

Today is the first day of the month of June or the month of Posen. Today is a very important day for all of us who are Sri Lankans. It was in the month of Posen that Sri Lankans became a civilised nation. We were able to learn and practise the Buddha Dharma because of Arahant Mahinda who arrived in Sri Lanka with the concurrence of King Dharmasoka.

On the Posen Day we not only came to know about Buddhism but also we gave up weapons we had in our hands. King Devanampiyatissa on his way to the jungle for hunting deer, met Arahant Mahinda, listened to his sermon and came to know the noble doctrine of Lord Buddha after which the king dedicated himself to the principles of Avihimsa (non-violence) giving up Himsa (violence) on a Poya Day.

Today is the beginning of that memorable month of Posen. Further, I saw the Leela calendar today. Important events of each day are mentioned in this calendar under the respective days. What is mentioned here for today is the bringing of the branch of the Sri Maha Bodhi by the Nun Sanghamitta in 247 B.C. during the reign of King Devanampiyatissa. This too adds to the importance.

Also, Gam-Udawa '89 is being inaugurated today at Mahiyangana. At the Mahiyangana Raja Maha Vihara, where the famous Mahiyangana dagoba stands, a pirth ceremony takes place tonight. Therefore, it is a great pleasure for all of us to have participated in a meritorious activity of this nature on this important day at this Chitta Vivekashramaya built by the Sri Sucharita Movement.

Today is the day on which we can start paying homage to this dagoba. Its pinnacle was laid by our Most Venerable Agga Maha Panditha Balangoda Ananda Maithreya Maha Nayaka Thera.

Peace of mind

In a little while by opening this pinnacle our Mahanayake Thera will make it possible for all of us to worship it. This Chitta Vivekshramaya was established by Sri Sucharita Viyaparaya, to provide peace of mind to our people. We found that a place like this was necessary for us to get rid of various violent feelings, bad feelings, wrong feelings from our minds. We saw a place like this in England.

That is the Amarawathi temple. It was Agga Maha Panditha Balangoda Ananda Maithreya Thera who gave advice on establishing this temple. We thought while the Maha Thera is going from country to country preaching, teaching and practising meditation, there should be a place in Sri Lanka also to get his advice, like this Chitta Vivekashramaya.

We established this Vivekshramaya on his advice and

Auf einer Parteiversammlung am 1. Juni hat Sri Lanks Präsident Premadasa den Abzug indischer Soldaten aus den Nord-Ost Gebieten der Insel bis Ende Juli verlangt. Das Ultimatum ist mittlerweile verstrichen. Indien hat jetzt angeboten, wöchentlich 1.500 der schätzungsweise 50.000 auf der Insel stationierten Soldaten abzuziehen. Nachfolgend dokumentieren wir den Streit zwischen Indien und Sri Lanka, der sich aus den Forderungen Premadasas ergab.

approval in this land of 16 acres. The Chairman of Nawaloka Group, Deshabandu H. K. Dharmadasa, Mrs. Dharmadasa and their family helped us in this venture. When I requested him, he agreed to do all possible things. All these including the Sanghavasana, Dharmasawana and this chaitya were financed by him. Other members of the Sucharita Movement also helped in all possible ways. While appreciating all their good work, I confer merit on all of them.

You will see that this Chaitya is decorated with the six-coloured Buddhist flag. I saw a similar decoration about six months back at the Thuparamaya Chaitya. It was done on the instructions and advice of the late Maho Sumedha Thera. We are happy that we were able to decorate this chaitya today with the coloured Buddhist flag in this manner.

Need for guidance

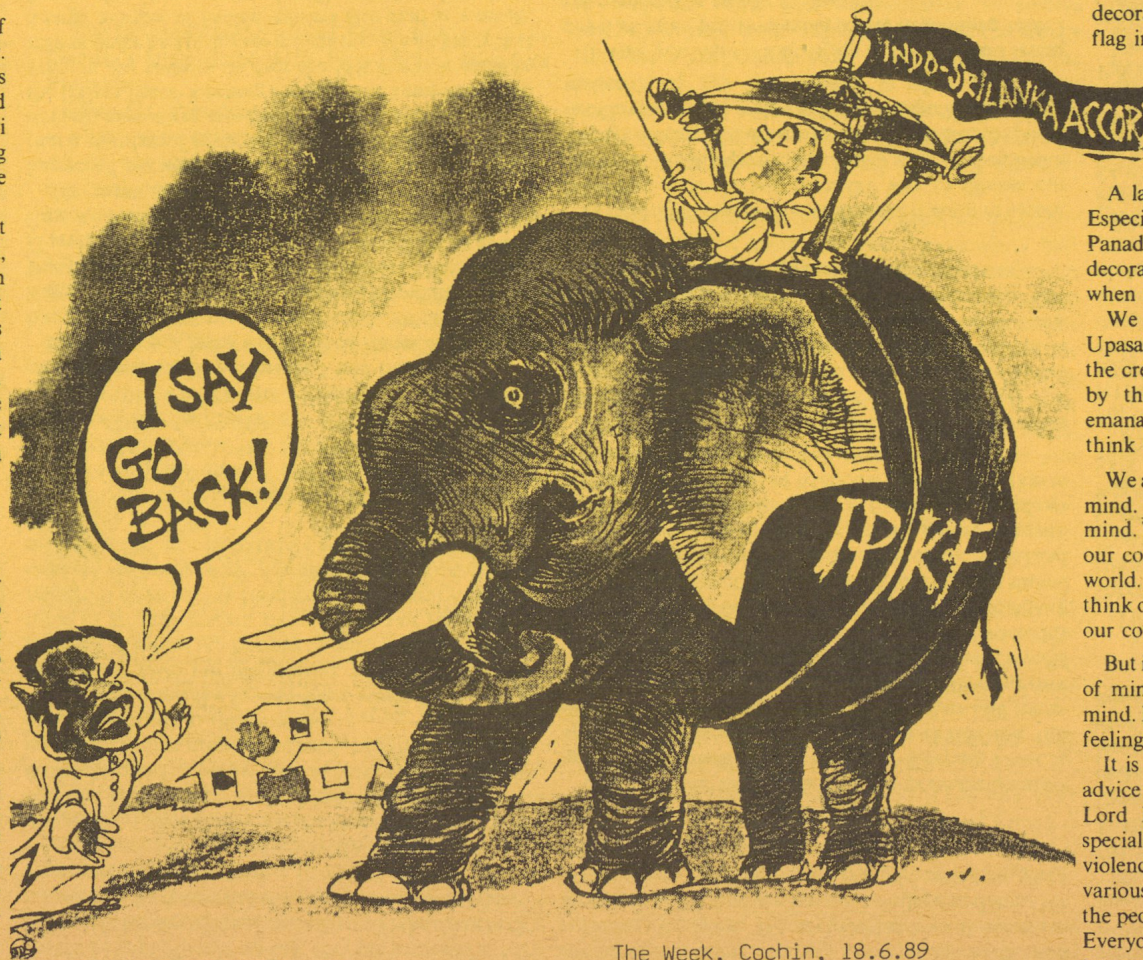
A large number of people helped us in this venture. Especially, a number of people from Moratuwa and Panadura helped us with this decoration. This is a decorative draping for the Chaitya. It can be removed when necessary.

We got this Buddhist flag due to the efforts of Maha Upasaka Henry Olcott who came from America. He was the creator of this six-coloured Buddhist flag accepted by the whole world. This symbolises 'Budu Ras' emanating from the Lord Buddha. Therefore, we can think that 'Budu Ras' is coming out of the Chaitya.

We all try very hard in various ways to obtain peace of mind. We work, earn and do all these to have peace of mind. This is a period where there is no peace, not only in our country, but also in various other countries in the world. It is a period we all lack peace of mind. When we think of the various violent incidents happening today in our country, it is difficult to have any peace of mind.

But it is only at a time like this we really need the peace of mind. Lord Buddha taught us how to control our mind. He has taught us how to control our thoughts and feelings.

It is at a time like this that we can get the guidance, advice and assistance from the Dharma taught by the Lord Buddha. We need such guidance and advice specially at a time when we face disturbances and violence. The unity of the people was disrupted due to various incidents. Fear and doubt crept into the minds of the people. The situation continues without any change. Everyone is praying and hoping that peace and tranquility would be restored in the country.



The Week, Cochin, 18.6.89

Engulfed in conflicts

Buddha Dhamma teaches us that we cannot achieve peace by resorting to arms. Lord Buddha has taught us that peace and kindness cannot be achieved by wars, creating violence and disturbances. He has shown us through example of incidents which took place during his time how we can achieve peace. Lord Buddha has taught us to achieve peace not through arms but by understanding that comes through kindness, compassion, forbearance, consultation and compromise.

Many sections of our society were pitched into many disputes and conflicts because they failed to solve various disputes and conflicts through discussion and exchange of views among themselves. This situation took a serious turn when certain sections took a hasty decision to resort to violence to solve their problems.

What was the result? Our country was engulfed in conflicts. The people were gripped by fear and doubt. When the country is wrought with conflicts and the people gripped with fear it would result in the disruption of peace and unity. It will also, pose a threat to the independence sovereignty and unitary character of the country.

Outside forces

When we ourselves do not have the strength to solve our problems, when we harm ourselves by injuring and killing each other with arms, outside forces could easily override us. We are a nation which had been under colonial rule for four hundred and fifty years. We were able to regain independence shedding colonial rule because all sections of the people were united, irrespective of race and religion.

If we divide ourselves, fight among ourselves, armed with weapons, and kill our own people, our freedom will disappear and we will again become a subject nation. We must remember this.

These days many people ask me when the Indian Peace-Keeping Force will leave our country. We must reflect on the reasons that made the Indian Peace-Keeping Force to come here. One reason was that we took up arms to fight among ourselves to solve our problems. I like to state at this moment that the Indian Peace-Keeping Force has started moving out. This commenced when I became the President. You may remember that I told you during the Presidential Election campaign that when I become the President I will take steps to send the Indian Peace-Keeping Force out of the country.

Ready to fall in line

I like to state that even before I made this request, Indian Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi started pulling them out. His High Commissioner met me and told me that they knew the promise I had made and that it

should be kept. He told me that they are prepared to fall in line. He further told me that they will take them back in stages. India responded even before I requested them. I was very happy about it.

I was grateful to Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and the Indian Government for making arrangements to take the Indian army back. Already between 7000 to 8000 soldiers have left Sri Lanka. Now what is required is to expedite this process and send them back early. All of us must assist in this process.

At a time when the foreign force which came here is moving out from our motherland, we must work with patience. We must not become violent. Having a foreign force in an independent country is a slur on its self-respect. It devalues the freedom of the country. At this moment we must work peacefully and patiently. We must expedite their departure. I will inform India about it in a day or two.

India sent this Peace-Keeping Force to restore peace in the North and East at the request of our former President. We all know that India has repeatedly assured us that anytime the President of Sri Lanka were to make a request they will take their forces back. They started pulling them back even before I told them.

I intend to ask India to take their forces back. It has become a necessity now. Even recently Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has said that they will be pulling out the Peace-Keeping Force from Sri Lanka. The Indian Government has assured us that they will do so at any time we want.

We must remember an important incident that happened during the recent past. We must not forget that a number of groups who were directing an armed struggle have come into the democratic process. In July the Indian Peace-Keeping Force will be completing two years in our country. In fact the IPKF which came to restore peace had to engage in fighting. We all know that a large number of Indian soldiers also died as a result. Some suffered serious injuries. Their kith and kin have become orphans.

It is not only the soldiers of the Indian Peace-Keeping Force who died. Many of the soldiers of the Sri Lanka Army as well as police officers who proceeded to the Northern and Eastern provinces to restore peace in those provinces had to sacrifice their lives. Their families and children have become orphans and are really suffering. A large number of persons who served in the Sri Lanka Army and the Police are injured, disabled or deformed. They have been reduced to this plight in view of their commitment to preserve the unity and the integrity of our country. We are taking action to provide necessary assistance and relief to such orphaned families.

We know that the children and the other members of these families are absolutely innocent persons who are in no way involved in any of these activities. They include members of all ethnic groups - Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims and Burghers. Waves of crimes have swept

across the country causing destruction, death and suffering to many. We are indebted to these brave servicemen. We should all pay our respects to them. Our Government is taking every possible action to grant relief and assistance to the affected families.

Settlement

Now I would like to ask you the previous question again. What made the Indian Peace-Keeping Force to come to this land? Every one of us should ask this question ourselves. What made our soldiers and members of the public to pay with their lives? It is our own conscience only that can answer this question. We did not think of solving our internal problems peacefully and with mutual understanding. Failure to do so on our part has brought us to this plight. Therefore, we should ask ourselves whether we should allow ethnic, racial and parochial conflicts to continue further paving the path for external forces to intervene in the sovereignty of our motherland. Everyone of us should pay our attention to this aspect of the problem.

Why can't we come to a settlement through mutual discussions and negotiations? On a day like today it is quite appropriate to make such a firm resolution. Today marks the dawn of Poson month. It is the month in which this country received the noble gift of the doctrine of non-violence. On this great day we are gathered here to participate in this supreme religious ceremony.

If we are determined we could make this entire month free from violence and pave the way to discuss our problems. I am prepared to discuss with anyone about these problems. If there is any matter to be attended to by the Government, I will myself direct negotiations on this matter.

If what you want is a cessation of hostility and laying down of arms before coming to the negotiating table I am prepared to accede to that too.

They could even keep the arms during such discussions but not use them. This sacred month of Poson is the best time for such a move. It is our duty to act boldly to solve our problems ourselves. If we don't our future generations will undoubtedly condemn us and brand us as traitors.

We are bringing disrepute to ourselves and our independence if we continue to keep a foreign army within our country because of conflicts among ourselves. It will also be an act of treachery perpetrated on our country. Therefore, I intend, as I started earlier, to expedite the withdrawal of the IPKF. I hope to make such a request soon to Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and to the Indian Government.

The Indian Government and the Indian Prime Minister are awaiting a request from me and the Government to carry out such a troop withdrawal. We are thankful to the Indian Government for starting the

withdrawal of the IPKF troops even before we had requested them to do so. What I would be requesting now would be to expedite the withdrawal of the IPKF.

The end of July 1989 will mark two years since the IPKF came to Sri Lanka. Therefore, I will request the Indian Government to try as far as possible to complete the withdrawal of the entirety of the IPKF troops by the end of July. I would like to see the last of the IPKF troops leave Sri Lanka by the end of July. Today there are about 45,000 IPKF troops in Sri Lanka. Therefore, it is not possible to withdraw them in a day or two.

SAARC conference

They have to leave by ship. Therefore, I believe that if the troops withdrawal is expedited it would be possible to complete the withdrawal by end of July. We will never forget the assistance and help given by the Indian Government to Sri Lanka. Even the Buddha Dhamma was a gift from India. It was Emperor Dharmasoka who took steps to establish Buddhism in Sri Lanka.

While it was a great help to have sent the Peace-Keeping Force to this country at the request of our former President, recalling the Peace-Keeping Force back to India will also help us greatly at this moment. India's action to call back the Peace-Keeping Force during the next two months will be considered as a favour. I have no doubt that India will do so. I hope to make a friendly request to that effect shortly.

There is another reason as to why the Peace-Keeping Force should be taken out of this country. Last year's SAARC Conference - was scheduled to be held in Sri Lanka. However, as you are already aware it could not be held here owing to the uncertainties that prevailed in this country at the time. Hence the conference was held in Pakistan.

This year's conference has to be held in Sri Lanka. It is our duty to do so and we have assumed this responsibility and we must fulfil it. This regional association has been formed by India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Maldives and Sri Lanka; the seven independent South-Asian countries. We must strengthen our regional co-operation.

Leaders of governments of these countries will arrive in Sri Lanka in November this year. We must hold this conference at high level. It would help the strengthening of friendship among neighbouring countries. It is the duty of our country to strengthen activities of SAARC.

My Government is already in the process of making arrangements for the event. We must accord a cordial and honourable welcome to the leaders of the governments of the South-Asian region. They are all our friendly countries. These countries are bound together culturally.

Our people are eagerly waiting to welcome these leaders. We hope to accord cordial and rousing welcome to all the Heads of State and the Heads of Government

including Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. However, how can Sri Lanka host such a Summit with self-respect when a foreign army is operating in the country? This time it is also not possible to do away with it. We must hold this conference as an independent and sovereign country.

It is also because of this reason that I thought that it is extremely essential that the entirety of the IPKF be withdrawn by the end of July. We as an independent country must have the self-confidence to play our role as equal partners and work unitedly with other brother nations. You will admit that it is difficult for us to host and participate in such a Summit conference while keeping a foreign army in our country.

At a time when we are working to send back the IPKF troops to India I would appeal to all not to say anything or act in a manner which will obstruct this move. Everyone who wishes to safeguard the sovereignty of the country should assist to make this program a success by desisting from violence and provocative action.

You are aware that it is because of our own faults, disputes amongst us, our own provocative actions and our own militant actions that resulted in a foreign army coming to our country. But this is what people of all communities, Sinhala, Tamil, Muslim and Burgher say now:- "We might well be grateful to India for sending this Army to help us. The Army which came to keep the peace had to wage a war itself. As a result, a large number of its members too lost their lives. But the problem is very much still with us. Now we have had enough of this peace-keeping by the IPKF. Now let us sort out our problems ourselves. Let us do everything possible to help the early withdrawal of the IPKF.

You will realise the type of confusion that will prevail if we escalate violence and disturbances. I am confident that everyone who honestly wishes to see that the IPKF troops are withdrawn will see to it that they do not indulge in violence or provocative actions.

Act with patience

I would appeal to all to make a firm resolution to act with patience and desist from violence during these two months. Let us be determined to send back the IPKF troops, maintain our self-respect and host the forthcoming SAARC Summit with self-respect and dignity as a free and sovereign state.

It is our duty on a day like this to resolve to desist from violence and provocative actions. As I stated earlier, this month of Posen marks the defeat of violence and the triumph of non-violence. I consider it as an act of providence that I was able to participate in such a meritorious act on the day of the dawn of the month of Posen.

You are all aware that our Agga Maha Pandita Most Venerable Balangoda Ananda Maithreye Maha Nayake Thera is a world reputed scholar and self-disciplined

Bhikkhu. He has devoted his entire life to the uplift of the Buddha Sasana.

On the strength of the merit acquired by the Maha Nayake Thera, I appeal to every ethnic group of this country to give up differences of all kinds and to pave the way for the dawn of a peaceful era. With that appeal I most respectfully invite our Maha Nayake Thera to uncover the pinnacle and provide us with the opportunity of paying homage to this dagoba.

I wish to conclude by paying my tribute once again to Desabandhu H. K. Dharmadasa, Mrs. Dharmadasa and their children who generously contributed to have this Dagoba constructed and to all others including the Sucharita Movement who helped in no small way to make this venture a success.

Daily News, 4.6.89

The following is the text of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's letter dated 11th July 1989 to President Premadasa.

Dear Mr. President,

I have your letters of 30th June and 5th July.

I do not wish to enter into a debate on various interpretations of mutual obligations assumed by our two sovereign nations. These are quite clear. I also do not wish to go into the validity of assertions like the LTTE having resumed violence on 2nd August, 1987 whereas the arms surrender started and the amnesty letter was handed over by the Sri Lankan Government to the LTTE three days later. We should let facts speak for themselves.

There is an Agreement between our two countries. This Agreement is meant to preserve the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka and to ensure the safety, security and legitimate interests of the Tamils. Nearly a thousand Indian soldiers have made the supreme sacrifice in fulfilment of India's obligations as a guarantor of this Agreement. Since the signing of the Agreement, not only have the Provincial Council elections been held, but also the Parliamentary and Presidential elections. The situation in the North-Eastern Province is far more settled and peaceful than elsewhere in Sri Lanka. Despite all this, the devolution package promised to the Tamils has not been implemented. These are incontrovertible facts.

Both of us agree that the IPKF should be withdrawn. Both of us agree that we had commenced the withdrawal even before you asked for it. A broad time frame for IPKF's withdrawal had in fact been discussed. Discussions on finalising the details were proposed by your Foreign Minister at Harare only a few days prior to your unilateral announcement of 1st June.

I have repeatedly said that the IPKF's withdrawal schedule should be worked out through joint consultations along with a simultaneous schedule for the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. We are willing to resume discussions on this subject at any time and place of your convenience. Your colleague, the Honourable Mr. Thondaman, who met me here, would have conveyed to you our desire for friendly relations and our willingness to resolve any misunderstandings through mutual consultations.

If, however, discussions for this purpose are not acceptable to you, we will have to decide the details of IPKF's withdrawal unilaterally consistent with our responsibilities and obligations under the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement.

While I reiterate Government of India's willingness to cooperate with your Government to resolve pending issues, I must emphasise to Your Excellency that India has traditionally been mindful of the sanctity of the Agreements it signs with other countries and of commitments solemnly undertaken under such Agreements. India will under no circumstances deviate from this policy affecting our concerns.

It has been our practice to maintain the confidentiality of official correspondence, particularly between Heads of State or Government, unless otherwise agreed upon. However, the gist of your messages to me was more often than not made available to the media before they reached me. Now I find that all our recent correspondence has been officially made public by the Sri Lanka Government. I may thus be constrained to depart from tradition by authorising this communication being made public, after you receive it.

Yours sincerely,
Rajiv Gandhi

Daily News, 14.7.89

The following is President Premadasa's July 12 letter responding to a letter of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of previous date delivered to him in Colombo on Wednesday by Mr. B. G. Deshmukh, special envoy of Prime Minister Gandhi:

12th July 1989

Dear Prime Minister

I am in receipt of your letter of 11th July 1989 which was handed to me by your Special Envoy. I thank you for the courtesy of sending him to Sri Lanka in an attempt to resolve the issues regarding the withdrawal of the Indian Armed Forces.

I explained to your Special Envoy and his delegation my position with regard to the withdrawal

of the Indian Armed Forces from Sri Lanka. I informed them that the discussions can continue based on the four premises set out below.

Firstly, the Indian Armed Forces arrived in Sri Lanka as a peace keeping force to assist in restoring peace. They came at the request of the President of Sri Lanka and were under his command as the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. Their invitation was in terms of Item 6 of the Annexure to the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement which says "that 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 fact that the President of Sri Lanka is the Commander in Chief of all Armed Forces in Sri Lanka has been recognised by the Government of India.

Secondly, the Agreement was between the Government of Sri Lanka and the Government of India. There were no other parties to the Agreement. In fact that LTTE protested that they were left out of the Agreement and in fact their leaders had been confined for a duration of time leading up to the signing of the Agreement.

Thirdly, the presence of the Indian Armed Forces and the devolution of powers to the Provincial Councils are totally unconnected. I have explained this to you at great length in my earlier communications. I have told your delegation that the devolution of power by the Sri Lanka Parliament is entirely an internal matter. No foreign agency can oversee the implementation of legislation enacted by or compel the Parliament of a sovereign State to enact any particular provision of law. In any case, as stated in my earlier letter of 30th June 1989, you would appreciate that devolution is essentially a long term process. There is neither any legal nor any other rational basis for the presence of any military force to ensure that the process of devolution is complete. It would therefore be incorrect and unrealistic to contend that the Indian Armed Forces were expected to remain in Sri Lanka till the process of devolution is completed.

Fourthly, the Government of India undertook not to permit Indian territory to be used for activities prejudicial to the unity, integrity and security of Sri Lanka. I was constrained to point out to your delegation that Mr. Padmanabha and others who are campaigning to keep the Indian Armed Forces in Sri Lanka have not only been permitted to publicly express their intention of making a unilateral declaration of Eelam whilst being on Indian soil but also to publicise such declaration on Indian national television.

I explained further to them that the invitation extended to the Indian Armed Forces was based on assurances contained in the Agreement that the time

frame required for cessation of hostilities was 48 hours from the signing of the Agreement and for the surrender of arms was 72 hours from the cessation of hostilities. You would also appreciate that the decision to invite an Indian Peace Keeping Contingent was in the context of the resolve that a solution to the ethnic problem should be through negotiation and not by the use of military force. As such, the invitation could not have been interpreted as being one for the Indian Peace Keeping Contingent to engage itself in the prolonged use of force.

The reassurance with which I noted the withdrawal of Indian force when I assumed office turned to disappointment when I observed that the withdrawal was not being effected as expeditiously as possible. After careful consideration I decided that the 31st July 1989 was the suitable deadline for the withdrawal of the Indian armed forces from Sri Lanka.

The President of Sri Lanka could under Article 2.16 (c) of the Agreement obtain Indian military assistance when he thinks such assistance is necessary. In my Election Manifesto I promised to solve the problem, not by the use of force but by a process of consultation, compromise and consensus. The people of this country endorsed this manifesto. The dialogue initiated under this mandate has already borne fruit. **P** *The LTTE once the most intractable of the militant groups has ceased hostilities not only against the Government, but against all the people of the North and the East and indeed against all the people of Sri Lanka. They have agreed to join the democratic process and are now committed to settling problems by negotiation. In this context continued military action by the Indian armed forces is not only unnecessary but also prejudicial to a settlement by discussion and negotiation.*

Action by the Indian armed forces is also gravely prejudicial to a political settlement with the LTTE who assert their need to carry arms as long as they are being attacked by the Indian forces and other militant groups who reportedly enjoy the support of the Indian forces.

Further the very presence of the Indian armed forces in Sri Lanka has made it difficult for me to enter into any dialogue with other political groups. In the meantime, certain groups in other parts of the country are resorting to violent activity on account of what they claim to be the inability of the government to ensure the withdrawal of the Indian armed forces. The continued presence of the Indian armed forces is driving these groups to escalating their violence to crisis proportions.

My officials will be holding discussions based on these basic premises. I shall be replying the other

issues including the statement attributed to my Foreign Minister raised in your letter of 11th July 1989 at the conclusion of the discussions between your delegation and my officials.

Yours sincerely,
PRESIDENT

Daily News, 14.7.89

Sri Lanka's President, Ranasinghe Premadasa, unlike his predecessor J.R. Jayewardene, has always been shy of the press. Despite the critical situation that has arisen over the controversy concerning the IPKF's presence, he agreed to answer SUNDAY's questionnaire. This is his first interview to an Indian publication as President and one of the very few that he has granted after assuming office in January this year.

SUNDAY: During your election campaign you promised to ensure that the IPKF would leave Sri Lanka. Why did you wait until 1 June before asking India to withdraw the force?

Ranasinghe Premadasa: The UNP (United National Party) election manifesto was issued as far back as October 1988. It clearly stated that when I am elected President of Sri Lanka, the IPKF will be called upon to withdraw, if not withdrawn earlier. This was endorsed both at the presidential and the parliamentary elections. I expected India to take meaningful steps to withdraw the IPKF in deference to the wishes of the vast majority of our people and the government. In fact, India commenced the withdrawal of the IPKF soon after I assumed office. But, the withdrawal process has not taken place as anticipated. Therefore, I had no alternative but to request the Prime Minister of India to take steps to expedite the process and, if possible, complete the withdrawal by the end of July 1989.

The Indian response to your demand must have disappointed you. Why do you think the Indian government, which earlier said that the IPKF is there at the President's request, now appears bent on keeping the force in Sri Lanka?

This is a question that should be posed to the Indian government. However, in terms of the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement, the IPKF is here at the invitation of the President of Sri Lanka. Therefore, the IPKF should leave when called upon to do so by me.

Your foreign minister, Ranjan Wijeratne, said in Parliament on 31 March, 1989, that the IPKF was pulling out and would withdraw completely by December this year. Why then was it necessary to ask it to leave earlier?

Since I assumed office on 2 January, 1989, 7,000 to 8,000 troops have been withdrawn. There are an estimated 50,000 troops yet to be withdrawn. The presence of Indian armed forces on Sri Lankan soil without our approval amounts to a violation of the sovereignty of our people. It also amounts to an interference in our internal affairs.

Do you think—as has been suggested in the press, both in Sri Lanka and India—that it would have been more appropriate to brief India before asking the IPKF to leave by 29 July, 1989?

In the context of my election pledge endorsed by the people of our country at two elections, it would have been quite appropriate for India to have speedily withdrawn the IPKF without any further briefing.

How do you react to the suggestion that you asked the IPKF to leave chiefly in order to 'defuse' the JVP campaign and prevent them from using the 'India card' for political gain?

My request for the withdrawal of the IPKF was to honour a pledge I gave to my people. It should not be related to other political developments in Sri Lanka.

There is a feeling that an IPKF pull-out now will lead to even more violence. It has been said that the Sri Lankan army is not strong enough to maintain law and order in both the north and the south. What do you feel about this?

With the conciliatory measures that my government has taken recently, the withdrawal of the IPKF will not, in my

view, result in more violence in the island. I am hopeful that the country will have peace in the near future, particularly with the LTTE coming into the democratic mainstream.

What progress have the talks with the LTTE made? Is it true that there has been no agreement on substantive issues?

The talks with the LTTE have gone on without any pre-conditions being imposed on either side. Hence my government is quite satisfied about the progress made so far. Details of these discussions will be announced after we reach an agreement on substantive issues.

The IPKF recently intensified its offensive against the LTTE. Do you think this could jeopardise the talks?

Now that the LTTE has assured a cessation of hostilities against the Government of Sri Lanka and the people of Sri Lanka, it is nothing but correct that I take action to stop the IPKF's offensive against the LTTE. Our talks with the LTTE have not been jeopardised by offensive action on the part of the IPKF.

Are you planning to raise the question of the IPKF's continued presence in Sri Lanka in international forums such as the United Nations and the International Court of Justice?

I do not visualise such a situation. How can a country which produced such great men like Lord Buddha, Emperor Dharma Ashoka and Mahatma Gandhi create a situation whereby a small country like Sri Lanka is compelled to raise any issue at international forums against India?

How do you plan to deal with the situation if India continues to refuse to pull the IPKF out?

Sri Lanka does not have the fourth largest army in the world nor does it have the military strength to fight any of our neighbours. We have to rely on moral courage and gentle persuasion. I do not subscribe to the theory that 'might is right'. I firmly believe that 'right is might'. Therefore, I am sure that the truth will prevail in the end and realisation will dawn sooner or later.

♪ SHOW ME THE WAY TO GO HOME ~
♪



"PLEASE DON'T GO!"

Island, 11.6.89

Wiposana



"PURR-R-R-R-R"

Island, 4.6.89

Wiposana

We oppose the withdrawal of the Indian Peace Keeping Force. After the Indo-Lanka Accord signed in 1987 July 29th, the IPKF came to the North-East for the purpose of bringing an end to the ethnic clashes that occurred between the Tamil and Sinhalese people and in implementing the Accord to disarm the Tamil militants and to supervise the confinement of the Sri Lankan forces into their barracks. But, the LTTE and the Sri Lankan Government brought various destructions in implementing the Accord. The Sri Lankan forces have indulged in acts of destructions without confining into the barracks and LTTE declared a war against the IPKF and continued the malicious war against other groups.

When the Sri Lankan Government have used this as pretexts to postpone the creation of the Provincial Government and conduct of elections, the pressure from Tamils and others caused the Sri Lankan Government to conduct the elections without any other alternative. The Sri Lankan Government was taken aback by the Tamil peoples firm belief in democracy which

resulted in the election of Provincial Council Government. The Sri Lankan Government which opposed the functioning of the Government in the North-East sought to obstruct through not devolving the legitimate powers of NEPC Government. However, the Provincial Government started to function with overwhelming support of people of North-East and the Indian Government.

The powers of the Government that was elected by the people has not been devolved. The Provincial Police to maintain law and order in the Province has not been established. The CVF which was established despite destruction from the Centre continues facing various difficulties created by the Sri Lankan Government.

Particularly, the SLG sponsored Sinhala colonialisation which encroached our land, are in progress in the wrap of irrigation schemes, housing schemes, forestation and live stock development. With the blessing of the Sri Lankan armed forces, though the request has been put over by us and other militant movements who adopted the democratic mainstream, the Sri

Lankan Muslim Congress and other progressive organisations to give all the powers to NEPC Government, the SLG has adopted an evasive attitude with the intention of diverting from the real issues. The Government of Sri Lanka on the one hand has encouraged clashes between various communities in the North-East Province with the intention of creating instability while, at the same time, it has carried on talks with the LTTE which is still bent on destruction of return of normalcy in the North-East. The purpose of this drama is to disrupt the functioning of the NEPC Government and deny even the little bit of power that the Provincial Government now has.

The SLG has on the one hand sought relationship with the LTTE which is bent on its bloody campaign of war on this land, at the same time, it has asked for the withdrawal of the Peace Keeping Force within two months, by the end of July. Without the devolution of power in keeping with the Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord, without the complete disarming of the militant groups, without the creation of forces that can be

deployed to protect the Tamil people and without an agreement on Sinhala colonialisation, a demand for the withdrawal of the Indian forces can only be a part of the conspiracy to destroy the Tamil nation in Sri Lanka.

The Tamil people will not accept the withdrawal of Indian forces until such time as the Provincial Government elected by the people can function with all its powers and the Tamils can live freely without any fear.

As such, we fully oppose the President's announcement on the IPKF withdrawal. The Chief Minister of North-Eastern Provincial Council, Hon'ble Varatharajaperumal has stated this in a Press release.

Island, 4.6.89

The LTTE's spokesman and political adviser, Anton Balasingham, heads the team that is currently negotiating with the Sri Lankan government.

A Ph.D. from London's Goldsmith College, Balasingham teamed up with Prabhakaran in 1978 after the two first met in Madras. "Prabhakaran needed a theoretician to formulate the LTTE's ideological position then," he recalls. In this interview, he explains the reasons for the LTTE's willingness to negotiate with Colombo and admits that the Tigers are willing to give up the Eelam demand for a satisfactory political deal.

SUNDAY: After so many years of militancy, why did the LTTE suddenly decide to negotiate with the Sri Lankan government?

Anton Balasingham: We were involved in the process of negotiations before—with Indian mediation at the Thimphu discussions. But, you are correct, this is the first time—after 15 years of guerrilla warfare—that we are involved in direct talks with the Sri Lankan government.

As far as we are concerned, Indian mediation has failed. And the accord has failed to bring peace and normalcy to the island. At the same time, Premadasa, immediately after assuming office, made appeals for direct talks. We made enquiries to find out whether these talks were conditional and bound by the parameters of the Indo-Sri Lankan accord. When we were given the impression that they were unconditional, we decided to go ahead. India has never invited us for talks without pre-conditions. So, we decided to talk to the President.

Has Premadasa's government been more accommodating than India?

Of course. We are very pleased with the progress of the talks. There is a growing mutual trust and understanding on both sides. With India, we were under pressure all the time...under threat...intimidation. There was no mutual respect. This is different.

The talks are being held to find a place for the LTTE within the democratic framework. However, it has not given up the demand for Eelam. How can negotiations between a separatist group and a government which is committed to keeping the nation united ever hope to succeed?

It is true that the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE have their entrenched positions. But the talks started without pre-conditions. And this means that you don't start negotiating without entrenched positions. We understand Sri Lanka's position. It understands ours. And so we are talking on areas of mutual concern.

Like the presence of the IPKF...

Yes. There are also other things. Sri Lanka, like the LTTE, wants the restoration of peace and normalcy and we are confident that a political settlement is possible.

In other words, the LTTE is prepared to give up Eelam if the right concessions are made?

Let me put it this way. When we are in the process of talking, it is unfair for either side to say, "Give up your entrenched positions and talk." We must arrive at an amicable settlement to talk about a renunciation of entrenched positions.

The question is whether the demand for Eelam will be dropped if a satisfactory political deal is struck.

If a satisfactory arrangement is reached and our people are satisfied, we have to consider giving up the demand for Eelam, of course.

Are the talks in danger of being jeopardised because of the continuing IPKF offensive?

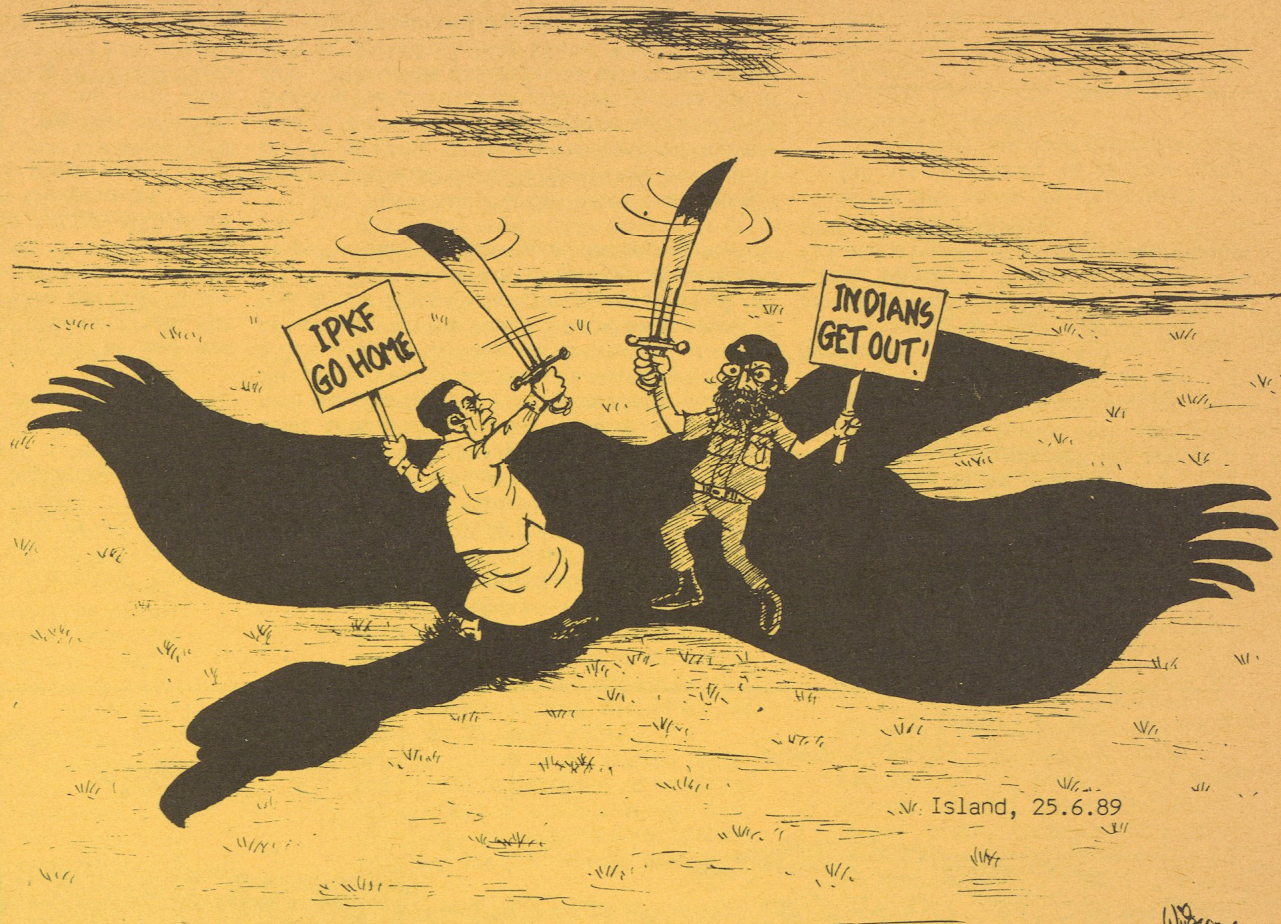
Of course. Definitely.

Will the talks break down if the offensive continues?

I don't think so. But it will be a serious impediment to the progress of the talks.

Interviewed by Mukund Padmanabhan/Colombo

Sunday, 16.-23.7.89



Island, 25.6.89

Boycott India Campaign

Rohana Wijeweera

Chairman, Janata Vimukti Peramuna.

(1) We congratulate the Commander of the Northern Sector of the Eastern front of the Patriotic Liberation Army as well as the soldiers and the technicians involved in a war against the imperialist Indian army for the historic victory gained by them in killing a major and twelve other officers of the invading Indian army at the Trinco jetty.

(2) All Indian businessmen who have received distinguished citizenship of this country by paying the U.N.P., the S.L.F.P. and the U.S.A. during their respective tenure of office are hereby warned that they should stop all their economic, political, capitalistic and other hostile activities and leave Sri Lanka within one month by 14th of June. (Today being the 24th

anniversary of the J.V.P.) The Patriotic Liberation Army is hereby informed that any such person who fails to leave this country and remains in Sri Lanka after the 14th of June should be considered as a "war criminal."

(3) Since we are engaged in a war against Indian Imperialism (which has turned to be our enemy) to gain our national liberation, we request all patriotic citizens of our motherland to (a) boycott all Indian goods completely, (b) terminate all transactions with Indian Banks and Insurance Institutions and (c) keep away from all trade and other economic activities with India.

(4) You are hereby requested to be vigilant of every destructive and subversive action of the Indians and their stooges and all other agents. You are specially advised to communicate to the Patriotic Liberation Army without delay planned murders by Tamil Eelamists with the advice and connivance of the Imperialist Indian Army. The patriotic public are hereby warned about a scheme that is being carried out by an Indian agent to establish a pro-Indian power block in the hill country and also of a plan to explode bombs in Colombo by Eelamists on

the advice of the Indian Fifth Column with the assistance of Sinhala Indian agents masquerading as leftists. The public should be alert about these matters and any available information should be forwarded to the Patriotic Liberation Army.

(5) At a time when the politicians have sacrificed the whole nation, when the nation is on the verge of destruction, when our people are about to be made slaves of a foreign power we request the people to rally under the mighty banner of the JVP and join in our struggle to gain freedom for our country and independence for our nation. I call upon each and everyone every patriot, every law abiding citizen — to join hands with us and move forward so that we could drive away the unpatriotic stooges and make this a free country for future generations.

This country—called the pearl of the orient.

Which marched forward to victory defeating foreign invaders.

Let us build our motherland with our two hands.

For which we have a right.

Let us sweat, let us bleed.

Even sacrifice our life.

And build a new land.

Lanka Guardian, 1.6.89



Island, 22.6.89

Indo-Sri Lanka Accord: Status Report

OBLIGATIONS OF SRI LANKA

- Permit Northern and Eastern Provinces to form one administrative unit.

Status: Implemented.

- Hold referendum in the Eastern Province on or before 31.12.88 to decide whether mergers should continue or not.

Status: Not implemented.

- Create conditions to enable all persons displaced due to ethnic violence to return to areas from where they were displaced.

Status: Not fully implemented.

- Hold elections to Provincial Council of North and East before 31.12.87.

Status: Implemented on 19.11.1988.

- Lift emergency in North and East by 15.8.87.

Status: Lifted on 11.1.1989, reimposed on 20.6.89.

- Security personnel to be confined to barracks in camps as on 25th May 1987.

Status: Implemented.

- Utilise for law enforcement and maintenance of security in North and East, the same organisations and mechanisms of Government as in the rest of the country.

Status: Not implemented.

- Make special efforts to rehabilitate militant youth.

Status: Not implemented.

- Tamil and English also will be official languages.

Status: Implemented. (English as link language).

- Home-guards will be disbanded and para-military personnel will be withdrawn from North and East.

Status: Partly implemented.

- Indiscretion, absorb para-military forces, which came into being due to ethnic violence, into regular security forces.

Status: Not implemented.

OBLIGATIONS OF INDIA

- A cessation of hostilities will come into effect within 48 hours: militant groups to surrender all arms within 72 hours of cessation of hostilities.

Status: Not implemented.

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

Status: Implemented.

- Indian Navy/Coast guard will cooperate with Sri Lankan Navy in preventing Tamil militant activities from affecting Sri Lanka.

Status: Implemented.

- Give military assistance to Sri Lanka when requested to implement agreement.

Status: Implemented.

- Expedite repatriation from Sri Lanka of Indian citizens concurrently with repatriation of Sri Lankan refugees from Tamil Nadu.

Status: Partly implemented.

- Cooperate with Sri Lanka to ensure physical security & safety of all communities inhabiting the North and the East.

Status: IPKF sent in. Partly successful.

- Monitor cessation of hostilities from 31.7.87.

Status: No cessation of hostilities.

*As of June 25, 1989

India Today, 15.7.89

The LTTE-Sri Lankan Government talks: what the minutes reveal

DISCUSSIONS WITH THE LTTE
Saturday 10.30 a.m. - 24. 6. 1989

SRI LANKA: Hon. A.C.S. Hameed
 Hon. Festus Perera
 Hon. A.M. Mansoor
 Mr. B. P. Nilakaratna
 Mr. Bradman Weerakoon
 Gen. S.C. Hanatunga
 Mr. A.A. Wijetunga
 Mr. A.T. Jayasinghe
 Mr. E.P. Dias Abeyesinghe
 Mr. Ivan Samarawickreme
 Mr. L.A.G. Jayasekera

L.T.T.E.: Dr. A.S. Balasingham
 Mr. Paramu Moorthy
 Mr. Yogaratnam Yogi
 Mr. Lawrence Thilakar
 Mr. Samman Hassan
 Mr. Sivegnanam Karikalan
 Mr. Panchacharam Lawrence
 Mr. Abybacker Ibrahim

1. Dr. Balasingham said that he wishes to raise two issues today -
 - (a) the continuing recruitment of young Tamil boys for the C.V.P; and
 - (b) the relevant aspects of the cease-fire.
2. Dr. Balasingham said that about 1000 parents had come to Colombo in the last four or five days; they are seriously concerned and alarmed; in some camps they were demanding Rs. 10,000/- to Rs. 15,000/- for the release of a single individual; the SLG had pledged that it would take action in this matter; the parents are told that the children will be trained by the IPKF; the IPKF has taken the responsibility for training; this is a very serious matter, because training is a function that should be carried out only by

the Government; he inquired whether political parties are to be given the responsibility to recruit; once the IPKF leaves, this will create conditions for a civil war,

3. Minister Hameed said that this was a serious development; the matter was very complicated and dangerous; there will be a never-ending struggle and another stage of bloody conflict; he will bring this to the notice of the President.

Dr. Balasingham said that Provincial administration was under the SLG; therefore, this recruiting must stop or else we will have 10,000 to 15,000 "gun boys"

Minister Hameed said that there is no debate about the action to be taken; the question is what the approach should be; we should not get into direct confrontation with the EPRLF, because this will strengthen India's hands; some measures must be worked out, the SLG talking to India with a view to avoiding confrontation.

Dr. Balasingham said that pointing this out to the Provincial Council will not result in a confrontation; the CVP is being expanded soon after the President made the request for the IPKF to withdraw; there is a possibility of a clash if we allow it to grow; there has been in the past collusion between the SLG and GCI in registering certain groups as political parties; there was no election in the North but this collusion enabled the EPRLF to be established as the Provincial administrators; now President has decided to talk to the LTTE as this situation cannot continue; the EPRLF is now even talking about Eelam; the LTTE is prepared to enter into an agreement with the SLG after talks; later on, consultations with other groups can take place; the North and the East must have a fair and free election and the people should choose their representatives.

Minister Hameed said that in the past we had registered the other groups, leaving out the LTTE; now we will be repeating history and making the same mistakes

if we register the LTTE and leave out the other groups; there are many splinter groups in Sri Lanka.

4. Dr. Balasingham said that the EPRLF has carried out so many killings.

(Gen. Hanatunga intervened that we have brought each of these killings to the notice of the IPKF and that there had been almost the same reply in all cases that the LTTE would have been responsible for the killing.)

5. Minister Hameed said that the talks were now serious; the LTTE has to take up new responsibilities; as they will be guiding the destinies of the people of the North and the East; therefore, the LTTE must demonstrate their goodwill to the people and not only to the SLG; their approach may have to be changed.

6. Dr. Balasingham said that the approach could be different, but we must understand the ground realities in the North and East; the EPRLF and the other groups are hated by the people; therefore, we should go back to the people; India was carrying out an international propaganda campaign about the withdrawal of the IPKF, about security and devolution; he requested that we find out from the GCI their response to the LTTE offer of a cease-fire with the IPKF, provided there is a time-frame for their withdrawal and they do not engage in armed hostilities with the LTTE.

7. Minister Hameed inquired what response we can make if the EPRLF says that after the IPKF withdraws the LTTE will seek to wipe them out.

Dr. Balasingham said that the LTTE was not carrying out forced conscription; he requested the SLG to issue a statement condemning this forced conscription.

Hindu, 27.7.89