Sri Lankan government, based on the 1947 Defence Agreements, is a tall story in itself. Britain has supported Sri Lanka based on the agreement it signed when it left the island for good. But one cannot stop to wonder as to why the British have not bothered to question Sri Lanka about the Soulbury Constitution, which the British gave to Sri Lanka in 1947, in which *Section 2 of Rule 29* assures the 'Freedom and safety of the minority communities in Sri Lanka. The fact is that neither the British Prime Minister nor his diplomats could stand against the duplicity and cunning of J.R. Jeyewardene. Also, a severe lack of political and historic knowledge becomes a basic reason for such

happenings. As such immature decision making authorities had the power to take a stand on international issues and highly important domestic ones, all we can say is that the Eelam Tamils, their liberation struggle and LTTE had all fallen prey to this unfortunate state of affairs.

When we look at the above conditions, we can realise that there is no clear political reason whatsoever behind the ban issued on the LTTE by the British government on 28 February 2001. The LTTE were not involved in

any terrorist activities in Britain. It is the collection of funds which can be seen as a major reason behind this ban. More than a 100, 000 Eelam Tamils live in Britain. What is wrong if they extend a helping hand when their brethren in Sri Lanka are being continuously massacred by the Sri Lankan government? Is it a blunder to help save their country and their people from their horrific plight and hence support the movements which fight for their liberation? If Britain can help the Sri Lankan government, why can't the Eelam Tamil people support the Tamil Eelam fighters? The real reason behind the ban issued on LTTE by the British government was more on account of the economic consideration of their assumption that resources were being drained from their country. Following suit with the British government, another 25 countries in the European Union also imposed a ban on the LTTE.

In 2006, Canada banned the LTTE using draconian laws. If there is one bitter fact that we can find by observing these bans, it is that such bans are imposed fundamentally and immediately based on economic interests of the banning nationalities rather than based on the political stand points of the movements. In fact, through various documents we can find that the LTTE have not committed any excessive terrorist activities within these countries which justify a ban. There are 195 nations in the world out of which only 30 issued a ban on the LTTE. The remaining 135 nations did not extend any such ban on the LTTE. Sri Lanka is among the 30 nations stated above. Sri Lanka has imposed and revoked the ban on the LTTE at various stages on about four occasions in total, playing its own game. The LTTE is a movement fighting in Sri Lanka and hence, the ban issued by the Sri Lankan government can be justified. But how is an Indian ban justified when influential authorities within India itself, aided by international power brokers, murdered Rajiv Gandhi and used the LTTE as a scapegoat?

It was to save the perpetrators of the murder from the clutches of law that the LTTE were blamed for the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi and were hence outlawed. America banned the LTTE before the Twin Tower attacks on 11 September 2001. Though they banned the LTTE, they did not disturb the frontal activities of the LTTE and allowed them to continue their operations. It was only after 2006, when a few individuals, suspected to be

LTTE members, were involved in a large scale military and arms transaction, that America took major effective steps in handling the LTTE. Also, the Americans had egoistic reasons to involve themselves in the Sri Lankan issue in order to once again prove their global supremacy to the world. It is also noteworthy that Eelam Tamils did not make up any significant increase of America's huge population, as opposed to Britain

and European Union countries where Eelam Tamils size up to about 400,000 people in total.

In the same way, in Canada the Eelam Tamils form a sizeable number of about 300,000 people. The Eelam Tamils are generally hard workers and are people who knew the importance of saving their hard earned money. Eelam Tamil people did not hesitate to donate generously towards the fight for independence of their home nation. Hence, these nations could not accept the fact that their domestic earnings were not being completely utilised for internal growth and were being spent on the needs of a different nation. Also, within Australia and New Zealand, the economic structure and scenario are pretty much similar to those in the above mentioned countries. But here the Eelam Tamil people live in relatively insignificant numbers. A student of history, whilst taking a scientific approach, will be led rightly to believe that the absence of a LTTE ban in these countries actually shows that these nations are not economically impacted by the Eelam struggle. Also, in the remaining 165 countries where the LTTE were not banned, can we assume that there were no Tamils living in those countries as well? Or is it that the Tamils there did not support the LTTE? What kind of stance did the Scandinavian countries assume? Why did countries like Malaysia and Singapore not ban the LTTE?

Hence, when we look at the overall picture, we can assess that the ban imposed on the LTTE by the 30 countries is based not only in consideration of their economic status and, in the case of some countries, their policy of superiority, but a lack of understanding that the Eelam Tamil issue is not limited to one ethnicity but is an issue of nationality affecting many people as well as the ultimate misconception that the LTTE is a terrorist organisation and are not freedom fighters. It can be concluded that such decisions are based on hastily assumed notions without any deeper assessments. This statement can be justified by a briefing on an important event at this juncture.

In 1947, when Sri Lanka was about to claim its independence from the British, the Soulbury Commission appointed by the British was involved in drafting the political constitution of the new nation. In this situation, the Sri Lankan Sinhalese political leaders, headed by D.S. Senanayake, submitted incorrect or exaggerated data and statistics to the Soulbury Commission with the help of the British Professor, Sir Ivor Jennings. The sole purpose of this data was to gain the trust of the Soulbury Commission. Because of this, the expectations of the Sinhalese leaders were fully met in the first Parliamentary elections. The Tamil political leaders were badly let down due to these conspiracies, the erroneous drafts of Soulbury and their own improper approach. The activities of the Sri Lankan governments after independence shattered all the recommendations of the Soulbury



Commission. As a result the Tamils in Sri Lanka continue to face massive distress and destruction till date. Soulbury, in his preface to the 1963 publication titled *Ceylon: A Divided Nation*, writes the following:

**The (Soulbury) Commission had of course a cursory knowledge of the age-long antagonism between these two communities, but might have been less hopeful of a solution had former's book been available to underline the deplorable effect of centuries of troubled history upon the Ceylonese of today.**

**There could not be a clearer message to the above mentioned countries.**

### NOTES

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## CHAPTER FIVE

# **State Terrorism and Ethnic Cleansing**

### **From 1956**

If the democratic rights of a nation are curtailed, and it is subjected to discrimination and enslavement by an elitist power or another state, then it has the entitlement to determine its future by opting for independence on the basis of a right to self-determination. The statement contained in the UN charter for indigenous people clearly declares the above principle. Moreover, in principle, the nation can exercise its right for determining its own political future by enshrining the rights of minorities in a country.

People who are entitled to the right of self determination exhibit the mutual characteristics of: (1) a common historical tradition; (2) the self-Identity of a distinctive cultural group; (3) a shared language; (4) a shared religion; and (5) a traditional territorial connection/

In consideration of the above international charter laws, the Sri Lankan Tamils can secede from the Sinhalese Ultra-Buddhist state to set up their own course by exercising their right to self-determination. The Sri Lankan Tamil population has a history of over two thousand years, a glorious past, a geographically contiguous region, a separate language, religion and culture, which qualifies it as a very unique identity. The political framework drawn by the Soulbury Commission in 1947 was accepted by the British in consideration of flawed statistics and false promises presented to them by the Sinhalese nationalists. The British government also failed to give Soulbury the much needed time to study the state of affairs of the Sri Lankan people. Tamil political leaders had met with Soulbury, in his Point Pedro rest house in Jaffna, to present him with a clear view of the political aspirations of the Tamils. During the meeting, Soulbury assured the Tamil leaders that he

would look into the aspirations of the Tamils and that he would present a separate case for a Tamil political solution to the British government. Knowing that the Tamil leaders had met with Soulbury, the Sinhalese leader D.S. Senanayake began handling the political issue with Soulbury rather differently, after the Lord's arrival in Colombo. He kept Soulbury on his side by identifying his weaknesses and appeasing them.

This resulted in the British government accepting the recommendations of Soulbury, without considering the demands of the Tamils, and handing over power to the political leaders of the majority Sinhalese. The Sri Lankan governments that successively ruled Sri Lanka continued to curtail the democratic rights of Tamils and treating them as inferior. The successive Sri Lankan governments never cared for the provision of safeguarding minority rights as enshrined in Clause 29 (2) of Soulbury's political framework. As pointed out in the earlier chapters, at a later time Soulbury came to regret the historical blunder that he had committed.

After the independence of Sri Lanka in 1948, the UNP and SLFP, which were the two main Sinhalese parties that held power alternately, started to show a keen interest in annexing the traditional homelands of the Tamils by systematically creating Sinhalese settlements in the North and the East. The Indian Tamils who constituted a little more than half of the total Tamils in Sri Lanka were disenfranchised systematically and declared to be non-citizens by the Sri Lankan government in 1949. This resulted in the reduction of the representation of Tamils in the Sri Lankan parliament by over 50 percent. Sinhala, the language of the Sinhalese, who were a brute majority at 70 percent, was made the national language in 1956, and was forced down the throat of the Tamils who were in minority then at 23 percent. The Sri Lankan government not only scuttled the importance of the Tamil language, but also forced the Tamil people to learn Sinhala. In a similar vein, Buddhism was made the official religion of Sri Lanka and other religions such as Hinduism, Christianity and Islam were all looked down upon with bias. Recognizing that Tamil students were gaining selection into higher studies based on their merit in larger numbers, the Sri Lankan government introduced certain criteria in the 1970s. These conditions were seen to be clear hurdles that would systematically deny tertiary educational opportunities to Tamil students. In a similar line of attack, employment opportunities were also denied to Tamils who suffered the same bias through overt and covert discrimination. The *Sinhala Only Ad* successfully forced out many Tamils from government bureaucracy. The biased attitude in the field of business and employment had also forced many Tamils to loiter around without a source of income.

The Sinhalese leaders had to lure the elected Tamils to their side as it

became imperative to secure independence from the British. This facilitated Sri Lanka's independence in 1948. The Tamil leaders were lured over by the Sinhalese leaders through promises of a cement factory in Kankesanthurai, a chemical factory in Paranthan in the North, as well as a paper mill in the East at Vazhaichenai. Within a short period after independence all these industries were started in the mentioned places. But after this point the Sri Lankan government did not bring any industrial facilities or infrastructure, to the Tamil homelands of the North and East, to date. Foreign aid was received for the successful implementation of the Gal Oya settlement scheme and Mahaweli Development Plans, where grand irrigation facilities and large tanks were built. These plans contributed to a green revolution in the Sinhalese areas. On the contrary only a few tanks were renovated in the Tamil areas and no bigger irrigation schemes were implemented. New railway lines and roads for transportation were built in the Sinhalese areas. In the Tamil areas, besides the railway lines built by the British, not a single foot of railway line or road to enable transportation was built by the Sinhalese regimes. The Tamils with no employment opportunities and with no source of income faced increasing economic hardship. The economic imbalance forced upon the Tamils by the Sri Lankan government pushed most of them below the poverty line.

When Tamil leaders democratically pointed out the above mentioned instances of the partiality of the Sri Lankan government they were dealt with through assaults from Sinhalese goons. Many Tamil leaders were imprisoned. The Tamil political leaders continued to oppose such moves by peacefully protesting through the use of non-violent methods of Gandhi. They signed many accords with the Sinhalese leaders. From the period of 1948 till 1974, the Tamil political leaders organised various struggles and campaigns for the recognition of the rights of Tamils. The agreements signed were all systematically dumped by the unscrupulous Sinhalese leaders. Above all this, the Sri Lankan government and its leaders, as well as the Sinhalese army, police force, mercenaries and thugs, all banded together to unleash anti-Tamil pogroms in the years of 1956, 1958, 1977, 1979, 1981 and 1983. These actions were clearly aimed at annihilating the Tamils in their homeland.

Such anti-Tamil pogroms resulted in the death of many Tamils. Many were left mutilated and handicapped. Many women were sexually assaulted, imprisoned and tortured. Thousands of Tamils were rendered homeless and ended up in refugee camps. Many Tamils chose to leave the country. Many were displaced. Their houses and properties were looted and burnt. All economical resources were damaged. Just like the Tamil people, cattle belonging to Tamil owners were hunted down. Their natural resources were

destroyed. The streets, roads and transport routes were shut down with barricades. The roads were destroyed beyond recognition. The general public was subjected to untold hardships due to ruthless economical, medical and fuel sanctions. The implementation of national identity cards and permit cards caused untold hardships to the Tamils. Such hardships and the bleak reality of no foreseeable solution to their pertinent problems forced the Tamil leaders to consider secession and wrest their lost Tamil state from Sri Lanka in 1976, based on their right to self-determination as the only option.

The measures taken by Tamils to win themselves a separate nation greatly infuriated the Sri Lankan government. All the efforts of the moderate Tamil national leaders to attain the independence of Tamil Eelam were put down with an iron fist by the government. The outcome of this was that Tamil political leaders had to effectively take a back seat whilst Tamil youth took upon themselves the responsibility of attaining Tamil Eelam. The chauvinist Sri Lankan government began quelling various rebel movements that were fighting for their liberation through the enactment of laws and the deployment of armed forces. Many youth were killed, imprisoned and tortured. Such crackdowns by the Sri Lankan government not only bolstered the fighting spirit of the rebels and other organisations involved in the struggle for the ultimate goal of liberation, but also encouraged thousands more youth to join the fighting force with fortitude. The liberation movements began taking up arms to defend themselves against the Sri Lankan forces in the interests of their own security as well as the security of all Tamil people. These moves culminated in a fully fledged liberation struggle for an independent Tamil Eelam in order to provide a safeguard against the annihilation of Tamils on their traditional homeland by government forces.

These historical developments point to the fact that the Sri Lankan Tamils did not indulge in an act of confronting the Sinhalese rulers voluntarily, but rather were forced to. Since the independence of Sri Lanka, the Sri Lankan governments used their demographic majority and their forces to ethnically cleanse Sri Lanka through the implementation of a systematic plan to wipe out Tamils. This fact cannot be denied and it was this disastrous policy that formed the basis of the demand for a separate Tamil Eelam. The policy for annihilating the Tamils may be due to an inferiority complex or a natural fear developed from within the Sinhalese nationalists. The fact that the Sinhalese language and the ethnic group are not present anywhere else in the world has formed the foundation of a Sinhalese nationalist philosophy of a strong desire to make the entire island of Sri Lanka a nation for the Sinhalese. The reality of the presence of 70 million Tamils in neighbouring India, who share a common language, religion,

historical ties, culture and tradition with the Tamils of Sri Lanka, has increased the fear in the minds of the Sinhala nationalists.

Besides, the UNP and SLFP have to secure the vote of the majority Sinhalese to capture power. It must be noted that these two political parties have not mustered their Sinhalese vote banks by drawing up any economic policies or advancement schemes for the country. But rather, both parties have chosen to whip up xenophobic rhetoric against the Tamils in order to capture power. The history of Sri Lanka's elections starkly present the way in which both parties have adopted to capture power, often by quoting epic sagas that were far removed from the truth, as well as by speaking at length about Hitler-esque ideologies of a purified Sinhalese race. The majority Sinhalese who were less educated were taken in by the propaganda of such political leaders only to be deceived. More often than not, it would not be wrong to assume that the Tamils were the innocent victims of Sinhalese power politics.

After having used racial politics for their petty political gains, the Sinhalese politicians were unable to come out of that quagmire. Had Sri Lanka been ruled by farsighted Sinhalese politicians, the country may have been on par with or even further advanced than Singapore in terms of its development. But the bitter truth is that no such Sinhalese politician has ever appeared in the political landscape of Sri Lanka. The facts also points to the reality that the Tamil independence struggle, that was at first democratic in nature and then later assumed the dimension of an armed struggle, was a direct repercussion of the misdeeds of racially motivated Sinhalese politicians. The Sri Lankan government unleashed a full-scale war against the Tamils by using government equipment at the disposal of the forces to ensure that Tamils were uprooted from their homelands. The Tamil Tigers were left with no options than to confront the Sri Lankan forces war tactics with those of their own. The Tamil Tigers only waged war against the Sinhala army, as well as the police, navy and air forces. Their war was never directed against ordinary Sinhalese civilians.

But there were occasions when ordinary Sinhalese civilians were killed. If one was to look more closely at the facts, such 'civilians' were often either Sinhalese mercenaries or thugs who had been resettled in Tamil areas by the Colombo establishment. It can also be closely observed and appreciated that there are no instances of Tamil Tigers raping any Sinhalese women or sexually assaulting them. Further, Sinhalese educational institutions, cultural centres, Buddhist monasteries, shops, trading establishments and civilian homes in Sinhalese territories were never explicitly targeted by the Tamil Tigers. We can see that there were a few instances where such incidents did happen under compelling circumstances. The Tamil Tigers only sought to



attack and destroy the Sri Lankan forces. They bombarded the establishments of the forces of the Sri Lankan government. They destroyed economical powerhouses and runways. It is unanimously accepted that the Tamil Tiger forces that were capable of these attacks were very well equipped and could have easily made graveyards of Sinhalese territories such as Kandy or Colombo. But they never did so.

The reason often quoted by the Tamil Tigers is that the Tigers never sought to fight the Sinhalese civilians. Their fight was against the Sri Lankan government, its armed forces and state-sponsored terrorism. The Sri Lankan prisoners of war that were taken by the Tamil Tigers have always been treated with dignity. The released prisoners of war have testified to various media outlets on the ways that they were treated whilst in captivity. All the same, the Tamil Tigers made it their practice to heavily punish any Sinhalese, Tamil or other rebels who came in the way of their attaining the goal of an independent Tamil Eelam. This was their war philosophy. It can also be viewed as a dharma adopted from Krishna's Mahabharata. Above all, the Tamil Tigers never used their war machinery to attack any neighbouring country or any other country for that matter. The only causes for which the Tigers fought were those of Tamil nationalism, the safety of Tamils and independence of Tamil Eelam. If that was the case, how did the Sri Lankan government and other world nations manage to stamp the Tigers as a terrorist organisation?

The Sri Lankan government's stand to proscribe the Tigers and declare them to be a terrorist organisation may be justified. But other countries of the world also see the Tigers as a terrorist organisation instead of a freedom movement. Given this backdrop, it shall be fitting to bring out some strong evidence critical of the actions of the Sri Lankan government which were directed against the Tamil civilians and the Tamil armed separatists. More importantly is the Sri Lankan state a terrorist state? What kind of terrorist activities did the Sri Lankan government commit? If the Sri Lankan government was involved in these activities then were they mainly carrying on the genocide of the Tamils? Or is it ethnic cleansing? Or is it something else? The answers to these questions can be found. These answers shall help the Sinhalese people and the rest of the world understand who the actual terrorists were in the Sri Lankan ethnic issue. It can be clearly inferred from the analysis of these actions, as to whether these activities were in fact a part of a larger game plan of the Sri Lankan government to commit genocide against an ethnic group or not.

It becomes imperative to look briefly into the definition offered for state-sponsored terrorism and to delve deeply into the modus operandi for committing genocide. At the same time, it becomes wholly necessary to

understand the difference between 'genocide' and 'ethnic cleansing'. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* defines terrorism generally as 'the systematic use of violence to create a general climate of fear in a population and thereby to bring about particular political objective'. It further states that 'terrorism is not legally defined in all jurisdictions'. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* adds that 'establishment terrorism', often called state or state-sponsored terrorism, is employed by government or more often by factions within government against foreign government or group'.

Many scholars believe that the actions of government can be labelled as 'terrorism'. Others including governments, international organisations, private institutions and scholars, believe that the term is only applicable to the actions of non-state actors. Historically, the term 'terrorism' was used to refer to the action taken by governments against their citizens. Scholar Gus Martin describes state terrorism as terrorism that is:

Committed by government and quasi-governmental agencies and personnel against perceived threats which can be directed against both domestic and foreign targets.

Noam Chomsky defines state terrorism as terrorism practiced by states or governments and their agents and allies.

Terror by states has a long history of being typical state behaviour shown by the likes of the '*King of Terrorism*' in France in 1795. A few later examples can be found in Germany's Nazi regime in the 1930s and 1940s. The bombing of Guernica has been called an act of terrorism. State terrorism may also well include the World War II bombings of London, Dresden and Hiroshima.

As of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, a typical example of state terrorism can be found in Sri Lanka. Following the collapse of peace talks in 2006, human rights agencies such as the Asian Centre of Human Rights (ACHR) and the University Teachers for Human Rights (UTHR), claimed that the government of Sri Lanka had unleashed state terrorism as part of its counter insurgency measures against the rebel LTTE movement.

As per the definition mentioned above state-sponsored terrorism is when a state is involved in any act of destroying its own people, or another ethnic group, by misusing state powers to keep its authority intact, or, when the state chooses to cleanse its own ethnic group by sending armed forces or mercenaries to attack civilians belonging to other ethnic groups. Governments often justify their bloody acts of state terror in the name of security, national integration and unity. Any government that commits dastardly acts such as killing civilians regularly and mercilessly, burying the

murdered civilians in mass graves, arresting and torturing civilians, detaining civilians illegally, subjecting these prisoners to torture, silently killing the imprisoned civilians, raping and sexually assaulting civilians, causing wilful damage to the properties and establishments of civilians, as well as planning and executing armed attacks in areas where people live, can be rightfully termed as a terrorist state.

That the Sri Lankan government has been involved in such heinous crimes for the past fifty odd years is a fact that is well testified by victims, who are predominantly Tamil, as well as human rights organisations, non-governmental organisations and other countries. Hence, it becomes imperative to analyse and find explanations for such appalling crimes committed sequentially in different time periods by the Sri Lankan government against the Eelam Tamils and the separatist rebels since Sri Lanka gained its independence.

When analysing state terror, it makes sense to ponder simultaneously if the attacks against ethnic Tamils by the government constitute an act of genocide or an act of ethnic cleansing. So it becomes imperative to put forward clear definition for genocide and ethnic cleansing.

Any discussion of genocide or ethnic cleansing would seem to be straight forward both in the subject matter itself and through the myriad of examples that one could bring to mind. However, today both of the above terms draw upon an even more complex body of history and scholarship in order to determine the motivation of perpetrators. Genocide is the 'deliberate and systematic destruction of a racial, political or cultural group\* where as ethnic cleansing 'is the elimination of an unwanted group from a society, by genocide or forced migration'. This definition is inherently broader than that of genocide or forced migration. Defined as the 'deliberate and systematic destruction of a racial, political, or cultural group', genocide tends to evoke thoughts of the Holocaust of World War II - the most infamous example of the mass killing of people based on their ethnic or religious background. Ethnic cleansing is a systematic attempt by one political or socio-religious group to obliterate another particular ethnic or religious group in a systematic manner. It includes both forced migration as well as brutal killings to terrorize a minority population and then force them to leave a particular area, in a similar vein to the systematic horrific butchery of the Jews in Germany and many other European countries at the behest of Hitler during World War II.

The very fact that the Holocaust involved mass murders to the tune of some 6 million Jewish people indicates that it can be considered to be more of an act of genocide rather than ethnic cleansing. The ways and means utilised to achieve ethnic cleansing include torture, arbitrary arrest, execution, assault, rape, forcible eviction, loot and arson, destruction of

property and so on. The purpose is to terrify a particular ethnic group in order to force them to leave a particular area to create a more homogeneous population. In the Bosnian War of the 1990s, ethnic cleansing was a common phenomenon. It typically entailed intimidation, forced expulsion and/or killing of the undesired ethnic group, as well as the destruction or removal of key physical and cultural elements such as places of worship, cemeteries, works of art, historical buildings, monuments, libraries, cultural centres, and so on. In brief, it becomes clear that both ethnic cleansing and genocide have deep roots of hatred and jealousy within them and refer to the intention of one socio-political group to remove another ethnic or religious group from a particular area.

The only difference that separates ethnic cleansing from genocide lies in the fact that ethnic cleansing involves more of forced migration whereas genocide strictly involves mass murders and brutal killings. By using the above definitions, most mass killings and forced relocations fit into one, two or both of the discrete categories of genocide and ethnic cleansing. Examples of genocide and ethnic cleansing in this sense include: Turkish massacre of Armenians (1915-1916); Jewish expulsion from England (1290), France (1306), Hungary (1349-1360), Provence (1394 and 1440), Austria (1421), Lithuania (1445), Cracow (1494) and Portugal (1497); Nazi Holocaust of European Jews (1930s and 1940s); German expulsion from Polish and Czechoslovakian territories (post World War II); Soviet Union's deportation of ethnic minorities from the Caucasus and Crimea (1940s); and forced migrations and mass killings in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda (1990s).

The points discussed above certainly provide much needed explanation of the terms of genocide and ethnic cleansing. It seems to appear, that in most certain terms, the crimes of destruction and slaughter committed against the Tamils of Sri Lanka by the Sri Lankan government forces constitute an act of ethnic cleansing although they can also be termed as genocide.

This analysis documents only significant events that lead to the systematic act of ethnic cleansing of Tamils based on timelines. The acts of ethnic cleansing that took place at different stages and their details shall be underlined in this chapter. From the act of reducing Tamil representation in parliament from 1948, to the various acts of ethnic cleansing that Tamils were subjected to by successive Sinhalese regimes, are all clearly illustrated with facts. So, therefore, this analysis contains the data on the number of men, women, elderly, children and government servants killed by the Sinhalese genocidal regime during the past half-century. The data presented here has been taken from very reliable sources. The data, although it may not seem to present the exact number of Tamil lives taken away by the Sinhalese regimes, attempts to bring to light the estimated number of dead by near

approximation. Also, this data attempts to collate and present the number of Tamils rendered to be refugees and the number of Tamils who left Sri Lanka to live in different countries. It also attempts to include data on the properties and establishments that were destroyed and reduced to ashes by the acts of the Sinhalese regime.

Details of sexual assaults, rape and eventual brutal killings of young girls, as well as younger and older women, by the Sinhalese forces and mobsters, are being exposed in the data. This chapter shall also bring to light the systematic bombardment, shelling and destruction of Tamil cultural centres, academic insignia, educational institutions, Hindu temples and Christian churches which has, in essence, constituted cultural genocide. It shall analyse how the language, education and business opportunities of the Tamils were curtailed directly through the enactment of laws and indirectly through other means by successive Sinhalese regimes. It also discusses how the Sri Lankan government succeeded in systematically destroying the economical foundation of the Tamils. Facts on how the Tamil homelands were systematically snatched through the settling of Sinhalese goons, war prisoners and the families of Sinhalese armed forces shall be exposed. Above all, it shall expose the details of how the Sri Lankan forces systematically killed Tamil youths, scholars, media personnel and other patriots by enacting emergency laws and other terrorism prevention laws in parliament. The inability of the Sri Lankan government to fight Tamil rebels head on made them resort to the use of cunning diplomacy to persuade the Indian establishment to send their troops in the name of peace and, in the end, turned events in their favour by making these Indian forces fight against the Tamil rebels. This resulted in the death of many rebels and innocent civilians. The anti-Tamil pogroms and confrontations that the Sri Lankan government had conducted till this time had now been taken over and were continued by the Indian troops from 1987 till 1989. The report also discusses in brief, in the aftermath of this, from the year 1990, various steps taken by the Sri Lankan government in the pretext of peace talks with the Tamil Tigers which also culminated in the systematic execution of the Tamil ethnicity.

It can be seen that the measures of weakening the strength of the minorities by using a brute majority in parliament does not bode well for the working of the constitution that seeks to provide necessary safeguards and constitutes the act of weakening democracy and its famed institutions. This political conspiracy takes shape even in an environment where the minority strength in the parliament had played crucial role many occasions in deciding the power of the majority. Unfortunately, such conspiracies, if implemented with an intention of ethnic consciousness in mind, sowed the seeds of ethnic cleansing in the minds of the majority, in later periods.

### **Political Ethnic Cleansing (1948-1949)**

The stated condition occurred in 1948 when Sri Lanka attained its independence and conducted its first parliamentary elections. As mentioned in earlier chapters, as per the 1947 census, the majority Sinhalese constituted 69 percent of the population and the Tamils constituted 23 percent. Other minority ethnic groups like the Tamil speaking Muslims, Burghers and Malays constituted over 7 percent of the population." Among the majority Sinhalese, the parties that were popular were the UNP, SLFP and a few leftist parties. The UNP and SLFP enjoyed popular support amongst the Sinhalese. Hence, during a parliamentary election, the Sinhalese votes were split three ways between the two popular Sinhalese parties and the left front. So, for any of the two parties to capture power they needed to either claim the support of the left parties or the parties of the Muslims. But the parliamentary representation that these two parties had was significantly lower than that of the Tamils. So it became imperative to stake the support of the minority Tamil parties for either of the two Sinhalese parties to form the government. This was demonstrated first in the year 1947, when D. S. Senanayake took over after the first parliamentary elections, succeeded by his son, Dudley Senanayake who formed the ministry in the year 1960 and once again in the year 1965, during which they had to stake the support of the minority Tamil representatives in the parliament. For example, in the 1960 elections, the UNP secured 50 seats and the SLFP secured 46 seats while the Federal Party captured 15 seats to become the third largest party. The Federal Party extended its support to the UNP to form government after the UNP formally requested support to stake its claim. In 1960 and 1965, the UNP could form the government only after getting the support of the minority Federal Party.

D. S. Senanayake, who carefully studied all these affairs, introduced a bill during the second session of parliament in 1948 calling for the disenfranchisement and cancelling of citizenship of hill country Indian Tamils who worked in tea and rubber plantations. That bill was passed and became law in 1948. A detailed account of this act is given in the first chapter. The Indian Tamils whom constituted a little over 50 percent of the total number of Tamils in Sri Lanka, as per the population census of 1947, lost their right to vote as a consequence of this act. Only the remaining 50 percent of Tamils of Sri Lankan origin were allowed to cast their ballot. The hill country Indian Tamils who secured 8 parliamentary seats in the elections held in 1947 could not even vote in 1952. As a result of this unjust act of the Sri Lankan government, Tamils who secured 20 parliamentary seats in the

elections held in the year 1947 could only manage to muster a few seats in the elections that were held in 1952.

In the beginning of the chapter while discussing the act of ethnic cleansing, it was fairly assumed that a governmental policy of forced emigration and other acts of dislocation were part of systematic ethnic cleansing. It cannot be ruled out that the intention of the Sri Lankan government to remove hill country Tamils, who had been living in their plantations for the past 150 years, constitutes an act of ethnic cleansing. It is a fact that the Sri Lankan government could not give any justification for showing that its decision was a purely political act. Further, in the anti-Tamil pogroms that took place in the years of 1956, 1958, 1977, 1981 and 1993, thousands of hill country Tamils lost their lives. Women were sexually assaulted, Tamil youth were detained, and houses were burnt and looted. Thousands of hill country Tamils were forcefully driven out of their homelands by the Sinhalese Army and rampaging mobs. Of the displaced, more than half of them sought refuge in India, and the rest went as refugees to the traditional Tamil areas of the North and East in search of a new life.

Even after 1983, the same situation continued and has not abated since. Hence, it has to be viewed that the dastardly acts of the Sinhalese state, its armed forces and the mobs were nothing but a systematic act of ethnic cleansing. If anyone were to disagree with this conclusion, under what category can they justify the activities of the Sri Lankan government targeting the Tamils? When an ethnic group develops a sense of racial purity thinking they are superior to other ethnic groups, and begin to see them as a threat to their existence and, due to these factors, begin to wipe out the population of the rival ethnic group through mass killing, the act of genocide is constituted.

Those who want to disagree with this fact can never justify the acts of the Sri Lankan government. In the event an ethnic group has a sense of racial purity, think they are of higher standards than another ethnic group, begin to see other ethnic groups as a threat to their existence and, due to these factors, begin wiping out the population of the rival ethnic group through executions, the act of genocide is constituted. In the beginning of this chapter we clarified that such acts of genocide are a part of the efforts of ethnic cleansing. The history of the Sri Lankan government involving itself in the systematic annihilation of Tamils through the use of its 100 percent Sinhalese army, 95 percent Sinhalese police force, 100 percent Sinhalese navy and air force, and completely Sinhalese mercenaries and thugs, is abundantly evident in the acts listed below.

## **Acts of Ethnic Cleaning (1956)**

We can see a systematic planning and uninhibited mass killing of minority Tamils by the Sri Lankan government after 1956. Before and after it received its independence, it can be observed that the Sri Lankan government had started to fund the process of setting up several Sinhalese settlements in the traditional Tamil area of Ampara. Under the plans of the Gal Oya Development Scheme and the Kantalai Development Scheme, in the districts of Ampara and Trincomalee respectively, Sinhalese were brought in from other districts and settled in regions, under the stewardship of the then Minister for Agriculture. The government had organised their protection by the police and army as well. Buddhist shrines were also built in with governmental support. The lands that were used for all these purposes belonged to the Tamils, from whom these lands were grabbed illegally by the Sinhalese regime. In a similar vein, Sinhalese colonisation took place also in the Mannar, Mullaitivu and Vavuniya districts which was a traditional Tamil homeland.

In this scenario, in the elections that took place in 1956, S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, a man with a leftist agenda, wanted to capture power. He decided to take up a short cut to capture power by taking up the racial agenda and particularly picking up on the language issue. He promised in all his election speeches that, within 24 hours of capturing power, he would make Sinhala the only official language. This move did not fail to create a deep impact among the common Sinhalese civilians. Therefore, 1956 saw the election of Bandaranaike as Prime Minister. The Tamil language was pushed into a secondary position, trailing behind Sinhala. This greatly affected the Tamil people, and consequently, the Tamil leaders planned to conduct democratic protests against the government's *Sinhala Only Act*.

On 5 June 1956 all Tamil leaders placed their political differences aside and gathered in unity at the famous Galle face of the parliament building to hold a Satyagraha movement. On the very first day, the Tamil leaders were attacked by Sinhalese mobs that had been dispatched by the government. Even the business establishments and shops of Tamils in Colombo were burnt and looted. Many Tamils were attacked. This was followed by anti-



Tamil pogroms and riots in the entire island of Sri Lanka. In this very period, in the new Sinhalese settlement of Ampara, the genocide of Tamils had assumed in unimaginable magnitude for the first time in the independent Sri Lanka. In the said district, in a place called Inginiyagala on 5 June 1956, 150 Tamil labourers who were working for a sugar factory were mercilessly killed by Sinhalese mobs. The mobs went to the extent of incinerating the dead bodies of the Tamils. This atrocity that was planned and executed by

the Sinhalese mobs was the first genocidal attack on the Tamils in an independent Sri Lanka.

A careful analysis of the genocide yields us an insight into the systematic acts of the Sinhalese state which are racially motivated and are aimed at a race. Firstly, Trincomalee is a strategically located town in Sri Lanka on the shore of the Indian Ocean. Trincomalee also has one of the finest and geo-strategically important natural harbours. It is an open secret that the Sri Lankan government could not digest the fact that Trincomalee harbour, which is of strategic importance, is a part of the traditional Tamil homeland. Sinhalese national leaders like D. S. Senanayake refused to see Trincomalee as a part of the Tamil homeland. As planned and expected by Senanayake, after 1960, the Ampara district in Trincomalee was transformed into a Sinhalese majority constituency. Parallels can be drawn between the act of disenfranchising hill country Tamils and the colonisation of Trincomalee by Sinhalese settlers. Moreover, this move to deliberately change the demography of the Ampara district through systematic Sinhalese settlements can be seen as a political move to reduce the representation of Tamils in the parliament. These acts of politically annihilating the Tamils by using laws enacted in parliament and through planned genocidal attacks were well orchestrated by the successive Sinhalese regimes.

The efforts to settle the Sinhalese in the traditional Tamil homeland, with particular reference to the efforts of the colonisation of Trincomalee and its surroundings which have huge strategic significance, clearly proves that the Sri Lankan government in Colombo was most interested in snatching this location from the Tamils and keeping it with its own ethnic people. This meant not just breaking the identity of the Tamils but also forcefully imposing its colonial rule on them. This effectively means that there was a concerted and systematic effort to carry on assimilation of the Sinhalese population amongst the Tamils over a period of time in order to eventually make Trincomalee a Sinhalese territory. The old city of Anuradhapura was in fact an erstwhile Tamil territory and this fact would not be denied by any neutral Sinhalese historian. That the city was Sinhalese during the days of the British is a fact that has been well documented in a book by British author Robert Ross. This fact has been explained by this author in his previous publication. Quite similarly, that the areas of Puttalam and Kalpitiya in the Western Provinces were traditionally Tamil homelands since ancient days till Dutch rule was a fact well accepted by Sinhalese archaeologists.

These facts are also mentioned by the author in his previous book with adequate evidence. But after the British arrived, and brought with them the practice of horticultural plantations, Puttalam and Kalpitiya became famous for coconut farms. This lured Muslims and Sinhalese to these regions for

coconut cultivation and fishing. The consequence of this was that the ethnic mixing that happened in the Western region presented an ultimate danger of changing in demography by the turn of the 20th century to become a predominantly Sinhalese region. During the 1920s, there appeared in the Sri Lankan political landscape, an excellent political thinker named and statesman named Ponnambalam Arunachalam. In 1920, when the Manning Political reforms were brought to Sri Lanka, he was a part of the Ceylon National Congress, along with a few Sinhalese leaders, and put forward to them the Tamil side of the issues. Arunachalam was well aware of the efforts to Sinhalise the Western region. So, in the assembly he staunchly advocated representation for Tamils in the Western region. At first this was accepted by Sinhalese leaders like James Peiries. But when the political reforms were given legal status, the promises given to Arunachalam by Sinhalese leaders were hardly kept. The Ceylon National Congress was a movement that was started by both Sinhalese and Tamil leaders together. The movement saw the election of Arunachalam as its leader almost unanimously. In the issue of representation to Colombo West, the promises of Sinhalese leaders were not put into act, Arunachalam decided to leave the Ceylon National Congress to float a new outfit called Thamilar Maha Sabai in the year 1921 with an intention to get the Tamils their just political space.

The above incident was the first visible rift in the relationship between leaders belonging to the majority Sinhalese community and the minority Tamil leaders. It clearly shows the history behind the Sinhalisation of the Western region. It is now an open secret that the same policy of Sinhalisation of the Ampara district in Trincomalee was systematically implemented by D. S. Senanayake using the same logic.

The atrocities against the Tamils did not stop with the massacre of 150 Tamils at Inginiyakale in 1956. During the anti-Tamil pogroms that took place in 1958, 1977 and 1983, many Tamils were killed in Trincomalee. Houses, business establishments and shops were looted and burnt. The entire world has been witnessing from 1983, that the Sri Lankan government, its armed forces, and Sinhala chauvinists, have been continuously involved in measures that are essentially an act of ethnic cleansing against the Tamils. Based on the issues discussed, the Sinhalese have systematically colonised the traditional Tamil areas with the support of the government with the aim of reducing the representation of Tamils in the parliament. These acts have been continued by the massacre of Tamils, the raping of Tamil women, forcefully removing Tamils from their traditional homelands, torturing and imprisoning Tamil youth who were detained on charges of suspicion, destroying Tamil places of worship and cultural importance, and by building new Buddhist shrines in the Tamil areas. When the Soulbury Commission

prepared the political framework for Sri Lanka, an undertaking for protecting the minorities from the majority Sinhalese was enshrined in it.

But within eight years of Sri Lanka's independence, the incidents narrated above provided a mortal blow to Soulbury's recommendations. The bitter truth is that these conditions created a political vacuum amongst the Tamils, casting psychological wounds and serious fear over their rights to live. A student of history will discern the pitiful conditions that the Tamils were placed in after 1956, where they faced subjugation, massacres and destruction which were on the increase. How will these incidents be estimated by a writer of political history or a teacher of political science? Quite often Sinhalese politicians scream to the top of their lungs that Tamil youth are harming the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka. Are these learned dignitaries going to sanction the subjugation of Tamils maintaining that there is no other option left? Or are they going to accept the fact that these are measures aimed at a total annihilation of Tamils? A well trained political historian who knows the difference between genocide and ethnic cleansing shall come to an effortless conclusion that the above incidents give a clear indication that what the Tamils face in Sri Lanka is an act of well planned ethnic cleansing.

### **Acts of Ethnic Cleansing (1958)**

Destruction and constant threats, as well as a life devoid of safety, liberty or happiness, are the greatest gifts that the Sinhalese majority government has given to the Tamils, and time and again the same has been proved by incidents that have been quoted above as well as the stories that follow. The *Sinhala Only Act* brought about by the Sri Lankan government in 1956 frustrated the Tamils further and they began organising demonstrations in protest.

They began conducting demonstrations against the Sinhala letter 'Sri'. The massacres that took place in the aftermath of such demonstrations carried out by Sinhalese mercenary groups with active backing from the Sri Lankan government have been analysed earlier. The Sri Lankan government began establishing Sinhalese settlements in Pathaviya in Trincomalee which was a traditional Tamil homeland. The 400 Tamil families that lived in that

area was severely beaten attacked by knife and were thrown out of their homes. This was followed by peace talks, between the Tamil leader Chelvanayakam and Prime Minister Bandaranaike, which culminated in the signing of *Banda-Chelva Peace Accord* in July, 1957. The peace accord was severely opposed by radical Sinhalese politicians and Buddhist monks. J.R. Jeyewardene, who was to become President later, expressed his opposition

to the peace accord by conducting a march between Colombo and Kandy. The peace accord was finally dumped. This was followed by an annual conference by Tamil leaders in Vavuniya from 23-25 May, beginning in 1958, to analyse the next course of political action. This move angered the Sri Lankan government and the chauvinists alike. The Tamils who went to the conference by a train from the Eastern province were attacked by Sinhalese mobs carrying arms, and some were killed in the incident. This was followed by full scale ethnic violence against the Tamils. During May 1958, Tamils in the North Central province and Eastern province were severely attacked. The homes of Tamils were looted and later burnt. In places like Polannaruwa and Hingurakkoda, Tamils were attacked by Sinhalese mobs carrying swords and knives, and were even burnt alive. In Polannaruwa alone, more than 100 Tamils were killed.

On 26-27 May 1958, ethnic violence spread like wild fire to Colombo and its surrounding areas. To conceal the identity of the Sinhalese that indulged in the violence, mobs from far off areas were brought in by vehicles to Colombo and the surrounding areas. The details of houses, shops, and factories belonging to Tamils were provided to them by local Sinhalese politicians. Many Tamils lost their lives. Many were burnt alive after being doused with oil. Tamil women were raped in public. Houses and shops belonging to Tamils were looted and later burnt. The situation could not be brought under control by the army or the police. On the contrary, they chose to remain as mute spectators. Some Sinhalese politicians went to the extent of supervising the pogrom and chose to go to places where the destruction was happening to encourage the perpetrators/

The above anti-Tamil violence resulted in an estimated loss of 500 Tamil lives. Properties worth hundreds of thousands of rupees were looted and burnt. Around 12,000 men, women, elderly and children were sent to makeshift camps. On 2-6 June 1958, they were forced to board a ship and were sent to the Northern and Eastern provinces where they belonged. It is significant to note that this anti-Tamil violence was covered in detail by a Sinhalese author and media personality, Tazi Vittachi, in her book *Emergency '58: The Story of the Ceylon Race Riots*. The Sinhalese author has captured in detail, and with no bias, the brutality with which Tamils were

killed by the Sinhalese mobs. This author went and met many victims of these attacks to record the violence that was unleashed upon them in 1958. The chilling illustrations of the author and the firsthand accounts of the victims of this violence are well captured and they prove beyond a doubt how these extreme measures were a part of a well orchestrated act of ethnic cleansing. During this period, many Sinhalese politicians and Sinhalese members of parliament have uttered vituperative rhetoric against the Tamils.

It shall be apt to mention one such example in this scenario. Laxman Rajapaksa, who was the Member of Parliament for the Hambanthota parliamentary constituency, while speaking in the Sri Lankan Parliament, has overtly mentioned that 'Tamils have to be destroyed'. How else can it be shown that the above violence against the Tamils by the Sinhalese politicians and political leaders was orchestrated as an act of state terrorism and constitutes ethnic cleansing?

The next important political event happened when the new constitution was adopted by the Sinhalese majority government in the year 1972. This constitution re-emphasized that Sinhalese was the official language and Buddhism was the state religion. Moreover, it also curbed efforts directed towards the goals of attaining self-rule for Tamils within a federal set up. The biggest blow came when the minority safeguards enshrined in the Clause 29:2 of the Soulbury declaration were completely removed from the new constitution. This should be seen as a well planned move by the Sinhalese state to completely deny the legitimate democratic and political rights of the Tamils, reducing them to the level of an unwanted ethnic group in the country. Almost at the same time, the education rights of the Tamils were jeopardized by the government's policy of standardization. Thus, being affected by this as well as a steep bias against them displayed in business and industries, Tamils and more specifically Tamil youth, lost their opportunity to get state jobs. The new constitution also severely curbed the Tamils from demanding federal status. This frustrated the Tamil political leaders. The Tamil youth felt they been pushed into darkness after having been denied educational and employment opportunities. This condition prompted all the Tamil political leaders to forget their petty political differences and float under a united political party called the Tamil United Front in 1972. This move can be said to have created a huge impact on the lives of Tamils and the politics of Sri Lanka.

### **Acts of Ethnic Cleansing (1974)**

In 1974, when the World Tamil Conference was going on in Jaffna, the Sinhalese Army entered the venue and created chaos which resulted in the killing of 11 Tamils. The conference was halted midway. Since 1948, Tamils have always been at the receiving end of violence due to their political, ethnic, religious and cultural background. This pushed the Tamil leaders to the edge and left them with no option but to reject the demand of autonomy within a unified Sri Lanka and call for a fully-fledged secession in order to redeem the lost Tamil nation. As a result the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) called a meeting in Vaddukoddai, Jaffna, in 1976 and a resolution was passed



unanimously for an independent Tamil Eelam\ In the parliamentary elections that proceeded in 1977, the resolution was overwhelmingly supported by the Tamils and TULF was given a powerful mandate in that election. This victory shook the Sri Lankan government, leaders, nationalists and chauvinists. This mandate also gave a foreboding that the Tamils were going to face a far more bloody history in the coming future.

### **Acts of Ethnic Cleansing (1977)**

J.R. Jeyewardene, essentially an ultra-Buddhist Sinhalese chauvinist in his outlook, swore by racism and used it as a means for gaining authority, eventually came to power after 40 years of waiting, when his UNP won the parliamentary elections in 1977. He was a man who not only conveniently forgot his Tamil roots but also embraced Buddhism deserting his original faith of Christianity to pose himself as a Sinhalese ultra-Buddhist nationalist. Tamils had now become the victims of his hunger for power. As a President, all his activities were channelled to annihilate the Tamil race at any cost. That period saw the joining of hands of the Defence Minister, Lalith Athulath Mudali, the Commerce Minister, Cyril Mathew, who during the entire span of his political career was known for his xenophobic rhetoric against the Tamils, and Gamini Dissanayake. On one side was a parliament filled with a brute majority of Sinhalese, a 100 percent Sinhalese army, a 95 percent Sinhalese police force, and an air force and navy which was nearly completely Sinhalese, and on the other side were the defenceless Tamils, all forced to pass through this phase overcome by fear and anxiety. The condition of the Tamils can be compared to having a snake in a pigeon's nest. This culminated in anti-Tamil violence in the year 1977 as outlined in the first chapter. Over 300 Tamils living in the Sinhalese dominated areas were killed mercilessly by Sinhalese mobs that went on a rampage. The Sinhalese looted properties belonging to Tamils. Houses, shops and establishments belonging to the Tamils were burnt down. Many women were raped. In the hill country, in a village called Imbulanthondai, a 14 year old child was raped by 15 Sinhalese goons, causing her eventual death. In the same place three other Tamil women were raped in front of their parents and siblings."

Those were the days many cultural symbols of the Tamils were vandalized in Jaffna. An example of one such act was the desecration and the removal of the statue of Somasundara Pulavar who was a noted Tamil Poet. The Sinhalese Army also desecrated the statues of Auvvaiyar, Valluvar, Mahatma Gandhi, Ananda Kumara Swamy and Bharathiyar." More than 150,000 Tamils were rendered refugees. Over 40,000 of them were hill country Tamils. All these people were sent as refugees to the North and East.

*Newsweek*, reporting the incident, said: 'Men being burnt alive and women raped and houses set ablaze.'

This weekly managed to report many true incidents of this ethnic violence. The following news report confirms the same. An example of such an incident was when a temple priest of the Murugan Temple in Panadura was forcefully dragged from inside the temple and burnt alive with oil poured upon him." The Sri Lankan government would have expected the ethnic cleansing to happen silently. But Tamil Nadu and India did not fail to express their shock and their feelings on the killings and the conduct of the Sri Lankan government. Above all, a seven member delegation from Great Britain did go on record showing their opposition and disappointment on the killings. It would be fitting to highlight their stand on the issue as given to the *Time* magazine:

From Sir John Foster, Q.C., and others,

Sir,

A tragedy is taking place in Sri Lanka. The political conflict following on the recent elections is turning into a racial massacre; it is estimated by reliable sources that between 250 and 300 Tamil citizens have lost their lives and over 40,000 made homeless. Limitation on travel is making it hard for correspondents in Sri Lanka to let the world known what is happening. The Tamil's are community of over two million who flourished under the British, but have suffered discrimination since. They have now lost confidence in their treatment by the Sinhalese majority and are calling for a restoration of their separate national status, which they had for many countries before British came. At the last elections, the Tamil party advocating a separate state gained overwhelming majorities in all Tamil districts. This no doubt, triggered off the murders, which are said to have been committed either by police acting without orders or with the connivance of the police.

At a time when the west is awake to the evils of racialism, the racial persecution of the Tamil's and denial of their human rights should not pass without protest. The British have a special obligation to protect, as their cultivated people were put at the Mercy of their neighbours less than thirty years ago by the British government. They need our attention and support.

Yours faithfully

John Roster, David Astor, Rozet Birley, Luis Blom-Cooper, James Rawatt, Dingle Root, Michael Scott.

It will also be in order to share the letter written by the United Nations Human Rights Commission to the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka.

The violence that happened in Sri Lanka in the month of August saw hundreds of ethnic Tamil minorities being massacred. The massacred bodies of the Tamils were strangled from the trees. Their belongings looted. Their properties burnt. This massacre was followed by thousands of Tamils fleeing and taking refuge in different camps. It also mentions that the standard of living and hygiene factors were a matter of concern.

In the days of UNP's rule, J.R. Jeyewardene first became the Prime Minister and then, managing to get two thirds majority in parliament, he made himself the executive President vesting vast powers with the Presidency. In 1977 during the ethnic violence, Jeyewardene who was the supreme commander of all the three defence forces should have acted swiftly to diffuse the situation. But on the contrary, in regards to the killings that were unleashed upon the Tamils he never even offered an apology on behalf of the Sinhalese. So it is to be concluded that the Sri Lankan government, its leaders, and the Sinhalese did not want Tamils on the island of Sri Lanka. If so was the violence perpetrated against the Tamils in 1977 an act of state-sponsored terrorism, an act of genocide, or an act of ethnic cleansing?

Men, women, children, elderly and all the victims of the ethnic violence in the Sinhalese regions came in large numbers as refugees to the Tamil areas. The Tamil youth in Jaffna welcomed all those who came and provided the necessary relief measures working around the clock. The author of this book was a student of Jaffna University during that period. He had joined hands with other students of the Jaffna University in rendering help to the refugees. What was beyond belief were the tearful episodes being narrated by the victims, their experiences of kissing death, the incidents of Tamils being immolated, their gory deaths, the stashing of Tamil bodies by Sinhalese mobs who went on killing sprees, the inhuman, shameful and barbaric acts of Tamil women being raped in broad daylight, the painful slow deaths of these victims, the agony of the Tamils who were mutilated, the sufferings of the old and the weak and dastardly acts of children being burnt alive with their parents. One cannot just believe the heartbreaking sight of many of the victims who arrived bearing wounds in their body.

The ethnic violence of 1977 had a striking similarity to the anti-Tamil pogrom of 1958 where Tamils were targeted by Sri Lankan government and miscreants. The author of this book was a history student in the University of Jaffna and hence was subjected to the unfortunate learning of Sinhalese myths. The author was reminded of the Sinhalese allegory of '*Mahavamsa*'

that talked about the Sinhalese race or '*vanisa*' being born out of an unnatural contact between a queen from Bengal and a lion. The Sinhalese history depicts itself as being born out of an animal race. Obviously the '*Mahavamsa*' is a collection of mythical stories. But after looking at the horrendous and inhuman crimes that were carried on by the Sinhalese mobs, the author started wondering how their acts have made the myth of being bred into an animal race into a harsh reality. Those among the Sinhalese people who had consciousness and integrity did feel ashamed and were pained by these acts. But the history of Sri Lanka shows that such acts were never isolated but instead kept happening continuously throughout the course of its history. The quote of Lord Krishna in the *Bhagavad Gita* '*when truth and principles are down, the world of falsity shall raise its head*', keeps lingering in our minds. So one cannot avoid feeling that a war similar to the one fought in the Mahabharata is inevitable.

The ethnic violence against the Tamils in August, 1977 affected the entire race of Tamils and particularly the youth to a great extent. The Tamil youth strongly believed that it made perfect sense to fight back in order to gain their much needed independence and liberation and that seemed the only way. The immediate result of this was the appearance of liberation movements all over the scene. Thousands of Tamil youth began joining and receiving training in such movements. This episode was discussed in previous chapters in detail. The birth and the rise of the liberation movements angered and frustrated the Sinhalese regime. J.R. Jeyewardene, who had become the Prime Minister in the aftermath of the 1977 elections, later became the Executive President with enormous control vested in his hands. In May, 1978, he used his power of being the supreme commander of the three defence forces to proscribe all the liberation movements, including the LTTE, using the Clause 16 of the Sri Lankan Constitution.

Since this measure did not yield expected results, he brought in a dreadful Act named '*Prevention of Terrorism Act*' on 21 May, 1979. The danger of this law and its Draconian features were already discussed in the earlier chapters. After the enactment of this law on 11 July 1979, Jeyewardene brought in Veeratunga, a relative of his to the post of Army General and mandated him to completely wipe out the Eelam Tamil rebels by 31 July, 1979, promising to provide all kinds of material support required for the task, in his nomination letter handed to Veeratunga on 14 July 1979. The Sri Lankan cabinet meeting held on the same day, imposed an emergency in the district of Jaffna. The Army was also vested with enormous powers to detain anybody on charges of mere suspicion for 18 months, not having to produce them in court. They were also given powers to incinerate

the bodies of the killed, as per the above law, without conducting any enquiry. Within a few days after the provision of nomination to Veeratunga on 14 June 1979, many youth were imprisoned without rhyme or reason and tortured badly. The apt example was the case of three Tamil youths named Inbam, Selvam and Balendran who were imprisoned by the Sri Lankan Army within 24 hours of promulgation of this law. They were tortured beyond words, murdered and then were thrown near the banks of Pannaipalam in Jaffna.

In this same style, hundreds of Tamil youth were imprisoned on charges of suspicion by the Sri Lankan Army and were tortured. Many were killed. Many disappeared. The Army imprisoned many hundreds of Tamil youth in Velikadai prison. The body of Inbam had signs of torture, heavy physical blows and burns. His skull showed signs of being broken and his digits were mutilated.

During this period of horror, this author was pursuing his final year of studies at the University of Jaffna. He had the opportunity of experiencing the Army's high handedness in person and read many media articles that illustrated the horrific acts of the Sinhalese army. There was a reason behind the Army imprisoning many Tamil youth in such large numbers. The Tamil youth who were detained for no reason were not sent to prisons but held captive in camps. The Army demanded ransoms to the tune of hundreds of thousands of rupees from the parents of the youth and then released them. Hence, during this time period the Sri Lankan Army had an opportunity to make a lot of easy money. The ability to make some quick money meant that the Sri Lankan Army personnel indulged furthermore in such detainment. Amnesty International sent a detailed notice to the Sri Lankan President in the year 1980.

The notice mentioned the following:

Various methods of torture have been used by the police and the army in the period immediately after emergency declaration, including suspending people upside down whilst forces suffocating them with the fumes of burning chillies, prolonged and severe beatings, insertion of pins into their fingers tips, the application of broken chillies and biting ants into sensitive parts of the body and threats of execution. After these and other methods of torture had been applied, statements were expected and recorded.

Keeping in mind these important revelations, the true intentions of the Sri Lankan government, Sri Lankan Police and Army have to be explored.

Firstly, the Sri Lankan government banned all the liberation movements. But because its intentions were not fulfilled, it enacted a Draconian law in the name of *Terrorism Prevention Act*. Did the government and its forces target just the rebels to wipe them out? Or were these laws simply used to annihilate the entire young generation of Tamils? How do we evaluate the efforts of the government that was focused on totally annihilating the younger generation of a targeted race that wanted to free itself from the clutches of tyranny? To arrest, detain and produce the rebels before the court of law may have been in the best interest of the defence of the Sri Lankan establishment. But is it connected with the question of democratic rights for an individual or race to fight for its liberty at the hands of oppressors? Just a simple analysis of what was unleashed on the Tamils by the Sri Lankan government and the Sinhalese Army would yield the disturbing truth that these were acts of terror on the part of a tyrannical government. The most valuable asset of any ethnic race is its younger generation and any act aimed at systematically wiping out the young, who form the reason of the nation, is a direct action that is part and parcel of ethnic cleansing.

The above situation continued further. This pushed the Tamil youth to the brim of suffering. The acts of oppression, anarchy, detention, imprisonment, kidnap, torture, murder and rape by the government and the army became a continual affair. The youth, at the height of their frustration, resentment and fear, thought that the only way to ensure their safety was to fight against oppression and decided to join any rebel movement. Thus, began the story of many young men and women joining the ranks of rebel movements. The Sri Lankan government was taken aback by the growth of such movements, their fearless guerrilla tactics and their resolve and determination to fight. The government were for once in the grip of fear. Jeyewardene went through the motions of politically satisfying the Tamils by setting up '*District Development Councils*' which would effectively blunt the passion for Eelam amongst the Tamil youth. This, however, proved to be a miscalculation on his part. The government introduced a bill for *District Development Councils* in the parliament and notified that the elections for them would be conducted in July, 1981.

The moderate among the Tamil politicians began preparing themselves to contest this election. This was vehemently opposed by Tamils, scholars and the rebel groups. They argued that District Councils can in no way solve the problems faced by the Tamils. So, when the UNP nominated a Tamil, A. Thiyagarajah, as its candidate for the Jaffna District Council, he was shot dead by the Tamil youth. In another incident two policemen were killed. The result was violence in Jaffna.

## **Cultural Genocide (1981)**

It has already been mentioned that on 31 May, 1981, two ministers with racist overtures, Gamini Dissanayake and Cyril Mathew, came over to Jaffna, stayed in a hotel, coordinated with the Sinhalese Army, Police and mercenaries to direct the pogrom. A Colombo daily reported how Sinhalese mercenaries were brought in from Sinhalese regions to carry it out.

The first operation of the Army and the mercenaries was the burning of the office of '*Eezhanadu*', a Tamil newspaper. It may be recalled that the government had already imposed severe restrictions on '*Suthanthiran*', a Tamil newspaper that had for a long time dedicated itself to the independence of Tamil Eelam.

It is to be noted that both these papers, published from Jaffna, had been on the job of publishing news and events that concerned Tamils. The Sri Lankan Army continued its marauding and burnt such landmarks like the Jaffna market, the central office of the Tamil political leaders, the residence of the Tamil parliamentary member, Mr. Yogeswaran, and the Jaffna public library containing rare artefacts, and hundreds of shops. Many Hindu temples and bookshops were reduced to ashes. The Jaffna Public Library, which was the only surviving heritage structure which had so many rare collections of around 95,000 works and many hundreds of rare palm leaf manuscripts, was burnt to ashes by the Sri Lankan Army and the Sinhalese mobs. When this author was pursuing his higher studies at Mysore University, he had an opportunity to befriend an Indian civil servant who had served at the Indian Embassy in Sri Lanka. A few weeks after the destruction of the Jaffna Public Library, Gamini Dissanayake had organised a party. The person, who the author had befriended, was also invited to the party. During the party, after having a few rounds of drinks, Gamini Dissanayake had bragged, '*My life's most joyous moment was when Jaffna Public Library was burnt*'. The said Indian civil servant, while inviting my family and myself to a dinner, had narrated this incident with anxiety and indignation. Further, the statues of many Tamil scholars were desecrated.

While leaving, the Sri Lankan Army killed many Tamils by immolating them with fuel and tar. Starting from 31<sup>st</sup> May, 1981, for over 10 days the



Sri Lankan Army turned Jaffna into a crematorium.

This violence spread to the East and the South of the country as well. In a house at Negombo, 8 Sinhalese men indulging in theft had tied the man of the house to a pillar and sexually assaulted his wife.

On 19th August, 1981, six shops in Colombo, five shops in Wellavatte, and two shops in Badulla were looted and burnt. On 13th August, 1981, a Tamil School in Kalmunai, in the Eastern Province, was burnt down by

Sinhalese mobs. Many houses and shops were burnt down in Ampara. The fishing boats and nets belonging to Tamil fishermen were burnt. Many Tamils were beaten and slain to death. Their cattle and other belongings were looted. In the hill country region, a few Tamils took a bus from Kathirkamam. When the bus was approaching Embilippitiya, it was interrupted by angry Sinhalese mobs. Eight Tamils were removed forcefully from the bus, severely roughed up and were then burnt alive by being doused with petrol." Over 3,000 hill country Tamils were made refugees. An Indian journal *The Hindu*, reported this incident stating:

Several thousand Indian estate Tamil workers had to trek through snake-infested jungles and cross high hills to escape persecution by organised armed gangs of hoodlums over the past 15 days, according to an eye witness report.

All of the above pogroms against the Tamils in 1981 were carefully planned and organised by the Sri Lankan government, Police Force, Army and mercenary groups. The government's prime role was obvious in all the above activities. The ministers of the cabinet would not have travelled without the permission of the government. Hence, it has to be concluded that all the above attacks against the Tamils had the covert blessings of the government. Reducing the office of *Eezhanadu* to ashes was meant to ensure that the outside world did not get any news of the acts of state terrorism. This act essentially qualifies as what can be labelled as a silent ethnic cleansing. The third act was the burning of the public library and other bookshops which were a knowledge trove. This act of destroying history, cultural heritage and valuable manuscripts was aimed at erasing the fact that Tamils as a race have an ancient past and a continuous history of their own. The National Documents Registry in Colombo had in the past systematically destroyed all documents that were concerned with the Tamils.

The statues of many literary scholars who had glorified Tamil and various memorials were destroyed. Nobody can deny the fact that this was an act of ethnic cleansing and a cultural genocide. The fourth act of burning the residence of Tamil parliamentary members and other Tamil leaders is an act of political ethnic cleansing. The fifth act of many Tamils being killed barbarically by the Sinhalese Army and mercenaries constitutes a blatant act of terrorism, state-sponsored terrorism and open ethnic cleansing. The sixth act of women getting sexually assaulted is a planned attempt to annihilate a whole race. Racial regimes often use rape as a weapon to weaken a race and remove them from the soil. Such racial regimes also allow rape to be a token of reward for the Army and mercenary groups that are involved in acts of

ethnic cleansing. Of all the attempts by nations indulging in acts of ethnic cleansing, rape is an act that is always said to be planned well in advance. The seventh is causing damage to the economical foundation of an ethnic group. This heinous act has always been performed by the Sri Lankan government, the Sinhalese, and its Army and mercenary groups since 1956. This measure was aimed at reducing the economy of the ethnic group, pushing them into poverty and killing them slowly in the process. Another reason is to deny the resource that is required for the victims to fight against the oppressor. It perfectly helps in the weakening of the victim race and results in their subjugation. These acts of ethnic cleansing of the Tamils are well entrenched in Sri Lanka's history.

The genocide of the Tamils has been well planned, well integrated and continuous process of ethnic cleansing, and everyone except the Sri Lankan government and Sinhalese will accept this conclusion without question. The Sri Lankan government has always been ruled by the Sinhalese majority and hence has always concealed its measures of ethnic cleansing from the day of its independence till about 1981. This can be termed silent ethnic cleansing. But Tamil journals and non-partisan Sinhalese journals, their counterparts in Tamil Nadu, India and around the world, the radio and television have always carried news coverage on anti-Tamil pogroms, the Tamil issue and the government's apathy towards the Tamils of Sri Lanka. But these popular media, along with scholars, world leaders and citizens of the world, by and large failed to take note of the fact that what was being perpetrated by the Sinhalese regime was a well planned act of ethnic cleansing.

This situation prevailed till about 1982. But the anti-Tamil violence of 1983 in which Tamils were subjected to mass killings, rape, and immolations by the Sri Lankan government, its Army, the Sinhalese ultra-Buddhists and their mercenaries, received wide spread media attention. The above incidents set off alarm bells in the minds of Tamil Nadu and India that there were planned ethnic cleansing activities being undertaken by the Sri Lankan regime. But these killings were seen by the wider world only as racial conflict and not as systematic ethnic cleansing. This is why it did not come forward to put necessary pressure on the Sinhalese regime for a just solution to the vexed ethnic issue in Sri Lanka. But after 1983, many anti-Tamil incidents that took place in Sri Lanka had a profound impact in the minds of the international community. Finally in 2009, the shameful acts of herding thousands of Tamils into small areas designated to be no-fire zones and killing them indiscriminately did bolster the international community's precise understanding of the intentions of the Sinhalese regime. It can be observed that the international community has now begun to see the

anti-Tamil measures of the Sri Lankan regime as clear acts of planned ethnic cleansing. In this background, it may be appropriate to analyse and understand the killings the Sri Lankan government perpetrated in July, 1983.

### **State Terrorism and Ethnic Cleansing (1983)**

In Jaffna two women were raped by the Sri Lankan Army. One of the women then committed suicide. As a retaliatory measure for this incident, members of the Tamil Tigers killed 13 Sri Lankan Army men who were patrolling the Palali Road of Thirunelveli in their vehicle during the night. The news of the killings spread like wildfire within the Sinhalese territory. The above incidents came as a blessing in disguise for the Sri Lankan politicians, their mercenaries and the mobs that were all hell bent on annihilating the Tamil race. At the same time, on the same Palali Road of Thirunelveli, the Sri Lankan Army men that arrived fully under the effect of alcohol began killing every Tamil in every household. The bodies of the dead were left in the same place. This author was employed at Jaffna University when the event took place. He had lived in a rented accommodation in a place quite close to where the incident happened. The situation was so tense that he could not go out. Since he was residing in house situated in a laneway and not on the main road, he was able to escape.

It was only after the second day of the incident that it was possible for him to venture out. The roads were totally empty. Within 200 yards of the laneway house in which the author was residing, is where Palali Road was situated where the above mentioned massacres had taken place. The Army vehicles and bodies of the Army men that were killed were removed from that place. The house located just before the lane where the author lived was the residence of one Mr. Kala Parameswaran who was also a good friend of the author. Mr. Parameswaran's spouse worked as an assistant at the author's office. When the author went to see the house he found that Mr. Parameswaran was dead being shot in the chest. Looking through the window from the backyard, the author could see that Kala Parameswaran's father-in-law, around 80 years of age, was shot dead whilst lying in bed. News trickled that many had been massacred in this fashion. The bodies of the murdered were gathered, tyres were stacked over them and they were incinerated. This gory incident had a profound impact in the mind of the author.

At this juncture, all along the Sinhalese regions in the South and the Tamil regions in the hill country the crimes against Tamils had been on the rise, with the perpetration of heinous ethnic riots and rapes. The looting followed by complete torching of Tamil shops, commercial establishments and factories continued. Hindu temples of the Tamils, their cultural centres

and five star hotels were all reduced to ashes. Any buses, trucks and cars that were identified as belonging to the Tamils were also burnt down. Anybody may ask the natural question of how Sinhalese thugs were able to clearly identify Tamil properties including houses, commercial establishments, shops, factories and vehicles and destroy them. Many sources confirm that the masterminds behind these acts of ethnic cleansing had all the Tamil data they needed readily available to them which they could have only received from governmental departments, like electoral listings and statistical sections. Also, from reliable sources we can understand that all the materials used in these attacks such as sharp swords, knives, metal weapons and clubs had all been collected well in advance. Sivanayagam, a long term top notch media figure, and an honest academic, explains the views of a German national on the riots of July 1983, in his latest book as follows:

Riots against the Tamil population in Sri Lanka have been a recurring event for 30 years. They broke out again on 24 July 1983 with unexpected and indescribable brutality. For one week, organised groups ran amok, destroyed, plundered, set fire to houses and factories, killed and humiliated innocent and defenceless victims, while parts of security forces (army, air forces, navy and police) not only let this happen, but to some extent incited the disturbance or participated themselves. Sufficient evidence exists to prove that the riots in the last days of August 1983 by no means occurred suddenly and spontaneously. On the contrary, a carefully prepared plan (by the Government or parts of it) for the destruction of houses, shops and other property of the Indian Tamil and Ceylon Tamil population seems to have existed long before the rioting began.

A Norwegian tourist told the Daily Express, London how she 'watched in horror' as a Sinhalese mob deliberately burned alive a bus load of Tamils:

A Minibus full of Tamils was forced to stop in front of us in Colombo'. She said a Sinhalese mob poured petrol over the bus and set it on fire. They blocked the car doors and prevented the Tamils from leaving the vehicle. Hundreds of spectators watched as about

20 Tamils were burned to death. We cannot believe the official casualty figures. Hundreds maybe thousands must have been killed already. The police force 95 percent Sinhalese did nothing to stop the mobs. There was no mercy. Women, children and old people were slaughtered. Police and soldiers did nothing to stop the genocide.'

An eye witness of Hong Kong Accountant in Colombo on the 24th while at a meeting:

I came to know of the killing of 13 Sri Lankan soldiers by the Tigers in Jaffna. The killing was sparked off by reports of the kidnapping and rape of two Tamil women by the soldiers. One of the women had committed suicide. I have seen many riots in my country, but nothing compared to what I saw in Colombo. If I were Tamil, I would never feel secure in that country again.

Since that week in Colombo, I have often asked myself: Did the Tamils deserve this? What was their fault? Why could not the Sri Lankan government act with responsibility in discharge of its duties? It is a governmental duty to protect the lives and properties of all citizens irrespective of whether they belong to a minority or a majority community. My own feeling is that the Sri Lankan government miserably failed to discharge both its legal and moral obligation and duties towards Tamils. Till today, there have been no expressions of regret on the part of the Sri Lankan government. Is such an attitude not an insult to our human conscience? How will the conscience of the international community react to this?

L. Piyadasa, an academic of Sinhalese origin, in his book titled '*Sri Lanka: The Holocaust and After*' has narrated how these riots were carefully planned and executed by some of the Ministers of the Sri Lankan government and Parliamentarians using Sinhalese thugs. The masterminds behind the ethnic cleansing, how the dwellings, shops and factories were identified, who was responsible for each of the areas of the riots, are all listed by him with full details including the names of the persons responsible. The above said riots were carefully planned and executed in all the Tamil areas of the Sinhalese region in the South. The entire hill country occupied by the Tamils was subject to full-fledged attacks and destruction. Above all, in the prison in Velikadai located in a densely populated area in Colombo, political prisoners were attacked with sharp weapons by the Sinhalese prisoners, security officials and thugs. Out of the 73 Tamil inmates 20 people managed to escape. The remaining 53 Tamil prisoners were killed by brutal tortures, beatings and butchery. Among the killed were a few freedom fighters,

Christian preachers, doctors and social activists. Most of them were above the age of 50.

Various accounts put the death toll between 3000 and 5000. But in Nuvareliya alone the number of the murdered hill country Tamils was reported to be around 1000. But then again, hundreds of thousands of hill



country Tamils resided in the forest regions of the hill country. No one knows how many of these defenceless innocent Tamils were killed by the Sinhalese mobs.

As per the records of the Sri Lankan government about 20, 000 houses belonging to Tamils were plundered and razed, and commercial establishments and factories worth many millions of rupees were also completely destroyed. Nobody has a count of how many Tamil women were raped. Also the Tamils living in Sinhalese regions would have faced the same fate as those of the hill country Tamils. So rather than focus on the fact that the death toll was between 3, 000 and 5, 000 people, we need to give significance to the main motive behind these attacks. What would the motive be behind the destruction and razing of Tamil houses and properties? Who was behind these attacks? Why did they commit these crimes? These are all critical questions. Also, around 50, 000 Tamils fled to around 17 refugee camps in Colombo. Later they were all forced to board ships and move to the Tamil regions of the North and East. What does this indicate? More than 200, 000 Tamils took refuge in Tamil Nadu taking various routes. Around 300, 000 Tamils took refuge in countries all around the world including European countries, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. This is an explicit attempt by the Sri Lankan government to forcefully chase the Tamils out of their homeland. What could be the real purpose behind these forced migrations?

The Sri Lankan government and its Prime Minister have conspired with Sinhalese chauvinists and hoodlums to attack, butcher and torch the Tamils to ashes in their thousands. The Sinhalese Police Force and the Sinhalese Army have all been silent spectators of these heinous crimes. They could have kept quiet only on the orders of the Sri Lankan government and its Ministers. The Sinhalese thugs could have only collected completed details with town and regional information about shops, commercial establishments, manufacturing units and vehicles, only with the support of the government. The common illiterate Sinhalese youth and chauvinists could have never acquired such information via any other means. It is with this support that they eventually plundered and later burnt the houses and other properties of the Tamils. This murderous riot went on for more than ten days, proving itself as a perpetration of state terrorism and ethnic cleansing.

Why was the Sri Lankan government unable to stop it? Anyone with average intelligence will understand that the sole reason the Sri Lankan government did not stop the carnage was that the entire event was planned and executed by the government itself. Also, this can be seen clearly as an activity to drive the Tamils away from Sinhalese regions. It was only due to intervention of the Tamil Nadu and Indian government, especially Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, that the Sri Lankan government stopped its genocide

within two weeks. If not for this check, they would have completely destroyed the Tamils as we can see that they had all the plans in place to execute this. Also the Sri Lankan government should have made arrangements for the refugees to go back to their original places of inhabitation and settle down. Instead the government boarded them in ships and other vehicles and landed them at the North and East coast regions. More than 50, 000 people were transported to the North and East. About 200,000 Tamils took refuge in Tamil Nadu. Many thousands had fled to Europe, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and other countries.

The Sri Lankan government has had two major motives behind its actions. One is that by sending the affected Tamils to their traditional homelands preventing them from returning to the Sinhalese regions. Secondly, if hundreds of thousands of people could be sent to India and other countries as refugees then they will most certainly never return to their homelands. Also there is another question that arises at this juncture. How was it possible for so many hundreds of thousands of people to break all the rules and regulatory guidelines of Sri Lanka's Immigration and Emigration policies and move to foreign countries via sea or even by taking flights? The reason was that the Sri Lankan government ignored all the rules and regulations of immigration and let all the Tamils who wanted to do so. The government was sure that the Tamils who leave the country now will never come back. Hence, we can consider this to be a forced migration which forms a part of the definition of ethnic cleansing. Looking at the details given above we can see that this entire carnage was a well planned perpetration of ethnic cleansing by the Sri Lankan government against the minority Tamil people.

This cannot be reduced to and redefined simply as an ethnic riot or a massacre of minorities by the majority community. This can only be seen as an act of ethnic cleansing aimed at eliminating the Tamils completely from the Sri Lankan island. The purpose of sending the Tamils affected by the above mentioned ethnic cleansing to the North and East regions was to move them out of Sinhalese regions. But in their efforts the Sri Lankan government made a very important admission to the world. The approach adopted by the Sri Lankan government to move the 50, 000 Tamils affected by ethnic

cleansing as refugees to the North and East clearly highlights that the North and East are definitely the traditional homelands of the Tamils . This is a clear proclamation to the world by the Sri Lankan government that the North and East of Sri Lanka are the traditional homelands of the Eelam Tamils.

At this juncture, it is quite important to quote the news released in the *Suthanthiran* newspaper on 13th January, 1982. It publicized the statements made by the New York State Legal Department's Professor Virginia A.

Laurie. These statements were made as follows in her book on the right to self-determination of the Tamil people, on behalf of the *International Judges Organisation* in Geneva, in deliberation of the facts behind the ethnic clashes:

Ceylon is an island with two separate countries, Sri Lanka is one country and the Tamil Eelam is another country. Ceylon is the myth created by British colonial masters. The Tamils are not a minority within a country. They are separate nation. They want to exercise their right of self -determination and sovereignty.

The above statement is based on history. Hence, the Sinhalese chauvinists should understand that vicious plots by the Sri Lankan government to eradicate Tamil people from the Sri Lankan island and remove them permanently from their traditional homelands will never succeed. They need to also understand that any attempt to completely convert the island into a full-fledged Buddhist Sinhalese land and taking steps towards this direction will never succeed. The above mentioned quote stands as an accurate testimony to this historic fact.

A most terrible form of ethnic cleansing was inflicted on the Tamils by the Sinhalese government and its goons from 1956 till 1983. Killing the Tamils in small batches at various situations and then massacring Tamils in large numbers constitutes the unleashing of ethnic cleansing activities. The acts of the Sri Lankan government in passing heinous laws such as the *Emergency Act* and *Prevention of Terrorism Act* within the Sri Lankan Parliament with the support of the Sinhalese majority powers were cowardly and underhanded. Indiscriminately targeting the younger generation of Tamils, arresting and torturing them in large numbers, and then kill them or making them disappear, are all actions that will seriously diminish the priceless, rich and powerful human resource of a unique ethnicity. The plot was very clearly aimed at weakening the Tamil society, suppressing any powerful uprisings in future and hence, destroying the entire Tamil race in a tactical way.

The callous rape of Tamil women was aimed at spreading terror and distress and hence, weakening Tamil women psychologically in order to prevent the formation of a prosperous Tamil generation in the future, hence destroying Tamil culture as well. Many dictatorships around the world have used rape as a means to destroy other races in their land. For these purposes they encourage the military and others to go on raping women. For these dictators, rape is a powerful weapon of genocide. The Sri Lankan government has also adopted the same methodology. As discussed earlier,

the educational opportunities of the Tamils were blocked by all possible means by the Sri Lankan government. The Tamils community which remained to be scholarly, both during the times of the British occupation and after the independence of Sri Lanka, was reduced to a backward community in terms of education by the Sri Lankan government and its systematic marginalisation over 30 years. Also, Tamils were denied employment opportunities. By all this, the Sri Lankan government has destroyed the Tamils and reduced them to being a completely oppressed community.

Sinhalese mobs have extensively thrived by looting the properties of Tamils. After ransacking houses, shops and commercial establishments, the mobs burn them down. The Sri Lankan government has also blocked the means of any economic opportunity by avoiding the implementation of any development project in the Tamil regions. By the planned Sinhalese colonisation of the Tamil lands they are seizing the traditional homelands of the Tamils. The government supports the Sinhalese hegemony of killing the Tamils and taking over their properties and lands. Tamils have been continuously massacred. If we look at the above actions of the Sri Lankan government we can understand that the Sri Lankan government has been inflicting genocide on the Tamil Eelam people on a scale much larger than the one inflicted by Israel on the Palestinian people.

### **Ethnic Cleansing via the Indian Army (1987-1989)**

The Sri Lankan government has been conducting these atrocities in a subtle and covert manner from 1956 till 1983. Neighbouring India as well as every other nation in the world did not bother to take any note of this development, or maybe they did take note but chose not to react. But the ethnic cleansing of 1983 by the Sri Lankan government against the Tamil people shook the conscience of India, especially Tamil Nadu, and that of other nations around of the world. The then Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi, issued a warning to President Jeyewardene of Sri Lanka. Indira Gandhi who described Jeyewardene as the '*Fox of Asia*' knew the atrocious behaviours of Jeyewardene. Also, Indira Gandhi did not want to get involved in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka. Hence, as discussed earlier, she decided to teach a lesson to the Sri Lankan government and Jeyewardene through the Tamil Eelam liberation movements. As a consequence, the liberation movements received training in India and weapons from the Indian government. The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, M.G Ramachandran, did not fail to extend a great deal of support to Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

Unfortunately, the assassination of Indira Gandhi and the sad demise of M.G Ramachandran due to sickness, turned out to be major setbacks to the

liberation movements. Jeyewardene should have been overjoyed by these two events. Hence, at this juncture, Rajiv Gandhi, the politically inexperienced son of Indira Gandhi, became the Prime Minister. This change in the political landscape presented itself as a great opportunity to Jeyewardene. As a result of his cunningness and trickery, the two leaders signed the *Indo-Sri Lankan Accord*. The Indian Peace Keeping Force was deployed to Sri Lanka. The enormous growth of the LTTE and consolidation in their fighting techniques, valour and style of warfare sent tremors amongst the Sinhalese Army. The Tigers had already brought a major share of the Jaffna Peninsula, the Vanni region and Eastern Province under their control. By the end of 1985, Jaffna was under the direct control of the Tigers. The Sri Lankan government's machinery was completely dormant in this area. Yet in early 1987, Jeyewardene's 'Operation Liberation' was launched to recapture the Jaffna peninsula from the LTTE. But Jeyewardene, who was shocked by the approach of the Indian government headed by Rajiv Gandhi, had to step back and he devised a vicious plot to invite the Indian Army into Sri Lanka to destroy the LTTE.

Pretty much as expected by Jeyewardene, the LTTE were caught in an unfortunate tug-off war with the IPKF. When Jeyewardene proudly addressed the Sinhalese he declared that his plan had succeeded and that his diplomacy had won. We have explained these things in detail in the previous chapter. The reason for detailing this background again here is to highlight the fact that Sri Lankan government, after its failure to tackle the Tamil liberation movement on its own, ended up utilising the services of the neighbouring Indian Army to suppress the Tamil people and the Tamil Eelam Liberation Struggle. At this juncture, the Indian Army launched a devastating form of destruction of the Tamil people. It has become impossible to accurately estimate the number of Tamils killed by the Indian army, the numerous rapes perpetrated by them, imprisonments, disappearances of young Tamil men and women, the extent of the destruction caused on Tamil homes, properties, natural resources, media houses and hospitals.

Yet, it will be useful to mention here that the earlier referenced book titled '*Broken Palmyra*' has many dependable pieces of information pertaining to the ethnic cleansing by the Indian Army. From various media sources we can estimate that the Indian Army killed about 5,000 Tamil civilians, about 10,000 LTTE fighters and had raped over 1,000 Tamil women. But we are unable to access any reliable information on this account. The reason for this missing information was that the Indian Army had, at a very early stage, shelled the offices of newspapers published in Jaffna and destroyed the Nitharsanam broadcasting media outlet of the LTTE. But based on the information acquired by the author of this book during his travel to the

North and East provinces in 1992, the meetings he had with various individuals and the discussions had with LTTE members, it can be assumed that the number of the Tamil civilians and fighters killed by the Indian Army, and the number of Tamil women raped by the Indian Army, are in reality far greater than the numbers given above.

From the following two examples we can justify this statement. On 2nd January, 1988, the Indian Army arrested about 2,500 Tamil youth from Batticaloa and out of them only 800 was detained in the Kankesanthurai army camp. The fates of the remaining 1700 men are not known till date. Also, many foreign media reported that in Valvettithurai the Indian Army has unleashed a large scale massacre on Tamil people killing hundreds of Tamils, completely destroying 123 houses, torching 45 shops to ashes, burning 176 fishing nets and looting large amounts of money and jewels from the Tamil people. The above media also reported that bunches of people were shot to death in public places and the streets and the bodies doused with petrol were burnt down to ashes. Also the Indian Air Force attacks completely destroyed the Savakacheri market, killing about 20 civilians.

Also on 21st October, 1989, by the indiscriminate shootings of the Indian Army about 26 people including doctors, nurses and clerics were killed. The book '*Broken Palmyra*' from pages 383-398 describes the shocking facts of the appalling rapes committed by the Indian Army, with information acquired by the authors of the said book, who contacted victims and relatives of victims to provide first person accounts of the incidents. One such example is given here:

In a place inhabited by many Roman Catholics two soldiers of the Indian army have raped a widow aged 55 and also another woman aged 22.

Thus the Indian army has given no consideration to the elderly or minors and have thus destroyed the lives of numerous Tamil women to satisfy their sexual desires.

In brief, it is unfortunate truth that the Eelam Tamils had become prey to India's hunger for dominance over the Asian region and Sri Lanka's selfish chauvinistic plots. The bitter fact is that the Sri Lankan government has cunningly utilised the Indian government and Indian Army for executing its master plan of cleansing the Tamil ethnicity. In the same way, the Sri Lankan government has applied its bigotry to tap the support of many countries of the world like Israel, Pakistan, America and England to skilfully decimate the Tamil race. These above said countries are now caught with the moral responsibility of compensating for the havoc they have committed at the



behest of Sri Lanka. This can only be seen as a late realisation.

But it is depressing to see the impact left on the Tamil people by the selfish and careless decisions made by the above said nations. One day these nations will have to accept the fact that they also have a share of responsibility in the genocide of Eelam Tamils. One can think that the ghostly genocide executed by countries like India and Sri Lanka are due to ignorance emerging out of lack of education, political acumen and the prevalence of corruption in these countries. But one is led to believe that the world has set its step in the path of destruction and is already running at a high pace in that direction. We realise this when we perceive that the so called educated, politically aware, visionary countries with scientific approaches towards global issues, have all joined hands to destroy the Tamils who demanded nothing but their freedom and a fair existence.

### **Horrific Ethnic Cleansing (1956 - 1990)**

The ethnic cleansing of the Eelam Tamils did not just end with the brutalities of the Indian Army. It had been in fact continued by the Sri Lankan government with the immense support of the above said Western countries. In early 2009, many thousands of Tamil civilians, fighters of the LTTE and the Tamil liberation struggle itself, were destroyed by the Sri Lankan government and the said countries in a scandalous manner. It will be quite an impossible task to furnish the details of the entire ethnic cleansing in the above said period. Hence, we have restricted our analysis to the period from 1983 till 1990, by chronologically touching upon the most important events and tabulating them in a crisp format. This table is given below and will help one to analyse Tamil ethnic cleansing from various perspectives.

**Table 5.1: Tamil Ethnic Cleansing (1956-1987) -Attacks by Sri Lankan forces and deaths caused.**

<b>Incident</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Deaths</b>	<b>Action by</b>	<b>Sources</b>
Inkiniyakalai Massacre	5.06.1956	Sugar Factory	150	Sinhalese Racists	North-east Secretariat on Human Rights (NESOHR)

1958 Holocaust	1.05.1958	Colombo	Over 300	Sinhalese Thugs	NESOHR
Tamil Conference Massacre	10.01.1974	Jaffna	9	Sri Lankan Police	w w w.atimes .com
1977 Holocaust	1977	Colombo	1500	Sinhalese Racists	NESOHR
1981 Holocaust	1981	South	25	Sri Lankan Army	<i>Sri Lanka: Witness to History</i> by S. Sivanayagam

Table 5.1: continued

<b>Incident</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Deaths</b>	<b>Action by</b>	<b>Sources</b>
Jaffna Public Library Burned	1.06.1981	Jaffna	0	Sri Lankan Police	<i>Genocide in Sri Lanka</i> By W. Panchacharam
1983 Pogrom	23.07.1983	Island Wide	Over 3000	Sinhalese Thugs	NESOHR
Thirunalveli Massacre	24.07.1983 25.07.1983	Jaffna	51	Sri Lankan Army	NESOHR
Sundikulam Police Station Massacre	8.01.1984	Sundikulam Police Station	19	Sinhala Police	NESOHR
Chunnakam Market Killing	28.3.1984	Jaffna	10	Air Forces	<a href="http://www.atimes.com">www.atimes.com</a>
Mathawachchi Killing	1984 September	Civilian Bus	15	Sri Lankan Army	NESOHR
Point Pedro Massacre	16.09.1984	Point Pedro	16	Sri Lankan Police	NESOHR
Othiyamalai Massacre	1.12.1984	Mullaitivu District	29-32	Sri Lankan Army	<a href="http://www.lankanews papers.com">www.lankanews papers.com</a>
Sampanthotai Massacre	1984	Jungle Areas	55	Sri Lankan Army	NESOHR
Kumulamunai Massacre	2.12.1984	Army Camp	6	Sri Lankan Army	NESOHR
Chettikulam Massacre	2.12.1984	Army Camp	52	Sri Lankan Army	NESOHR
Mannar Massacre	4.12.1984	Mannar District	Over 200	Sri Lankan Army	NESOHR
Kokkula -Kokuthoduvai Massacre	15.12.1984	Village	131	Sri Lankan Army	NESOHR

Mulliyavalai Massacre	16.01.1985	Village	17	Sri Lankan Army	NESOHR
Vattakkandal Massacre	30.01.1985	Schools and Paddy Fields	52	Sri Lankan Army/Air Force	NESOHR
Puthukuduyiruppu Iyankovilady Massacre	21.04.1985	Mullaitivu	30	Air forces	NESOHR
Valvai Massacre	10.05.1985	Jaffna	70	Sinhala Army	NESOHR
Trincomalee Massacre	1985 (May- June)	Trincomalee	87	Sri Lankan Army and Sinhalese Thugs	NESOHR

**Table 5.1: continued**

<b>Incident</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Deaths</b>	<b>Action by</b>	<b>Sources</b>
Valvettiturai Massacre	12.05.1985	Jaffna	46-70	Sri Lankan Army	<a href="http://www.uthr.org">www.uthr.org</a>
Kumuthini Boat Massacre	15.05.1985	Jaffna Coastal Area	36	Sri Lankan Navy	NESOHR
Thampattai Massacre	17.05.1985	Ampara	23	Sri Lankan Police	<a href="http://www.amnestyusa.org">www.amnestyusa.org</a>
Kilivetti Massacre	30.05.1985	Trincomalee	44	Sri Lankan Police	<a href="http://www.infolanka.com">www.infolanka.com</a>
Kilivetti Massacre	1985 (Jan-June)	Trincomalee	108	Sri Lankan Army and Sinhalese Thugs	NESOHR
Sampaltivu Massacre	4.08.1985 -9.08.1985	Batticola Distict	383	Sinhala forces	NESOHR
Vayalur Killing	24.08.1985	Ampara	40	Sri Lankan Army	NESOHR
Nilaveli Massacre	16.09.1985	Nilaveli Refugee Camp	24	Sri Lankan Army and Sinhalese Thugs	NESOHR
Piramanthanaru Massacre	2.10.1985	Kilinochchi	11	Sri Lankan Army	NESOHR
Kantalai Massacre	9.11.1985	Trincomalee	6	Sri Lankan Army	NESOHR
Mutur Kadaticaraesenai Massacre	8.11.1985	Trincomalee	Over 30	Sri Lankan Army	NESOHR
Vankalai Church	6.01.1986	Mannar	9	Sri Lankan	NESOHR

Massacre		District		Army	
Kilinochchi Railway Station Massacre	6.01.1986-25.01.1986	Vanni	12	Sri Lankan Army	NESOHR
Udumpankulam Massacre	19.02.1986	Ampara District	103	Sri Lankan Army	NESOHR
Eddi Murichchan Massacre	19.03.1986-20.03.1986	Up Country	20	Sri Lankan Army and Sinhalese Thugs	NESOHR
Kokkaddicholai Massacre	27.01.1987	Batticola District	83	Sri Lankan Police	<a href="http://www.atimes.com">www.atimes.com</a>

Table 52: Tamil Ethnic Cleansing (1974-1987) - Attacks by the Sri Lankan forces and deaths caused.

[illegible]

Anandapuram	4.06.1986					<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>							<b>5</b>
Mandai tivu	10.06.1986							<b>3</b>		11		11		<b>6</b>	<b>31</b>
Thampalakamam	20.06.1986					<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>		<b>7</b>	<b>3</b>		<b>3</b>		<b>19</b>



**Table 5.2: Continued**

Incident	Date	Govt Servants		0-5 Years		6-12 Years		13-21 Years		22-35 Years		36-55 Years		Over 56 Years		Total
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Paranthan	28.06.1986									4		2		1		7
Thanduvan	17.17.1986	1								3		2				6
Adampan	12.10.1986							1	3			5		2	1	12
Periyapandiviruchan	15.10.1986					1								1		2
Kokkadicholai	28.01.1987											107	26			133
Paddiththidal	26.04.1987		1		1		1	5	2		4	2	1			17
Alvai Muththmari Amman Kovil	29.05.1987			1	1	2	1	5	1	4	2	6	5	5	4	37
Sampanthurai	10.06.1987							1		1		5				7
<b>Total Killings</b>		<b>31</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>714</b>

**In** the above table, the information about the Tamils killed by the Sri Lankan Army, Indian Army and the Sinhalese mobs are classified as government employees, and have been categorized by their age as elderly, men, women, young men, young women and children. The above table only has information about the killings in the period from 1974 till 1990. The statistics on the murders that took place between 1990 and 2009 have been listed in another table as part of the next chapter. Most of these killings have happened in the Tamil regions of the North and East Provinces. The data about the total number of Tamils murdered in the Sinhalese regions of the South in the years 1956, 1958, 1977 and 1983 have been given earlier based on the information from various documents and newspapers. Also in the *Table 2* given above, the numbers of Tamils killed by the firing and shelling of the Sinhalese Army, Air Force and Navy have been given. Since some of the numbers from the first table also had to be included in the second table,

the documents and evidence pertaining to those data have also been repeated here as well.

The number of people killed from 1956 to 1990 as per the first table is 1,920 in total. In the second table the number of people killed is about 2033. As per the two tables, approximately 3,953 Tamils have been massacred in the above said period. But the same records available in the

two tables account for about 631 murders. Hence, we need to avoid double

54

counting and arrive at an actual count of distinct killings as being 3, 340. Also, the number of Tamils killed in the South during the same period is more than 6,000. From many records we can know that the number of Tamil people killed by the Indian army is about 5,000. Hence, the total number of Tamils killed has been recorded at about 14,340. But on the break out of ethnic cleansing where common people get caught in the turmoil and chaos, it is not possible for any country to accurately measure the extent of the killings. Hence, it will be not be wrong to assume that the number of Eelam Tamils killed in this period should be more than twice the numbers arrived at above.

Rather than the records of the common Tamil people killed during the period between 1974 and 1990, the LTTE maintained very accurate records of the number of freedom fighters of the LTTE killed by the Sinhalese Army, Indian Army and other alternate fighting movements. The author of this book had the opportunity to access this information as well. As per these records, 1,613 fighters of the LTTE had laid down their lives for the freedom of their homelands. Hence, a grand total of 15,953 Tamils have been destroyed in this ethnic cleansing. Also, from 1977, many Tamil liberation movements fought with the Sinhalese Army till 1986. We do not have clear information on how many of them sacrificed their lives for freedom. But there was intense fighting between the Sinhalese Army and the Liberation Tigers in the 1990s. Statistics claim that about 60, 000 Tamils were killed by the year 1995. We can observe that this trend has been worsening since 1995 till the year 2000. Due to the peace initiatives forged by Norway in 2001 till 2005, we can also understand that the atrocities against the Tamils reduced a great extent in this period. But the Sinhalese genocide of the Tamil people reached its peak during 2005, immediately after the failure of the peace talks. We will take a very detailed look at this feature in the next chapter.

It is the future responsibility of the Tamil youth of the generations to come to make a proper investigation of the extent of the entire Tamil genocide and produce accurate records of factual information. In this research work as well, an effort has been made to bring out the details of the martyrs of the Tamil Eelam liberation struggle and the people who lost their lives in their attempts to protect their homelands, based on reliable sources to the maximum extent possible. Using this as a model or a basis it is very important and urgent to bring out the entire information about Tamil Eelam ethnic cleansing of the Sinhalese chauvinist regime, based on an accurate and extensive research. We will discuss the humanitarian genocide issues introduced to the Tamil Eelam people by the Sri Lankan government and the

other countries of the world in the last chapter of this book. Also, in the 30 year long independence struggle of Tamil Eelam, many wars and peace efforts have emerged and disappeared.

Anton Balasingam, the political advisor of the LTTE and a well known academic, has related these issues with a great deal of clarity based on a lot of evidence, in his book *'War and Peace'*. Hence, there is no need to review and analyse the war and peace efforts between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan government. As a closing note to this chapter, we have a fact to be told to the Sri Lankan government, India and the other countries involved in this genocide. India and other countries have fallen prey to the unjust, vicious plots of Sinhalese hegemony built based on chauvinistic Sinhalese attitudes and due to their selfishness these countries have buried the Eelam Tamil people and their struggle for freedom beyond recovery. The nations of the world must accept the historic blame that they have failed to take a scientific perspective towards facts, justice and morality. Also, it will not be too long before they are forced to accept that nobody can extinguish the fire of liberation as this is the lesson imparted by the history of humankind.

What has been the ultimate fate of the dictators and fascist rulers who have tried to destroy human races in countries around the world? In the first two decades of the 20th century we witnessed the killings and forced displacements of about two million Armenians by the Turkish hegemony for no other reason that they were Armenians. We saw state terrorism peaking in this period. The chauvinist propaganda of Hitler, that the Aryan race of the Germans was a pure race whose sanctity needed to be protected, resulted in the banishing of the Jews to every corner of the world. The Jews were forced into Nazi concentration camps, and their tortured bodies were heaped together and incinerated. Hitler, who killed many hundreds of thousands, disappeared from the face of the Earth with no clear history, and has only left a legacy of a deep ever-lasting scar in the history of Germany, for which even the Germans of today still have to cut a sorry figure.

Omar Al Fazir, the leader of the Sudanese government who was responsible for the massacre of hundreds of thousands of African tribal people and their forced displacements was punished by the world. In Rwanda, the Tutsi minorities were massacred by the majority Hutu Army in a heinous manner. The world knows the punishment that was awarded to the leader of Rwandan government in 1993 by the people of the world. By the end of the 20th century, the dictator Pol Pot, based on his flawed philosophical bias, killed about a fifth of the population of his country. A man who killed countless numbers of innocent people then died like an orphan. What about the fate of the Yugoslavian governments dictatorial leaders such

as Milosevic and Karadzic, who in the early 21st century killed Muslims residing in Bosnia through dreadful methods, tortured numerous others and raped numerous Muslim women?

They were lined up before the International Court of Justice, locked up in prison and died in a small room. The world also knows the retribution metered out to the Libyan leader Kaddafi and the Egyptian leader Mubarak by the people of this world. The Sri Lankan government and its leaders should realise the fact that violence, atrocities, dictatorship, state terrorism, governmental public oppression and ethnic cleansing have never succeeded in the long history of this world. The politicians and leaders of the Sri Lankan government who in their desire to taste personal luxuries such as ruling power, imposing offices, extravagant living, elated social status and undue respect, made the unsuspecting common people scapegoats and took the innocent for a ride, must take this lesson to heart. Their subordinates and colleagues who nodded silently at all of their fanciful ideas will one day have to suffer the same fate as the dictators of the world that have been listed above. There is no escape from this.

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## CHAPTER SIX

# **The State of Tamil People**

### **From 1990s**

Since the independence of Sri Lanka in 1948 the Tamils have been facing a variety of destructions leading to much sorrow and dismay. In the books and research works published thus far, not enough attention has been paid to the heartbreak of the Tamil people. Since the inception of the Tamil Eelam liberation struggle, Tamils have been caught in an extensive state sponsored ethnic cleansing led by continued government suppression and the devastation of lives at the hands of the army. Murders, rapes, imprisonments, tortures and disappearances are all commonplace. The stresses of refugee life, and the nomadic existence of fleeing from place to place, as well as the range of inhuman sufferings faced in refugee camps lacking any basic amenities, have become daily fate of Tamil people. There is not even a single house left in the Tamil regions that has not been tarnished by such death and the loud wailings of mourning. There are too many gloomy stories of thousands of widows having lost their husbands and living a life of destitution, without mooring and filled of misfortune, sadness and grief. All around the Tamil regions are depressing tales of brothers and sisters losing their siblings, mothers losing their children, and the stories go on.

Sri Lankan Tamils, and especially those from Jaffna, do not plan for many children. They have taken their major duty as parents to give their children the best possible education. The economic structure of Jaffna is also a key reason for this culture. For example, due to the prevalence of the caste system, social status, dowry system, land scarcity, water scarcity and the lack of major industries, the most important objective of life has become higher education in the hope of prosperity. No words can describe the sacrifices and contributions that parents have made too providing their children with

quality education. We cannot consider that the people of the Vanni region and Eastern province have given the same amount of importance to education as the people of Jaffna. The key reason was that the caste system, dowry system, social status, land scarcity and water scarcity were not as threatening as they were in the Jaffna region. Despite this the Tamils as a whole place great value on education and consider it their responsibility to help their children achieve excellence in education. Therefore, the constant agony and pain that is felt by these Tamils parents who see their children, their priceless treasures, being fed as daily prey to the Sinhalese state sponsored terrorists, is a grievance beyond description. History stands as a testament to the fact that these children were arrested, imprisoned, subjected to brutal torture and finally murdered, with their whereabouts being kept from their parents. If a mother or father or sibling found that a child has been killed, they will spend time mourning the death of this son or daughter. They will then bury the body with deep pain and agony, with the memory of their souls being held in a heavy grieving heart forever. But what the Sri Lankan government, its people and the rest of the world has not given any serious thought to is the agony that these parents will live through, at every dawn and dusk, if they do not even know the fate of their children after their disappearance. The Tamil Tigers cannot be distinguished from these parents and children in this regard. How deep are the sorrows of parents and siblings when their dear sons and daughters leave their homes to take on the fight to recover Tamil Eelam? When their loved ones who went to war with courage return home as corpses and in coffins, they are greeted by their families rolling on the floor and sobbing inconsolably. How much indignation, pain and torture were faced by these young fighters who left their homes to face this great war? The tragic lives that we read of above are those of the Tamils of Eelam. Many people would have known of these happenings through newspapers, internet sites, personal experiences, articles, public statements, radio programs and television news. But for a student of history or any other person who reads the history of Sri Lanka, the only things that will come to their knowledge are the ethnic cleansing of the Tamil people by the Sri Lankan government, the Tamil Eelam liberation struggle, the intermittent peace talks and their absolute failures. But the inhuman sufferings faced by the Tamils, the men

and women soldiers fighting for liberation for the last three decades, and the heinous tortures, hardships and testing times that they faced will go unnoticed. What happened to these people? Who is responsible for them? Why had the Tamil people to endure all this suffering? These facts should be recorded in history. We are excluding the extreme damages faced by the LTTE since we are planning to cover them in greater detail in the concluding chapter.

We should not stop with just recording these facts in history. We should make the Sinhalese nation give an answer to the atrocities they committed against the Tamil people, the suffering and sorrow that they imposed and the immense damages they inflicted. The Tamil people, the younger Tamil generation along with the rest of the world, should fight for justice and bring the Sri Lankan government before the law to answer for their monstrous and inhuman ethnic cleansing carried out against the Tamil people. The perpetrators should be punished. It is the only way to bring some sort of finality to such atrocities and state sponsored terrorism. This analysis intends to shake the conscience of not only those involved directly in the bloodshed, but also that of the entire world. In the previous chapter, we discussed the atrocities and sufferings faced by the Tamils during the period between 1948 and 1990. In this chapter we will investigate the agony faced by the Tamil people from 1900 till the year 2009.

Even Hindu temples have been demolished or declared as high security zones and hence brought under the tight control of the Sinhalese army and hence the religious rights of Tamil people have been denied. Further, the same fate has been suffered by the Christian Tamils who need the right to offer their prayers in churches. There is a clear state of fear and panic in the minds of the Tamil people that there is an alarming increase in the number of Buddhist monasteries being newly built in the Tamil provinces which could eventually spell the end of Hindu and Christian religious practice in the region. Many Tamil schools have been destroyed by the shelling, courtesy of the Sinhalese military and the air raids of the Sri Lankan air force. The basis of primary education for Tamils has been thwarted by the continuous destruction of hundreds of Tamil schools by the Sinhalese army since 1976. Many hundreds of schools have been in a dismal state for many years. Shortages of teachers have created the next big impact. The Sri Lankan government does not appoint sufficient numbers of Tamil teachers to the Tamil provinces. Hence the Tamil students have been denied their fair share of education. The right of Tamil students has also been rejected by the Sri Lankan government through careful planning. Hence the destruction of the Tamil educational environment has to be seen as a deliberate approach by the Sri Lankan government towards ethnic cleansing.

The Sri Lankan government has marginalised the Tamils by reducing their opportunities in government sector jobs to an unreasonable extent. Due to the reduced opportunities for university education the Tamils cannot qualify for many employment opportunities. It was a state of despair where the economic riches, natural resources, houses, plantations, wells, tanks, shops, and commercial establishments have all been destroyed by the operations of the Sri Lankan army and then looted and burnt down by the

Sinhalese. Numerous hospitals in the Tamil provinces remain destroyed and are inoperable because of the operations of the Sinhalese army. Medical services are completely stalled due to shortage of doctors. The Sri Lankan government has issued a ban on medical supplies causing a shortage of medicines to the Tamil people. Tamil people are unable to buy even food since the Sri Lankan government has implemented economic embargo on the Tamil regions. Further, Tamil people have had no access to nutrient rich food such as eggs and meat since their cattle and livestock have been destroyed by the war. Tamils have also been denied seafood through the ban on the fishing rights of the Tamils in their own coastal regions. It is an act of outright ethnic cleansing to force Tamils to die of disease and starvation through denying them all access to medicine and medical services as well as holding them in a condition where they have no access to adequate food. There have been many instances where the Sinhalese thugs have chased the Tamils from their homes and land in the Tamil regions, and then occupied these areas as their own. The government has also created Sinhalese settlements in the Tamil provinces and has settled Sinhalese thugs and convicts in these areas. Because of this the Tamil people are undergoing continuous suffering. The renaming of Tamil towns and streets into Sinhala has baffled and frustrated the Tamils. The Sri Lankan government and the Sinhalese nation believe that they can decimate an ethnic nationality easily by slowly destroying the geographic identities of their traditional homelands one step at a time. The key purpose of this chapter is to bring to light the facts behind this issue based solely on a set of important primary evidence about the real condition of the Tamil people.

Also will, the Tamils eventually be dead, enduring all these above said atrocities? Or will they flee the country? Or will they mingle fully with the Sinhalese community? Or will they revolt again with unity against the ethnic cleansing of the Sri Lankan government and fight to recapture their people, language, religion, culture and their historic traditional homelands? Will they recover their lost Tamil kingdom and lead a life of dignity, self respect and freedom in their own lands like the people of all other countries? Finding the answer to these questions is the key motive of this chapter.

### **A Ferocious War and the Peace Initiatives**

At this juncture it will be apt to begin this chapter with an emotional excerpt from the editor's cover story written in the *Suthanthiran* in the 1980s:

The trees destroyed, the flowers plucked, the plants uprooted, the buds squeezed, have been numerous in Tamil Eelam under the 32

years of the Sinhalese regime. How many atrocities have taken place to crush the dreams of independence? Imprisonments for the slightest whisper and disappearances for even the weakest dissent, the voice for Eelam has been met with beating and punching, any uttering of the word freedom is sufficient to get one's spines broken.

The above excerpt relates the entire plight of the Tamils in a concise manner.

To understand the condition of the Tamil people given above and to understand its intricacies we have to examine the history of the war and peace initiatives between the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE since the 1990s at least in a brief manner.

Premadasa the head of the Sri Lankan government and the Tamil Tigers made a coordinated effort to remove the IPKF from the Sri Lankan island. The change in the government in India at the central level also helped the process. In the early 1990s, the IPKF left Sri Lanka for good. Also the provincial rule of the EPRLF foisted by the Indian government also came to an end. Its chief minister fled Tamil Eelam to take refuge with the Indian government. Because of these developments, the departure of the IPKF from Sri Lanka was of a great relief to Premadasa. The departure of the IPKF ensured that the provincial councils were dissolved and EPRLF became inactive with its army the Tamil National Army (TNA) being completely disbanded. Hence it was a relief to the LTTE as well. At this juncture, the problem that lay before Premadasa was to find a way to handle the Tamil Tigers and drag them into his political mainstream policy of unitary rule. The Che Guevara movement comprising of the cadres of the JVP, which in 1971 has started a revolt against the Sri Lankan government, surfaced again in 1988 and started a fresh round of skirmishes against the Sri Lankan government. They started widespread hartals, bandhs, organised violence, murders and kidnappings. Many police stations were attacked and many villages were captured. Then they started proceeding towards the towns. The revolution kicked off by them in the 1971 was a class based revolution, a worker's revolution, an anti-capitalist revolution. But the revolution which started in 1988 was against the Indian domination and an effort to pressurise the Sri Lankan government to wipe the IPKF out of Sri Lanka. On 2 January 1989, in his address from the Thalathaa Palace to the people of the nation, Premadasa called upon the Tamil Tigers and the JVP for peace talks. He also released 1,800 JVP cadres from prison. But the JVP cadres continued to revolt against him. At this juncture, the IPKF was expelled from Sri Lanka. The LTTE immediately took control of the positions left by the Indian army. About 70 percent of area of the North and East came under the control of the LTTE.



In this situation, Premadasa prepared himself for talks with LTTE. The discussions started on 5 May 1989. On 28 June 1989, the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE signed the ceasefire agreement. Also the LTTE registered a political party named Tamil Eelam Tigers Peoples Front with the election commission of the Sri Lankan government. The Tamil Tigers requested Premadasa to conduct elections for the North and East provinces. But Premadasa did not want to conduct the elections. If elections were conducted in the North and East, the Tigers would have achieved a popular victory and this would yield them global recognition. His scheming mind alerted him to the fact that if this were to happen they would win their separate Eelam based on their right to self determination. Also the Tamil Tigers requested the Sri Lankan President Premadasa to remove the 6th Amendment to the 1978 Constitution. The 6th Amendment in the Constitution of Sri Lanka stressed unitary rule and denied the right to secede and hence was an undemocratic law. Thus, someone who fights against the unitary rule had to face the risk of losing his or her citizenship, with the subject's properties likely to be seized. Anyone who is elected to the government had to take an oath pledging adherence to the unitary rule policy or quit. Hence this rule is totally against the Tamils who demand freedom under the right to self determination. Hence the Tamil Tigers had insisted to the President that they were not prepared to join the democratic mainstream of the country unless this law was revoked. Premadasa was in a quandary without being able to meet these demands. He needed a two thirds majority in the parliament to make any changes to the 6th Amendment which he lacked. Even then, there was a good understanding between the Sri Lankan government and the Tamil Tigers.

Hence at this juncture, the Tamil Tigers conducted a conference starting on 24 February 1990 and continuing till 21 March 1990 at Vadakarai in Batticaloa to chalk out their action plans regarding social and administrative issues. Meanwhile Premadasa was fully occupied in his conspiracy to avoid any possibility of an election in the North and East provinces. He informed the political advisor to the LTTE, Anton Balasingham, of his plans through Minister Hamid who was involved in the mediation between the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE. Hamid had informed Balasingham that it would

be conducive to holding the elections if the Tamil Tigers could hand over their arms to the Sri Lankan government and that it would help the other movements also to participate in the elections. Hamid travelled to discuss this personally with Prabhakaran in Jaffna but this did not prove fruitful. Amidst this situation, a Muslim woman was subjected to sexual assault at the Batticaloa Police Station. The Tamil Tigers intervened in this matter to send a warning to the police personnel, which in turn erupted into a fight. This

fight expanded in its scale and geography and soon the LTTE and armed forces of the Sri Lankan government were fighting a full scale war. The Deputy Defence Minister Ranjan Wijeyratne swore in Parliament to wage war on the Tamil Tigers. This has been considered by scholars to be the second stage of the Eelam war fought by the Tamil Tigers.

The Sri Lankan army had been mercilessly crushing the revolts of the JVP cadres in the Sinhalese regions in the South. The Sinhalese nation had created a gateway to death. In the North and East the Sri Lankan army was tightening its offensives against the Tamil Tigers. The Tamil people were being severely affected through murders, tortures, displacements, economic embargos, lack of medical supplies and a climate of insecurity. At this juncture, Premadasa was killed by a suicide bomber. Premadasa had stood tall as a prominent local politician who was successful in removing the IPKF from Sri Lankan soil. After this he had miscalculated that he could also bring the Tamil Tigers under control following his overpowering of the JVP's revolt. Premadasa had a strong belief in the unitary rule theory and would never have given his consent to the Tamil people's right to self-determination. He would never have implemented any such arrangement. Premadasa was never able to reclaim himself from the toxicity that he had spread in Sri Lanka through twelve years of nationalistic Sinhalese chauvinism and his ethnic cleansing of the Tamils of Eelam through his prejudiced philosophies. Premadasa was never able to understand the depth of the emotions fuelling the struggle for national liberation. He was a simple domestic politician who was troubled by the miscalculation that he could manage the Tamil Tigers through smart political moves. In the seventeen long years of the UNP rule, Tamil Eelam had become a raging battle ground and spine-chilling graveyard. This time the SLFP used the same play, of the Tamil ethnic issue that was repeatedly used by the two major Sinhalese parties in alternation, to occupy the ruling seat. Chandrika Kumaratunga of the above party vociferously proclaimed in her election campaign that her aim was to 'find a lasting solution to the Tamil ethnic issue and bring peace and prosperity to the country' and then occupied the Prime Minister's office from 19 August 1994. The situation of the Tamil people had gone from bad to worse and had literally moved out of the frying pan and into the fire.

In the first two weeks after Chandrika took charge, she revoked the ban on a few essential commodities instead of the total economic embargo on the Tamil Tigers. The Tamil Tigers respected this as a sign of good will and gave response. Hence the Tamil Tigers unilaterally declared a ceasefire from 12 November 1994 to 19 November 1994 as a sign of their acknowledgement. But the Sinhalese army was continuing its full military assault with the same

vigour. The air borne attacks, tank attacks and shelling upon Tamil people were being conducted without any break. Many common people were being killed and injured. At this juncture, the Sinhalese troops who were hiding in Nedunkeni suddenly attacked the Tigers and killed their Senior General Amudhan, decapitating him and taking away his head. This infuriated the Tamil Tigers. In this situation, the Deputy Defence Minister Ratwate declared a ceasefire for two weeks.

In this backdrop, from 13-14 October 1994, peace talks were held between the Tamil Tigers and the Sri Lankan government. The two major events that took place during these talks were the retraction of the ban on essential commodities and the stopping of offensives to bring in ceasefire/ Twenty three rounds of talks were held between the Sri Lankan government and the Tamil Tigers in Jaffna. More than 24 letters were exchanged between the two sides. The peace talks between the two parties went ahead for about six months.

To sustain the livelihood of the Tamil people, the Tamil Tigers requested the government in every one of these peace talks to revoke the ban on essential commodities. But the government revoked the ban on only a few items. Even those items were blocked from reaching the Tamil areas by the army at various check posts. Since the beginning of the talks, the Tamil Tigers had been requesting the government for a permanent ceasefire arrangement under the supervision of an International Monitoring Committee. The government preferred only a temporary cessation of hostilities rather than actual lasting peace talks. Though many items were tabled for discussion, these two items were the key deliberations. The Chandrika government made it very clear to the LTTE that if the government were to accede to this demand it would have long term military impacts on the government and that they could not make any compromise on national security issues. While the peace talks were proceeding, the government had continued to pile up a range of new armaments from many countries around the world. Supersonic fighter crafts, giant choppers, modern stealth tanks, huge rocket launchers and warships were purchased in large scale and the army, navy and air force were under full scale modernisation. Also many thousands of men were being recruited for the army. Above all, the oppressions and uninterrupted atrocities of the army in the North and East

provinces were in full swing. The Tamil Tigers registered their complaints about these multitudes of ceasefire excesses to the monitoring committee. In this situation, the above announcement from Chandrika which rejected the demands of the Tigers led to an innate anger and anguish among the Tigers. The fourth stage of the peace talks that started on 10 April 1995 in Jaffna came to an end on 19 April 1995. Military researchers openly declared through the press that the third Eelam war has started.

The very next day after the peace talks ended in failure, External Affairs Minister Kadirgamar met personnel from the media and started false propaganda that the Tamil Tigers were responsible for the failure of the peace talks. Kadirgamar was a Colombo resident and even though he was a man without political identity he was a lover of power and position. He was appointed as the External Affairs Minister of Chandrika's cabinet after he secured her blessing through Dr. Neelan Tiruchelvam. After pushing his venomous propaganda through Sri Lanka. Kadirgamar then travelled to many countries at the insistence of Chandrika and succeeded with his noxious misinformation that the LTTE were a war thirsty enemy of peace. Hence, this helped Chandrika to unfold her vicious 'War for Peace' on the Tamil Tigers and the entire Tamil population. The world had fallen prey to this rancorous plot of Chandrika which was boosted by Kadirgamar's false propaganda and gave the green signal for Sri Lanka to go ahead with the ethnic cleansing of the Tamil people. The world had turned a blind eye to the intolerable sufferings of the entire Tamil population.

The Tamil Tigers organisation was not able to explain the real reasons for the failure of the peace talks to the world in the proper manner. Tamil provinces were completely detached from Southern Sri Lanka and the rest of the world. Communication equipment could not be operated. Power supply had been denied to the Tamil regions by the Sri Lankan government for many years. Further, the Sri Lankan government banned the national and international media from visiting the Tamil regions. The Indian media were publishing news materials that were ruthlessly biased against the Tamil Tigers. All these happenings created a very conducive environment to Chandrika's government.

Exploiting this situation, the Sri Lankan army conducted a major offensive named 'Riviresa' (Sunray) in the Jaffna region and captured the Valikamam area. The Chandrika government told the countries of the world that the offensive was stepped up in the Jaffna country to save the Jaffna people from the Tamil Tigers. But about 500,000 Jaffna Tamils had actually fled Valikamam and Jaffna town regions to the neighbouring Thenmaradchi within a span of a few days. This was in a bid to avoid capture by the Sri Lankan army and on the suggestion of the Tamil Tigers. This left the Sri Lankan army with a land devoid of any inhabitants. The Chandrika government had to embrace a big failure in this affair.

When the Sinhalese army attempted its offensive against Thenmaradchi, the entire Tamil population suffered brutal tortures and fled to the Vanni region. Prabhakaran and the Tamil Tigers loved their great Vanni land and saw it as the fortress of their future and as a safe haven. Hence by the end of 1995, the Tamil Tigers had shifted their entire administrative and military

structure to the Vanni region. This shift did not fail to provide them with a lot of benefits and became a safe stronghold in the years to come. Recruitment for the liberation struggle had been opened up and was in full swing. War training and expansion of the force were organised with meticulous planning. Prabhakaran and his generals prepared a well devised plan to drive away the Sri Lankan army from the Vanni region, strengthen their hold on the region and eventually save the Vanni region.

The third Eelam war of the Tamil Tigers was started under the code name 'Unceasing Waves'<sup>1</sup>. On 18 July 1996 the LTTE started their major offensive named 'Unceasing Waves I' on the Mullaitivu military base. On that very same day the Mullaitivu base fell to the Tigers. By way of retaliation the Sri Lankan army launched a new offensive named 'Sath Jay a' from their Anai Iravu (Elephant Pass) base and captured Paranthan and a few parts of Kilinochchi.

The Sri Lankan army started a major military offensive named 'Jaya Sikiru' in a bid to capture Vanni, destroy the Tamil Tigers and to occupy the Tamil homelands, as per the plans of the Sri Lankan government. The Jaya Sikiru offensive started on 13 May 1997. In response to the offensive, on 10 June 1997, the Tamil Tigers attacked the base at Thandikulam in Vavuniya which was acting as the chief secretariat of the offensive and was distributing all the necessary military supplies to the war in the Vanni region. At the same time when the Jaya Sikiru war escalated, on 1 August 1997, the Tamil Tigers attacked and destroyed the Omanthai base on A9 Highway which served as the supply centre of the troops. In the Jaya Sikiru offensive which spanned about three months the Tamil Tigers attacked the above said three military bases and destroyed them successfully. These events put Chandrika's government and the Sinhalese army into a state of great shock. Also, in the one whole year of Jaya Sikiru offensive, the Sri Lankan army was able to capture only 35 kilometres of A9 Highway. In this engagement, the Sri Lankan army lost armaments to the value of tens of millions of rupees as well as losing 1350 Sinhalese soldiers in battle. Though the Jaya Sikiru offensive did not yield the results expected by the Chandrika government, a war thirsty Chandrika, backed by her uncle General Ratwate and other army generals, went ahead with the Jaya Sikiru war. To increase the strength of



their army, they moved a major share of their forces from the Eastern province to the Vanni region. Hence many parts of the Eastern province had now come under the control of the Tamil Tigers. The Sinhalese army then started a major offensive to capture Mankulam. Once again the place fell to the hands of the Tigers through their tornado-like attacks. The Chandrika government officially declared that the Jaya Sikiru operation had come to an end on 4 December 1998 after the capture of Mankulam by the Tamil Tigers.

The Tigers on the other hand were prepared to snatch back through rapid war initiatives places on the A9 Highway that remained occupied by the Sinhalese military as a part of their Jaya Sikiru operation. In 1998, under the code name 'Unceasing Waves IF', the Tamil Tigers fought a fierce battle for 40 hours and chased the Sinhalese army off the region of Kilinochchi. From the reports of the LTTE we can understand that around 1250 Sinhalese soldiers were killed in this attack.

After capturing Kilinochchi the Tamil Tigers started the operation of 'Unceasing Waves III' on 2 November 1999 to recapture Vanni completely. The Tamil Tigers meticulously planned the attacks to target the military bases of the Sinhalese army from where they advanced their offensive on Vanni. This war ensured that the Ottisuttaan military base, Nedunkeni base and the smaller camps in the region were all attacked and destroyed. On 3 November 1999 the Ambalakamam military camp was attacked and wiped out. As a consequence, the Kulavichuttaan, Othiyamalai, Karipatta Murippu and Olumadu regions fell under the control of the Tamil Tigers.

On 5 November 1999, the Tamil Tigers attacked and captured the Mankulam military base on A9 Highway. In the same way, another major base of the Sinhalese army in the Kanakarayankulam area of the A9 Highway was also attacked and captured by the Tamil Tigers. On the same day, the Nayinamadu base in Nedunkeni was attacked along with the Puliyanakulam base on A9 Highway and both of them were taken under the control of the Tamil Tigers. Finally the Tigers built their fortress in the Omanthai region on A9 Highway and established it as their boundary and defence line to save the Vanni region and prevent any attempt by the Sri Lankan army to enter the region.

Following this, in the Tamil homelands of Mullaitivu Manal Aru regions, the Sri Lankan army and Sinhalese thugs had snatched the cultivable lands of Tamil farmers and carried out wide Sinhalese colonisation of the region. For over 14 years Tamils were not able to set their foot in the above regions which they had lost. In an effort to recover their lost land, the Tamil Tigers conducted a major offensive on 6 November 1999 and successfully reclaimed the Ceylon Theatre, Kent Farm, Menik Farm, Alavetti Kulam, Vasavilan Kulam and Papasi Kulam areas in the Manal Aru region. The

attention of the Tamil Tigers had now moved to the Mannar Poonakari regions. During the Tamil Tiger's Unceasing Waves II, the Sri Lankan army had taken control of the regions of the Mannar Poonakari path through the military offensive 'Rana Kosa' (War Cry). The Tamil Tigers invaded these regions during 18-20 November 1999 and recaptured them.

The Chandrika government had fought for over two and a half years against the Tamil Tigers, through many major military offensives starting

with its Jaya Sikiru operation, and taken control of a large share of the vast expanses of the Vanni Region, A9 Highway, Mullaitivu and Ottisuttaan Roads. Through Unceasing Waves II and III which spanned only seven days, the Tamil Tigers successfully reclaimed the vast Vanni region.

The Tamil Tigers finally planned on conducting an assault on the military base of Elephant Pass which had been considered unconquerable throughout history by many military scholars. In the fourth phase of Unceasing Waves III, the sea Tigers along with Tamil Tiger ground fighters, women fighters and generals, were all engaged in the operation. Thousands of fighters landed like waves upon waves in the regions around Elephant Pass. The defeat faced by the LTTE in the Elephant Pass offensive of 1991 had taught them valuable lessons and given them the experience to carry out this major assault. On 26 March 2000 the Tamil Tigers began their attack on the combined army, air force and navy base of Anai Iravu. By the dawn of 23 April 2000 Elephant Pass was recaptured and the Tiger flag was hoisted high.

The fall of Elephant Pass to the hands of the Tamil Tigers did not fail to provide a major unprecedented insult to the Sri Lankan government and army. The racist Sri Lankan government, its leaders and army generals were not able to learn from the histories of the nations like Vietnam and Afghanistan, that excessive military strength and large scale modern equipment do not decide the success of a war. But the results of these offensives by the Tamil Tigers would have taught them this lesson properly. The Sri Lankan government and its army which had exclusive control of the military had lost stature with this event. The two major weapons of Chandrika's government and the racist Sinhalese politicians were their majority population and an exclusively Sinhalese army and navy. It remains to be a fact that these two weapons were not able to survive against the indomitable will and aspirations of the Tamil Tigers for an independent Tamil Eelam.

Also it was during the regime of Chandrika's father S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike that the ethnic riots against the Tamils had been started by the Sinhalese and many hundreds of Tamils were massacred. In the previous chapter it had been mentioned that Bandaranaike was born in a Tamil Chetty lineage which had moved to Sri Lanka three generation earlier and converted into a Sinhalese ultra-Buddhist racist and captured the throne. After Bandaranaike was assassinated by Sinhalese ultra-Buddhist nationalists, his wife Sirimavo Bandaranaike, who was an extreme Sinhalese ultra-Buddhist racist, occupied the throne. She passed laws in the parliament which decimated the Tamil race by making major changes to the lives of Tamil people. Chandrika Kumaratunga is the daughter of these two people. France is the country which taught the world the meaning of political revolution. It

served as an inspiration for many nations in the world to break free of their shackles from dominating countries. It is the proud nation of the French revolution, which paved the way for the blossoming of democracy. Chandrika studied political science in this great nation of France. Above all, her husband Kumaratunga had a great vision about Sri Lankan politics and aimed for it to have a revolutionary government. His revolutionary thoughts could not be tolerated by the extreme Sinhalese ultra-Buddhist racists and hence they assassinated him. Chandrika spoke on every stage that she would find a peaceful resolution to the Tamil ethnic issue and came to power. The Tamils at this juncture were hoping that a well read, revolutionary leader was assuming charge of the nation and that she would find a lasting solution to the political problems of the Tamil people. But she had belied all this, making a complete back flip, and became yet another nationalistic Sinhalese ultra-Buddhist extremist. The above mentioned military offensives are an outcome of this change in stance.

To capture the throne in Sri Lankan government, Sinhalese politicians have only two options. The first is to openly persecute the Tamils. The second is exercise ethnic cleansing against the Tamil people through all possible ways and means. This is exactly what Chandrika had accomplished.

The Tamil Tigers in the Vanni expanses excelled in building financial, judicial, administrative and military structures, much to the amazement of the world. The countries of the world wondered about the achievements of the LTTE, along with their military strength, indomitable will and patriotism. The fact that the LTTE were growing as an unstoppable and powerful military force had in fact irritated the super powers of the world and particularly the South Asian region. As a consequence, Norway assumed the role of peace broker for these mighty super powers, the Tamil Tigers and the Sri Lankan government.

### **Norway's Peace Efforts**

The Tamil Tigers had made many military victories and captured more than 70 percent of the area in the traditional Tamil homelands, except for Jaffna and Mannar, and were well entrenched through the establishment of powerful administrative structures as well. At this juncture, the super powers of the world and their supporting countries would not have been able to digest this great military growth of LTTE. The support of these countries should have automatically gone to the already legitimised nation of Sri Lanka. For these countries it would have been profitable to support the Sri Lankan nation in consideration of their regional and international military and economic benefits. We cannot see any evidence that these countries had

any concern for the Tamils of Sri Lanka, their unbearable sufferings or their eradication from their homelands at the hands of Sinhalese chauvinism. At this juncture, these countries would have welcomed the interruption of Norway into the Sri Lankan Tamil issue as a peace broker. We can understand that this could have been the approach that Norway took towards the Sri Lankan Tamil issue when it landed as a mediator for peace.

On 31 October 2000 a meeting was held in Vanni between Prabhakaran and the Norwegian peace brokers, Norway's Special Ambassador Erik Solheim, Colombo Norwegian Ambassador Jon Westborg, and Administrative Officer of the Norwegian External Affairs Ministry Mrs. Jersty Romst in Vanni. Prabhakaran was assisted by the head of the political wing Brigadier Su.Pa. Tamilselvan and Colonel Sankar. Prabhakaran made the following very clear to the Norwegian team:

We are ready for a ceasefire. But the Sri Lankan government is very interested in its military warfare. It is very important to bring normalcy in stages and let people return to their daily lives. When the people are struck in the battle field, Tigers are not ready for talks. Hence a complete ceasefire should be brought into practice, the economic ban should be revoked and the daily lives of people should be restored.

Anton Balasingham wrote in *War and Peace* that Prabhakaran had  
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announced this in the meeting.

Following the above talks, in a letter written by Norway's External Affairs Deputy Minister Raymond Johnson to Prabhakaran in November 2000, asked that both parties prepare a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU). Following this, on 24 December 2000 the Tamil Tigers declared a unilateral ceasefire for the duration of one month. But Chandrika's government rejected this declaration and went ahead with its military operation. Despite this, the Tamil Tigers followed up with another unilateral ceasefire announcement for an additional period of four months and observed it properly. Again, the Sri Lankan government continued to carry on its mercilessly deadly assault. Hence, the Tamil Tigers dropped their

ceasefire proposal on 24 April 2001. In this situation, on 25 April 2001 the Sinhalese army conducted a major offensive with 12,000 troops under the code name 'Anvil of Fire' (Agnikheela) and captured Kilali, Mugamaalai, Nagerkoil and the Nedunkodu defence lines of the Tamil Tigers, capturing around eight square kilometres of land area. But the Tamil Tigers retaliated with an assault of their own and recovered control over the said area. This attack can be seen as the final war between the Tamil Tigers and the

Chandrika government. After facing such heavy military defeats her government did not have any option other than peace talks.

At a time when the Chandrika government was facing such a tough situation, there was another circumstance which arrived thunderously. On 24 July 2001, in remembrance of the Black July Day of 1983 the Tamil Tigers conducted yet another major assault on the grand Katunayake Air Base of the Sri Lankan Air Force. The Tigers infiltrated the base and the adjoining international airport which are only 20 kilometres from Colombo, destroying fighter craft and other aircraft to the value of 500 million rupees. In many ways this turned out to be an event which shattered the economic basis of the Sri Lankan government. The most important thing to be noted in this entire assault is that nobody from the public or any passengers were killed or even hurt. Balasingham describes the Katunayake air base attacks as follows:

Chandrika's government was facing a major bottleneck in its political, military and economic fronts. The Tamil Tiger movement had reduced the Chandrika government's policy of 'War for Peace' to debris with their fighting capacity. The daydreams of the Sinhalese think tanks, that they could force an incomplete solution upon the Tamils through the use of military force, were also destroyed by this event. The losses faced by the Sri Lankan armed forces against the shocking victories of the Tamil Tigers in the Vanni wars have in fact broken the backbone of the Sri Lankan army. They were destroyed beyond recovery. Sri Lankan government for the first time since its independence lost its military dominance over the Tamil people. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam achieved equilibrium in its military strength and recovered about 70 percent of the Tamil homelands and established their governance over the Tamil area. The economy of Sri Lanka became inactive with the deadly blows dealt to them in Katunayake.

In this situation, in September 2001 in Norway the Labour Party lost its reign and K.M. Bondevik became the new leader. The new government too expressed its interest to continue mediating the peace process. In the Peace Ambassadors Committee the responsibility to lead the Sri Lanka's Peace



initiatives was given to Deputy External Affairs Minister Vidar Helgesen. Mr. Erik Solheim continued to operate as the Special Envoy in the Sri Lankan issue. At this juncture, the Sri Lankan Parliamentary elections were scheduled to be conducted on 5 December 2001. Once again the United National Party headed by Wickremasinghe shouted 'peace is our primary motive'. This was repeated by all other Sinhalese nationalists. In this

situation in his Marty's Day speech on 27 November 2001, Prabhakaran stated the following:

I urge the Sinhalese people to identify the war thirsty racist powers and to reject them.

Wickremasinghe became the Prime Minister. He immediately contacted the Norwegian government and requested them to start the peace talks with the Tamil Tigers. The Tamil Tigers as a gesture of good will declared a unilateral ceasefire for the period of one month starting 24 December 2001. The Sri Lankan government also declared a ceasefire. On 22 February 2002, Prabhakaran and Ranil Wickremasinghe signed a Memorandum of Understanding.

As per this agreement, all encroachments and search and arrest operations of all the security forces of the government were stopped. From 15 January 2002, all the essential commodities were allowed to be liberally taken to the Tamil regions. Department Minister G.L Peiris and Deputy Minister for Porunmiya Rehabilitation Milindha Moragoda were appointed as the Ambassadors for Peace by Ranil Wickremasinghe.

At this juncture, before getting in to the peace talks the Tamil Tigers set forth few prerequisites before the Norwegian Peace committee. The economic embargo on the Tamil regions should be fully revoked. The ban on the LTTE should be revoked. A permanent ceasefire should be implemented. These were the conditions laid down by the Tamil Tigers. These were the terms given in the MoU signed by Prabhakaran and Wickremasinghe. But Chandrika Kumaratunga objected to the act of Wickremasinghe signing the agreement without obtaining her consent in advance. She also argued that some of the clauses in this agreement will compromise the sovereignty and national security of Sri Lanka. In the unitary rule set up in Sri Lanka, the President is bestowed with all the executive powers and is also the Commander of all the armed forces. The Prime Minister is the Leader of the Parliament. Both these leaders assume office after getting elected by the people. Chandrika was first elected as the Prime Minister but later she made herself the President of the nation. She belongs to the SLFP. While she had a few more years as President, Ranil Wickremasinghe of the UNP was

elected as the Prime Minister. Hence two parties with laterally differing policies and philosophies were in power at the same time. Also we can understand from their activities that there was a clear animosity between the two leaders. The fate of the Tamil people was thus caught in a tug of war and hence there was a lot of delay and complexities in implementing the Memorandum of Understanding.

After quite a long tug of war, the A9 Highway connecting the Vanni region with the Jaffna Gulf was opened and transport went ahead without any blockades. At this juncture, Prabhakaran met international journalists in Vanni and answered all their questions. More than 400 journalists and videographers participated in this event. It is very important to mention an important question that was raised during this meeting.

The Tamil Tigers are under pressure due to the global war against terrorism? This is why the Tigers have come to discussion tables?

This was a question from a journalist and Prabhakaran answered as follows:

Even before the World Trade Centre in America was attacked on 11 September 2001 we have declared a unilateral ceasefire. Also from October 2000 itself we have been in discussion with Norwegian

17

Special Envoy Erik Solheim regarding the peace efforts.

From the above statement of LTTE leader Prabhakaran we can understand that the Tamil Tigers were ready for a peaceful solution to the Tamil issue even when they have achieved equilibrium in military capacity with the Sri Lankan army. Also after the above mentioned event in America the word 'terrorism' had a stigma attached to it around the world. Also Chandrika's government and its External Affairs Minister Kadirgamar had succeeded in spreading false propaganda that the LTTE is a terrorist organisation and hence have created an image among the people that the Tigers are terrorists. From the above question and its answer we can see that the world has failed to properly analyse the huge differences between terrorism and freedom struggle.

The events that followed are very important. On 5 September 2002, the Defence Minister Thilak Marappana revoked the ban on LTTE and announced the news via commercials. Hence the doors for the LTTE to participate in the talks with the Sri Lankan government as equal partners were opened up. The unfortunate event was that though the Sri Lankan government de-proscribed the LTTE as a terrorist organisation, many nations

of the world had not de-proscribed the Tamil Tigers. This shows that the world still held a suspicious view of the Tamil Tigers.

As planned on 16 September 2002, in the capital of Thailand, Bangkok, the first round of peace talks started under the mediation of the Norwegian Peace brokers. Peiris, Morakoda, Raul Hakkim and Bernard Gunathilaka participated as government representatives. Anton Balasingham, Viswanathan, Ruthrakumar, J. Maheswaran and Adele Balasingham

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\*participated on behalf of the Tamil Tigers and discussed most in these talks. Also the second round of talks started in Bangkok on 31 October 2001. This time Tamilselvan, Muralidharan (Karuna) also joined the Tamil Tigers' team. The team representing the government remained the same for the second round of talks as well. The key item that was discussed most in these talks was the rehabilitation activities. For this purpose, a sub-committee named 'Sub Committee for Independent Humanitarian and Rehabilitation (SIHRAN)' was instituted which was expected to execute the humanitarian and rehabilitation works for the Tamil people. To secure the funds required for these activities a committee named North-East Reconstruction Fund

20

(NERF) was appointed.

In this situation on 25 November 2002, Norwegian mediators convened a conference of the funding countries in Oslo. More than 37 countries and more than 100 representatives from Europe, North America and the Asia-Pacific region participated in this conference. Representatives from the LTTE and the Sri Lankan government also participated in this event. The nations which attended pledged that they would donate US\$7 million for the rehabilitation of the North and East provinces. We can understand that this event created pressure and anxiety for the Tamil Tigers and the Tamil Eelam liberation struggle. Firstly, these nations by flashing a huge chunk of money are bent to force a half baked solution on the Tamil people. Secondly this will irretrievably land the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and the Tamil Eelam liberation struggle in the dangerous clutches of international conspiracy. Thirdly, this event can also be seen as hampering India's regional interests. Hence there is no way that India will not be ferocious at the Tamil Tigers. Fourthly, the proactive interference of these nations explicitly shows that the pressure and involvement of these countries are going to be detrimental to the interests of Tamil Tigers.

Also this conference did not fail to create an impression that Sri Lanka is a sovereign government that could benefit the regional military and economic benefits of America and other countries of the world. This can be

clearly understood from the speech of the American Deputy Minister Richard Aamitraech:

He requested the Tamil Tigers to shrug off violence and bifurcation. We also request the Tamil Tigers organisation to openly declare that they will not resort to violence and terrorism. The Tamil Tigers should declare very clearly to the people of Sri Lanka and the international community that they have given up the armed struggle to establish a separate government."

This commanding tone of Aamitraech as a representative of a super power had shattered the very base of the Tamil ethnic issue. Also his speech clearly shows that he did not have a deep understanding of the self determination rights of the Tamil people, that the Eelam demand is not a demand for bifurcation but is a freedom struggle to recover a lost Tamil Eelam nation and that his speech shows a superficial understanding of the issue. If he had a good understanding of the Tamil ethnic issue, he could never have delivered such a speech in an international arena. Also he did not utter a word about the state sponsored terrorism of the Sri Lankan government and its continued anti-Tamil activities. Hence we can state without hesitation that the Oslo conference is a planned and biased affair aimed at sabotaging the freedom struggle of the LTTE.

Even the Norwegian peace brokers kept mum about the speech of Aamitraech which also raises serious suspicions. We can see the Norwegian peace brokers only as agents who gave shape to the American conspiracy. Also none of the representatives from more than 30 countries which participated in the conference raised any opposition to the speeches of Aamitraech. Hence we should assume that the participating countries quietly extended their supporting hand to the American plans and motives. The Political adviser of the Tamil Tigers Anton Balasingham who participated in this conference gave a lengthy speech. Every word that he spoke described the problems faced by the Tamils in their daily lives, the solutions to those problems and the hegemony of the Sinhalese army and its cleansing activities. But in such a gathering of the countries of the world, Anton Balasingham could have given a detailed and fitting response to the speech of the American Minister Aamitraech. At the least, he could have explained that Sri Lanka is an Island comprising of two separate nations which have been ruled separately forever in history and that the Tamils have lost their country because of the foreign powers who reigned in Sri Lanka. Our neighbouring Sinhalese country has been trying to decimate us ever since the independence of Sri Lanka. Hence we have been forced to wage an armed struggle for about 30 years to decide our own fate on the basis of the Tamil's right to self determination. Hence any proposed solution for this ethnic issue resulting out of these peace talks should address the political aspirations of



the Tamil people. Anton Balasingham could have responded that the request from the mediators to the Tigers to give up their demand for separation is a completely biased stance. Anyone who would take a scientific look at this issue will be wondering as to why he did not capitalize on this rare opportunity.

Following the conference in Oslo from 2-5 December 2002, the third round of talks was held in Oslo. In these peace talks, a committee of scholars

from the Canadian federation participated as special invitees. Internal and external right to self determination, federal structures, provincial autonomy and federal autonomy were discussed in great detail. Following this, the fourth round of talks took place during 6-9<sup>th</sup> January 2003 in Thailand. In this meeting issues regarding the high security zone and surrender of arms by the LTTE were the key items discussed additionally. The government announced that the Indian Army General Sathish Nambiar would devise a plan to solve these issues. But the Tamil Tigers argued that the high security zone issue should not be linked with the arms surrender issue. Later the Tamil Tigers rejected the plan prepared by Nambiar.

The fifth round of talks continued in Berlin in Germany during 7-8 February 2003. While the peace talks were progressing Sri Lankan navy captured a vessel of the Sea Tigers near Neduntheevu off the Jaffna Gulf. The Sea Tigers' boat was blasted. All three Tamil Tigers soldiers on board the vessel committed suicide. This news was relayed to Anton Balasingham through both Tamil Tigers and the International Ceasefire monitoring committee. There were heated altercations in the discussion table that this event was a blatant violation of the ceasefire agreement. But in spite of this, the discussions continued. During these peace talks, there were discussions regarding the recruitment of child soldiers in the Tamil Tigers' army. Tamilselvan gave the following details in his reply:

The Tamil Tigers organisation has been taking care of thousands of children in many of their orphanages and child care centres. Due to the economic destructions, poverty and deprivation that ensued due to the war, numerous children have been orphaned and have lost all means of livelihood and are taking refuge with the LTTE. We are embracing them and are taking care of them. We are spending crores of money on them. We are not recruiting anyone less than 18 years of age in our organisation. We have recently handed over 350 Tamil children to their parents since they were underage/

After these talks, Anton Balasingham and Adele Balasingham met Prabhakaran on 5 March 2003. In this situation, the leader of monitoring committee General Relevson and outgoing leader Poorakovda met Prabhakaran. During these meetings, Prabhakaran gave the arguments of his side and explained his stand.

After these incidents, later, on 10 March 2003, the General of the Sea Tigers wing Soosai informed Prabhakaran that the Sri Lankan navy had burnt down a merchant ship of the Tamil Tigers and that eleven Sea Tigers were also killed in this event. This would have definitely angered Prabhakaran

and he would have considered this event a clear violation of the ceasefire agreement and that this would have long term effects on the peace process. Tamilselvan wrote a detailed letter regarding this to the Defence Minister Thilak Marappana. This letter should have created anxiety in the minds of Sri Lankan government and Norwegian Peace committee. As a consequence, the Norwegian team comprising of Vidar Helgison, John Westberg, Hans Bruttakon and Mrs Leela Golden travelled to Kilinochchi on 13 March 2003 and had a meeting with Prabhakaran." They must have visited to find out if the Tamil Tigers are parting ways with the peace talks. Following this, the sixth round of talks took place during 18-21 March 2003 in Japan. The tragic event of burning the Tamil Tiger's ship became an item of key deliberation along with the issue regarding the modernisation efforts of the Sri Lankan army. They also warned that such things could break down the peace talks. They also accused that the SIHRAN subcommittee is dormant and granting of funds and appointment of officers and staff were still due. At this juncture, they were informed that the seventh stage of talks would take place in Thailand in April.

In the six stages of the talks so far, both parties had a very open discussion regarding the humanitarian issues faced by the Tamil people. As a result, many of the banned commodities were permitted to the Tamil regions. But most of the essential commodities were blocked at the check posts of the Sinhalese army. Also as a result of the peace talks, the A9 Highway connecting Vanni with the Jaffna country was opened for regular traffic. The ban issued by the Sri Lankan government on the LTTE was also revoked. Except these, there have been many cases of violation of the terms of the ceasefire agreement which led to the death of many Tamil Tiger fighters. The ceasefire monitoring committee was unable to stop the increased atrocities of the army in the East province. The rehabilitation and resettlement of the displaced people have not happened at all. The army did not leave the schools, temples, public places and habitations adamantly occupied by them which were caught in the so called protected zone. The Sri Lankan Tamil issue was caught in a tri-lateral tug of war between the three power centres Chandrika, the army and Ranil Wickremasinghe. This

situation would have created a lot of anxiety and displeasure in the minds of the LTTE.

At this juncture, the funding countries decided to conduct the preliminary meeting for the conference of the funding nations in Washington during 14-15 April instead of in June 2003. This meeting took place as planned. Representatives from 21 countries and 16 international organisations participated in this event. Moragoda participated in this event on behalf of the Sri Lankan government. But no one from the Tamil Tiger's

side was called for this meeting. When the Tamil Tigers demanded an explanation regarding this, American Minister Richard Aamitraech who headed the meeting reiterated whatever he told in the Oslo conference:

Tamil Tigers must shrug off terrorism beyond any doubt, both in their word and action. America cannot allow a banned organisation.

After this the Norwegian representatives visited Vanni and requested Prabhakaran to participate in the conference of the funding nations to be held in June 2003 in Japan. Prabhakaran would have been strongly distressed that not even a single person was invited from the Tamil Tigers to represent them in the preliminary meeting held in Washington. Hence he informed the Norwegian representatives that they were not participating in the peace talks in Japan. Also when the Norwegian representatives asked Prabhakaran's opinion on reinitiating the peace talks, he gave out his stance as follows:

He stressed that an interim committee with sufficient rights is mandatory to perform rehabilitation, resettlement and development activities in a good manner in the Tamil homelands. He opined that the Ranil Wickremasinghe government should submit a draft for this arrangement based on which the peace talks can be resumed.

Following this, the leadership of the Tamil Tigers used scholars to prepare a draft plan named 'Interim Self-Governing Authority' and presented it to the Wickremasinghe government on 1 November 2003. Unfortunately on 7 February 2004, President Chandrika dissolved the Parliament. The Ranil Wickremasinghe rule came to an end and the peace talks also died with it.

We can understand a few important facts from these discussions. In the Oslo conference of the funding nations itself it was decided to conduct the next phase of conference of the funding nations in Japan. At this juncture, the preliminary meeting which held in Washington needs to be seen as clearly planned by America against the Tamil Tigers. Firstly, such a preliminary meeting was not necessary. In the six stages of the peace talks and the conference of the funding nations in Oslo, Tamil Tigers participated as equal partners with the representatives of the Sri Lankan government. Why should the Tamil Tigers, who participated in all these talks be denied permission to

attend the preliminary meeting in Washington? The reasoning given by the American Minister that the LTTE cannot be permitted to enter America since they were a banned organisation, is highly treacherous and venomous. If the ban was the only key reason, why can't the American Minister organise the meeting in a different country where the representatives of the Tamil Tigers,

a major player in this issue, will be able to participate? It can be clearly seen that the Norwegian committee which has been mediating the peace process also fell into this vicious trap of America and ended up simply nodding their heads. Also Viswananthan Ruthirakumaran who participated in the peace talks as a representative of the Tamil Tigers has been living in the US with a proper residence permit. Why couldn't America and the Norwegian committee invite him as the sole representative of the Tamil Tigers? Also Ruthirakumaran has participated as a representative of the Tamil Tigers in all the peace talks initiated by the Norwegian team. If he had not been a dependable member of the LTTE, why would the leadership of the Tamil Tigers send him as their representative to all the peace talks? How come he was allowed to go back to the US after participating in these peace talks representing the Tamil Tigers?

The Sri Lankan government would have definitely modernized its army, navy and air force in these periods of peace talks. America and its allied countries would have bolstered the Sri Lankan efforts and supplied them with all sorts of military equipment and war techniques. The Oslo speech and Washington speech of the American Minister very clearly show that the America had clearly exploited the services of the Norwegian Peace initiatives to brand the Tamil Tigers as a terrorist organisation among the countries of the world. The political history students of the future will understand that this is a clear move to isolate the Tamil Tigers and gather the strength of the entire world along with that of the armed forces of Sri Lanka against Tigers and destroy them by forcing them out of the peace process. This act is a clear conspiracy of the America and other countries of the world to totally annihilate the Tamil Tigers which ensured the ultimate death of the peace process.

The Chandrika government refused to accept the Interim Self-governing Authority rule. The SLFP and JVP fought the election in alliance and formed the Parliament. Mahinda Rajapaksa was appointed the Prime Minister. Chandrika continued to be the President. At this juncture, due to the growing agitations in the south of Sri Lanka against the peace initiatives of Norway, it temporarily stopped the peace efforts.

At this juncture, on 26 December 2004 the Northern, Eastern and Southern coasts of Sri Lanka were heavily hit by Tsunami. To speed up the relief process the Tamil Tigers worked together with the Sri Lankan government under the joint leadership of funding countries. A body named 'Post Tsunami Operational Management'<sup>7</sup> was established. Many people expected that this would promote understanding between Tamil Tigers and the Sri Lankan government. But the JVP cadres prevented it stopped this. Hence a major share of the contributions given by the countries of the world



was spent only on the Sinhalese regions in the south. The Tamil Tigers had to take on their shoulders the responsibility of rehabilitating the people in the Tsunami affected regions in the North and East provinces. Before the onset of tsunami, Karuna the East province in charge of the LTTE, parted ways with the LTTE and joined hands with the Sri Lankan government. This led to serious clashes between the Karuna group and the Tamil Tigers. The Sri Lankan government exploited this situation and joined hands the Karuna group to wage war on the Tamil Tigers. This forced the people in the East in to a very precarious situation. In the Presidential elections held in November 2005, Sri Lanka Freedom Party forged an alliance with the Buddhist extremist parties Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna and Hela Urimaya and Leftist parties and won the elections. Mahinda Rajapaksa was elected President.

In another major turn of events, the JVP filed a case in the court and came out successfully in declaring that the 13th Amendment and the joint provincial council of the North and East formed in 1987 were invalid. This became an issue of great contention at that time. The Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh who met Mahinda Rajapaksa in the conference of the Non-Aligned nations in Cuba stressed upon him to reunite the North and East provinces.

Rajapaksa continued to pose as someone looking for the support of the Norwegian mediators. The events that followed showed that he had a clear and solid plot to annihilate the Tamil Tigers and completely dominate the Tamil people to his well and wish through procrastination in the guise of conducting talks for peaceful solution, while intensifying the attacks on the North and East provinces. At this juncture, owing to pressure from India and other countries of the world, on 19 February 2006 and later during 28-29 October 2006 under the mediation of Norway, representatives of the Sri Lankan government and those of the Tamil Tigers engaged in the first and second phases of peace talks in Geneva. The A9 Highway which was opened due to the peace initiatives of Norway had been closed by the Sri Lankan government. In the first phase of the talks, the opening of the A9 Highway became the key item for deliberation. With the Sri Lankan government rejecting any claim to open the A9 Highway, the peace talks ended up in failure as usual. Also the political adviser to the LTTE, Anton Balasingham, who was severely affected by urinal disease passed away on 14 December

2006. The sad demise of Anton Balasingham who had so far participated in various discussions with the government and other institutions on behalf of the Tamil Tigers and justified the Tamil struggle for the right to self determination also became an important reason for the stalling of the peace talks. The Tamil Tigers acknowledged his contributions and conferred upon the title 'Voice of the Nation'.

Adele Balasingham, the wife of Anton Balasingham has made enormous contributions to the Tamil people and the Eelam Liberation circle. Particularly, she inculcated the heart of revolutionary thinking among Tamil women, old and young. She was quite familiar with Tamil culture and tradition. She had a deep knowledge of politics, as can be seen in her 'Will to Freedom\*. It must be noted at this juncture that there have been a longstanding contact between Australia and Tamil Eelam. Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan has played a vital role in Sri Lankan politics, Tamil politics in particular, during the close of the 19th century and the early part of the next century.

Everyone called his wife Lady Ramanathan. She was Australian. She served for many years as the principal of Ramanathan College, founded by Sir Ramanathan. She loved the Tamil land and its people. After about hundred years Adele Balasingham has taken Lady Ramanathan's place in an entirely different circumstance. She has spent a long time in Tamil Eelam where she has lived incognito for many years. Still she came forward to participate in the peace talks on behalf of the LTTE. She has carved out for herself a noted place in the hearts of the Tamil people and the history of the Tamil Eelam freedom struggle.

At this juncture, though the ceasefire agreement was officially in effect, the aerial and other military attacks on the Tamil Tigers were being carried out very severely. During these attacks, many civilians were killed and injured and Tamil people had to face inexplicable losses. Tamils from various walks of life were shot dead by the Sinhalese thugs with the connivance of the Sinhalese army. Many Tamils were abducted. In the Eastern province alone, about 250,000 Tamil people were forced to migrate out of their own places as refugees. Due to the intensified fight between the Tigers and the Sinhalese army, the A9 Highway was closed. Because of this all the 700,000 Tamils in the Jaffna gulf were caught in great exertion. Due to blockades on food and medical supplies and hurdles in transportation, Tamil people died in large numbers. To stop the Sri Lankan air force from killing the Tamils through bombings and to demolish the economic base of Sri Lanka the Tamil Tigers' air force attacked the Katunayake airport in March 2007 and destroyed many fighter crafts. On 22 October 2007 they attacked and destroyed Anuradhapura as well.

Following this, the Sri Lankan air force conducted severe raids on the Vanni region and created calamity. Specifically, on 27 November 2007 the Political Wing's Deputy in-charge Su.Pa. Tamilselvan was killed on the spot along with five more people by the shelling of the Sri Lankan air force.

At this juncture, due to the pressure from India and the international community, Mahinda Rajapaksa had announced the solution package of his

government for the district councils. The UNP expressed its opinion that 'in the district council solution package, there seems to be no solution'. It also said that this will increase the complexity of the ethnic issue. Jaya Deva Uyaangoda, a Professor in the Political science department of the Colombo University and belonging to the majority Sinhalese ethnicity, expressed his opinion as follows:

This solution plan is acceptable only to the Sinhalese people. Any minority with dignity will reject this proposed solution.

Also Sumanagiri Liyanake, a visiting lecturer of the Peradeniya University, and of Sinhalese ethnicity expressed his opinion about the proposed solution as follows:

This solution has no relevance to the current situation and also justifies the demand of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam for the formation of a separate country.

Also an English newspaper from Colombo in its editorial wrote as follows:

This proposed solution will fuel trust deficit and conflicts between the two ethnicities.

The Tamil National Alliance stated:

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This proposed solution is not worth any analysis.

A Tamil magazine from Colombo in its opinion told that:

This solution plan has let down the world and the entire Tamil community.

In short, the key objective of Mahinda Rajapaksa and the Sinhalese chauvinistic political and military leaders, is to prolong the discussion process, utilise the extra time in their favour, build up their military, modernize it and destroy the Tamil Tigers and send the Tamil Eelam liberation demands to the grave with the support of the world countries. The diabolic motives and activities of these people did not fail to destroy the entire Tamil community and their lives.

The global super power America and its ally England extended all sorts of military support to the war aimed at destroying the freedom fighters. The

Israelis, after roaming around the world like stray dogs and after getting killed in their hundreds of thousand by the world, finally found a nation for themselves. These Israelis forgot the sufferings, insults and losses they faced and stood shoulder to shoulder in extending total support to the chauvinistic Sri Lankan government in decimating the Eelam Tamils who are in the same situation as the Israelis once found themselves in. Pakistan which secured a separate nation of its own from the Indian subcontinent though it lacked any basic right to demand it, forgot its horrible experiences and came forward to support the Sri Lankan government to destroy the Eelam Tamils and their liberation struggle. Mao Zedong took a lengthy journey to enable the blossoming of a people's government in a modern China which is termed as 'Red China'. But China to safeguard its regional interests extended a helping hand to Sri Lanka in decimating Tamils and their liberation fight by supplying military assistance and armaments. India which was under the imperialistic control of alien powers for many centuries, secured its independence through the non-violent struggles of Gandhi. Indian politicians don't have to be taught about the significance of a thirst for independence. It is hard to believe that even India supported Sri Lanka in its attempt to annihilate Tamils and their freedom struggle by giving war training, strategic military advice, scouting on the Eelam freedom fighters using their spy satellites. The European Union comprising of 27 nations which respect democracy and human rights has been continuously extending its support and blessings to the Sri Lankan government. Above all these, many master minds like Karuna and K. Pathmanathan who wrongly call themselves to be sons of Mother Eelam and also few Eelam Tamil leaders have also cooperated with Mahinda Rajapaksa in destroying the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and the Tamils. Using this comfortable position, Mahinda Rajapaksa on 14 January 2008 broke the ceasefire agreement and started the war. This became the fourth Eelam war for the Tamil Tigers. How are the political history students and scholars of the future going to approach this?

### **Tamil Ethnic Cleansing Activities (1990 - 2008)**

The intense fighting between Tamil Tigers and the Sri Lankan army since the 1990s in the Jaffna country, East provinces and Vanni region did not fail to

inflict severe losses and destructions to the Tamil people living in these regions. The same situation continued till the beginning of the peace talks initiated by Norway. In these periods, many thousands of Tamils have been massacred by the Sri Lankan army. Tamil people have been subjected to numerous displacements. Tamil women have been raped, Tamils have disappeared, many thousands of Tamil women were widowed and Tamils

have lost a lot of their lands. Many hundred Hindu temples, Christian churches, schools, colleges, cultural centres, commercial establishments, markets, buildings and hospitals have been destroyed by the Sri Lankan army, navy and the air force. It is an impossible task to write about each of these incidents in detail in this single research book. Hence we use the information available from a couple of tabulations to give an idea of the depth of the destructions described above. The readers will understand that each of the events given there will carry very long and terrible stories behind. Following these tables, it will be apt to quote a few important examples and explain them in detail in order to explore the state of the Tamil people.

**Table 6.1: Attacks and Destruction by Sri Lankan Forces (1990-2009)**

Incident	Date	Place	Deaths	Action by	Sources
Kalmunai Massacre	12.06.1990	Kalmunai, Amparai District	160 to 250	Sri Lankan Army	<a href="http://www.uthr.org">www.uthr.org</a>
Thiriyaikeny Massacre	6.08.1990	Thiriyaikeny, Amparai District	47	Sri Lankan Army	<a href="http://www.tamilnet.com">www.tamilnet.com</a>
Veeramunai Padukolai	12.08.1990	Amparai District	21	Armed Civilian,	<a href="http://www.amnestyusa.org">www.amnestyusa.org</a>
East University Massacre	5.09.1990	Vantharumulai, Baticoloa	158	Sri Lankan Army	<a href="http://www.hrw.org">www.hrw.org</a>
Saththurukondan Massacre	9.09.1990	Baticoloa	184	Sri Lankan Army	<a href="http://www.jstor.org">www.jstor.org</a>
Chavakachcheri Massacre	9.10.1990	Chavakachcheri, Jaffna	12	Sri Lankan Army	www.amnestyusa.org
Kondaichi Massacre	1991 (Feb)	Kondaichi, Mannar	4	Sri Lankan	<a href="http://www.amnestyusa.org">www.amnestyusa.org</a>

				Army	
Eravur Massacre	20.02.1991	Eravur, Baticoloa	<b>6</b>	Armed Civilian Forces	<a href="http://www.amnestyusa.org">www.amnestyusa.org</a>
Iruthayapuram Massacre	1991 (March)	Iruthayapuram, Baticoloa	<b>11</b>	Sri Lankan Police	<a href="http://www.amnestyusa.org">www.amnestyusa.org</a>
Nayanmar Massacre	12.04.1991	Nayanmarthidal Thampalakamam Trincomalee	<b>4</b>	Sri Lankan Army	<a href="http://www.amnestyusa.org">www.amnestyusa.org</a>
Kokaddicholai Massacre	12.06.1991	Kokaddicholai, Baticoloa	<b>152 87</b>	Sri Lankan Army	sundaytimes.lk
Polanaruva Massacre	29.04.1992	Muthukal, Polanaruva		Armed Civilian Forces and Sri Lankan Police	<a href="http://www.uthr.org">www.uthr.org</a>



**Table 6.1: continued**

Incident	Date	Place	Deaths	Action by	Sources
Mayilantanai Massacre	9.10.992	Mayilantanai, Baticoloa	35	Sri Lankan Army	<a href="http://news.bbc.co.uk">news.bbc.co.uk</a>
Paliyadvaddai Massacre	24.10.1992	Paliyadvaddai, Baticoloa	10- 11	Sri Lankan Army	<i>Sri Lanka: Assessment of the Human Rights Situation</i> , ASA 37/1/93, Amnesty International, February 1993
Kilali Massacre	2.01.1993	Jaffna	35-100	Sri Lankan Navy	<a href="http://www.unhcr.org">www.unhcr.org</a>
Vannaththi Am Massacre	17.02.1993	Baticoloa	16	Sri Lankan Army	<a href="http://www.amnestyusa.org">www.amnestyusa.org</a>
Kalviyankadu Massacre	27.07.1993	Kalviyankadu, Jaffna	6	Sri Lankan Air Force	<a href="http://www.unhcr.org">www.unhcr.org</a>
Coastal Area Massacre	29.07.1993	Jaffna	19	Sri Lankan Navy	<a href="http://www.unhcr.org">www.unhcr.org</a>
Pulmottai Massacre	6.05.1995	Trincomalee	5	Sri Lankan Army	<a href="http://www.unhcr.org">www.unhcr.org</a>
Naval i Church Massacre	9.07.1995	Navali Jaffna	125	Sri Lankan Air Force	<a href="http://www.hrw.org">www.hrw.org</a>
Nagar Kovil	22.09.1995	Nagar Kovil,	39	Sri	<a href="http://brcsproject.gn.apc.org">brcsproject.gn.apc.org</a>

School Massacre		Jaffna		Lankan Air Force	
Kumarapuram Massacre	11.02.1996	Kumarapuram, Trincomalee	<b>24</b>	Sri Lankan Army	<a href="http://www.sundaytimes.lk">www.sundaytimes.lk</a>
Thampalakamam Massacre	3.02.1998	Thampalakama, Trincomalee	<b>8</b>	Sri Lankan Police	<a href="http://www.tamilnet.com">www.tamilnet.com</a>
Puthukudiyiruppu Massacre	15.09.1999	Puthukudiyiruppu, Mullaitivu	<b>21</b>	Sri Lankan Air Force	<a href="http://www.amnesty.org">www.amnesty.org</a>
Pallikkuda Massacre	12.05.2000	Pallikkuda, Kilinochchi	<b>5</b>	Sri Lankan Air Force	<a href="http://www.msf.org">www.msf.org</a>
Silavaththurai Massacre	13.05.2000	Silavaththurai, Mannar	<b>5</b>	Sri Lankan Navy	<a href="http://www.msf.org">www.msf.org</a>
Colombuththurai Massacre	15.05.2000	Colombuththurai, Jaffna	<b>5</b>	Sri Lankan Army	<a href="http://www.msf.org">www.msf.org</a>
Mirusuvil Massacre	20.12.2000	Mirusuvil, Jaffna	<b>8</b>	Sri Lankan Army	<a href="http://www.epidemiology-felipe.org.br">www.epidemiology-felipe.org.br</a>
Trincomalee Massacre	2.01.2006	Trincomalee	<b>5</b>	Sri Lankan Police	<a href="http://www.nation.lk">www.nation.lk</a>
Allaipiddi Massacre	13.05.2006	Allaipiddi, Jaffna	<b>13</b>	Sri Lankan Navy	<a href="http://www.uthr.org">www.uthr.org</a>
Pesalai Church Massacre	17.06.2006	Pesalai, Mannar	<b>6</b>	Sri Lankan Navy	<a href="http://www.nationalcatholicreporter.org">www.nationalcatholicreporter.org</a>

Table 6.1: continued

<b>Incident</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Deaths</b>	<b>Action by</b>	<b>Sources</b>
Trincomalee Rehabilitation Workers Massacre	4.08.2006	Trincomalee	17	Sri Lankan Police	news.independent.co.uk
St. Phillip's Church Massacre	13.08.2006	Allaipiddi, Jaffna	15-36	Sri Lankan Army	<a href="http://www.uthr.org">www.uthr.org</a>
Sencholai Bombing	14.08.2006	Mullaitivu	61	Sri Lankan Air Force	news.independent.co.uk
Vakarai Bombing	7.11.2006	Kathiraveli, Batticaloa	45	Sri Lankan Army	<a href="http://news.bbc.co.uk">news.bbc.co.uk</a>
Thandikulam Massacre	19.11.2006	Thandikulam, Vavuniya	5	Sri Lankan Army and Police	<a href="http://news.bbc.co.uk">news.bbc.co.uk</a>
Padakuththurai Bombing	2.01.2007	Iluppakkadavai, Mannar	15	Sri Lankan Air Force	<a href="http://news.bbc.co.uk">news.bbc.co.uk</a>
Murasumoddai Bombing	1.01.2009	Residential Area	5	Sri Lankan Air Force	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Murasumoddai Massacre	1.01.2009	Residential Area	10	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to</i>

					<i>be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Mullaitivu Massacre	2.01.2009	Petrol Station	4	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Tharmapuram Hospital Massacre	8.01.2009	Tharmapuram, Mullaitivu	7	Sri Lankan Army	<a href="http://www.hrw.org">www.hrw.org</a>
Puthukudiyiruppu Massacre	18.01.2009	Many Areas	4	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Mullaitivu Massacre	18.01.2009	Many Areas	18	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Vanni Massacre	20.01.2009	Displaced Area	15	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Vallipuram Hospital Massacre	22.01.2009	Vallipuram, Mullaitivu	5	Sri Lankan Army	<a href="http://www.hrw.org">www.hrw.org</a>
Suthanthirapuram Massacre	24.01.2009	Suthanthirapuram, Mullaitivu	Over 11	Sri Lankan Army	<a href="http://www.icrc.org">www.icrc.org</a>
Udaiyarkaddu Hospital	26.01.2009	Udaiyarkaddu, Mullaitivu	12	Sri Lankan	<a href="http://www.hrw.org">www.hrw.org</a>

Massacre				Army	
Vanni Massacre	28.01.2009	Security Zone	Over 100	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.

**Table 6.1: continued**

<b>Incident</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Deaths</b>	<b>Action by</b>	<b>Sources</b>
Udaiyarkaddu Massacre	28.01.2009	Security Zone	69	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Vanni Massacre	29.01.2009	Security Zone	44	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Suthanthirapuram Massacre	31.01.2009	Security Zone	30	Sri Lankan Air Force	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Puthukudiyiruppu Hospital Massacre	01.02.2009 03.02.2009	Puthukudiyiruppu, Mullaitivu	Over 9	Sri Lankan Army	<a href="http://www.hrw.org">www.hrw.org</a>
Moonkilaru Massacre	1.02.2009	Security Zone	Over 13	Sri Lankan Air Force	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Puthukudiyiruppu Massacre	4.02.2009	Security Zone	Over 50	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Udaiyarkaddu	5.02.2009	Hospital	5	Sri	Prabhakaran, J.,

Massacre				Lankan Army	<i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Suthanthirapuram Massacre	5.02.2009	Security Zone	Over 100	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Ponnambalam Memorial Hospital Bombing	5.02.2009 6.02.2009	Puthukudiyiruppu, Mullaitivu	Over 75	Sri Lankan Air Force	<a href="http://www.hrw.org">www.hrw.org</a>
Maththalan Massacre	10.02.2009	Security Zone	Over 36	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Puthumaththalan Hospital Bombings	9.02.2009 10.02.2009	Puthumaththalan, Mullaitivu	Over 16	Sri Lankan Army	<a href="http://www.hrw.org">www.hrw.org</a>
Thevipuram Massacre	14.02.2009	Security Zone	Over 75	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Thevipuram Massacre	16.02.2009	Security Zone	260	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Maththalan Massacre	18.02.2009	Security Zone	108	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil

					Nadu, 2010.
Ananthapuram Massacre	18.02.2009	Refugee Camp	Over 50	Sri Lankan Air Force	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Iranaipalai Massacre	19.02.2009	Refugee Camp	30 Families	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.



Table 6.1: continued

<b>Incident</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Deaths</b>	<b>Action by</b>	<b>Sources</b>
Vanni Massacre	21.02.2009	Security Zone	13	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Vanni Massacre	22.02.2009	Security Zone	39	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Puthumaththala n Massacre	24.02.2009	Temporary Hospital	6	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Mullaitivu Massacre	28.2.2009	Security Zone	40	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Mullaitivu Massacre	1.03.2009	Security Zone	37	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Mullivaikal Massacre	2.03.2009	Security Zone	45	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil

					Nadu, 2010.
Maththalan Temporary Hospital Massacre	3.03.2009	Security Zone	13	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Mullaitivu Massacre	4.03.2009	Security Zone	73	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Pokkanai Massacre	4.03.2009	Security Zone	25	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Maththalan Massacre	4.03.2009	Security Zone	23	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Iraddaivaikkal Massacre	4.03.2009	Security Zone	10	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Iranaipalai Massacre	4.03.2009	Security Zone	23	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Ananthapuram Massacre	5.03.2009	Security Zone	69	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil

					Nadu,2010.
Mullivaikal Massacre	6.03.2009	Security Zone	86	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Maththalan Massacre	7.03.2009	Refugee Camp	53	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Mullaitivu Massacre	8.03.2009	Security Zone	71	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.

**Table 6.1: continued**

<b>Incident</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Deaths</b>	<b>Action by</b>	<b>Sources</b>
Ampalavan Pokkanai Massacre	9.03.2009	Security Zone	<b>74</b>	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Vanni Massacre	10.03.2009	Security Zone	129	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Mullivaikal Massacre	11.03.2009	Security Zone	<b>82</b>	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Mullaitivu Massacre	14.03.2009	Security Zone	<b>69</b>	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Vanni Massacre	15.0-3.2009	Security Zone	<b>58</b>	Air forces	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Vanni Massacre	16.03.2009	Security Zone	29	Air forces	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil

					Nadu,2010.
Vanni Massacre	17.03.2009	Security Zone	32	Air forces	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Ampalavan Pokkanai Massacre	17.03.2009	Security Zone	<b>52</b>	Air forces	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Pokkanai and Maththalan Massacre	19.03.2009	Security Zone	39	Air forces	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Mullaitivu Massacre	20.03.2009	Security Zone	<b>46</b>	Air forces	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Maththalan Massacre	20.03.2009	Security Zone	<b>16</b>	Air forces	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Vanni area Massacre	21.03.2009	Security Zone	<b>42</b>	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Puthumaththalan Temporary Hospital Massacre	22.03.2009	Security Zone	32	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil

					Nadu,2010.
Puthumaththalan Temporary Hospital Massacre	23.03.2009	Security Zone	<b>96</b>	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Valajarmadam Massacre	24.03.2009	Security Zone	<b>62</b>	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Pokkanai Massacre	25.03.2009	Security Zone	<b>49</b>	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.

**Table 6.1: continued**

<b>Incident</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Deaths</b>	<b>Action by</b>	<b>Sources</b>
Maththalan Massacre	25.03.2009	Security Zone	<b>17</b>	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Maththalan Massacre	25.03.2009	Security Zone	<b>65</b>	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Puthumaththalan Temporary Hospital Massacre	26.03.2009	Hospital	<b>5</b>	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Pokkanai and Maththalan Massacre	27.03.2009 28.03.2009	Security Zone	<b>179</b>	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Maththalan Massacre	29.03.2009	Security Zone	<b>17</b>	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Pokkanai Massacre	29.03.2009	Security Zone	<b>18</b>	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil

					Nadu, 2010.
Valajarmadam Massacre	29.03.2009	Security Zone	<b>15</b>	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Valajarmadam Massacre	30.03.2009	Security Zone	<b>88</b>	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Ampalavan and Pokkanai Massacre	31.03.2009	Security Zone	<b>45</b>	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Puthumaththalan Massacre	1.04.2009	Security Zone	33	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Puthumaththalan Massacre	2.04.2009	Security Zone	31	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Puthumaththalan Massacre	3.04.2009	Security Zone	<b>26</b>	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Puthumaththalan Temporary Hospital Massacre	4.04.2009	Security Zone	<b>71</b>	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil



					Nadu,2010.
Pokkanai Massacre	8.04.2009	Security Zone	129	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Vanni Massacre	9.04.2009	Security Zone	<b>52</b>	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.
Vanni Massacre	10.04.2009	Security Zone	12	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu,2010.

**Table 6.1: continued**

<b>Incident</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Deaths</b>	<b>Action by</b>	<b>Sources</b>
Pulmoddai Massacre	11.04.2009	Security Zone	17	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Vanni Massacre	12.04.2009	Security Zone	30	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Vanni Massacre	13.04.2009	Security Zone	23	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Mullaitivu Massacre	16.04.2009	Security Zone	Over 57	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Mullivaikkal Massacre	17.04.2009 18.04.2009	Security Zone	Over 60	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Valajjarmadam Massacre	21.04.2009	Temporary Hospital	7	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.

Valaijarmadam Massacre	23.04.2009	Refugee Camp	14	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Mullivaikkal Massacre	26.04.2009	Security Zone	4	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Mullivaikkal Massacre	26.04.2009 28.04.2009	Security Zone	Over 200	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Mullivaikkal Massacre	29.04.2009	Temporary Hospital	9	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Mullivaikkal Massacre	2.05.2009	Temporary Hospital	64	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Mullivaikkal Massacre	9.05.2009	Security Zone	1200	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
Mullivaikkal Massacre	10.05.2009 11.05.2009	Security Zone	3200	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.

Mullivaikkal Massacre	13.05.2009	Temporary Hospital	Over 100	Sri Lankan Army	Prabhakaran, J., <i>What is to be done about this?</i> , Tamil Nadu, 2010.
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Table 6.2: Ethnic Cleansing of Tamils (1990-2008)

[illegible]

Thellippalai Shelling	30.05.1992			1					5		1		2		10
Kilali S.N	02.01.1993 21.07.1993	2		1			7	2	13	1	19	4	2	1	53
Maththalan	18.09.1993						4		4		11				20
Chvakachcheri	28.09.1993		1	1		4	7		13		5	4	1		36
Yakappar Church	13.10.1993		1		1	1	1	1			4	2	1	1	13
Sundikkulam S.N	18.02.1994								5		3				8

**Table 62: Continued**

[illegible]

Manthuvil Market	15.09.1999								2	9	3	9	2	3	1	29
Palinagar	3.12.1999							3				1		2		6
Madu Church	20.11.1999		1	4	1	4	4	3	2	4	4	3	2	1	2	35
Mirusuvil	15.12.2000				1			1		1		1				4
Pesalai	23.12.2005			1							1	2				4
Trincomalee	2.01.2006							5								5
Manippay	14.01.2006								1		1		1			3



Table 6.2: Continued

Incident	Date	Govt Servants		0-5 Years		6-12 Years		13-21 Years		22-35 Years		36-55 Years		Over 56 Years		Total
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
TRO	25.01.2006									5			2			7
Trincomalee	23.04.2006					1				3		8		1		13
Puththur	18.04.2006									4		1				5
Trincomalee	25.04.2006								2	3		2	3	1	2	13
Uthayan Newspaper	2.05.2006									2						2
Nelliyadi	4.05.2006							2		5						7
Manthuvil	6.05.2006									7		1				8
Allaipiddy	13.05.2006			2						6		2		2	1	13
Vadamunai - Nodukal(Baticolao)	7.06.2006			1		1		1	1		1	1	3	1		10
Valvai Raping	8.06.2006					1	1			1	1					4
Pesalai Church	17.06.2006	5 Fishermen														5
Atchan Farm	5.08.2006									12		5				17
Nedunkerni - Ambulance	8.08.2006	1	3										1			5
East District Council	8.03.2006 12.03.2006				2	3	6	21	2	46	9	18	6	4	2	119
Allaippiddi Shelling	13.08.2006									3	1	3	1	2		10
Sensolai	14.08.2006							49			1		1		1	52
Poththuvil	17.09.2006							10								10
Kaiveli	16.10.2006				2		1					1				4
Thiruvaiaru	2.11.2006								2			1		1	1	5
Vavuniya Farm	18.11.2006								4							4

School																
Padakuththurai	2.01.2007			<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>		<b>1</b>			<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>15</b>
Chilapaththurai	2.09.2007				<b>1</b>			<b>1</b>		<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>11</b>
Tharumapuram	25.11.2007						<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>			<b>1</b>		<b>2</b>			<b>5</b>

**Table 6.2: Continued**

Incident	Date	Govt Servants		0-5 Years		6-12 Years		13-21 Years		22-35 Years		36-55 Years		Over 56 Years		Total
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Iyankulam	27.11.2007	2		-		1	4									7
Pulikalin Kural Radio	27.11.2007					1				2		3	1	1	2	10
Thadchanamaru thamadu	29.01.2008	1	3			7	5		1				2		1	20
Kiranchi	22.02.2008			2					2		3			1	1	9
Murukandy	23.05.2008				1	3		1		2		3	5		1	16
Puthur Nathampiran Temple	2.06.2008			1			1			1		1	1	1		6
Puthukkudiyiruppu A	15.06.2008								3			1				4
Puthumurippu Shelling	30.08.2008			2							2					4
Kumarapuram Shelling	10.10.2008							1					1		1	3
Uruththirapuram Shelling	24.10.2008									1				1		2
Vallipuram	30.10.2008					1										1
Uthavanoor	29.11.2008			1										1		2
Vaddakkachchi Shelling	1.12.2008 20.12.2008			2		1		1		1		1				6
<b>Total Killings</b>		<b>26</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>181</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>476</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>550</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>1871</b>

In the preceding fifth chapter, the total count of the Tamils killed by the Sinhalese armed forces and Sinhalese thugs during the period between 1956 and 1990 has been listed in tables 5.1 and 5.2. Following this, the count of

the Tamils killed between 1990 and 2009 has been listed in the tables in this chapter. More specifically the details of the people killed by the Indian army during the period 1987 to 1990 are not available and hence they have not been included in this table. Also the details of the large scale massacres of the Tamil people killed during the early days of May 2009 are not yet available fully and hence they have not been included either. Also in the fifth chapter and this chapter the details about the deaths of the freedom fighters are not included. The information on the deaths of the Tamil Tiger cadres will be included in the succeeding chapter.

The above table lists how many Tamil men and women were killed

brutally and indiscriminately by the Sri Lankan government forces through shelling, air borne attacks and Sinhalese thugs. Many women have been raped. Many thousands have been injured. Many others have disappeared. We are able to show these facts clearly through the documents available with us. In the first table, the total count of the Tamils killed by the Sri Lankan armed forces had been recorded as 10,041. In the second table, the number of Tamils killed by the Sinhalese army and the Sinhalese thugs has been registered as 2038. As per the records available in the two tables, the total numbers of Tamils killed add up to 12,079. But about 672 instances of death have been shown in both the tables and hence, after corrections for the double counting, the net numbers of killings come to about 11,407. Hence the total number of Tamils killed between 1956 and 2009 before the final battle is registered as 23,788. Also, the *Sangathi* website registers that the number of disappearances in Sri Lanka is 5,658 referring to the reports of UN. It is worth mentioning that the whereabouts of these missing people are not known till date. The loss of lives of the Tamil liberation fighters who have lost their lives since 1974 has not been included here. They will be presented as part of Chapter 7. But the above statistics have been derived out of the details available with us so far. As mentioned earlier, proper information about the death toll during the final phase of battle is not available with us fully and hence have not been added in these tables.

In a country where one race is being subjected to ethnic cleansing by another race or the government or when there is a battle between a government and a liberation struggle movement, it is impossible to keep a proper count of the deaths of the civilians who are caught in the crossfire. Hence the above records about the death toll of Tamil people cannot be precise. Also while considering the numbers provided in chapter five and this chapter, it will not be wrong to take that the actual count should be more than twice of what has been given here. Also Anton Balasingham, the political adviser to the LTTE in his book 'War and Peace' has mentioned that about 6,000 people have lost their lives in the war till 1995.<sup>n</sup> Above all, from the reports of the UN we can understand that about 40,000 civilians have been killed during the final phase of the battle. Sri Lankan parliamentary member from the Tamil alliance, Sreedharan in his address to the Madurai Lawyer's organisation on 11 April 2012 gave some statistics which are given below:

In the democratic and armed struggle conducted by the Tamils in Sri Lanka about 300,000 civilians and more than 40,000 freedom fighters have been killed by the Sri Lankan armed forces and the Sinhalese thugs. In the final battle in 2009, about 140,000 Tamils were killed by the Sri Lankan government forces.

We can see that the data given by Sreedharan is about three times the count of forty thousand available from the UN reports. It still remains a question as to what extent we can accept the numbers from the UN reports. The key reason is that in the final battle which went ahead continuously for three months many thousands of people have been killed at various stages in bunches. The corpses of the people who were so killed, were heaped and buried immediately in large pits which acted as mass graves. In the last three or four days of military assault, thousands and thousands of people have died. In this stage, whoever was left alive was evacuated from that unfortunate zone and it was just the Sinhalese army alone which buried the dead in large sand pits en masse. Hence the Sri Lankan government and the Sinhalese army would not have released the real totals to the world. But Sreedharan is the parliamentary representative of the Kilinochchi constituency in Vanni region. For sure, he will know the details of the total population of the Vanni region. He would have also known the number of people who have been expelled from the Vanni region and have taken refuge in the detention camps. Hence we need to accept that the numbers given by Sreedharan as accurate to a considerable extent. Hence it is essential to remind ourselves that the numbers given in the above table are derived from the documents which are available with us so far. There is no doubt that the students of Sri Lankan political history will engage in the collection of proper records regarding these losses and present an accurate picture of the numbers and facts when the political arena of Sri Lanka returns to normalcy at some point in future. But without doubt, many more Tamils would have been killed than what have been shown in these tables.

Also many Tamils have been killed in places like Hindu temples, Christian churches, schools, public places, hospitals, orphanages, refugee camps and communication centres. We can declare that none of these could be Tamil Tiger fighters based on various evidences. Many witnesses have been recorded in this regard. If that be the case, the act of the Sri Lankan government killing innocent civilians is an act of ethnic cleansing. Though the tables listed above show clear information about the Tamil ethnic cleansing, we bring to light the distressing lives of Tamil people through a few important examples.

The army which rounded up the Pandiruppu, Kalmunai and Senai Kudiyiruppu villages on 11 August 1990, fired their guns and ordered people to come out of their homes. Out of there people, 25 young men were taken to the Kaaththaankudi army camp and all were shot dead there. The mothers who went to the camps were attacked with guns. Many young mothers were raped. Many men who accompanied the mothers were also killed. The army killed a total of 62 people in this event. The very next morning after this incident, the

army which was stationed in the Nilaavanai, Kallaaru camp, rounded up the Thurainilaavanai village and attacked all the people regardless of age, fired at them and killed more than 60 civilians. Also the same day in another round up and assault on villages such as Sengaladi and Kiraan about 10 people were subjected to fatal injuries. The injured civilians were admitted to the Eraavoor hospital. The army which stormed the hospital along with Muslim and Sinhalese mobs butchered and killed all the 10 mentioned above.

On morning of 29 August 1990, the people who have gathered in the Nilliyadi market in Paruthithurai were shelled from fighter jets. In this incident about 14 men, women and children were killed. 24 people were injured.

On 10 October 1990, an old man Thangaraasu Ayyanar who escaped the massacre of Eraavoor described the tragic incident as follows:

To meet my son who was arrested and kept under custody in Karaitheevu Shanmura School, I went along with Doctor Shanmuganathan and his wife. The army men have kept many people under custody there. They have separated men and women and kept them in separate class rooms. Many people including Doctor Shanmuganathan were butchered to death. I fell on the floor with injuries. Many women were raped and later killed. The poured fuel on the dead and burnt them. I somehow managed to escape.

Sathrukondaan village is located at about 2 kilometers from the Batticaloa town. On 9 September 1990, many hundreds of men and women were arrested by the army and taken to the army camp. About 85 women were raped by more than 100 army men. They chopped parts of their body including breasts, hands, and legs and killed them all brutally after heinous torture. They killed about 68 children including 5 infants. They chopped the male reproductive organs and other body parts of 17 men and killed them after brutal tortures. In total about 205 people were killed in this incident.

In 1990 after the war has intensified, on 5 September 1990, a large mass of army men in their military vehicles entered the Vandhaarumoolao University from Sathurukondaan army camp. The arrested 158 youth from there and tied their hands and legs and took them to villages at the rear end



in military vehicles and then shot them and butchered them with sharp weapons and killed them all. Also in the same University, about 250 civilians who have lost their own houses and properties had taken refuge out of their poverty and hunger. The army arrested all the 250 people and took them away and killed them. The details about many of them are unavailable.

On 23 and 25 of August 1990, Velanai and Mandaitheevu regions of the

Jaffna Peninsula, army men from the home guard army camp ordered the people through pamphlets to stay in the temples. As ordered, people in Mankumbaan took refuge in the Antony's Church and Allappitty people took refuge in the Philip Neriyaar Church. From this group, soldiers arrested all the men aged between 15 and 40. Also on 28 August 1990, 18 students were arrested and taken away from the Mankumbaan School by the army and fringe groups. In total about 88 people were arrested from three villages. But none of them were released till date. All of them were reported to have been killed after brutal tortures and their corpses dumped in the wells in the houses in Mandaitheevu. Many skeletons were reported to have been recovered from these wells later.

In the air borne shellings on the Thanthondri Eswaran temple in Ottisuttaan in the Mullaitheevu district on 27 November 1990, 12 people were blasted to pieces and killed. Many people were injured. Also in the early 1991 more than 1500 Tamils, most of them from Manalaaru, Kokkilaay, Kokkuthoduvaai, Karunaattukeni and Thennaimaravadi villages moved and took refuge in Subramanian hospital near Pudhukudiyiruppu due to the highhandedness of the army and the Sinhalese colonisations. On 30 January 1991, two bomber flights showered this place with bombs and this ended up killing 20 people with their corpses blasted into pieces. More than 50 people were injured.

Karappolai and Muthukkal villages are located in the Polaneruva district. On 29 April 1992, while the people in these regions were deep asleep by mid night, the army and Muslim mobs entered the houses and butchered them. About 97 people including men, women, children, infants and elderly were massacred in this instance.

Vatraapalai Kannaki Amman temple which is very famous among the Hindus is located in Mullaitivu near the Nandhi Sea. It was a routine to conduct Pongal festival in this place in the Tamil month of Vaikasi. It was a tradition for hundreds of thousands of people of people from various parts of Sri Lanka to gather for this festival. More than five thousand devotees have gathered on 18 May 1992 for this festival. At a time when the prayers were going, the army fired shells from the Mullaitivu camp. The temple was also

fired on heavily. About ten people were caught in this attack and killed on the spot with their bodies torn into pieces. About 60 people were injured.

Durgai Amman temple is located in Thellipalai in the Valikamam North region of the Jaffna district. For the expansion of the army base at Palali, army shelled many villages next to Palali camp. As a consequence more than a thousand families were displaced. Many of these families took refuge in the above mentioned temple. On 30 May 1992, two Avro jets of the air force dropped bombs on this temple. 5 people were killed and many were injured.

The temple was damaged heavily. The same temple became the target of yet another shelling in 1993 and was destroyed.

Mailandhanai and Punaanai are the border villages of Batticaloa district. It was common for these villages to be subjected to the brutalities of the Sinhalese army. On 9 August 1992, these villages were rounded up by the army and the civilians were attacked brutally with knives and sword and were subjected to gun fire. This incident killed 50 people. Many were injured.

The A9 Highway was closed for traffic in the year 1990. The Sangupitti route was very difficult to commute through. Since the government imposed an economic embargo on the people of Jaffna gulf, they were ready to endure the difficulties and continued to travel through that route to gather essential commodities from Vavuniya. In 1991, this route as well was closed. At this juncture, the people of Jaffna had to make a very dangerous expedition across the seas of Kilaali for over 20 miles spanning over four hours to reach either Vavuniya via Vanni or Colombo to gather the essential commodities that they needed badly. To stop this sea transport which started in 1992, the navy inflicted attacks from the Elephant Pass base and the Poonagari base. Air raids by the air force were also in full swing. On 2 January 1993, out of a group of four ships which were travelling together, one had to stop at mid sea due to technical snags. The Sri Lankan navy attacked all these people. 53 people were killed. 50 people were injured. Many government officials and students were among the victims.

In the Mullaitivu district, Maaththalan village is located near the coast. This is a fishing hamlet. After the government took over the fishing business, these fishermen families were dying of poverty. On the evening of 18 September 1993, many villagers gathered in the town hall for a festival at the Maaththalan junction. A Pukara fighter craft dropped more than 10 rocket bombs on this hall. People scattered and ran to all sides. The entire hall was engulfed in smoke. 20 civilians were killed in this attack. More than 40 people were injured heavily.

In the Sangaththanai village of Saavakacheri Pukara crafts shelled bombs on civil habitations and killed 28 people. Many were injured.

Gurunagar is located on the coast in Jaffna town. The holy Yagappar Church built in 1881 is located here. At 7.20AM, on 13 November 1993, the Christians of the locality gathered at the Church for prayers, when the air force dropped bombs on this Church. 13 among those who were offering prayers were killed. 25 people were injured. The Church was also damaged to a large extent.

Navaalik village is situated in the Sandilipaay province of Jaffna. The age old St. Peters church is located here. On 9 July 1995, the army ordered

the people to take refuge in safe places since they were planning an offensive on that day. Almost 2,500 people took refuge in the Church and the adjoining places. On 7 July 1995, the air force shelled a wide area in this region. In this attack, about 150 civilians including infants, children, women, mothers and elderly were killed with their bodies scattered into pieces. More than 250 people were severely injured.

Nageswara vidhyalaya is located in the Nagerkoil village in Vadamaratchi in Jaffna district. In 1998, more than 600 families had taken refuge in the Nagerkoil region. More than 700 students studied in the school mentioned above. With the accumulation of more refugees in 1993, the count of students grew to 830. On 21 September 1995, due to these air raids on this school three students were killed. The next day the shelling continued with more than eight bombs being dropped on the school, killing another seven students. Thirteen students were heavily injured. Also in this village more than 20 civilians were killed. In this attack a total of 40 civilians including 20 students were killed and about 100 people including 85 civilians and 15 students were severely injured. Many lost their limbs.

Semmani Village is located in Ariyalai village in Jaffna. In 1996, Chandrika Kumaratunga started the 'War for Peace' against the LTTE. In 1996, the army took control of Jaffna gulf. When major General Jaanaka Perera was in charge of the army at Jaffna, the number of people getting arrested or disappearing was constantly on the rise. The rapes and sexual assault on women increased. The number of young men and women who had disappeared for a period of six months from the mid 1996 stood at more than 750. The parents and relatives of the people who were arrested or went missing joined together and started an organisation called 'Arrested, disappeared protection society'. And they are fighting till date.

On 7 September 1996, Kurishanthi, a student of the Sundikuli Women's college was arrested, raped and strangled and killed and finally buried in Semmani. Kirushanthi's mother and brother approached the army searching for the whereabouts of Kirushanthi, both of them were killed and buried by the army personnel. Following this, Kirushanthi's relatives filed a complaint in the court. In this case, five army personnel were identified and the court

punished them. One of the convicts, Lance Gobrel Somaratna Rajapaksa in the course of the enquiry testified as follows:

Many of the people who disappear after being arrested widely in Jaffna peninsula were mostly tortured and then killed. The corpses of these people will be taken during nights to Semmani and buried as per the orders from higher officials. I can show the graves of about 300 to 400 persons.<sup>6'</sup>

In 1999, when an expert team dug these trenches, they found about 19 skeletons in their first attempt and another six skeletons in their second search. Most of them were in the age group between 16 and 35 years. This issue created a storm against the government; hence they stopped the study mid way. The Sri Lankan government has never restarted it.

About this Amnesty International head commented as follows:

Amnesty International Wrote to the President of Sri Lanka on the April 2001, urging her to take action to stop rape by security forces and bring perpetrators to Justice. Following several recent reports of rape by security forces in Mannar, Batticaloa, Negombo and Jaffna, the Organisation remained President Chandrika Kumarathunga that safe guards to protect women in custody as contained in Presidential directives for the welfare of detainees issued in July 1997 were being ignored ...

Another report of United Nations Commission on Human right says as follows:

On average, a Tamil woman is raped by members of the Sri Lankan security forces every two weeks. The real number is inevitably higher since many cases are unreported. Every two months a Tamil woman is gang-raped and murdered by Sri Lankan forces.

There are many important reasons for the arrests of young Tamil men and women in the Tamil regions and the Colombo localities. The Sri Lankan government and its army have been inflicting an ethnic cleansing on the Tamils by exploiting the emergency act and the anti terrorism acts to arrest Tamils based on their own wish and detain them in prisons and army camps. As already noted, it has been a common practice for the army to broadly arrest Tamil men and women and detain them in army camps and demand a big ransom from their parents and then release them. In this way, the army managed to make huge money. Also they kill the arrested people and make huge earnings by selling their organs to foreign countries for huge amounts of money. *Dhinamurosu* weekly had issued a shocking report about this trend. It reads:

Organs of the human body are being robbed and sent to Japan. Sri Lanka is becoming the most corrupt country in the world for robbing organs of the body.

A top Japanese investigative reporter, Akkiyo Nagajebaa, came to Sri Lanka and investigated these issues and as per his view:

Human body parts are being sold in Sri Lanka in black markets. They are being smuggled to foreign countries as well.

The above news item was published in the Japanese magazine *Maisiri Sippan* and the American magazine *San Francisco Examiner*.

Branding everyone as a Tamil Tiger, the Sinhalese army has been indiscriminately arresting young Tamil men and women and killing many of them make huge money by selling their body parts to foreign countries. This is indeed shocking news. We can be sure that these acts are part of the large conspiracy of decimating the Tamil ethnicity. For example, there is a long history of Tamils being arrested by the Sinhalese army in the North, East and in the Colombo regions to disappear forever. For example, 300 Tamil youth were arrested in a single day in Colombo during the end of Tamil month of *Margazhi* in 1990. Their whereabouts are not known to their parents till date. The act of terminating the young Tamil society, turning many thousands of Tamil women to widowhood and destroying the younger generation is clearly an act of ethnic cleansing meant to destroy the Tamils and their liberation struggle to the core.

In August 1996, the army as part of its Sath Jaya operation made few military advances and occupied a few regions in the Kilinochchi area. The people fled these places fearing the army. The army took possession of the houses and lands of these people. They have been setting up military posts and stepping up the assaults. During this period, about 184 civilians have disappeared. 72 skeletons were found after this area was liberated from the army.

There is a village called Kumarapuram in the Trincomalee district of the Eastern province. As usual, the atrocities of the army were unleashed on this region on 12 February 1996. In this event, a total of 24 people irrespective of their age category were shot dead by the army. Twenty two people were injured. A school girl who was hiding in a shop with her younger brother was gang raped by many army men. After they sexually abused her, they shot her dead.



On 28 January 1997, the army broke into a house in Thigilvettuvaar area in Batticaloa where a mother, her daughter and another woman were sleeping. The army raped all three of them and they were admitted to the Vazhaicholai hospital the next day.

On 16 March 1996, air shelling was carried out on the fishermen in the Nachigua Annai Velankanni area in the Poonakari province of Kilinochchi district. In this a total of 20 people including women, children and people

engaged in fishing were killed with their body parts scattered by bombings. 62 people were subjected to heavy injury. Hundreds of huts were burnt down in this event.

Thousands of people from many regions have gathered and been living in temporary shelters in Mullaitheevu district's Mallavi area. On 24 July 1996, air raids were conducted on them which killed ten people with another 15 being injured heavily.

In 1997, the people in the Vavunikulam area fearing the Jayasukru military operation took refuge in the Church in that region. On the morning of 15 August 1997, air force dropped bombs on this church scattering the bodies of 11 people, killing all of them and severely injuring another 16. A second round of shelling was carried out in this region killing another eight civilians.

Sundarapuram village is located in the Pudhukudiyiruppu region of the Mullaitheevu district. On 10 June 1998 the army along with the air force inflicted a combined attack of air borne bombings and ground shelling on the civilians. The people who escaped this attack provide witness that cries of death were heard everywhere in this region and the entire area was engulfed in smoke. More than 30 people were killed and more than 50 were injured. Houses and shops worth many hundreds of thousands of rupees were all destroyed.

Also in the shelling by the air force on 15 September 1999 in the above region about 29 people were killed and about 67 were injured. Commercial centres, fruit yielding trees and cattle worth many hundreds of thousands of rupees were destroyed.

The Madu Christian church in Mannar district has a historic importance. In the 1990s, people from the Vavuniya, Mannar, Kilinochchi and Jaffna regions migrated fearing military offensives and took refuge in this church. On 20 November 1999, shells fired by the army exploded over the church and killed 35 civilians including infants, youth, the elderly and women. More than 74 people were wounded.

A rehabilitation centre for those who were arrested under the pretext of being LTTE operatives and Tiger soldiers who surrendered to the army was being run by the Sri Lankan government at a place called Pinthuna Vela with foreign funds. On 25 October 2000, while the defence personnel keeping the guard, a Sinhalese mob entered the centre and butchered and killed the detainees. Twenty eight people were killed in this event with another 14 being injured heavily. Though there were two enquiries conducted succeeding one another, one by the Human rights Commission of Sri Lanka and another by the President's commission, no one was ever punished.

With the failure of the peace talks in 2005, such Tamil ethnic cleansing

activities have become a common event in the North and East provinces. Massacres, tortures, injuries, disappearances, rapes, destruction of property and forced displacements have caused immeasurable grief to the Tamil people. In fact when we carefully analyse the table given above and the examples listed above, we can clearly understand that the armed forces of the Sri Lankan government have been constantly chasing the Tamils and killing them en masse. They, along with the Sinhalese public, Sinhalese mobs and Tamil speaking Muslims have butchered Tamil people like cattle and killed, amputated and injured them indiscriminately. Also they have barbarically raped Tamil women and subjected them to their cruel sexual desires. The Sri Lankan government in particular has carefully planned and decimated the young Tamil generation. Also to stop a new generation of Tamils from breeding in the island they have turned more than 90,000 Tamil women into widows. This included the widows of Tamil Eelam liberation fighters who laid down their lives in action. This also included the widows of men who were washed away in the tsunami. But this component will be very little in percentage. The statistics show that about 40,000 of these widows are from the North and about 50,000 widows are from the East. Also among these, more than 12,000 are very young widows. More than 40,000 widows are between the ages of 23 and 35. From the information given above, it can be seen very obviously how the Sri Lankan government has executed a well planned ethnic cleansing.

In fact, when the Sinhala Buddhist government is waging a war against the freedom fighters, they should have engaged themselves only with the combatants. Instead they were waging war on the entire Tamil community including infants, children, women, mothers, men, the elderly, young men, young women, school kids, university students, government officials, priests, pastors, parliamentary members, public service agents, human rights activists, media personnel, broadcasters, fishermen and traders. The justice department in Sri Lanka is either dormant or already dead. The Sri Lankan government assassinated and deported many hundreds of media personnel who tried to take out the sufferings of the Tamil people to the eyes of the world. The Sri Lankan government has executed a complete ethnic cleansing on Tamils utilising its military and the Sinhalese mobs after hiding the Eelam

Tamils from the eyes of the world. The sufferings, distress and despair faced by the Eelam Tamils by these brutalities is intolerable. No humanitarian will be able to digest these atrocities. It is time for the entire Tamil society and the international community to show to the Sinhalese ultra-Buddhist chauvinistic government which inflicted such an immense torture to the Tamils that the time for them to pay the cost for their atrocities is not too far. This is a historic duty and the need of the hour.

The people of the North and East who suffered a lot due to murders, robbery, rapes, tortures, disappearances, separation from family and amputations also faced inexplicable anguish due to hunger and lack of medical facilities. How many people have died out of hunger? How many people have died due to lack of medical supplies? When the Indian army left Sri Lanka in 1990, the government renewed the economic ban it had already imposed on the people of the North and East. It has been giving the time worn reason that if essential commodities are not blocked the army will face the assaults from Tamil Tigers. But what the government banned were mostly essential and cosmetic commodities used in daily life. Though the government allowed a few essential items owing to international pressure, the army blocked all these items at their detention camps. Hence the Tamil people continued to face severe livelihood problems with no food to eat, no cloth to wear, no mat to sleep, no light to read, no facility to commute. Fuel and electricity have been blocked for so long and the Tamil people have been immersed in the dark and stayed inactive. With the ban on medical supplies and the denial of medical facilities and the lack of power supplies, Tamil people were continuously denied any sort of medical assistance. Hence it is not just the guns, knives, axes, arrows and spears that the Sinhalese army and Sinhalese thugs used barbarically to kill the Tamils. They employed civilized techniques like showering the Tamil regions with shells squeezing Tamil flowers from the buds to the fruits indiscriminately. But this deadly combination of brutal techniques and civilized and modern techniques to carry out an ethnic cleansing did not fail to exert pressure from the international community on the Sri Lankan government. It was due to this reason that the Sri Lankan government decided to kill the Tamils slowly and quietly by implementing economic ban and creating blockades for medical supplied. The Sri Lankan government made tactical moves to kill, threaten or otherwise destroy the media and media personnel to prevent them from relaying the suffering and the distress of the Tamil people from the North and East provinces. We have already mentioned the way the Sinhalese army had razed the media houses in Colombo to ashes. The air force dropped bombs and destroyed the television channel 'Voice of Tigers'. A talented journalist Sivaram alias Thaaraki was abducted and shot dead by

Sinhalese mobs. Also a renowned journalist Lasantha Wickrematunga was shot dead by the Sinhalese mob in broad day light before the^ eyes of the public with the police force standing guard for the occasion." The foreign journalists who have been publishing the plight of the Tamil people and their losses to the world have been prevented from doing so. During the period between 1992 and 2002, about 19 journalists have been assassinated by the Sri

Lankan government and Sinhalese mobs at various stages. We can learn from many news items that many hundreds of Sinhalese and Tamil journalists have fled the country to take sanctuary abroad as refugees.

### **Distressing Displacements**

With the pain of losing their family members on one side and hunger, poverty and disease on the other side, Tamils were always caught with some sort of distress. No one was able to escape such sufferings. The Tamil people who had to bear such pains also had to face the tortures, man hunts and atrocities of the army and hence were living under constant threat, anxiety and insecurity every day and every minute of their life. Above all, the sudden shelling, air raids made the people run and disperse in all directions. Leaving their own houses, habitations, properties, belongings, goats and cows and fowl, they were forced to run off their towns, to new places, to forests, to live in hiding in temples, churches, schools, hospitals, under the trees, under the bridges and in refugee camps. The people already suffering from hunger and sorrow also had to face difficulties posed by natural exertions such as hot sun, rain, cold and snow. There are many instances of people dying under such circumstances. Mosquito bites and Malaria attacks have killed many people. Snake bites have killed numerous people. It is these people who survived so many tragedies and who took refuge in so called safe areas that were shelled and killed by the air raids of the Sri Lankan government. What other name can we give this, if not a 'full scale ethnic cleansing'? For example, when the Chandrika government attempted to attack and capture the Jaffna Peninsula, about 500,000 Tamils migrated from the Valikama region of Jaffna to Thenmaratchi in a few days. After the Sinhalese army captured Jaffna gulf, they went ahead to capture Thenmaratchi as well. Hence the Tamils who had taken refuge in Thenmaratchi migrated to Vanni region via the dangerous Kilali sea route.

Similarly, due to the atrocities of the army about 70,000 Tamils left their natives places in the Vanni region and migrated to the Mallavi area in Mullaitivu district. It is here that the people died in large numbers of Malaria breakout and snake bites. No one has been able to gather detailed information about this. This author has travelled twice to the Mallavi region

during these tough times and has had firsthand knowledge of the sufferings of the Tamils in this period. The Mallavi area is a very dry region in the summer. In the depths of the deep wells, water can be found only to a height of about two to three feet from below. Not every house had a well. In the morning times, we can find 300 to 400 people standing in long queues to



gather water from these wells. Mallavi is a less populated area and hence not many common wells were constructed. Hence in the limited number of wells many hundreds of people tried to fetch water. The East province also showed trends similar to the Jaffna gulf and the Vanni regions.

After the military offensives during the 1990s, about 250,000 Tamils were driven off their own lands, houses and towns by the Sinhalese army, Sinhalese mobs and thugs. It is an arduous job to relate in words the tortures undergone by the Tamil people as refugees in their own lands.

About 500,000 people including infants, children, young men and women, pregnant women, mothers, men, the elderly, patients, the amputated, the blind and the deaf trekked from the Valigama region of Jaffna to Thenmaratchi in a span of few days by walk, two wheelers, bullock carts, tractors and bicycles. No one can imagine the pain one gets while leaving behind their houses, their valuable belongings, their goats, cows, cats and dogs, the gardens, their commercial establishments, their schools, their colleges, their universities, their jobs and leave their home lands forever, carrying just a few pieces of cloth with them. Also from Thenmaratchi they moved further to Vanni travelling many miles continuously. About 5,000 refugees were reaching Vanni from Thenmaratchi every day. How much of sorrow, pain, tortures, hunger, poverty, thirst and sickness did one have to endure while making these journeys? Also the question of where to go and how to survive would have been pestering these 500,000 people and would have created fear of death. The migrations in Vanni and the migrations in the East provinces at various stages also were of the same kind. The Eelam Tamils were forced to migrate out of their traditional homelands in a much worse manner than how the 250,000 Armenians were forced to migrate out of their Turkish homelands in the period between 1915 and 1918. If the international community which respects human rights would turn a blind eye to these inhuman atrocities, we should be wondering as to what else would be a worse event in history which would attract the action from this international community.

A detailed examination of the multiple news items and reports will reveal one thing very clearly. The extremist Sinhala Buddhist racist government and its army along with the Sinhalese extremists and their thugs planned to

convert the Sri Lankan island into an exclusive Sinhalese country by totally eradicating the defenceless, helpless Tamil people. From the various instances highlighted in the table given above, we can understand that the explicit action plan of the Sri Lankan government is to subjugate the Tamils by killing the Tamil people through military offensives and other violence. But the above said actions would attract pressure from international powers and hence it will be difficult to accomplish their motive of decimating Tamils

in a short span of time. Hence the alternate plan of the Sri Lankan government is to arrange for Sinhalese settlements in the Tamil regions and convert the Tamil country into a Sinhalese country. Historically, we can see that the Sri Lankan government has succeeded in such attempts.

### **Planned Sinhalese Migrations**

The planned Sinhalese colonisations of the Tamil regions were aimed at destroying the traditional right of the Tamil people in their traditional homelands. The actions of the Sri Lankan government in implementing these colonisations against the will of the Tamil people have become an important reason for the Tamil people to fight for the liberation of their homelands. As already discussed in the previous chapters, the provinces to the west of Colombo like Puthalam, Chilaapam which have been Tamil homelands traditionally were converted into Sinhalese regions during the end of the 19th century. In the same way, before and after the independence of Sri Lanka many important Tamil lands in the North and East provinces were grabbed continuously from the Tamils by the planned Sinhalese colonisations.

This colonisation had spread fear, anxiety and insecurity among the Tamil people. After independence, the above precarious situation of the Tamils changed into a demand for a separate nation. The actions of the consecutive Sri Lankan governments to promote Sinhalese colonisation of the Tamil lands have been escalated since the 1930s. The East provinces of Trincomalee and Batticaloa are the regions to be eyed by the Sinhalese political leaders. Kalloya irrigation project, the rehabilitation of the Kanthalaay and Minnaeri tanks and other major projects were undertaken to enable the Sinhalese colonisations. In the above said regions, the government settled many thousands of Sinhalese providing them with a lot of perks. The Sinhalese bullied the Tamil people and chased them away and grabbed the land for themselves. After the independence of Sri Lanka these regions were declared as separate Sinhalese constituencies and districts. For example, in addition to the existing districts of Trincomalee and Batticaloa, Ampara also became a new district. It is worth mentioning that this place had been the traditional homeland and cultural hub of the Tamils.

In the period from the 1930s till the 1950s, 27 colonisation projects were implemented in the entire Sri Lanka. Among this, the Iranaimadu settlement project in Kilinochchi district and Unnichchai settlement project in Batticaloa district are the only agricultural projects where Tamils were settled in good numbers. The Sinhalese were allocated large tracks of cultivable lands and made to settle well. In the period from 1930 to the year

1953, of the 16, 532 hectares allotted only 17.4 percent is for Tamils.

The first Prime Minister of Sri Lanka D.S. Senanayake is the mastermind behind these planned Sinhalese colonisations. From the Kalloya project to the Kandhalaay in Trincomalee, Mathuru Oyaa in Batticaloa, Veli Oya in Mullaitivu and Mahavali irrigation and settlement projects were all started after the independence of Sri Lanka. The Sri Lankan government has been reiterating that these projects were started to allocate land to the people of the South and improve their agriculture but no land was ever allocated to the hill country Tamils residing in the South.

The Kalloya project of the 1949 was inaugurated by D.S Senanayake at a place called Inginiyaakalai. 67.2 American dollars were allocated to this project. The project included an area of 120,000 acres of cultivable land. 40 settlement projects comprising of about 150 families were planned. Each family was allocated five acres of land. Out of the 40 projects only 6 were allocated to Tamils. In the remaining 34 projects, about 20000 Sinhalese were resettled. The Tamils who were settled in the said six projects were either chased off their houses or murdered during the ethnic riots of 1956 and 1958. Later all the six settlements projects allocated for Tamils changed hands to Sinhalese. In the same way, the Allai colonisation in Trincomalee district saw 65 percent of the land allocated to Sinhalese and 35 percent allocated to the Tamils. But due to the continuous ethnic cleansing Tamils were forced out of this area. Right now, these Tamil settlements are occupied 100 percent by the Sinhalese people.

In the same way in 1972, the Tamil village of Nochchikulam was given a Sinhalese name Nochchigama and about 5,000 acres of cultivable lands were seized from the Tamils by the government's ruthless actions and Sinhalese were settled in those lands. In 1973, in Trincomalee about 10,738 Sinhalese families were settled illegally by the Sirimavo Bandaranaike government. Also the East coastal villages in Trincomalee namely Kuchaveli, Pulmottai, Kumburuppitti, Thiriyaay and Thennemaravadi were subjected to constant attacks by the Sinhala racist mobs. Many Tamils living in this region were killed as a consequence. Their houses were looted and burnt down by the Sinhalese. Most people left this place as refugees. These villages are not captured by the Sinhalese.

In 1990, in a village named Verukalai in the East near the Pothuvil province about 29 Tamil families were killed by the Sinhalese and their houses were razed completely. Another 314 Tamil families were chased off by the Sinhalese. The Sinhalese also seized the 1200 farm lands from the Tamils with the support of the army.

The ancient Tamil name of the modern day's Vavuniya is

Vilaankulam. Here many thousands of Sinhalese were settled under the Padhaviyaa settlement project. The Vavuniya continued to have only one governor since the independence of Sri Lanka. But after the Pathaviyaa settlement project Vavuniya had two governors. The Vavuniya North became a Tamil government and the Vavuniya South became a Sri Lankan government.

In the Vavuniya district, eight tanks were namely Kurinjakulam, Bommai kulam, Ramar kulam, Periya kallu kulam, Marai adiththa kulam, Vilaaththi kulam, Ammaachchi kulam and Thiruga vaiththa kulam under the control of the Nedunkeni Deputy Governor. All these tanks along with the adjoining forest area were renovated by bringing Sinhalese youth from the Sinhalese regions by the National Service Youth organisation. They slowly settled these Sinhalese in the regions.

None of the governors appointed to Trincomalee since the independence of Sri Lanka have been Tamil. The district official's posts were also occupied by the Sinhalese. No one can deny the fact that the Sri Lankan government appointed Sinhalese officials in these areas to speed up the Sinhalisation process in these regions. Due to the well planned activities of the government, the security provided by the army and the executive powers of the Sinhalese officials the Tamil regions were being subjected to Sinhalese colonisation, especially in the East in a fast pace. The following table shows how the Sinhalisation of the traditional Tamil homelands happened and is happening, as a result of the Sinhalese planned settlement projects, Sinhalese encroachers and the actions of the Sinhalese army.

Table 63: Growth of Sinhalese Population in Ampara District (1911-1981).

<b>Ampara District</b>						
<b>Growth of Sinhalese Population (1911-1981)</b>						
<b>Year</b>	<b>Sinhalese Population</b>	<b>Percentage of Population (%)</b>	<b>Tamil Population</b>	<b>Percentage of Population (%)</b>	<b>Muslim Population</b>	<b>Percentage of Population (%)</b>
1911	4,072	7.0	24,733	37.0	36,843	55.0
1921	7,285	10.3	25,207	35.8	37,901	53.8
1953	26,450	19.5	39,985	29.0	69,376	51.0
1963	62,160	29.0	49,220	23.5	97,990	45.6
1971	82,280	30.0	60,519	22.0	126,365	47.0

1981	146,371	38.0	78,315	20.0	126,365	47.0
<b>Increase in Population (1911- 1981)</b>	<b>141,669</b>	<b>3,012.0</b>	<b>53,582</b>	<b>216.0</b>	<b>124,638</b>	<b>338.0</b>



**Table 6.4: Growth of Sinhalese Population in Trincomalee District (1827-1981).**

Trincomalee District						
Growth of Sinhalese Population (1827-1981)						
Year	Sinhalese Population	Percentage of Population (%)	Tamil Population	Percentage of Population (%)	Muslim Population	Percentage of Population (%)
1827	250	1.3	15,663	81.8	3,245	16.9
1881	935	4.2	14,394	64.8	5,746	25.9
1891	1,109	4.3	17,117	66.4	6,426	25
1901	1,203	4.2	17,069	60	8,258	29
1911	1,138	3.8	17,233	57.9	9,714	32.6
1921	1,501	4.4	18,586	54.4	12,846	37.7
1946	11,606	15.3	33,795	44.5	23,219	30.6
1953	15,296	18.2	37,517	44.7	28,616	24.1
1963	40,950	29.6	54,050	39.1	42,560	30.8
1971	54,744	29.1	71,749	38.1	59,924	31.8
1981	86,341	33.6	93,510	36.4	74,403	29
<b>Increase in Population (1827-1981)</b>	<b>85,406</b>	<b>9134</b>	<b>79,216</b>	<b>550</b>	<b>68,657</b>	<b>1194</b>

**Table 6.5: Growth of Sinhalese Population in Eastern Province District (1827-1981).**

	Gro	Eastern Province				
		Growth of Sinhalese Population (1827-1981)				
Year	Sinhalese Population	Percentage of Population	Tamil Population	Percentage of Population	Muslim Population	Percentage of Population

				(%>		(%)
1827	250	<b>1.3</b>	34,758	75.65	11,533	23.56
1881	5,947	4.5	75,408	61.35	43,001	30.65
1891	7,512	4.75	87,701	61.55	51,206	30.75
1901	8,778	4.7	96,296	57.5	63,448	33.15
1911	6,909	3.75	101,181	56.2	70,409	36
1921	8,744	4.5	103,551	53.5	75,992	39.4
1946	23,456	8.4	146,059	52.3	109,024	39.1
1953	46,470	<b>13.1</b>	167,898	47.3	135,322	38.1
1963	109,690	20.1	246,120	45.1 43.9	187,750	34
1971	148,572	20.7	315,560		248,567	34.6
1981	243,358	24.9	409,451	41.9	315,201	32.2
<b>Increase in Population (1827- 1981)</b>	<b>237,411</b>	<b>3592</b>	<b>334,043</b>	<b>443</b>	<b>272300</b>	<b>633</b>

Table 6.6: Growth of Sinhalese Population in Vavuniya District (1827-1981).

	Vavuniya District					
	Growth of Sinhalese Population (1827-1981)					
Year	Sinhalese Population	Percentage of Population	Tamil Population	Percentage of Population (%)	Muslim Population	Percentage of Population (%)
1827	517	5.7	8,011	94.3		
1881	1,157	7.4	13,164	84.6	1,138	7.3
1891	1,188	7.7	13,030	84.1	1,139	7.3
1901	1,128	7.4	12,726	84	1,069	<b>7.1</b>
1911	1,848	10.7	14,059	81.1	1,241	7.1
1921	2,215	11.8	14,978	80.1	1,345	7.2
1946	3,870	16.6	17,071	73.4	2,158	9.3
1953	5,920	16.9	25,881	73.7	3,020	8.6
1963	12,020	17.5	51,410	75.1	4,900	7.2
1971	15,981	16.7	72,259	75.9	6,641	<b>7</b>
1981	15,876	16.6	73,133	76.3	6,640	6.9
<b>Increase in Population (1827-1981)</b>	<b>14,719</b>	<b>1272</b>	<b>61,969</b>	<b>383</b>	<b>5,502</b>	<b>483</b>

On 11 April 2012, when the Tamil alliance Parliamentary member Sreedharan spoke in Madurai Lawyers association meeting about 'State of Sri Lankan Tamils', he said:

The Sri Lankan government has been colonising the Tamil regions with Sinhalese in full swing ever since the defeat of the Tamil Tigers in 2009.

He continued:

The percentage of Sinhalese and Muslims population which earlier stood at 22 shot up to 72 percent. The Sinhalese population which made up only 21 percent has now become 90 percent."

Sixty four years have rolled over since the transfer of the power from the British to the Sinhalese Buddhist elite class. In these 64 years, many projects aimed at the complete colonisation of the entire Sri Lankan island have been rolled out by the Sri Lankan government. One of those projects was the Sinhalisation of the North and East. This also serves as the back bone of the policy of the government for the Sinhalisation of the entire Sri Lankan

Island. For any race, the key prerequisites for sustaining their uniqueness and power, it is essential to have control over land, language, economy and culture.

Among these four, land is the most important item. A continuous occupation of land is very important for any race to live a life with uniqueness and strength. The Sinhalese ultra-Buddhist racist powers have understood this fact a lot better than the Tamil speaking population. This is precisely why they devised plans to seize the traditional lands of the Tamils as soon as they came to power. The colonisation project which started in the East province slowly expanded and engulfed the North as well. The Tamil leadership which claimed themselves to be well read and experts only showed excellence in their English skills but failed pathetically to see through the vicious plots of the Sinhalese and stop them in the budding stage. The Sinhalese rulers maintained cordial relationships with the Tamil leaders and gave them positions occasionally as ministers, but managed to run the Sinhalisation projects above everyone's head. It was after quite some time that the Tamil leadership started to talk about the Sinhalese colonisation of Tamil regions in public as well as in the parliament. Even the voices of the Tamil leaders were raised as part of their daily routine and to achieve political mileage, but there was no serious action plan to stop the colonisation of Tamil areas.

The Sinhalese leadership which was fully aware of the mindset of the Tamil leaders turned a deaf ear to their voice carried out their colonisation projects effectively. The best of moves for the Sinhalese was the colonisation of the Mullaitivu area which connects the North and East provinces. Manalaru was rechristened as Oya and army camps were setup to safeguard the newly made Sinhalese settlements.

The Sinhalese politicians who took note that the Tamil population is quite high in the Jaffna peninsula and that it was a reason for the escalated struggles in those regions, undertook a vicious project. They tried to force their plan on the Jaffna region by talking sweet about the development projects for Jaffna. A conspiracy was built with its centre at the cement factory in Kankesanthurai. Many Sinhalese youth were recruited to work in this factory. The final motive of J.R. Jeyewardene was to completely

colonise Kankesanthurai by settling their families in the region. It was a plan aimed at reducing the Tamil people to a minority in the Jaffna peninsula. In the 1977 general elections, the Tamil Alliance had won by a great margin in this region. Even they were unable to stop or defer the colonisation projects. But before the completion of this colonisation project, the armed struggle rose to a height. Hence the plan of J.R. Jeyewardene was not successfully implemented in Jaffna. The Sinhalese parties which came to power later did

not have any common working plan to find a solution to the Tamil ethnic issue. But in the marginalisation of Tamils both the parties had a common agenda. Any party which came to power continued to implement the marginalisation plots of its predecessor. The Chandrika government utilised the projects of the J.R Jeyewardene government. But there is a difference in the plans of the current government from that of the previous one.

The focus of the settlement projects was changed from the Kankesanthurai cement factory to the main army base of Palali. We need to look carefully at the Sinhalese colonisation of the Jaffna peninsula at a stage where the Sethu Channel project in India was gaining momentum. If the Sethu project is completed, the Kankesanthurai harbour will gain significance. Colombo and the Kali harbours will lose their significance. Hence it could have been the reason for the planned Sinhalisation of the region including Kankesanthurai. Already the natural harbour at Thirumalai became a key reason behind the Sinhalese colonisation of the regions targeting Thirumalai. It was a key objective of the Sinhalese settlement projects to snatch away the strategically important North and East provinces from the Tamils. The existing plans were aimed at settling the families of armed forces in the Jaffna region and building shops, schools and Buddhist shrines for their use.

Hence the army has been blocking the Tamil people from resettling in the 12,000 acres of land around the Palali army camp. The vast extent of land including Kankesanthurai, Thellipalai, Vasaavilaan and Palaali are soon going to be lost to the colonisation project. The Tamil people have been banned from returning to their homes in the name of scarcity of these armed forces. Hence, thousands of families are living in the Jaffna health care centre and the houses of relatives in other areas. Efforts are under way to deny permission to those people to come back to settle in their own lands and hence snatch these lands from them permanently.

This is an encroachment of the homelands of the Tamil speaking population using the military strength of the defence forces. This is very similar to the methods brought about by the British in making the Palestinians a people without country. The governments in the earlier days sent the army for protection only after completing the settlement projects. Also they settle people in the vacant barren lands alone. But it is the Chandrika government which adapted a method to force the Tamil people out of their homelands using military action and take over their lands.

The Sri Lankan government, stating that the military operation is to open up the land route to Vanni, was advancing the army to the Tamil villages in Vavuniya which are not related to this route at all. Many thousands of Tamil families have become refugees because of this. With no restrictions, the army

showered the occupied Ottisuttaan, Iranai and Uppaikulam areas with shells and hence the people in the adjoining villages also had to vacate their places and migrate. The Sri Lankan government thought that it could take control of the Tamil people if they made them run from place to place as refugee. There was already news that the Sinhalese farmers have been exploiting the farm lands of the Tamil people in the Nedunkeni regions occupied by the army.

In December 1988, when the army captured the Ottisuttaan area, the farm lands in the Muthiyankattu area were very fertile. The people of the Ottisuttaan migrated due to the military offensive. The shells launched all around made the people of Muthaiyan Kattu also leave their place in search of refuge. The areas captured in Vanni through military actions and the areas taken over in Jaffna gulf are areas with farm lands, plantations and rich fishing opportunities. Hence the impact of the military offensives was to dismantle the economic structure of the Tamils and their lifestyle.

The activities of the government were very clear in that they decided to create an environment where there would be no dissent in the future against the Sri Lankan government if they defeated the Tamil Tigers as well in the war. The grand plot of Sinhalisation of the entire Sri Lankan island devised about 60 years ago reached its peak in the name of their fight against terrorism in the recent years. Since the military strength of the Tamil Tigers was a hurdle to them, the Sri Lankan army also employed its military strength indiscriminately. We are led to think that in the absence of Tamil Tigers, the monstrous Sri Lankan government would have quietly and diplomatically swallowed the entire North and East provinces long back by simply threatening the people.

### **Education of the Tamils**

We have done a brief analysis in the Chapter one about the way the Sinhala racist government created obstacles and restrictions to the younger generation Tamils since the year 1972 from having access to education and destroyed their future. The successive Sri Lankan governments with minor changes in the strategies continued to hold education policies which calculatedly marginalised the Tamils. The education structure of Tamils right



from primary schools till high schools and universities have been destroyed through continued shelling and air raids. Many of these educational institutions have been changed to refugee camps and army camps. Most schools were caught in the army's protected zone and hence classes were not conducted in these schools. As a result many thousands of Tamil students were not able to have a continued access to education for more than three

decades. The frequent displacements and life in refugee camps have affected the education of the Tamil children to a great extent. Also the Sri Lankan government banned the supply of electricity to North and East provinces for a long time. As a consequence the Tamil areas were engulfed in darkness. This as well affected the education of the Tamil kids to a great extent. We have already mentioned the ban issued by the Sri Lankan government for transporting fuel into the Tamil areas. Hence the Tamil students caught in the darkness could not study well for their final exams at night and hence failed to score the required points in their examinations. Also due to war many schools were not conducted on a regular basis. In the above period, the shortage of teaching staff was another big issue. The Sri Lankan government procrastinated without appointing sufficient number of staff to the schools in the Tamil regions. Also the facilities available to the Tamil staff in the Tamil regions were insufficient. Though there were many thousands of Tamil students who have graduated from the universities and are unemployed, the government did not want to appoint them as teachers and provide education to the Tamil children. Also the government was never ready to renovate any damaged schools or to provide the equipment required for the schools. It is a bitter fact that due to the reasons stated above, the Tamils have become a community which is academically very backward owing to the heavy damages inflicted on their fundamental education infrastructure for more than three decades.

This would have definitely immersed the Tamil parents, students and the entire Tamil community in deep sorrow, pain and dejection. The author of the book has been taking a very careful note of the academic status of the Tamil students since 1972. He has also been conducting meeting and interviews with the students, teachers, educationalists, officials of education department and parents at least once a year by visiting these Tamil regions since 1984 and has gathered a lot of information. He was able to present the status of the academic achievement of the Tamil people only based on the primary sources of information that he managed to collect about the Eelam Tamils.

There are only two universities in the Tamil regions. One is in Batticaloa and the other is in Jaffna. Both these universities comprise exclusively of Tamil students, lecturers and professors. For about a quarter century, due to

the conditions that prevailed, they were unable to provide quality education to the Tamils and are incapable of conducting any research and development activities. Anyone who is related to the university will not deny the fact that the quality of education has been severely affected by the actions of the Sri Lankan government including shortage of qualified lecturers and professors, refusal to provide scholarships to Tamil students and lecturers in a proper manner, reluctance to supply the required equipments and refusal to grant

funds. Above all, the people who have visited the universities in person would realise that the war climate, military intimidations, displacements, economic ban and ban on electricity and fuel have all had inflicted unbearable pain and tortures to the Tamil people. Many young generation Tamils ran away from the country. Many university lecturers and professors shrugged off their positions and fled the country. Even in these tough times, many people who had a deep love for the university stayed around and continued to save the university and its quality of education. But then we can see the multitude of administrative snags and political involvements in its operation. A common complaint placed by the students was that the lecturers do not visit the lecture halls on time and fail to conduct lectures. Also the lecturers and students should love to visit the library and seek knowledge to improve their skills. But this thirst for knowledge seemed to be lacking in a vast majority of them. This brief presentation of the state of the university is a result of the knowledge gained by the author of this book by visiting the Jaffna University in person many times in the past and by interacting with the students, lecturers, professors and librarians.

In short, Tamils reigned in their academics from the start of the British rule till the 1970s. They were admired as an educated society by many people and countries of the world. Everyone should accept without any hesitation that due to the planned ethnic cleansing on the Tamils and the war that continued, the education of the Tamil community has received a big blow. This will remain to be a deep scar in the minds and hearts of the Tamils for a long time to come. This situation should change. People of the world should see this time as an opportunity to forego their petty fancies and challenge the atrocities of the Sri Lankan government. The global Tamils should join hands with the international community to take all steps necessary to provide a new life to the education of the Tamils.

### **Tamil Language**

The government communicates with the people exclusively in Sinhalese. The letters, documents, publications and other materials were all supplied exclusively in Sinhalese even to the Tamil speaking people and the ministries of the Tamils. The minister appointed to implement usage of Tamils himself

writes letters exclusively in Sinhalese. The Police stations in the Tamil areas lack sufficient number of Tamil police men. Hence the people who visit the station to register a complaint struggle to present their case.

In the Tamil regions, especially in the East there is a definite shortage in the appointment of government officials who can speak Tamil. A majority of the officials appointed do not know Tamil. Hence the Tamil people are not

able to carry out their day to day activities by visiting the government offices. In the meantime, the propaganda of the Sri Lankan government that they have made Tamil as a national language, an administrative language in the North and East and have hence solved the Tamil language issue is nothing but sheer lie to cheat the world. The rights of the Tamil language are clearly restricted to papers and are not applied in practice. Exclusive Sinhala is being imposed on the Tamil people in all practical ways. In the Ampara district where Tamil speaking people make up a majority, 90 percent of the government officials are known to be unable to understand Tamil.

In the year 1966, though legislations were passed to use Tamil language, there was no step taken to implement them. The Tamil community which was running after the Sinhalese begging for their and concessions, was fed up after a prolonged struggle over half a century and finally decided to win an independent sovereign secular socialist Tamil Eelam government and build it on the basis of the reacquired sovereignty in 1977, and handed over the responsibility to the Tamil Liberation Front, like a cat rebounding from a burn.

Tamil will not be able to secure their rights over their language and other rights unless they convert themselves from a ruled society to a self ruling society. This is a definite fact. The voices of the Tamil Liberation Alliance will break the false propaganda of the Sri Lankan government in the international arena that they have solved the Tamil language issue. But no Tamil in the world should be led in to a false belief that the Sri Lankan government will take any step to provide any right to the Tamil language in practice. The need for the Tamil society of today is not few linguistic rights or additional government jobs to be granted by the Sri Lankan government. Their need is recover the lost Tamil Eelam, to achieve the independence of Tamil Eelam. The liberation of the Tamil Eelam should be the only goal. This is our only problem resulting in life or death. The complete life and prosperity of our race depends on our attainment of an independent Tamil Eelam. It is the right time that we remind ourselves again and again of the words of Martin Luther King who said 'Go and achieve independence. Other rights will automatically come to you!'

## **Religious Prayers**

We have seen above as to how many Hindu temples and Churches have been demolished by the air raids and military shelling. Also the temples and churches falling within the protected zones are denied any access and hence they are not used for any prayers. Hindu temples were destroyed and Sinhalese Viharas were constructed in a few places. For example, in the A9 Highway

between Puliyankulam and Puthur junction a few Buddhist Viharas have been newly constructed. Since these Viharas were constructed on the A9 Highway, journalists were able to spot it easily. But no one has kept count on the number of Buddhist Viharas that the government would have constructed deep inside the villages. The precious jewels and cash have been looted from many Hindu temples by the Sinhalese army and Sinhalese thugs. Many Saiva saints and Christian pastors have been killed by the Sinhalese army and Sinhalese thugs. The table below lists the number of churches and temples which have been destroyed by the air raids and military shelling in the year 1995. This information released by the *Eela Nadu* magazine helps us understand how the religious structures of the Tamil people have been destroyed and how the religious prayers and practices of Tamil people were decimated.

**Table 6.7: Temples and Churches Destroyed by Sri Lankan Forces. Temples and Churches Destroyed by the Sri Lankan Forces**

Arali Central Sivan Temple
Arali East Vairavar Temple
Arali Maththiyapoosani Temple
Arali Sivan Temple
Arali South Amman Temple
Arali West Gnaniyar Temple
Arali West Iyanar Temple
Arali West Temple
Chankanai Amman Temple
Chankanai Ampalavanar Temple
Chankanai Catholic Church
Chankanai Maniyawaththa Vairavar Temple
Chankanai Sivan Temple
Chankanai Vairavar Temple
Chulipuram Koddipperam Temple
Iththiyadi Ganesha Temple
Mavadi Murugan Temple
Mayilappuram Murugan Temple
Nagendramadam Sivan Temple



Nagendramadam Vairavar Temple

Paramakuru Perumal Temple

Ponnalai Ganesha Temple

Sankaraththai Amman Temple

St. Alloisious Church

Thuraipaddipalai Amman Temple

Visvanathan Temple

## Economic Status

The economy of the Tamils was also destroyed to a great extent in the same way their education was destroyed by the Sri Lankan government's actions. The Sri Lankan government did not set up any major economic activity, factories or industrial estates in the Tamil areas. The Jaffna cement factory, Paranthan Chemical factory and the Paper mill in Batticaloa were built only to gather the support and cooperation of the Tamils immediately after independence. Except these three factories, the Sri Lankan government never implemented any project that could bring an economic advancement in the Tamil regions. Also even the above three factories are inactive for a long period due to the war. Also houses, properties, commercial establishments, factories, shops and star hotels of the Tamils in the south were all looted, razed and completely destroyed by the Sinhalese during the ethnic riots of 1956, 1958, 1977 and 1983. This did not fail to inflict a major blow on the economy of the Tamils. Consequently as many Tamils left the country to find refuge abroad, it became impossible to reconstruct the economy of the Tamils in the south after this event. These events shook the lives of the Eelam Tamils to a great extent. Also due to the prolonged fighting between the Tamil Tigers and the armed forces of Sri Lanka, these Tamil regions have literally turned into graveyards. Also the houses, properties, cattle, farm lands, plantations, yielding trees and natural resources were all destroyed fully and hence the economy of the Tamil topples over pushing them in to a state of economic disaster. The funds and aids of the NGOs and the Diaspora Tamils living all around the world have been the only sources which ensured that the poor Tamil people survive and live with honour. It is a practical fact that it takes a patriotic, honest, determined and incorruptible younger generation to rebuild the shattered economic base of the Eelam Tamils. Until such a change happens, the people and the nation will continue to suffer such destructions and sorrows.

The Sinhalese government knows extremely well how to decimate a race completely. First, massacre the Tamil people. Second, in all possible ways decimate the younger Tamil generation. Third, rape the Tamil women who are going to give birth to the next generation Tamils and subject them to

psychological impacts and instability. Fourth, prevent the formation of the next generation, turn married women to widows. Fifth, imprison and torture and kill the younger generation Tamils or make them disappear. Sixth, kill the Tamil people through starvation by blocking all essential commodities from reaching them. Also let them die of disease by blocking medical supplies and depriving them off medical aids. Seventh, make the people run from pillar to post in search of refuge or let them flee the country forever.

Eight, snatch the houses, lands and villages of Tamil people forcefully and settle their own ethnic people in the captured areas. Ninth, by all possible means destroy the houses, properties, commercial establishments, factories, cultivable lands, natural resources and cattle and subjugate them economically and eventually force them into poverty and let them die out of hunger. Tenth, destroy the language, religion and culture of the people and deprive them of a unique identity. Eleventh, deny them educational and employment opportunities and reduce them to the state of a community without any academic background and without any job opportunities and hence make them a weak and slave society.

One can understand very clearly from the entire information given so far in this chapter that the Sinhalese racist government in Sri Lanka has been executing its ethnic cleansing activities against the Tamils in a very precise and clear format. No scholar will ever deny the fact that the two major Sinhalese parties that came to power in Sri Lanka after its independence always had to present their action plans to marginalise the Tamils as part of their election manifesto to ensure an electoral victory. It is a bitter fact that none of the Sinhalese politicians had any positive agenda such as developing the nation, ruling the country by sticking to the true spirit of democracy, running the financial, judicial and administrative wings of the government in a proper manner, introducing major economic projects, introducing improvement initiatives in education, health care and public service and to build a prosperous forward looking society. Sri Lankan government did not make any constructive efforts to improve the scientific growth of the country. Sri Lanka is still in stagnated state of importing all the motor equipments, vehicles, machines, computers or modern technical devices and other materials from foreign countries.

There are a few important reasons for this state. The Sinhalese people account for more than 70 percent of the entire population of the island. This is the only natural advantage which they have got. There was no hurdle for them to capture power using this majority power. But when two parties from this majority ethnicity fight each other in the elections, it becomes necessary for them to secure the votes of the majority people to secure success in the election. The easiest and quickest means to achieve this is to spread against the minority Tamil community. Sri Lanka has been caught in an unfortunate trap where a party can rule the country only through this route. The modern history of Sri Lanka shows that none of the Sinhalese parties is able to retrieve itself from this dangerous clutch. Hence the Sinhalese parties which won the votes of the majority Sinhalese people by spreading venom against the Tamil people had to keep up their electoral promises of decimating the Tamils. Hence they are involved in utilising the entire strength of the army and purchasing

weapons worth many millions of rupees every year from other countries and employ them all to destroy the Tamil people. Until the Sinhalese people and the world clearly understand this fact the condition of the Sri Lankan nation will remain unchanged. Anyone who takes a scientific approach in analysing this will accept this fact. Sri Lanka as a nation will be unable to avoid an unfortunate future until the Sinhalese people understand the ground realities and revolt against the terrorist activities of the Sri Lankan government. This is a very important period for the international community and countries of the world to sacrifice their own silly short term benefits and understand the true political background of Sri Lanka and take proper measures in this issue after careful assessments. It is a practical fact that Sri Lanka cannot be saved from this unfortunate situation until a lasting and fair solution is found for the national issues of the Tamils. Only this would ensure that the Sinhalese racist monster does not swallow the Eelam Tamils in its entirety and ensure that a prosperous Sri Lanka is formed. Until these things happen both these ethnicities will be unable to live a life of peace in Sri Lanka. And no one can stop the overflowing blood bath in Sri Lanka.

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## CHAPTER SEVEN

# **The Liberation Tigers and the Tamil Eelam**

The basic objective of the Eelam liberation struggle is to secure homeland, nationality and self determination. This policy was unanimously accepted by all the Tamil political parties and the freedom movements in the conference of the Tamils held at Vaddukoddai in 1976. It was this policy that was projected by the Tamil leaders who contested in the parliamentary elections held in 1977 and it was based on this projection that the Tamil people of the North and the East extended overwhelming support to the candidates. Through their choice in the election, the Tamil people proclaimed without an iota of doubt to the Sinhalese nation as well as the entire world that they had given to their representatives the mandate to secure Tamil Eelam. When the political leaders failed to live up to this mandate, the LTTE assumed the securing of Tamil Eelam as their objective. The LTTE movement which had its origins in 1974 started acting with renewed impetus and rigour as a result of the ethnic cleansing activities unleashed by the Sinhalese government, Sinhalese military and Sinhalese mercenaries in 1977 and 1983. Several thousands of Tamil youth, both male and female started joining the movement in waves. In the initial period, the Tigers started with making guerrilla type attacks against the Sinhalese army and the Sinhalese police. But after around 1983, owing to their unparalleled growth, the tactics of the Tigers evolved into a combination of guerrilla attacks and traditional warfare. The Tigers who were fighting the Sinhalese forces from 1987 to 1990 were then forced into a predicament of fighting the Indian army which was the fourth strongest in the world. In spite of causing heavy losses, the Indian army was not in a position to humble the LTTE. After 1990 when the Indian army left Sri Lanka, the LTTE grew in leaps and bounds, to the astonishment of not only the Sinhalese government but all the governments of the world as well.

The LTTE had met the Sri Lankan forces, as well as the army, navy and air force of India in various battles. Though they had to take some kind of set back on a few occasions, the LTTE mostly met with tremendous success. At the same time they have been engaged with the Sinhalese government as well as the government of India in a number of peace talks. They have conducted themselves in deference to the sentiments expressed by the global community. Many papers, reports and research works have already appeared on this subject. Hence, it is not the purpose of the chapter to go over them once again. Besides, a good number of different levels of books have appeared on the LTTE, its leader Velupillai Prabhakaran, his captains and their accomplishments. Therefore, it is not the purpose of this chapter to go into them once again.

The Tamil Tigers have totally dedicated themselves to the aim of securing liberation for Tamil Eelam, that they had raised their army, navy and air force solely for this purpose, that they did not raise their forces for subjugating the Sinhalese nation, to engage in activities against the government of India or to jeopardize the geopolitical interests of India and that they did not raise their massive forces to pose a threat to governments of the world are facts that will be elucidated in this chapter. Moreover, the Sinhalese regime of Sri Lanka has succeeded in spreading through the world its canards that the LTTE is a terrorist organisation. The world, on its part, has failed to find out for itself the problems of the Eelam Tamils and the real aim of the LTTE, but is taken away by the orchestrated propaganda of the Sri Lankan government and is faltering in its approach to the problem. The organisation of the LTTE is briefly discussed here so that everyone will realise that they are engaged in an armed struggle only for the defence of the Tamil people and the liberation of Tamil Eelam, and they have painstakingly raised a well organised and extremely disciplined forces for this purpose. They have not stopped with that. They have acted far-sightedly in organising the affairs of Tamil Eelam which is yet to be born. It is for this purpose that in the parts of Tamil homeland liberated from the Sinhalese forces they have put in place a systematic and well organised administration and infrastructure. It is through this survey that the author proposes to enlighten the world on the organisational structure, its regulations and the procedures.

They have proposed a master plan as to what kind of a country the liberated Tamil Eelam is going to be. The whole world will be awestruck at it. The research paper of the LTTE, called the 'Infrastructure of Tamil Eelam' prepared in 1993 has not released in Eelam, Sri Lanka or anywhere else in the world. Keeping this in mind the need for publicising it, the important action plans of the report will be brought out in this chapter. This attempt will clearly reveal to the Tamil people, Sinhalese nation and the entire world how

sincerely and honestly they loved Tamil Eelam and the Tamil people and what kind of dreams they had regarding the to be formed Tamil Eelam. Even now the Tamil people find it impossible to accept the heinous happenings which caused incredibly heavy damage to the Tigers and their liberation struggle in the early months of 2009. But as early as 2008, the leadership of the LTTE was well aware of the damage awaiting the movement. In an important communique to the world issues by Castro, who was in charge of international affairs of LTTE, made mention of their condition. A brief account of it has been included in this chapter for the first time. He has made a clear mention in it that the future of the liberation struggle is certainly in the hands of the Diaspora. He has also warned that selfish elements will join hands with the Sri Lankan government and the governments of other countries and attempt a total uprooting of the struggle through disinformation. This study presents an account of how the transnational government contemplated to publicise the facts behind the move.

## **MILITARY STRUCTURE**

### **Army**

The Liberation Tigers believed that only through armed struggles against the oppressive Sinhalese government and the Sri Lankan armed forces can total liberation of the Tamils be attained. In the early days, the LTTE had formed a guerrilla force with a small number of warriors, a political wing with small committees; these two wings were later integrated in a military structure. This military was recognised and protected by the Tamils. Since its inception Velupillai Prabhakaran has been functioning as the leader of the LTTE as well as an army general. Regional generals function as the members of the central executive, while extending support and protection to the leader. All decisions are taken often in recorded discussions. The regional generals and the warriors have been groomed in such a way as to effectively participate in the struggle. Spotless character, close bondage, zeal towards the objective, firm resolve and unflinching loyalty are to be strictly adhered to by every member. Drinking, smoking, sexual involvement and divulging military secrets were considered to be serious offences. While taking oath as members, each of them ties a vial

of cyanide around their necks in order to protect the secrets of the movement to the enemy. While captured by the enemy, they kill themselves by swallowing the cyanide so that secrets have no way of going out. The movement, started with a handful of fighters around 1974, had grown into an army consisting of thousands of men and women fighters. It had 4,000 fighters

in 1990 and 6,000 in 1992; but in 1996 the number of fighters had risen to 14,000. But it is well nigh impossible to get the exact number of members in the LTTE. The above statistics, therefore, must have been collected from the numbers available with the Sri Lankan and Indian army. In reality, the LTTE had more fighters than known outside."

From the northern and eastern regions from the hill country, Tamil youth of both the sections have continually joined the infantry section of the LTTE. Since the hill regions occupied by the Indian Tamils were outside the Tamil homelands no serious battles were fought there. Yet, during ethnic riots and such other incidents, even the Indian Tamils were subjected to ethnic cleansing of the worst kind and as a result many youngsters among them were forced to join the LTTE and fighting the Sinhalese government and the army. During the same period many young Tamils who had been permanently living in the Sinhalese areas enrolled themselves as Tigers and took part in all the wars. They had been agitated over the atrocities committed against the Tamils by the Sinhalese, Sinhalese army and the Sinhalese mercenaries. Above all, Tamil people, men and women, joined the LTTE auxiliary force without fail and contributed their share to the war. The people's auxiliary army boasted double the strength of all the LTTE fighters put together. Mostly those who have crossed fifty years of age have received training from the Tigers and have come to the field. For instance, in the battles at Elephant Pass, auxiliary forces also joined hands with the fighters and they stood guard at the frontiers along with the LTTE. The infantry of the LTTE has many divisions that function individually and jointly, like the Cheetah Regiment, Artillery Regiment, Anti-Tank Regiment, Charles Antony Special Regiment and the Black Tigers Regiment.

### Women Tigers

The census surveys after the Sri Lankan independence show that women among the Tamils form more than 50 percent of the population. It is a result of the barbaric acts of the Sinhalese forces continually going on since 1974. Many Tamil young men have been killed, missing or imprisoned. Many of them lost their lives in the conflicts among movements. Starting in 1983, young men in thousands have joined the ranks of the Tigers. Many were

killed in battles or in army captivity. As a result of the ethnic riots, many have gone to other countries as refugees. As a result, the number of young men was going very much below when compared to the number of young women. Hence, the need and the expectation for young woman to join the movement had been there in the initial period. Further, the ethnic cleansing activities unleashed by the Sinhalese government had driven



these young women to despair, agony and indignation. The sexual violence carried on by the Sri Lankan and Indian armed forces had further aggrieved them. Besides, the misfortune of witnessing with their own eyes their near and dear being brutally murdered by the Sri Lankan and Indian army made them altogether lose their patience. These women have already been bewildered as to how to carry on their life, having been oppressed by evils like caste and the dowry system. The Tamil society had been aggressively male dominated, constantly making question marks out of women's independence and right to live. All these factors combined together to make fighters out of these young women. The sterling character of Prabhakaran, his patriotism and straight forwardness attracted them so much that they come to the conclusion that their safety lay in joining the movement. In addition they would have certainly thought of contributing their share for liberating their homeland.

The first to create a base for these women was the University of Jaffna, where discussions were held which gave a mooring of purpose to them. The cyclone and the flood which attacked the Eastern province in 1979 created an opportunity for many young graduate women to work together and inculcated a sense of social commitment in them. Day and night they wandered all through the Jaffna Peninsula collecting money, clothing and such other material, took them to the Eastern province and got themselves involved in rallies side by side with male graduates. This must have wrought in these women a colossal psychological transformation.

Hence, when they witnessed in 1977 the Tamil refugees who returned to Jaffna in a desperate condition having been subjected to horrible atrocities, these women were stirred into action. This author himself was a witness to their psychological arising. Later, the immeasurable instances of ethnic cleansing activities of 1981 and 1983 brought these women to the Tiger's field in considerable numbers.

Their first activity was to start, in 1984; a newspaper called 'Suthanthira Paravaikal' (Free Birds) and spread their revolutionary ideas on liberation struggles and women's rights. In addition, they started many women's organisation, training centres, educational institutions etc. In the Tamil areas and involved themselves round the clock in social service. Their primary

interest was in political work. This background led them to later take an active part in the liberation struggle, and make enormous contributions. In whatever corner of the world they may be living, whichever country they may belong to, when the women folk who are subjected to suppression and oppression crave to be freed from that condition once for all and live like free birds, the most certainly go through the revolutionary story of the Women Tigers of Tamil Eelam. Researchers who are interested in going through the freedom struggles

of the worlds will in the future find the heroic struggle of the Women Tigers an excellent ground for study. In the beginning they were just called 'Free Birds'. But in course of time women fighters grew into valiant warriors who could stand shoulder to shoulder with men Tigers and carry on the struggle. As a result, women fighters also developed into an army wing, containing many divisions such as Malati Regiment, Sobita Regiment, Cheetah Regiment, and Kittu Gun Warriors Regiment and so on. Further, women Tigers have become part of all the wings of the LTTE and armed forces. After 1990 women have fought along with men in traditional warfare and have made invaluable contributions. Mostly it is women who are involved in the war front when enemy movement has to be checked. The task for capturing important army garrisons was allocated to women Tigers. The Leader has praised their valour and awarded them when they exhibited unmatched prowess and came out victorious. He has again honoured the women Tigers with rewards for causing heavy damage at Mannakulam to the Sinhalese Regiment which had been trained under the Green Berets of the United States. Women no doubt have taken part in freedom struggles all over the world. But no women's wing in any army of the world has become a part of the freedom struggle, destroyed massive military camps, or met the government army face to face in many a battlefield as the women Tigers did. Also, during traditional battles, women Tigers have made enormous contribution even in behind the scene operations, like medical service, communications, food distribution and the removal of

## 9

dead bodies into the field.

Apart from the tough military training they received, the coaching they received in strategies has made them a group of orderly, determined and brave fighters. The counselling and guidance given to them and the confidence infused in them by their leader and his generals before every activity has enabled them to fight with the enemy in an effective manner and heap victories. The leader stated that:

Will power is more important than military prowess. It is will power which determines the success or defeat of a battle.

Further, he stated that:

## ii Before the

enemy comes in search of us we must go to his gate.

Such confidence boosting saying and realistic approach have succeeded in keeping the fighters ever alert and ever determined. It is such strong will power and patriotic spirit that enabled them to chase the Sinhalese forces away from 70 percent of the land area and recapture it. They could recover

millions of rupees worth of armaments from the army. Moreover they could courageously face the Indian army, the fourth largest army in the world.

### **Black Tigers**

Black Tigers are a rare breed of LTTE, infused with a thirst for freedom and physical prowess. Since the LTTE has to fight the Sri Lankan armed forces which has more than 100,000 soldiers and is in possession of modern weaponry, it is inevitable that a good number of Tigers get killed in the warfare. Hence it becomes imperative for the LTTE with a limited number of soldiers to find the mean for inflicting massive damage to the enemy using fewer numbers of warriors. The LTTE had no option but cause the destruction of massive Sinhalese military bases and giant vessels by the navy. They also had to cut to fix the ultra-Buddhist Sinhalese extremists who were furiously opposed to the liberation struggle. All these had to be achieved with the lowest possible manpower. This is the background or the creation of the Black Tigers. Even the Maoists and Leninists who accepted armed struggle against repression or any other freedom fighters' organisation never advocated suicide bombing. It is undertaken only by the Islamic extremists. But it can no way be compared to suicide bombing which is undertaken as part of the liberation struggle. The Black Tigers have converted themselves into devastating human bombs, and have carried on attacks of unimaginable dimensions, have caused havoc on the enemies and have totally demoralised them. Different people have been expressing their opinions and fancies from time to time on the organisation of the Black Tigers. But regarding this Black Tigers squad or their way of causing destruction to the enemy by making a moving bomb of themselves arguments and sermons are totally unwarranted. One cannot appreciate the need for such an extreme step, unless one can bring before one's mind's eye a situation where one's own mother or sister is brutally raped by the Sinhalese army right in front of their eyes and shot to death immediately. One must try to understand how one would feel at that moment. Or let one try to understand how one would be maddened with rage when one's entire family is subjected to aerial bombing and is shattered to smithereens in front of one's own eyes. Only such people can become Black Tigers. There is no need for turning the pages of Sangam literature, philosophical treatises or fabricated truisms. Such steps purposefully belittle the incredible sacrifices of these brave warriors.

The statement made by Prof. J.G. Kellas in his work on nationalism will amply justify the stand of Black Tigers. He speaks of 'the supreme loyalty for the people who are prepared to die for their nation'." Above **all** the

dedication of the Black Tigers to the cause of Tamil Eelam and their strong will, determination and selfishness are the main reasons for their sacrifice. It was only around 1989 that the **LTTE** devised Black Tiger as a war strategy. On 5 July 1987, Captain Miller drove a vehicle into the Nellyyadi Sinhalese military camp and destroyed it. This was the first attack by the Black Tigers. This followed innumerable such attacks on the Sinhalese armed forces, causing huge damage. If the LTTE got resounding victory in front after front after 1990, the main credit for that goes to their dedication, valour, and boldness of the Black Tigers. A speech made by Prabhakaran in Jaffna on a Black Tigers Day decorates them with a crown. He stated:

The philosophy of a freedom struggle is enhanced more by what people do than by what they are. Many Black Tigers, whose names are not known, sleep in nameless graves, yet their accomplishments will live forever as a historical epic. We bow our heads to these historic personages who have mingled with the free air of Tamil Eelam. We understand these Himalayans who have touched the Himalayas of human sacrifices. We realise the emotions that surged in their heart. They made their pilgrimage as a part of the fire sacrifice for liberation. This is the era of the Black Tiger. I designed the, as the strong weapons of a weak people. Let us cherish the memory of those unsketched drawings, unwritten histories, who laid down **their** lives for a common cause.

The above statement is adequate enough to realise the resolve of the Black Tigers and the level of their salvation for the nation.

### **Navy (Sea Tigers)**

Sea Tigers is a brain child of Prabhakaran shaped by him and placed on the lap of the sea goddess of Tamil Eelam. By 1990 it had grown into a force that would decide the direction of the liberation struggle. Since its inception until his demise in the final battle at Mullivaikal, Susai functioned as its merciless captain.

Tamil Eelam homeland combined land and sea. The sea of Tamil Eelam has economic, political as well as commercial importance. More than that, it

is essential for the defence of Tamil Eelam. Only as long as this sea is under Tamil control then Tamil people can enjoy economic welfare and political stability. That is why sea is inseparably mixed with Tamil security. It is bearing all this in mind that Prabhakaran organised a naval wing and called it 'Sea Tigers'. They had to play the significant role of fulfilling various

needs in the course of the liberation struggle. In the beginning they were confined to the task of transporting through the waters and providing security. Yet they have also launched attacks here and there on the boats of Sri Lankan navy. When the LTTE started confronting the army the Tigers got involved in welfare and as a result sea battles got a new dimension.

The first major attack on the Sri Lankan navy was launched by the Sea Tigers on 10 July 1990, in the Valvul Sea. The three Sea Tigers, Major Kantharupan, Captain Collins and Captain Vinoth, made history by destroying a Sri Lankan warship. Again on May 4, 1991, a command ship was destroyed by the Sea Tigers. It must be noted that this was also an act of the Black Tigers. Captain Chithambaram and Captain Jayanthan embraced death in this encounter. This attack spread panic among the Sri Lankan navy and shattered their monopoly over the Tamil Eelam seas.

Prabhakaran stated:

The security of Tamil Eelam is geographically intertwined with the sea. Therefore only when we become strong on the surface of the sea, shake the monopoly enjoyed by the enemy and show our prowess in the waters, will we be able to maintain the lands brought under our control and also chase the enemy entrenched on our lands.

Organising a navy entails heavy expense. Arms and devices used in sea warfare cost much more than those used in land warfare. Hence organisation and maintenance of navy requires economic strength also.

The sea forms the main route for Tamil Eelam for its outside contacts and disbursement of materials required for battle. The land boundary of Eelam (which is shared with Sri Lanka) cannot be safely used. All transport, distribution and international contacts are carried on through sea.

The LTTE navy known as the 'Sea Tigers' from 1984, was renamed to the 'Sea Tigers of LTTE' in 1991. In this period Susai was appointed as its Special Captain and Kankai Amaran as the Captain. During this period the Sea Tigers carried on many successful attacks on the Sri Lankan navy on the waters of the sea and the garrisons on the sea coasts. During these attacks many boats equipped with heavy artillery were destroyed.

A superfast warship, 41 feet in length, was drowned by the Sea Tigers in the waters of elephant Pass. Besides, the Sea Tigers successfully engaged the Sri Lankan navy in mid-sea, resulting in the death of a good number of Sinhalese naval men and the capture of their arms. The fact that the Sea Tigers had grown to the level of launching direct attacks on the Sri Lankan navy had shaken the leadership of Sri Lankan armed forces. This rendered

questionable their long term strategy of dependence on their navy to carry on the warfare. Moreover, it can be noticed that in the recent past the monopoly of the Sri Lankan navy has been steadily on the decline.

### **Sea of Tamils**

The sea mother of Tamil Eelam cherishes in her bosom a great epic shaped by sacrifice and agony. How many devoted comrades, skilled seafarers and Black Sea Tigers are the noble embodiments of sacrifice? They went on the voyage with the knowledge of meeting with sure death. Whenever they embarked on voyage, we bode them adieu by the wave of our hands. Many got dissolved into the wide waters even as we were looking. Many of the children of Tamil Eelam who all the time lay on the lap of mother sea, and who travelled unmindful of the snow and the cold and their own lives got merged with the salty waters. This sea is ours, an integral part of our homeland, our Tamil Eelam; this must be recovered from the clutches of our enemies. It is for that purpose that the Sea Tigers travel on it unmindful of their lives, making glorious sacrifices and are making heroic epics. Hence will come a day when our own naval vessels will sail on our sea. Then our youngsters will start freely and fearlessly moving on the surface of our sea. Sea Tigers are shaping and growing into a formidable force that can determine the course of the war; they induce the onlookers to refer the presence of two navies on the island of Sri Lanka as if they are talking of two armies. This sea is ours. This is an inseparable part of Tamil Eelam along with the land; even the sea must be recovered.

### **The Growth of the Sea Tigers and the Turning Point in the War**

The turning points caused by the growth of the Sea Tigers are bound to change the dimension of the war and make it advantageous to the Tamils. Prabhakaran is greatly interested in grooming the Sea Tigers which is playing a crucial role in the struggle. He is paying his attention to devising war strategies and plans of attack in order to enhance the strength in such a way as to defeat the enemy navy which is stronger and commands larger resources.



After the battle of Elephant Pass the government of Sri Lanka undertook enormous efforts to block all the highways leading to the Jaffna peninsula, bring the peninsula under total military siege and implement economic sanctions, with a view to starving the common people and to break their resolve, simultaneously destroying the LTTE movement and supporters of the

freedom struggle. A part of the peninsula population got panicky on this account. The rulers were jubilant that the end of the LTTE was nearing. It is right at that moment that the Sea Tigers started making history in the sea. The sea at Kilali became the major battle field and a place that was going to change the destiny of the war. The Sea Tigers, who opened a means of transportation through the Kilali Sea, started incessantly clashing with the Sri Lankan navy, leading to many momentous happenings and finally established their superiority over the sea. As a result the battles fought on the waters of Kilali deserve a special mention in the history of the liberation struggle:

The main thrust of the measures undertaken by the Sea Tigers is to pressurise the government into removing the coastal military camps so as to enable our disbursement of necessities. The Sea Tigers are confident that the Sri Lankan navy is subjected to continuous destruction. There will be no option but to remove these camps.

If the Sea Tigers acquire the upper hands in the Tamil Eelam Sea, it will toll the death knell of the coastal military camps. Even considerable area of land will be freed from Sinhalese occupation. That will render ineffective all the economic sanctions implemented by the government and restrictions on transportation and fishing.

The Sea Tigers work incessantly, along with Black Sea Tigers to enable the people of Tamil Eelam to reach the golden era at the earliest. The struggle is not over yet. No power on can stop the struggle from continuing in various dimensions until Eelam wrests its lost freedom from the hands of the repressive and Sri Lankan government.

### **Air Force (Air Tigers)**

Since 1980 the military transformation of the LTTE was functioning with infantry, navy and various sub divisions needed for an army. After 1990s these divisions saw an enormous growth, until the LTTE evolved into a traditional army confronting the Sinhalese government forces face to face in the battle. But there is no evidence of the Tigers having an air force till 1998. Early on the ninth martyrs' day on 27 November 1998, the fact that they had an air force was ascertained.

On that day the aircraft of the Tigers rose into the sky in front of a mammoth crowd. The aircraft flew low, showered flowers over the martyrs' memorials at Vanni paying homage to the martyrs. Around the place was stationed the anti-aircraft squad. At the end of the function 'the voice of Tigers' came out with an official announcement regarding the air Tigers.

Even before 1998 the LTTE had sent their men abroad to receive training in piloting and air craft building, and made them qualified pilots and aircraft builders. Besides they had invited pilots from abroad to Vanni and given regular training to their men. In the beginning they were trained to jump down using parachutes. The Tigers, however, were well aware that the buildings and trees would be in their way of using parachutes so the airmen have also been trained to climb down using a string ladder or a rope.

An anti aircraft squad was formed and trained to fire at flying aircraft. On January 22 1998 an ml7 helicopter of Russia make that took off from Palali airport at 11.59 am was shot down by the anti air craft squad of the LTTE. Even in 1997 a V8 type of the Chinese aircraft of the Sri Lankan

**19**

government was shot down by the same squad. On 14 July 1995 at Chundukuli, a Pucara aircraft that was of Argentine make of the Sri

**20**

Lankan air force was brought down by the squad. An Avro aircraft was brought down at Achuveli with a rocket. In 1998, Sri Lankan air force offered cover to the army which was advancing towards Jaffna fort after capturing Mandaitivu, when shells were showered on the Tigers. The Tigers shot at the air force plane with 0.50 calibre guns and it fell into the Pannai Sea."

These incidents prove that the anti-aircraft squad had been trained even before the air force came into being. It can also be surmised that other such necessities for the anti aircraft squad were also in place. Though the air force made its public appearance in 1998, they did not launch any attack immediately. A mention of the heavy destruction wrought to the air force base at the Katunayake airfield on 2 March 2007 has been made in the previous chapter. The same chapter refers to the destruction caused to the Sinhalese air force base at Anuradhapura on October 27, 2007.

To put it briefly, the appearance of the air force of the LTTE would certainly have sent Shockwaves across the Sri Lankan establishment. It would not have failed to pose a challenge to the Sinhalese air force which caused untold damage to the LTTE, as well as the civilians and their property, through indiscriminate bombing.

If the Tigers had been terrorists as alleged by the Sri Lanka government and some other countries, they could have taken revenge by bombing Colombo or other residential areas of the Sinhalese and caused heavy damage. But there is not a single instance either in his life or his uttering to indicate that Prabhakaran even thought of causing destruction to the Sinhalese or any other people. Nor is he even going to contemplate it in the future. He clashed with the Sri Lanka air force only to protect his Tamil people from Sinhalese chauvinism. Tamils, Sinhalese and the world communities at large should understand this without an iota of doubt.

## **Administrative Structure**

The administrative structure of the LTTE is as well organised as the military structure. The primary division of the administrative structure is the political section under which the police department is the main one. Finance and justice departments are treated as separate units. Each one of these departments is subdivided into sections. To put it briefly since the ceasefire in 2002, many personages like ambassadors, government officials, political dignitaries, media personnel, Diaspora members and the Sinhalese people in the southern part of Sri Lanka have travelled through the areas under the control of the LTTE. They have seen for themselves that the administrative structure there has been surprisingly well organised and conducted in an exemplary manner, many of them did not fail to express their appreciation through the media.

The Tamil society had been fully converted into a civilised unit where quarrels, conflicts, theft, murder, rape, corruption, and maladministration had been totally eradicated. Evils like communal oppression, religious intolerance, social inequality, dowry system had been done away with. LTTE administration had been so well organised that a young woman could walk on the streets at midnight without any fear. Those who had been to Tamil Eelam areas in the mentioned period will not deny that it had been changed into an enlightened society which excelled even the developed countries in security and orderliness.

## **Political Section**

From 1990 till 1995 Jaffna peninsula was under the administration of the LTTE. The vast areas of Vanni and the eastern regions were also under LTTE control during that period. Though the police and the courts of the Sri Lanka government existed they were totally inactive. Though the LTTE was carrying on only shadow administration it might be noticed that they have organised every organ in the proper manner. In particular, social service, health services, language sections, streets, highways, water irrigation, agriculture section, forestry, media, libraries, documentation section, archaeological section, police department, finance section, reconstruction section, technology, fisheries, tourism, and transport services may be mentioned. Among these, police department, finance section, justice section,

media section, archives and university may be taken up for brief consideration on the basis of data available. All the administrative systems necessary for a government and all the departments essential for the civil service had been introduced there and the administration was going on in an orderly and exemplary manner over the Jaffna peninsula. The LTTE shifted

their structure to Vanni, having had Jaffna Peninsula captured by the Sri Lankan army in 1995, and strengthened the Vanni region as well as a major part of the eastern province which also came under the administration of the LTTE. In the above mentioned Tamil areas all the services to be rendered by the LTTE administrative departments are put into action in a well planned and well organised manner. As already mentioned in the earlier chapters, after the Indian army left the Sri Lanka soil in the 1990s the Tigers formed a political party of their own and got it registered with the Sri Lanka election commission and went ahead with their political action plan. With the Sri Lankan government and later under the Norwegian mediation, those in the political division continuously took part in the discussion and made excellent contributions. S.P. Tamilselvan who was in charge of political section has rendered immeasurable service for the liberation of Tamil Eelam. It will be quite appropriate to mention here that at any time he is bound to find a special place in the history of Tamil Eelam.

### **Police Department**

In the Tamil Eelam region that was under the control of the LTTE the administrative function and the jurisprudence of the Sri Lanka government had come to a standstill. As a result people approached the members of the LTTE to bring their conflicts to an end and to seek justice. At this stage the Tigers in charge of the regions concerned brought the conflicts to an end. Later a committee consisting of educated people capable of looking at matters in an unbiased manner was formed for carrying on trials and delivering judgments. It is the period when the political section of Tamil Eelam was undergoing an evolution and the national leader was engaged in designing and organising various departments one after the other for the well being of the people of Tamil Eelam. Tamil Eelam police was organised in 1990 in this manner. Suitable men and women were selected from among the people of Tamil Eelam, given all the necessary training before the police department was started with them. Until courts were established in 1993, it was Tamil Eelam police which resolved the conflicts arising among the people of Tamil Eelam.

P. Natesan who had formerly served in the Sri Lanka police was put in charge of Tamil Eelam police. Nine police stations were functioning in the Jaffna peninsula, three in the Vanni regions and a few stations in the eastern region. Those who serve in the police department are not Tigers. They work on the basis of a monthly salary. They wear blue uniforms. Those who serve in the Tamil Eelam police department do the planning organising and putting into action all the rules and regulations, with a better sense of duty and responsibility than any police personnel under any government.

## **Jurisprudence**

Many department and their sections and offices were born out of the farsightedness of the Tamil Eelam leader, Prabhakaran, on the basis of the needs and problems of the people of Tamil Eelam with a view to improving their standard of living and enabling them to lead a peaceful life and creating avenues for them to develop in a democratic manner. Jurisprudence is one such department. The department has made 17 years of gradual improvement, offering its service to the people of Tamil Eelam and fulfilling the aim with which the leader created it. It is essential to go over the origin and the growth of this department in some detail.

The department of justice was started in Tamil Eelam in 1992 and Parra was nominated by the leader as the official in charge of the department. The first law college was started at Manipai, legal studies were imparted and lawyers and judges were produced. Before administration of law was put into place, conflicts among people were resolved on the basis of a petition of agreement through village assemblies. Later after Tamil Eelam started stabilising itself a legal department was started. It continued its services with three divisions namely law college, law making and the delivery of justice. The law college gave legal training and produced lawyers, legal consultants, legal experts and the like. Lawmaking section took care of the framing of laws and carrying on amendments was necessary. The courts delivered justice.

The Tamil Eelam law college at Manipai (Jaffna) has been producing law graduates since 1992. Lecturers from the universities of Colombo and Jaffna were involved in imparting education in a short period but in the proper manner until was ensured that the graduates had acquired sufficient knowledge in the law. The college was gradually developed until it standardised a four year law course. The college had all the factors that must find its place in law education. It has often produced a number of law graduates and continued its work.

Let us take a look at the law making secretariat. Only those who completed their education in the law college and have expertise and experience are appointed there. Law making implies drafting of laws,

correcting and emending them in keeping with changing times, codifying the duties and responsibilities of legal practitioners, as well as controlling and guiding their work.

Laws are made after a careful study of the thoughts, feelings and aspirations of people, taking into account their way of life and in a way that will be clear and acceptable to them. The legal code of Tamil Eelam has adopted from the legal codes of England, India and Sri Lanka and has taken



into account the needs and the way of life of the people of the land. Yet, the law of Tamil Eelam is different from that of India and Sri Lanka in certain aspects, like caste system, dowry, right to property and alimony. Laws of Tamil Eelam are first drafted by a committee consisting of selected legal experts with considerable experience in the field, then placed in the senate for detailed discussions and debates and after being faced by the two thirds majority of the members are made into laws with the approval of the leader of the LTTE. Amendments also follow the same procedure. So far the following legal codes have been put into practice in Tamil Eelam:

Legal Code of Tamil Eelam, Tamil Eelam Penal Code, Tamil Eelam Code of Criminal Procedure, Tamil Eelam Evidence Act, Tamil Eelam Citizenship Act, Tamil Eelam Code of National Customs, Tamil Eelam Motor Vehicles Act, Tamil Eelam Chit Funds Act, Tamil Eelam Interests Act, Tamil Eelam Police Act, Tamil Eelam Industrial Act, Tamil Eelam Protection of Forest Resources Act, Tamil Eelam Land Mining Act, Tamil Eelam Act of Justice Delivery, Tamil Eelam Courts Act and so on. Courts depend upon these acts to deliver justice. The law making secretariat functions under the control of the chief justice, but independently, without any interference, and without misusing its powers.

Coming to courts of law, courts are viewed as all embracing institutions. The first district court of Tamil Eelam was opened at Chunnakam in the Jaffna district in 1993. It was followed by district courts at Point Pedro, Mallakam, Chavakacheri and Kilinochchi, Jeyapuram, Mallavi and Puthukkudiyiruppu in the Vanni region. When the district of Jaffna was brought under the complete control of the Sri Lankan army, the jurisprudence of Tamil Eelam strengthened its base in Vanni region. The function of delivering justice continued in Batticaloa and Trincomalee.

The courts in Tamil Eelam were organised in a vertical structure starting from the Local Court, District Court, High Court and Supreme Court. If necessary there may be special sittings. Each district had a magistrate court, a civil court and upper court besides a high court and appellate court. Each court had authorities and responsibilities as per its position in the hierarchy.

District magistrate courts can decide on cases with a value up to 5,000 rupees and cases involving petty crimes. District courts handle all cases concerning civil rights and family disputes. Upper courts were entitled to try cases of serious crimes which call for heavy punishments including the death penalty. Trials are held openly and sentences are meted out in public. The appellate court is entitled to reconsider all the cases to the satisfaction of the appellant and after receiving the necessary details, charge amend or confirm the judgement delivered in the lower court.

If a part is not satisfied even with the decision of the appellate court they

can approach the Supreme Court which will once again reconsider the case and deliver its judgement which is to be considered final.

Regarding selection of the judges and defining their duties and responsibilities, only those who have completed their studies in the law college and worked as lawyers for a certain period acquiring experience and expertise are selected and administered the oath of office in the presence of the national leader before assuming their office. The chief justice will be the head of all judges and is entitled to distribute among them their duties and responsibilities and also to guide them. Each judge is bound by the responsibilities of the stage of the court. In case a judge causes disrepute to the system or loss of confidence, there are provisions for dismissing or suspending him. The charges against him will be examined by the commission of justice and its recommendations will be placed before the chief justice and also be communicated to the national leader on whose recommendation dismissal or suspension is undertaken. The duties and responsibilities of the judges of Tamil Eelam are based on Sri Lanka jurisprudence.

The procedures of filing the case are just like in the other countries. When a case is brought to the district court, at first it is determined whether it is criminal or civil. If it is a criminal case, the plaintiff has to complain to the police so that the suspect is arrested, produced before the court and tried. Here the police department acts for the plaintiff.

In civil cases the plaintiff is entitled either by him or through a lawyer, to file a suit and present it before the judge. Cases of both the kinds are tried as per Tamil Eelam legal code, penal code, criminal procedure code, Tamil Eelam citizenship code, criminal procedure code, Tamil Eelam citizenship act and Tamil Eelam evidence act. Since the criminal cases are handled by the government, the accused is given the opportunity to present his case and produced witnesses and evidence on his own, when the Tamil Eelam gives them the necessary legal assistance. When lawyers appear for a case, they are entitled to receive the expenses as defined by the law. The receipts are submitted to the office of the court and the amount is received. No lawyer can receive from any client more than the prescribed amount or any concession in lieu of it. If proved that this condition is violated the lawyers will be subjected to punishment recommended by the attorney general. All these procedures are followed on the basis of the means of the people and their economic backwardness.

Such a department which has been delivering justice through such well conceived infrastructure for the past 17 years has got a place not only in the heart of Tamil Eelam people but even among other countries of the world. Not only the residents of the Tamil Eelam area but even those living

under the control of the Sri Lanka army, those living in Sri Lanka and those living abroad have filed their suits in these courts and have received a satisfactory verdict. It is obvious to those who look at the evolution of the department that it has been shaped as per the desire and design of the leader.

### **Finance Department**

Since its inception the finance section of Tamil Eelam has been the responsibility of Thamilenthi who has had a sound education in finance and accountancy besides being a Tamil lover and a scholar. The receipts of the LTTE were through the donations received from the Diaspora. A good chunk of receipts came from taxes like vehicle tax, sales tax and property tax. At the same time, the Tigers did not reject the government's role in running essential services like health and education as these departments entailed heavy expenditure meeting which would not have been possible for the Tigers. Yet for the year 1994, their monthly receipts and expenditure has been 10 million rupees." After 1994, these figures might have increased many folds.

### **Radio Tigers' Voice**

This was started as the genuine voice of the Tigers on the Martyrs' Day on November 27 1990 on the FM radio as a news service. There were only a handful of employees. The broadcasting was made from a towers situated at Pannai, Jaffna. When the LTTE and masses of people moved from place to place, the voice also shifted along with people. Shifting from place to place it continued its service without any interruption. Without a telecommunications tower, it was forced to do the broadcasting through gadgets tied on the treetops. During those days the workers and fighters extended maximum cooperation. Later it migrated to Kilinochchi and was connected to Kilinochchi telecommunication tower. During the Sathya Jaya military operation, the Tigers voice was connected to Kokkavil telecommunications tower, while the office functioned from a different place still it could not escape the Sri Lanka air force attack, when one of the workers died and another lost his leg. Sri Lankan government was

determined on silencing the voice through some means or another. But the voice continued unabated.

When the Sri Lanka army embarked on operation Jaya Sikiru the Tigers voice again shifted from Mullivallai in Mullaitivu. Its main office was Mullivallai while the broadcasting was made from Ottisuttaan. During those

days people identified themselves with the voice. Many new programmes were started and many employees were inducted. When the broadcasting was going on in full swing the Sri Lanka troops were planning to capture Ottisuttaan, forcing the voice to move on to Puthukkudiyiruppu. Overcoming all obstacles, the voice kept making steady progress. Its branches were functioning in various places to realise the grievances of the people and to serve them effectively; each branch had sufficient workers.

Following the signing of a peace treaty with Sri Lanka, the voice once again started booming from Kokkavil. Introducing many novel programmes it attracted many people and drew more employees. Having become a part of their life, Tigers voice became extremely popular among the Tamil people with its programmes like Oli Vellam and Muttamil Kalaiarankam. The voice of the people was integrated with it, making it a medium to their liking. Besides the broadcasting service was started in the website, reaching the ears of the Diaspora, taking stay as the voice of the Tamils all over the world.

When the Eelam War IV started, the tower had to be temporarily shifted and the broadcasting apparatus had to be dismantled, which task was done by fighters and workers. When nobody suspected it, the 350 foot tower fell down killing a worker and a Tiger.

The tower was shifted to Kilinochchi 55th milestone from where the main office also started functioning bringing both the office and the tower to the same place.

All along the broadcast was being made only in the Tamil language. But the Sinhalese government, Sinhalese politicians and the Sinhalese armed forces never used to appraise the Sinhalese people to what is actually happening in Tamil Eelam. The government had enforced rigorous censorship over print and electronic media. This made it imperative for the Tigers to enlighten the entire majority community on the brutal war going on in Tamil Eelam and the destruction caused by it. Hence in 1996, Sinhalese broadcasting service introduced in the Tigers voice and all the programmes were broadcast in Sinhalese also. Certainly it dealt a great shock to the Sinhalese government, politicians and the armed forces.

Around 2007 aerial attacks by the Sri Lanka air force were going on in full swing at all places and a large number of people were killed, mangled

and maimed. It was a war on a large scale. It is that period that an unforgettable incident happened. On the martyrs' day on 27 November, when all the people of Tamil Eelam were going to pay homage to the heroes who laid down their lives in the cause of their homeland, the Sri Lanka air force attacked the office of the Tigers voice with a view of preventing it from broadcasting the address of the national leader. Yet in spite of all the damage cause the broadcast of the leaders address went on without the slightest hitch,

which astonished everyone. The aim of the Sinhalese government was shattered. They lit the dust. Three employees and one tiger attained martyrdom in the attack. Two employees were grievously wounded. Many were subjected to minor injuries and suffocation. People walking on the road for paying homage were killed along with people living in the area. Houses and shops were destroyed.

Notwithstanding all this, the Tigers voice continued its service. Fighters, workers, officials, were as steady as ever and made the voice resound in Paranthan, Visuvamadu, Puthukkudiyiruppu, Valayarmadam and Mullivaikal, going from place to place along with people until it was finally stilled. Still it goes on booming across the frontiers of Sri Lanka.

### **Eelanatham**

Along with Tigers voice, *Eelanatham* daily and *Vellichcham* were published first from Jaffna and later from Kilinochchi, as the voice of Tamil Eelam liberation, as a treasure house carrying the history of the struggle until Kilinochchi fell into the hands of the Sinhalese army in 2008.

### **Art and Culture**

The art and culture section of the Tigers was strong and revolutionary institution which propagated all the cultural values of the Eelam Tamils. Functioning under the leadership of Puthuvairathnam it modernised all native art forms and musical forms, and spread it throughout Tamil Eelam like a revolutionary cyclone. Naaddar School of plays, lyrics and revolutionary songs of liberation which played a significant role in the development of warfare were put on stage in such a way as to drive the audiences into ecstasy. Tamil Eelam songs of liberation and uprising were resounding not only all over Tamil Eelam and but throughout the entire world like drums of war. The awe inspiring creations of art and culture department infused the Eelam liberation struggle with renewed vigour. It is the historical responsibility of the persons in charge of the department who have already played an immeasurable role in the war to continue in the same vein.

### **Archives**

When the Portuguese invaded the kingdom of Jaffna in mid 16th century they burnt to ashes the library of the Tamils and the palm leaf manuscripts which were in the Hindu temples. The world knows very well the 1981

burning of the Jaffna public library along with the 95,000 volumes of rare works and palm leaf manuscripts, by the Sinhalese army with the support of the Sinhalese ministers. Since 1980 the LTTE have been collecting all of the, documents, manuscripts, notifications, compact discs, DVDs, and videos in their thousands, recorded and protected them in archives organised for this purpose in Kilinochchi. This author visited the archives in 2002 and was amazed at the invaluable collection.

The well known archivist Kurumpasiddy Kanagaratnam had collected from all newspapers, magazines, periodicals, government notifications news cuttings pertaining to the Tamils pasted them neatly on wide and thick sheets at the great pains and heavy expenses throughout his life and had kept them in a large hall in the first floor of his residence in Kandy. The leadership of the LTTE felt that they could be saved from being destroyed by the Sinhalese army and they were taken to a safe place in Vanni. This author went to Kanagaratnam's residence for this express purpose and had discussions with him. Kanagaratnam gave his consent, which was conveyed to the Tigers. Having the latest peace talks, the Tigers brought this collection of documents to Vanni along with them. A massive mansion was allotted to him, where documents were well stored and protected. This author had the fortune of meeting Kanagaratnam and having a look at the collections. After the peace talks broke down Kanagaratnam had left Vanni. But Castro of the LTTE informed this author when he met him in January 2008 that the documents were safe.

It cannot be learnt what happened to the hundreds of thousands of documents collected by the LTTE and more than two hundred thousand documents of Kanagaratnam. It is indeed a great misfortune.

Fortunately, Kanagaratnam had microfilmed all his collections with the help of UNESCO. This author went to Kandy and purchased from him a copy of it. He had purchased the documents with the help of Seevaratnam, the founder of the Tooting Amman Temple in London, when Sivanayagam was carrying on a research on Sri Lanka Tamils. These documents which can be taken to London were later sent to the south Asian Studies Centre, Sydney where the microfilms were computerised. The microfilm copies which were brought from London to Sydney were once again sent to Vanni in 2008. It is



very unfortunate that nothing is known as to what happened to those microfilm copies. Moreover, this author had purchased a large number of expensive books on various subjects from many countries, and had continually been despatching them to the university which was newly built by the Tigers in Vanni. These books had been sent by the author in conjunction with Thamilenthi who had constructed the university. It has been impossible to learn what happened to these valuable books.

## **Museum**

The LTTE had set their foot in all regions of Tamil Eelam. They have collected all the valuable antiques and artefacts wherever they went. Especially, sculptures made of mud, earthen ware, clay ware, rock inscriptions, stone articles, have all been discovered and have kept them properly protected in a place adjacent to the forests and wetlands of Vanni. Each rare article was found and the date when it was found has been noted. During the aerial bombings by Sri Lanka air force, it was customary to dig huge holes in the earth. When lands are cleaned, wells, canals, and ponds are dug, when bunkers are dug, when the land is dug for forming blockades and when sand is quarried for construction purposes many kinds of ancient historical objects have been discovered. Such rare finds collected in the past quarter of a century have been kept in a safe custody in the place mentioned above. Ilankumanaram who is in charge of this department had taken the author to the place in 2006 and had shown him all the archaeological finds. The important fact is a large number of ancient articles belonging to Neolithic and Megalithic culture which is part of the Tamil tradition and culture were kept there. All of them are essential evidences to the history of the Tamils. It is not known what happened to those essential historical evidences. Historians in the future who are anxious to bring out the history of the Tamils will no doubt be consumed by pain and despair at such a state of affairs.

All these related above prove that the LTTE have organised and developed every department required for the independent Tamil Eelam. They have been far-sightedly organised as the national property and factors essential for the development of the yet to be created Tamil Eelam. Nobody will ever deny that nowhere can such responsible national movement be found. But it is a matter of shame that neither the Sinhalese country nor the countries which went along with Sri Lanka taken in by their false and mischievous propaganda were ever able to appreciate the honest and sincere thirst for liberation of the liberation Tigers.

## **Infrastructure in Tamil Eelam**

The LTTE had several plans in developing Tamil Eelam (North and East of Sri Lanka). Under the guidance of late Professor Thurairajah, they gathered professionals from every field, and conducted several meetings for the development of the infra structure. The group unanimously decided to have two states, the North of Tamil Eelam and the South of Tamil Eelam. Trincomalee has been decided as the capital of Tamil Eelam, whilst

Mankulam will serve as the capital of the North and Kallady as the capital of the South. The committee has been divided into several groups (infra structure, transportation, irrigation, industrial developments etc.) They had several meetings and the proposals were made as a book by TECH.

Many housing facilities were carried out for the displaced peoples by the LTTE from their funds. The restriction in transportation building materials to the North and East restricted many of the development plans. The LTTE had a division for Education development of Tamil Eelam, and they allocated some money as Educational Development Fund. There were not enough teachers at the schools of the North and East whilst there was a surplus in other regions. There were insufficient classroom buildings, a school at Puthukkudiyiruppu functioned without a single classroom for several months. The LTTE utilised their Educational Development Fund to employ some teachers to assist the teachers in the government schools and they erected some classroom buildings where it was urgently required.

The lack of building materials made the building contractors in the North and South to slow down the progress and they find it difficult to complete their works. Those who were employed by the contractors in the building and the road construction works started to lose their work, some of the contractors started to move away from Tamil Eelam with their workers in search of work in other parts of Sri Lanka. To stop the valuable working community moving out from Tamil Eelam and to prevent the government money allocation for the North and East return to the treasury as unused, the LTTE started to form construction industries and employed most of the workers as their workers. The Military Organisation group of the LTTE, in addition to the Administrative Services Unit of the political wing and the Economic Consultancy House of the political established the major construction organisations. TECH concentrated mostly on Irrigation works, construction and maintenance of irrigation tanks and channels, Administrative Services involved in building construction and maintenance works. As the MO group involved in many other activities the construction industry of the MO group was taken over by the Finance wing of the LTTE.

The government allocation for road maintenance was not sufficient to meet the need. There were many pot holes and the condition was very bad, even the cyclists find it difficult. The people in the North and East find it difficult to carry out their day to day works without reasonable roads, and therefore, the LTTE made a decision to allocate some of their money for road developments.

Youths and infants got frustrated in their life as there was no entertainment for them in Tamil Eelam. The LTTE spent a lot of their money on the construction of children's parks. Several infant day care centres and

children's parks were constructed in almost every village in addition to parks like Seelan Memorial children's park at Meesalai, Appan Memorial children's park at Point Pedro 1st mile and Kittu Memorial Park at Jaffna.

Kittu memorial park was designed to have some educational facilities. It had a model hill with a cave, two waterfalls meet together to form a river which runs into the sea. A suspension bridge was constructed from the hill to another small elevated rock. The main entrance was kept but the side of the statue of Changiliyan the late famous King of the North. A library for children was constructed by the proximity of the cool bar and toilets enabling the kids to develop a reading habit and to have some indoor games. The statue of Kittu was kept at the middle of the park near the suspension bridge and second entrance. The statue was kept in the middle of a small pond on a handmade rock with a small bridge enabling the children to play in that area.

Attractive buildings and playing areas in almost all parks and day care centres are very special. All these were constructed in the period when there was restrictions to take any construction materials into Tamil Eelam. Mostly time was used as cementing material in the construction of these parks.

Kantharupan Arivu Cholai and Sencholai are two major areas where orphaned children were kept with plenty of facilities for studies, games as well as the residence for them. With 1995 displacement from Valikamam and the 1996 displacement from Vadamaradchi and Thenmaradchi forced the shift of all activities of the LTTE to Vanni. At Vanni both these organisations found it difficult to settle due to the war (e.g. Vallipuram Sencholai) and at last both these buildings erected their buildings next to each other at Kilinochchi. At Kilinochchi they established their school called 'Tamil Cholai'.

As The Education Development Policy of the LTTE they planned to erect some classroom blocks for 17 selected schools. They had discussions with the Director of Education Kilinochchi, Director of Education Mullaitivu and Director of Education Thunukkai and completed 7 blocks (five classroom blocks for Parathipuram GTMS Kilinochchi, five classroom blocks at Jeyapuram GTMS Kilinochchi, two storied 9 classrooms and an entrance lobby for Kilinochchi MV, 6 classroom building block for Irruddumadu GTMS at Udaiyarkattu Mullaitivu, two storied 10 classroom building for Udaiyarkattu MV, 5 classroom block for Barathy Vidyalayam at Visuvamadu Mullaitivu and five classroom building for Kumulamunai GTMS Mullaitivu).

At this stage an organisation called North East Development Organisation (NEDO) comprising of 9 committee members and the organisation was registered with Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu secretariats. The main aim of the organisation is the rural development and Educational

development. From the Educational Development Fund they collected they started to erect buildings for a University Complex in Vanni. The GA Kilinochchi Mr. Rajanayagam allocated land for this purpose. The land is at Arrival Nagar Murikandi, at the border of Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu and at walking distance from Jaffna Kandy Road A9. With the contributions of ideas from the Professionals of the Jaffna University and the popular Architect Mr. V. S. Thurairajah the building were almost ready for opening and to commence the 1st year studies.

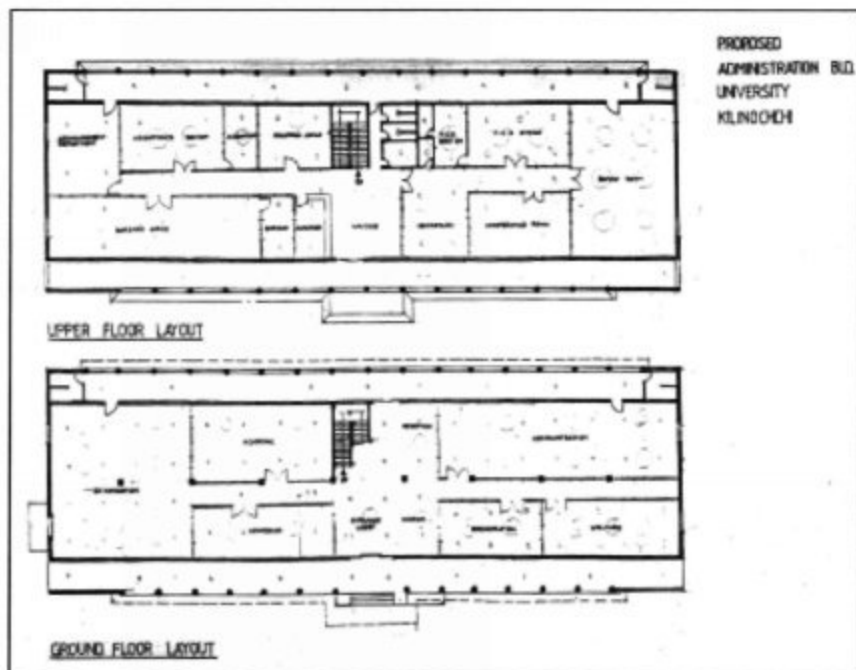
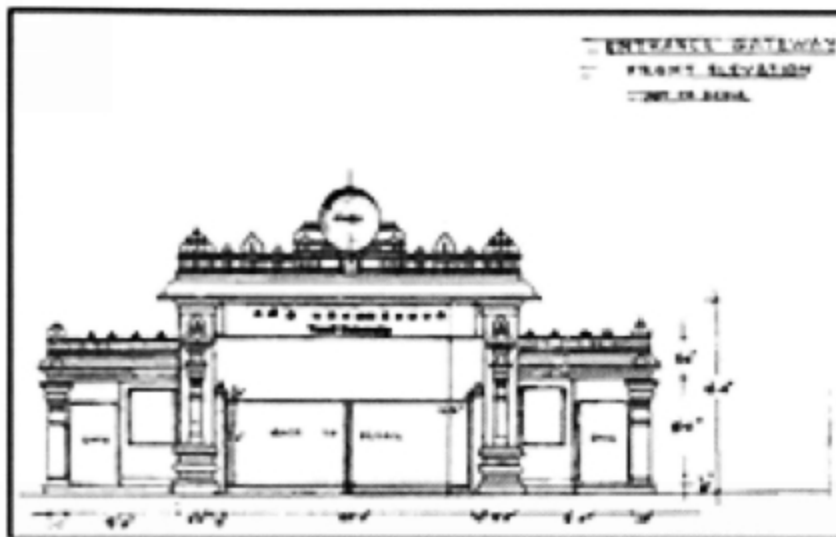
A two storied boys hostel, a two storied girls hostel, a two storied building consists 4 flats for professional staff and a residence for minor employee's comprising of 5 rooms with bathroom and toilet facilities were ready to accept furniture. The main tutorial building planned as a two storied building consists of 24 tutorial rooms, toilets for males and females in both floors, an open sky courtyards with pond and footpath in the middle to have 4 lecture halls (2 on each side, one behind the other). The building was ready to receive furniture except two lecture halls on the right hand side that were planned for later stage. A 150ft X 25ft computer laboratory was completed and laying ducts for computer terminals were completed and ready for installation. The structural works of the Library building designed by Mr. V.S. Thurairajah was completed and ready to commence on the finishing works. The foundation work of the Auditorium with canteen and a dining hall was completed and ready to start work on the upper structure. The water supply (water tank and tube well with a sediment tank) and sewage disposal completed tested and ready to use. The student's common room was ready to use.

On the landscaping four ponds were constructed and linked by cannels and an outlet at the lower end. Several varieties of plants and trees planted so that the students can enjoy and learn knowledge about all varieties of plants and trees in Vanni without going into the forest. The University Park was almost complete and the playfield area kept clean and ready to commence construction works.

Thamilenthi is the person, who was dreaming about the University project, and he has spent almost all his free time in visiting the site, organizing meetings and breaking to find money for the work. The land was given free but we have spent more than 400 million rupees on this project alone.

## **University**

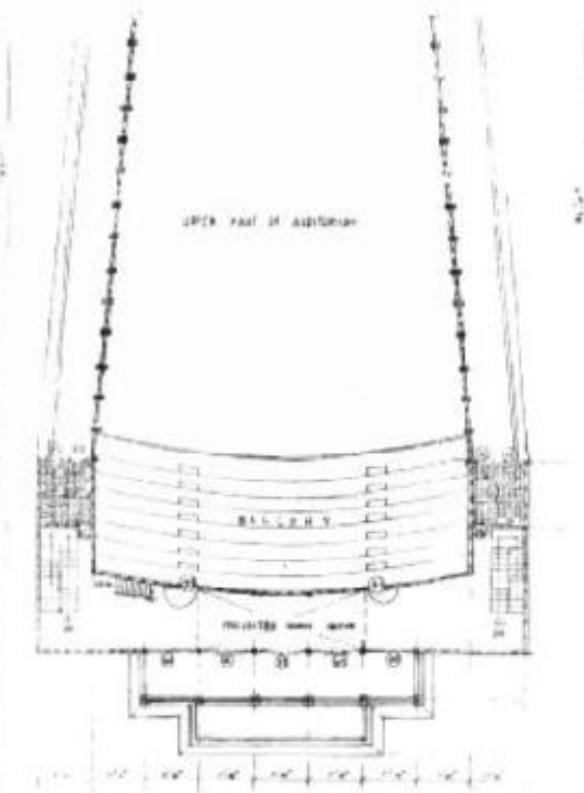
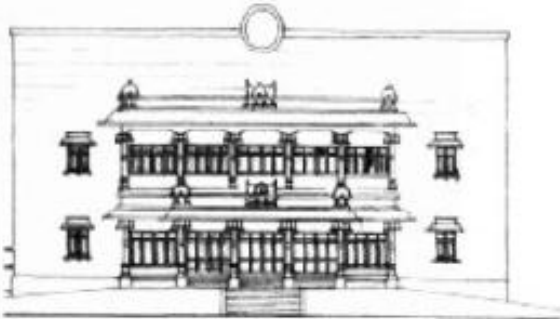
This author had been taken by Thamilenthi in January 2008 to visit the university. He noticed that about 90 percent of construction work had been completed. When you see that a single man had constructed an entire

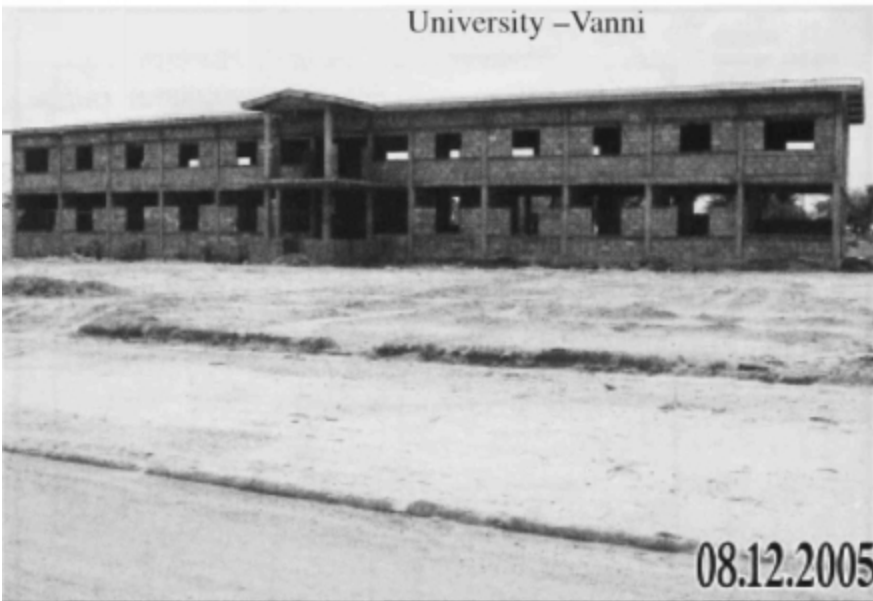






PROPOSED  
AUDITORIUM CANTEN  
AND DINING HALL  
UNIVERSITY  
KILINDOCHI





university, you can understand with what lofty ambitions are the functionaries of the LTTE are driven and how hard they work day and night to realise those ambitions. If at least ten percent of Tamil Eelam people had worked with some dedication, then Tamil Eelam would have been a reality long ago.

It becomes necessary at this junction to recollect these incidents. The first one happened on 14 August 2011, when this author met Sambanthan, the leader of the Tamil Alliance at his Chennai residence. In the course of the conversation that covered many topics, when the author informed Sambanthan of the university at Vanni which been constructed at the cost of four hundred million rupees, the latter replied that he knew nothing of the university. This astounded and agonised the author, who felt that the ignorance of a person who was the leader of the Tamil Alliance and a recognised parliamentarian, was indicative of the utter lack of interest of the Tamil political leaders and their unsuitability in leading the Tamil cause. The second incident is the forced settlement of thousands of Sinhalese army men and Sinhalese mercenaries on the campus by the Sinhalese government in May 2009. Even this had escaped the notice of Sambanthan. It is these leaders who pose as shapers of the Tamil destiny. The Tamils of Eelam

should never forget that they hold the responsibility of teaching such spineless leaders a lesson.

## **Foresight Regarding Infra Structure**

The liberation Tigers has thought deeply, comprehensively and far-sightedly and have drawn a proper plan for infra structure of Tamil Eelam in 1993. This document contains 109 pages. This, however, was not released by the Tigers, but was kept out of circulation owing to the capture of the Jaffna District by the Sinhalese army in 1995. A copy of this document, which was purposely kept out of circulation, was handed over to this author. Some essential features of the document are given herewith with the good intention that on some future day, these matters will be of use to the LTTE or those connected with them or a group of worthy men and women in raising an exemplary infrastructure in Tamil Eelam.

In a meeting held at the University of Jaffna on 15 July 1993 for examining the ways of designing a suitable infrastructure for an independent and sovereign Tamil Eelam many ideas were forthcoming. At this time, eight committees were formed for exploring the nature of the infrastructure under eight heads. These committees represented by experts in various fields, were allotted the following tasks under different sections.

1. Cities, Roadways and Railways
2. Airports
3. Sea Transport and Ports
4. Electricity
5. Telecommunications
6. Irrigation and Water Management
7. Handicraft
8. Water Supply and Drainage

It was resolved that each committee must extensively explore the field allotted to them and prepare a master plan for it. It was felt that the first requisite was to decide the choice of capital cities and then other matters may be explored and resolved based on this decision.

## **The Committee for Cities**

Nine people were selected to be on the committee to select the provincial capitals. There were three architects, a civil engineer, two lecturers, a land

surveyor, one engineer and one coordinator. It was essential for each committee to think in terms of the country, provinces, districts and cities. Since the boundaries of the country were well known, their attention was mostly directed towards fixing the boundaries for each province.

The committee felt that at first the area and boundaries of each province must be decided. Since the present districts were formed according to the needs of Sri Lanka they may not be good enough for the growth, future requirements and development of the country. Hence, to enable the country to meet its targets of development and to suit the administrative machinery administrative units will be formed afresh and in larger members. The following criteria were taken into consideration for determining the area and the boundaries of each province (district).

Each of the new provinces must be capable of equal and continuous growth; hence there should not be disparities in the resources between provinces. All the resources like seas, agriculture and handicraft must be available to all the provinces.

When provinces are demarcated and the boundaries are fixed, as far as possible, geographical factors (rivers, lakes, and backwaters) must be given priority. When new provinces are formed, priority must be given to future national needs of Tamil Eelam.

#### NEW PROVINCES AND BOUNDARIES

Many new provinces for Tamil Eelam are proposed. As per the needs, some of the present districts are bifurcated and some joined. Regarding the boundaries and fixing areas for the new administrative units the following factors are proposed.

A total of twenty districts have been fixed to Tamil Eelam and their names have been proposed. On the basis of the requirements and targets of Tamil Eelam, provinces have been divided into districts, Jaffna province has two districts, Kilinochchi province has three districts, Mannar province has two districts, Puttalam province has three districts. Trincomalee province has three districts, Batticaloa province has three districts and Ampara province has two districts. As a new province, Mankulam has been carved out of Vavuniya district and Mullaitivu district. Jaffna Peninsula is divided into Thenmaradchi district and Vadammaradchi district by Thondaiman Aru and Navatkuli backwater.

#### **Jaffna Province:**

**Nallur District:** this will consist of the present Valikamam and Thivakam islands where the population is higher in addition to having fertile red soil.

**Varani District:** this consists of Vadammaradchi, Thenmaradchi and Pachchilaipalli areas. This is a less populated area. Thenmaradchi has

rice cultivation, while coconut farming is at a developed stage in Palali area. These are opportunities for sea resource development in Vadamaratchi. Proper planning is required for the eastern area of Vadamaratchi. There are many opportunities for development in Vanni area. Lands and other resources are available here for planned development.

#### **Kilinochchi Province:**

**Karachchi District:** this consists of Kilinochchi, Paranthan and Vaddakkachchi areas, with the Jaffna Peninsula backwaters as its northern boundary. Agriculture is the main resource of this province.

**Poonaram District:** this here only of Mannar as its northern boundary. There are ancient settlements in the Poomalai plateau. Paddy cultivation is the main occupation here. Paddy cultivation and development of sea resources are possible here. Clay soil is also found here.

**Mullaitivu District:** this consists for most parts of the erstwhile Mullaitivu district. Manaluru area also comes under the province. There is the Bay of Bengal on the east. The main resources are agricultural lands and fisheries.

**Mankulam Province:** this consists of parts of the present Mullaitivu, Mannar, Kilinochchi and Vavuniya districts. The capital of the Northern Province will be in Mankulam. This province will have a larger area on account of this. Going deeper into the matter, it was pointed out that Mankulam does not have sufficient water to sustain a capital. Further there is the danger of dense forests being destroyed. Therefore the proposal that the capital of the Northern Province can be located at Murikandi or Kokkavil was accepted.

#### **Mannar Province:**

**Manthai District:** this consists of Mannar, Thalaimannar, Thiruketheeswaram and Giant's Tank. In this area there can be paddy cultivation and fisheries and the soil is suitable for cultivation.

**Madu District:** this will be a province protecting forests. This province gets its importance on account of the presence of the Madu Church.

#### **Puttalam Province:**

**Auvakkadu District:** This is one of the provinces of the Puttalam District.

**Puttalam District:** This is one of the provinces of the Puttalam District. **Chillaw District:** This is one of the provinces of the Puttalam District.

#### **Trincomalee Province:**

**Trincomalee District:** the capital of Tamil Eelam will be located here. The areas adjacent to the capital will naturally undergo development. Gulf of China and Thambalakamam will come within this province.

**Kuchcheveli District:** The present district of north Trincomalee will come within this province. Its northern boundary will be the same as that of the present Mullaitivu. The southern boundary will be Koropaththanai Highway and Nilaveli.

**Mutur District:** the boundaries of this province will be Mahavali Gangai and the present Batticaloa Konamular boundary. Agriculture and the sear are the resources here.

#### **Batticaloa Province:**

**Vakarai District:** this is a new province, to having a large water area. This will be to the north of the present Batticaloa district. The province has Mukunthan Aru as its southern boundary.

#### **Ampara Province:**

**Akkaraipattu District:** This province will be a part of the present Ampara District.

**Poththuvil District:** This province will be a part of the present Ampara District.

#### **Vanni Province:**

**Vavuniya District:** this is a new province. Priority must be given to cattle rearing. This is well populated.

#### **Capital (Main) Cities**

The committee felt it necessary to select a capital for each province. In the meeting on infrastructure held at Jaffna University on 4 August 1993 after having a discussion with other groups, committee on cities selected the following cities. It was also resolved to re-examine the cases again. On this basis the following provincial capitals were selected.

**Nallur:** Jaffna - This has considerable infrastructure.

**Varani:** Kodikamam - this is situated amidst Point Pedro, Chavakacheri, Palai and Eastern Vadamaradchi.



**Karachchi:** Kilinochchi - this has considerable infrastructure. **Poonakari:**

City of Poonakari - Sanupitti - Kerathivu Bridge and transport facilities lend importance to the city. It is desirable to have the administrative centre here.

**Mullaitivu:** The city of Mullaitivu which already exists will function as a port city. Thanneerootu will become the capital city. Mankulam is a metropolis of Northern Tamil Eelam. Mullaitivu becomes an important harbour. Researches regarding this have been carried on in 1991. It was felt that building a metropolitan city here will entail deforestation and further water resources may not be sufficient. Hence a proposal to have the capital at Murikandi or Kokkavil was made.

**Manthai:** Mannar city located in this province will be involved in the development of main area lands. Hence Uyilankulam will be the capital of Manthai.

**Madu:** The meeting on August 1993 had selected the city of Madu as the capital. The present meeting of the committee reconsidered the decision and recommended shifting of capital to the city of Madu road for the following reasons.

1. Madu is a forest area. If the city becomes a capital forests will be destroyed.
2. The temple of Madu must be protected as a pilgrimage centre. The formation of metropolitan city may diminish the sanctity of the temple.

**Vavuniya:** Omanthai. When this is developed the city of Vavuniya will also become part of it. The meeting on 4 August 1993 decided on Vavuniya as it was somewhat developed. But the present meeting on reconsideration felt Omanthai was better suited as Vavuniya was in a corner of the province.

**Kuchcheveli:** Thiriyai - desirable because this is an ancient settlement.

**Trincomalee:** Thambalakamam is the city that can be developed. Trincomalee with Koneswaran temple must be protected as a treasure house of history. Already Trincomalee industrial park, a grand scheme, has been assigned to this area. All these places will be brought together and be known as greater Trincomalee.

**Mutur:** Kilivetti

**Vakarai:** Mankeni

**Batticaloa:** Karadiyar Aru must be the main city of Batticaloa Province and the capital of the eastern region. The city of Batticaloa will continuously remain in this region. Since Batticaloa cannot be developed further for want of space, Karadiyar Aru will be more suitable.

**Vellaveli District:** Peraru (Maha Oya). This has the potential ability to develop into a central city. In the 4 August 1993 meeting it was resolved that Periya Pullumalai must be the capital of Vellaveli province. Yet, since this city is situated on the eastern boundary of this province, and it is also close to Karadiyar Aru, the capital of the eastern region, Peraru was decided to be more appropriate as the provincial capital.

**Akkaraipattu District:** Palamunai.

**Pothuvil District:** When Arugambe port is developed, Pothuvil which is close by will also develop.

**Aravakkadu District:** Pomparippu

**Puttalam District:** Puttalam **Silabam**

**District:** Silabam

### Need for Extensive Research

It is essential to carry on extensive research and take up meticulous town planning of Trincomalee which is going to be the chief capital city of Tamil Eelam.

**Table 7.1: Cities Selected by the Committee**

<b>District</b>	<b>Main City</b>	
Nallur	Jaffna	
Varan i	Kodikamam	
Karachchi	Kilinochchi	
Poonakari	Poonakari	
Mullaitivu	Thanneeroortu	
Mankulam	Mankulam	
Manthai	Uyilankulam	
Madu	Madu Road	
Vavuniya	Omanthai	
Kuchchaveli	Thiriyay	
Trincomalee	Trincomalee	
Mutur	Kilivetti	

Vakarai	Mankeni	
Vellaveli	Peraru	
Batticaloa	Karadiyar Aru	
Akkaraipatru	Palamunai	-
Poththuvil	Poththuvil	
Aravakkadu	Pomparippu	
Puttalam	Puttalam	
Chilla	Chilaw	

Where Mankulam is developed as the capital of north Tamil Eelam region, special town planning must be undertaken keeping the following in mind. A suitable water reservoir project must be drawn based on the Kanakarayan River, so as to augment main water supply of Mankulam city. If need be the course of Kanakanayam River may be diverted. This reservoir may also combine Vavunikulam River or Muthaian Kattu Aru. The spot where the reservoir is going to be situated must be borne in mind when the actual place for Mankulam city is selected.

### **ROADS, RAILWAYS AND AIRPORTS**

#### *Objective:*

Fixing the highways, railways, airports and the like, as main factors of transportation, which is essential for infrastructure building.

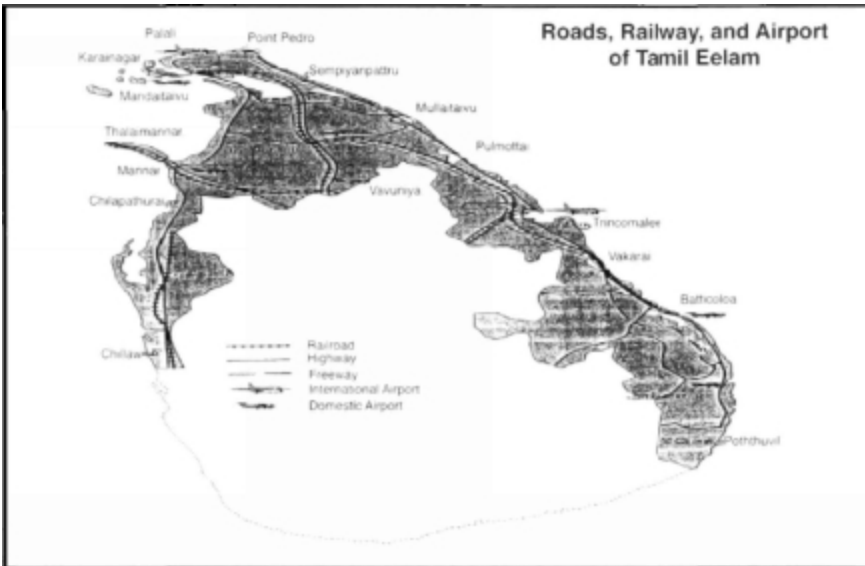
#### *Plan:*

- a. Highway it was stressed that a super highway must be constructed from Jaffna into Sambanthurai, running through Poonakari, Kilinochchi, Mankulam, Trincomalee, Vakara, Karadiyar Aru and Kokadicholai. This will facilitate transportation of passengers and containers to main cities like Jaffna, Mankulam, Trincomalee and Batticaloa.
- b. Taking into account the connectivity between the fishing harbours and national defence, coastal highway must be constructed from Puttalam to Poonakari around Jaffna peninsula and through Point Pedro, Vettalaikerni, Kandavalai, Mullaitivu, Pulmottai, Kuchcheveli, Trincomalee, Vakara, Batticaloa, Kalmunai, Pothuvil and up to Kumanavamveethi up to Valaichchenai and joining with Batticaloa Main Road.
- c. For other requirements it was recommended that the roads that are in use now could be improved where required.
- d. A highway from Mankulam to Vellankulam must be constructed to connect Mankulam with Mannar.

### **Railways**

- a. Regarding northern Tamil Eelam since the present railway runs in the middle of the region it could be used as it is.
- b. A railway may be constructed from Vavuniya to Parayanalankulam for connectivity with Mannar.

c.Equal to the proposed super highway, connecting north Tamil Eelam and south Tamil Eelam by railway, extending it up to Valaichchenai and connecting the existing railway with the one going up to Batticaloa.



## Airports

A. International airport: Palali and Trincomalee were recommended. b. Local airports: Mandaitivu, Mankulam, Mannar, Vavuniya. Batticaloa and Ampara can have domestic airport

## SEA ROUTES AND HARBOURS

Sea transportation is used for these purposes. (1) Passenger transport (2) goods transport import and export (3) fisheries.

As roadways and railways are used for passenger transport and goods transport, sea lanes may work either in combination with them or separately.

### Fishing harbours

Since fishing forms an essential occupation in this region, fishing harbours are imperative. At present fishing is undertaken only in the following places: Pannai, Oorkavaturai, Mayilitti, Valvettithurai, Point Pedro, Vettilaikerni, Kokkali, Mullaitivu, Trincomalee, Valaichchenai, Batticaloa, Thirukkivil, Valaipadu Pesalai (Mannar) and Katpidi (Muthukuviyal).

As fishing is going on here, it is good to form harbours near these places. Such harbour may also contain industries connected with fishing e.g. making boats and fishing nets. It is necessary to have ice factories and cold storage

facilities in some harbours. Ice factories may be established at the following places: Jaffna, Point Pedro, Mullaitivu, Pulmottai, Trincomalee, Batticaloa, Kaluvanchikudi, Mannar, Pothuvil, Puttalam and Chillaw. Making use of the ice produced in these factories it is necessary to create facilities for conveying the fish to the export harbours in a good condition. Cold storage chambers and buildings may be arranged in Trincomalee, Mullaitivu, Jaffna, Mannar, Puttalam and Pothuvil.

Seas products must be collected, stored, protected, processed in these cold storage chambers and made ready for exporting. There is no need to organise any facilities in the form of harbours at all fishing centres. In some districts, where boats are used for deep sea fishing and ocean fishing, it is necessary to have harbours. The following places may be suitable for this purpose: Mayilitti, Point Pedro, Trincomalee, Mullaitivu, Arukamkuda, Kalkuda, Mannar, Katpiddi and Puttalam.

When Mullaitivu harbour functions as fishing harbour, Jaffna University which is going to be seated in Mullaitivu, will be able to undertake research through its fisheries department, this harbour must have facilities for research.

### **Export and Import Harbours**

When a country develops, harbours become essential for importing various raw materials and then exporting the finished products. Though roadways and railways may be useful in taking raw materials to factories and later take the finished products away from the factories, it is through the harbours that they can be finally exported abroad. The method of packing the products in boxes and then taking them inside the ship has become outmoded now. According to modern procedure, even in the factories the products are packed in containers, which are then taken to the harbour through roadways or railways. Harbours, therefore, must have facilities for handling containers. Modern cranes are used for this purpose, so, that products are easily taken onto the ship without wastage or damage.

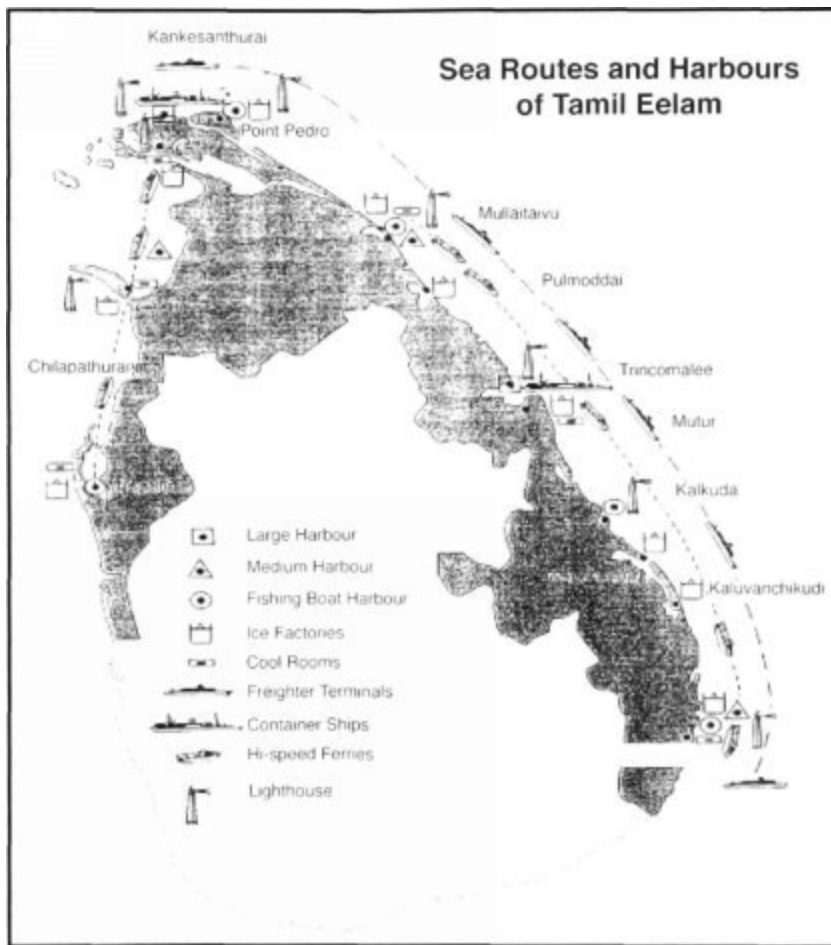
### **Ports at Kankesanthurai and Trincomalee**

When we build our ports we must make sure that they can handle containers. In that respect, the ports at Kankesanthurai and Trincomalee which are already are



large may be developed to handle containers.

These are two quays in the Kankesanthurai port where ships up to 2500 tons may be docked. Ships with a mast height of 18-22 feet can enter this harbour. The harbour at Trincomalee is larger than this, it is a natural harbour. Kankesanthurai harbour is situated within an embankment. Since these walls are projected by sea like fingers, ships can safely anchor. The 1.75km



embankment at Kankesanthurai has been damaged and shortened to 1.25km. The water in the harbour is 45 feet deep. In order to give sufficient protection to Kankesanthurai harbour when it is extended, necessary embankments must be constructed if these two harbours are to be used for export and import, many types of buildings may be required for the storage of goods. Further there is a need for facilities and machinery.

Jetties and quays for unloading goods from ships, dry docks for servicing ships, factories related to machinery, electrical systems and communication, provision for piloting the ships, factories connected to cold storage depots, harbour and communication systems for ships, facilities for storing fuel and general items, protection of ecology, facilities for drinking water, deepening

the harbour, and for health and hygiene, boats for loading and unloading, coastal security, and scrapyards for disassembling the ships.

### **Mullaitivu Harbour**

In the department of engineering at Kilinochchi, arrangements are being made to teach ship building and other engineering subjects, connected with shipping. Mullaitivu harbour must be improved and facilities for education must be organised. The training of officers and crew could be run at this harbour.

### **Arukamkuda Harbour**

In the present day there is a naval base at Trincomalee. When that harbour is developed for other purposes the naval base may be shifted to Arukamkuda harbour. This is already as a fishing port. Necessary embankments will have to be constructed and Arukamkuda may be developed into a harbour that will take large ships.

### **Mannar Harbour**

Mannar harbour is shallow with large rocks under the water. Manthai port could not cope with the large vessels of today as the depth in the pale straights is insufficient. Mannar harbour could be developed for fishing and passenger transport. Goods to be exported, would be taken in smaller boats to Kankesanthurai.

### **Lighthouses**

Fortunately all harbours that have been proposed to be developed have lighthouses near them, if they have been neglected due to disuse they will be made useable.

### **Lake Transport**

People travel through Kilali. It is also known that goods are conveyed from the northern areas to the southern areas and vice versa through the lake of Jaffna. Such transportation may be further developed. It will be useful to develop transportation from the southern part through Kachai and Chavakacheri through the lake and through the Poonakari Sangupitti Lake to the islands and Jaffna.

## **Sea Voyage**

Arrangements will be made to encourage people to travel by sea. They are: travel by ships, travel by hovercraft, and travel through lakes. Travel through lakes has already been discussed. Boats, motorboats and hovercraft can be used for this purpose.

### **Travel by Ships**

Ships can be used only in the deep sea. Facilities for disembarking passengers must be arranged in the harbours. Arrangements must be made for embarking at Trincomalee and Kankesanthurai harbours. Small vessels may serve harbours at Kankesanthurai, Mullaitivu, Trincomalee and Arukamkuda. Overseas travels may be undertaken from Kankesanthurai and Trincomalee. Customs, immigration and migration offices must be opened in these harbours.

### **Hovercraft**

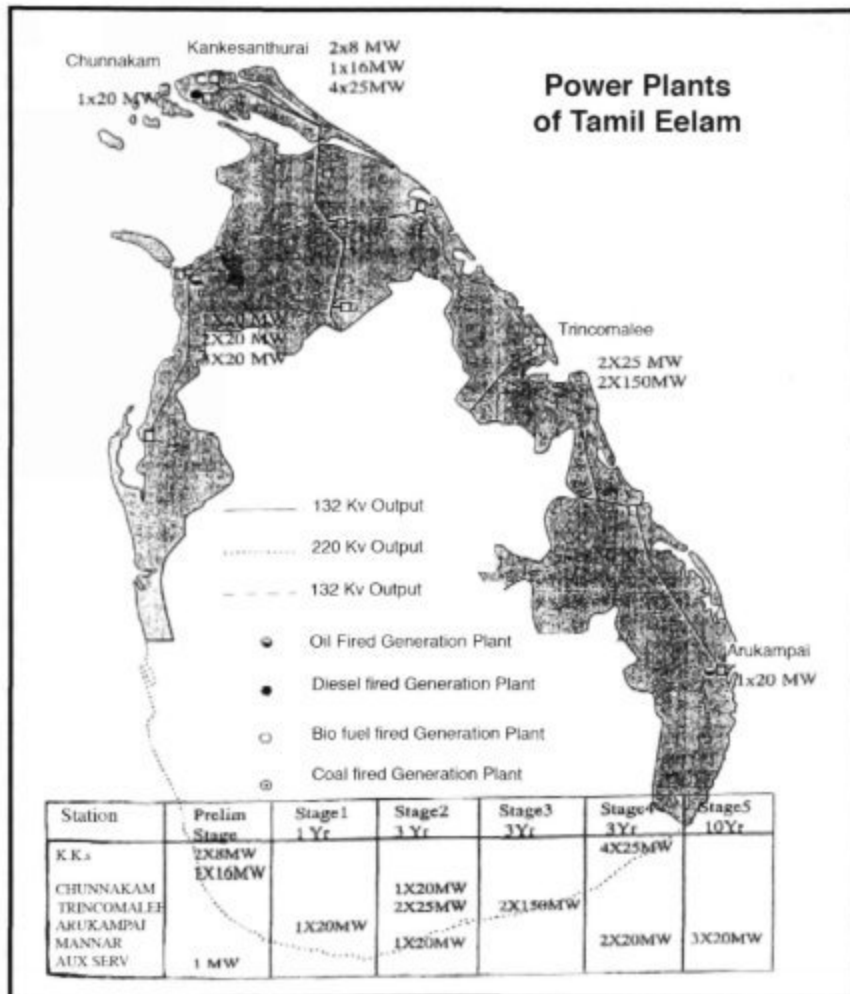
They are made of artificial rubber and are capable of travelling on land and water. They are useful in shallow waters. They are frequently used between England and France and between Sumatra and Penang (Malaysia). They are powered by diesel engines. Hovercraft can be used between island regions and Mannar (where the sea is shallow and contains rocks, and to Pothuvil, Arukamkuda, Kalkuda, Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Mutur and Mullaitivu. As suggested above they can be used for travelling through the lake of Jaffna.

## **ELECTRICITY FOR TAMIL EELAM**

Electricity is essential for a country's development. It is essential in all aspects of life. Handicraft, factories, transportation, and water supply. When development increases, the use of electricity also increases accordingly. It must be borne in mind that the quantum of electricity produced has to equal the electricity to be distributed. The international cost of producing one kilowatt of electricity is 200,000 rupees.

As per the lists prepared by the committee, the following chart of the requirement of electricity has been produced. The report from the handicraft committee instead of giving power required for the factories and their

infrastructure and the timings given the quantity of power required annually. This report has been prepared on the basis of the reports given by all the committees.



## Production and Distribution of Electricity

Improving all the routes of distribution so that power can be supplied at any time, acquiring a generator of 1MW strength for distributing the initial activities, taking quick action for activating the generators 2x8MW + 1X16MW (total 32MW) of the Kankesanthurai cement factory taking step to acquire inexpensive electricity through the discussion with Sri Lanka electricity board which has a total capacity of 14,000 megawatts and the maximum demand of production of 742 megawatts.

## **Major generators of Tamil Eelam**

There are generators capable of maximum production of 16MW (8MWx2) at Kankesanthurai Gas and Electricity Plant. Further some apparatus like boiler and generator which are useful in producing electricity using the gas released from these two generators are in the Colombo harbour owing to the present disturbance.

**Chunnakam Diesel Electricity Station:** Six diesel generators 4 x 50 - total capacity 200 MW.

**Mannar Diesel Electricity Station:** These generators 3x50mw total capacity 150MW

**Trincomalee Coal Electricity Station:** Two generators 2x150mW total capacity 300MW.

**Arumbai Diesel Electricity Station:** Three diesel generators - 3 x 50mw total capacity 150MW.

These are recommended as the main electricity generating stations of Tamil Eelam. Apart from this, for private consumption in a small scale, windmills, biogas and solar panels may be used in suitable places. Further survey must be conducted for locating places where electricity can be generated using OTE3 solar panel and tidal power.

### **132KW Double Circuit**

They are used from Vavuniya to Chunnakam. They must be extended from Chunnakam up to Kankesanthurai and from Mankulam to Puttalam (via Mannar). In order to extend from Mankulam to Chunnakam is additional 132 KW double circuit must be installed. Another 132 KV double circuit has to be installed from Trincomalee to Arukambai (via Valaichenai)

### **220KW Double Circuit**

A double line 220 KV double circuit must be installed from Mankulam to Trincomalee. From Trincomalee to Valaichenai a 220 KW double circuit must be installed.

## **TAMIL EELAM TELECOMMUNICATION**

This will come under the headings.

(1). Local (2).  
Overseas



For overseas communication an international switching centre (ISC) and a satellite communication earth station must be installed. For local communication, a national switching centre (NSC), regional switching centres, district switching centres and local exchanges (Excl. switching unit) must be installed. Since Trincomalee is the capital city of Tamil Eelam, ISC and satellite earth station must be installed there. The national map attached indicates how the Tamil Eelam telecommunication system must be organised. The telecommunication network presented here is based on the plan drawn by the Sri Lankan telecommunication department in 1990 for the northern and eastern province. It is presented with a few alterations need for Tamil Eelam.

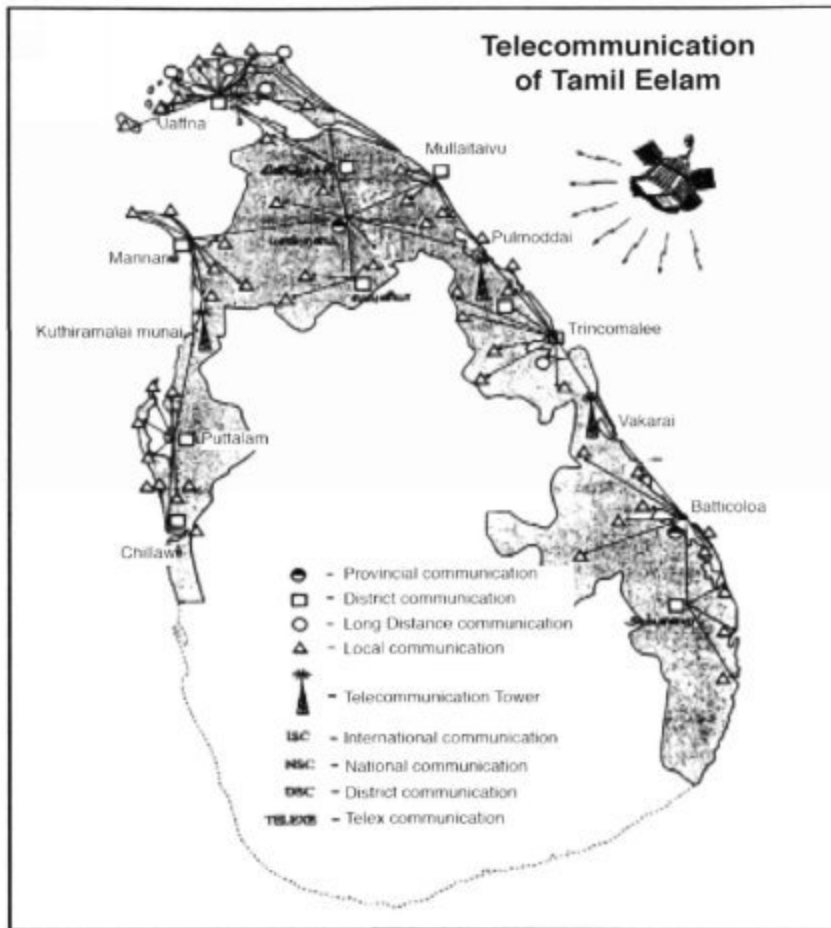
This includes an RSC at Mankulam in the Northern Province. The junction route with district exchanges, regional exchanges and the national exchange can be made through microwave, VHF and UHF air waves. From DSC/RSU to local RSC/RSU can be arranged in keeping with the distance and topography either through cables (PCM Junction Cable Pulse Code Modulation) or through VHF/UHF. Jaffna and Mankulam can be connected through Kilinochchi and Mankulam to Trincomalee through Pulmottai. Trincomalee and Batticaloa can be directly connected through a microwave tower. Another tower may be installed between Mankulam and Puttalam. They must be installed at Mankulam and Mullaitivu. As Jaffna telecommunications centres are located at an unsuitable spot, Kandarmadam will be a suitable place or Nallur if no place is found there. It will be suitable to locate a Point Pedro centre in the Karraveddi and Point Pedro border. A satellite earth station may be located at a short distance from Trincomalee, which is free from electrical disturbances. Tamil Eelam and India may be connected through microwave communication between Mannar and Rameswaram. Right now the required capacity of exchange cannot be estimated. When they are organised even future needs can be taken into account.

### **Telex Communication**

Telex communication can be local and overseas. A telecommunication centre must be installed at Trincomalee in the same building location as the international communication centre or somewhere close by. Local connection may be through cables and distant connection through radio waves. Overseas connection may be through satellites or submarine cables.

### **Fax**

Fax facilities can be incorporated in normal telephone connections.



## Television Centres

Main TV station may be located at Thambalakamam and relay stations may be located at Ampara (Eastern Province) and Kokkavil (Northern Province). The design and dimensions of the stations depend upon the broadcasting / telecasting capacities of the equipment selected.

## Radio Stations

Main radio station maybe installed at Thambalakamam. Ampara (Eastern Province) and Koppay (Northern Province) may be selected for relay stations. Location may depend on broadcast through FM or AM frequencies. If in future,

broadcasting must be undertake only through FM stations as required. Location of the stations may change as per the capacity of broadcasting.

### **Water Supply and Drainage**

Fresh water is rare to come by. The earth contains salt water (97.4%), ice (1.8%) and freshwater (0.8%). Hence, we should protect our water sources.

### **GROUND WATER AND SURFACE WATER**

Normally ground water doesn't contain many chemicals therefore it does not need any serious purification. It is salty and hard. It may be chlorinated and used for drinking. Surface water will have chemical pollution, will contain mineral salt and may be bacteria infested. This must be completely purified before use, ground water availability is less. It may be further depleted if rains fail. If we do not take steps to protect our ground water then seawater may enter and occupy our wells. When excessive chemical fertilisers and insecticides are used in agriculture, the chemical additions of nitrogen pollute groundwater, which may affect children.

### **Water Resources of Tamil Eelam and Drinking Water Supply**

Ground water in any place will be stored according to the geological conditions absorbed in the sands in sandy places and between the rocks and in the fissures among rocks. The quantity will be limited further this water will stay in the same place. The water resources at the main points of Tamil Eelam are as follows:

#### **Jaffna Peninsula:**

People in the peninsula depend entirely on ground water for their water needs. Water available is limited. The nature of the water has changed owing to heavy monsoon rains. Yet, freshwater availability has been reduced for want of protection. There are places where water is brackish in all seasons.

Chemical pollution and mixing of drainage render drinking water of the Jaffna Peninsula unfit for drinking. There is a suspicion that agricultural materials like fertilizers and pesticides polluted this water. There are many places where hydrogen level has exceeded 95BBM (acceptable level is only 50 BBM).

Generally drinking water is drawn from wells with 10-12 inch diameter. According to the seasons, villages go from half a mile to one mile for drinking water. Drinking water is done in 25 places of the peninsula through Local Council and the National Board of Water Supply and Drainage.

All water supply schemes distribute water at a fixed time in the mornings and evenings. A total of about 3000 cubic metres of water per day is supplied through all the schemes.

Let us calculate the quantity of water required. This report suggests ways and means of acquiring more water. There is a fear among us that the freshwater in the peninsula might in course of time get exhausted and turn brackish. Hence the following recommendations made in the report for protecting the water resource must be considered and followed:

**1. Converting Salt Water Lakes into Fresh Water Lakes**

For changing the salty nature of water at Vadamaradchi of Jaffna Peninsula, many recommendations have been made. The narrow outer passage of these Paravaikadal must be blocked and it must be filled with fresh water brought from Elephant Pass Paravaikadal.

Though such a step, tried once, did not yield the expected results there is no guarantee that the nature of the ground water will change on this account. Since there is a layer of clay beneath the salt water in the Paravaikadal fresh water may be prevented from getting in. In the dry season, salt water may evaporate leaving salt sediments. This, therefore, requires proper study.

**2. Stopping Water from Flowing into the Sea**

Many freshwater springs in the northern part of the peninsula flow into the sea. This happens in the rainy season when waters run through the large canals formed in the lime rocks and flow into the ocean. On the northern bank, these are a long stretch of two to three miles. There are three methods of preventing water from flowing into the sea.

**3. Changing the Course of Freshwater Springs**

This method is followed in the bathing pond at Keerimalai. Hence the course of the water from the fountain is diverted and saved for use. This must be done in the lime rocks up to some distance in the seas shore. This water saved in a tank may be used for water supply.

**4. Collecting Water During Flow**

The canal flowing among lime rocks can be located and the water flowing in it can be made to fall into an underground tank then taken to the ground level using pump sets and distributed. But an expensive study is required for locating the lime rock canal.

**5. Constructing Dams**

In the areas where there is water springs a dams can be built to prevent water from flowing into the sea. This may be built parallel to the coast with clay, concrete or asphalt. This must be below the level of the springs. This wall will look like a huge dam, having long walls. Otherwise water may easily flow the fissures in the lime rocks and get into the sea through the borders of

the wall. Water stored in the dam will enhance the fertility of the peninsula. But this method will be expensive.

#### **6. Diverting Fresh Water into the Earth through Steep Wells**

Rainwater may be saved before going into the sea and could be diverted into the earth through deep wells so the fresh water will replace salt water. This method is in vogue in the Indian health system and in the United States.

#### **Irrigation Water Management (Improving the Water Resources of Tamil Eelam)**

The chief purpose of preparing this report is to get through suitable discussion the necessary premises from which a general policy for water resource development may be determined.

It is essential for our own country to derive the maximum benefit out of all sources of water available in the country since it has a dry climate and water no doubt is an essential commodity.

Through documents prepare in the past for learning the dimension of water resource and the experience gained through the above mentioned incidents it is possible to get all the data regarding water and outing the earth to maximum use.

Though the water resource is used for various needs by various agencies some essential needs were not met for want of coordination amidst these agencies regarding the use and quantity. Particularly in some newly created agricultural settlements since all the water was diverted for agriculture during and out of agricultural seasons and at times of drought it can be seen even now that people struggle for water for drinking and other domestic purposes. Right now, the following bodies are involved in the utilization of water resources:

1. Water Resources Board
2. Irrigation Department
3. Water Supply and Drainage Board
4. Mahaweli Authority Board
5. Electricity Board (Hydro-electricity)

Each of the above bodies concentrates only as the purpose for which it was formed. Though the water resource board was formed recently the board seems to have confined its attention only to large projects like huge repairs coming under Mahaweli development trust and hydro electric reservoirs. It does not seem to have had an integrated approach to the needs of various

cities, towns and rural areas. It is observed that if only one need is concentrated upon when a water resource development scheme is implemented in a region, water is not available for other needs. This has a considerable impact in dry areas. Jaffna peninsula has only underground water as its resource. This is indiscriminately utilised for all purposes including drinking and agriculture in all seasons.

It is believed that an umbrella forum must be created for drafting policies required for the development of all water resources to see that these policies are in tune with the national policies and to coordinate the efforts of all bodies connected with water resource development. In northern Tamil Eelam the water flowing into the sea from all riverbeds is less than 25%. Hence it is to be inferred that the surface of all river beds have already been subjected to the water resource development efforts. Yet, some considerable water resource is found at Aruni riverbed and Parampi riverbed where new development schemes may be undertaken. In the other riverbeds, rainfall and river water flow have not been calculated for the last ten years. It was also noticed that owing to scarcity of rainfall in the reservoirs of many riverbeds a lot of water was drained without filling them, creating water scarcity during dry seasons. Hence these riverbeds may be considered as having been subjected to formation of reservoirs and developing water resources in these reservoirs has to be planned only after a re-estimate of all the water resources available in these riverbeds.

### **Irrigation**

In the past, the water of these riverbeds was mostly used for irrigation which is undertaken through reservoirs and diverting the direction of the water through dams. The departments of irrigation have classified the schemes into the major ones and rural ones.

Major migration schemes are located in the riverbeds of major rivers or their branches. Rural irrigation schemes are located across other branches or riverbeds.

The capacity of a reservoir and area fertilised by it depends entirely upon the surface run off received from the water of the reservoir. Every reservoir will have a spill which will control the water flow and remove the



excess surface run off. At present, a scheme which irrigates more than 80 hectares is considered as a major irrigation scheme and the rest as rural schemes. Since there are no rivers which have flow of water throughout the years in the northern Tamil Eelam, only very few reservoirs are there. The major reservoirs in northern Sri Lanka, their total capacity, and the areas coming under them are the riverbeds where they are located are shown in Annexure 2.

## **Major Irrigation Schemes**

All the irrigation schemes of Tamil Eelam were finalised before many decades. They are not in a position to yield the expected benefits as they have crossed their period of safe existence, they have not been periodically renovated and not been properly maintained. These schemes are losing their efficiency owing to the following reasons. Alteration, renovation and maintenance were not undertaken since the government failed to sanction the required funds. Water distribution system was not followed as per planned quantities.

There is no coordination between the agriculturists and officials of water management regarding water management. The procedural deficiencies and slackening of quality control went unnoticed when these schemes were established. The beneficiaries were not allowed to participate in construction implementation and maintenance.

When an irrigation scheme is organised, infrastructure like streets, schools and drinking water also must be included in it. But such steps were not taken in Tamil Eelam. These factors are not conducive to people settling in these settlements and carry on normal life. Sometimes owing to impediments in funds allocation, these schemes and infrastructures were not implemented in a continuous manner, and not completed at the fixed time. This comes in the way of the schemes yielding expected results.

## **Rural Irrigation Schemes**

Rural irrigation schemes look more damaged and less efficacious than major schemes. Governments' funds are not allocated for the maintenance and implementation of these schemes as in the case of major schemes. They have been left to the beneficiaries, leading to their non maintenance. As a result of the political changes and the consequent policy changes, the management for these schemes are affected. Further the present de-standardisation and inefficiency are owing to the same cases that affected the major schemes. The ponds used for rural irrigations the area coming under these and the riverbeds where they are located are given in Annexure 3.

## **New Irrigation Schemes**

Before new irrigation schemes are taken up, it is better to take into account the working of the existing scheme in the riverbed of north Tamil Eelam and

explore the possibilities of deriving more benefits out of these riverbeds.

If there is a chance of augmenting the water resource in such a way as to improve the utilisation of these riverbeds, the possibilities of developing the existing schemes and drawing new schemes may be explored.

When the quantity of water flowing from the riverbeds of north Tamil Eelam into the sea is considered, considerable water resource is wasted in

Parangi River and Aruvi River. Hence new major irrigation schemes may be constructed here.

### **Parangi River Reservoir**

Major irrigation schemes haven't been undertaken in the beds of this river. Hence work can be undertaken here for planned agricultural and industrial development in this area. There are plans to construct a reservoir in this area below the north central province under the master plan for Mahaweli development. This will be situated at the 12<sup>th</sup> milestone of Mankulam. Moodu Murippu, Iranailuppakkulam Road. Hence the new irrigation scheme also may be located here, after due studies. It is planned to irrigate 6,800 hectares under Mahaweli development scheme with this reservoir. As an initial step a reservoir maybe constructed here which will enable developing a minimum of 4,000 hectares of land. At the spot where the scheme is to be located under the Mahaweli development scheme, the area to be irrigated is to be 165 square miles, the length of dam 20,000 feet, maximum height 95 feet and capacity 27,000 acres. It is to be noted that ancient settlements like Pannankamam, Nattangadal and Athimottai exist here. Since there is Vavunikulam irrigation scheme in the Pali Riverbed close by, the impact felt in the development of area can be considered as caused by the new scheme. Since the old schemes helped paddy cultivation, the possibilities of cultivating many other essential crops under this scheme may be studied. It can be observed that settlements of the past were affected for the most part of the year by drought, scarcity of water resources and reduction of income owing to an unhealthy atmosphere.

Hence this new scheme must be drawn in such a way that the people in the settlement lead a happy and healthy life with financial self-sufficiency and enjoying all the basic conveniences.

### **Aruvi River Reservoir**

This river starts in the north central province of Sri Lanka, the water catchment area is 3,246 square kilometres and the quantity of water falling into the seas is  $568 \times 10^4$  cubic metres. A barrage across the river can divert the water flow through Kattukaraikulam and Akaththi Murippu Kulam to enable the cultivation of paddy crop in 78,000 hectare area in Mannar

district. A plan was drawn in the 1950s to construct a barrage with Russian assistance and was later given up.

Bearing all the data regarding water resources and engineering in the proposed reservoir may be constructed in a way as to augment the development of the western coast along with the schemes in use. The coast

is not fully developed though suited for agriculture. This also covers major historical places like Chilapaththurai and Arrippu. The reservoir which brings water to giant tank is located in the right canal regions, and the catchment area of the tank is in a forest area which serves as a bird sanctuary and has a lot of flora and fauna. Birds from places like Siberia and northern India migrate to this sanctuary in rainy seasons.

The traditional Muthkulam is famous for fresh water fishing. The renowned Thiruketheeswam temple and the legendary fortress of Queen Ali are located here. This region connects Tamil Eelam with the Indian subcontinent. Hence the development of this reservoir is essential. For the above reasons after the underdeveloped villages of the riverbeds are brought under planned development studies may be undertaken to divert the remaining water if any to Nayatru Riverbed.

### **Jaffna Backwater Scheme**

This was a major scheme which caused many discussions for many decades. This became ineffective owing to construction problems and abrupt interruptions of work. At a moment when Thondamanaru and Ariyapai barrage had been constructed owing to incompleteness of work in other regions and want of proper steps of maintenance, this major scheme was rendered useless. This is borne out by the existence of a canal from Elephant Pass Lake to Thondamanaru Lake, the embankment at Sundikulam and the valve therein. These facts prove that work on the scheme was started and later given up. Parts of the scheme require major repairs as they have not been properly maintained. Only the maintenance of a freshwater scheme at the backwaters will ensure its benefits being enjoyed. Even a small neglect in maintenance of implemented scheme may cause seawater entering the barrage and if it happens even once the entire scheme will push the lake back to its dry condition. This scheme must be reconsidered and the following studies must be undertaken in the light of the past experience and the feasibility report released by the Irrigation Department in 1976, regarding the possibilities of its development.

### **Elephant Pass Backwaters**

The barrage near the coast at Sundikulam and its valve ensures success of this scheme. The facts for the damage must be found out and rectified with modern technological methods.

### **Sundikulam - Thondamanaru Canal**

This canal runs through deep sands and proper technological methods must be used to prevent possible impediments.

### **Thondamanaru Backwaters**

The damaged gates and arrangements of the barrage on these backwaters must be replaced with salt resistant and modern equipment so sea waters entering under the foundation of the barrage is prevented from causing damage.

### **Upparu Backwaters**

The damaged gates and lifting arrangement at Ariyapai must be repaired and renovated. The sand barrages across the lake must be technologically planned to suit the soil of the area.

Those who are involved in fishing may go against the schemes since their occupation is affected. The grievances of such people must be studied, and steps must be taken to make them partners of the scheme by engaging them in freshwater fish culture and lobster culture. Further, as per the report prepared by the irrigation department the water resources acquired from the riverbed situated on the south of elephant pass backwaters have been added for the use of the scheme. So when new plans are made for developing the water resources of the riverbeds of the river like Kanakarayan Aru, Neththeli Aru, Piramanthan Aru, Thevavil Aru, the requirements of this fresh water schemes must be taken into account.

### **Jaffna Peninsula - Surface Irrigation**

There are small ponds spread over the Jaffna peninsula. Water from some of these is used for cultivation. Since they depend on north eastern monsoon and cyclonic monsoon for their water resources, they will be useful for only short period following the monsoon. The sediments formed in these ponds must be prevented from getting amidst the rocks by removing certain quantity of sediments. This will maintain the capacity of the ponds. Further, the canal flowing into and going out of ponds must be maintained with care so as to maintain the capacity of the pond and prevent overflowing.

The barrages built across Vallukkai Aru the only stream of the Jaffna peninsula, is used for irrigation. Defective maintenance of permanent barrages, breaking down of temporary ones, damage of riverbanks, breaking of sand dunes, rivers changing course, the adjacent agricultural fields being affected by removal of sand are noticed. If barrages are constructed to control the flow of this Vallukkai Aru which originates in Thellipalai region

and flows into Arabic Sea so as to convert this natural stream into a fertile canal with modern methods, it will be of immense benefit to everyone.

### **Scheme for Blocking Brackish Water**

There are possibilities of seawater getting into areas under use in the backwaters and the seashore areas of Tamil Eelam from time to time. There



are already mud barrages in place to prevent them. Suitable plan regulators have been installed in these barrages to prevent rain waters getting into the sea and sea water getting into the land. Mostly such barrages have been constructed in the island regions of northern Tamil Eelam and Mannar region. Yet for want of maintenance for some time in the past and on account of the plank regulators made of iron and wood being damaged or stolen many of these barrage have become dysfunctional. Since most of the regions where these barrages are constructed are used for paddy cultivation or as grazing lands it is essential that they are kept in good condition. Hence the following recommendations are made for improving this project.

Locating the present schemes and documenting their locations and other details listing out their defects and the reasons for them, estimating the benefits of these schemes, re-examining these schemes and effecting repairs, renovations and improvements through modern technology, removing the malfunctioning of regulators and gates and installing modern ones which will not be affected; enlightening the people in the area on the importance of the scheme and making them partner of it so as to create excellent scheme of maintenance; taking steps to derive maximum benefit in the areas receiving water from the schemes and since there is chance of seawater penetrating the coastal areas of some regions in the coastal regions of the west and the east of Tamil Eelam these regions must be identified and suitable new schemes chalked out.

### **Groundwater Resource and Recommendations**

Groundwater resources in Tamil Eelam are found in quantities suitable for major development, particularly in Jaffna Peninsula and the limestone area have spread from Jaffna peninsula till Vannathi Villu. At present a good measure of this water has been subjected to a good amount of development and used for drinking water and agricultural purposes in Jaffna peninsula, Mulankavil, Mannar region and Vannathi Villu region. This resource is available in Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu also. The quantum of water resources available from the limestone formed under the earth in these regions are yet to be estimated. So the quantum of water resources available in these regions must be studied and estimated so as to decide the

developmental tasks that can be undertaken with the water available. Compared to groundwater resources available in the other parts of Tamil Eelam the water available in this region is less. Hence the water resource must be subjected to technological study.

As per the present practice of using groundwater, water is obtained for irrigation and other purposes through tradition wells and tube wells. Since water is drawn from these wells in an indiscriminate manner, and for want of

quality control, there is the danger of water in these regions turning brackish as per the information available.

The irrigation department and water resources development board must test the water from selected wells and fix their standard. If further improvement is required, the quantity of water extracted from under the ground and the quantity of fresh water recharged through springs must be taken into account. Otherwise there is the danger of groundwater in these regions turning brackish. Further since residences are crowded in the Jaffna peninsula, septic tanks of the toilets also are crowded. As drinking water wells get situated near them, it is known that the well water and ground water in these regions get polluted by drainage water.

Therefore, a planned approach is required for protecting and developing the groundwater resource.

### **Recommendations**

1. Receive all the data regarding groundwater resource in Tamil Eelam from the institutions that have collected them so far and cataloguing them
2. When the plans are put into action document the change in the standard undergone by the groundwater resources and the region where it has turned into brackish waters.
3. Undertake suitable research and standardisation for putting the present schemes into action and improving upon them.
4. Undertake necessary research and preventive action for preventing the groundwater being polluted by industrial waste drainage and use of chemicals in agriculture.
5. Find ways for a planned and integrated approach for utilising ground water resources for drinking water, agriculture and industry.

### **USE OF LANDS IN TAMIL EELAM**

Sri Lankan department of land survey has divided land into six major groups: urban, agricultural, forest, farm land, wet land, and waste land.

The proportion of each use of the land in the eight districts of Tamil Eelam have been given below. Based on these figures, the decision as to where use of the land can be improved and how much can be used will be made at a later date. The figures are where seasonal crops are raised in a given district in hectares. Land where millet is raised is also given. Irrigation schemes can be determined on this basis. Then infrastructure of water management may be created. This infrastructure may combine land utilisation (agriculture in particular) irrigation and water management.

The staple food crop of rice must be cultivated in large areas in selected districts and other crops in smaller areas depending upon the availability of water and land.

#### **Jaffna District**

Rice, a seasonal crop is raised on 9652 hectares largely as a six month crop and in some areas as a three month crop. The regular season is October to March. There is no possibility of raising rice during the summer but Mung beans, sesame and Lentils can be raised. In 1988, they were raised respectively in 333, 202, 22 and 4 hectares. These can be raised on all lands where rice has been cultivated, they also must be protected from cattle.

In the main growing season, onion, tobacco and tapioca are grown respectively in 2262,663 and 448 hectares. Onions are cultivated year round. In these months, tapioca and sweet potato may be raised in larger quantities. For potato cultivation the red soil on the Peninsula is suitable.

#### **Kilinochchi District**

The main seasonal crop is rice, usually cultivated on more than 22,000 hectares. Chillies ground nuts and tapioca are raised in smaller areas. In the short season that follows, Mung beans, tapioca, groundnuts and Lentils may be raised. If there is sufficient rainfall in three months a second rice crop may be raised, this is usually done on 7,700 hectares.

#### **Mannar District**

A large area is under rice cultivation, dependent more on irrigation than on rains. Apart from this, Mung beans and chillies are cultivated. Rice as a shorter second crop is raised in 800 hectares. Chillies are raised as a short seasonal crop. Tapioca, Mung beans, and groundnuts are not cultivated. Sesame, Lentils etc can be raised in shorter seasons.

#### **Vavuniya District**

Rice is raised as a seasonal crop on 15,000 hectares. Most water is supplied by irrigation. Mung beans, sesame, and groundnuts are also grown. The land used for cultivation of these crops may be increased over the course of time. Rice is cultivated as a short seasonal crop in 4,000 hectares. Yet sesame, groundnut, chillies, Mung beans and Lentils must be raised in larger areas. Tapioca cultivation must be encouraged.

#### **Mullaitivu**

As a seasonal crop rice is cultivated on 13,000 hectares, 50 percent of this is in rainy areas. Groundnuts are grown but other crops are neglected. Sesame,

Mung beans and tapioca may be cultivated. Rice is raised in a very limited area as a short season crop.

Groundnuts and chillies occupy 400 hectares each. Mung beans and tapioca get least importance. They must get more attention.

### **Batticaloa District**

Amongst the Tamil districts Batticaloa raises rice in the largest area after Ampara. Of 47,000 hectares 60 percent of it is in the rainfall area. This amount under cultivation needs to be increased. Tapioca and chilli are cultivated on 1,500 hectares each, if market is there this may be increased. Mung beans, groundnuts and chillies are also grown.

Utilising irrigation, 10,000 hectares is devoted to short season rice cultivation. Other than chillies and tapioca other crops do not get importance. Millet cultivation, may be taken up for two seasons per year.

### **Ampara District**

Rice as a seasonal crop is cultivated on about 50,000 hectares. 80 percent of this depends on irrigation. Chillies are also cultivated. Mung beans may be raised in larger areas. Tapioca must get more attention.

Rice is cultivated as a short seasonal crop on 37000 hectares, a greater part of which depends upon irrigation, the conditions are not the same here as Batticaloa. Mung beans, tapioca and chillies get importance. Rice cultivation must be increased.

### **Trincomalee District**

3,500 hectares of rice is raised as a seasonal crop, a large area of this depends on irrigation and to a lesser degree on rainfall. Tapioca and chillies get importance. There is the likelihood of tapioca gaining greater importance and Mung beans must also be considered. The area under rice cultivation must be increased.

Rice is cultivated as a short seasonal crop on 1,500 hectares. Tapioca and chillies get importance but not the other crops. This must change. Mung beans and sesame are cultivated. Tapioca must receive more attention. More areas must be devoted to rice cultivation.

## **INDUSTRIAL CENTRES OF TAMIL EELAM**

Material prosperity, industrial prosperity and economic prosperity are intertwined. The prosperity of a nation depends on this understanding. This must be borne in mind while handicraft flaming is undertaken in Tamil Eelam. Before that, we must understand how the revolution of handicraft that took place in the international arena is around 18th century

impacted Great Britain and other industrial countries surrounding it and changed their very nature. All the social and economic problems faced but the European countries at the end of the Napoleon War were offset by the change in the methods of those countries. Though there were initial problems this ended up well. As Great Britain and other countries still bear in mind the parts played by industrial development in the dispensation of those days and incorporate in their system the changes that take place from time to time with considerable ease, they still retain their industrial prosperity intact. So the history of the European industrial development is quite long. But most of the industrial efforts we are about to start are new to us. At the initial stages, unanimous cooperation and tireless services are essential. Barring a few, almost all the projects undertaken by us may prove to be problematic. To solve the problems timely interruption of technologist may be essential. Without covering them with mastery, if we approach them with dedication and cooperation, success is bound to be in our hands.

Centres of industry and restriction and definitions of the projects to be undertaken by the people in groups must be prepared early. If the majority of projects undertaken in this manner lead to self-sufficiency, it may be followed by finding out marketing possibilities and concentrating on exports. Hence our products must be of international standards. All this depends upon our sincere efforts in every particular industry.

The retrieval advantages and disadvantages of the area, availability of material resources, availability of human resources, possibilities of creating artificial strength, the way in which the mobility of society is going to be affected before and after the establishment of the industry - all these factors must be ascertained beforehand.

Industrial centres must be organised in Tamil Eelam having the above factors in mind and ensuring the feasibility of organising them. The factors to be determined are.

Suitable area, favourable circumstances including climate, electric capacity, water resource, human resource, transport facilities (a) surface (b) harbour (c) airways

### **Local Distribution and Export**

When the chance of production improves the following matters should be kept in mind. Immediate marketing is essential. Production must be of a high standard, any goods in excess of local consumption must be centrally stored and arrangements for distribution must be undertaken. Distribution implies local consumption as well as exports - all this must be centrally organised. Having all this in mind, the central storage must be located in a place where



the best facilities are available. In particular harbours and airports are best suited for this purpose.

### **Local Production**

This may be divided into five parts.

1. Production for meeting local needs, using local materials. Milk products - butter, cheese, milk powder.
2. Production for meeting local needs but using imported materials.
3. Plastic, PVC, polythene, chemicals, rubber, aluminium ware and other metal products.
4. Production of export items made of local materials food products, alcohol and alcoholic drinks. Tobacco and tobacco products (cigarettes etc).
5. Export of organic substances such as imanite salt cement.

### **Location of Industrial Centres**

It is essential to protect natural resources such as forests. Need for expansion of industry in the future must be planned for. Chemical industries, particularly preparation of pesticide must be located only in sparsely populated areas. The industrial centres which are likely to pollute the atmosphere must be located near the sea. When centres are organised the removal of waste must be kept in mind. Production of flammable articles like matches, explosives and oil products must be located where maximum safety can be assured.

### **Main Divisions of Tamil Eelam Industry**

1. Electrical Appliances
2. Agricultural Equipment
3. Fishing Equipment
4. Ship Building
5. Chemical Industry
6. Biotechnology
7. Industrial Equipment
8. Trincomalee Industrial Park

### **Electrical Appliances**

Apparatus for seeing and hearing appliances for domestic use, office equipment, apparatus for hospitals, electrical equipment for vehicles, electric

bulbs, electric generators and their accessories and parts, solar generators, computers, and their spare parts, telecommunication equipment

### **Agricultural Equipment**

There needs to be a process to import tractor parts and increase assembly production of farming equipment as well as the production of pesticide sprayers. There needs to be a process for the availability of agricultural appliances such as spades, ploughs, ploughshare, etc.

### **Fishing Equipment**

Implement a net making factory, ice factory, cold storage chamber, fishing apparatus production, fish factories, nylon rope production, production floats and their accessories.

### **Ship Building**

Implement shipbuilding craft, major shipbuilding yard, plastic boat making factory, a dry dock, a wet dock, factory for making steel boats of small and medium size, etc.

### **Chemical Industry**

Fertiliser production, glass factories, leather articles manufacturing, match factories, paper factories, petroleum chemical manufacturing, pharmaceutical factories, plastic making, rubber product making, soap making, cement production, salt and salt related articles, tooth paste making, rayon, nylon and polyester thread making.

### **Biotechnology**

Beer manufacture, biotechnological soap manufacture, yeast making, cheese making, mushroom cultivation, vinegar making, saline making.

### **Industrial Equipment**

Brick making, tile making, breweries, tobacco processing centres, sugar factories, cloth factories, milk pasteurising centres, plastic products making, rubber factory cool drinks, soft drinks, and biscuit making.

### **Trincomalee Industrial Park**

Spinning and weaving mills, garment factories, cycle manufacturing, electric bulbs and tubes making, fishing net making, carpet marking, earthenware

making, glass factory, plastic factory, PVC pipe making, rubber factory, radio making, computer assembling, TV set assembling, shaving unit making, beauty products making.

## **Handicraft Centres of Tamil Eelam**

### **Cement Factories**

At present cement factories are functioning at Kankesanthurai and Puttalam. If the Kankesanthurai factory is immediately renovated our immediate concrete needs can be met. Kankesanthurai factory will start working in full swing. The next step will be starting another factory at Murungan. The clay mud required for the factory can be shifted from Kankesanthurai factory through railways. In its return trip from Murungan the train may carry the necessary clay to Kankesanthurai if all these three factories start functioning that will pave the way for exporting cement after all our needs are met. The factory for crushing clay mud and packing it will be able to meet the cement needs of the eastern province.

### **Salt and Salt Based Industries**

Salt in large quantities, more than what is required for local consumption can be produced in Tamil Eelam. Right now salt is made at Elephant Pass, Semmani, Kalundai and Puttalam. Now salt fields may be started at Chavakacheri and Vallai. Salt cannot be exported directly. Hence excessive salt can be use for making caustic soda, chlorine and hydrochloric acid in chemical factories and exported for earning foreign exchange after all our needs is met.

### **Fertilizer Marking**

Fertiliser making is not possible in Tamil Eelam. But a unit for mixing fertilisers can be started in a central lace of Tamil Eelam - either at Marugandi or Mulankavil. All the fertiliser requirements of Tamil Eelam can be met with this factory.

### **Paper Manufacturing**

All the needs of paper of all varieties can be met by Valaichenai paper factory which is functioning now. If another paper factory is started at Thambalakamam increasing local needs can be met and the remaining paper can be exported.

### **Tobacco**

Tobacco is manufactured in excess in the island areas. Valikamam, Vadamaradchi and Kaithadi are located here. Tobacco required for making

cigar is made here. Cigarette making tobacco can be produced here. Formerly this used to be made in Pandatharippu, Allavetti, Mathakal and Chunnakam. We spend up to 20 million rupees in our areas, the paper and filter for making cigarettes also may be made here.

### **Tobacco Processing**

Tobacco processing factories can be located at Kytes, Anakutivu, Punnalaikattuwan, Chunnakam, Pandatharippu and Achuveli. Factories for making tobacco related products can be located at Kondavil, Chunnakam, Kytes. Manipai and Jaffa.

### **Rubber Factories**

Rubber varieties which can be grown in our climate may be identified and planted on our river banks. Or required raw materials may be imported and rubber goods may be produced here. Vehicle tyres, tubes, washers, rubber sheets, for filling window panes, playthings, balloons carpets, oil seals, tubes ink fillers, corks, footwear all kinds of gloves, swimming aids, electric bulbs, glue for pasting rubber on other material. Gadgets filled in vehicles for absorbing shock during accidents, rubber mattresses, rubber sponges, and valves and so on.

### **Milk Pasteurising Units**

The following are places where cattle are found in large numbers in our area: Kilinochchi, Puthukkudiyiruppu, Mullaitivu, Ottisuttaan, Mankulam, Vavuniya, Nedunkeni Kunjukulam, Murugan, Nanattan, Plampasi, Mamadu, Mamankam, Thambalakamam, Kalmunai, Thirukkivil, Valaichenai, Eravul Pothuvil, Batticaloa and Mutur.

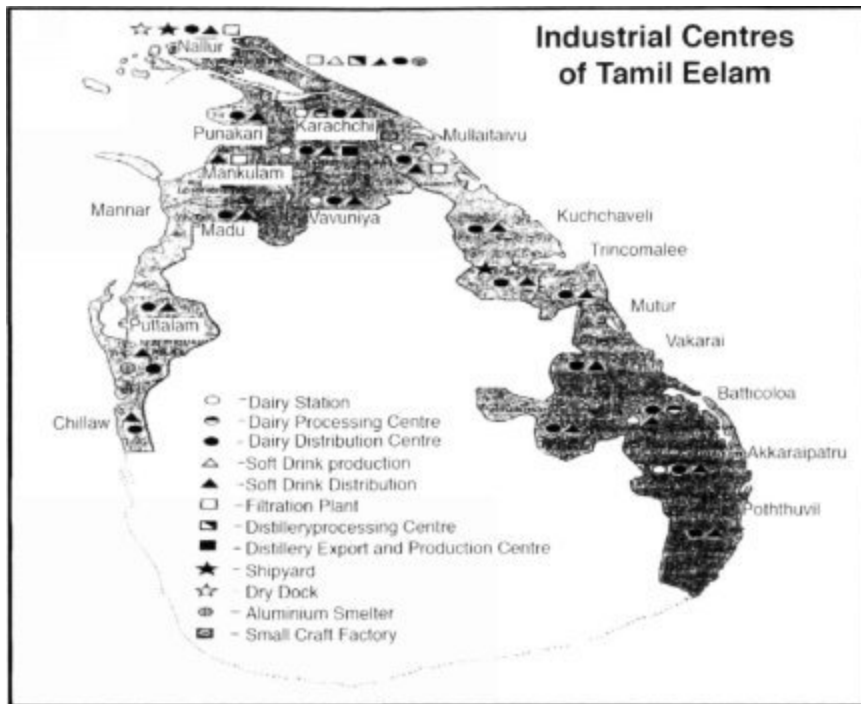
Large grasslands can be established at Kilinochi, Vavuniya, Thambalakamam, Mankulam and Puthukkudiyiruppu and starting of large scale devices in these places can be planned. All these places are suitable for pasteurising units. Right now, since milk cannot be held in this place, people even neglect to milk the cows.

The enzyme necessary for making cheese can be produced here by our chemists. Buttermilk, yoghurt, and lassie may be manufactured here by our biologists/biotechnologists from abroad, culture it in their laboratories and distribute it to the manufacturers. People in the Jaffna peninsula require 600,000 packets of milk powder per year. This can be manufactured domestically.

### **Sugar Factories**

Sugarcane can be cultivated in Kilinochchi, Akkarayan, Mullaitivu, Thunukkai, Malawi, Mutur and Batticaloa areas. White coloured sugar beetroot seeds may be imported from Australia and cultivated here. Many countries produce sugar successfully from these beetroots. Sugarcane sugar factories must be started in Mullaitivu, Kilinochchi, Batticaloa, and Mutur.





### **Palm Sugar Factories**

Palm sugar is made in small quantities in Achuveli and Sandilipay. Encouragement for increasing the production in those units must be offered. A palm sugar factory is being established at Kilinochchi at present. This is capable of producing six tons of palm sugar using 120,000 bottles of palm juice. This can be increased to ten tons. This can be manufactured for six months in a year.

### **Sugar Requirements**

Tamil people require 13,140 metric tonnes of sugar per year. After a five year plan, 3600 tonnes of palm sugar may be manufactured. The remaining 9540 tonnes may be made from sugarcane.

### **Garment Making**

Before starting a garment factory anywhere cotton must be a cultivated in the area. It can be undertaken in Kilinochchi, Omanthai, Mullaitivu, Thunukkai, Mutu and Batticaloa. Factories for spinning and garment making may be

started in Kilinochchi, Omanthai, Mullaitivu,, Malawi, Batticaloa, Mutur, Trincomalee, Mannar, Vavuniya and Jaffna.

Once there were plenty of landlords in our region and many people were engaged in garment making.

### **Silk Manufacturing**

**In** the places mentioned above, mulberry trees may be cultivated for rearing silk worms. Silk manufacture and silk garment manufacture may be started.

### **Rayon Making**

These factories may be located in areas adjacent to dense forests, like Kilinochchi, Omanthai, Murungan, Mullaitivu and Batticaloa, since the major new material for making rayon is wood pulp. The method followed is called viscose method. Many chemicals are used in this method. Rayon maybe made into cloth and garments for which factories may be started in the above mentioned places and also in Trincomalee, Vavuniya, Mannar and Mankulam.

### **Ship Building**

There are two varieties:

#### **1. Fishing Boats - Various Kinds and Measurements.**

Selected places include Karainagar, Point Pedro and Mullaitivu. A base for making boats with glass fibre and servicing them is already located at Karainagar. If the infrastructure here is all the glass fibre boats required for Tamil Eelam can be made in the same place. Yards for assembling and servicing them may be started or Point Pedro and Mullaitivu.

These places and the seas near them are rich in fish. So our fishing boats have to be assembled and repaired here. Further, it may be easy for people to take the necessary articles (for assembling and servicing) by road or by sea.

#### **2. Ships - Various Kinds and Measurements**

Selected places include Trincomalee and Kankesanthurai. Trincomalee can be used as a ship servicing yard since there is already a dry dock here. Since the sea here is deep near the shore a floating dock may be located here such a floating dock was once located there. It can now be relocated.

Kankesanthurai has been selected for ship building and servicing. Since the land in this area is rocky, the shore area may be suitable for a ship building yard. The exact spot will be somewhere between Keerimalai and Kankesanthurai sufficient for locating the yard space for building and repairing large vessels may be selected here. Besides the spot from where limestone have been dried out for cement making, can be used for organising a ship building yard.

## **Petroleum and Allied Products**

**In** the early stages of Tamil Eelani it will not be economically viable to extract crude oil from the earth and prepare petroleum there from. This will cause a drain on the foreign exchange. This problem can be overcome by importing crude oil from central eastern countries and get it refined here, extracting petrol. Crude oil must be extracted from the earth only after Tamil Eelam becomes an economically strong country. To compensate the foreign exchange lost in importing crude oil from central eastern countries, goods from Tamil Eelam may be exported there.

## **Brick and Tile Factories**

Brick and tile factories have been located at Kandavalai and Ottisuttaan, though they do not function at present. These factories must be established in these places where clay of high standard and fire wood in large quantities are available. Good quality clay is found at Murungan, Visuvamadu and Iranaimadu. It is said to be available at Navatkuli also. Geologists should examine this and submit a report. Let us consider brick making first. Bricks can be of many kinds. They are common bricks, hollow bricks and arched bricks. They may be made in many colours by mixing certain metallic oxides with clay, sand and sawdust may be mixed according to needs.

## **INDUSTRIAL CENTRES**

### **Breweries**

There are about 700,000 palmyras in the north and east. Only 30,000 of them are at present used for brewing. This can easily be increased five folds. Breweries are already located in Thikkam, Varani, Sankanai, Puthukkudiyiruppu and Kilinochchi. At the rate of 2,000 barrels per day on an average they go on brewing for six months which satisfies our needs of alcohol. Thikkam and Puthukkudiyiruppu breweries have to be greatly expanded.

This will increase our alcohol production by five times. The excess produce can be extracted as alcohol with 100 per cent density and exported which will earn foreign exchange up to 10 million rupees. At Point Pedro and Thalaimannar, large breweries must be established for export purposes. There must be a brewery each at Pachilaipalli, Nedunthivu and Batticaloa,

and a coconut palm alcoholic brewery at Pothuvil. Vinegar may be extracted from palm wine (toddy).

There must be a brewery each at Jaffna in the island area, Sankanai, Point Pedro, Karraveddi, Kodikamam, Puthukkudiyiruppu and Mannar and two breweries at Batticaloa. All this will lead to a production of 60 metric tonnes of alcohol per month. At the rate of 30 rupees per kilogram the total

value of this is about 2 million rupees. This can be increased five times in a five year period.

The LTTE raised the wings of the army in such a way that the entire world was amazed and totally demoralised the Sinhalese government and Sinhala forces and raised a well regulated administrative structure and governed a territory with admirable fair play and justice, leading the onlookers of various levels to be wonderstruck. The starting of various essential institutions and making them function like clockwork is an incredible feat. For example, Thamilenthir had single handedly constructed a university taking the work to completion in four years. Such an able sufficient and dedicated lot would certainly have seen the fruition of all the infrastructure planned as above and make the world look up to them with awe and admiration. But the world, owing to its ignorance and selfishness, have acted in haste and treacherously stabbed the LTTE in the back. It will not be long before it realises this folly. We can do nothing but wait and see.

### **Castro's Speech**

Towards the end of the year of 2008, the international in charge of LTTE, Manivannan (Castro), has given to the Eelam Tamil Diaspora, certain important details regarding the field conditions of the Tamil Eelam and liberation struggle and international affairs. These details clearly indicate that the leadership of the LTTE was well aware of the dangers awaiting them. He has also warned that the Tamils might have to face the risk of the liberation struggle being sold out by some neo-heroes. Excerpts from his recorded speech:

I want to give a brief account of the present state of political affairs of the international interference of never before seen dimensions in the ethnic problems of Sri Lanka of the stand taken by India, of the stand taken by china and of the conditions of the war as it exists in the battle of Vanni.

It is because a stage has come in our history when you have to be aware of those formalities and realise the need for being vigilant regarding the war. In today's circumstances, when our struggle has been internationalised, we have to fully comprehend the view of the

international community regarding the struggle and certain complicated nasty moves behind the same. Let us see what the approach, the view, of the international community is. While considering Operation Ellalam and examining the field activities our leader had humorously referred to it: 'We must be awarded the Nobel prize for this year, because we must be given

credit for having brought together all the big powers in the world which have always been opposing each other' let it be India or Pakistan, China or Japan, Iran or Israel, United States or Russia, we find that they vie with each other then offer assistance to the Sri Lanka government. We see in the international arena that these countries which have never agreed with each other have always taken opposite stands have joined together in helping the Sri Lanka government. We must realise one thing. What is the motive of these countries and the global big powers? Why are they so much involved in the problem of Sri Lanka? First is the location of the island of Sri Lanka. It is located in the Indian Ocean region, in a spot utmost strategic importance. As of today we have reached an important point in the history of instinctive affairs. Be it economic importance or be it military importance Asia's importance is on the increase in the international stage. Taking military affairs both afghan and Iraq war were fought only in Asia. The problem of Iran and the conflicts with china are in Asia. If the world is concerned about military affairs, they have to think only of Asia. For the oil resource of the whole world is concentrated in western Asia. The question that has arisen today is: 'Who is to control central Asia? Who is to influence Asia?' this is a military problem. Even economically Asia holds the first place. Japan was economically growing. But that place has now been occupied by china. If you think in terms of economic big powers, china and India come first. India is fast growing into an economic big power. China and India are growing as economic powers as well as military powers. In addition, they are also the most populous countries in the world. Let us now see the importance of Sri Lanka Island in the background.

The island is located in the most important sea route connecting the east and the west. From west Asia to India's western boundaries, to china or Japan or to the east of Sri Lanka, let it be oil or whatever material all of them have to travel crossing our island. All the global powers as well as regional powers are clearly aware of the importance of Sri Lanka. Another matter is latent in the political conditions of Sri Lanka. In today's condition Islamic terrorism imposes a grave threat to India, china and the western countries. But, though there are Muslims in Sri Lanka, Islamic terrorism is not there. But the western countries, India and china are competing with each other to set foot on Sri Lanka for their political military and economic well being, which are interlinked with Sri Lanka. Western countries, India, Japan, china - all these countries have already set



foot on Sri Lanka soil. Today's problem for them is how to handle Rajapaksa's government, how to handle the LTTE movement and how to handle the ethnic problem. The well being of the western countries and that of India are linked together in a few respects but are contradictory in most respects. They are interested in handling the ethnic problem in such a way that they would set a hold for their army or navy or air force in this island and enhance their importance on problems has got entangled in the hands of world powers and regional powers that are at loggerheads with each other. Keeping this in mind, let us see how the western countries, United States, European Union, China and Japan try to handle our problem. They are not particular about establishing friendly relations with Mahinda Rajapaksa's government. In Sri Lanka, UNP and SLFP have been coming to power in turns. UNP have always been leaning towards the western countries. SLFP has always had leftist leanings and have always indentified with India and China. Western countries are furious with us because they believe that we have played a major role in bringing about the defeat of Ranil and helping Rajapaksa in coming to power. Rajapaksa's SLFP is a nationalistic party and a leftist party inclined to be on friendly terms with China, Pakistan and North Korea. Rajapaksa is moving towards Chinese, Pakistan and Iran and this poses a threat to the western countries. In order to prevent it by forcing Rajapaksa to be on their side they have taken the question of human rights in their hands. Let it be Geneva Human Rights Commission, or any other international forum, the western countries and so many organisations are exposing all the happenings of human rights violations in Sri Lanka, not because they are concerned about Tamils but because they want to bring pressure on Rajapaksa's government. They also want to bring severe economic pressure on his government, by controlling the financial aid, and convert it into political pressure. At the same time they are not prepared to totally abandon the government, which they fear will push the Sri Lanka government towards china, Pakistan and Iran. Hence they want to have Rajapaksa in their grip by offering him limited military assistance. Another motive of those countries is to weaken the LTTE. That is why western countries are repeatedly insisting that the Sri Lankan government

and the LTTE must find a solution to their problem only through talks. The western countries know very well that the Tigers and their leadership are firm in their conviction, they cannot be bought and they are utterly dedicated to their cause and they cannot be manipulated as the western countries

did in east Timor and Kosovo. Let us see now, how, under these circumstances, western countries handle this problem. On the one side all the countries sermonise that the problem must be solved only through talks between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan government, but on the other side many countries have banned the LTTE. They do everything to prevent the Tigers from growing and thwart their attempts for collecting funds and thus cripple them. They do not hesitate to incarcerate the funders of the movement, nor do they hesitate to block all the routes through which they collect arms and render them helpless. The western countries shamelessly indulge in weakening the movement, ignoring its leadership and severely pressurising them to give up their objective of Tamil Eelam. At this critical moment when the LTTE and Sri Lanka government are clashing against each other in the Vanni region, western countries are calculating that this is the right time for them to make an entry into the conflict. For this purpose, they get hold of well educated and well placed Eelam Tamils who are staying in western countries like the United States, Canada, Great Britain and Australia, give them funds, also give them some kind of training, brainwash them into believing that they are the real representation of the Tamils, and that they alone are capable of handling the problem amidst the international society and after that put them in the limelight of the media. The western countries are intent upon sidelining the LTTE and creating a leadership that would function as their puppets, conducting seminars, and conferences projecting them as moderate leadership. What is scholarship? What is intellect? How to measure it? This kind of illusion has been there in our society for quite a long time. Arguable who gets some education and gets a university degree is considered a person of wisdom.

As far as we are concerned we clearly know the difference between the politics of struggle and the politics of sale. Ours is a war for justice. We have sacrificed countless fighters and countless people for winning the war. We should never become puppets in the hands of western countries or any other country. We should never sell our struggle, nor should we sell ourselves. We expect that all of us should be extremely vigilant in this regard. Let us now examine the stand of India.

All of us, Eelam Tamils, are under a delusion when we think of India. From time immemorial we have cherished our kinship with Tamil Nadu through culture and tradition and we look to it as our motherland our fatherland. But many of us do not know how India

views us. India is still in the mindset of Ramayana days. The internal policy makers, the foreign policy makers and the central government of India view us only with that mindset; Ramayana speaks of the Gods going from India to Sri Lanka for vanquishing the demons. The message of Ramayana is that the war between Aryan and Dravidians ended in the victory of Aryans over Dravidians. Even today India is having the same view regarding us not as we expect. But at the same time there are forces in Tamil Nadu which are on our side. There are lots of people who want our struggle to succeed, ending in our attaining liberation. Even in many other parts of India there are progressive forces and even oppressed sections who want our struggle to succeed. If Tamil Nadu gets really aroused, raises its voice and conducts itself in the right manner, they can bring about a change in the policy of India. When we speak of a change, we want India not to offer us anything on a platter in the name of help. All we want is India should not offer any help to Sri Lanka by way of military assistance, arms and ammunition, food and provision or training. Only the upsurge of the Tamils will take our ethnic conflict towards a desirable conclusion. All that we can do is to spark an arousal in Tamil Nadu, and utilising the support base try to bring about a change in the policy of India. Nothing else can do it. But we find India supporting the move of the western countries to create a moderate leadership for the Tamils. India is making all efforts to bring all such elements together and get the LTTE sidelined. We must have a clear understanding of such devious efforts, what about china's stand?

One Napoleon said 'china is a monster. Nobody must wake it up. If woken up the entire world would grieve. It will become a super power.' Now that monster has been shaken. It has started growing step by step both militarily and economically and in another twenty five years will become a supernova. In fifty years china will be the only power. China has its presence felt in various areas in the Indian Ocean region. China has got a hold on Sri Lanka after having come for developing Ambanthotta Harbour and Colombo Highway. We saw Chinese men joining hands with Sinhalese Buddhist monks and getting photographs had. China will move its pawns slowly but steadily. Once Japan was a benefactor of Sri Lanka but China has replaced Japan. Now western countries, China and India and other regional superpowers have made an entry into Sri Lanka, have interfered in ethnic problems and have aggravated the crisis. Ours is a noble and dedicated struggle. The sacrifices made in the

struggle cannot be written in letters, cannot be described with words. We are able to survive and progress only on account of those matchless sacrifices. When our fighters are launching the struggle paying heavy costs and shedding so much of blood, no one can purchase this struggle nor will we ever permit it. Only after the arrival of our historical leader Prabhakaran did Tamils get an identity and the oppressed Tamil race was infused with courage. Tamils will no more be slaves. No one should feel small in the presence of white people. The Tamils who are spread all over the world should not stop with having received an identity. They must be bold, brave, valiant and powerful. Even in other countries there are pressures and problems. Mankind is gaining victories only amidst pressures and problems. If you look at our struggle you will understand this that the more we are pressured the more furious we become. Do not stop lending strength to the struggle. You have the valour and courage for that. You will certainly feel proud that you are assisting a struggle of innumerable sufferings and immeasurable sacrifices. This is your historical responsibility. You will be remembered in history. Everyone who boldly works for the struggle will find a place in history. Cowards have no history. Anyone who just moved a grain for the struggle will have a place in history. Just as the fighters are putting up a fight in the battle field and are making history, you have also got to be brave amidst all the pressures and crises, strive hard and do everything so that we move the struggle towards the next step. All of us, the warriors in the field, generals and our leader, all of us repose our faith in you people. Never forget it conclude with the hope that you will keep the struggle alive until victory is attained.

Only some important parts of the speech delivered by Castro have been briefly given above. This speech was recorded at the end of 2005. It is true that the matters recorded here did not properly reach the Tamil Diaspora. The speech shows that it was also a reason why the LTTE got entangled in the conspiratorial network of international politics. He has made it clear that the Tigers were well aware that they were going to be caught in an intricate

situation. He has been clear that the movement as well as the liberation is entirely in the hands of the Tamil Diaspora in the future. Above all, he has repeatedly stressed that the LTTE will never give up the struggle to liberation nor will they ever indulge in a sell out. Finally he has made a public statement that the self styled scholars among the Tamil Diaspora and a few organisations are making efforts to overturn and to sell out the freedom

struggle which has progressed on account of incredible sacrifices. They are also seriously engaged in joining hands with the Sinhalese government and the countries which lend support to it and are engaged in serious political bargaining. These may not be just Castro's opinions and it will be proper to regard these as the feelings of the LTTE leadership. All his forecasts have been proven to be right by the happenings of May 2009 and after.

### **Government in Exile: Transnational Government of Tamil Eelam**

This author got an opportunity to attend the preliminary meeting of the Transnational Government of Tamil Eelam, held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, in June 2009. There are intricate connections between the Tamil Eelam Government in Exile, K. Pathmanathan and V. Urithirakumaran, who played major roles in it, the feelings expressed by Manivannan in the speech quoted above, and the spine-chilling happenings at Vanni in May 2009. Therefore, there is a dire necessity for this author to bring it to the notice of the Tamil people for the first time. This author has not yet revealed these matters in any paper, periodical, book, website or interview in the past three years. He felt it was a time for exercising patience and caution since he had to find out and verify all the facts and hence did not want to reveal any of this matter to the public. But as he is at present releasing this research work on the liberation struggle, state terrorism and ethnic cleansing and there is the compulsion of putting all the relevant facts on record. These are publicised here on the basis of the principle that historical facts should not be concealed and with the intention that the Tamils of Eelam must be aware of all the happenings and continue to take their struggle forward. One more essential fact must be mentioned here. This author is well acquainted with all the players in this affair and therefore he has no prejudice or grouse whatsoever against any of them. It is his responsibility to reveal all the facts to the people concerned, the Tamil people and others. These matters, excerpted from the author's jottings are briefly and faithfully presented here with his intense desire that Tamil Eelam should be won by the people concerned in the proper manner. This author had a meeting with Nediyan, the overseas liaison of Manivannan (Castro), the in-charge of LTTE's international affairs, at the Tamil Aalayam School Office, Norway in June 2009. They talked about the

preliminary meeting for a Government in Exile held in Malaysia. Nediyan felt unhappy that while in every country these were bodies that represented the LTTE, people like Pathmanathan and Urithirakumaran were poised on starting another wing which would confuse the Tamils. This author told him in reply that under the circumstances prevailing at that time the countries of the world should be appraised at the despair of the Tamils and must be forced to act. If a Government in Exile would be able to do it honestly, said this



author, it would be all right to permit it. Nediyan said that in such a case the forum must have on its membership some of those who have been striving for the liberation of Tamil Eelam for a long-time. He asserted: 'If we also join the organisation, there is no reason for people getting confused.'

It has been mentioned in the previous chapters that, at the times of the Norwegian peace initiative, an organisation called SHRAN was started. iraneus Selvin, a former civil service employee of Sri Lanka, was in charge of the organisation. After the failure of the peace talks, he had left for Norway where he was living as a refugee. He had also been a fellow student of the author in the University of Jaffna. They had been friends for a long time. After talking to Nediyan, this author met Selvin that same night. Selvin thought it was a good motive and suggested that someone should go to Malaysia on behalf of Nediyan and participate in the June 2008 meeting. This author had another talk with Nediyan on this matter the next morning. Then Nediyan established contact with Pathmanathan and had a talk with him on the topic. Pathmanathan was a fresher in the University of Jaffna when this author was doing his final year as a student and hence knows him very well. He had a telephone conversation with Pathmanathan on this matter when it was agreed upon that fifty percent of the members of the newly created Government in Exile would be the representatives of the LTTE and the other fifty percent would be chosen by Pathmanathan and Urithirakumaran. Nediyan wanted this author to participate in the ensuing meeting as a representative of the LTTE, which was also agreeable to Pathmanathan. Selvin too encouraged it.

Accordingly, this author alighted at Kuala Lumpur Airport on June 2009, where he was met by C.S. Anandam, his long time friend who had worked with Pathmanathan for a long period, and was taken to his lodge. After hurriedly going through the morning ablution, both of them reached the hotel which was the venue of the conference at 8.50am.

About 18 persons were seated there including Urithirakumaran. Among them Urithirakumaran, Prof. Cheran (Canada), artist Thaseus (London), Anbalagan (London) and Sivajilingam (MP) were known to this author. The other participants had come from Canada and the United States. The meeting started exactly at 9am. Urithirakumaran welcomed everyone and gave a brief

account of the need for a Government in Exile. Ideas were exchanged on the objective, the set up, the activities and the infrastructure of the government. All these ideas were written in order on large sheets hung on the board. Only this author, Cheran, Thaseus and afterwards a few others took part in the discussion. Many were onlookers. Urithirakumaran did not contribute very much. Everything was immediately recorded in the computer. Apart from one hour of lunch time, the entire session was devoted to the matter at hand.

During lunch this author rang Pathmanathan and arranged to meet him at 8pm the same day.

All the matters were discussed that evening, preliminary decisions were taken and it was decided to nominate a temporary committee of nine members for putting the decisions into action. When everybody wanted the committee to be selected immediately, this author informed them that he had some essential matters to discuss with Pathmanathan that night and asked them to postpone the selection of the committee till the next morning, which was agreed upon by everyone. It was decided to meet in the same place from 9am till noon the following day.

As planned this author, along with Anandam, met Pathmanathan at his residence at 8am. A two-hour private discussion took place with only Anandam present, as desired by this author. The essential parts of the hurried discussion are briefly recorded here:

**Author:**

**Pathmanathan: Author:**

**Pathmanathan: Author:**

**Pathmanathan:**

**Author:**

**Pathmanathan:**

This discussion must be frank and honest. If it is not possible then I would like to take leave after this cup of tea.

Sure. I have invited you for such a talk only.

For the most part, I have been aware of your policies and activities since our university days. So it will be better to clarify certain important issues before talking about the Government in Exile.

I too know you well. That is why I have invited you for an open discussion.

You have been in charge of international funds and the armament purchases of the LTTE since 1979-1980. But the Leader removed you from this responsibility in 2002. What did you think of this?

I have worked night and day for the movement for a very long period. When he removed me, I was deeply pained. There have been times when I contemplated suicide. But I was greatly consoled when Anandam joined me. I have become alright since then.

After 2002, Castro, Susai and Natesan have taken responsibility of the arms purchase. But most of the ships carrying the arms sourced by them have been destroyed by the Sinhalese army whilst at sea. I have been told once by those three people that you have played a major role in divulging news about the movement of ships. There is no connection whatsoever between me and those incidents. But what can I do if they suspect me?

**Author:** The Leader personally signed and appointed you as the Chief Negotiator in February 2009. What was the reason for this decision?

**Pathmanathan:** The Leader's son, Charles Antony, contacted me from the Vanni region in 2008 and asked me to purchase arms for the LTTE again. I told him that I had been discarded after being used for a long time. I wanted the Leader to offer me a responsible position before I would agree to the purchase arms. After this the Leader offered me the post. So I have been involved in the arms purchase since 2008.

**Author:** Castro accuses that the shipments of arms that you send mostly all fail to reach Vanni. After sending arms or sending empty ships without arms in them, you seem to be passing on the information to the Sri Lankan and Indian navies who then destroy the ships mid-sea?

**Pathmanathan:** What can I do about them suspecting me?

**Author:** One of the important functionaries of the LTTE, who is in Vanni, once told me in the course of talks, that you have close contacts with the Sri Lankan government and India's RAW. Have you got anything to say about this?

**Pathmanathan:** Again I tell you, I cannot do anything about people suspecting me (somewhat angrily).

**Author:** You also seem to be connected with the May 2009 holocaust?

**Pathmanathan:** In April 2009, Prabhakaran's adopted sons and his son Charles Anthony, contacted me and said that the conditions on the field were miserable. They asked if I could help in taking the Leader out. I told them to give me two days. When I was making arrangements for it, the Leader's sons contacted me again. I tried to get a sponsorship letter from the Leader's brother who lives in Denmark in order to take the Leader out. But there was no reply from him and the attempt was given up. Then I said I had arranged for an aircraft on an alternative route and it would take the leader, his family and two others to a foreign country. I told him it would cost 200 million dollars. I asked him to arrange it. Charles promised to reply after discussing this with his father and Castro. But for many days Castro did not send any money. So I could not do anything about it.

**Author: Pathmanathan: Author: Pathmanathan:**

**Author:**

**Pathmanathan:**

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**Pathmanathan: Author: Pathmanathan: Author:**

**Pathmanathan:**

**Author:**

**Pathmanathan:**

**Author:**

How can this have happened? Who will believe this?

That is my problem. You cannot understand it.

What happened in the end?

On the 13th and 15th of May, the Leader's son Charles Anthony contacted me and asked me to take his father and his people out as the condition on the field had become horrible. I contacted Ponnambalam Gajendran in Colombo. I gave him a detailed account of the matter and asked him to seek help from Basil Rajapaksa.

How is it possible for you to seek such help from the arch enemy of the LTTE who wants to finish them off?

(Shocked and angered) What will be the consequences of that act? Besides it would have exposed the field conditions to the Sinhalese racists.

But I had no alternative other than begging the enemy.

Gajendran contacted Basil and spoke to him. Basil promised that after about two days he would cease all aerial attacks and military attacks for about 4 hours to let them get away in that period.

How could Basil Rajapaksa do it? Who will believe that Gotabaya Rajapaksa and the military generals would do it?

Basil gave a promise. I believed he could do it.

Did you contact India?

Many times. But I could not get a favourable reply.

Then can I take it that you have already been in contact with the Sri Lankan government, particularly Basil Rajapaksa, as well as the Indian government?

(Angrily) Are you trying to get something out of me?

(Continuing) Until the 16<sup>th</sup> of May I kept trying to contact Rajapaksa. But I could not.

Why? Gajendran was in Colombo. He could have met Basil Rajapaksa in person and spoken about this important problem? (There was no reply from Pathmanathan in regards to this).

I could contact Basil Rajapaksa only on the 17<sup>th</sup> of May.

He then told me that Mahinda Rajapaksa had cancelled all foreign engagement and was about to return. The security arrangements were in Basil Rajapaksa's hands. So he could not contact me (thus Pathmanathan had concluded the story in a plausible manner).

(Extremely dejected) The Sri Lanka government

announced that the Leader died on the 17th of May. But you refuted it and said he was alive. But after a few days you said that the Leader was dead. What are the reasons behind these contradictory statements?

**Pathmanathan:** First, those who contacted me said that he was alive. After some days they told me he was dead. I only gave that information.

**Author:** You issued these contradictory pieces of news based upon somebody's statements. You hold a responsible position. How could you give such contradictory pieces of information to the people? Did you have any ulterior motives in it?

**Pathmanathan:** I have said what I came to know. There is nothing else for me to say.

**Author:** You have agreed to fill fifty percent of the membership of the Government in Exile with LTTE representatives. Is there any change in that stand?

**Pathmanathan:** No change whatsoever. Let us meet tomorrow.

The next morning all of us met in the same hall at 9am. Pathmanathan came to the hall clad in the same shorts, the same white cap and black glasses that he wore when he went to the Sinhalese army. Greetings were exchanged. The committee of the Government in Exile was formed. Pathmanathan chose Urithirakumaran as its President.

Pathmanathan requested the author to be the Vice President of the Committee of the Government in Exile but the author declined. The reason was because of the previous night's conversation and the foresight of danger and destruction inherent in the arrangement. The author had thought of it throughout the night. There were signs that the plan was a monster which had emerged at the behest of the Sri Lanka government, as well as the governments of India and the United States. It seemed to be a dubious plot that would put a show of essentially supporting the separatist Tamil demand, whilst systematically undermining it from within. This author repeatedly discussed this with Anandam, who was also deeply pained, openly admitting that there was truth in what the author said. Besides this, he made firm pleas to be careful on the following day as Pathmanathan would certainly be displeased with him.

When the Vice Presidency was declined, all of the participants insisted that the author at least become a member of the committee. Finally, the author was nominated as a committee member. But, as soon as he returned home the author contacted Urithirakumaran and requested him to cancel his membership. After



a few days Urithirakumaran sent the author an e-mail, which remains with the author, informing him that his membership has been removed.

When the author declined, Pathmanathan requested Cheran to be the vice president. Cheran bluntly replied that he was not prepared to have any membership. This was followed by a selection of members. This author had already prepared a list of some names in consultation with Nediyan. But Pathmanathan went on reading from the list he had brought which the participants accepted without murmur. This author could see what was happening. As soon as the members were selected Pathmanathan left the hall. This author contacted Nediyan through telephone and explained the situation. Nediyan advised this author to get away from the place. Anandam clearly understood the facts. The same night he sent the author to India.

The author had to wait for a long time until he could meet Gajendran Ponnambalam and find out further details about what Pathmanathan had said. The meeting took place in Paris on 23 September 2011. Another prominent person also joined the matter, whose name cannot be mentioned here. The discussion lasted for about two hours, when Gajendran gave the following details by way of explanation. He said Pathmanathan had contacted him on 14 May 2009 and asked him to get in touch with Basil Rajapaksa. When Gajendran contacted Basil Rajapaksa and gave the details, Basil told him that there was no need for any talks but the attacks could be stopped for a while when the leader and his people could get away. When he contacted Basil Rajapaksa again, Basil replied that there was nothing he could do and suggested that people could surrender to the army with white flags. Then Gajendran had contacted ICRC and Red Cross officials and given an account of the situation. Later when Gajendran once again contacted Basil Rajapaksa on this matter on 17 May he had replied that Mahinda Rajapaksa had returned from abroad all of a sudden and that his security was left in his charge that is he could not contact him. He also said that in the meanwhile Pathmanathan had contacted him many times and learned about the conditions in the battle front. Since the conditions were very bad Gajendran had contacted the foreign missions and embassy in Colombo on 17 May with nothing forthcoming. He also stated that he had tried many times to contact Sampathnam, the political leader of the Tamils, but the latter had his telephone disconnected. Finally, he took this author to task for having accused him without getting a clear picture of what had happened.

This author put forward the following questions to him:

First of all, you are a man with political wisdom and experience. How could you, on Pathmanathan's advice, approach the enemy who has

vowed to annihilate the Tigers and appeal to them? Why did you not contact the political leaders of Tamil Nadu or the media persons of Tamil Nadu and give them an account of the conditions on the field?

Gajendran's reply was that all he did was carry forward on the bidding of Pathmanathan. This author asked him why he failed to reveal all these happening to the Tamils or the world at large. His reply was that he proposed to do so in the future. The author chided him that it was a grave mistake on his part that he did not do it at the right time.

Further, on 2 October 2011, this author met Selvarajah Gajendran, an ally of Gajendran Ponnambalam and a former member of parliament, in a public meeting in Germany. At this point the author briefly narrated to him how Pathmanathan and Gajendran Ponnambalam had contacted Basil Rajapaksa. He also pointed out the mistake made by Gajendran Ponnambalam. In response, Selvarajah Gajendran argued that it was a mistake on Gajendran Ponnambalam's part for not having disclosed these happenings to the world at large. This author had to discuss this matter with Selvarajah since he was a senior member of Gajendran Ponnambalam's party.

A few important facts must be taken into account regarding the author's conversation with Pathmanathan and Gajendran. Those who have known Pathmanathan will no doubt be aware that it is not possible for him to make valuable contributions to the Tamil Eelam Government in Exile through understanding of policies or ideologies. Nor does he possess the political wisdom required for such a move. It was only at the point at which the LTTE, and all those who felt strongly about Tamil Eelam had been totally massacred, was the idea of a Government in Exile put forth. It can only be a conspiracy hatched by the Sri Lanka government and the elements supporting it, to divert and blunt the feelings and activities of the radical supporters among the Diaspora. For that purpose they have approached Urithirakumaran, a known supporter of the Tigers and the one who attended the peace talks as a representative of the Tigers, through Pathmanathan, and have given him the responsibility of the Government in Exile. Urithirakumaran might have accepted Pathmanathan's offer with or without the knowledge of its implications. That fact that within a short period after the establishment of the Government in Exile at Kuala Lumpur, Pathmanathan left and joined hands with the Government of Sri Lanka, confirms this suspicion.

Further even after Pathmanathan joined the Sri Lanka government, Urithirakumaran had continued his association with him. He will not deny this. But when the Government in Exile became somewhat active and popular in the

countries where the Tamils had migrated, Urithirakumaran could have discontinued his connection with Pathmanathan. Besides this, when Pathmanathan joined with the Sri Lankan government whilst in Malaysia, Anandam contacted this author through the telephone and asked him for the phone number of S. Maheswaran immediately. When this author asked for the reason, Anandam replied that Pathmanathan who had been in a meeting with someone had gone missing. The author asked what this had to do with Maheswaran. Anandam replied that Maheswaran might be able to throw some light on the matter. This piece of information dealt a shock to this author and aroused his suspicions. It has already been mentioned that the LTTE had kept Pathmanathan away since 2002. It was only between 2002 and 2005 that peace talks were started between the LTTE and the government of Sri Lanka. It has also been mentioned that Urithirakumaran and Maheswaran attended the talks on the orders of the LTTE. How did the LTTE leadership send people who were associated with Pathmanathan to the peace talks? Moreover, this author is in possession of reliable proof of Karuna having joined the Sri Lankan government, even before he attended the peace talks along with these members. The proof cannot be presented here in consideration of the safety of a few people. Those who took part in the peace talks, namely Anton Balasingham, Urithirakumaran, Maheswaran and Karuna would have discussed their stand and plans in private after every day of the talks. They would have certainly also discussed the plans and points to be presented in the talks on the following day. Why should not one suspect whether all this information would not have reached Pathmanathan immediately.

The LTTE knew Urithirakumaran very well. But Maheswaran was not that well known to them. When this author asked Castro about it in 2008, he said that the Australian representative, Jeyakumar, suggested to Prabhakaran that Maheswaran may be sent to peace talks and the leader consented to it. Prabhakaran only has immense faith in some overseas office bearers of the LTTE. The author knows well that Jeyakumar is one of the last among them. Maheswaran is a close friend of Jeyakumar. There is nothing wrong in the taking that Maheswaran has taken good advantage of this friendship. He also worked as a coordinator for the TRO (Tamil Refugee Organisation) for a certain period. To put it briefly, betrayals which were always around the leader Prabhakaran have often affected or caused setbacks to the movement.

Secondly Gajendran's statement that Pathmanathan gave orders to him and that he was forced to act accordingly is childish. Besides, carrying on Pathmanathan's orders was extremely foolish. But the same Gajendran has promised to do many other things to save the Tamils and they must be welcomed. Gajendran has also said that he tried to contact Sambanthan of the Tamil alliance and one of the front line leaders of the Tamils, through

telephone but it had been disconnected. It is true that the Tamil people will never forgive Sambanthan. Besides this, the souls of the one hundred thousand people who died at Mullivaikal will not permit him to live in peace. In addition, all the agony undergone by 300,000 Tamils and the tears they have shed will not leave him free.

There are many mysteries surrounding the enormous ethnic cleansing perpetrated at Mullivaikal. There have been many internal conspiracies, external conspiracies and international conspiracies responsible for it. The worse and most shameful fact is that the Sinhalese government and its allies have made use of Tamils to destroy the Tamil community. Nobody can escape from the consequences of their action. No one can keep the truth hidden for long. This research work is bound to rouse many students of history they will not rest without finding out these enormous and diabolical conspiracies and expose the historical facts of how a race and a nation were mauled by the conspiracies. Then they will bring before the public all those who were indulged in these holocausts. They will be published by people and branded as symbols of shame.

When Brutus stabbed Julius Caesar, Caesar asked him 'And you, Brutus?' Caesar would then have thought that a worse traitor than Brutus would never have come to earth at any time in the future. Caesar had no way of knowing that traitors much worse than Brutus were going to appear in the future. Throughout the history of the world, the names of those who were responsible for destroying with their brutal and bloody hands the Eelam Tamils, liberation of Eelam and those tender warriors who have up their precious lives in total for the cause will be uttered aloud.

Nobody can deny that all the activities of the LTTE related above indicate beyond any doubt that they had wholehearted faith in their objective of liberating the Tamil Eelam from the clutches of Sri Lanka government and making it a land of freedom, peace and prosperity. They raised their armed forces - infantry, navy and air force - against immense odds and opposition to the amazement of the world. For freeing it from the Sri Lankan government and Sinhalese armed forces the Tamils and Tamil country. If several countries of the world had not supported the Sri Lankan government it is certain that armed forces to the, LTTE would have made the Sinhalese forces run for their lives,

vacating the Tamil homeland. The Sinhalese government can never deny that only with the help and the military assistance and military strategies offered by India the superpowers and many other countries were they able to make the LTTE meet heavy defeat in the early part of 2009.

The defeats damage and agony suffered by the Sinhalese army forces at the hands of the LTTE, before 2009 will bear ample testimony to this. The bonding of the LTTE as a terrorist organisation by the Sri Lankan

government, India and several other countries of the world shows their refusal to understand the basis of the Eelam liberation struggle conceded the right to self determination of the people of Eelam and realise the fact that the fight for Tamil Eelam is not a separatist struggle but a war to retrieve their lost freedom. Besides the geopolitical aspirations of countries like India, United States and China and their contest for superiority among themselves are further reasons. But the LTTE have gone way beyond the selfish politics of the western countries and have designed and implemented a grand administrative structure and infrastructure with admirable foresight and have governed the land of Eelam. By this they have established that they are not terrorists but dedicated freedom fighters, ready to sacrifice their lives for restoring the right of their people. They have made a deep study of what kind of country their Tamil Eelam should be and have far-sightedly organised a shadow country which was run with admirable precision. All the mischief made so far by the Sri Lanka government, the Indian government and the governments of the United States and their allies to dub the LTTE as terrorists their treacherous acts and their high sounding falsehoods are certain to be swept aside in the days to come. They have organised the Eelam under their governance in such a way that cannot even be imagined by those who are running legal government's politicians as well as officials. They have undertaken scientific study of what the northern and eastern Tamil Eelam must be like and have designed action plans. They have constructed a university at the costs of 400 million rupees. If Tamil Eelam had been a reality, they would have executed all their elaborate plans and taken Tamil Eelam to the top of the world. This is what looked like an insurmountable problem to the inactive Sri Lanka government, faltering Indian government and the dodderly government of the United States. The world will soon realise that these superpowers were not able to stomach the fact that Tamil Eelam becoming a revolutionary country assured of prosperity in all fields. There is no chance of the Sinhalese nation and the people of the world having known all the significant facts exposed in this work. They are brought to the notice of the world for the first time. Let the world decide who it to determine the destiny of the Tamils: The world or the Tamils themselves?

#### NOTES

1. Gunaratna (1998), p.356, as cited by Manoharan, op.cit., p.284.
2. Gunasingam, M., Private Assessment of the Author, 2012.
3. *Thinamurasu* ,10-16 October 1999.
4. **Ibid.**
5. **Ibid.**

6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. *Thinamurasu*, 8-14 August 1999.
10. Statement by LTTE Leader, Velupillai Prabhakaran.
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12. Kellas, J.G., *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, London: Macmillan, 1991, p.3.
13. *Thinamurasu*, 18-24 July 1983.
14. Puveenthiran and Maniarasan of the LTTE Sea Tigers.
15. Ibid.
16. *Thinamurasu*, 5-12 December 1998.
17. *Eelamurasu*, 13-19 December 1998.
18. *Thainadu*, 22 January 1998.
19. Ibid.
20. Virakesari, 15 July 1995.
21. *Dinakaran*, 30 April 1995.
22. *Thinamurasu*, 15-19 August 1998.
23. *Thinamurasu*, 25-31 December 1994.
24. Speech by Mannivannan, South Asian Studies Centre, DVD Collection No.9, Sydney, 2008.



## CONCLUSION

Sri Lanka was under the imperial power of Great Britain for more than 150 years. Prior to this, the Portuguese and Dutch had subjugated the land for almost 300 years and the invaders had exploited all the abundant resources of Sri Lanka to build their own countries. But the legacy handed down by the British to the Tamils was one of permanent destruction. This pathway was neatly laid down for the Sinhalese majority by the British before they left the island for good in 1948. The Sinhalese dubiously received the authority to govern Sri Lanka from the erroneous Soulbury Constitution. From that day until now, the ultra-Buddhist Sinhalese of Sri Lanka have maintained a chauvinistic government, through the clever manipulation of Tamil politics, to perpetrate systematic and complete ethnic cleansing. Finally, the Tamils have been left in absolute poverty.

From the 1930s to 1948, the only party representing the Tamils was the All Ceylon Tamil Congress, which under the leadership of G.G. Ponnambalam played a major role in the democratic agitations launched by the Sinhalese and Tamil leaders who demanded political reforms. Ponnambalam started his political trading by demanding that the Sinhalese (70 percent of the population) receive 50 percent of parliamentary representation and that the Tamils, Muslims, Burghers and Malays (30 percent of the population) received the other 50 percent of parliamentary representation. Even a person of average intelligence could see that neither the British nor the Sinhalese would find this acceptable. Instead of this, if Ponnambalam had argued, agitated and demanded for the restoration of the original kingdoms, then the Tamils would have had the opportunity to retrieve their lost freedom from as early as 1948.

It was around this period that India had become independent. It was the same period in which the Muslims of India had the nation of Pakistan carved



out for them. The Jews, who had lost their homeland, enduring untold misery as they had been spread across the globe, regained Israel. But G.G. Ponnambalam has been accused of treason for having missed this golden opportunity. Moreover, Jinnah struggled night and day, against the Indian leaders on one side and the British leaders on the other, to win Pakistan. Ben-Gurion dedicated himself totally for the redemption of the Jews to win Israel. But history will always know that Ponnambalam, who indulged in part-time politics armed with short-sighted philosophies, was the reason for the destiny of the Tamils having taken the wrong direction.

After 1949, S.J.V. Chelvanayakam, who had assumed leadership of the Tamils with the Tamil Federal Party, honestly believed that the political problems of the Tamils could only be solved through a federal system of government. Unfortunately, he did not delve deeply enough to realise that the federal structure would not suit Sri Lanka as it suited India, as already considered in this study. For more than a quarter of a century, from 1949 to 1976, Chelvanayakam and his political associates launched many non violent democratic struggles against the Sri Lankan government. The inability of the Tamil leader to see through the extremist ultra-Buddhist Sinhalese nationalism and rigid political stand of the Sinhalese leaders swallowed up a quarter of the century. Further, it served to greatly disappoint the Tamils, taking them to the edge and harnessing their frustrations. Above all, the ultra-Buddhist Sinhalese chauvinists, who have scant respect for human rights and dignity, would have looked upon the non-violent struggles as farcical at that time. Besides, after carrying out non-violent struggles for a quarter of a century, how much longer did the Tamil leader expect to continue with this strategy?

In all frankness, Gandhi's non violent struggle in India went on as a continuous affair until India was independent. But if one were to calculate the number of days spent by the Sri Lankan Tamils leaders in non violent agitation, it may have taken up just a few weeks or months within the entire quarter of a century. The reason for this is that no Tamil leader was a full-time politician, which is true of all leaders from Chelvanayakam to Amirthalingam. Every single one of them indulged in part-time politics, and this would be agreed upon by anyone familiar with Sri Lankan politics.

If not for the pressures of World War II, the British government would have suppressed Gandhi's non violent struggle with gun power. The British have done this on several occasions in the course of the Indian independence movement. The early stages of World War II and the course it was taking were the main factors in India winning its non violent struggle. If not the struggle would have been ruthlessly put down by imperialistic Britain. This is why Subhas Chandra Bose had no faith in non-violence and organised an

armed struggle against the British. If World War II had not intervened, hundreds of thousands of heroes would have united under the leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose, making the British take to their heels. It would have certainly been Subhas Chandra Bose, and not Gandhi, to be hailed as the winner of independence.

In the history of Sri Lanka, 1970 may be considered as the year when Tamil political leaders finally became completely disillusioned, after having organised struggle after struggle, and following the principles of non violence and democracy. After having signed pact after pact, such as the Banda-Chelva and Dudley-Chelva pact, they were left with total defection and were forced to look for alternate avenues. The Tamils leaders, who finally realised this, came to the conclusion in 1976 that the only way for the Tamils to decide their own destiny was through the retrieval of their lost freedoms. The future students of political history will frown upon this as wisdom attained too late.

Since 1976, many thousands of fearless young men and women have joined Prabhakaran's Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and dedicated themselves to the enormous task of retrieving the lost freedoms of the Tamil people. They have courageously left behind their fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, relations and friends and loyally rallied behind the great leader of Tamil Eelam. The cadres of the LTTE sacrificed every aspect of normal life, from their education, employment, basic comforts and well being, to tireless trek through villages, jungles and dry desert areas, with little sleep and even less food. They only had one aim and one purpose. This was Tamil Eelam and its people. They could see nothing else and this became the sole reason for their existence. To this day in the history of Tamil Eelam, no political leader has even come remotely close to the level of dedication shown by the LTTE movement, its fighters and its leader, who have all wholeheartedly devoted themselves to dawn the freedom of their land and the redemption of their people.

The devotion, perseverance, will power and valour of the LTTE posed an extreme threat to the frightened Sinhalese armed forces. Many may remember the cunning words of the ultra-Buddhist Sinhalese racist, J.R. Jeyewardene, when he was at the top of his tyrannical government: 'If I had

not gone to India for assistance I would have been forced to go to the doorsteps of Prabhakaran.' These words do not merely indicate the helplessness of the Sri Lankan government but also simply put the power of the Sri Lankan forces to shame. But what Jeyewardene said was true. He was forced to utter these words, as the LTTE was a movement that could not be put down and it had strategies that could make the Sri Lankan armed forces shake in their boots.

The UNP and SLFP, which alternately controlled power of the Sri Lankan government, utilised the problem of Tamil Eelam in their political games. Without mention of the ethnic problem of Eelam Tamils, neither party could even dream of coming to power. Sri Lanka is the only nation in the world that exhibits such kind of parliamentary democracy, or at least that is the impression that is created. The fact is that every election campaign is built on how much of pestering sore that Eelam Tamil problem has become in Sri Lankan politics. All the racist political leaders who came into power maintained their habit of continuously depriving the Tamils of any rights, in as many ways as possible in a remarkably planned manner, in order to hang on to the majority Sinhalese vote bank. In this study, all the significant facts regarding this have been clearly highlighted with reliable evidence. If they are analysed carefully and scientifically then one thing becomes completely clear. The racist Sinhalese governments and their armed forces have adopted the policy of the total annihilation of the Tamil people from their land, and this has become the sole focus of their political agenda and purpose.

These parties seem to have no alternative to this policy. Their thirst for power can only be quenched by pointing their racist finger at the Tamil people, and this process will continue for as long as these racist parties remain to exist. There is nothing else that we can deduce. In the event that the people of the Sinhalese majority come to terms with the realities of the situation, and there comes a stage where a revolutionary farsighted leadership captures power in Sri Lanka, then there is a chance, just a chance, that the right to self determination of the Tamils will be respected and a safe life for them being assumed. Otherwise, a fifth Eelam war and ensuing bloodbath will be unavoidable on the island's soil, mainly in the south part of the Sri Lanka.

The LTTE has a very clear understanding of the real stand of the Sri Lankan government. They took up arms only as a measure of retaliation. They had the firm belief that it was the only way of protecting the Tamils and the Tamils regions in order to retrieve their freedoms. The war that exploded against the Sinhalese government and the Sinhalese armed forces in 1976 is a result of this conviction. The Sinhalese government and armed forces were so shaken from so many different angles that they helplessly entered into an

agreement with the Indian government to bring the Indian army to Sri Lankan soil to fight the LTTE. Many political pundits, scholars and leaders openly accused Jeyewardene to be the unscrupulous fox who rode the young and inexperienced Rajiv Gandhi, who was devoid of any political wisdom, making use of him till the end. Even the powerful Indian armed forces were unable to conquer the fierce LTTE. At this point the Sri Lankan government went begging all around the world to acquire military assistance and advice

from all quarters at which point it embarked on a massive war effort to destroy the Tigers. The LTTE were never unnerved and faced the ruthless war with the Sri Lankan armed forces, which were left with devastating losses and damages after a quarter century of heavy fighting. The war declared to be won by the Sri Lankan government cannot be seen as against the LTTE alone. It was a war against entire Tamil race. This study has brought to light, without any room for doubt, that this war was a construct of state sponsored terrorism aimed at annihilating the Tamil race.

The LTTE developed their infantry, navy and air force as an enormous institution, a great fighting force having thousands of freedom fighters and thousands within the people's army. The fighting strength of the LTTE which expanded in the infantry, navy and air force had many subdivisions within them, leaving the Sri Lankan government and other governments of the world awestruck. After meeting the Sri Lankan armed forces in battle after battle and heaping up victories, the LTTE not only brought 70 percent of the land area of Tamil Eelam under their control, but also raised a grand administrative structure that functioned like clockwork.

The Sri Lankan government and the other foreign governments that came to know the LTTE, either by seeing their power first hand, or by learning of them through the media, were amazed and alarmed. These powers tried to prevent the activities of the LTTE by labelling them as terrorists. They introduced economic sanctions against the LTTE and Tamil people. They crippled their activities through the enacting of racially biased laws. But the full force of the Tamil race stood behind the LTTE, continuously supporting and invigorating them. This left the Sri Lankan government as well as countries like India, United States, England, Israel and China worried. If the LTTE is allowed to move in its course and if Tamil Eelam were to be created in the Indian Ocean region, under the leadership of an extremely strong and highly principled LTTE, then these countries believed that it would shape into an extremely powerful nation. If that were to happen then the regional, geo-political and economic interests of these large nations would be in jeopardy. This is the reason for conspiracies involved in the Norwegian peace efforts of 2002. There is no alternative inference that this study leads us to.

The day will come when Norway has to confess that it indulged in the cut-throat job of luring in and then letting down the Eelam Tamils. As mentioned already, the speech made by the American Secretary of State in the conference of the funding nations bared open the diabolical stand of the United States. Further, all the representatives of the 31 participants countries kept silent and expressed their agreement with America. To cap it all off, this study has made it clear that even those who participated in the conference as



representatives of the LTTE had been purchased by Sri Lanka, India and other nations. On the whole, one has to come to the inescapable conclusion that the Norwegian peace initiatives were a part of an international conspiracy hatched to destroy the Tamil Eelam liberation struggle and the LTTE.

Recently, Eric Solheim, the Norwegian Special Envoy who participated in the peace initiative, has made a speech in a conference at Oslo on 12 May 2012, published online by Tamil Net on 17 May 2012. In his speech, Solheim has said that the world can never accept Tamil Eelam becoming a separate nation, that Sri Lanka is a multi-racial and multi-cultural country for which only a political solution based on federal structure will be possible. Besides this, he cites a solution akin to the federal structure of India. This comprehensively shows that he does not have sufficient knowledge of the Indian federal structure, the stubbornness of Sinhalese nationalism and the real history of the Tamils. He has not been able to analytically contemplate the reality that there have only been two nationalities in Sri Lanka from prehistoric days. Now, with the Sinhalese nationality representing a 70 percent majority he is of the contemplation that a federal structure will unite Sri Lanka. When this is highlighted to Solheim, he may point out that the Muslims and some other small national groups are also present in Sri Lanka. But the reality is that their historical background and political stand is different. If Eric Solheim had pondered a little longer on a political solution for meeting the aspirations of the people he could not have taken such a stand. We have to wonder how such a person formed the central point for the peace talks held between the Sri Lankan Tamils and Sri Lankan government.

The peace talks that commenced in 2002 abruptly concluded in 2004. In that period the Sri Lankan government had more than enough time to make huge purchases of modern weaponry, warships and warplanes. from the countries mentioned many times previously. Further, they received an abundance of military training and counselling. On the contrary, owing to the misunderstanding between the LTTE and Pathmanathan, the purchase and procurement of arms by the LTTE were greatly affected. Even those armaments which were on their way were destroyed mid-sea by the Sri Lankan navy and air force.

Further, during the talks the strict discipline of the LTTE seems to have wavered. The author has learned through his travels and meetings that the discipline of the LTTE at this juncture is found to have slumped. This study has proved beyond any doubt, with reliable evidence, that some of the participants in the talks had been bought by the Sri Lankan government, India and the other countries. In addition, the departure of Karuna as the general in Eastern Tamil Eelam and the episode of him selling himself to the

Sri Lankan government, did not fail to weaken the LTTE. Further, the short sighted and murky political policies of India lent immense strength to the Sri Lankan government. Strong military assistance and consultation was offered by countries like the United States, Israel, Great Britain, Pakistan, China and Japan to the Sri Lankan government and armed forces. In the backdrop of the failure of the peace talks, the Sri Lankan government essentially planned what was going to be their final offensive, with the mutual help and consultation of the abovementioned nations and launched a massive warfare effort. By the end of May 2009, the LTTE were forced to meet with immense destruction, defeats and setbacks.

The 2009 war against the LTTE was not fought by the Sri Lankan armed forces. It must be taken as a war fought by Sri Lanka using the arms openly supplied by the 22 countries mentioned above and covert supplies made by another 20 countries. In such a state of affairs, however strong and talented they might have been, the LTTE were bound to be defeated. This incident is going to be recorded in history as the first and the last instance where several countries have joined together, hatched a conspiracy and made a planned offensive, causing the total destruction of a liberation struggle. If perceived in its proper light, this is not merely an offensive against the LTTE, but the Tamil ethnicity.

It is obvious that the impact of globalisation and the perverted approach of superpowers who are engaged in the strategies of cut-throat competition have all played a major role in the war. As Manivannan mentioned in his address, Sri Lanka occupies the centre of the Indian Ocean region which lies between the Asian nations of the East and the nations of the Western world, with the neutral harbour of Trincomalee being of extreme geo-political significance. Sri Lanka is very important from the point of view of the economic well being of the western countries, the interests of the superpowers and imperialistic regional desires of India. So the real competition is who gets to extend their influence in Sri Lanka. The LTTE and the Tamil people became inextricably entangled in these destructive politics of power. That is the truth that is hidden in amongst all the calamities and evil designs of this modern day genocide. So it can plainly be seen that the

Tamil Eelam problem is not a Sri Lankan problem but has grown into a reflection of a complex international issue.

No one can deny that the Sri Lankan armed forces and all the big powers mentioned above have worked together to massacre the Liberation Tigers and more than 100,000 Tamil civilians. The Sri Lankan government, India, United States, Israel, Pakistan, Great Britain, China and Japan were determined that to destroy the LTTE even if it came at the price of killing hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians. If we want to find out what lead

to such an attitude then only the following reasons can be discovered. Firstly, after the peace talks these countries all came to realise that the LTTE cannot be bought under any circumstances. Secondly, they had understood very clearly that leader Prabhakaran will never sway from his aim of Tamil Eelam. Thirdly, they learned that if Tamil Eelam was created then there would be no room given to economic and imperialistic power games at the hands of the LTTE. Fourthly, if they missed their last chance to destroy the LTTE they believed they would never get another opportunity. It seems that these countries clearly thought along these lines because of the vast evidence that proves that as more than 100,000 innocent civilians were massacred none of these countries came forward to prevent it but rather continued to supply assistance to the Sinhalese armed forces. The United Nations, which was established for guaranteeing the security of mankind, as well its Secretary General Ban Ki Moon, failed to interfere in this matter. Neither the General Assembly nor the Security Council enjoys any authority of its own. They can only act when they get the consent of the five countries of US, Russia, China, France and Great Britain, who all enjoy the power of veto. Even if one of these countries vote against a resolution brought before the Security Council it cannot be put into action. Above all, everybody has witnessed the unfortunate affair of the United Nations functioning as the housemaid of the United States. Therefore, when the United States stands in destroying the LTTE, the United Nations can do nothing but remain as a silent witness. Lastly, it must be remembered that the final battle in Vanni was being fought while Ban Ki Moon was moving coins for his re-election.

Even the other nations which were friendly to the economically and militarily powerful countries kept silent on this occasion. If one were to scientifically contemplate as to why all these countries and the United Nations were patiently witnessing a race being brutally massacred, it is easy to find the answer. The only reason can be the stand taken by these countries in regards to the LTTE. These are the facts collected throughout this study.

Certain incidents that followed the final battle justify our conclusion. Even now the Sinhalese government and the Sinhalese army continue with their genocide of the Tamils in every possible manner. The Sri Lankan government often declares that the LTTE's thirst for freedom continues to exist under the surface. If that is so, Sri Lanka and the countries mentioned above still believe that the LTTE can rise once again. It will not be wrong in taking that India and the other countries were involved in the ethnic cleansing activities of the Sri Lankan government. Even three years after the war, the Sri Lankan government has not come forward with any meaningful solution for the Tamil problem. The Sri Lankan government goes on challenging India and the other countries who lent support to it to fight the

LITE. Moreover, it supports such bodies like the Government in Exile, undertaken in other countries, with the sole aim of blunting the thirst for freedom that still remains within the island. Besides this, attempts are made to drag the Tamil leaders who remain within Sri Lanka to the side of the government for political mileage. The aim of all these countries is to impose a half baked solution on the Tamils with the help of Tamil organisations and create a political arrangement in Tamil Eelam which will be conducive to their own economic and military well being.

But in the midst of such a circumstance, Sri Lanka has let all the other countries down and strengthened its relation with China. China is carrying on its activities with planning and precision without any interference. The Sri Lankan government knows that in the future, it is China that is going to emerge as the sole superpower, as those who follow political happenings can perceive as the imperialistic stature and power of countries like the United States and Great Britain moves more quickly to its end. The story of these superpowers is akin to the tale of 'The Old Lion that Lost its Teeth'. Yet, obviously, the United States finds it impossible to tolerate the growth of China and proceeds to interfere in the affairs of Sri Lanka.

It is on account of the above that the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam secured an absolute majority in the elections for the Tamil Nadu state assembly held in 2011 and assumed power. Both the Congress Party and the Bharatiya Janata Party are losing their influence. When elections are held for the Indian Parliament in 2014, there are good opportunities for the alternative parties to come to power. The All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam and its leader Jayalalitha can be expected to be front runners in this election. It is on account of this that Hilary Clinton, who enjoys a position next to the President of the superpower of America, has put all her status aside and travelled all the way to India to meet the Chief Minister of the State of Tamil Nadu. The Indian newspapers have mentioned that the Eelam Tamil problem figured prominently in these talks. It may be appropriate to mention another matter of significance at this juncture. India and the other international countries know full well that China has entrenched itself in Sri Lanka. This has become more of a great threat and challenge to India rather than the other countries. Elections for the Indian

parliament are scheduled to take place in 2014 and there is no doubt that the State Government of Tamil Nadu and the problem of Eelam Tamils will play a major role in deciding the outcome of the elections. It is to be noted that India, either on its own or with the collaboration of the US, will have to find a solution of the Eelam Tamils before this election.

If that were to happen there may arise a need for conducting a referendum amongst the Tamils who are living in Sri Lanka as well as the

Tamil Diaspora. In that case there will be no impediment to the Diaspora voting independently. But one can be certain that the Tamils who are living in Sri Lanka will be under severe threat from the Sinhalese government, forces and mercenaries, when taking part in such a referendum. The Tamils living in the Northern and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka have, in the parliamentary elections held in 1977, given massive support to the Tamil Eelam demand put forth by the Tamil United Liberation Front and given a definite mandate to the party for securing Tamil Eelam. That mandate, given by the Tamils in 1977, when they were secure in their region without being oppressed, must be taken as final. There is the dire need for the Tamils and the others concerned to give serious thought as to how far a referendum, held at a juncture where the Tamils have been subjected to untold misery and have been driven to various corners of the world, can be taken as independent and reflective of their free will. It is essential for all Tamils to give this serious thought before making a decision.

The United States submitted to the UN the Lessons Learned and Reconciliation Commissions Report against Sri Lanka. The resolution was supported by 24 member countries of the United Nations who supported the United States, with 15 member countries opposing and 8 member countries abstaining from voting. The surprising fact is that India, which has been voting against the proposals supportive of Tamils all along, has this time voted in favour of the resolution. It is because India is now well aware that China's interference in the Sri Lankan affair is detrimental and dangerous to its own interests. The bare truth is that none of these countries have any sympathy for the Eelam Tamils. Further, the Sri Lankan president Mahinda Rajapaksa went to India in June 2010 and had a meeting with Manamohan Singh, the Prime Minister of India, and then Rajapaksa had extended an invitation the Indian Prime Minister to visit Sri Lanka. But there was a online news item on 3 June 2012, showing that an Indian official had made a statement that Manamohan Singh will not visit Sri Lanka until all the pledges given by Sri Lanka to India are put into action. These happening clearly reveal the stand of the United States and India.

It is blatantly obvious that India and the abovementioned countries will never come forward to secure the liberation of Tamil Eelam. They are more

likely to coerce moderate Tamil leaders with weak political resolve to hold talks with the Sri Lankan government, in order to impose a half hearted pseudo solution on the Tamils of Eelam. This will then serve the selfish interests of those countries that have taken a liking to the opportunities that Sri Lanka presents. But it is also clear that a half hearted measure, which is not based completely on the right to self determination of the Tamils of Eelam, will not offer any permanent solution to the problem. The Tamils



clearly recognise that this kind of solution will only serve to legally sanction the racist Sri Lankan government to continue to assert their cruel domination over the Tamils and slowly disintegrate and destroy them over time. Therefore, this is the time for all the Tamils living in Sri Lanka as well as the globally scattered Tamil Diaspora to place all their differences aside and make a united stand, working untiringly and with complete conviction, for the liberation of Tamil Eelam.

The world at large has been disgusted by the atrocities of the 2009 holocaust and many countries have now taken the stand that the rights of the Tamil people for self determination must be safeguarded and cannot continue to be totally denied by the oppressive Sinhalese regime. Many share the view of the father of the Singaporean nation, Lee Kaun Yew, who has stated that 'the country can never be put together again'. Further, on 20 August 2010, the Supreme Court of New Zealand has mentioned in a judgment and recognised that the LTTE is a political organisation that is fighting for the right to independence. The Hague Court of Holland has voiced its opposition of the LTTE being labelled as a terrorist organisation. Many such instances can be cited in the global community.

Hence, it is the historical responsibility of all the Tamils of Eelam to put in their tireless efforts, without giving in to frustrations, in order to liberate the free nation of Tamil Eelam. The leader Prabhakaran has expressed in the course of his latest broadcast that the great responsibility of securing freedom for Tamil Eelam now firmly rests in the hands of the Diaspora, and particularly the younger generation. Many countries of the world have given prominence to only matters such as human rights violations and aid work. There is no doubt that these efforts will provide a temporary relief to the masses who have been subjected to the intolerable cruelties, atrocities and hardships of war. But if the civilians of Tamil Eelam are to acquire a permanent solution guaranteeing peace, prosperity and independence then there is no alternative besides the retrieval of their traditional homelands through their justified right of self determination.

More than 300,000 precious Tamil lives have been ruthlessly cut short by the response of racist Sinhalese chauvinists in their response to the reasonable Tamil Eelam liberation struggle. Many thousands have become physically handicapped. Many thousands of Tamil women have been violently raped by the Sinhalese army, Sinhalese thugs and Indian army, with 80,000 Tamil women being ruthlessly turned into widows. Their lives have been shattered beyond repair. Above all, more than 40,000 freedom fighters have been torched by the fires of warfare as they fought for the liberation of their people against the clutches of oppression. Gone are the days when the traditional homelands of the Tamils were being cunningly snatched, inch by

inch, and then being occupied by the Sinhalese. Now they are grabbing village after village. The religion, language, art, culture, economic foundations - absolutely everything belonging to the Tamils has been destroyed beyond any recognition. The price paid by the Eelam Tamils to regain their lost freedom is immeasurable.

The Eelam Tamils and the LTTE were undoubtedly defeated in the holocaust of 2009, but by no means have they been totally annihilated. The LTTE have raised and brought up their forces throughout the forums of countries all over the world for over a quarter of a century. These forums are continuing to carry on their activities without undergoing any damage. The entire Tamil Diaspora has the responsibility of joining together to raise a united voice for those who have made the ultimate sacrifice. The Tamils should understand that any institution that suddenly emerges through the rubble of the holocaust will in some way be connected to the Sri Lankan government or other countries such as India or the United States. It is the national mandate given to every Eelam Tamil that they need to seek redemption for the 300,000 Tamil lives that were callously ripped from the earth, to honour the 40,000 fighters that made the ultimate sacrifice and most importantly to fight the systems in place to secure the freedom of their beloved nation.

A few important incidents have to be cited at this juncture in order to conclude this study. The President of the Tamil Liberation Alliance, Selva. said to Sinhalese leaders that 'we will not leave you alone until you leave us alone'. This is one great responsibility and obligation of the entire Tamil community. Further, this author had the opportunity of meeting Prabhakaran in January 2008 in order to talk on various matters. At this meeting, Prabhakaran referred to Pandaravanniyan, the Chieftain of Vanni who made many military expeditions against the British army. The British General, Bon Briberg, on 31 October 1803, erected a memorial stone in appreciation of his own valour at Katchilaimadu in Vanni, the place of British victory. This stone carries the inscription that Pandaravanniyan was defeated. Prabhakaran added that 'it does not say that this Pandaravanniyan was captured by the British or killed' concluding the conversation with a smile. Many interpretations can be made of this statement of his.

**'Our greatest glory is not in never falling, but in rising  
every time we fair**

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