

BIBLIOGRAPHY

"THE NEGOTIATIONS
PROCESS IN
SRI LANKA"
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The Negotiations Process in Sri Lanka 1983–1986

A SELECT ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

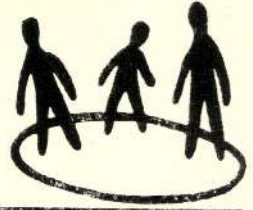
**Kumar Rupesinghe
Marit Haug**



prio

Institutt for fredsforskning
International Peace Research Institute, Oslo

Rådhusgt. 4, 0151 Oslo 1, Norway.
Tel. (02) 11 41 05 / 472 11 41 05.
Telegr. adr./Cables: Peacere search, Oslo.
Bankgiro: 8200.01.44904. Postgiro: 2 00 72 50.



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AUTHOR(S)

Rupesinghe, Kumar
Haug, Marit



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SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

In this bibliography, the authors have tried to include the most important monographs, documents and commentaries on the various policy proposals made by the involved parties to resolve the tragic ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. It encompasses several important initiatives by the Government of Sri Lanka to resolve the conflict.

The bibliography is based on publications and documents actually collected by the Sri Lanka Human Rights Data Base Project at PRIO. The entries are ordered in first instance by date of publication, and then by author.

Five appendices contain information on participation in the formal negotiations, chronologies of events with regard to the negotiations and devolution of powers, an overview and a comparison of the proposals.

With indexes according to author, subject and country.

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INTERNATIONAL PEACE RESEARCH INSTITUTE - OSLO
INSTITUTT FOR FREDSFORSKNING

Rådhusgt. 4, Oslo 1, Norway
Telephone: 11 41 05
Cable: PEACERESEARCH, Oslo, Norway

With the compliments of Kumar Rupesinghe

Dedication

**For all those
who have lost
their lives
in the conflict
in Sri Lanka**

CONTENTS

Acknowledgement	i
Introduction	ii

THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA:

Documents published in 1983	1
Documents published in 1984	8
Documents published in 1985	21
Documents published in 1986	45

APPENDICES:

Appendix 1 - Participation in the formal negotiations ...	80
Appendix 2 - Negotiations: Chronology of events	82
Appendix 3 - An overview of the major proposals	84
Appendix 4 - Chronology with regard to devolution of powers	86
Appendix 5 - Comparison of the proposals'	90

INDEXES:

Author index	95
Subject index	99
Geographical index	103

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This bibliography would not have been possible without the uniting and enthusiastic assistance of various persons connected to the Sri Lanka Human Rights Data Base Project.

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Of course, the final responsibility for the publication rests with the authors.

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Kumar Rupesinghe
Marit Haug

July 1987

INTRODUCTION

The Sri Lanka Human Rights Data Base Project is happy to publish a special select annotated bibliography on the current negotiations process in Sri Lanka. This publication will be one of a series of publications which we intend to publish in 1987.

The bibliography is based on publications and documents actually collected by the project in Oslo up to December 31, 1986. Entries are ordered in first instance by date of publication, and then by author. Subject index, geographical index and author index are also provided.

In the present bibliography we have tried to include the most important monographs, documents and commentaries on the various policy proposals made by the involved parties to resolve the tragic ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. The main selection of records begins after the events of July 1983.

The bibliography encompasses several important initiatives by the Government of Sri Lanka to resolve the conflict, beginning with the All Party Conference (January 10 to December 30, 1984), Thimpu Talks I (July 8 to July 13, 1985), Thimpu Talks II (August 12 to August 17, 1985), the Political Parties Conference (From July 15, 1986) and the proposals of December 19, 1986.

The bibliographic descriptions in the database of the Sri Lanka Human Rights Data Base Project are based on the HURIDOCs standard formats, which facilitates retrieval and exchange of our collection of documents.

The project will publish an extensive bibliography on human rights and ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka with approx. 2500 records.

The database work is being done on an IBM-compatible PC, the Olivetti M24, using the Revelation software package.

The bibliography refers to available publications and documents. We hope the users will go to regular libraries for materials that are easy to obtain. We will however, distribute less available materials, at differentiated (North-South) copying costs.

Kumar Rupesinghe
Marit Haug

July 1987

- 1
Madihe Pannasiha Maha Thera. *The memorandum submitted to His Excellency the President Mr. J.R. Jayawardene, the Honourable Prime Minister, the Members of the Cabinet of the Members of Parliament.* Maharagama: Siri Vajiranana Dharmayatanaya, 830000. 4 p.
 The author accuses the Tamils of creating the ethnic disturbances in Sri Lanka leading to encroachments on state lands and the present "Eelam crisis". He makes a suggestion for a solution to the problems regarding land settlement between Vavuniya and Elephant Pass: both the Indian Tamils which are already there and Sinhalese people should be settled.
- 2
Mujib of Sri Lanka. *India's rightful role!* London: Tamil United Liberation Front - England branch, 830000. 6 p. - Republished from: "The Hindu".
 In this long interview the TULF leader, Amirthalingam, analyzes the recent events in Sri Lanka and traces the roots of the ethnic crisis. He sees India's role as one of a mediator, but argues that India must also ensure the implementation of a solution.
- 3
Tiruchelvam, Neelan. *A note on district self-management and national unity.* Colombo: Tiruchelvam, Neelan, 830000. 8 p.
 The author states that the solutions to the problems arising out of the ethnic conflict have to be conceived within a profound vision of national unity, harmony and ethnic non-discrimination. He provides some alternatives for District Development Councils in the form of a district self-management system, and also suggests the creation of a chart for national unity and ethnic rights and obligations.
- 4
U.K. Study Group. *Tamil separatist terrorism: strategies for a negotiated settlement.* London: U.K. Study Group, 830000. 6 p.
 The document provides suggestions with regard to a solution of the ethnic conflict. It is said that an effective and complete naval blockade of the north of Sri Lanka from south India appears to be vital to control the ongoing war. The northern and eastern Provinces should never be linked up. It is suggested to break up the provincial division of Sri Lanka, and to create smaller districts. The document contains two maps, with present and proposed boundaries.
- 5
An all-party committee for "national unity": a precursor to "national govt". Tamil times. 830100. v.2(3). 2 p; 1-16.
 The Government Parliamentary group has adopted a resolution to set up an all-party parliamentary committee for seeking ways to ensure communal harmony and "national unity". It is being speculated that the TULF might view the proposal with favour; most other opposition parties seem to be opposed to it. In the meantime, a proposal to ban all political parties and groups which advocate separatism was abandoned.
- 6
Navaratnam, V. *Can the Tamils afford another try?: "national government".* Tamil times. 830300. v.2(5). 3 p; 6-18.
 This article by a former MP presents Tamil demands which have to be conceded to satisfy Tamil aspirations. The author seriously doubts whether an all-party parliamentary committee can give the Tamils what they want.
- 7
Military build-up in the north: prelude to army administration. Tamil times. 830500. v.2(7). 2 p; 1-17.
 "The massive military build-up in the northern Tamil city of Jaffna in Sri Lanka has given rise to the strong belief that the civil administration might be replaced with an administration under military control..."
 It is argued that the longer the government postpones strengthening the hands of the moderate TULF by entering into serious discussions with them, the more support they are likely to lose in the north and east.

8

Centre for Society and Religion.

Towards communal harmony: an analysis of the issues and recommendations for a political solution. rev.ed. Colombo: Centre for Society and Religion, 830600. 57 p. Quest; no. 74.

The aim of the document is to provide a deeper understanding of the psychological, cultural and political causes and effects of the ethnic conflict. Firstly, it contains a description of Sri Lanka as a multi-racial island with Sinhala and Tamil nationalisms and grievances. Following, there is attention for more recent developments: some positive approaches since 1977, the rise of youth militancy, the Prevention of Terrorism Act. The main part deals with the necessity of a political, negotiated solution. Attention is paid to different aspects: political (Development Councils; army, youth and militancy, the All Party Conference); economic; education and mass media (including the roles of religious and non-governmental organizations). Finally, recommendations are made to the public at large.

9

Visit to Sri Lanka of his Excellency Narasimha Rao, Foreign Minister of India - 29th July, 1983. Colombo: Government of Sri Lanka, 830700. 1 p.

Press release on a visit by the Indian Foreign -mnister to Sri Lanka. The two Foreign Ministers at the conclusion of the visit reiterated the desire of their respective countries to maintain their close and traditional ties of friendship.

10

Presidential secretariat. *Press release on meetings between Mr. Parthasarathi and President Jayewardene [Supplied title].* Colombo: Government of Sri Lanka, 830800. 1 p.

In this press release President Jayewardene points to the implementation of the District Development Councils-scheme as a solution to the Sri Lankan problem.

11

Tamil United Liberation Front. *Letter to President Jayewardene: a sordid saga - breach of faith and betrayal.* Jaffna: Tamil United Liberation Front, 830810. 17 p.

In this letter, TULF argues that the government never implemented its decisions with regard to Tamil demands. TULF's major demand made in this letter is for control of the police in the Northern and Eastern provinces.

12

India for our unity. Colombo: Government of Sri Lanka, 830814. 2 p. - Republished from the "Sunday observer". The article refers to a statement given by H.W. Jayewardene upon his return to Sri Lanka after meetings in India. His main message is that India stands for the integrity, independence and unity of Sri Lanka.

13

Amirthalingam flies to Delhi. Lanka guardian. 830815. v.6(7&8). p. 18. - Republished from "Daily news" of 15 August 1983. This article refers to a visit by Amirthalingam to New Delhi. After this visit, he stated that the TULF might change its decision about not negotiating with the Sri Lankan government. Government delegate H.W. Jayewardene had indicated to Prime Minister Gandhi that his government might be willing to negotiate on the basis of new proposals.

14

India for Lanka's unity: Indo - Sri Lanka. Lanka guardian. 830815. v.6(7&8). 2 p; 17-18. - Re published from "Sunday observer" of 14 August 1983. The article cites statements given by government representative H.W.Jayewardene after a visit to New Delhi. He stated that India stands for the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka. President Jayewardene intends to implement the scheme of District Development Councils, and take various other measures. Mrs. Gandhi however, indicated that these proposals might not satisfy the aspirations of the Tamils. President Jayewardene is prepared to have further discussions on new proposals, for which Mrs. Gandhi offered her good offices.

15

Indira briefs Lok Sabha: Indo - Sri Lanka. Lanka guardian, 830815. v.6(7&8). p. 16.

Republished from "The Island" of 13 August 1983. Mrs. Gandhi informed the Indian Parliament about the situation in Sri Lanka, after a meeting with Dr. H.W. Jayewardene as representative of the government. According to her, a solution must be based on the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka while giving due consideration to the aspirations of the Tamil people.

16

TULF: back to square one. Lanka guardian, 830815. v.6(7&8). p. 3.

The article gives a brief description of the TULF strategies for achieving a negotiated solution by trying to bring India into the scene as an active mediator. President Jayewardene opposes the idea of seeing India as anything more than an "honest broker".

17

Catholic priests of the district of Negombo. *Negombo's Catholic clergy looks at ethnic conflict: "Tamils in south don't want Eelam"*. 830822. 3 p.

- Republished from: "Daily news" of 22 August 1983, p. 12.

The article discusses the relationship between the policy of redressing the grievances of poor Sinhalese and the continuing ethnic conflict. The Catholic priests of the Negombo district urge political party leaders to work for a solution within the framework of a united Sri Lanka. The just grievances of both communities must be identified and settled by mutual understanding and through constitutional means.

18

Citizens Committee for National Harmony.

Statement on July 1983 disturbances:

issued by the Citizens Committee for National Harmony. Colombo: Citizens Committee for National Harmony, 830822. 4 p.

Partly republished in: Lanka guardian, v. 6(9&10) of 15 September 1983, p. 12 and 16, under the title: "ACBC, YMBA, Sinhala Bala Mandalaya call for negotiations".

On 21 and 22 August, the Citizens Committee for National Harmony held a meeting which discussed the urgent problems arising out of the recent communal disturbances. The meeting proposed a programme of work which could enable citizens and non-governmental organizations to contribute substantially to the solution of ethnic problems. The report contains an analysis of recent events and recommendations to the government.

19

Epitawela, Premakumara. *An open letter to Shri G. Parthasarathi.*

Peradeniya: Sinhala Samajaya, 830824. 6 p.

The author is secretary of the Sinhala Samajaya in Peradeniya. He recommends to the Indian envoy to Sri Lanka, Parthasarathi, not to impose any solution on the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka and to take into account the fact that many of the "Tamil grievances" are based upon their favoured position under the British.

20

Ali, Salamat. *Indira's helping hand.*

Far eastern economic review, 830825.

v.121(34). p. 19.

Mrs. Gandhi's efforts to mediate after the July 1983 violence started with the assurance that India stood for the independence, unity and integrity of Sri Lanka, but is also concerned with the situation of the Tamils. President Jayewardene promised administrative decentralization through District Development Councils. The most important aspect of this initial effort might be that Sri Lanka implicitly recognized India's interest and concern. It is also clear that India fears military support from a third country to the Sri Lankan government.

21

A mediating role for India? Asiaweek. 830826. v.9(34).

The article presents a meeting between Mrs. Gandhi and H.W. Jayewardene in New Delhi as a possible step towards negotiations, with India playing a mediating role and the TULF giving up its position of not willing to negotiate with the government.

22

Upholding the separatist mandate. Asiaweek. 830902. v.9(35). p. 44.

The main issue hindering negotiations is said to be the demand of the Sri Lankan government that the Tamils give up their idea for a separate state, and the Tamil refusal to agree to that condition. The article contains an interview with Mr. Amirthalingam of the TULF.

23

The hard and tricky road ahead. Tamil times. 830903. p. 18.

- Republished from: "The Hindu" (editorial) of 3 September 1983.

This editorial is in favour of a more active role of India in the settlement of the Sri Lankan communal conflict. It urges the Sinhalese and Tamil extremists to show caution and to utilize the opportunities provided by India to negotiate a solution.

24

Ali, Salamat. An unenvied envoy. Far eastern economic review. 830908. v.121(36). 2 p; 40-41.

The author expresses grave doubts as to whether Parthasarathy, the Indian envoy to Sri Lanka will achieve anything, given the dispute between the Sri Lankan government and the TULF on the Tamil demand for a separate state. The Sri Lankan government wants the Tamils to give up the demand as a precondition for negotiations, which the Tamils have refused. TULF leader Amirthalingam found little support in New Delhi for a separate Tamil state, but the Indian government has to be wary of sentiment in Tamil Nadu.

25

Press view of India's "good offices". Lanka guardian. 831001. v.6(11). p. 9. Republished from "The Sun".

G.K. Reddy, correspondent of the Hindu, is quoted, saying that the international climate is in favour of an early settlement of the Sri Lankan crisis through India's good offices. He refers also to the scheduled visit of TULF leader Amirthalingam to the United Kingdom and other European countries.

26

Reddy, G.K. Signs of hope on Sri Lanka issue. Lanka guardian. 831001. v.6(11). p. 10.

This article refers to a visit by India's special envoy, G. Parthasarathi, to Sri Lanka. In discussions with Sinhalese and Tamil leaders, it became clear that the Tamils wanted real regional autonomy in exchange for giving up their demand for a separate state. The government indicated District Development Councils as a solution.

27

Perera, Asitha. CLD for talks without conditions. Lanka guardian. 831015. v.6(12). 2 p; 10-11.

The Council for Liberal Democracy expresses its concern on the fact that the government was unable to fulfill its primary responsibility of maintaining law and order during the July violence. It urges the government to fulfill its promises from the 1977 election manifesto: to summon an All Party Conference and to strengthen the District Development Councils. It calls for an independent inquiry into the violent acts and suggests that Sinhala, Tamil and English be made the co-official languages. The TULF and the Tamils are urged to abandon their demand for a separate state.

28

Round table. Tribune. 831022. v.28(1). 2 p; 2-3.

The editorial refers to the President's decision to invite the SLFP, LSSP, MEP and CP to an Round Table Conference. It also gives an abstract of an interview with Mrs. Bandaranaike in the "Lanka Guardian", in which she suggests to invite the TULF without preconditions.

29

"India will not take refugees from Sri Lanka". Tamil times. 831100. v.3(1). p. 17.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi made it clear that India cannot and will not take millions of Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka in the wake of the ethnic violence. She stressed the need for direct contact between the Sri Lankan government and the leaders of the Tamil community, for which India could offer its good offices.

30

A people's declaration for national peace and harmony. Colombo. 831100. 24 p. Statement signed by persons present at an assembly in the Bandaranaike Memorial International Conference Hall on 1 and 2 October 1983. The text contains: a presentation, a prologue, principles, symptoms of general degeneration in society, causes of degeneration, the educational system, violations of state law and social norms, weakening of community leadership, interference with state services, creation of a wrong life style, and ways of removing the causes of degeneration. With general recommendation, and recommendations on community enlightenment, people's participation, political parties, the executive president, education, land - residence - occupation, and determination.

31

Parthasarathy's mission to Colombo. Tamil times. 831100. v.3(1). p. 24. The article discusses a visit of the Special Envoy of Prime Minister Gandhi to Colombo, and outlines the proposals agreed upon by the two governments. It says that the proposals are totally unacceptable to the Tamil people.

32

de Silva, Mervyn. *Climate for talks conducive - but time is running out: Thondaman*. Lanka guardian. 831101. v.6(13). 3 p; 4-6.

Minister and CWC leader Thondaman recently visited India and the United States. In India, he heard severe criticisms on the way the government of Sri Lanka deals with the ethnic conflict. He sees a common cause between the TULF and the CWC because of the injustice done to the Tamils. He expresses hope for a negotiated solution. The TULF stated that it will give up its demand for a separate state, given a viable alternative, and facilitation of an acceptable agreement may be possible with the help of India's "good offices".

33

Presidential secretariat. *Meetings between Mr. Parthasarathi and President Jayewardene [Supplied title]*. Colombo: Government of Sri Lanka, 831110. 1 p. The government's proposals to be presented to TULF at this point included: 1. the giving up of the demand for a separate state; 2. permission for District Development Councils within a province to merge after acceptance by the Council members and a referendum in the districts; 3. administration of Trincomalee as a central government function.

34

Will Tamil moderates or Sinhala hardliners buy the package? Lanka guardian. 831115. v.6(14). p. 3. A package of proposals was prepared during multilateral contacts and conversations in Delhi, Madras and Colombo. It is stated that further violence and destabilization will follow if the TULF does not accept the package or if the government does not manage to get the support of the Sinhalese constituency for it.

35

Balasuriya, Tissa. *Communal tensions & the role of the church: a talk to the Presbyterium (Assembly of Priests) of the Archdiocese of Colombo.* Colombo: Centre for Society and Religion, 831115. 23 p. CSR pamphlet; no. 14.

Also published in: *Lanka guardian*, v. 6(16) p. 6-24, v. 6(17) p. 14-15, v. 6(18) p. 19-21 and v. 6(19) p. 16-17.

The author starts by presenting some hypotheses concerning the violence in 1983: whether it was a communal problem, a leftist conspiracy, a right-wing plan or a breakdown of the social system. He reflects on the consequences of the events, and points to the Christian approach and contribution of the Sinhala people, who are going through hard times. He calls for repentance and various ways of pastoral action.

36

Picking up the pieces, slowly.
Asiaweek, 831125. v.9(47). p. 22.

The article places new hope in the initiatives for regional autonomy proposed after a meeting between the Indian envoy Parthasarathi and the Sri Lankan government. The article also deals with the consequences of the Summer 1983 violence: the international image of Sri Lanka, and problems for the economic recovery.

37

Committee of the Council for Liberal Democracy. *Letter to President*

Jayewardene on communal relations in Sri Lanka [Supplied title]. Colombo: Council for Liberal Democracy, 831130. 4 p.

The letter deals with the present state of communal relations, and points to the necessity of finding a solution in the form of a negotiated settlement. The ethnic conflict is placed in the context of the deteriorating Sri Lankan parliamentary democracy. A number of recommendations are made.

38

Narayan, S. Venkat. *Breakthrough at last.* *India today*, 831130. v.8(22). p. 69.

The article refers to a meeting between Jayewardene and the Indian envoy Parthasarathi. A proposal was worked out which included: the giving up of the idea for an Eelam state by the TULF; the merger of District Development Councils within a province, after acceptance by the council's members and a referendum in the districts; the recognition of the administration of Trincomalee as a central government function. Parthasarathi has invited TULF leaders to Delhi for a meeting.

39

A negotiated settlement? *Tamil times*, 831200. v.3(2). 2 p; 2-11.

This editorial reviews Tamil demands in relation to Sri Lankan government proposals as bases for an All Party Conference. It is said that for the time being the Tamils cannot give up their demand for self-determination

40

Jayewardene, J.R. *The TULF answer to the government proposals.* Colombo: Government of Sri Lanka, 831201. 1 p.

The press statement expresses hope for negotiations. The TULF seems to have given up its call for a separate state, and the government of India states that it endorses the independence, integrity and sovereignty of Sri Lanka.

41

Reddy, G.K. *Agreed approach yet to emerge in talks with TULF.* *Lanka guardian*, 831201. v.6(15). 2 p; 4-23.
- Republished from: "The Hindu" of 19 November 1983.

The article refers to discussions between Mr. Parthasarathy on behalf of Prime Minister Gandhi and TULF leaders about a framework for the All Party Conference. The discussions concentrate upon devolution of powers and regional councils.

42

Weerakoon, Gamini. *Parthasarathy tries to break deadlock*. Lanka guardian. 831201. v.6(15). p. 6.

Republished from "The Island" of 21 November 1983. The article gives a brief summary of India's diplomatic efforts at the end of 1983. No breakthrough is in sight in the talks between the TULF leaders and Parthasarathy, special envoy of the Indian Prime Minister.

43

de Silva, Mervyn. J.R., *Indira - a new diplomatic "space"*. Lanka guardian. 831201. v.6(15). 2 p; 3-5.

Discussions on the ethnic problem are taking place in New Delhi, with President Jayewardene in an extraordinary dramatic situation. According to the author, the two major conclusions to be drawn in late 1983 are that India has a definite diplomatic role and that the TULF is making increasingly desperate moves to maintain the support of the Tamil people. For him, the main issue is the geographical limits of an autonomous region and the powers vested in such a structure.

44

Hopeful signs. Tribune. 831210. v.28(8). 3 p; 2-4.

The editorial discusses the possibilities of successful negotiations following President Jayewardene's visit to New Delhi and the TULF statement that the party is prepared to give up its demand for a separate state.

45

All Ceylon Muslim League - Amparai District Federation. *Provincial Assemblies*. Akkaraipattu ; Colombo: All Ceylon Muslim League - Amparai District Federation, 831212. 3 p.

Statement by the Ceylon Muslim League of Amparai District saying that it does not support the TULF proposal to divide the Northern and Eastern provinces into separate districts. It is argued that Muslim representation in the Amparai district will be negatively affected if it is amalgamated with the adjoining province of Uva, and that the proposed districts would harm the fragile ethnic balance of the region.

46

Narayan, S. Venkat. A. *Amirtalingam: "life has become impossible"*. India today. 831215. v.8(23). p. 49.

In an interview, the Secretary General of the TULF explains his party's stand in the negotiations with the Sri Lankan government. He insists on the merger of the Northern and Eastern provinces, to protect the security of the Tamils. President Jayewardene is said to be capable to "sell" this policy to the Sinhalese majority.

47

Narayan, S. Venkat. *Guarded optimism*. India today. 831215. v.8(23). 2 p; 48-49.

This article discusses the prospects for a negotiated solution to Sri Lanka's ethnic problems after talks between President Jayewardene and Prime Minister Gandhi. There are indications that the Sri Lankan government and the TULF have come closer. The question of a merger between the Northern and Eastern provinces seems to be the major problem.

48

de Silva, Mervyn. J.R. *on the high wire*. Lanka guardian. 831215. v.6(16). p. 3.

The author sees President Jayewardene as a crisis manager, playing the dual roles of diplomat and politician. The first task of crisis management is to get the Sri Lankan constituency to "grasp the nettle", to be followed by the selling of the Delhi package. India's involvement in reaching a negotiated settlement is apparent.

49

Slowly towards a solution. Tribune. 831217. v.28(9). 3 p; 2-4.

This editorial summarizes different views about the prospects for a negotiated solution prior to the All Party Conference. Two points of disagreement are listed: 1. whether the Tamils will have one or two regional councils. 2. the control over the regional security service. "There is general hope that the All Party Conference will find a solution to the Tamil problem but also persuade the TULF and the militants to accept the democratic and parliamentary process and to rejoin to the mainstream of national life in Sri Lanka."

50

Citizens Committee for National Harmony.
Statement by the Citizens' Committee.
Colombo: Citizens Committee for National
Harmony, 831230. 7 p.

The CCNH in this pamphlet outlines the principles on which a political solution to the ethnic problem should be based. In this process there are two major factors of concern: 1. the aspirations and needs of the different ethnic communities, and especially of the Tamils both inside and outside the "Tamil-speaking" areas, 2. the need to strengthen the democratic process in Sri Lanka. CCNH sees a federal system as a possible way of strengthening national unity but at the same time stresses that a system of devolution should not give undue prominence to an ethnic demarcation of Sri Lanka. Also, national harmony needs a transformation of ethnic relations, involving the people themselves.

51

Annexure B: the following matters have been suggested for the formulation of an agenda by the All Party Conference.

Colombo: All Party Conference
Secretariat, 840000. 2 p.

Annexure B contains the same points as Annexure C, with the addition of the first point that Tamils must give up the demand for a separate state. It proposes the establishment of Regional Councils.

52

Roundtable and terrorism. Christian worker. 840000. no. 3. 8 p; 3-10.

The comment reviews the proposals for devolution at the All Party Conference. Some positive aspects are seen. It is regretted that no concrete results were achieved. There was an escalation of violence after the end of the All Party Conference. Attention is also paid to the presence of Israeli's, the "Indian connection" and terrorists and the plantations.

53

All Party Conference Secretariat.

Annexure C. Colombo: All Party
Conference Secretariat, 840000. 2 p.

Annexure C contains proposals which have emerged as a result of discussions in Colombo and New Delhi, and which are considered by the All Party Conference. District Development Councils can, under certain conditions, be combined into Regional Councils. Annexure C also contains proposals for devolution of power with regard to internal law and order, administration of justice, and land policy.

54

Coomaraswamy, Radhika. *The theoretical framework for the DDCs.*

Colombo: International Centre for Ethnic
Studies, 840000. 9 p.

The author states that any discussion on the theoretical framework for the District Development Councils must begin with an understanding of the objectives which initially animated their actual formulation: the increase of administrative effectiveness and managerial efficiency in the district; the increase of people's participation at the local level; and the diffusion of ethnic tension. She concludes that within the present framework of centralization, there are serious constraints to effective decentralization.

55

Council for Liberal Democracy.

Proposals for an Upper House of the Sri Lankan Parliament. Council for Liberal
Democracy, 840000. 10 p. in v.p..

These detailed proposals of the Council for Liberal Democracy make suggestions on how the Second Chamber could be made more representative of religions and political forces. The proposed Upper House, to be called a Senate, should have a legislative veto power.

56

Fernando, Celestine. *Pre-conditions for national reconciliation.* 840000. 8 p. The author reviews the progress made at the All Party Conference. He states that a great deal of very useful work has been done. However, the achievements have been limited due to lack of political tolerance and empathy. The author argues that misunderstandings were fed by the media and sectarian prejudice. He makes a number of recommendations, including the creation of citizens' groups; the need to implement the proposals within the whole country; and the need to adopt a national perspective.

57

Government of Sri Lanka. *All Party Conference: draft Bill of Pradeshiya Sabha.* Colombo: Government of Sri Lanka, 840000. 128 p.

The draft bill for the establishment of local representative units at the village level: the Pradeshiya Sabhas and Gramodaya Mandalayas. These units are intended to strengthen and broaden the democratic structure of government, to protect the rights of the people and to accelerate development.

58

Jayawickrama, Nihal. *Some comments on the proposals presented by H.E. the President to the All-Party Conference.* Colombo: Marga Institute, 840000. 5 p. The author discusses proposals of the government of Sri Lanka for the Second Chamber and the inter-district co-ordinating unit, and makes suggestions for some changes.

59

Madihe Pannasiha Maha Nayaka Thera. *Memorandum to the All-Party Conference. The ethnic crisis: the facts / Madihe Pannasiha Maha Nayaka Thera.* Colombo: Dharmavijaya Samajaya, 840000. 13 p; 65-77. Memorandum submitted on behalf of the Supreme Council of the Maha Sangha on 17 January 1984 to the All Party Conference. The memorandum deals with the land issue, Sinhalese in Jaffna, Buddhist places of worship, poverty, employment, education and university admissions, health service and other issues. Conclusion: "The Sinhala Buddhists are undergoing severe pain of mind."

60

Madihe Pannasiha Maha Nayaka Thera. *The ethnic crisis: the facts.* Colombo: Dharmavijaya Samajaya, 840000. (104 p.). stat. The author is Chief Sangha Nayaka of the Amarapura Sri Dharmarakshita Nikaya. His report contains chapters on the history of Sri Lanka, the destruction of Buddhist shrines and the Sinhalese inhabitants of Jaffna. Also included are: extracts from notes of reservation on the constitutional rights of minorities by A.C.M. Ameer and M.A. Azeez, published in the report of the Presidential Commission on Development Councils; the memorandum of the author submitted to the Sansoni Commission; the article "The so-called Tamil kingdom of Jaffna", by Prof. S. Ranawella; the memorandum submitted by the author on behalf of the Supreme Council of the Maha Sangha to the All Party Conference, and memoranda of the Supreme Council on the dangers of regional councils and the devolution of powers to Development Councils. With annexes: list of subjects that may be considered for transfer; exclusive functions of the government; statistical information on population, poverty, education, employment and university admission.

61

Supreme Council of the Maha Sangha. *Dangers of Regional Councils. The ethnic crisis: the facts / Madihe Pannasiha Maha Nayaka Thera.* Colombo: Dharmavijaya Samajaya, 840000. 2 p; 78-79. Nine reasons why the Supreme Council opposed the establishment of Regional Councils and resultant devolution of authority.

62

Supreme Council of the Maha Sangha. *Devolution of power to the Development Councils. The ethnic crisis: the facts / Madihe Pannasiha Maha Nayaka Thera.* Colombo: Dharmavijaya Samajaya, 840000. 11 p; 80-90. Text of the memorandum of the Supreme Council of the Maha Sangha to the All Party Conference. The Supreme Council recommended that the law be amended in order to enable District Development Councils to shoulder a larger share of responsibility for development administration and exercise a greater measure of self-government within each district. With an annex containing a list of subjects that might be considered for transfer.

63

de Silva, Colvin R. *Speech made by Dr. Colvin R. de Silva on behalf of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party.* Colombo: Lanka Sama Samaja Party, 840000. 5 p.
Speech endorsing a devolved version of District Councils. The Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) recommends the revival of the Village Committees with enhanced powers, and would permit the evolution of Regional Councils if District Councils chose to merge. The party describes this position as socialist and believes that its institutional reforms should be implemented throughout the island, although few details on how councils would actually operate are provided in this speech.

64

All Party Conference: what chances? Tamil times. 840100. v.3(3). 2 p; 1-24.

The article gives the positions of the major parties at the All Party Conference. The Buddhist clergy, hardliners within the government, and the Tamil militants (who did not take part) represent the major roadblocks to a solution.

65

Sivanayagam, S. *Roundtable talks and deception.* Tamil times. 840100. v.3(3). 2 p; 3-18.

Article by the editor of the "Saturday review" commenting on recent developments with regard to the All Party Conference, and the relationship between the TULF and the militant groups. His standpoint is that it is not a real instrument for negotiations because it does not include the real power holders on the Tamil side, namely the militant groups.

66

de Silva, Mervyn. *1984 and post-summit scenarios.* Lanka guardian. 840101. v.6(17). 3 p; 3-24.

On 21 December 1983, the eight political parties invited by President Jayewardene unanimously decided that the TULF should be invited without preconditions. In this editorial, it is stated that influential opinion-making groups are becoming aware of the international aspects of the Sri Lankan problems; India has taken a hand. The author outlines different contingency plans and dilemmas.

67

Amirthalingam, A. *Statement made by Mr. A. Amirthalingum at the All Party Conference on 19.1.84.* Colombo: Tamil United Liberation Front, 840119. 15 p.
TULF leader Amirthalingam in his statement, places the Tamil demands at the All Party Conference in a historical context. He takes up the questions of language, land settlement and devolution. Questions which are said to require immediate solution are the security of the lives and property of the Tamil people, and the integrity of Tamil territories. Special attention is paid to the ethnic problems of the Muslims in Amparai district, through quoting a statement of the Amparai district federation of the All Ceylon Muslim League.

68

Amity talks. Tribune. 840121. v.28(12). 4 p; 2-5.

This editorial summarizes reports in different Sri Lankan newspapers which welcomed and commented upon the prospects for the All Party Conference. The newspapers had to rely on the communiqués and press briefings of the APC, as the sessions were closed to maintain an atmosphere conducive to the deliberations.

69

de Silva, Manik. *Around the table.* Far eastern economic review. 840126. v.123(4). p. 20-21.

At the beginning of the All Party Conference, a review is provided of the most important actors and their proposals. It was decided to include groups representing racial and religious interests at the Conference, to ascertain that a possible consensus would hold.

70

Signs of a gathering storm. 840130. 8 p.

Comment on recent developments with regard to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. The incidents of July 1983 which marked a turning point in Sri Lankan politics were considered to be a great victory for the anti-Tamil racist extremists. The ongoing round table conference of all parties may have considerable influence on the situation, but it is very unlikely that it would succeed to establish lasting peace.

71

Talks at a tangent and the "Sinhalese problem". Tamil times. 840200. v.3(4). p. 2.

Editorial comment on the progress made at the All Party Conference. The ethnic problem in Sri Lanka is seen mainly as a Sinhalese problem, relating to their non-acceptance of Sri Lanka as a multi-ethnic society.

72

Roundtable and conference diplomacy. Lanka guardian. 840201. v.6(19). p. 6.

The article points to the difficulty of negotiating in a forum such as the All Party Conference compared to the "close focus" negotiations in earlier meetings with three mediators (Mr. H.W. Jayewardene, Mr. Thondaman, and Mr. Parthasarathi).

73

Viewpoint: behind the roundtable. Lanka guardian. 840201. v.6(19). 2 p; 7-12.

- Republished from: "Desha Vimukthi" of 2 January 1984.

The article reviews the differences in the proposals from the Tamil and the government sides as they were presented at the All Party Conference. It describes the geographical limits of the proposed "Regional Councils", the extent of authority to be delegated to them, and the manner in which the assent of the people for the negotiated proposals should be obtained.

74

All-Party Conference: President denies SLFP charges. Sri Lanka news review.

Colombo: Department of Information; Ministry of State, 840215. v.1(14). p. 6. President Jayewardene at the meeting of the All Party Conference on 6 February emphatically denied the Sri Lanka Freedom Party charge that the government was trying to thrust a preconceived plan on the Conference.

75

Committee for Rational Development. *Annexure C: Committee for Rational Development comments on the "fourteen points".* Lanka guardian. 840215. v.6(20). p. 9-12.

The Committee for Rational Development is of the opinion that it should be possible to combine the District Development Councils into one or more Regional Councils, as proposed in Annexure C. Most of the proposals are agreed upon. The article deals rather extensively with the scale of the devolution of powers between the Centre and the councils.

76

Goonetilleke, H.A.I. *Why the roundtable conference was delayed: the confession of A.J. Wilson.* Lanka guardian. 840215. v.6(20). 2 p; 5.

A comment on an article by Professor A. Jeyaratnam Wilson. It argues that the Roundtable Conference was not convened before because the government accepted Wilson's argument against the holding of such a conference.

77

Narayan, S. Venkat; De Silva, Mervyn. *Parleys of peace.* India today. 840215. v.9(3). p. 40.

This article underscores the importance of the All Party Conference as an alternative to a military solution. Three committees have been set up to continue the work initiated at the Conference. The Conference, which was chaired by President Jayewardene, ended amicably.

78

Sivathamby, Karthigesu. *The collapse of parliament as an effective national forum.* Lanka guardian. 840215. v.6(20). 3 p; 20-22. Background to roundtable conference; 3.

- Republished in: Tamil times, v. 3(5) of March 1984, p. 12-14. The author analyzes the general failure of the Tamils to make use of the existing institutional structures to work out a solution, and the inability of the government to create new structures. To illustrate the last point he uses the District Development Councils Act.

79

de Silva, Mervyn. *Where every prospect does not please.* Lanka guardian. 840215. v.6(20). 2 p; 3-5.

The author refers to two reasons given by the SLFP to explain its withdrawal from the All Party Conference. One is Amirthalingam's attitude and his consultations in India, and the other is distrust of the UNP's intentions in the Conference. It is stated that to meet the SLMP challenge and outflank the UNP, the SLFP scurries back to its old Sinhala Buddhist base.

80

12th Congress of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka. *For national harmony: CPSL congress prescribe pills for communal ills.* Saturday review. 840218. v.3(1). p. 8. Text of resolution adopted at the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka CPSL, on 28 January 1984. "The racist violence of 1983 ... was a pre-planned effort, carried out by organized gangs associated with the United National Party and who derived inspiration and ideological leadership from sections within the government itself." The summoning of the All Party Conference to work out an accord on the ethnic question is welcomed. A delegation of the CPSL will participate in the APC.

81

United National Party. *Proposals for a system of decentralised government.* Colombo: United National Party, 840220. 12 p.

The proposals contain a plan for decentralization based on existing districts. Attention is paid to the objectives of the proposed system, the structure, Gramodaya Mandalayas, Pradesheeya Sabhas (Divisional Councils), Rajya Sabhas (State Councils), the relationship between the central government and these institutions, the manner in which they could be funded and administrative arrangements. With annexure: conceptual model of the system of decentralized government.

82

Ceylon Workers' Congress. *All Party Conference working paper presented by the Ceylon Workers' Congress.* Colombo. 840221. 26 p.

The Ceylon Workers' Congress in this document presents a scheme for regional autonomy. It deals with: the structure of the system of Regional Councils, the executive, the powers of the Regional Council, local government, security, creation of a regional administrative service, and justice. A separate section is devoted to the restoration of citizenship rights and arrangements for Tamils of recent Indian origin. With annexes: finances of the regional authority, land policy, socio-economic indicators and Tamils of recent Indian origin.

83

Representatives of Christian organizations to the Committees of the All Party Conference. *Working Paper presented to the All Party Conference by the representatives of Christian organisations on the grievances presented by all communities and recommended solutions.* Colombo: Archbishop's House, 840221. 32 p.

In this proposal, attention is paid to the fears and aspirations of various groups: the Sinhalese, Tamils, Moors, Malays, Sinhala peasantry, plantation workers of Indian origin, and shanty and slum dwellers. Following, there are sections on: the geo-political dimensions, the system of government, fair opportunities for education and employment, the system of land settlement, and economic growth and cultural development. The authors argue in favour of Provincial Councils. With regard to law and order and land settlement, they advocate the sharing of responsibility.

84

Vishva Hindu Parishad. *All Party Conference working paper of the Vishva Hindu Parishad (Hindu organisations).* Colombo: Vishva Hindu Parishad, 840222. 8 p.

The proposal contains a scheme for the creation of Regional Councils. The Regional Councils would be empowered to enact laws and exercise powers and perform functions on subjects as: maintenance of law and order in the region; social and economic development; cultural matters; education; health; land policy; administration of justice; funding through taxes etc.

85

Boddens, Hosang, J.F. *Statement by Ambassador J.F. Boddens-Hosang, alternate representative of the Kingdom of the Netherlands on Monday 27 February 1984.*

Geneva: Permanent Mission of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to the United Nations in Geneva, 840227. 3 p.

Statement under agenda item 19, Report of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. With regard to the situation in Sri Lanka, the Dutch delegation welcomes the initiative of the government of Sri Lanka to submit information to the Commission on the communal violence last year. The government is encouraged to continue the dialogue about the situation both inside and outside the country. The All Party Conference seems to be an excellent opportunity for dialogue.

86

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. *40th session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights: agenda item 19: report of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.* Geneva: International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, 840228. 3 p.

One of the questions commented upon by the representative of the ICFTU is the resolution adopted by the Sub-Commission on the situation in Sri Lanka. It is noted that progress has been made at the All Party Conference. However, the search for political solutions requires time and patience, and should not be an obstacle to the adoption of direct measures for the improvement of the human rights situation. An independent and impartial inquiry into the causes and actors of the 1983 violence needs to be done. Also, citizenship has to be granted to the Tamil plantation workers.

87

Jayewardene, J.R. *May courage wisdom and patience prevail: extract from the address to Parliament by H.E. the President on 23rd February 1984.* Sri Lanka news review. Colombo: Department of Information; Ministry of State, 840229. v.1(15). 2 p; 1-2.

The President provides a general comment on the situation in Sri Lanka. He states that many promises in the UNP Manifesto of 1977 have been implemented, but that the world economic crisis also has an impact on Sri Lanka. Following, he comments on the ethnic disturbances in the country, in the more distant past and in July 1983. He refers to the opportunities provided by the All Party Conference, and expresses the hope that it will be successful.

88

MacDermot, Niall. *Intervention on Sri Lanka.* Geneva: International Commission of Jurists, 840300. 3 p.

Intervention at the 40th session of the Commission on Human Rights, under agenda item 12. The representative of the International Commission of Jurists comments upon the memorandum submitted by the government of Sri Lanka. The Prevention of Terrorism Act is criticized; its provisions are not similar to those of other democratic countries. It is hoped that the present inter-party talks will reach agreed solutions within a unified Sri Lanka. The Sixth Amendment and the Emergency Regulations are also criticized. It is recommended that the Commission should keep the situation under consideration. The ICJ agrees that no other action is called for by the Commission while the All Party Conference continues.

89

Pant, K.C. *Statement by leader of the Indian delegation to the 40th session of the Commission on Human Rights, Shri K.C. Pant: agenda item no. 12....* Geneva: Permanent Mission of India to the United Nations office Geneva, 840305. 4 p. Statement made under agenda item 12 with regard to the situation in Sri Lanka. It is stated that there are already 24,000 Tamils, of Sri Lankan nationality, who have sought refuge in India. In order to secure the country's unity and integrity, it is important that no section of society should feel a sense of insecurity, and this needs a long-term approach. India has offered its good offices to facilitate a political settlement.

90

Cyprus delegation to UN Commission on Human Rights; Yugoslavian delegation to the UN Commission on Human Rights. *Cyprus and Yugoslavia: draft decision.* Geneva: United Nations Commission on Human Rights, 840307. 1 p. Draft resolution submitted under agenda item 12 (question of the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms) by Cyprus and Yugoslavia. "The Commission, taking note of the information voluntarily submitted by the Government of Sri Lanka, appealing to the parties to continue to take all necessary measures to strengthen and maintain peace and restore harmony among the people of Sri Lanka, welcomes all measures for rehabilitation and reconciliation, including the All Party Conference, and expresses the hope that they will succeed in achieving a lasting solution, and decides that further consideration of this matter is not necessary."

91

All Party Conference Secretariat. *Preliminary survey of working papers submitted (up to 8.3.1984).* Colombo: All Party Conference Secretariat, 840310. 7 p. This document is a review of, and a comparison between, drafts submitted to the All Party Conference secretariat by the Supreme Council of the Maha Sangha, the United National Party, the Ceylon Workers' Congress, representatives of Christian organizations, the All Ceylon Muslim League, the Vishva Hindu Parishad and the Lanka Sama Samaja Party.

92

All Ceylon Moors Association. *Present ethnic situation in the country and the Round-table Conference.* Colombo: All Ceylon Moors Association, 840314. 4 p. This statement describes the position of the ACMA with regard to the need for integration with both the Tamil and Sinhala communities. A description of historical discrimination against the Moors is followed by a proposal in which the model of federalism as envisaged in Annexure C is accepted. "The integration of Northern and Eastern Provinces or otherwise to be left to the decision of the people of these two provinces. If a Muslim Majority Province is not feasible, the Muslims in these two provinces must accept integration of the Eastern and Northern Provinces. For, the future of the Muslims in these two provinces lies in Tamil / Muslim collaboration."

93

Memorandum presented to the Supreme Council of the Maha Sangha on 20th March 1984. 840320. 3 p. This unsigned document criticizes the proposals of the Maha Sangha, and argues in favour of Annexure C and its scheme for Regional Councils.

94

Tamil United Liberation Front. *Letter to President Jayewardene: the All Party Conference.* Colombo: Tamil United Liberation Front, 840323. 2 p. In this letter, the TULF accuses the government of being responsible for the failure of the All Party Conference, because it rejected Annexure C as a basis for the negotiations. It warns the government against further escalation of the conflict in the north.

95

Weeranantry, C.G. *A new human rights dispensation for Sri Lanka: One of the paths to the solution of communal conflict*. Colombo: Society for Ethnic Amity, 840400. 10 p.

Also published in: Overseas Sri Lankan: Spring 1985 journal. Scarborough [Ontario, Canada]: The World Federation of Sri Lankan Associations, 1985. p. 39-48.

Speech at Hammer Health Science Auditorium, Columbia University, New York, on 21 April 1984. The speaker states that it is essential above all that the harmony that once existed between different sections of the population is restored. He elaborates on the legal validity of the demand for separation, concluding that there is no basis for separation in international law. Sri Lankan expatriates have an important role to play in providing correct information on their home country. There is an international propaganda campaign against Sri Lanka waged in terms of human rights. It is essential to silence this campaign and to achieve justice for Sri Lanka, internationally and nationally. Weeramantry makes recommendations on how the government could improve the situation of human rights in Sri Lanka through strengthening legislation and creating investigative bodies. He suggests an Ombudsman office and an anti-discrimination act. Suggestions are also made for programmes to be adopted by organizations of overseas Sri Lankans, like the establishment of a federation.

96

Muslims opt for provincial assemblies. Lanka guardian, 840401. v.6(23&24). p. 5.

The Muslims, represented in the Council of Muslims, think that the most equitable and workable solution for the devolution of powers is Provincial Assemblies in each of the nine provinces with "maximum autonomy". This would be a compromise between District Development Councils and Regional Councils. They are against the merger of the Northern and Eastern provinces or the merger of the Trincomalee and Batticaloa districts. The main grievance of the Muslims as an ethnic community is their level of education.

97

de Silva, Mervyn. *End of jaw-jaw - and a requiem for the TULF?* Lanka guardian, 840401. v.6(23&24). 2 p; 3-5.

According to the author, the steady pressure from Sinhala-Buddhist opinion, the SLFP, the altered composition of the conference, its loose modalities and finally the repudiation of Annexure C paved the way to an all-but-formal collapse of the All Party Conference.

98

PM on rampage. Saturday review, 840414. v.3(9/10). p. 13.

- Republished from "Forward" of 1 April 1984. The article refers to a campaign headed by Prime Minister Premadasa against the proposals agreed upon at the All Party Conference. He also would have argued for the abolition of political parties.

99

Sri Lanka at the turning point: a point of view. Tamil times, 840500. v.3(7). 2 p; 4-5.

The article discusses different solutions to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, using a historical and a comparative perspective. It argues for some kind of federal solution, stating that the status quo will lead to continuing violence and separation.

100

The farce continues as the president threatens "end of Tamils": Round Table talks. Tamil times, 840500. v.3(7). 3 p; 1-21.

In this article, the government of Sri Lanka is criticized for not taking the All Party Conference serious and for starting a new military offensive in the north.

101

Department of Information. While government talks peace terrorism continues. Colombo: Department of Information, 840508. (30) p. Overseas information series; no. 15.

"While President Jayewardene was trying to settle racial problem between Sinhala and the Tamil people, Tamil terrorists from their bases in Tamil Nadu in South India started troubles in the North aimed at preventing the success of the talk." This publication contains extracts from articles in the Sri Lankan newspapers "Daily news", "Sun" and "Island" in support of the statement above.

102

Executive Committee of the United National Party. *President warns press.* Saturday review. 840616. v.3(18). p. 3. Republished from: The Sun of 11 June 1984. Text of the proceedings of the United National Party Executive Meeting of 10 June 1984, dealing with the ethnic conflict and the All Party Conference issues. President Jayewardene announced that Israeli expertise had been demanded for to wipe out terrorism. Minister of National Security Athulathmudali stated: "We are committed to a resolution of these problems through negotiation, but if we are given no other option we shall then accept the option of force." Minister of Mahaweli Development Dissanayake appealed to the government of India to dissuade the Tamil Nadu government from encouraging terrorist activities against Sri Lanka.

103

de Silva, Mervyn. *Round-table yarn.* Far eastern economic review. 840621. v.124(25). p. 46. The author gives a situation report from the All Party Conference in the summer of 1984. No consensus was reached on the major issues and on 9 June, Minister of National Security Athulathmudali told the UNP's Executive Committee that "certain opposition parties and the terrorists were hoping for the failure of the conference". The importance of continuing the negotiations was underlined by Minister of Finance De Mel, who faces the World Bank-sponsored Sri Lanka aid consortium in Paris. Two expert committees are working on the devolution of power and on "equalization of opportunities" in education, employment and language rights.

104

Disabled Peoples' International. *Statement of Disabled Peoples' International, a non-governmental organization in consultative status (category II).* Geneva: Disabled Peoples' International, 840700. 5 p. The representative of Disabled Peoples' International at the 37th session of the Sub-Commission, under agenda item 8. The document provides a review of progress made at the All Party Conference, the proposals for the establishment of a Second Chamber and legal proceedings with regard to the July 1983 violence.

105

de Silva, Mervyn. *India can help in scaling down violence.* Lanka guardian. 840701. v.7(5). 2 p; 4-10. Excerpts from an interview by the BBC with the Minister of National Security, who will accompany President Jayewardene on a visit to Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi. He points out that terrorist groups are on Indian soil, planning and plotting to deny Sri Lanka sovereignty over its entire territory. He states that the more one succeeds in curbing terrorist activities, the better the chances are for a political settlement.

106

Deadlock in Delhi. Asiaweek. 840713. v.10(28). p. 14. The article refers to a meeting between Prime Minister Gandhi and President Jayewardene in New Delhi. Jayewardene made clear that he was not inclined to entertain the moderate Tamil demand for regional autonomy in any form, which his country's Sinhalese majority think would be the first step to eventual separation.

107

Next the caste war. The economist. 840714. v.292(7350). 2 p; 46-47. The article discusses the "undeclared battle" for succession to President J.R. Jayewardene in relation to the prospects for a solution to the ethnic problem. Candidates are said to be Minister Athulathmudali and Prime Minister Premadasa. It is said that polarization of the Sinhalese community among class lines has begun.

108

An agenda for a non-violent solution.

Lanka guardian. 840715. v.7(6). 4 p; 6-22.

The United Nations University's South Asian Perspectives project, in association with the Lanka Guardian, held a seminar on "Ethnic relations and nation building in Sri Lanka" on 26 and 27 May 1984, attended by about twenty-five religious leaders, scholars, journalists, and trade unionists. This article contains the final report of the seminar, with an analysis of the background of the Sri Lankan conflict and possible solutions. The report contains four parts: I. ethnic consciousness and Sri Lankan consciousness; II. measures to build confidence (dialogues, democratization of political institutions, mutual de-escalation of the ethnic conflict and efforts at reaching a non-violent political settlement, security); III. political reforms, and IV. the international context. It is concluded that wise, rational and effective steps have to be taken by the political leadership to create political structures that would ensure a secular, democratic and united Sri Lanka.

109

de Silva, Mervyn. *The end of jaw-jaw.* Lanka guardian. 840715. v.7(6). 2 p; 3-4.

Comment on the Roundtable conference and the meeting between President Jayewardene and Prime Minister Gandhi in New Delhi. Mrs. Gandhi allayed fears of an Indian intervention in Sri Lanka and stressed the need for the establishment of Provincial Councils. President Jayewardene had pointed to difficulties in reaching a political settlement and the need to eradicate terrorism. It is concluded that the government of Sri Lanka will not obtain Indian support against terrorism unless it makes political concessions to the Tamils.

110

Jayewardene, J.R. *Memorandum presented to the All Party Conference by His Excellency the President Chairman of the All Party Conference.* Colombo: All Party Conference Secretariat, 840723. 4 p. All Party Conference documents.

In this memorandum presented in July 1984, the government is trying to reconcile its position with that of the Tamil political parties through opening up the possibility for inter-district coordination and the establishment of a Second Chamber.

111

Continuing crisis in Sri Lanka. Tamil times. 840800. v.3(10). p. 10.

- Republished from: The hindu (editorial) of 21 July 1984.

The editorial criticizes the Sri Lankan government for having given up Annexure C as the basis for negotiations at the All Party Conference. This act is characterized as an expression of the government's general disinterest in giving the Tamils any concessions.

112

de Silva, Mervyn. *Who buried the TULF?* Lanka guardian. 840801. v.7(7). p. 3.

The author states that the recent criticism of the TULF in government circles is unwise, as this would diminish non-violent democratic solutions to the ethnic conflict and lead to further polarization.

113

Continuing crisis in Sri Lanka. Saturday review. 840811. v.3(26). 2 p; 8-9.

- Republished from: The Hindu of 7 July 1984. Critical comment on the latest proposals made by the government of President Jayewardene to solve the ethnic problem, which he made public in New Delhi. Remarks are made on statements that the problem is internal and on the use of the term "terrorism". The President indicated that he would not stand in the way in case the All Party Conference would agree on the creation of one Regional Council for the Northern and Eastern provinces.

114

Working Group of Officials & Experts.

Report of the working group of officials and experts to Committee "A" of the All Party Conference. Colombo: All Party Conference Secretariat, 840813. 40 p. The report contains three annexes: on the subjects and functions that the Committee considers should be exclusively reserved for the government; subjects and functions suitable for assignment to the grass roots level institutions; subjects and functions some of which should be reserved for the Ministry concerned and others that are assignable to intermediate or grassroots level institutions. The central government retains control over the subjects and functions related to land settlement, internal law and order, and the judiciary.

115

Arney, George. *TULF irrelevant only in present context.* Lanka guardian. 840815. v.7(8). p. 5.

Text of an interview given by National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali to the BBC on 21 July 1984. The Minister states that terrorist acts hinder the All Party Conference. Terrorist activities outside the Jaffna peninsula have been brought down considerably. In the present context, the TULF is irrelevant; if terrorism could be brought down the TULF might play a role as elected representatives.

116

Committee "B". *Report of committee "B"....* Colombo: All Party Conference Secretariat, 840816. 16 p.

Committee "B" was set up "to consider measures that need to be implemented with regard to equalization of opportunities in education, employment and the exercise of language rights". It was not possible to obtain complete agreement in these three main areas. "Where consensus has been modified, the suggestions made by the various parties and organisations have also been included in this Report." A main point of disagreement concerns the use of the quota versus the merit system in education.

117

de Silva, Mervyn. *More minefields ahead.* Far eastern economic review. 840818. v.126(42). 2 p; 33-34.

This article gives a summary of the positions of the government and the TULF before the final round of the All Party Conference. The government at this point was expected to offer elected District Councils and larger bodies called Inter-district Coordinating Units. TULF demanded substantial local powers for councils which would work as "one Tamil linguistic unit". The draft laws which the government was expected to present would offer a much smaller unit with undefined powers.

118

Dhanapala, Jayantha. *Statement by Ambassador Jayantha Dhanapala of Sri Lanka: August 21, 1984.* Geneva: Permanent Mission of Sri Lanka, 840821. 10 p.

Statement at the 37th session of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, under agenda item 6. The representative mentions efforts undertaken by the government for the protection and promotion of human rights. After the 1983 violence, the government has taken measures to contain the disturbances, re-establish law and order and resume the dialogue towards a political solution. With regard to recent violent incidents, it is said that reports in the international press and by NGO's on alleged deaths among the civilian population and destruction of property are wildly exaggerated. There is progress on the negotiations and consensus on the need to have devolution of power. The task of the security forces has become more difficult as the terrorists have shifted their scene of operations to civilian centres. The representative suggests that the Sub-Commission study and formulate criteria for the examination of human rights violations, and work towards an anti-terrorism convention which protects human rights.

119

Council of Muslims. *The concept of Provincial Councils in the context of Second Chamber and devolution of power: statement of the Council of Muslims presented to the All Party Conference on 29.08.1984.*

Colombo: Council of Muslims, 840829. 10 p.

Comment on the memorandum of President Jayewardene of 23 July 1984. It is stated that the establishment of a Second Chamber as envisaged in this Memorandum is not the solution to the country's problem. It is proposed to create nine Provincial Councils, with guarantees for the preservation of national integration.

120

Seeking a political solution. •

Asiaweek. 840831. v.10(35). 3 p; 10-14.

Review of the situation at the All Party Conference in the Summer of 1984, with the government and the TULF proposing very different systems of government. The TULF advocates region-wide councils, while the president proposes a Second Chamber to represent the interests of minorities. The article also deals with recent violence in the Jaffna peninsula, where the support for the militant groups is apparently growing. In an interview, Minister of National Security Athulathmudali explains the government's efforts to reach a negotiated settlement.

121

Dayasri, Gomin. *The proposals: who benefits?: roundtable conference.* Forum. 840901. v.1(4). 2 p; 4-6.

The author argues that the government proposals at the Round Table Conference do not seem to touch even the periphery of the problem. The proposals will not satisfy the aspirations of the Sinhalese or the demands of the Tamils, nor the interests of the Muslims. A close examination of the proposals reveals a common denominator, namely a significant political advantage for the UNP.

122

Venkatramani, S.H. *All Party Conference: a tightrope walk.* India today. 840915. v.9(17). 4 p; 43-47.

The article reviews the positions of the government, the TULF and the SLFP at the All Party Conference. TULF sees regional councils as the only viable alternative to Eelam. President Jayewardene did not seem to get support from the TULF on his Second Chamber proposal, but SLFP's Mrs. Bandaranaike expressed her support for the government's suggestion on Regional Councils.

123

de Silva, Mervyn. *An eye on the clock.* Lanka guardian. 840915. v.7(10). 2 p; 3-4.

The article summarizes views given in different international newspapers about the possibilities for a negotiated solution to the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka. Time seems to be running out for the All Party Conference and a negotiated political settlement. The author also describes constraints in the execution of a "military solution", mainly the lack of professionalism and skill in the armed forces.

124

All Party Conference Secretariat. *Proposals emerging from the All Party Conference [Supplied title].* Colombo: All Party Conference Secretariat, 840921. 4 p. The document reviews the proposals presented at the APC and lists some points of agreement. The main areas of convergence were decentralization to the district level, and a Second Chamber with representatives from all minority groups.

125

Jayewardene, J.R. *Report to the plenary sessions of the All Party Conference by His Excellency the President, Chairman of the Committee of leaders of delegations to the All Party Conference.* Colombo: All Party Conference Secretariat, 840921. 12 p. The report describes the status of the main proposals at the All Party Conference in September 1984. The key proposals for District Councils and a Second Chamber are described. The document also deals with the participation at the conference as well as the formation and progress of its various committees.

126

Amirthalingam, A. *Statement made by Mr. A. Amirthalingam at the plenary session of the All-Party Conference on Sunday - 30th September 1984.* Colombo: Tamil United Liberation Front, 840930. 10 p.

The statement by the leader of the TULF describes the party's position with regard to Annexure C, violations of human rights of the Tamil people by the Sri Lankan government, and the settlement of Sinhalese in Tamil areas. Against this background, the limited government proposals for devolution (District Councils) are criticized.

127

de Silva, Mervyn. *The shadow play.* India today. 840930. v.9(18). p. 63.

The article reviews the positions taken by the major actors at the All Party Conference. The main area of conflict within the Conference is "the unit of devolution". It is argued that the UNP has an interest in a political settlement, but cannot risk to alienate the Sinhala majority.

128

All Party Conference: an exercise in futility. Tamil times. 841000. v.3(12). 5 p; 1-15.

The article analyzes the outcome of the first round of the All Party Conference stating that it met serious problems from the outset, because it was composed of a conglomeration of all groups, including extremists. The SLFP refused to take part, and the government ultimately abandoned Annexure C, which provided for the establishment of Regional Councils in the predominantly Tamil populated areas. The proposals of the President for the creation of a Second Chamber and District Councils have not been accepted.

129

Amity talks: round and round, and round after round. Lanka guardian. 841001. v.7(11). p. 5.

This article discusses the government's position at the All Party Conference in the fall of 1984. The government had at this point proposed district councils with possibilities for inter-district coordination, and a Second Chamber to safeguard minority rights.

130

Gunatilleke, Godfrey. *Issues arising from the latest proposals presented to the All Party Conference.* Colombo: Marga Institute, 841107. 31 p.

The author discusses the approaches of the government and of the TULF to the ethnic problem. The TULF is primarily concerned with the sub-national unit of devolution, while the government analyzes the problem in terms of participatory democracy. The two approaches result in two different systems of devolution: a provincial / regional system and a district system. The different options are analyzed in detail. A final section of the paper deals with the proposals for a Second Chamber.

131

Gunewardena, V. (ed.). *Systems of government.* Colombo: Marga Institute, 841107. 17 p.

The author provides a detailed comment on the systems of government which have been proposed by the government of Sri Lanka at the All Party Conference. The comments are made under the headings: systems of government; inter-district coordination and collaboration; and Second Chamber.

132

Government of Sri Lanka. *Draft District and Provincial Councils Bill.* Colombo: Government of Sri Lanka, 841200. 34 p.

The Bill provides for the establishment of District Councils and the constitution of inter-district authorities to be called Provincial Councils. These are to be set up to strengthen the democratic structure of government and the democratic rights of the people, and to strengthen national unity by affording opportunities to the people to participate at every level in nation life and in government.

133

Government of Sri Lanka. *Tenth Amendment to the Constitution.* Colombo: Government of Sri Lanka, 841200. 10 p. This amendment to the Constitution is intended to incorporate the provisions of the Draft District and Provincial Councils Bill regarding the establishment of District Councils, Provincial Councils and the Council of State.

134

All Party Conference Secretariat.

Objects and reasons of the proposed legislation. Colombo: All Party Conference Secretariat, 841214. 14 p. Document in Sinhala, Tamil and English. The statement outlines the system of government which will be based on three units: the districts, the provinces and the State Council. Provincial Councils will consist of two or more administrative districts in a province, after a decision of the District Councils to do so is approved by the electorate.

135

All Party Conference Secretariat.

Statement of His Excellency the President and Chairman of the All Party Conference. Colombo: All Party Conference Secretariat, 841214. 14 p. - Document in Sinhala, Tamil and English. The President briefly presents the main recommendations in the draft legislation agreed upon by the majority of delegations at the All Party Conference. He outlines a scheme for devolution where District Councils, Provincial Councils and the Council of State will be the main institutions. Provincial Councils will only be granted such powers as are delegated to them by the District Councils.

136

We urge peace with justice. The island. Colombo. 841217. p. 9.

- Also published in: "Daily news" of 1 January 1985, p. 10. Appeal for new negotiations to ensure peace with justice and fair play for all. The appeal is an initiative of various Citizens Committees, and was signed by 23,000 persons representing a large number of institutions and non-governmental organizations, as well as many prominent individuals.

137

Narrowing options. Economic and political weekly. 841222. v.19(51/52). p. 2139.

The article refers to Jayewardene's decision following the All Party Conference to drop the government's proposals for decentralization of administration. The TULF, but also the SLFP, the Buddhist Maha Sangha, and a section of the ruling UNP were opposed to the proposals.

138

No help until you do a deal. The economist. 841222. v.293(7373). p. 39. General Walters, envoy of President Reagan, stated that the government of the United States will not offer military assistance to Sri Lanka until it the government devolves some degree of power to the Tamils. President Jayewardene is trying to establish a "Council of State". the Indian government continues to deny that the Tamil rebels are getting military aid and refuge in south India.

139

de Silva, Manik. *A package for peace. Far eastern economic review.* 841227. v.126(52). 2 p; 24-25.

The article discusses President Jayewardene's peace package presented at the All Party Conference on 14 December 1984. The system for devolution of powers according to these proposals would be realized through District Councils, Provincial Councils and a Council of State (Second Chamber). At the same time, relations between Sri Lanka and India have sunk to a new low because of the "terrorism" issue. Gen. Walters, special envoy of President Reagan, visited Colombo and New Delhi.

140

Devolution of power and its consequences. 850000. 11 p.

Unsigned paper which intends to provide insight into issues related to devolution of power. The authors state that the District and Provincial Councils will be autonomous bodies, not subject to Parliamentary control. A number of provisions are seen as directly harmful to the Sinhala people and the Sinhala Buddhists. It is feared that Sinhalese settlers will be driven away from the Northern and Eastern provinces.

141

Premachandra, A.S.A.; Dissanayake, Nimal. *India is more a hindrance than a help in the search for a solution in Sri Lanka.* Overseas Sri Lankan: Spring 1985

journal. Scarborough [Ontario, Canada]: The World Federation of Sri Lankan Associations, 850000. 5 p; 75-79.

For the authors, the problems of Sri Lanka are caused by Tamil terrorists. Various sources confirm that there are Tamil terrorist camps in Tamil Nadu. By letting the Tamils operate freely, India makes a political solution and conciliation between the Sinhala and Tamil communities extremely difficult. The proposals of the Jayewardene government have been more than reasonable. Separation cannot be achieved without massive violent reaction from the Sinhalese masses.

142

Saravanamuttu, Paikiasothy. *The ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka [Supplied title].* 850000. 7 p.

Article on the positions of different actors in the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, with references to viewpoints of the President and the TULF, the issue of military assistance by the United States, military and political solutions, and the role of moderates. Proposals for solutions have to be based on the concept of a unitary state in which all communities can live in peace and harmony.

143

Satyendra, Nadesan. *The Tamils of Sri Lanka, Kurds and Bhutan.* London: Tamil times, 850000. 20 p.

- Republished as special supplement to the Tamil times.

The author states that "the story of the Kurds of Iraq is a story not without relevance at the present stage of the struggle for Tamil Eelam". He provides information on the history of the Kurds, their struggle for self-determination and negotiations with the government of Iraq. Following, he presents the international frame for the Tamil struggle, and its relation to Sri Lanka's economic policy. He provides a history of talks between the government and Tamil groups, and makes a number of demands including the right to self-determination for the Tamil people.

144

Sri Lanka Fellowship. *Proposal for peace.* London: Sri Lanka Fellowship, 850000. 4 p.

The organization presents a proposal for peace in a united Sri Lanka. Tamil would have to be given the status of official language, and the two Tamil areas would be given regional status. The government should protect the rights of all Sri Lankans.

145

de Silva, Colvin R. *Heading for national disaster.* Christian worker. 850100. v.1984/4. 3 p; 23-25.

The author argues that the crisis of Sri Lanka is one of democracy, not so much of ethnicity. The solution is therefore a democratic system of government with devolution of powers to the grassroots level. He regrets that the proposals which the President placed before the All Party Conference were abandoned, and analyzes the political consequences. He also points out that it led to a new wave of violence. The national crisis is being converted into a Sinhalese - Tamil racial crisis.

146

Sangha ready to lay down their lives - Ven. Dr. Rahula. Lanka guardian. 850101. v.7(17). p. 7.

- Republished from: "Island" of 24 December 1984. The Ven. Dr. Walpola Rahula, secretary of the Supreme Sangha Council and Vice Chancellor of Kelaniya University and other prominent members of the Sangha, in a meeting of the Sinhala Balamandalaya, protested against the proposals set out by the All Party Conference. The Supreme Council of the Maha Sangha will not go beyond District Development Councils, fearing a too strong devolution of power and the merger of the Councils in the north. The Sangha is prepared to undertake every activity to stop the approval of the plans.

147

The proposals: an instrument of disunity.. Forum. 850101. v.1(12). p. 3.

Interview with Dr. Piyasena Dissanayaka, the General Secretary of the Sri Lanka National Buddhist Congress. He expresses grave concern about the possible consequences for the unity of Sri Lanka if the proposals emerging from the All Party Conference are implemented. He is of the opinion that the population needs to be better informed on the consequences of the proposals.

148

Amirthalingam, A. *Amirthalingam's statement.* Lanka guardian. 850101. v.7(17). p. 12.

- Republished from: "Daily news" of 24 December 1984.

The Secretary-General of the TULF praises India's contribution in working for a peaceful settlement of the ethnic conflict. He says that the TULF agreed on proposals for a Tamil linguistic region, and criticizes the government for failing to work out the scheme of District Development Councils of 1980. The recent draft bill is rejected for not embodying a proper scheme of devolution or autonomy.

149

Bandaranaike, S. Mrs. *Bandaranaike's statement.* Lanka Guardian. 850101. v.7(17). 3 p; 8-12.

Mrs. Bandaranaike outlines her views on the draft legislation placed before the All Party Conference on 14 December 1984. She criticizes the government for its lack of success on political and military levels, and states that the Tamils have to give up their "Eelam" demands and stop terrorism. She rejects the draft legislation, as it will not solve the fundamental problems. She recounts the history of ethnic violence since the 1977 general elections. This is then followed by her comments on specific provisions in the draft law on District and Provincial Councils, and the proposed Second Chamber.

150

Workers' Party of Ceylon. *Sri Lanka: anarchy or regional autonomy in the Northern and Eastern provinces?* Colombo: Workers' Party of Ceylon, 850101. 2 p.

The Workers' Party states that no political solution will be possible unless the government recognizes the democratic right of the Tamils to self-determination in the Northern and Eastern provinces. The government should restore peace by resolving Tamil problems, which are caused by state repression.

151

de Silva, Mervyn. *APC - casualty of a double veto.* Lanka guardian. 850101. v.7(17). 3 p; 3-24.

All parties involved in the All Party Conference, as well as the Tamil militants and the Buddhist Sangha, have repudiated the Draft District and Provincial Councils Bill. The Supreme Council of the Maha Sangha took a firm stand: District Councils and no more. The author outlines the influence of the Sangha in Sri Lankan politics, and analyzes the fears of Sinhala Buddhists which have led to a compulsive and defensive attitude.

152

Navaratne, Gamini. *Editor meets Tiger leaders in Madras.* Saturday review. 850105. v.3(46). p. 1.

The author met with the leaders of the various militant Tamil groups and had discussions on the national question and how it could be solved. He found out that none of the groups was averse to a direct dialogue with President Jayewardene's government to seek a political settlement, provided one could be found and provided the proper atmosphere could be created for such a meeting. He urges the Sinhalese leaders to use this opportunity for a political settlement.

153

Critic. *Where will this tragedy end?* Saturday review. 850112. v.3(47). p. 5.

- Translation of an article in the sixth issue of the new Sinhala weekly "Janahanda". The article deals with the increasing violence in the north and the linkage made by the authorities between the terrorists in the north and left-wing extremists in the south. The author stresses the need for a political settlement of the ethnic problem.

154

Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality. *Stop the carnage: MIRJE. Saturday review.* 850112. v.3(47). p. 3. In a statement, MIRJE regrets that no agreement could be reached at the All Party Conference. The proposals are said to go not far enough to satisfy the aspirations of the Tamil people for regional autonomy and protect their fundamental rights. The abandonment of the search for a political solution will lead to an escalation of violence.

155

Venkatramani, S.H.; de Silva, Mervyn. *The battle within. India today.* 850115. v.10(1). 2 p; 116-117. The article describes the fate of the draft bill on District and Provincial Councils which was the concrete outcome of the All Party Conference. The proposals seem to have been dropped after pressure from the Buddhist clergy, notwithstanding the need to improve Sri Lanka's international image. Mrs. Bandaranaike also withdrew her previous support. Industry minister Cyril Mathew, hardliner in the government, was removed from the cabinet.

156

India and the Tamils: not helping, but not hindering. The economist. 850119. v.294(7377). This article explains in short how the Indian government's freedom to facilitate negotiations is limited on one hand by the need not to be perceived as helping the Tamil guerrillas in Sri Lanka, and on the other by the need to placate opinion in Tamil Nadu.

157

Behr, Edward. *Sri Lanka's turmoil: a Tamil separatist movement plagues the government. Newsweek.* 850121. v.105(3). 2 p; 22-23. In December 1984, peace talks between the government and Tamil leaders collapsed. The article contains information on violence in Sri Lanka and the failure of the talks. Also included is an interview with President Jayewardene, who lays the responsibility for the failure of the All Party Talks to the TULF. The President announces elections in the north and east, with candidates rejecting separatism.

158

Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions (..et al). *Joint trade union statement on ethnic problem.* Colombo: CMU press, 850124. 2 p. The statement is signed by representatives of twenty trade unions. It is stated that due to the failure of the government to put forward a solution to the ethnic problem, the situation in the country had continued to deteriorate for some time, reaching a dangerous stage. It is demanded that military actions be stopped forthwith and steps be taken to find a political solution through democratic means.

159

Hold your fire! Saturday review. 850126. v.4(1). p. 1. This editorial points to the senselessness of reprisals against violent acts of the militants, which further alienate the Tamil people from the government. A direct dialogue with the leaders of the militant groups, after the declaration of a mutual ceasefire, holds the only hope for a negotiated settlement.

160

Kearney, Robert N. *Sri Lanka in 1984: the politics of communal violence. Asian survey.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 850200. v.25(2). 7 p; 257-263. 0004 4687. "Communal confrontation and escalating violence dominated the political life of Sri Lanka throughout 1984." The author pays attention to the background of the conflict, the All Parties Conference, the militant groups, and government responses and continued violence. With conclusion: talks for a solution to the conflict were overshadowed by the rising tide of violence. "The course of 1985 may reveal whether Sri Lanka will become the Northern Ireland of South Asia, the scene of continuing violence year after tragic year, with neither side able to achieve victory or willing to accept defeat and with no common ground on which compromise might be reached."

161

Jayewardene, J.R. *Address to Parliament by His Excellency the President on 20th February, 1985. Statement of His Excellency the President J.R. Jayewardene to the Political Parties' Conference....*

Colombo: Political Parties' Conference, 850220. 5 p; 21-25.

In this speech, President Jayewardene points to the successes of the economic policy of the government. He also assesses the outcome of the All Party Conference, and tables all relevant documents which were part of the official proceedings of the conference, making them available for public comments. The President hopes that informal discussions will continue, but states that any solution will be impossible unless terrorism is first eliminated. •

162

Bobb, Dilip. *Indo-Sri Lankan relations: positive signals. India today.* 850228. v.10(4). 2 p; 40-41.

The article discusses the implications of a meeting in India between the Sri Lankan Minister for National Security and Prime Minister Gandhi. The author believes that the meeting can be seen as a positive sign for further negotiations on the ethnic issue in Sri Lanka. At the same time, President Jayewardene urged India once again to stop supporting the Tamil extremists.

163

de Silva, Mervyn. *No political solution but a "final battle". Lanka guardian.* 850301. v.7(21). 3 p; 3-5.

The article points to the change in the strategy of the militant groups from "hit and run" tactics to direct confrontation with the security forces. President Jayewardene warned the country that the rebels may launch a "final, decisive battle" and even strike at the island's heartland. The military factor seems to have become the determining or dominant consideration in the making of policy in most spheres. Meanwhile, both SLFP and UNP present themselves in Parliament as Sinhala majority parties. Relations between Sri Lanka and India seem to have hardened.

164

Ali, Salamat; de Silva, Manik. *No rush to talk. Far eastern economic review.* 850307. v.127(9). p. 36-37.

The article deals with a visit of Minister Athulathmudali to New Delhi, where he met with Prime Minister Gandhi and Indian leaders. President Jayewardene, at this point, apparently was not interested in a summit with Gandhi and made it clear that he was in no hurry to restart political discussions in Sri Lanka.

165

Fernando, G.A. *Inside south block. Forum.* 850315. v.1(17). p. 4.

This article questions the neutrality of the Indian envoy to Sri Lanka, Parthasarthy, because he is originating from Madras, the capital of Tamil Nadu. It is said that within the Indian Foreign Office (the "South Block") there is a dominance of South Indians.

166

Towards a cease-fire. Saturday review. Colombo. 850330. v.4(2). 2 p; 1-8.

Prospects for a ceasefire in the North appear to have distinctly improved following talks between Sri Lankan leaders and India's Foreign Secretary, Mr. Bhandari in Colombo. President Jayewardene called upon Tamil militant groups to lay down their arms and come forward for talks, saying that he is prepared to grant amnesty to all concerned. The militant groups are demanding certain preconditions.

167

Tamils are being driven out psychologically & physically: "substantial violations of human rights in Sri Lanka" - U.K. MPs. Tamil times. 850400. v.4(6). 4 p; 4-7.

Two British parliamentarians, Roger Sims and Robert Kilroy-Silk, visited Sri Lanka in February 1985 on behalf of the British Parliamentary Human Rights Group. Mr. Kilroy-Silk was interviewed by the editor of Tamil Times. He stated that there is evidence of substantial violations of human rights in Sri Lanka, referring to displaced persons and refugees, the Prohibited Zone and the Security Zone, and the Emergency Regulations. Indiscriminate arrests have become a normal practice; detainees are not released after being declared innocent by the Advisory Board; and the use of torture seems to be widespread. It appears that the government desists from action against undisciplined members of the army for fear of being disposed. The government had given up the idea of a negotiated political solution. Kilroy-Silk suggests that the British government has to bring pressure on the government of Sri Lanka to stop the fighting and resume the talks; economic aid has to be used as a weapon.

168

Reddy, G.K. *Delhi helping to search for an enduring settlement. Lanka guardian. 850401. v.7(23-24). p. 4.*
- Republished from: "The Hindu" of 16 March 1985.

The article refers to discussions in Indian Parliament on efforts to get the parties in the Sri Lankan conflict back to the negotiating table. The Indian government condemned violence from all sources.

169

Balasingham, A.S. *No negotiations under present conditions. Frontline. 850405. p. 63.*
The LTTE spokesman in this article rules out negotiations with the Sri Lankan government. He advocates a military response to the military option which the Sri Lankan government is said to have chosen.

170

Abraham, A.S. *Fleeing Tamils bring crisis to India. Saturday review. 850406. v.4(3). p. 3.*
Republished from: "The Times of India" of 22 February 1985.

While committed to the sustenance of a growing number of Tamil refugees, India prefer things to work out in Sri Lanka in a way that will enable the refugees to go back soon. It is argued that this will lead to a stronger pressure from India on the government of Sri Lanka to continue talks for a political settlement of the ethnic conflict.

171

Jayewardene, H.W. *The human rights situation in Sri Lanka: statement by Mr. H.W. Jayewardene, QC, Sri Lanka's representative to the 41st session of the UN Commission on Human Rights - Geneva, 1985. Colombo: Department of Information, 850410. 14 p. Overseas information series; no. 31.*
The statement informs the Commission on Sri Lanka's commitment to the protection of human rights, the All Party Conference, investigations into incidents of violence, and the necessity to combat terrorism. It also comments upon a statement made by the delegate of India, who stated that there were around 50,000 Sri Lankan Tamil refugees in India. According to Mr. Jayewardene, their number would be less and they cannot be considered as genuine refugees.

172

Rajiv -- JR meeting imminent. Saturday review. 850413. v.4(4). p. 1.
Diplomatic sources in Colombo believe that a meeting of the Indian Prime Minister Gandhi and President Jayewardene will take place in New Delhi very shortly. The groundwork for the meeting was laid down during the visit of the Indian Foreign Secretary Bhandari to Colombo.

173

Venkatramani, S.H. *Tamil Nadu: taming the tigers? India today. 850430. v.10(8). p. 72-73.*
The article discusses the visit of India's new Foreign Secretary Bhandari to Sri Lanka in April. The press release on this meeting showed significant government concessions which could pave the way for a negotiated solution to Sri Lanka's ethnic problem. Attention is also paid to the position of the Tamil militant groups..

174

MIRJE calls for fight against Sinhala chauvinism. Tamil times. 850500. v.4(7). p. 7.

The article contains extracts from a May Day statement of the Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality to fight Sinhalese chauvinism and to press for a political solution which will include devolution.

175

Retnanandam, J.K. *Prospects for peace: point of view.* Tamil times. 850500. v.4(7). 2 p; 12-13.

The author, who is living in Jaffna, supports the voices of Sri Lanka's concerned citizens for a negotiated settlement of the ethnic conflict. Sincere efforts at reconciliation have to be made by the government to take away fears among the Tamil population. Third party mediation has certain advantages, and needs to be seriously considered. It is hoped that "good people" from both sides will undertake activities to bring about reconciliation.

176

Retnanandam, J.W. *Wanted: a just solution.* Saturday review. 850511. v.4(8). p. 6.

The author points to the difference between a short-term "settlement" of the ethnic conflict, and a long-term "just solution" based on moral, ethical and humanitarian principles, in which reconciliation is needed. He stresses the positive role the media have to play in this.

177

Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization; Political Committee - Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam; Eelam Revolutionary Organisation; Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front. *Liberation movements reject Sri Lanka's pre-conditions for talks: joint statement issued by four liberation organizations.* Paris: Tamil Co-ordinating Committee France, 850524. 2 p.

The four militant groups express their condemnation of the preconditions outlined by Minister Athulathmudali for ceasefire and negotiations with them. The preconditions included the Sri Lankan constitution and the unitary state structure.

178

Athulathmudali, Lalith. *It is our duty and right to act in self defence.* Colombo: Department of Information; Ministry of State, 850527. 6 p. Overseas Information Series; no. 43.

This is an extract from a speech made by the Minister of National Security in Parliament on 20 May 1985. He comments upon recent violent events in the north, and expresses a willingness to negotiate. However, the government does not have a party to negotiate with because the LTTE is against discussions.

179

Cease fire, what next? Tamil times. 850600. v.4(8). 2 p; 1-3.

Reports from Colombo indicate that the government has ordered a unilateral ceasefire and that the security forces would be withdrawn to the barracks. It recommends that the government now take steps to deal with the national question, and recognize and accept the legitimate national aspirations and rights of the Tamil people.

180

On working out a settlement. Christian worker. 850600. no. 3. 5 p; 6-10.

Commentary from a radical Christian perspective which reviews events during the Spring and Summer of 1985. The first part of the article describes the interest of the militants to gain recognition as a legitimate political force by participating at the Thimpu talks. The second part of the article covers the government's position on negotiations, land settlement and national security. Other important factors are the role of the Buddhist Maha Sangha and the strong interest of India in a negotiated solution.

181

The news about Sri Lanka that isn't all about despair. The economist. 850608. v.295(7397). 2 p; 41-42.

The article analyzes the possible consequences of the visit of President Jayewardene to India in June 1985. The meeting defined the limits within which a settlement can and should be reached. Prime Minister Gandhi said that the maximum autonomy which Tamils in Sri Lanka might obtain would be similar to that of the states in India.

182

Karunaratna, Vickramabahu. *Who can solve the national problem?* Colombo: Nava Sama Samaja Party, 850610. 13 p.
This article analyzes the different political interests involved in the ethnic conflict, after a recent visit of President Jayewardene to India. The author sketches a solution based on equality for all citizens, full citizenship to all permanent residents, self-determination and regional autonomy.

183

High Commission of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka.
Ceasefire agreed upon [Supplied title]. Sri Lanka newsletter. London: High Commission of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, 850618. p. 1.
Statement that National Security Minister Athulathmudali announced a ceasefire between government troops and Tamil militant groups, brought about with the help of India.

184

The Jayewardene - Gandhi summit, 1-3 June 1985: a new dimension in international relations. Colombo: Society for Ethnic Amity, 850624. 17 p.
"After nearly ten years of escalating terrorism a prospect for a genuine peace in Sri Lanka and an end to Tamil Eelamist terrorism seem to be possible. All this was part and parcel of a momentous and highly important summit meeting held between the President of Sri Lanka, J.R. Jayewardene and the Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi." The document contains the text of the press statement from the summit, and a commentary on the statement. The main theme is that the government of India has agreed to help the government of Sri Lanka to end Tamil terrorism which is conducted from south India.

185

Ali, Salamat. *The crunch months.* Far eastern economic review. 850627. v.128(25). 4 p; 21-24.
The article discusses India's position in the coming negotiations between the Sri Lankan government and the Tamils. India is said to support a solution within the unitary framework of the Sri Lankan constitution, which implies that India will not support a merger between the Northern and Eastern provinces. Attention is paid to the structure of the Eastern Province and the policy of the Sri Lankan government.

186

Subramanian, S. *"We have serious doubts on their bona fides".* Frontline. 850628. p. 33.
Interview with Amirthalingam, who says that the main obstacle to a peaceful settlement, apart from the positions of the political parties, is the intransigence of the Buddhist clergy and the fanaticism among elements of the Sinhala population. The withdrawal of armed forces from the Tamil areas is a precondition for new talks.

187

India lends a hand. Saturday review. 850629. v.4(15). p. 1.
Editorial supporting the Indian initiative to bring the TULF, the Tamil militant groups and the government of Sri Lanka to the negotiating table. The major obstacles in the move towards a political solution will be the resistance from the SLFP and sections of the Maha Sangha.

188

Eelam National Liberation Front.
Eelam liberation organisations not to participate in peace talks with Sri Lanka: a joint statement. Madras: Eelam National Liberation Front, 850629. 4 p.
In this statement, the four militant groups LTTE, EPRLF, TELO and EROS reject proposals to participate in peace talks with the government in Bhutan, because of alleged violations of the ceasefire of 18 June by governmental armed forces.

189

de Silva, Mervyn ; Venkatramani, S.H.
Hope on the horizon. India today. 850630. v.10(12). 2 p; 72-73.
The article refers to the ceasefire of 18 June 1985, and the consequent negotiations. The negotiations are seen as a result of India's persistent efforts. The government of Sri Lanka was confronted with the mass killing of Sinhalese civilians in Anuradhapura and consequent critique of Buddhist monks and the SLFP. The militant Tamil groups are dismayed at Delhi's agreement to pressurize them to lay down arms and check the arms flow to Sri Lanka.

190

The Bhutan talks: before & after.

Tamil times, 850700. v.4(9). 4 p; 1-7.

Article on the background of the Thimpu talks. Military pressure from the militants is seen as the major factor behind the government's recognition of the Tamil militants as a negotiating partner. The article also discusses the response of the Tamil groups to the government's proposals.

191

The crucial issues. Tamil times.

850700. v.4(9). p. 2-3.

Editorial which questions the willingness of the government to seriously negotiate with the Tamil groups. It sets out six basic areas where an agreement has to be reached in order to arrive at a lasting political solution.

192

Balasuriya, Tissa. *Ethnic conflict resolution within a total societal crisis.*

Conflicts of ethnicity: Sri Lanka 1985.

Colombo: Centre for Society & Religion, 850700. 39 p; 96-134. Logos; v. 24(2).

"By July 1985 the Sri Lankan ethnic crisis had reached a point in which the country was placed in the decisive situation of either resolving the problem by negotiations or condemned to a period of much more intense and disastrous violence." The author points to the significance of the Thimpu talks, the need for understanding the demands of the Tamils, the dilemmas of the Tamil people, the need for understanding the Sinhala approaches, the perspective from Madras (based on a visit), and the state of the negotiations after the collapse of the Thimpu talks. It is argued that the Sri Lankan crisis has various elements: the economy; the foreign policy; culture and education; the religions; the persons of J.R. Jayewardene and Mrs. Bandaranaike. Finally, the author expresses his hope in a peaceful and constructive solution through a common effort.

193

Perera, Jehan. *Towards traditional*

values and modern politics. Conflicts of ethnicity: Sri Lanka 1985. Colombo: Centre for Society & Religion, 850700. 16 p; 11-26. Logos; v. 24(2).

The author states that the time has come for the Sinhalese, as members of the majority community in control of the state, to take decisions that reach deep into their psyches. There are two levels at which any solution to the ethnic problem will have to operate: the levels of social morality and political structure. It is suggested to form a transitional national government with the sole purpose of negotiating an end to the ethnic problem, and shortly thereafter hold a general election. Reflections on the true meaning of Buddhism are also needed. The author makes a number of suggestions with regard to a just political settlement based on the principles of devolution of power and federalism.

194

Samarasinghe, S.W.R. de A. (...et al).

Conflicts of ethnicity: Sri Lanka 1985.

Colombo: Centre for Society & Religion, 850700. 134 p. Logos; v. 24(2).

This issue of Logos contains a number of contributions on the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. It contains articles on the role of nongovernmental organizations, the relationship between cultural, political and economic aspects of the crisis, the position of the militant groups, refugees in Europe, devolution of power, the Bible and ethnicity, and the ethnic conflict within the general crisis of Sri Lankan society.

195

Singer, Marshall R. *Report on the pressures and opportunities for a peaceful solution to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka.* Pittsburgh: Graduate School of Public and International Affairs; University of Pittsburgh, 850700. 33 p. bibl. Partly republished in: Lanka guardian, v. 8(14) of 15 November 1985, v. 8(15) of 1 December 1985, and The article provides background information on the ethnic relations in Sri Lanka. Firstly, basic facts are given as well as information on the differences in perceptions between Sinhalese and Tamils. This is followed by a description of pressures and opportunities as seen by the three main actors: the government of India, the government of Sri Lanka and the Tamils. With final notes including future perspectives. "...given a negotiated settlement, and an end to hostilities, can a final settlement be worked out which will enable the Sinhalese and Tamils to develop a sense of trust and "we-ness", or will the history of mistrust produce a climate that tends to perpetuate and breed upon itself? It will take time - perhaps a very long time - before we know the answer to that question."

196

Veritas. *Sri Lanka: the "solutions" examined.* Yeronga [Queensland, Australia]: Queensland Association for Sri Lankan Unity, 850700. 15 p. Factsheets on Sri Lanka; no. 4. Statement written in July 1985, before the outcome of the "Thimpu Talks" was known. It states that the conflict in Sri Lanka is centered around demands of a section of the Tamil community who have persisted in a campaign to divide Sri Lanka on racial, and indeed even sectoral, lines. A review is provided on the various reform proposals of the Tamil groups, the government of Sri Lanka and other concerned parties. Partition is considered impossible, federalism inappropriate, and "separatist devolution" a non-solution. Sri Lanka is and should stay a unitary state; if any change is desired it should be in the direction of what is termed "co-operative devolution". Powers relating to law and order should be with the central government.

197

Wilson, A. Jeyaratnam. *Why Rajiv Gandhi's solution for Sri Lanka is unworkable: the alternative.* Tamil times. 850700. v.4(9). p. 5. The author discusses the implications of a system of devolution modelled after the Indian system and applied to the Sri Lankan government. His objection to the Indian model is that it allows for an imposition of the authority of the central government in times of crises. Given the deep Tamil distrust of the present government, the "Ghandian Solution" is deemed infeasible. The author argues for the implementation of Annexure C of 1983, including provisions for the establishment of Regional Councils through the merger of District Development Councils, after agreement of these Councils and approval by a referendum.

198

Agonistes. *The summit.* Forum. 850701. v.1(24). 2 p; 2-7. The article criticizes the silence of the government after the meeting between President Jayewardene and Prime Minister Gandhi in New Delhi. No new proposals or decisions were made public.

199

Akbar, M.J. *Greater autonomy for Tamils: have we not heard this story before?* Tamil information. 850701. no. 9. 2 p; 17-18. - Republished from: "The telegraph" of 12 November 1983, under the title "Has President Jayewardene trapped the TULF?". The editor of "The Telegraph" expresses the fear that talks as being conducted between the governments of Sri Lanka and India will lead only to nice statements, and that the proposed Regional Councils will not work in practice.

200

de Silva, Mervyn. *Towards devolution: will SLFP be a road-block?* Lanka guardian. 850701. v.8(5). 2 p; 3-4. This article discusses the causes of the SLFP walk-out in Parliament during the days prior to the Thimpu Talks. UNP-SLFP competition over the Tamil issue is described, focusing on the future of the Sinhalese settlers in the Trincomalee district. Opposition leader Anura Bandaranaike attacked the outcome of the Ghandi-Jayewardene summit held in June.

201

A truce. Asiaweek. 850705. v.11(27). p. 18.

The article discusses the possibilities for a political solution to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka after the National Security Minister, Athulathmudali, announced a ceasefire starting June 18, 1985. Few observers expected the cessation of hostilities to be total.

202

Talking peace. Asiaweek. 850712. v.11(28). p. 15.

The article is written shortly before the Thimpu talks between the government of Sri Lanka, five Tamil militant groups and the TULF. The impetus of the talks was spearheaded by India; the delegation of the government of Sri Lanka was headed by H.W. Jayewardene, brother of the President.

203

Federated govt.? Saturday review. 850713. v.4(17). p. 1.

Editorial referring to government proposals at Thimpu. The maximum position of the government is described as a federated form of government in which the individual unit will enjoy as much power as the states of India. Problems are foreseen in achieving a solution at Thimpu.

204

Conflict at the top? Forum. 850715. v.2(1). p. 1.

The article focuses on disagreement within the government on the authorization of the outcome of the Thimpu negotiations. President Jayewardene suggests parliamentary approval but National Security Minister Athulathmudali opts for a referendum.

205

No blank cheques for solution - Sirima: SLFP viewpoint. Lanka guardian. 850715. v.8(6). p. 6.

Mrs. Bandaranaike's statement of qualified endorsement of the Thimpu talks is excerpted in this article. She announced that the SLFP would be "closely watchful" of the Thimpu proceedings.

206

Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality - MIRJE. *MIRJE calls upon all parties to muster popular support for devolution. Lanka guardian.* 850715. v.9(6). p. 14.

MIRJE argues for an expansion of the scheme of devolution presented by the government and the involvement of Tamil groups in the discussions.

207

de Silva, Mervyn; Venkatramani, S.H. *A fragile peace. India today.* 850715. v.10(13). 2 p; 90-95.

The article discusses the importance of the June 1985 ceasefire as a breakthrough in the ethnic conflict, the presence of the militants at the negotiating table and India's role in keeping the militants in check.

208

de Silva, Mervyn. *Thimpu: it takes two to tango. Lanka guardian.* 850715. v.8(6). 3 p; 3-6.

This article describes the evolution of TULF's position. The author argues that TULF must move beyond its trade-union political perspective to encompass the politics of race and should no longer rely on playing the UNP and SLFP off one another. With TULF gradually losing its credibility, other Tamil political forces have stepped in to replace the party as spokesmen for the Tamil community. This makes it hard to identify a single Tamil negotiating position.

209

What's in store at Thimpu 2? Saturday review. 850720. v.4(18). p. 1.

Editorial on the positions of the government and the Tamil groups at the Thimpu talks. Little progress was made during the first days, with the different sides sticking to their original positions. On the fourth day, the Tamil representatives rejected outrightly the government's proposals and there was a deadlock. Notwithstanding India's good offices, the outcome of the talks might be limited. A second round will be held from 12 August onwards.

210

de Silva, Manik. *Back to square one. Far eastern economic review.* 850725. v.129(29). p. 26.

The article discusses the positions of both parties after Thimpu 1, noting that there was no progress in resolving the major issues. The Tamil groups refused to put forward counter-proposals. However, the two sides agreed to meet again.

211

Venkatramani, S.H. *Search for a solution. India today.* 850730. v.10(14). 2 p; 97-98.

The article is a situation report from Thimpu highlighting pressures exerted by India on militant groups. The proposals during the first round of talks at Thimpu are said to be essentially the same as the proposals for "District Councils" made at the All Party Conference in 1984. The alleged attempt by Tamil militants to assassinate President Jayewardene in Colombo added a dramatic new twist to the talks.

212

Bhutan talks collapse. Tamil times. 850800. v.4(10). 2 p; 1-3.

This article suggests that the government arranged the Vavuniya massacre to provoke Tamil withdrawal from the Thimpu talks. Mounting opposition from Sinhala Buddhist extremist elements demanding the abandonment or postponement of the Bhutan talks allegedly motivated this action.

213

Tamil demands & government response. Tamil times. 850800. v.4(10). 2 p; 2-3.

This editorial presents the four principles put forward by the Tamils at Thimpu. It is suggested that the major reason behind the government's rejection of the Tamil principles is the dissent of anti-Tamil voices within Jayewardene's own party.

214

What happened in Bhutan. Tamil herald international. London. 850800. v.1(1). 3 p; 1-12.

The article provides a day-to-day review of the Bhutan talks, presenting the positions of the Sri Lankan government and the Tamil groups.

215

Civil Rights Movement. Devolution: the urgent need. Colombo: Civil Rights Movement, 850800. 2 p.

The article argues for devolution of power as a way of extending the principles of democratic government. It is argued that devolution in no way contradicts the concept of a unitary state, but tends to strengthen unity by accommodating the legitimate interests of minority groups, and thereby strengthening nation building. CRM as an organization does not suggest any particular model of devolution.

216

Missen, Alan. *Report on Sri Lanka and the state of communal violence: update report by Senator Alan Missen delivered to the Emergency Committee on Sri Lanka formed under auspices of SIFEC, at Rome, 30th June 1985. Winter recess - report on Parliamentary Amnesty Group activities.*

Melbourne: Parliament of Australia - office of Senator Missen, 850800. 16 p. in v.p.

The author visited Sri Lanka and Madras in June 1985, during the winter recess of the Australian Senate. His report contains information with regard to the process of negotiations, the importance of a ceasefire, the attitude of the government and officials, and the impact of international activities, including recommendations. With various appendices

217

Selbourne, David. *A brief note on the Bhutan talks. Tamil times.* 850800. v.4(10). p. 9.

The author argues that the government had no intention whatever of reaching a negotiated settlement at Thimpu, and that a military solution has always been the intention of Colombo.

218

Wilson, A. Jeyaratnam. *The application of Rajiv Gandhi's peace solution for Sri Lanka: the implementational aspects.* Tamil times. 850800. v.4(10). 2 p; 5-17.

The author discusses the Indian political system as a possible model for Sri Lanka. His conclusion is that the Indian model is not capable of safeguarding Tamil interests. A scheme of devolution must include a clause protecting Tamils from arbitrary withdrawal of powers by the central government (such as a vote approving the withdrawal of powers from the devolved unit by a majority of Tamil representatives in Parliament).

219

de Silva, Mervyn. *Will the ceasefire hold?* Lanka guardian. 850801. v.8(7). 2 p; 3-4.

The article, written inbetween Thimpu 1 and Thimpu 2, describes the impact of Indian politics on the Sri Lankan negotiations. Tamil Nadu's political ambivalence toward the Tamil militants might shift sharply with imminent political changes in Tamil Nadu's leadership. One concession made by the Sri Lankan government was H.W. Jayewardene's statement that there would be no referendum on the outcome of the negotiations.

220

Koshy, Ninan. *Some notes on Sri Lanka.* Madras: Centre for Human Development and Social Change, 850802. 6 p. The author visited Sri Lanka in the middle of February 1985 on behalf of the World Council of Churches in Geneva, to attend a consultation of church leaders on the present situation in Sri Lanka. His report is more on the general impressions gained and less about the consultation itself. The report contains an introduction, and sections on: the situation in the north; a military solution; a national security state; settlement policy; the plantations; the negotiations (the All Party Talks, the role of the TULF, the role of India, the responsibility of the government) and the position of the churches.

221

A small and solvable war. The economist. 850803. v.296(7405). 3 p; 43-46. Article written after the breakdown of the Thimpu talks. After providing an outline of the ethnic conflict, the author analyzes the military strength of the Tamil guerrillas, the difficulties of India controlling the militant groups, and the position of the government on the major areas of dispute. The second part of the article, "Half-way there", deals with the economic policy of Sri Lanka under the UNP regime.

222

India cannot dictate. Saturday review. 850803. v.4(20). p. 1.

Editorial reflecting increasing concern about the results of the Thimpu negotiations and the ceasefire which both sides are violating. It is said that India cannot support a solution to the ethnic problem which is unacceptable to the Tamil people.

223

Dharmalingam, V. *Tamil demands at the Thimpu talks.* Saturday review. 850803. v.4(20). 2 p; 3-7.

- Republished in: Tamil times, v. 4(11) of September 1985, p. 10-11.

Article highlighting the Tamil demands at Thimpu: recognition of Tamils as a distinct nationality; recognition and guarantees of the territorial integrity of the Tamil homelands; recognition of the right to self-determination; and recognition of the rights of citizenship for all Tamils who look upon the island as their country.

224

Thambiah, R.W.C. *Another Lebanon?* Saturday review. 850803. v.4(20). p. 2.

Article written shortly after the Thimpu talks. The author states that Tamils can claim nationhood because of their characteristics as a group. They desire the status of a state within a united Sri Lanka similar to that of an Indian state.

225

Jayewardene, H.W. *Text of the opening statement made in Thimpu, Bhutan by Dr. H.W. Jayewardene, QC, leader of the Sri Lanka government delegation, on 12th August, 1985.* Colombo: Government of Sri Lanka, 850812. 5 p.
 Republished by the Department of Information on 20 August 1985 as no. 33 in the Overseas information series, under the title "The Thimpu talks: the stand taken by the Sri Lanka government".
 The statement is a commentary on Tamil demands put forward on 13 July 1986. The principles of 1) recognition of the Tamils as a nation, 2) the right to self determination and 3) the integrity of the Tamil homelands are unacceptable to the government. However, it is said that as far as they do not entail the creation of a separate state there, is room for a fruitful exchange of views which can result in a settlement of the problems.

226

Lanka General Services Union. *Statement on the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka and the Thimpu talks.* Kotugodella Vidiya - Kandy: Lanka General Services Union, 850812. 2 p.
 This statement endorses the continuation of the Thimpu talks, and criticizes groups which are seeking to disrupt the negotiations.

227

Postpone Thimpu talks call by new front. Lanka guardian, 850815. v.8(8). p. 4.
 - Republished from "The island" of 10 August 1985
 This brief article describes a memorandum calling upon the government to postpone Thimpu 2 peace talks until terrorism is wiped out and all Sinhalese in Trincomalee and Vavuniya districts are resettled. Signatories include leaders of the SLFP and prominent Buddhist monks. They call upon the government to hold a referendum for approval of any proposed solution.

228

Agonistes. *The Timpu stakes.* Forum, 850815. v.2(3). (2) p; 5-8.
 Article on the breakdown of law and order throughout the country and the prospects for round two of the Thimpu negotiations. The author foresees an alliance between the UNP and TULF that will isolate the militants and serve the two largest political parties without resolving underlying problems.

229

de Silva, Mervyn. *Round two: no room for manoeuvre.* Lanka guardian, 850815. v.8(8). 2 p; 3-4.
 The article focuses on the prospects for Thimpu 2, saying that a stalemate might occur in light of certain factors: the government's position is highly constrained, external pressures are high and the negotiating process has been externalized by holding talks in Bhutan.

230

Is it that mountain air? The economist, 850817. v.296(7407). p. 40.
 The article summarizes the positions of the government of Sri Lanka and the Tamil groups at the start of Thimpu 2. It is said that pressure by India would be necessary to reach a settlement.

231

Ismail, Qadri. *Constraints on a solution.* Economic and political weekly, 850817. v.20(33). p. 1384.
 On the eve of the second round of Thimpu talks, the article discusses historical and present constraints in achieving a solution to the ethnic conflict. The author describes the Buddhist mythical interpretation of history, and the complicating factor of a large Muslim population in the Eastern province. "What we can at best hope for from the talks, then, is a (temporary) settlement, no solution. For permanent peace, we will have to create a Sri Lanka where all communities, just as much as all individuals, are truly equal."

232

Reddy, G.K. *Colombo's new approach on devolution of powers.* The Hindu, 850817. 1 p.
 It is said that the government of India is doing everything possible to avert the danger of a breakdown of the Thimpu talks while continuing to persuade the Sri Lankan President and the Tamil leaders to strive for an equitable solution. According to reports reaching Delhi through diplomatic sources, the recent tendency in Sri Lanka is to devolve powers equally to all the nine provinces.

233

Phase II: Thimpu. Frontline. 850823.

1 p.

The editorial advocates a settlement based on substantial devolution with direct elective, legislative and executive powers guaranteed by the Constitution, within the framework of a united Sri Lanka.

234

Subramanian, T.S. *A progressive development. Frontline.* 850823. p. 20.

The article reports on a visit of a Muslim delegation to Madras shortly before the second round of Thimpu talks. The Muslim delegation responded very positively towards the Tamil aspirations for autonomy at the provincial level. No agreement appears to have been reached on the merger of the Northern and Eastern provinces.

235

Subramanian, T.S. *Militant perspectives on the ceasefire and Thimpu talks. Frontline.* 850823. 3 p; 16-18.

The article contains interviews with Tamil militant leaders at the time of the two rounds of talks at Thimpu. They demand that the government of Sri Lanka puts forward a new set of proposals in keeping with the four principles presented by the Tamil side at Thimpu.

236

Subramanian, T.S. *Towards a common strategy. Frontline.* 850823. 2 p; 19-20.

In an interview with Amirthalingam on the eve of the second round of Thimpu talks, he advocates a federal structure of government as an alternative to a separate state.

237

"Working basis" for fresh round. The Hindu. 850824. 1 p.

India is seeking a resumption of the Thimpu talks on the basis of the proposals of the Ceylon Workers Congress to the All Party Conference in 1984. These were tabled as a "working basis" for the fresh round of negotiations, without committing either side.

238

Dehli dismayed by Sri Lanka Govt. actions. The Hindu. 850824. p. 4.

The article describes the reactions in Delhi after the breakdown of Thimpu 2, saying that there is considerable disappointment because President Jayewardene would have come back on his commitments. By shying away from the idea of fuller autonomy to the provinces, he has "dismayed" India's policy-makers.

239

Vavuniya, Trinco - Thimpu! Saturday review. 850824. v.4(23). 2 p; 1-8.

Editorial discussing the background for the Tamil withdrawal from the Thimpu negotiations: the deaths in Vavuniya and Trincomalee. The Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF) accused the government security forces of killing civilians.

240

Pandian, M.S.S. *Putting pressure on Tamils. Economic and political weekly.* 850824. 2 p; 1411-1412.

The article evaluates the consequences of the deportation of three Tamil leaders from India following the breakdown of Thimpu 2. It foresees a civil war situation in Sri Lanka if India imposes an agreement on the Tamils.

241

Peace through an acceptable political solution. London: Sri Lanka Research and Information Group, 850826. 3 p.

- Translated from: Janahanda, a Sinhala weekly, of 18 August 1985.

The document refers to a peace initiative taken by Buddhist and Christian clergy. The proposal presents a basic framework including devolution to territorial units in matters of education, land settlement, police and the judiciary. It is proposed that the people and their organizations be involved in the peace process through an assembly of delegates.

242

de Silva, Manik. *Grappling for peace. Far eastern economic review.* 850829. v.129(34). p. 14.

The article expresses optimism on the possibilities for resuming peace talks, noting the positive role played by India at Thimpu and the fact that the delegations of the Sri Lankan government and the TULF were staying on in Thimpu. The government and Tamil militants have exchanged charges that the June ceasefire had been violated.

243

Clashes puncture the peace talks.
Asiaweek, 850830. v.11(35). p. 18.

The article summarizes the Thimpu talks. The delegations of the Tamil militants left during the second round, accusing the government of mass killings. "The Tamil side found Colombo's proposals falling substantially short of earlier promises they had received."

244

False move by Rajiv. Saturday review, 850831. v.4(24). p. 1.

Editorial expressing the increasing Tamil distrust of both the Indian and the Sri Lankan Governments' willingness to give acceptable concessions to the Tamils. The impression in Jaffna is that the Indian Prime Minister has been misdirected by his top advisers.

245

India and the ethnic issue. Saturday review, 850831. v.4(24). p. 3.

- Republished from: "The Sun".

Interview with the Indian High Commissioner in Colombo on the Indo-Sri Lankan relations and on the possibilities for successful negotiations. The Commissioner sees India's role as marginal and excludes the possibility of Indian military intervention. The holding of the Thimpu talks is considered positive. The Thimpu process should continue until it succeeds.

246

Press release of 31.8.85 by the Ministry of External Affairs, India. New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs of India, 850831. 1 p.

- Republished by the government of Sri Lanka.

This press release refers to a meeting between H.W. Jayewardene and Prime Minister Gandhi and Indian officials following the breakdown of the Thimpu talks. "A comprehensive paper has been drawn up covering all issues of importance and relevance. This detailed draft could serve as the basis for negotiations towards a mutually agreed Accord by the parties concerned."

247

Tamils want Delhi pressure on Colombo.
The Hindu, 850831. 1 p.

The ENLF, consisting of four Tamil militant groups, had announced that its leaders are willing to go to New Delhi and meet Prime Minister Gandhi. They want to make clear that the government of Sri Lanka has not put forward concrete political proposals, but is rather opting for a military solution. India would have to put pressure on the government of Sri Lanka.

248

de Silva, Mervyn. *The fight for peace.* India today, 850831. v.10(16). p. 38.

The article describes the distance between the positions of the negotiating parties and the pessimism both in Madras and Colombo regarding the second round of the Thimpu talks.

249

For a realistic approach: point of view.
Tamil times, 850900. v.4(11). p. 13.

The article outlines India's concern about the Sri Lankan situation and identifies refugees, regional stability and security as the main parameters in defining a solution.

250

Joint report dated 18th of June 1985, submitted to the authorised representative of the government of India by the united front of liberation organisations.... At Thimpu. London: Tamil International, 850900. 3 p; 4-6.

Report submitted by the EPRLF, EROS, LTTE and TELO on the proposals for ceasefire. The militants accept the ceasefire, and urge the government of Sri Lanka to stop the violence against the Tamil people.

251

Joint response of the Tamil delegation on the concluding day of phase II of the Thimpu talks on the 17th of August 1985. At Thimpu. London: Tamil International, 850900. 3 p; 19-21.

The response of the Tamil delegation is a rejection of the government proposal for District or Provincial councils. These proposals were rejected because they do not recognize Tamil principles for a solution and would not represent anything new compared to previous governmental proposals.

252

Joint statement made by the Tamil delegation consisting of EPRLF, EROS, PLOT, LTTE, TELO and TULF, on the concluding day of phase I of the Thimpu talks on the 13th of July 1985. At Thimpu. London: Tamil international, 850900. p. 7.

This statement presents four cardinal principles as bases for a political solution. The Tamil groups express a willingness to discuss a set of proposals which are in keeping with these principles: recognition of the Tamil people as a nation; the recognition of their homeland; self-determination; and the right to citizenship of plantation workers.

253

Joint statement of the 17th August 1985, made by the Tamil delegation... prior to walking out of the Thimpu talks. At Thimpu. London: Tamil International, 850900. p. 22.

The statement is an explanation of the Tamil withdrawal from the Thimpu talks. The Sri Lankan government is accused of having broken the ceasefire agreement by the killing of 200 Tamil civilians in Vavuniya district.

254

Abraham, A.S. *Colombo set to use force: neutralising India key to strategy.* Tamil times. 850900. v.4(11). p. 6-7.

- Republished from: "Times of India" of 30 August 1985. Also published in: Saturday review, v. 4(31) of 19 October 1985, p. 1-8. The article argues that the government of Sri Lanka took part in the Thimpu negotiations only in order to buy time to build up for a military solution. The key strategies of the government were allegedly to pressure the Indian government to control the activities of the militants as a first step in splitting the Indian government from the militants.

255

Kearney, Robert N. *Ethnic conflict and the Tamil separatist movement in Sri Lanka.* Asian survey. Berkeley: University of California Press, 850900. v.25(9). 20 p; 898-917. 0004 4687. stat. bibl. The central concern of the article is the course of Tamil separatism over the past few years. A sketch of the ethnic situation is followed by examination of the appearance and growth of the movement for a separate Tamil state and the increasing communal violence. Results of elections in 1979-1983 in the predominantly Tamil areas of the North and East are analyzed for clues as to popular political sentiments within the Sri Lanka Tamil community. Finally, efforts at resolution of issues underlying the ethnic conflict by means of negotiations among representatives of political parties and other groups during 1984 are discussed.

256

Reddy, G.K. *Fallacies and myths in ethnic conflict.* Tamil times. 850900. v.4(11). p. 8-9.

Comment on recent talks in Delhi between representatives of the governments of Sri Lanka and India. The author says that the mistake which the government of Sri Lanka made was to assume that there has been a marked change in India's attitude towards the Tamils, especially the militants fighting for separation. "The broad framework that has emerged from the talks is not a bad package but much would depend on the Sri Lankan government's good faith and the negotiating skills of the Tamil leaders whether this could be transformed into a lasting political settlement."

257

Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation. *Text of contribution made on behalf of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation at the talks at Thimpu, Bhutan, on the 14th August 1985. At Thimpu.* London: Tamil International, 850900. 11 p; 8-18.

In this text, TELO presents its definitions of the principles put forward by the Tamil groups at Thimpu (such as identity as a nation, homeland, self-determination). The second part of the text provides a historical background for the Tamil demands at Thimpu, pointing to policies like disenfranchisement of the plantation workers, colonization, Sinhala as the only official language.

258

Wilson, A. Jeyaratnam. *The proposed Provincial Councils for the Northern and Eastern provinces.* Tamil times. 850900. v.4(11). 2 p; 4-5.

The author discusses the proposals worked out between the Sri Lankan and Indian governments as a basis for further negotiations after the breakdown of Thimpu. He takes up the questions of a referendum and what will be the unit of devolution and powers to be devolved. His conclusion is that a system of extensive devolution can be framed without challenging the idea of a unitary state.

259

Reddy, G.K. *India wants early talks with Eelam leaders.* Lanka guardian. 850901. v.8(10). 2 p; 6-7.

- Republished from: "The Hindu" of 6 September 1985.

This article discusses India's urgency in expediting the negotiation process before the three month ceasefire has ended. Ceasefire violations are described, and the causes for the delay in a meeting between Tamil militants and the Indian government are briefly analyzed.

260

"It is a problem of violence in Sri Lanka". The Hindu. 850907. p. 3.

In an interview, Prime Minister Gandhi discusses the conditions for new negotiations. He points to the need of working out a common framework (which was begun in late August) and the need to end the violence perpetrated by the Sri Lankan security forces. Attention is also paid to the case of the deportation of three leaders of militant groups from India and the discussions between the Tamil groups.

261

How to prevent peace. The economist. 850907. v.296(7410). 2 p; 57-58.

The article analyzes the relationship between the TULF and the militant groups. The murder of two TULF politicians by Tamil guerillas is seen as a serious threat to further cooperation between the groups. Diplomatic skills of India would be needed to continue the process of negotiations.

262

Reddy, G.K. *Working paper as basis for fresh talks: Sri Lanka ethnic conflict.* The Hindu. 850907. p. 1.

The article summarizes the proposals worked out in New Delhi by representatives of the Indian and Sri Lankan governments as a basis for new negotiations. H.W. Jayewardene, the leader of the Sri Lankan delegation, is said to have refused to commit the government on substantive issues like law and order, land settlement, and the linkage between the Northern and Eastern provinces. He agreed to establish Provincial Councils through a constitutional amendment and to delegate executive powers.

263

Tamil United Liberation Front.

Letter to Prime Minister Gandhi: comments on the Government's point of view [supplied title]. Madras: Tamil United Liberation Front, 850909. (41) p.

The letter elaborates the three basic demands of the TULF: acceptance of the integrity of the Tamil homelands, extensive devolution of powers for land settlement and law and order.

264

Press release of 13.9.85 by the Ministry of External Affairs, India. New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs of India, 850913. 1 p.

- Republished by the government of Sri Lanka. This press release refers to discussions between a Sri Lankan delegation and the Indian Ministry of External Affairs. "The Sri Lankan delegation gave some amplification of certain issues which figured in the Paper drawn up earlier during Dr. H.W. Jayewardene's visit to New Delhi. They also provided some facts and figures about how some of the proposals contained in the Paper would work in practice" as a basis for further negotiations.

265

The proposals: not even the ministers know. Forum. 850915. v.2(5). p. 1.

Article criticizing the silence on the contents of the proposals discussed between the Sri Lankan and Indian governments following the breakdown of the Thimpu talks.

266

de Silva, Mervyn; Venkatramani, S.H. *Tough talk. India today.* 850915. v.10(17). 2 p; 120-125.

The article analyzes the position of the negotiating parties in the aftermath of "Thimpu 2". Both sides appear to have little room for maneuvering and do not seem to be willing to make substantial concessions. India is trying to make a working paper of the Ceylon Workers' Congress to the All Party Conference a basis for further negotiations. The article contains also an interview with Minister Athulathmudali on the negotiations. He stated: "The Tamils had no threat till they started these terrorist attacks."

267

A testing period for Sri Lanka. Frontline. 850920. p. 20.

- The editorial reviews the possibilities for new negotiations and describes the positions of the Tamil groups, the Sri Lankan government and the Indian government.

268

Subramanian, T.S. *Revolt of the militants. Frontline.* 850920. 7 p; 4-11.

The article describes developments at the end of Thimpu 2 and the tensions between the Tamil militants and the Indian government after the breakdown of the negotiations. These tensions reached their zenith with the Indian deportation of three Tamil leaders.

269

Reddy, G.K. *Delhi wants extension of ceasefire before talks: killing of innocent Tamils must end. The Hindu.* 850921. v.11(38).

The article refers to the first meeting between Prime Minister Gandhi and the militant groups. The major topic of discussion is said to be the extension and supervision of the ceasefire.

270

Reddy, G.K. *Fresh ideas on land for Tamils. The Hindu.* 850921. p. 4.

The article refers to the complicated problem of land settlement. One of the suggestions presently discussed concerns inter-provincial and national projects. The people who are entitled to be settled on newly developed land should have the option to ask for allotments in their respective ethnic surroundings.

271

Reddy, G.K. *Non-official agencies may monitor truce. The Hindu.* 850928. 1 p.

After five rounds of talks with ENLF leaders, the government of India was able to narrow down the differences between the Tamil militants and the Sri Lankan government on the supervision of the ceasefire. Agreement seems to have been reached on the formation of non-official supervisory bodies. Also other issues were discussed.

272

Gupta, Shekhar; de Silva, Mervyn; Venkatramani, S.H. *Back to the battlefield. India today.* 850930. v.10(18). 3 p; 96-99.

This article portrays the positions of the major participants at Thimpu after the breakdown of the negotiations. The militants are likely to return to armed conflict and refuse to negotiate, while the Indian government continues to pressure both sides to resume negotiations and seek a political solution.

273

Agreement on ceasefire monitoring. Tamil times. 851000. v.4(12). 2 p; 1-3.

The article refers to a discussion between the Sri Lankan government and the militant groups about a second ceasefire, after the breakdown of the first ceasefire of June 1985. The parties reached broad agreement on a formula for a monitoring committee, in which two Tamils suggested by the ENLF are to be included.

274

Ceasefire & background to Thimpu talks: terms of ceasefire. Christian worker. 851000. no. 3. p. 11.

- Republished from: "The spokesman" of August 19
The "Christian Worker" published the terms of the June 1985 ceasefire between the government and the Tamil militants "without comment" in the wake of violations following the breakdown of negotiations in August, 1985.

275

Ceasefire and settlement. Christian worker, 851000. no. 3. 5 p; 5-9.
 Commentary on the importance of maintaining a ceasefire as a first step toward a negotiated solution. The Tamil militants are encouraged to return to the negotiating table and to take up the government's proposals of late August 1985. The government is urged to indicate a willingness to negotiate seriously. It must also recognize the legitimate role of India in the negotiating process. The Sri Lankan government needs to re-establish the country's position within the non-aligned movement, rather than to continue in a pro-Western direction.

276

For peace not war: beginnings of a peace movement. Christian worker, 851000. no. 3. p. 10.
 Excerpts from the resolution adopted at the peace convention in Negombo to initiate a new, broad-based peace movement. The resolution endorses a political solution based on the devolution of powers to Provincial Councils "with a possibility of collaboration among 2 or 3 of them on specific common concerns within a framework of a united Constitution".

277

Lanka Sama Samaja Party; Communist Party of Sri Lanka; Sri Lanka Mahajana Party.
Don't abandon peace talks!
Christian worker, 851000. no. 3. p. 10.
 Three leftist parties call for a continuation of direct negotiations between the government and the Tamil organizations, including those which have embarked on an armed struggle.

278

Peoples Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam. *Breakdown of Thimpu 2 and deportations: statement of 14th September issued by the Press and Information Secretariat of PLOT.* Christian worker, 851000. no. 3. 2 p; 14-15.
 Reprint of a statement by PLOT saying that rejection of talks could only help President Jayewardene to unify the divergent Sinhalese forces. New negotiations would strengthen the revolutionary forces. The delegates Chandrasaran and Satyendra of EPRLF are criticized for their behaviour during the Thimpu talks.

279

Wilson, A. Jeyaratnam. *Sri Lanka's draft framework for devolution: some constructive suggestions.* Tamil times, 851000. v.4(12). 2 p; 4-5.
 The article criticizes some unclear points and ambiguities in the "Draft framework" of the Sri Lankan government of late August 1985. It concerns aspects of the relationship between the central government and the units and the representation of the minorities.

280

Chakravarti, Nikil. *India's role in Lankan crisis: "Mainstream" editorial.* Lanka guardian, 851001. v.8(11). 3 p; 7. 24.
 - Republished from: "Mainstream" (editorial) of 31 August 1985.
 The editorial criticizes the "rash move" by New Delhi to deport three Sri Lanka Tamil leaders from India, given India's general asylum policy. The link between Tamil Nadu and the Sri Lankan Tamils is described in a brief history of the Indian role since 1983.

281

Committee for Rational Development. *Give peace a chance.* Lanka guardian, 851001. v.8(11). p. 4-5.
 - Also published in: Saturday review, v. 4(29) of 5 October 1985, p. 7.
 The Committee for Rational Development's viewpoints in the aftermath of Thimpu are described in this article. It calls upon the government to make new and serious proposals (not to rehash those made in 1985) and to consider some version of Regional Councils. Ceasefire violations by Tamil militants and excesses by security forces are deplored. An extension of the ceasefire is recommended.

282

Women for Peace. *"Stop the war, consolidate the peace process", say women.* Lanka guardian, 851001. v.8(11). p. 20.
 Statement from the "Women for Peace" campaign following the appeal for peace signed by 10,000 women and delivered to Sri Lankan and Indian leaders in March 1985. The appeal takes note of disturbing new developments such as the worsening refugee situation, detention of youth without charges and the declaration of war in the Trincomalee district.

283

Ram, Mohan. *Embattled broker*. Far eastern economic review. 851003. v.130(39). 2 p; 38-39.

The article discusses the possibilities of ensuring an effective ceasefire, which was unilaterally extended by the government of Sri Lanka on 18 September. India's primary concern is to get the ENLF to agree on observing the ceasefire as a first step towards a resumption of negotiations.

284

Centre for Society and Religion. *A note to the external groups concerned with a just peace in Sri Lanka*. Colombo: Centre for Society and Religion, 851004. 2 p. This article reviews trends since June 1985: the extended ceasefire and the return to a search for a political solution. Both trends operate in a context of differences between the north and south and within these regions. Readers are urged to bring their influence on these two main trends by undertaking various activities.

285

Colombo to broadbase monitoring body. The Hindu. 851005. v.11(40). 1 p. The article describes the positions of the Sri Lankan government and the Tamil leaders on the question of a committee for the monitoring of the ceasefire. The Tamil militant leaders want an independent, non-governmental committee and relief and rehabilitation work of the Red Cross.

286

Reddy, G.K. *Differing perceptions, inherent inhibitions*. The Hindu, international edition. New Delhi. 851005. v.11(40). 2 p.

The article discusses the divisions within the Tamil camp after the breakdown of the Thimpu talks and the policy of India with regard to devolution of power in Sri Lanka. The author sees land settlement as a crucial factor in the negotiating process.

287

Queensland Association for Sri Lankan Unity. *QASLU statement no. 4*. Yeronga [Queensland, Australia]: Queensland Association for Sri Lankan Unity, 851013. 7 p. Factsheets on Sri Lanka; no. 10. The background to the statement was the consistent publication of reports emanating from Madras that substantial "concessions" had been made to the Sri Lankan separatists during the process of negotiations, concerning the composition of the committee to monitor the cessation of hostilities, and the devolution of power to "Provincial Councils". The statement is presented as a message to the government and people of Sri Lanka. It is stated that the decision of the Sri Lankan government to negotiate with terrorists runs counter to the current international trend, giving the latter a degree of legitimacy.

288

War or peace? Lanka guardian. 851015. v.8(12). 2 p; 1-2. The article describes the contradictions in the various positions held by the government and militants in late fall of 1985. The author fears the possibility of war if an extension of the ceasefire cannot be arranged. He quotes at length the Council for Liberal Democracy's critique of the Sri Lankan political climate.

289

Council for Liberal Democracy. *The crisis of Sri Lanka: a way out: a statement issued by the Council for Liberal Democracy*. Forum. 851015. v.2(7). p. 6. - Partly published in: Forum v.2(7) of 15 October 1985, p. 6. The Council for Liberal Democracy's position is outlined. The article portrays the Sri Lankan crisis principally as one of democracy not ethnicity. The authors, Chanaka Ameratunga and J. Aistha Perera, call for a general election to bring into power a non-Tamil national government which will in turn negotiate with the Tamil political parties in Parliament to determine conditions for provincial autonomy.

290

Perera, Jehan. *Settlements and Tamil demands.* Saturday review. 851026. v.4(32). 3 p.; 4-7.

Partly republished in: Tamil times, v. 5(3) of January 1986, p. 10-16, under the title "Traditional homelands: the truth and myths." The theme of this article is that the Tamil demands (a distinct nationality, self-determination, traditional homelands and the amalgamation of the Northern and Eastern provinces) are not acceptable as presently articulated. However, the rights which these demands intend to promote are acceptable and should be recognized by the government.

291

Jayewardene may visit Delhi. The Hindu. 851028. 1 p.

The article describes Indian efforts to mediate between the Sri Lankan government and Tamil groups in the fall of 1985. India wants the Tamils to begin discussions with the Sri Lankan government on the basis of the draft prepared during talks between the Indian and Sri Lankan government in late August

292

Citizens Committee for National Harmony. *A statement: towards a political solution.* Colombo: Citizens Committee for National Harmony, 851031. 5 p.

In this statement, the Committee urges a political solution and argues that the various parties must support the ceasefire. The issues discussed include land settlement, law and order, education, and inter-provincial cooperation. Irrespective of the negotiations, the Committee recommends the establishment of a Human Rights Commission by the government.

293

Venkatramani, S.H. *Temporary gains.* India today. 851031. v.10(20). p. 92.

The article describes the discussion on the formation of a ceasefire monitoring committee. Finally, its terms of reference were expanded and an agreement was made on its members. It is said that there is lack of trust between the government and the militant Tamils that a final solution is still a long way off.

294

Agreement broken by "ceasefire" panel. Tamil times. 851100. v.5(1). p. 24.

Reprinted from: The Hindu.

The article describes the difficult situation of the ceasefire committee appointed on 16 October 1985. On its visit to Jaffna it is said to have broken the formal agreement which stated that the committee should work independently of the security forces.

295

Tamil fears confirmed - TULF leader. Tamil times. 851100. v.5(1). p. 3.

- Reprint from: The Hindu.

In an interview, Mr. Amirthalingam accuses the Sri Lankan government of heading for a military solution. He urges India to apply greater pressure on the government. The problem on the Tamil side is the divisive split between the ENLF on the one hand and the PLOT and TULF on the other.

296

A little bit of peace. Lanka guardian. 851101. v.8(13). 2 p; 3-4.

The editorial defines the ceasefire extension called by the government and finally agreed upon by the militants. The focus of the article is the improving relationship between India and the Sri Lankan government. It is concluded that there is a prospect of India imposing a settlement upon the unwilling Tamil militants.

297

Sanmugathan, N. *India's role in the Sri Lankan crisis.* Lanka guardian. 851101. v.8(13). 3 p; 11-18.

In this analysis of India's role as a mediator, the author claims to see vested interests on the part of India's ruling class to annex Sri Lanka. The aftermath of India's move to expel Tamil leaders is discussed. The author concludes that only full regional autonomy with a devolved unit comprising a unified Northern and Eastern province will prevent civil war.

298

Elliott, John. *Gandhi aims for Sri Lanka deal.* Forum, 851115. v.2(9). p. 8.

Republished from: "Financial Times". Also published in: Lanka guardian, v. 8(14) of 15 November 1985.

The article describes the efforts of India to encourage a political settlement. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi met with both the Tamil militants and the Sri Lankan government. The government proposal for Provincial Councils arrived at in New Delhi in late August is rejected by the Tamil militants as an "inadequate administrative solution".

299

de Silva, Mervyn. *Ceasefire declaration and undeclared war.* Lanka guardian, 851115. v.8(14). 2 p; 2-3.

Description of the tenuous ceasefire and the relation between the political and the security situation. The strategic importance of the Trincomalee port and alternatives for unification of the north and east are discussed. Indian perceptions of the problem are contrasted with Tamil concerns.

300

Amali. *Autonomy - Tamils' minimum demand.* Saturday review, 851116. v.4(35). 2 p; 4-7.

Reaction to a speech made by Prof. Morris-Jones at the International Centre for Ethnic Studies. The author argues that it is the policy of the government of Sri Lanka to convince the outside world that the Tamils would be satisfied with a limited degree of autonomy within a unitary state. It is said that this policy is doomed to fail and that the Tamils should demand autonomy over their traditional homelands.

301

Ponniah, S. *The federal solution.* Saturday review, 851123. v.4(36). p. 3.

The author argues that communal violence in Sri Lanka has demonstrated that the minority groups cannot live in peace and safety under the present unitary government. He states that the right to self-determination is universally recognised, and describes it as a pivot of democracy. A very good example for Sri Lanka to emulate would be the Indian model.

302

"Government proposals are unacceptable" says TULF leader. Tamil times, 851200. v.5(2). p. 12-13.

In this interview, Mr. Amirthalingam, Secretary General of the TULF, evaluates the developments after the Thimpu talks. The major problem on the Tamil side is the split among the different groups and the inability to work out a common response to the government's draft of August 1985. The government proposals are seen by the TULF leader as totally inadequate.

303

Dahanayake for federal solution. Tamil times, 851200. v.5(2). p. 11.

The article refers to a speech in which the oldest serving parliamentarian in Sri Lanka, Mr. Dahanayake, proposes provincial autonomy.

304

Tamil United Liberation Front. *Letter to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi on the TULF proposals [supplied title].* Jaffna: Tamil United Liberation Front - TULF, 851201. 4 p.

Letter accompanying the TULF proposals sent to the government of India on 1 December 1985. It expresses good faith in the efforts of India to spearhead negotiations, but deep skepticism about willingness of the Sri Lankan government to participate seriously.

305

Tamil United Liberation Front. *The TULF proposals for devolution of powers* [Supplied title]. Jaffna: Tamil United Liberation Front - TULF, 851201. 28 p. in v.p. Republished as a series in: Lanka guardian, v. 9(8) of 15 August 1986 to v. 9(13) of 1 November 1986, under the series title "TULF memo to Rajiv". Partly republished in: Saturday review, v. 5(1) of 25 January 1986, p. 15 and in: Tamil times, v. 5(4) of February 1986, p. 12-13.

Text of the proposals for a negotiated solution submitted to the Indian government. The TULF proposals envisage Sri Lanka as a union of two linguistic regions with a substantial degree of autonomy. Within the union, the Northern and Eastern provinces shall constitute one linguistic state, with extensive legislative and executive powers. The proposals deal with: the Parliament, the largest political party, the High Court, Tamils of recent Indian origin, devolution of powers. There are a number of appendices which elaborate upon: the integrity of the Tamil homeland; police and internal law and order; devolution of power in respect of land and national settlement schemes; the Mahaweli Ganga development.

306

Fernando, Celestine. *Forward to national reconciliation.* Colombo: National Christian Council; Commission for Justice and Peace, 851210. 42 p. bibl.

"The aim of this little book is to make a small contribution to the nationwide movement urgently needed to change our perspectives, values and strategies in politics, and so to help forward the spirit and the processes of making and keeping peace in our land. Such peace cannot be achieved without integrity of character and of personal and social relationships and without the respect, freedom and justice due to all persons of every community in every part of Sri Lanka." The crisis in Sri Lanka is seen as a crisis of humanity. The first part deals with basic human problems, political responsibilities, core values, responsibilities and rights of citizens, the basic divisions (which are not ethnic), various aspects of the problems and possible solutions. The second part is on the All Party Conference, the political discussion and the spirit of religion, with practical guidelines. With appendices: guidelines for action; problems of justice and peace: some questions for group discussion; and suggestions for reading.

307

Eelam National Liberation Front. *The ongoing process of negotiated settlement: an assessment and our position: ENLF's November memo.* Lanka guardian, 851215. v.8(16). 2 p; 11-14.

- Republished in: Tamil times, v. 5(4) of February 1986, p. 8-9.

Text of a memorandum to the government of India written by the four liberation groups constituting the ENLF to explain the change in their position on negotiations. It explains why they originally agreed to participate in the India-initiated talks with the government. Their disappointment with the government's limited proposals and the conditions of the ceasefire led to their withdrawal from the talks. ENLF requests that India help strengthen them militarily and politically so they can negotiate, as the sole representative of the Tamil people, from a position of strength.

308

Prabhu, Chawla; Venkatramani, S.H.
"We are dealing with murderers".
India today. 851215. v.10(24). 3 p;
 74-76.

Interview with President Jayewardene, who argues that the Tamil issue is not an ethnic nor racial problem but purely and simply a terrorist one, referring to the militants as murderers. He is giving the Tamils until the end of the year to come to a political settlement, after which he threatens to launch a decisive military action. He also plans to ask Prime Minister Gandhi to extradite the militants from India when he meets him at a forthcoming SAARC meeting.

309

de Silva, Mervyn. *JR corners Gandhi?* Lanka guardian. 851215. v.8(16). 2 p; 3-4.

The article analyzes the desire of both the government and Tamil militants to gain a military advantage as a basis for negotiations. Both parties have sought India's help in achieving advantages, which has placed India in a difficult position. The author concludes that India seems to be moving slightly away from a pro-Colombo stance.

310

Citizens Committee for National Harmony.
New Year message: for a just peace 1986. Sri Lanka: Citizens Committee for National Harmony, 851231. 4 p.
 New Year's message from the CCNH, urging an early, peaceful solution to the conflict in 1986. A list of organizations supporting the statement is attached.

311

Consensus but..... Saturday review. 860000. v.5(15). p. 1.
 The article refers to the visit of an Indian delegation to Sri Lanka which had meetings with the government and the SLFP leaders. A broad consensus was reached between the governments of Sri Lanka and India with regard to devolution of powers; remaining issues are land settlement and police powers. The main problem will be how to "sell" the proposals to the militant groups in Madras. It is not likely that India will extradite the leaders of these groups to Sri Lanka.

312

International Alert. *Sri Lanka: emergency 1986.* London: International Alert, 860000. 43 p.

The report contains a preface by Dame Judith Hart, an introductory chapter, "Sri Lanka: an island in crisis" with an agenda for a solution, and an analysis of the situation in Sri Lanka, "Sri Lanka: the ethnic conflict". This part contains chapters on seeds of the conflict, the position of the plantation workers, the evolution of the conflict, communal violence, the Prevention of Terrorism Act, the independence of the judiciary, Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka, and recent arrests in the South. With bibliography. With regard to a solution to the ethnic conflict, it is stated that the achievement of peace needs an agreed area of negotiation involving not only the parties in the discussions, but also the people of Sri Lanka whose lives and livelihoods will depend on any settlement being acceptable and long lasting. The main areas to be tackled would appear to be language, land settlement, extent and geographical scale of devolution, and citizenship rights.

313

Jayewardene, H.W. *The human rights situation in Sri Lanka: statement made by Dr. H.W. Jayewardene, QC, Sri Lanka's representative to the 42nd session of the UN Commission on Human Rights - Geneva, 1986.* Colombo: Department of Information, 860000. (12) p. Overseas information series; no. 40.

The delegate states that while the record of terrorist violence continues to be serious, the search for a political solution has been intensified and has received a fresh impetus from the active participation of the government of India. He summarizes the steps taken during 1985 towards a political settlement. The central question is what a sovereign government should do in maintaining law and order in the country. The destruction of camps and hideouts and the suppression of terrorism can be carried out effectively and expeditiously were it not for the infusion of arms, explosives and trained terrorists from outside Sri Lanka. Attention is also drawn to the transport and sale of narcotics. The legislative and administrative safeguards to ensure the protection of human rights are outlined.

314

Liyanage, P.B.; Kirthichandra, Gamini. *Proposed legislation for the establishment of District and Provincial Councils.* London: Sinhala Bala Mandalaya - U.K. and Europe branch, 860000. 1 p. In a letter to President Jayewardene, the organization demands not to proceed with the legislation for the establishment of District and Provincial Councils, as this would be the start of the proclamation of "Eelam" and the domination of the Sinhala nation by the Sri Lankan Tamils and their supporters.

315

Wijesinha, Rajiva. *Current crisis in Sri Lanka.* New Delhi: Navrang, 860000. 133 p. 81 7013 039 5. bibl. "This book is intended as an introduction for the general reader to the current racial conflict in Sri Lanka. The bulk of the book is taken up with the events since 1977 when the present government in Sri Lanka was elected, but the first two chapters describe the background to the racial tensions between the majority Sinhalese and the minority Tamils that has seen such violent expressions in recent years. Chapters three to five detail the erosions of hope with respect to the alleviation of the grievances of the Tamils, and connect this to the erosion of parliamentary democracy as it had been practiced in Sri Lanka for the preceding thirty years. These chapters also record the increase of violence by Tamil separatist guerillas and government agents. Chapter six is on the July 1983 violence, the government reaction and attempts at a negotiated solution. The final chapter looks at the recent escalation of violence and attempts at a ceasefire and negotiations. The author stresses that the current crisis in Sri Lanka has a wider political dimension than attention merely to its most obvious manifestations would reveal.

316

TULF demands a linguistic state. Tamil times. 860100. v.5(3). p. 3. The article refers to the TULF proposals published in late 1985 for a political solution to the conflict. The TULF demands the creation of a linguistic state with complete legislative and executive powers in the areas of police powers, land development, and education. The article contains also information on other recent developments with regard to the negotiations.

317

Ceylon Workers' Congress. 1986: *a year of peace, amity and national reconciliation: a declaration by the Ceylon Workers' Congress.* Tamil times. 860100. v.5(3). 2 p; 5-6. Declaration adopted at a meeting of the National & Executive Council of the CWC on 3 December 1985. The Ceylon Workers Congress urges national reconciliation. A prayer campaign among the plantation workers for the restoration of citizenship is to be a central theme of this campaign.

318

Robello, Michael. *Sri Lanka: back to the guns?* Africasia. 860100. no. 25. 2 p; 36-37. "Talks between Tamil secessionists and the government have broken up in acrimony and there is no sign of their resumption, as both sides appear to be bracing for an armed showdown." The most urgent problem would appear to be the need to establish a real ceasefire.

319

Sanmugathan, N. *Cease-fire strengthens and weakens.* Tamil times. 860100. v.5(3). 2 p; 7-8. The author, a veteran Sri Lankan politician, argues that there is no doubt that the ceasefire has benefitted the government more than the militant groups. He also states that some of the militant groups or forces acting in the guise of militant groups have indulged in serious anti-social and anti-people activities which have earned the righteous indignation of the ordinary man.

320

Wilson, A. Jeyaratnam. *The prospects for peace in Sri Lanka.* Tamil times. 860100. v.5(3). 2 p; 12-13. The article deals with the possible unification of the regions which have been recognized by historians as Tamil areas. The author argues that both the former and the present government recognized in their Constitutions that the Northern and Eastern province are linguistically Tamil. The question of the creation of a single Tamil unit can best be resolved by a referendum or plebiscite.

321

de Silva, Mervyn. *The ethnic conflict and Delhi's policy shifts.* Lanka guardian. 860101. v.8(17). 2 p; 3-4.

This article deals with changes in New Delhi's policy toward Sri Lanka in the framework of the new and misunderstood sources of conflict in the Third World and ethno-nationalism. The author examines the difficult position of India: both the government of Sri Lanka and the Tamil militants have sought military and political support from New Delhi.

322

How not to solve the national question. Saturday review. 860104. v.4(41). 2 p; 2-11.

- Republished from: Workers marxist review, v. 1(2) of 1985.

This article is on President Jayewardene's analysis of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. The President is criticized for seeing the conflict in terms of a Marxist conspiracy. However, his analysis changed in contacts with the government of India.

323

General election no solution. Saturday review. 860111. v.4(42). p. 1.

The editorial criticizes Mrs. Bandaranaike's proposal for general elections, and urges her to support the positive moves of the UNP government. Looking at the past performance of the SLFP, the author doubts whether Mrs. Bandaranaike will be able to solve the ethnic problem.

324

Committee for Rational Development; Siriwardena, Reggie. *Units of devolution: CRD's compromise formula.* Lanka guardian. Colombo. 860112. v.9(15). 2 p; 7-8.

The euphoria created by the President's visit to SAARC has begun to fade because it appears that neither side to Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict can agree on the units of devolution in the North and East. The author, on behalf of the Council for Rational Development, presents the positions of the government and of Tamil groups, and works out suggestions for resolution of the present impasse.

325

Fernando, Romesh. *Is provincial autonomy the answer?* Lanka guardian. 860115. v.8(18). 2 p; 18-19.

In an analysis of the TULF demand for regional autonomy, the author stresses that the Eastern province does not have a Tamil majority. Arguing for a compromise between Regional and District Councils, the author endorses Provincial Councils as an island-wide measure. The President would retain the power to dissolve these Councils in times of emergency. The probable ethnic composition of each province is outlined.

326

Centre for Society and Religion. *Towards a political solution to the ethnic problem.* Sri Lanka: Centre for Society and Religion, 860124. 4 p.

A draft for discussion, indicating points of agreement and areas where compromise is still needed between the proposals of the government and of the TULF. The statement outlines the major differences in the areas of law and order, land reform and education.

327

Government of Sri Lanka.

Observations on the proposals:

30.01.86. Address to Parliament by the President on 20th February, 1986. Colombo: Government of Sri Lanka, 860130. 57 p in v.p. The monograph is a commentary on the TULF proposals put forward in December 1985. It contains an introduction on the policy of the TULF during the negotiations and comments on the TULF proposals. These comments are divided in sections: general; the structure of government; the proposed amalgamation of the Northern and Eastern provinces; the Tamil homeland; special constitutional provisions; powers of the state; finance; judiciary; Tamils of recent Indian origin. Besides, there are special sections on the TULF proposals regarding devolution of power in respect of land and the Accelerated Mahaweli programme; and on police and internal law and order. The government concludes that the TULF proposals are totally unacceptable. If they are implemented, the TULF would have all but attained Eelam.

328

Jayewardene, J.R. *Address to Parliament by the President on 20th February, 1986.* Colombo: Government of Sri Lanka, 860130. 57 p.
 Texts in Sinhala, Tamil and English.
 The document contains the text of the address of President Jayewardene, in which he provides a review of efforts to achieve a political solution after the All Party Conference of 1984 in New Delhi and Thimpu (Bhutan) in 1985, with a conclusion. The President states that non-violence is a creed of faith of the government of Sri Lanka, which cannot compromise with violence. With annexes: documents tabled: note on the All Party Conference of 1984; statement made on 12 August 1985 by Dr. H.W. Jayewardene, leader of the Sri Lanka delegation to the Thimpu talks; the TULF proposals of 1 December 1985; observations on the proposals of the TULF, 30 January 1986.

329

It is war, says Jayawardene. Tamil times. 860200. v.5(2). 2 p; 1-24.
 This article refers to an interview with President Jayewardene given to India Today, where he argues for a military solution to what he believes to be a military problem. Following, Prime Minister Gandhi ordered the cancellation of the visit of his Foreign Secretary Bhandari to Colombo. In the meantime, security forces are engaged in a campaign of military operations in the north and east of Sri Lanka. President Jayewardene expressed his confidence in the Sri Lankan army, which is being trained by people from abroad.

330

Abraham, A.S. *Sri Lanka conflict deepens: turning the screw on Colombo.* Tamil times. 860200. v.5(4). 2 p; 3-5.
 The article states that the Indian government is reluctant to "turn the screw" on the Sri Lankan government, while it has been doing so with the Tamil militants. The government in New Delhi is urged to put stronger pressure on the Sri Lankan government, as a precondition for a political solution. Attention is also paid to the relationship between the new Indo-Sri Lankan agreement on the status of Indian Tamils (plantation workers) and the process of negotiations.

331

Government of Sri Lanka. *Note on the All Party Conference: 1984.* Colombo: Government of Sri Lanka, 860200. 3 p.
 The paper is an overview of the All Party Conference presenting some of the important issues discussed. Attention is paid to the discussions on: systems of government, the position of the stateless; ethnic violence and terrorism; the Committees "A" and "B". "...on 23rd December 1984, Mr. Amirthalingam, leader of the TULF informed the news media that the proposals were totally unacceptable to the Tamil people. At its meeting of Wednesday 26th December 1984, the Cabinet decided, therefore, that in view of the TULF statement nothing could be achieved in discussing or arriving at a decision on them, and therefore the government would not implement these proposals."

332

Kearney, Robert N. *Sri Lanka in 1985: the persistence of conflict.* Asian survey. Berkeley: University of California Press, 860200. v.26(2). 5 p; 219-223. 0004 4687.
 The author begins his review by stating that during 1985 all sane political leaders in Sri Lanka realized that the violent ethnic confrontation was mutually destructive and extremely costly for both sides in the contest, yet was unable to find a way to resolve the conflict. Attention is paid to developments with regard to the armed struggle and the talks at Bhutan.

333

Queensland Association for Sri Lankan Unity. *The "political" and the "military" solutions to the Sri Lankan crisis....* Yeronga [Queensland, Australia]: Queensland Association for Sri Lankan Unity, 860200. 16 p. Factsheets on Sri Lanka; 16.

It is stated that the theory of the "two solutions" to the Sri Lankan problem has been propagated in the West, and is usually combined with a critique of the government of Sri Lanka, and those who stand for its integrity and unity. The theory is considered to be the handiwork of "the international Tamil separatist lobby". The "Tamil separatists" are held responsible for advancing a military solution and the government of India is criticized for not using its pressure against them. A policy which recognizes the cardinality of the elimination of terrorism is indispensable for the solution of the Sri Lankan problem and the essential precondition for the ultimate "political" solution. With appendix: QASLU statement no. 6: letter to President Jayewardene and the people of Sri Lanka

334

Raj, Benjamin Joseph; Pavanasasivam, V. *Yankees step in.* Saturday review. 860208. v.5(3). 2 p; 2-7.

Report of a seminar on the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, held at the University of Maryland and organized by the Center for International Development and Conflict Management of this university in collaboration with the International Centre for Ethnic Studies. The seminar was intended to generate a list of the needs and perspectives of Sri Lanka's major ethnic communities, and to discuss ways of resolving the ethnic conflict. The article contains a description of contributions and discussions.

335

"I do not see any possibility..." says M. Sivasithamparam, President, TULF.... Tamil times. 860300. v.5(5). 2 p; 12-13.

The President of the TULF in this interview expresses little faith in the willingness of the Sri Lankan government to reach a settlement acceptable to the Tamils. In his view a settlement can only be achieved through Indian pressure and the unity and strength of the Tamils.

336

Speak out, please. Tamil times. 860300. v.5(5). 2 p; 18-19. Republished from: "News today" (editorial), Madras, December 1985.

In this editorial, it is suggested that Rajiv Gandhi should condemn the killings by the Sri Lankan troops of innocent Tamils. It is stated that the government of Sri Lanka is preparing for a military solution on the Tamils. The ENLF should "go along with the TULF package and put the onus of rejecting it squarely on the UNP government."

337

Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights (.et al). *Sri Lanka: government turns towards military option: peace efforts end: human rights violations continue: memorandum to the delegates to the Commission on Human Rights.* Sri Lanka on trial: documents relating to the 42nd session of the United Nations Human Rights Commission: February - March 1986. London: Centre for Human Rights Documentation & Research, 860300. 10 p; 11-20.

The memorandum deals with the collapse of the peace process in Sri Lanka, the escalation of violence from the side of the government, militarization, restriction of movement and collective punishment, and violations of human rights including extrajudicial killings. With recommendations.

338

Dhillon, D.S. *Human rights violations in Sri Lanka, a matter of international concern: statement made by Mr. D.S. Dhillon, leader of the Indian delegation on 10 March.* Sri Lanka on trial: documents relating to the 42nd session of the United Nations Human Rights Commission: February - March 1986. London: Centre for Human Rights Documentation & Research, 860300. 2 p; 33-34.

Reaction on the statement made by the representative of the government of India, dealing with violations of human rights, the need for a political solution, refugees in India and violence.

339

Gonsalkorale, Indira. *ICES manuscript collection (Colombo) on Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict (July 1983 - March 1986) HURIDOCs format.* Colombo: International Centre for Ethnic Studies - ICES, 860300. 80 p. bibl.

This bibliography lists the publications on the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka available at the International Centre for Ethnic Studies in Colombo. The documents included deal with various aspects of the ethnic conflict and the negotiations process in Sri Lanka. In general, they are ordered alphabetically by author. The bibliography contains only bibliographical data, without index terms or abstracts.

340

Fernando, Romesh. *TULF demands: starting point or bottom line?* Lanka guardian. 860301. v.8(21). 2 p; 11-12. Second part of an analysis of the TULF proposals. In this article, the author criticizes the concept of a Tamil linguistic state and suggests alternative models for provincial autonomy as existing in other countries (i.e. Switzerland, Yugoslavia). He does not endorse the TULF proposal to make Tamil an official language, and advocates that English, like Tamil, should be made a national language. He tries to be realistic about what the Sinhalese majority might accept from the TULF demands.

341

Eastern province Muslims speak out. Saturday review. 860308. v.5(7). p. 7. Text of a statement of the Eastern Province Muslim Conference, held on 22 and 23 February at Kattankudy. The Conference suggests the formation of three separate councils, one at Amparai for the Sinhalese, another at Kalmunai for the Muslims, and the third at Jaffna for the Tamils. The boundaries of the administrative areas of these Councils would be the local authority areas of each community which forms the majority in such areas, together with the areas of agricultural lands owned by the community concerned and the crown lands available in such areas. It is also suggested to hold direct talks between the government and the TULF.

342

Bobb, Dilip. *The Colombo chill.* India today. 860311. 2 p; 52-53.

Comment on recent developments with regard to talks between different parties involved in the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. There was an escalation in the "verbal war" between the governments of Sri Lanka and India. It is argued that the government of Sri Lanka would be working towards a "military solution"; recently, arms were bought from various countries. The Indian strategy, with its peace initiative having virtually collapsed, is to mount an international campaign to put external pressure on Sri Lanka.

343

de Silva, Mervyn. *Delhi enters the final phase.* Lanka guardian. 860315. v.8(22). 2 p; 3-4.

This article attempts to define India's position toward the Sri Lankan crisis in March of 1986. The Sri Lankan government is criticized by India for not negotiating seriously. The Indians appear to be irritated by the flood of refugees and the activities of the government's security forces. The possibility of Indian intervention is hinted at.

344

de Silva, Manik. *They protest too much: New Delhi and Colombo trade charges on the Tamils.* Far eastern economic review. 860320. v.131(12). p. 46-47.

The article analyzes the deteriorating relationship between India and Sri Lanka, which is attributed to the continuing ethnic violence and the breakdown of negotiations.

345

Offensive remarks. Saturday review. 860329. v.5(10). p. 8.

- Republished from: "The times of India" of 4 March 1986.

Editorial of "The times of India" saying that the Sri Lankan government made a highly offensive statement questioning India's credibility as a mediator in the conflict. The editorial says that the "terrorist challenge" is the logical culmination of decades of Sinhalese intolerance and official hardheartedness.

346

Christian Workers Fellowship.

Comment: more ominous trends.

Christian worker, 860400. v.1/1986. 4 p; 2-5.

Comment on recent developments in Sri Lanka: the ongoing negotiations and the role of India, the granting of citizenship to plantation workers (which creates the conditions for a real unity and consolidation of the Sri Lankan working class), armed violence and the nurses' strike.

347

Queensland Association for Sri Lankan

Unity. *Rejoinders to India and the European Community on the Sri Lankan problem: the response of QASLU to recent developments in the Sri Lankan problem with respect to the so-called "internationalisation" of this problem....*

Yeronga: Queensland Association for Sri Lankan Unity, 860400. 16 p. Factsheets on Sri Lanka; no. 19.

It is stated that the Sri Lankan separatists have long tried to "internationalize" the Sri Lankan problem, and that their conception of "internationalization" is one-sided. The document contains an introduction, background information, and the summary texts of letters of the Association to the Foreign Ministers of the European Community and to the Government of India. With appendix: text of the Declaration of the European Community.

348

de Silva, Mervyn. *New Delhi's tough options.* South, 860400. no. 66. 2 p; 29-30.

The article describes India's dilemma in being faced with increasing violence in Sri Lanka. The author discusses the pressures from Tamil Nadu which make India's role as an "honest broker" increasingly problematic.

349

Bobb, Dilip. *The ticking time-bomb: pressures on Gandhi.* Lanka guardian, 860401. v.8(23). 2 p; 9-10.

The article assesses the bitter exchange of charges between India and Sri Lanka. India appears to have become convinced that the Jayewardene government was seeking a military solution, though it had previously indicated a willingness to negotiate on TULF proposals about land settlement, police powers and the merger of north and east. The assistance to the Sri Lankan military by Pakistan, Israel, South Africa and others is mentioned as is India's newest strategy of mounting an international campaign to put external pressure on Sri Lanka.

350

Centre for Society and Religion.

Second letter to external groups concerned with a just peace in Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka: Centre for Society and Religion, 860405.

The letter provides information on the talks for a political settlement to the ethnic issue and various peace activities in Sri Lanka. It is said that there is more talk of a military solution and violence spreading to the Central Province. With information on the refugee week and flag day, peace demonstrations, the stateless problem, and the need for internationalizing the peace movement.

351

Perera, Jehan. *Sri Lanka's conflict: a better way to negotiate a solution.* Saturday review, 860405. v.5(11). 2 p; 5-7.

The author analyzes the positions and interests of the government and the Tamil groups, using the method of "principled negotiations". He presents a position chart and an interests chart for both parties.

352

Perera, Jehan. *Negotiating a solution: Sri Lanka's conflict (2).* Saturday review, 860412. v.5(12). 2 p; 4-7.

The author continues his analysis of the choices which can be made by the government and the Tamil groups, outlining the different options on charts.



353

Malhotra, Inder. *Focus on Sri Lanka. Saturday review.* 860426. v.5(14). 2 p; 4-7.

The article reviews the Indian position on the Sri Lankan issue, based upon a recent debate in the Lok Sabha. India is in favour of maintaining the island republic as a single unit rather than allowing it to divide into separate states.

354

Who's afraid of Rajiv? Saturday review. 860429. v.5-10. p. 1.

The article reviews a meeting in Madras between LSSP General Secretary Bernard Soysa and Tamil militant groups. The Tamils expressed a willingness to negotiate. The editor of Saturday Review urges the government of Sri Lanka to resume negotiations, with Prime Minister Gandhi of India as mediator.

355

Indian delegation in Colombo. Tamil times. 860500. 2 p; 1-24.

This article provides an analysis of India's role as mediator in the Sri Lankan conflict, after the visit of an Indian delegation led by Mr. Chidambaram to Colombo.

356

What will New Delhi's response be to Colombo's genocidal war on Tamils. Tamil times. London. 860500. v.5(7). 2 p; 14-18. - Republished from: News today" (editorial). Madras, 13 February 1986.

The editorial of "News today" states that the government of India should be careful in believing the words of the Sri Lankan government, and should judge all things by itself on the basis of what has actually happened, and especially of violent attacks on the Tamils in Sri Lanka. India should also be aware of possible involvement of the United States.

357

Queensland Association for Sri Lankan Unity. A new policy initiative on the Sri Lankan problem. Yeronga [Australia]: Queensland Association for Sri Lankan Unity, 860500. 18 p. Factsheets on Sri Lanka; no. 23. Statement made to a conference of Australian groups concerned with the Sri Lankan problem held in Sydney on 31 May 1986. The organization argues for a solution to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka in two phases:

1. The restoration of internal law and order.
2. The establishment of a solution built on a unitary state, consisting of a multi-racial plural society with equal rights and obligations for all, irrespective of race. In order to achieve this, the full resources of the nation should be mobilized to fight the terrorists, whether or not this is called a "military solution". "The concessions made during negotiations with terrorists should be withdrawn, and the final settlement should be left to a duly constituted assembly elected democratically for the purpose."

358

Colombo's need to compromise. Lanka guardian. 860501. v.9(3). 2 p; 6-11. - Republished from: "Financial times" of 9 May 1986.

The article points to the Sri Lankan government's need to compromise on the question of devolution to prevent a permanent situation of conflict. The author argues in favour of a regional set-up with some a linkage between the Northern and Eastern province

359

India's options. Lanka guardian. 860501. v.9(3). p. 5.

The article reviews India's options after the military offensive at the end of May. The Sri Lankan government at this point said that it was still receptive to India's mediation efforts, but that the army would not halt its operations until the militants end all acts of violence.

360

On the diplomatic front. Lanka guardian. 860501. v.9(3). p. 4.

The article describes recent developments in the diplomatic relations between India and Sri Lanka following the government's military offensive in the north. Western diplomats foresee a dangerous collision course. The Sri Lankan government urged New Delhi to deliver the militants to the negotiating table.

361

Elliott, John. Peace efforts frustrated. Lanka guardian. 860501. v.9(3). p. 5.

- Reprinted from "Financial times". The article describes a hardening in the position of the Tamil militants after a military offensive of the armed forces in the north.

362

Gupta, Bhabani Sen. Positive results of India's new diplomacy in Sri Lanka: regional perspective. Lanka guardian. 860501. v.9(1). p. 25.

The article evaluates the results of the Indian policy of persuading the militants to give up Eelam and to pressure the government of Sri Lanka to provide for a substantive degree of autonomy. The shift to this policy, during the summer of 1985, has produced positive results.

363

de Silva, Mervyn. The return of Romesh Bhandari (with Tamilnadu escort). Lanka guardian. 860501. v.9(1). 2 p; 3-7.

Background article on the role of the Indian government in the Sri Lankan ethnic conflict, on the occasion of a visit of an Indian delegation to Colombo.

364

Chidambaram's round - merger or functional linkage? Lanka guardian. 860515. v.9(2). p. 5. The final phase; 3.

The article summarizes the position of the government after talks with an Indian delegation to Colombo. The President's approach was summarized in the following words: 1. "a readiness to compromise on the constitutional framework as long as the amendments did not require a referendum." 2. "no north-east merger as demanded by the Tamils." The Indo-Sri Lankan discussions covered three broad, overlapping areas: the powers of the Provincial Councils, inter-provincial arrangements, and the constitutional framework.

365

Desperation!: not a good sign, says Mrs. B. Forum. 860515. v.2(21). p. 1.

Mrs. Bandaranaike criticizes President Jayewardene for showing signs of desperation in an interview with the Sunday Times, where he asked the West for arms and money and said he would wipe out the trouble in one month.

366 •

Political pressure on Rajiv. Lanka guardian. 860515. v.9(2). 3 p; 6-11. The final phase; 4.

The article questions whether Sri Lanka and the Indian mediators can keep pace with the changing situation on the ground, mainly the emergence of the Tigers as the unchallenged military force in the north and political developments in India, chiefly the in-gathering of pro-Tamil forces in south India and among Indian opposition parties.

367

Sri Lanka-India citizens discuss ethnic problem. Lanka guardian. 860515. v.9(2). 2 p; 12-14.

A group of concerned citizens from Sri Lanka and India met in Bangalore on 15 and 16 April 1986, to ascertain through an exchange of views, the best way they could assist in efforts to restore peace in Sri Lanka and move forward to a just and equitable solution of the ethnic problem. An early political settlement which can end the ethnic conflict was considered vital to Sri Lanka's future.

368

Government of Sri Lanka. *Aide mémoire.* Lanka guardian. 860515. v.9(2). p. 11.

The aide mémoire states the government's willingness to discuss a political solution to the ethnic conflict on the basis of "Annexure C" and the proposals presented by the government in August 1985. Controversial subjects are internal law and order, and land settlement.

369

Winchester, Simon. *Sri Lanka may become a Cyprus - JR.* Lanka guardian. 860515. v.9(2). p. 8. The final phase; no. 5. The article refers to an interview given by President Jayewardene to the "Sunday Times". The President stated his willingness to give the Tamils some degree of federalism. He demanded arms, money and moral support from the West. He was sharply critical of India's support for Tamil separatist groups.

370

India's Sri Lanka policy: a very sensitive stage. Frontline. 860516. p. 24.

The editorial speculates on a shift in the Indian policy towards Sri Lanka. The sending of an official delegation to Sri Lanka seems to reflect a change from a "soft and confused" stance to a tougher position.

371

Parthasarathy, Malini. *Differing perspectives.* Frontline. 860517. p. 117.

The tone of the national conference on Sri Lankan Tamils at Madurai, organized by the Tamil Eelam Supporters' Organization, and attended by various Indian opposition leaders, was remarkably subdued, considering earlier battlecries. The reason for this is the ongoing feud between the LTTE and TELO.

372

Ceylon Workers' Congress. *Response of the Ceylon Workers Congress to the proposal for devolution of power to Provincial Councils placed before the Political Parties Conference on 25th June, 1986.* Colombo: Ceylon Workers' Congress, 860600. 18 p.

Partly republished in: Saturday review, v. 5(28) of 2 August 1986, p. 2-7.

The CWC welcomes the recent initiatives taken by the Government of Sri Lanka and the Government of India to find a political solution to the ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka. It states that the unit of devolution has been one of the most controversial features that so far has stalled a solution; it is suggested to bring all Tamil areas in the Eastern province together into a single additional province and to create an inter-provincial coordinating council. The document deals with the various issues arising with regard to devolution of powers.

373

Ethnic solution: union territories? Forum. 860601. v.2(22). p. 1.

The editorial outlines the proposals for devolution to Provincial Councils as proposed by the government.

374

The battle for Jaffna. Asiaweek. 860601. 5 p; 36-40.

The article analyzes the government's military offensive on Jaffna and compares the military strength of the army and of the guerillas. The offensive is portrayed as a setback to the mediating efforts of India.

375

Amaratunga, Chanaka. *The crisis of Sri Lanka, and Mrs. B: need for a new agenda.* Lanka guardian. 860601. v.9(3). 4 p; 13-16.

The article argues that Jayewardene's government is not capable of negotiating a solution to the Tamil problem because it does not have the trust of the Tamils nor the general public. The politics of Jayewardene have been to concentrate power in the central state and not to concede to the basic demands of Tamils. For these reasons, the author calls for general elections.

376

A Canadian initiative. Saturday review. 860607. v.5(20). p. 3.

Republished from: "The Globe and Mail" (editorial) of 7 and 8 April 1986.

The editorial suggests that the ethnic conflict has to be solved by a political settlement based on federalist principles between the government and the TULF. The conflict threatens to destroy the political and economic progress of the country. Canada (and other aid donors) could contribute by: seeking support for a Commonwealth mediation effort; suspend involvement in development projects until a settlement has been reached; and convert foreign aid into relief assistance.

377

Cut the foreign hand. Saturday review. 860607. v.5(20). p. 1.

The editorial deals with the role of outside actors in the Sri Lankan conflict. It is said that India cannot impose a settlement unacceptable to either of the protagonists in the conflict. The problems should be solved without outside intervention. The author is worried about a possible involvement of Israel.

378

Massacres in the east. Asiaweek. 860608. p. 34.

The article describes Tamil attacks on Sinhalese civilians which are seen as a serious setback to the negotiating process. Before the attacks took place, the government had shown willingness to resume negotiations responding to Indian mediation efforts.

379

Let the UN come in. Saturday review. 860614. v.5(21). p. 1.

The editorial argues for another, but more effective ceasefire and new negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations.

380

Thambiah, R.W.C. JR's phobia. Saturday review. 860614. v.5(21). 2 p; 3-7.

Comment on a statement by President Jayewardene to the BBC, appealing to the West to help him to fight "the Tamil Marxist terrorists". It is said that agreements reached in the past on ethnic issues were not put into practice; Tamils ask only for some form of regional autonomy within a united Sri Lanka. Recommendations to the President are made

381

A growing climate of fear. Asiaweek. 860615. 2 p; 19-20.

The article points to the relation between Tamil bomb blasts in the beginning of June and the announcement of a Political Parties Conference by the government. The perspectives for such a conference are reviewed.

382

Dixit wants a neat package. Forum. 860615. v.2(23). p. 1.

The Indian High Commissioner, in his discussions with Sri Lankan government representatives, insisted on a neatly tied-up package of proposals with no loose ends.

383

Bobb, Dilip. The siege within. India today. 860615. 2 p; 121-122.

The article analyzes possible consequences of a military offensive of the armed forces on the negotiating process. Because the governmental forces were successfully repelled by the militants, the government may be more inclined to negotiate, while the militants may want to go for a military victory.

384

Chopra, Pran. Good initiative on Lanka. Lanka Guardian. 860615. v.9(4). p. 7.

The article describes an accord agreed upon by some prominent Sri Lankans and Indians. It calls for devolution of power within the framework of Sri Lanka's unity, and for a system of devolution which applies to the country as a whole and to all communities alike. The group disfavours the merger of the Northern and Eastern provinces.

385

Ramaswamy, Cho. *The final solution?* Sunday, 860615. 4 p; 16-20.

Article in an Indian magazine on recent developments in Sri Lanka, with attention to the need for negotiations and the ongoing violence. The author points to the rivalry among different Tamil militant groups. President Jayewardene seems to be the politician who is most capable of bringing about a settlement, in which India has certain interests (Tamils of Indian origin, refugees, Tamil Nadu). The author is skeptical about the projected state of Eelam, because of the ongoing fights between Tamil groups and uncertainties with regard to the position of plantation Tamils in such a state. A negotiated settlement is the only solution, though it is not easily achievable.

386

Jayewardene, J.R. *Address by H.E. the President to the Political Parties Conference: press release.* London: Information Division, High Commission of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, 860625. 10 p.

President Jayewardene laid down the proposals of the government to find a political solution to the ethnic problems at the Conference of Political Parties on 25 June 1986. The proposals relate mainly to the establishment of Provincial Councils. With annexes: subjects and functions exclusively reserved by the government; notes on devolution of power with respect to law and order; land settlement; and alienation of new allotments under the Mahaweli scheme.

387

Jayewardene, J.R. *Statement of His Excellency the President J.R. Jayewardene to the Political Parties' Conference as Chairman of the Conference on the proposals for the devolution of power to Provincial Councils announced on Wednesday, 25th June, 1986.* Colombo: Political Parties' Conference, 860625. 30 p.

Statement of the President announcing the government's support for Provincial Councils within the framework of the Constitution as proposed to be amended. There are sections on the system of government, the main principles for the establishment of Provincial Councils, its powers and membership. With annexes: Draft framework of terms of accord and understanding of 30 August 1985; list of subjects and functions that should be exclusively reserved by the government; note on devolution of power in respect of law and order; note on the devolution of power in respect of land and settlement. With appendices: address to Parliament by His Excellency the President on 20 February 1985; address to Parliament by the President on 20 February 1986.

388

Perera, Jehan. *Claims versus reality: what can and what cannot be done in Sri Lanka.* Saturday review. 860628. v.5(23). 2 p; 4-5.

The author examines the Sri Lankan ethnic conflict in terms of half-truths and their consequences, looking at the aims, performances and capacities of the government, the SLFP, the Tamil groups and the Indian government.

389

Abeysekera, Charles. *MIRJE statement on the government proposals of June 1986 [Supplied title].* Colombo: Movement for Inter Racial Justice and Equality - MIRJE, 860630. 3 p.
Republished in: *Tamil times*, v. 5(10) of August 1986, p. 24.

MIRJE states that it is glad that the government, after a long delay which has seen a worsening of the situation, has put forward proposals for the devolution of powers to the provinces as a solution to the ethnic problem. It re-states some basic postulates and concludes that considerable expansion of the present proposals is possible and indeed necessary if the Sri Lankan Tamils are genuinely to feel themselves a valued part of the Sri Lankan polity. Also some other matters would have to be considered.

390

Balasuriya, Tissa; de Silva, Bernadeen. *A statement on President's proposals of June 1986.* Colombo: Centre for Society and Religion, 860630. 5 p.

The statement welcomes the proposals for Provincial Councils announced on 25 June. It presents several points for consideration concerning issues discussed at the Political Parties Conference: elections to the provincial councils, executive powers, land and land settlement, and law and order.

391

Bobb, Dilip; Venkataramani, S.H. *Ominous portents.* India today. 860631. p. 117.

The article evaluates India's position in the Sri Lankan crisis and sees the appointment of P. Chidambaram, a Tamil, as head of the Indian negotiating team as an expression of a tougher stance in its dealings with Colombo. It also describes the internal battles in the Tamil camp, between TELO and LTTE, and how this creates problems for India.

392

"Militants willing to hold talks with Govt. in Colombo". Christian worker. Colombo: Christian Workers' Fellowship, 860700. p. 9.

Republished from: "Daily news" of 22 July 1986. The article cites the NSSP leader V. Nanayakkara who after meeting the Tamil militants in Madras, stated that they were willing to come to Colombo to take part in negotiations with the government.

393

"Militants willing to hold talks with Govt. in Colombo". Christian worker. 860700. v.2/1986. p. 9.

- Republished from: *Ceylon Daily News* of 22 July 1986.

The leader of the NSSP, Vasudeva Nanayakkara stated, after talking to leaders of four militant groups in Madras, that the Tamil militants are prepared to come to Colombo to talk with the government. They will not agree to lay down arms. Their main concern is the security and safety of the Tamil areas.

394

Editorial: the solution must be political. Frontline. 860700. v.3(14). p. 16.

As a result of the good offices provided by India, a new offer was made by President Jayewardene to the Tamils. There are, however, discrepancies between the version of the "clarifications" sent to New Delhi, and the definite proposals as presented to the Political Parties Conference in Colombo on 25 June. It concerns the Tamil demand for a single linguistic unit in the north and east, which is a crucial question in the negotiating process.

395

Political Parties Conference and government proposals. Tamil times. 860700. v.5(9). p. 2.

Editorial commenting on the Political Parties Conference. It states that the government proposals constitute an advance from their earlier proposals, but that they fall short on the legitimate expectations of the Tamil people.

396

Sri Lanka: war or peace? Frontline.
860700. v.3(14). 7 p; 4-11.

Introduction: "The new proposals put forward by President Jayewardene for a political settlement of Sri Lanka's ethnic crisis have generated a less-than euphoric response from the Tamil leaders. There are wide discrepancies between the proposals as announced in Colombo and the clarifications sent to India. Clearly, a considerable distance has to be travelled before a peaceful settlement becomes a reality. And how are the militants, who are in the thick of the conflict, to be brought in?" It concludes that if the peace process is to move beyond fragile beginnings, a major visible move from the Sri Lankan government aimed at de-escalating the military situation could produce a qualitative change. While some of the militant leaders are inclined towards a formal ceasefire, Amirthalingam of the TULF highlights the need for immediate action.

397

TULF leaders in Colombo: Political Parties Conference. Tamil times.
860700. v.5(9). 2 p; 1-24.

On the eve of the second round of the Political Parties Conference, the TULF leaders arrived in Colombo to have direct negotiations with the government. The decision of the TULF to go to Colombo is seen partly as a result of pressures from New Delhi. The Tamil militants seem to regard the government's proposals as inadequate, while referring to the four basic principles put forward by the Tamil groups under the Thimpu negotiations.

398

Christian Workers Fellowship. CWF statement. Christian worker. 860700. v.2/1986. p. 3.

Statement of the Christian Workers Fellowship of 23 June 1986 on the need for a political solution and the Political Parties Conference. With recommendations to the government and the Tamil leadership and armed youth.

399

Karunaratne, Vickramabahu. NSSP discussion with JR on July 1986. Nava Sama Samaja News Letter. Colombo: Nava Sama Samaja Party - NSSP, 860700. 4 p; 4-7.

The statement was issued on 2 July 1986, after a delegation of the NSSP met President Jayewardene at the secretariat of the Political Parties Conference. The NSSP pleaded for a unified national armed force, and is against the unconditional disarming of the Tamil people. Devolution of power should be the basis of national homelands. The NSSP advocates the principles of equality, autonomy and the right to self-determination.

400

Kumaratunga, Vijaya. Statement by Vijaya Kumaratunga. Christian worker.
860700. v.2/1986. p. 9.

The General Secretary of the SLMP stated that a delegation of his party visited India, and had discussions with the leaders of the militant groups and the government of India. Subject of discussion was the statement by President Jayewardene to the Political Parties Conference on the proposals for the devolution of powers.

401

Silva, K.P. de; Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka. CPSL's plan for settlement of ethnic conflict. Tamil times. 860700. v.5(9). p. 17.

Text of a statement adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka at its meeting on 7 and 8 June 1986. The Communist Party advocates a solution based on the recognition of the right of the Sri Lanka Tamils to self-determination, and regional autonomy for them within a united Sri Lanka, whose territorial integrity will be inviolate and respected by all.

402

Sri Lanka Human Rights Committee.

International Alert advocates:

pressure from aid donors. Sri Lanka

human rights newsletter. Oslo: Sri Lanka

Human Rights Committee, 860700. v.2. 3 p;

Interview with Dame Judith Hart, chairperson

of the International Emergency Committee on

Sri Lanka of International Alert. She states

that the global community cannot remain

silent when the government of Sri Lanka is

seeking a political solution to the present

conflict. The donor countries must be called

to revise their aid to Sri Lanka in order to

exercise influence towards a reasonable

political settlement of the dispute. She

also suggests the possibility of a

Commonwealth initiative for mediation.

403

Subramanian, T.S. *No basis for*

political settlement - Padmanabha.

Frontline. 860700. v.3(14). 2 p;

12-13.

Interview with the secretary-general of the

Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation

Front EPRLF, held a few hours after the

Tamil organizations met the Chief Minister

of Tamil Nadu to receive the

"clarifications" of the government of Sri

Lanka. Padmanabha states that conditions do

not exist for the implementation of the

proposals. Jayewardene would not be in a

position to implement the proposals unilaterally.

404

Subramanian, T.S. *LTTE won't hinder*

peace process - Yogi. Frontline.

860700. v.3(14). 1 p; 15.

Interview with Y. Yogi of the Liberation

Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in his house in

Indira Nagar, Madras. He states that he

welcomes whatever action is taken by the

government of India in finding a political

solution. The LTTE does not kill civilians.

It is unlikely that the LTTE will join the

Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF) in

which three other militant groups cooperate.

405

Subramanian, T.S. *There is a large*

gap - Balakumar. Frontline. 860700.

v.3(14). 13-14 p; 2.

Interview with V. Balakumar, leader of the

Eelam Revolutionary Organization EROS. He

states that the government of Sri Lanka does

not want a ceasefire. There is no chance for

a new round of talks with the government,

because it is out for a military solution. He

gives his opinion on the situation in the

north and the east.

406

Subramanian, T.S. *There's some*

improvement - Uma Maheswaran. Frontline.

860700. v.3(14). 2 p; 13-14.

Interview with the secretary-general of the

People's Liberation Organization of Tamil

Eelam (PLOT) held in PLOT's office in

Kodambakkam. He expresses his fear that

proposals agreed on will not be implemented,

and intends to continue the struggle. The

"clarifications" of the government are some

improvement to earlier proposals. Maheswaran

sees no chance for a ceasefire.

407 •

The Sri Lanka Association of Britain.

Stop talks with terrorists: no prov.

councils, no devolution. Sri Lanka

International. London: The Sri Lanka

Association of Britain, 860700. p. 1.

In this and similar articles in the

periodical Sri Lanka International, protests

are worded against the proposals of President

Jayewardene for a political solution to the

Tamil terrorism. It is stated that

implementation of these plans would virtually

create a terrorist state in the north of Sri Lanka.

408

Citizens Committee for National Harmony. *Statement of the Citizens Committee for National Harmony on the proposals for a political solution [Supplied title].*

Colombo: Citizens Committee for National Harmony, 860701. 13 p.

This statement is attached to a letter by the Centre for Society and Religion to external groups concerned with a just peace in Sri Lanka. It is stated that the Committee welcomes the proposals for a political solution of the ethnic problems, presented at the Political Parties Conference of 25 June 1986. The Committee reviews recent events which added new dimensions of brutality and terror to the ethnic conflict, while hopes for a political solution were emerging. The greatest hope lies in the government's new initiatives in finding a political solution that holds promise of a broad national consensus and acceptance by the majority of the Tamil people. Essential are the behaviour and the response of the Sri Lankan people. The role of the militant groups in the post-settlement period is also important.

409

Ennals, Martin. *Report on visit to Paris 18 - 19 June.* London: International Emergency Committee on Sri Lanka; International Alert, 860701. 5 p.

This report deals with the annual meeting of the consortium of governments giving aid to Sri Lanka. During the week prior to 19 June, the government of Sri Lanka had made it known that new peace proposals had been prepared and had been sent to India for comment. A timetable for a new inter-party conference was announced but the actual details of the proposals would not be made known until 25 June when the conference was due to meet in Colombo. Martin Ennals, Secretary General of International Alert, met with Minister of Finance Ronnie de Mel. The position of International Alert is that aid should be suspended until a political settlement is agreed upon by the parties concerned.

410

Gunatilleke, Godfrey; Balasuriya, Tissa. *Statement on the proposals of the Political Parties Conference [Supplied title].* Colombo: Citizens Committee for National Harmony, 860701. 13 p.

In this statement, the Committee reviews the events of recent weeks. It points to new dimensions of brutality and terror, while hope for a political solution is also emerging. It is said that the government is making a renewed and determined effort to reach a political settlement, with as broad a national consensus as possible, in the midst of the rapidly deteriorating situation.

411

International Emergency Committee on Sri Lanka - International Alert. *Initial comments on the peace proposals.* London:

International Emergency Committee on Sri Lanka - International Alert, 860701. 3 p.

Short comment on the peace proposals presented by the Sri Lankan government at the Political Parties Conference on 25 June. Attention is paid to the relationship between the central government and the Provincial Councils, and devolution of power with respect to law and order and land settlement. It is said that the President would appear to invite comment and support from external sources.

412

At last, some hope. Saturday review. 860705. v.5(24). p. 1.

Comment on governmental proposals for the settlement of the ethnic conflict. Though the proposals should have been made earlier, "We accept that Mr. Jayewardene has gone as far as any Sinhalese leader could go on the ethnic issue." The editorial urges parties to the conflict to negotiate on the basis of these proposals for Provincial Councils.

413

Council of Hindu Organisations.
Statement of the Council of Hindu Organisations on the proposals for the devolution of power to Provincial Councils announced on 25th June 1986 by H.E. the President, J.R. Jayewardene. Colombo: Council of Hindu Organisations, 860707. 4 p.
 The organization welcomes the proposals presented by the government. In its comments, it suggests to incorporate the division of powers between the centre and the devolved regions into the Constitution. It advocates the introduction of Presidential rule in times of emergency as established in the Indian Constitution.

414

Government of Sri Lanka. *Proposals sent to the government of India by the government of Sri Lanka based on discussions with the Indian delegation led by Hon. P. Chidambaram Minister of State.* Colombo: Political Parties Conference Secretariat, 860709. 11 p.
 Text of the proposals sent by the government of Sri Lanka to the Indian government on questions discussed at the Political Parties Conference. Within the framework of the unity of Sri Lanka and the unitary character of the Constitution, the government is prepared to consider arrangements to provide for consultations and co-ordination between different Provincial Councils, and suitable legal and institutional arrangements to ensure that the ethnic groups in each Province participate in its government. Annexes deal with proposals concerning Provincial Councils, land settlement and law and order.

415

Hart, Judith. *Statement by Dame Judith Hart PC MP Chair International Emergency Committee on Sri Lanka.* London: International Emergency Committee on Sri Lanka; International Alert, 860710. 3 p.
 The statement welcomes the new initiative for peace announced by President Jayewardene and the inter-party discussions which ensued. It is recommended that a ceasefire be introduced and individual consultations be held to narrow down areas of dispute. "International support for the implementation of any agreed settlement is a prerequisite for the creation of human rights and development programmes destroyed by the present conflict."

416

Military and political solutions mixed up. Frontline. 860711. 2 p; 16-17.
 The author states that President Jayewardene's strategic approach to the ethnic crisis is to mix up military and political solutions. For this reason among others, TULF leaders chose to stay away from the June 1986 Political Parties Conference.

417

Military and political solutions mixed up. Frontline. 860711. v.3(13). 2 p; 16-17.
 "Jayewardene's strategic approach to the ethnic crisis is to mix up military and political solutions. He seems to be simultaneously playing three or four tracks. The latest move scheduling a multi-party conference to discuss his provincial councils proposal has not evoked any enthusiasm, and the moderate TULF has decided to keep away on 25 June."

418

Provincial Councils: a pig in a poke? Saturday review. 860712. v.5(25). 1 p.
 The article quotes from a press statement of a group of Tamils who rejected the June proposals of the government because these would not give due consideration to Tamil demands, and because the concept of devolution is being subverted by making nationalist policy paramount.

419

Sinhala Association of Sri Lankans in the UK. *Press release: devolution of power to Provincial Councils.* London: Sinhala Association of Sri Lankans in the UK, 860714. 1 p.
 The organization argues that as long as the militant groups are committed to a separate state and are not prepared to lay down arms, their control over Provincial Councils would eventually lead to the unilateral declaration of a separate state. A lasting peace can only be achieved after the eradication of terrorism.

420

A just solution. Forum. 860715. v.3(1). p. 1.
 In the article it is said that the SLFP is against a solution to the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka without consulting the people. The government proposals for Provincial Councils are rejected.

421

TULF demands merger. Forum. 860715. v.3(3). p. 1.

The article quotes Amirthalingam, who said that the TULF demand for a Tamil homeland comprising the Northern and Eastern provinces cannot be compromised.

422

Agonistes. *What Mr. Jayewardene left out.* Forum. 860715. v.3(1). p. 2.

The article criticizes the government for an alleged attempt to force a solution without the consent of the SLFP. It also criticizes the way the government uses statements from former Prime Minister S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike in support of its proposals.

423

Bandaranaike, S.W.R.D. *"Federation as the only solution to our political problems".* Lanka guardian. 860715. v.9(6). 2 p; 16-17.

- Republished from: "The Ceylon morning leader" of 17 July 1926.

The famous politician used historical examples and comparisons to argue for a federal solution to the ethnic problems in which the provinces are the basic unit of government.

424

Bandaranaike, S.W.R.D. *Regional Councils and the Bandaranaike - Chelvanayakam Pact: from a statement by Prime Minister Bandaranaike on August 12th 1957.* Forum. 860715. v.3(1). 2 p; 4-5.

Prime Minister Bandaranaike, in explaining the Bandaranaike - Chelvanayakam Pact, pointed out that the Regional Councils, which would be established, were to be under the control of Parliament. With annexures: joint statements by the Prime Minister and representatives of the Federal Party; extract from a speech by Bandaranaike as Minister of Local Administration in 1940.

425

Bandaranaike, Sirimavo R.D. *Letter sent by Mrs. Sirimavo R.D. Bandaranaike, President Sri Lanka Freedom Party to His Excellency the President on 15th July, 1986, regarding "the proposals of the Sri Lanka Government placed before the Political Parties Conference on 25th June 1986".* Colombo: Sri Lanka Freedom Party, 860715. 10 p.

The SLFP does not agree with the proposals presented by the government to maintain law and order in the country. The government is said not to be representative of the people of Sri Lanka. According to the SLFP the government proposals would have such an impact on the sovereignty of the people and lead to changes in the way in which sovereignty is exercised, that the very foundation of the Constitution would appear to be in grave danger.

426

Bandaranaike, Sirimavo R.D. *SLFP cannot agree with government proposals: Mrs. B writes to the President.* Lanka guardian. 860715. v.9(6). 5 p; 9-13.

Text of an open letter to President Jayewardene by Mrs. Bandaranaike. Commenting upon the President's proposals for Provincial Councils, she argues that they represent a federal solution, which is in contradiction with the Sri Lankan constitution. She foresees separatist activities and constant disputes over the proposals. She also argues that the ongoing violence and the authoritarian character of the regime make genuine negotiations impossible.

427

Karunaratne, Vickramabahu. *Proposed Provincial Councils: statement of the Nava Sama Samaja Party.* Colombo: World Publications, 860715. 13 p.

The document contains a statement of the Nava Sama Samaja Party on the June 1986 government proposal for Provincial Councils. The NSSP defends the political concessions made to the Tamil-speaking people, and criticizes the policy of the Sri Lankan government and the involvement of India. Suggestions are made on the achievement of national unity. With texts of recent press statements made by the NSSP.

428

Sanmugathasan, N. *President's proposals.* Lanka guardian. 860715. v.9(6). 2 p; 15-17.

Also published in: Tamil times, v. 5(10) of August 1986, p. 3.

The author argues for a federal system of government or genuine regional autonomy for a Tamil linguistic region consisting of the Northern and Eastern provinces. The government has to make a distinction between the unity and sovereignty of Sri Lanka and the unitary character of the Constitution. It is not necessary to maintain this Constitution.

429

de Silva, Mervyn. *If there is progress, talks with militants can be held outside...: Amirthalingam interview.* Lanka guardian. 860715. v.9(6). 2 p; 4-5.

In this interview, Amirthalingam comments on the talks between President Jayewardene and the TULF. He demands effective devolution. With regard to the Tamil militants, he says that India can play an active role in persuading the militants to accept a solution. He also refers to talks which the militants leaders had in New Delhi. He demands the end of violence and abolition of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

430

Information Division of the High Commission of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. *Political Parties Conference.* London: Information Division of the High Commission of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, 860716. 4 p.

The press release summarizes the proposals put forward by the government to the Political Parties Conference, and the reactions of some political parties.

431

Trinikaya Maha Sangha Sabha. *Interim report of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Trinikaya Maha Sangha Sabha held on July 7, 1986/2530....* Colombo: Trinikaya Maha Sangha Sabha, 860716. 4 p.

Also published in: "The Island" of 19 July 1986, under the title "Tri-Nikaya Maha Sangha report: devolution of powers through Provincial Councils".

This is the full text of the interim report of the sub-committee appointed by the Tri-Nikaya Maha Sangha Sabha held on 7 July 1986 presided over by the Venerable Maha Nayaka Thero of the Asgiriya Chapter to discuss the Provincial Councils proposals, endorsed by the Maha Sangha on 16 July 1986. The proposals are analyzed and parts of it compared with the Indian constitution. Fears over a too strong devolution of power are expressed, and conditions are given for the implementation of the proposals.

432

Committee on General Devolution. *Committee on "general devolution". Report of the five committees appointed by the Political Parties Conference.*

Colombo: Political Parties' Conference, 860718. 16 p; 5-20.

The Committee on "general devolution" was chaired by the Prime Minister. Its report goes into the relationship between the centre and the province. It makes recommendations on withdrawal of powers from the province, exercise of powers by the governor, appointment of the governor, institutional arrangements for inter-provincial cooperation, emergency powers and the governor's power of dissolution.

433

Committee on Land and Land Settlement.

Committee on Land and Land Settlement: final report. Reports of the five

committees appointed by the Political Parties Conference.

Colombo: Political Parties Conference, 860718. 4 p; 41-44.

The Committee on Land and Land Settlement was chaired by Minister Gamini Dissanayake. Its report proposed that rights to land, land tenure, transfer and alienation of land, land settlement and land improvement will devolve on Provincial Councils. State land will fall under the authority of the government of Sri Lanka. Inter-provincial irrigation and land development projects will be the responsibility of the government of Sri Lanka. A National Land Commission will be established.

434

Committee on Law and Order.

Committee on Law and Order.

Reports of the five committees appointed by the Political Parties Conference.

Colombo: Political Parties Conference, 860718. p. 45.

The Committee, chaired by Minister Athulathmudali, concluded that the note presented by the government on law and order could be said to provide an adequate basis at the present time for resolving this issue.

435

Committee on Provincial Councils.

Committee on Provincial Councils.

Reports of the five committees appointed by the Political Parties Conference.

Colombo: Political Parties Conference, 860718. p. 39-40.

The Committee on Provincial Councils, chaired by Hon. A.C.S. Hameed, recommended that the province should be the unit of devolution. This report also contains recommendations on elections to the Councils, minority representation, inter-provincial co-ordination, and dissolutions.

436

Coomaraswamy, Radhika. *The PPC*

proposals - towards a consensus?: a talk given at the Centre for Society & Religion - July 18th 1986.

Colombo: Centre for Society and Religion, 860718. 24 p.

Republished in: Lanka guardian, v. 9(8) of 15 August 1986 and in: Tamil times, v. 5(12) of October 1986 and v. 6(1) of November 1986. The author begins by making some remarks: the proposals for Provincial Councils (PPC) are the product of the history of the people of Sri Lanka; they have to be separated from the peace process. She speaks about consensus among those who do not regard ethnic loyalty as the supreme political value (the "consensus of the select") and the forces behind it. She states that there is a certain political will to reach a consensus. After a comparison with the constitution of India, attention is drawn to elements not in the proposals: financing; regional public service; dissolution; a climate of democracy; and the sharing of power at the centre. Next, she deals with what is included, and the areas of contention: the merger of north and east; the executive power; power in a state of emergency; land and land settlement; and law and order. With conclusion: also in a new framework, fundamental human rights have to be secured.

437

Jayewardene, J.R. *Explanatory note.*

Reports of the five committees appointed by the Political Parties' Conference.

Colombo: Political Parties Conference Secretariat, 860718. 3 p; 1-3.

Text of the introductory explanation of President Jayewardene to reports given by the different committees at the Political Parties Conference. The note contains information on the organization of the Conference, including lists of participating parties and the five Committees.

438

The Committee for the Consideration and Implementation of the Committee "B" report of the All Party Conference. *Report of the Committee for "the consideration and implementation of the Committee "B" report of the All-Party Conference". Reports of the five committees appointed by the Political Parties Conference.* Colombo: Political Parties' Conference, 860718. p. 21-38. The Committee, chaired by Minister of Home Affairs Devanayagam, had as its terms of reference "the consideration and implementation of the Committee "B" report. It states that in education there is a need for the involvement of the Provincial Councils at the university level. It also disapproves standardization of marks as a method for determining entry into the universities. The Committee felt employment should be based on merit, but with due recognition of the multi-ethnic composition of the society. There was a general consensus that Tamil should be made an official language in addition to Sinhala.

439

Paradiso or inferno? Saturday review. 860719. v.5(26). p. 1. The editorial expresses optimism about the possibilities of a successful outcome of the Political Parties Conference, but states that it will depend on "the boys".

440

"A group of Tamils". "Defunct Village Councils more potent than proposed Provincial Councils". *Saturday review.* 860719. v.5(26). 2 p; 4-5. The authors, "a group of Tamils", criticize the government's proposals presented at the Political Parties Conference. It is said that the concept of devolution is being subverted by making national policy of paramount importance. It is also said that the Provincial Councils as envisaged by the government cannot be effective.

441

Jeyaraj, D.B.S. PPC: familiar syndrome. *Saturday review.* 860719. v.5(26). 2 p; 1-8. The article analyzes different points of view at the Political Parties Conference. The biggest problem is with regard to the unit of devolution of powers. Tamil militant groups protested against the proposals, and violent acts continue in the north and east.

442

Talks were were useful - Amir. *Sunday observer.* 860720. 3 p. Text of an interview with A. Amirthalingam, Secretary-General of the TULF, on Rupavahini. He urges that direct in camera discussions should take place between the government and the Tamil groups, including the militants. He also comments on the grievances of the Tamils and the relations between the TULF and the militant groups.

443

A change of mood? Saturday review. 860726. v.5(27). p. 1. The editorial reflects the optimism as to the possibilities for achieving a negotiated solution in mid-July. It is stated that the mood in the south has changed in favor of a solution giving certain concessions to the Tamils.

444

Chidambaram proposals bared. *Saturday review.* 860726. v.5(27). 2 p; 6-7. Political analysts have noted an enhancement of substantive powers of Provincial Councils in the proposals sent to the Indian government by the Sri Lankan government to solve the ethnic crisis. The proposals announced in Colombo differed from those sent to Delhi. The article contains relevant excerpts from the Chidambaram proposals (named after the Indian Minister of State), different from earlier proposals.

445

Colombo call. *News today.* 860729. 1 p. Comment on recent developments with regard to the negotiations in Sri Lanka. It is said that there are very promising signals, as most political parties see the necessity of a political solution and the outcome of the talks between President Jayewardene and the TULF seems to be positive.

446

Subramanian, T.S. *Messy impasse.*

Frontline. Madras: S. Rangarajan, 861115. v.3(23). 6 p; 113-120.

- Republished in: Tamil times, v. 6(2) of December 1986, p. 8-9.

With the emphatic rejection by the Tamil militant organizations of the Sri Lankan government's package of proposals on the devolution of power in the wake of the messy shooting incident in Madras involving some militants, new questions emerged on the prolonged ethnic conflict. The article provides an analysis of the responses of the militant groups.

447

Ceylon Mercantile, Industrial and General Workers' Union; Tampoe, Bala.

Resolution on conflict in the North and East. Lanka guardian. Colombo.

861120. 2 p.

- Part of the resolution was also published in Lanka guardian v. 9(15) of 1 December 1986, p. 9.

Resolution of the 19th Delegates Conference of the CMU, held on 17 October. It is stated that the right to self-determination of the Tamil-speaking people of the North and East has to be recognized, and a negotiated political settlement reached on this basis. The government is said to pursue a war policy in the North and East, also as a pretext for maintaining a state of emergency.

448

Hopes soar - then plunge: Bangalore talks. Saturday review. 861122.

v.5(44). p. 1.

During the Second SAARC Summit Conference in Bangalore, LTTE leader Prabhakaran said no to the government's tentative offer of three Provincial Councils for the East - he opted only for a Tamil homeland and the merger of the North and the East.

449

Ali, Salamat. *Sophistry at summit:*

Saarc skirts around controversial issues of the region. Far eastern economic review.

861127. p. 30.

The second summit of the seven-member South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (Saarc) ended on 16 November 1986 in Bangalore. There was a backdrop to Gandhi's talks with Jayewardene, and Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Ramachandran argued that the negotiations were at a highly delicate stage. The seven countries condemned terrorism as a crime against which all member states must cooperate, but did not agree on its definition.

450

It's the boys who matter. Saturday review. 861129. v.5(45). p. 1.

This editorial restates comments in previous Saturday Review articles saying that if the government of Sri Lanka really wants to solve the ethnic problem, direct talks with the militant groups need to be held.

451

"What if the terrorist gang leader becomes ASP of the area?": a point of view.

Forum. 860801. v.6(2). 3 p; 2-6.

It is argued in the article that the proposals presented by the government at the Political Parties Conference sacrifice the rights and interests of the Sinhala people and endanger the security, integrity and stability of the country. Attention is paid to law and order, land settlement, and the Mahaweli project. The viewpoints expressed can be considered representative of the feelings among many Sinhalese.

452

Go solve the problem: SLFP to government.

Forum. 860801. v.3(2).

The SLFP analyzes the problem in Sri Lanka as one of terrorism. It is said that the UNP government is not able to solve it; its main objective is to stay in power.

453

Balasuriya, Tissa. *The need of the hour is a powerful peace movement.* Lanka guardian. 860801. v.9(7). 3 p; 13-24. Text of a speech held at a seminar in Madras, organized by the Indo-Lanka Maithri Sangamaya on 5 July 1986. The speaker analyzes the role of various actors in the Sri Lankan ethnic conflict: the government, the SLFP, the TULF, the Tamil militants, the government and people of Tamil Nadu, and the government of India. He calls for a nation-wide peace movement, as the survival of Sri Lankans is "too valuable to be left in the hands of only party politicians."

454

Jeyaraj, D.B.S. *Grafting illusions into reality.* Saturday review. 860802. v.5(28). p. 6. Article on the opinion of Tamil people on the policy of the government of India towards the ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka. The Indian policy is labelled "benign diplomacy"; India is not able to protect the Tamils against violence.

455

Jeyaraj, D.B.S. *India torpedoes merger?* Saturday review. 860802. v.5(28). The author presents the Indian point of view on the question of the relationship between the Northern and Eastern provinces. The Indian government is not in favour of a merger.

456

Cool it, everyone. Saturday review. 860809. v.5(29). p. 1. Editorial confirming the opinion of Saturday review that President Jayewardene's proposals form a solid foundation for further negotiations towards a lasting settlement. The militant groups are advised to revise their strategy in the light of present-day realities in Sri Lanka.

457

Islands can be shared: this is how peace could return to Sri Lanka. The economist. 860809. p. 16. In this article, it is argued that there are no objections against granting genuine autonomy to the Tamils. The offer of setting-up Provincial Councils could settle the matter. With regard to the eastern Province, a division between predominantly Tamil and non-Tamil parts seems to be the most feasible solution. With India's help, the Tamil militant groups can be tamed.

458

Political carve-up? Saturday review. 860809. v.5(29). p. 8. Saturday review learned from diplomatic sources that New Delhi is currently considering carefully a proposal outlining a re-demarcation of the boundaries of the Eastern Province.

459

Citizens Committee for National Harmony. *Statement by the Citizens Committee.* Colombo: Citizens Committee for National Harmony, 860813. 18 p. In the introduction, it is stated that the recent proposals made by the government to establish a system of provincial councils have provided a new opportunity to the country to achieve a just and peaceful solution to the ethnic problem. One of the major obstacles in arriving at a consensus is the misunderstanding and the prejudices of each community with regard to their relations with others, which have grown over a long period of time. The principle of devolution of power is supported by referring to the experience of India, the maintenance of national unity by the national government, and the relation between devolution and development. Attention is drawn to four major issues: the constitutional form of devolution, equitable participation at the centre, the issue of a single Tamil province in the north and east of the country (including four possible options) and the need for consensus among all major political parties. The militant groups will have to be brought into the settlements.

460

"No community will benefit from Provincial Councils" - *Sirima: calls on Mahanayakes*. Lanka guardian. 860815. v.9(8). p. 8.

Republished from "The island".

Mrs. Bandaranaike's opposition to the proposals for Provincial Councils is outlined. In her opinion, provincial councils will present a hindrance to the country's attainment of peace and integrity.

461

Abeysekera, Charles; Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality.

Devolution towards a settlement of the ethnic problem. Lanka guardian. 860815. v.9(8). 3 p; 9-11.

- Republished in: Tamil times v. 5(12) of October 1986, p. 9-11.

MIRJE presents alternatives to the proposals of the Sri Lankan government at the Political Parties Conference. The scheme for devolution presented goes further than the government proposals. The Northern province would include those areas in the Eastern province which are predominantly Tamil. It is suggested to devolve extensive legislative and executive powers to the provinces.

462

Caspersz, Paul; Abeysinghe, Lalith.

Opposite of unity is not federalism but disunity: Satyodaya. Lanka guardian. 860815. v.9(8). p. 12.

- Republished in: Tamil times, v. 5(11) of September 1986, p. 7-8.

The leaders of Satyodaya in this article advocate a solution to the ethnic problem in accordance with the 1977 UNP Election Manifesto, which promised to redress Tamil grievances through the economic development of the whole country. The authors do not see any contradiction between effective devolution of powers to provincial or regional authorities and the idea of a united Sri Lanka.

463

Gunatilleke, Godfrey; Citizens Committee for National Harmony. *The two paths before us*. Lanka guardian. 860815.

v.9(8). 2 p; 13-14.

The Citizens' Committee for National Harmony sees a negotiated settlement as the only viable solution to an increasingly violent development. The proposals presented by President Jayewardene at the Political Parties Conference are seen as a considerable step forward: they provide for Provincial Councils and inter-provincial coordination, and outline solutions for problems relating to law and order and land settlement.

464

Gunawardena, Vasantha K. A *referendum or a general election?* Forum. 860815. v.3(3). 2 p; 7-8.

The author argues that the introduction of Provincial Councils as proposed by the government in June 1986 is in conflict with Article 2 of the Constitution, and therefore requires a two-third majority in Parliament and approval by the people in a referendum.

465

Venkatramani, S.H. *Giving peace a chance*. India today. 860815. 3 p; 68-70.

The article expresses optimism about the possibilities for a negotiated solution following discussions between the Sri Lankan government and the TULF. The parties seem to have agreed on a framework for a solution in the areas of law and order and land settlement. On the crucial question of a merger between the Eastern and Northern provinces, the TULF Secretary General said that the Tamil groups were not demanding a merger, but the creation of a single administrative unit consisting of the Northern province and those areas in the east where Tamils are a majority.

466

de Silva, Mervyn. J.R.'s *super-salesmanship*. Lanka guardian. 860815. v.9(8). 2 p; 3-4.

The article analyzes President Jayewardene's island-wide campaign for acceptance of the proposals for devolution. His constituencies are the island-wide Sinhala, the UNP itself and the Buddhist Sangha.

467

Subramanian, T.S. *The chasm remains.* Frontline. 860822. v.3(19). 3 p; 36-39.

The article refers to talks in Colombo between a TULF team and President Jayewardene on finding a political solution to the prolonged ethnic strife in the island. The meetings have produced mixed results. There was a deadlock on the most important issue: the creation of a single Tamil linguistic region. The crucial question remains how to bring the Tamil militants to the negotiating table.

468

Subramanian, T.S. *The chasm remains.* Frontline. 860822. v.3(16). 3 p; 36-39.

"The recent talks in Colombo between a TULF team and President Jayewardene on finding a political solution to the prolonged ethnic strife in the island have produced mixed results. Though there were hopeful signs on two issues, there was a deadlock on the most important one: the creation of a single Tamil linguistic region. Much will depend on the next round of negotiations in mid-August." But the crucial question remains how and when to bring the militants to the negotiation table.

469

What do Tamil militants think about peace proposals? Saturday review. 860823. v.5(31). 2 p; 4-9.

- Republished from: Newsweek and Frontline. The article contains interviews with the leaders of the four major Tamil militant groups. They all reject the proposals presented by the government as bases for negotiations.

470

Dixit, J.N. *Time-frame for ethnic solution.* Saturday review. 860823. v.5(31). p. 8.

The Indian High Commissioner in this statement says that India will evolve a clearly defined time frame to implement a workable and durable compromise to the Sri Lanka national question.

471

Jeyaraj, D.B.S. *Now or never.* Saturday review. 860823. v.5(31). p. 1.

There are indications that a meeting between government Ministers and Tamil militant leaders might take place. The author analyzes the Indian moves in trying to mediate between the Sri Lankan government and the militant Tamil groups. The militant groups seem to reject the government proposals as bases for discussions.

472

de Silva, Manik. *The devolution dilemma: Buddhist monks are wooed to help solve the Tamil problem.* Far eastern economic review. 860828. p. 12-13.

Peace talks between the government of Sri Lanka and the TULF were adjourned without touching on the crucial issue of devolution. The government has to cope with resistance from the SLFP and influential sections of the Buddhist clergy.

473

Venkatramani, S.H. *The militant mood.* India today. 860831. v.11(16). 2 p; 93-94.

- Republished in: Lanka guardian, v. 9(10) of 15 September 1986.

The article deals with relations between the TULF and militant groups. The government and the TULF seem to agree on a broad framework for a settlement. A major problem was, however, the increasingly hard stance taken by Tamil militants. The ENLF refused to talk to TULF leaders.

474

India's role. Ceylon today. Ceylon Today / Fontgalland, S. ; Rajagopal, D. ; Dhas, Nirmalan; Kadhira Achagam, 860900. v.1(4). 3 p; 4-18.

India's role as a mediator in the process of a political solution to the ethnic problems in Sri Lanka has often come in for criticism. This article states that India recently gained a better understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the several organizations involved, and has pushed the TULF into the foreground. India had been successful in dragging the political process towards a democratic framework with a strong political content. Appeals for military intervention by India are out of place; the government of India had declared that it will only use peaceful methods.

475

The "conflict" interpreted: a forty two point frame of reference. Sri Lanka profiles / Perera, Reginald. Colombo: East West Publications; Asian Centre for Dialogue and Co-operation, 860900. v.3(8). 18 p. A "sympathetic but critical Sri Lanka watcher" compiled 42 points serving as a frame of reference for assessing the true nature of the present "conflict". He believes that such an overall view is vital for better understanding, and has found such a belief amongst many in Sri Lanka as well as abroad. The 42 points deal with the history of Sri Lanka, developments since 1970, the rise of violence from 1977 onwards, consequences of the violence and current problems (refugees, economic consequences), and perspectives for the future. With index of terms and poem by Reginald Perera.

476

The political situation in Ceylon today. Ceylon today. Ceylon Today / Fontgalland, S. ; Rajagopal, D. ; Dhas, Nirmalan; Kadhiraan Achagam, 860900. v.1(4). 3 p; 3-18.

Political parties within the island are gradually beginning to clarify and define their position regarding the political crises. This has led to the strengthening of democratic tendencies within the political process. Central is the standpoint on the issue of the legitimacy of the demands of the Tamil people. The article provides an analysis of the positions of the leftist parties SLMP, LSSP, NSSP and CPSL, the ruling UNP, the moderate TULF, and the opposition parties SLFP, MEP and JVP. With conclusion.

477

Elections only for the north. Forum. 860901. v.3(4). p. 1. The article criticizes the government proposal to hold elections for Provincial Councils in the North (and not in the South, where the existing District Development Councils will function as Provincial Councils). This led to criticism by the SLFP.

478

MGR rides the high horse! Saturday review. 860913. v.5(34). 2 p; 1-12. Article from a special correspondent in Madras on the reactions in India on the latest proposals in the negotiations. The militant groups, who are not against a negotiated settlement, met with representatives of the Indian government, among them M.G., Ramachandran. The attitude of the latter annoyed the militant leaders.

479

The EROS stand. Saturday review. 860913. v.5(34). 3 p; 6-8. Interview with R. Shankar, one of the members of the Revolutionary Executive Committee of the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS). He states that reconciliation with the government of Sri Lanka is very difficult. The interview deals with various aspects of the situation in Sri Lanka, the relationships between different parties involved and future perspectives.

480

Eelam National Liberation Front. *Eelam National Liberation Front tells India: support us fully.* Saturday review. 860913. v.5(34). p. 9. Text of a memorandum submitted by the Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF) to the government of India on the latest proposals of the government of Sri Lanka. These proposals are not perceived as a basis for negotiations. With explanatory statements on the prevailing politico-military situation and the proposals.

481

No general elections or referendum until 1989 - President. Sri Lanka news review. Colombo: Department of Information, 860915. v.4. 1 p; 1. In a statement before a conference at Kurunegala Town Hall, president Jayewardene stated that he does not propose to have a general election nor a referendum until 1989. He discussed the proposals for the devolution of power and elaborated on the political and constitutional system of Sri Lanka.

482

Reddy, G.K. *As Reddy sees it: the Harare jaramare.* Forum. 860915. v.3(5). p. 8.

Republished from: "The Hindu" of 9 September 1986
The author states that Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was annoyed during the summit meeting of the Nonaligned Movement in Harare (Zimbabwe) by a written note and a letter of Sri Lankan Prime Minister Premadasa. It concerned allegations that India continues to assist and allow the Tamil militants to operate from camps in South India.

483

Samaranayake, T. *Exclusive homeland in North and East, open door elsewhere: a point of view.* Forum. 860915. v.3(5). 3 p; 4-6.

The author states that after rejecting the same proposals earlier this year, the government has now conceded to almost all the demands that were earlier made by the TULF, with the only exception of the amalgamation of the Northern and Eastern provinces. His article deals with the major concerns behind the need for a solution, devolution of powers in other countries, the position of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike and the Accelerated Mahaweli Program, assurances of no Eelam demand, and the issue of amalgamation. He outlines conditions for an acceptable solution.

484

de Silva, Mervyn. *Zonal council instead of merger?* Lanka guardian. 860915. v.9(10). 2 p; 3-4.

The author discusses the different options for the various actors, given the increasing impatience from the Indian side and an increasing gap between the positions of the TULF and the militant groups. The crucial role of India in giving guarantees for the implementation of an agreement, and the opposition of the militant groups to a political solution are discussed.

485

de Silva, Manik. *Dwelling on devolution: with India's help, Colombo tries sell its peace plan.* Far eastern economic review. 860925. p. 46-47.

Article on the state of the process of talks between various parties with regard to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. Mr. Gandhi was annoyed by the attitude of Sri Lankan Prime Minister Premadasa during the Harare summit of the non-aligned movement, but the two reconciled later on. Diplomats believe that India has the ability to bring the militants into line.

486

Sri Lanka Human Rights Committee. *Political negotiations: internal battles threaten progress.* Sri Lanka human rights newsletter. Oslo: Sri Lanka Human Rights Committee, 861000. v.3. 4 p; 3-6. During the last few months, the government of Sri Lanka has had several meetings with the TULF, as part of an attempt to achieve a negotiated settlement to the ethnic conflict. The resumption of negotiations in late June raised new expectations about the prospects for a political solution. The process has met with opposition both from the Tamil militant groups and from the SLFP. Special attention is given to obstacles to a negotiated solution and the strength of the militants.

487

Chopra, Pran. *How close to peace?: Sri Lanka.* Lanka guardian. 861001. v.9(11). 3 p; 21-24.

The author states that the negotiations for ending the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka have made quite remarkable progress in recent months. Agreement has been reached with regard to the powers to be transferred downwards by the government, especially powers relating to the maintenance of law and order and land settlement and the authorities to whom the powers should be transferred. The role of the Tamil militants is very relevant with regard to the relationship between the North and the East and the cessation of violence. India will continue to play an important negotiating role.

488

de Silva, Mervyn. *The guns of September and... on to round 3: news background.* Lanka guardian. 861001. v.9(11). 4 p; 3-8.

Article on recent developments in the peace process. In September 1986, forces against Provincial Councils became stronger and armed conflict intensified. It is stated that the UNP government has lost its credibility. The Movement for the Defence of the Nation (MDN) was established by Buddhist leaders and right-wing politicians; it is difficult for the government to yield more ground to the Tamils. The central issue in the negotiations is the linkage between the north and the east.

489

Jaw-jaw or ha-ha? Saturday review. 861011. v.5(38). p. 1.

Editorial on violence and the negotiation process. The militant groups are requested to cooperate fully with the mediatory efforts of the government of India; any accord has to be a compromise.

490

Reddy, G.K. *Delhi's pressure on militants.* Lanka guardian. 861015. v.9(12). 2 p; 6-18.

The article deals with the relationship between the Indian mediators and different Tamil organizations. It is stated that the government of India is not insensitive to the strong reservations expressed by militant leaders about the limited nature of the devolution package offered by Sri Lanka, which in their view does not meet the real aspirations of the Tamil people. There are no major differences between the standpoints of the TULF and those of the militant groups.

491

Sebaratnam, C.S. *Bisection the snag.* Saturday review. 861021. v.5(40). 2 p; 3-10.

The often uttered assertion that the demand for amalgamation of the Northern and Eastern Provinces is the snag in the solution of the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka is a myth. The aspiration of the Tamils that the oneness in substance of their traditional homeland should remain as such is natural and normal; the snag is bisection. The language medium of the Muslims is Tamil. There is evidence that the Northern and Eastern Provinces are the traditional homeland of the Tamils.

492

Stevenson (. et al). *Resolution tabled ... on the forthcoming peace conference on Sri Lanka --- and adopted as a Resolution of the Parliament on 23rd October, 1986.* (Strasbourg): European Parliament, 861023. 1 p.

Text of a resolution tabled by the Socialist Group, the EPP Group, the European Democrat Group and the Communist Allied Group. The European Parliament expresses its hope that an agreement will be reached at a Conference on the latest proposals, in which all Sri Lankan political parties, as well as militant Tamil organizations, would be invited. Such an agreement would be accompanied by a lasting ceasefire. The Foreign Ministers of the EEC are requested to provide such support as may be needed and requested to facilitate a full settlement.

493

Tell the people the truth!: the way out of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka: a collective appeal. Dehiwela: Sarana Press, 861100. 12 p.

Text of a collective appeal, which had been signed by 188 individuals as a representative cross-section of the general public of Sri Lanka. The statement begins with "It is time the people of Sri Lanka came to their senses!" and ends with "we must speak out, act, fearlessly, urgently, and so out of the fire of fear and frenzy create a way to sanity and peace."

494

Lanka Sama Samaja Party. *A call to the Tamil community.* Christian worker. 861100. no. 3. 2 p; 18-19.

The LSSP is confident that properly constituted Provincial Councils will give to all provinces a high degree of self-management through elected representatives with regard to all aspects of the people's lives. It calls upon Tamil groups to work towards the unity of all progressive forces on a feasible solution to the prevailing ethnic crisis and a struggle against the government policies.

495

de Silva, Mervyn. *March of the monks: the opposition and clergy unite on the Tamil issue.* Far eastern economic review, 861106. 2 p; 15-16.

According to the Venerable Palipane Chandananda (mahanayake of the Asgiriya Chapter) and Mrs. Bandaranaike, leaders of the Movement for the Defence of the Motherland (Nation), the government proposals for provincial autonomy could be the first step towards partition.

496

Undue optimism: no please. Saturday review, reprod. 861110. v.5(38). p. 11.

- Republished from: Ceylon today of September 1986.

The ongoing negotiations give the appearance to the external world that the government has finally committed itself to a political solution. However, the government's present military actions and its failure to address Tamil demands have to be carefully considered.

497

Hold direct talks. Saturday review, 861115. v.5(43). p. 1.

The ethnic problem cannot be solved without direct talks between the government and the militant groups at the highest level. It is stated that an opportunity for such talks would be provided during the Second SAARC Summit Conference in November 1986 in Bangalore, India.

498

Setback in Sri Lanka. Lanka guardian, reprod. 861115. v.9(14). p. 4.

- Reprint from Indian express, 861105 Editorial on the rejection of the peace proposals of the Sri Lankan government by Tamil militant groups, which is considered hardly surprising. It is suggested that Prime Minister Gandhi would do well to persuade President Jayewardene to grant more power to the provincial councils and restrict the centre's overlapping and overriding jurisdiction over provincial matters.

499

Sri Lanka: Rajiv must get his act together. Saturday review, 861115. v.5(43). p. 4.

Republished from: The Hindu (editorial) of 28 October 1986.

Article on the Indian efforts at negotiating in the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, published before the Second SAARC Summit Conference of November 1986 in Bangalore. It is concluded that Sri Lankan Tamils must be persuaded to accept a package with meaningful improvements. As the time for making qualitative improvements is short, Rajiv Gandhi must make every effort to ensure that the Indian policy on Sri Lanka is coordinated and fine-tuned.

500

Committee for Rational Development; Siriwardene, Reggie. *Negotiations: don't stop now.* Lanka guardian, 861115. v.9(14). 2 p; 6-24.

The Committee for Rational Development argues for a political solution to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. It is stated that the government must be committed to a devolution of powers which has the consent of those living in the North and East. The Tamil militant groups have to accept the processes of peace; the continuing fight for a military solution will lead to genocide and humiliation of the Tamil people.

501

Eelam National Liberation Front. *The ENLF response.* Frontline, Madras: S. Rangarajan, 861115. v.3(23). p. 113.

Response to proposals emanating from the Sri Lankan government - Tamil United Liberation Front talks mediated through by the good offices of the government of India. The ENLF totally rejects the very premise on which the proposals are based. The proposed principles of devolution of power within the existing unitary constitution would leave too strong powers to the central government.

502

Subramanian, T.S. *Messy impasse.*

Frontline. Madras: S. Rangarajan, 861115. v.3(23). 6 p; 113-120.

Republished in: Tamil times, v. 6(2) of December 1986, p. 8-9.

With the emphatic rejection by the Tamil militant organizations of the Sri Lankan government's package of proposals on the devolution of power in the wake of the messy shooting incident in Madras involving some militants, new questions emerged on the prolonged ethnic conflict. The article provides an analysis of the responses of the militant groups.

503

de Silva, Mervyn. *Gandhi can deliver: ... Delhi's signal to Colombo.* Lanka guardian. 861115. v.9(14). 3 p; 3-5.

The article deals with the fact that leaders of militant groups were placed under house arrest on 8 November in Madras. This action is placed against the background of the forthcoming SAARC top in Bangalore. It also deals with the new package of proposals of the Sri Lankan government in the negotiation process, which was considered "fairly good" by Prime Minister Gandhi.

504

Ceylon Mercantile, Industrial and General Workers' Union; Tampoe, Bala.

Resolution on conflict in the North and East. Lanka guardian. Colombo. 861120. 2 p.

- Part of the resolution was also published in Lanka guardian v. 9(15) of 1 December 1986, p. 9.

Resolution of the 19th Delegates Conference of the CMU, held on 17 October. It is stated that the right to self-determination of the Tamil-speaking people of the North and East has to be recognized, and a negotiated political settlement reached on this basis. The government is said to pursue a war policy in the North and East, also as a pretext for maintaining a state of emergency.

505

Hopes soar - then plunge: Bangalore talks. Saturday review. 861122. v.5(44). p. 1.

During the Second SAARC Summit Conference Bangalore, LTTE leader Prabhakaran said no to the government's tentative offer of three Provincial Councils for the East - he opted only for a Tamil homeland and the merger of the North and the East.

506

Ali, Salamat. *Sophistry at summit: Saarc skirts around controversial issues of the region.* Far eastern economic review. 861127. p. 30.

The second summit of the seven-member South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (Saarc) ended on 16 November 1986 in Bangalore. There was a backdrop to Gandhi's talks with Jayewardene, and Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Ramachandran argued that the negotiations were at a highly delicate stage. The seven countries condemned terrorism as a crime against which all member states must cooperate, but did not agree on its definition.

507

It's the boys who matter. Saturday review. 861129. v.5(45). p. 1.

This editorial restates comments in previous Saturday Review articles saying that if the government of Sri Lanka really wants to solve the ethnic problem, direct talks with the militant groups need to be held.

508

Sanmugathan, N. Rajiv: *confusion reigns.* Saturday review. 861129. v.5(45). p. 5.

Article on the attitude of the Indian government to the demands of the Tamil speaking people of Sri Lanka. It is stated that Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi is against the creation of a separate state of Eelam or a linguistic Tamil state in Sri Lanka. The Tamil militants might not always find India on their side.

509

Subramanian, T.S. *Time of troubles and trial.* Frontline. Madras: S. Rangarajan, 861129. v.3(24). 4 p; 16-19. "A new stage has been entered on the Sri Lankan Tamil ethnic crisis front. And it has meant troubled, crying times for the political organizations of the beleaguered people." This article provides an analysis of developments during the Second SAARC Summit Conference held in Bangalore in November 1986. The contiguity of Tamil areas between the North and the East dominated the discussions. The article provides comments by leaders of various militant groups on issues discussed at Bangalore.

510

Avebury, Lord. *Sri Lanka - conflict or compromise?: keynote speech of the International Alert USA seminar on Sri Lanka, Los Angeles, 25 October 1986.* Prospects for peace in Sri Lanka: report of a seminar held in Oslo 24 October 1986. Oslo: International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, 861200. p. 41-49; 9 p. The speech begins with reflections on the contributions of outside actors to the solution of group conflicts. Then, some characteristics of the problems in Sri Lanka are outlined. Comments are given on the negotiations between different actors involved, and their proposals for devolution of power are outlined. Indications are given for compromises to be made between the different parties.

511

Bugge, Hans Chr. *Opening address by Hans Chr. Bugge, State Secretary, Royal Norwegian Ministry of Development Cooperation.* Prospects for peace in Sri Lanka: report of a seminar held in Oslo 24 October 1986. Oslo: International Peace Research Institute, Oslo; International Alert, 861200. 2 p; 1-2. State Secretary Bugge explains that there is a strong concern in Norway about the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka and the violations of human rights it carries with it. All political parties have made reservations as to the long term commitment of Norway towards Sri Lanka, and the Norwegian development assistance has been modified and actually decreased as a result of the political situation. He welcomes the seminar as an initiative which could contribute to build new confidence between the parties and to search for peaceful solutions.

512

Embassy of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, Brussels. *Press statement by the Sri Lankan Embassy in Brussels.* Prospects for peace in Sri Lanka: report of a seminar held in Oslo 24 October 1986. Oslo: International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, 861200. 2 p; 39-40. Press statement on the seminar "Prospects for peace in Sri Lanka". It is said that the focus of the discussions was almost entirely on how the international community can help to promote the successful culmination of the current peace processes initiated by the government without concerning or involving themselves with the shaping of the substantive components of a political settlement.

513

International Peace Research Institute, Oslo; International Alert. *Prospects for peace in Sri Lanka: report of a seminar held in Oslo 24 October 1986.* Oslo: International Peace Research Institute, Oslo; International Alert, 861200. 56 p. On 24 October 1986, an international one-day conference was held in Oslo, to discuss the immediate and long-term problems of Sri Lanka. The participants included Their Excellencies the Ambassadors of Sri Lanka and India, representatives of government departments in Norway, plus non-governmental groups concerned with development and human rights in Sri Lanka. The purpose of the conference and the report is to contribute to the peaceful settlement of the dispute and conflict in Sri Lanka. The conference report includes the opening address of State Secretary Hans Chr. Bugge of the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Development Cooperation, addresses by H.E. L. Kurukulasuriya, Ambassador of Sri Lanka, and by Martin Ennals, Secretary General of International Alert, presentations and interventions, and reports of working groups. With appendices: summaries of written contributions by Sri Lankan participants; excerpts of "Options for international community participation to assist conflict settlement" by Eduardo Marino; a press statement by the Sri Lankan Embassy in Brussels and the keynote speech by Lord Avebury to an International Alert USA seminar on Sri Lanka in Los Angeles, 25 October 1986.

514

Kurukulasuriya, Lal. *Address by His Excellency Kurukulasuriya, Ambassador of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka.* Prospects for peace in Sri Lanka: report of a seminar held in Oslo 24 October 1986. Oslo: International Peace Research Institute, Oslo; International Alert, 861200. 2 p; 11-12.

The Ambassador expressed his gratitude for the opportunity to address the meeting, and gave a review of the peace negotiations in Sri Lanka, commencing with the All Party Conference in 1984. He states that there is a real hope for peace, on the basis of a political settlement of the ethnic grievances of all segments of Sri Lankan society. Constraints are the opposition built up among Sinhalese and segments of the Tamil community. "Third parties" could help to allay fears and concerns of different communities in Sri Lanka, by organizing meetings and ensuring a more balanced representation of views.

515

Stokke, Hugo. *Report of working group three on "Confidence-building measures for peace and reconstruction".* Prospects for peace in Sri Lanka: report of a seminar held in Oslo 24 October 1986. Oslo: International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, 861200. 3 p; 22-24.

The major fears and concerns identified in this working group were the personal and group security, the feeling of "having a future on the island" and the question of the sincerity of the government to implement proposals agreed upon. It was agreed that any solution to the conflict would have to be tied to a cessation of hostilities. A unilateral step should be taken by the government, though this would not imply a removal of the regular armed forces from the north and east. A minimum would be a "clean" war without civilian victims.

516

Ponniah, S. *Lanka's ethnic problem: a linguistic state the best solution.* Saturday review. 861206. v.5(46). 2 p; 7-11.

The author states that the creation of a linguistic state as a solution of the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka would protect the identity of the Tamils.

517

The final round. Saturday review.

861220. v.5(48). p. 1.

It is reported that the question of setting up inter-provincial ministerial committees, as an alternative to the linkage between the Northern and Eastern Provinces, was discussed between representatives of the governments of Sri Lanka and India on 18 and 19 December.

518

Subramanian, T.S. *The gap remains.*

Frontline. Madras: Rangarajan, S,

861227. v.3(26). 3 p; 111-115.

With a deadly showdown between the LTTE and the EPRLF providing an uneasy background and with the TULF back in the peace process after a break, an Indian government team once again made a bid to find a political solution to the Sri Lankan ethnic crisis.

Union Ministers K. Natwar Singh and P. Chidambaram went to Madras and Colombo around mid-February, but made little headway.

519

Political Parties Conference Secretariat.

Amendments to the Constitution.

Draft proposals (30.8.85 to 19.12.86).

Colombo: Government Press, 870000. 19 p; 51-69.

Government proposals for amendments to the constitution, made within the framework of the negotiating process on the ethnic conflict. These amendments were sent to the government of India in September 1986. They include an amendment to article 138 of the constitution, new articles 154A to 154Q and 155 (3) (a), an amendment to article 170 and a proposed provision. The amendments provide for the establishment of Provincial Councils.

520

Political Parties Conference Secretariat.

Draft framework of terms of accord and

understanding. Draft proposals (30.8.85 to 19.12.86). Colombo: Government Press, 870000. 30 p; 3-32.

Text of the Draft framework of terms of accord and understanding of 30 August 1985, including Conditions of implementation and further discussions the Sri Lankan delegation had with senior officials of the Ministry of External Affairs of India from 10 September to 13 September 1985. The Draft framework deals with various aspects of the system of government. The first annex is on the powers of Provincial Councils with regard to internal law and order, land use and land development, agriculture, industry, education and culture. The second annex is a list of subjects and functions that should be exclusively reserved by the government. The further discussions from 10 to 13 September were on the relationship between Development Councils and Provincial Councils, and settlements under the Mahaweli Development Sche

521

Political Parties Conference Secretariat.

Draft proposals (30.8.85 to 19.12.86).

Colombo: Government Press, 870000. 131 p.

This document includes proposals made by the government of Sri Lanka within the negotiations process from 30 August 1985 to 19 December 1986. Included are: the draft Framework of Terms of Accord and Understanding of 30 August 1985; proposals sent to the Indian government in May 1986 and in September 1986; working paper on Bangalore discussions; observations on the Working Party on Bangalore Discussions; proposals that emerged on 19 December 1986.

522

Political Parties Conference Secretariat.

List II (Reserved List) [Article 154G (7)]. Draft proposals (30.8.85 to 19.12.86). Colombo: Government Press, 870000. 8 p; 81-88.

Article 154G (7) of the proposed amendment to the Constitution states: "A Provincial Council shall have no power to make statutes on any matter set out in List II of the Ninth Schedule (hereinafter referred to as "the Reserved List"). Included in the Reserved List dated 23 September 1986 are matters related to: defence and national security (including internal security, law and order and prevention and detection of crime); foreign affairs; post and telecommunications, broadcasting and television; justice (as far as it relates to the judiciary and the courts structure); finance (in relation to national revenue, monetary policy and external resources, and customs); trade; transport; minerals and mines; citizenship; elections; census and statistics; professional occupations and training; archives and archeology; and all subjects and functions not specified in List I or List III.

523

Political Parties Conference Secretariat.

List III (Concurrent List) [Article 154G (5)]. Draft proposals (30.8.85 to 19.12.86). Colombo: Government Press, 870000. 4 p; 106-109.

Article 154G (5) (a) of the proposed amendment to the Constitution states: "Parliament may make laws with respect to any matter set out in List III of the Ninth Schedule (hereinafter referred to as "the Concurrent List") after such consultation with all Provincial Councils as Parliament may consider appropriate in the circumstances of each case." Under article 154G (5) (b), every Provincial Council may make statutes with respect to any matter on the Concurrent List, after consultation with the Parliament as it may consider appropriate. The list dated 23 September 1986 contains 65 numbered issues.

524

Political Parties Conference Secretariat.

Ninth schedule: List I: Provincial Council List [Article 154G (1)]. Draft proposals (30.8.85 to 19.12.86). Colombo: Government Press, 870000. 17 p; 89-105.

Article 154G (1) of the proposed amendment to the Constitution states: "Every Provincial Council may, subject to the provisions of the Constitution, make statutes applicable to the province for which it is established with respect to any matter set out in List I of the Ninth Schedule (hereinafter referred to as "the Provincial Councils List")." The list mentions the subject, and contains annexes on subjects to be devolved in respect of law and order, land and land settlement, and education.

525

Political Parties Conference Secretariat.

Proposals sent to the Indian government in September 1986. Draft proposals (30.8.85 to 19.12.86). Colombo: Government Press, 870000. 59 p; 51-109.

The proposals contain the following documents: amendments to the Constitution (amendment on article 138 and new paragraphs 154A - 154Q and 155 (3) (a), amendment on paragraph 170 and proposed provision); draft Provincial Councils Act; proposals containing an introduction, the Reversed List (List II), the Provincial Councils List (List I) and the Concurrent List (List III).

526

Political Parties Conference Secretariat.

Proposals sent to the government of India by the government of Sri Lanka based on discussions with the Indian delegation led by Hon. P. Chidambaram, Minister of State: 09th July, 1986. Draft proposals (30.8.85 to 19.12.86). Colombo: Government Press, 870000. 17 p.; 33-49.

The proposals contain: a preamble dated 4 May 1986; a note on Provincial Councils dated 4 May 1986; a note on law and order (as contained in the statement of President Jayewardene to the Political Parties Conference on 25 June 1986), and a note on land settlements dated 4 May 1986, with an annexure on the Mahaweli Project.

527

Political Parties Conference Secretariat.
Proposals that emerged on December 19, 1986. Draft proposals (30.8.85 to 19.12.86). Colombo: Government Press, 870000. p. 131.

President J.R. Jayewardene and two Indian ministers discussed further ideas in continuation of discussions held in the past. Proposals that emerged related to the constitution of a new Eastern province, comprising the present Eastern province minus the Amparai District. "The Sri Lankan government will be willing to consider a proposal for a second stage of constitutional development providing for the Northern province and the new Eastern province coming together, subject to modalities being agreed upon for ascertaining the wishes of the people comprised in the Northern province and the Eastern province separately." The five Muslim Members of Parliament may be invited to discuss with the Tamil side in India.

528

Political Parties Conference Secretariat.
Working paper on Bangalore discussions. Draft proposals (30.8.85 to 19.12.86). Colombo: Government Press, 870000. 20 p; 111-130.

The Working paper is dated 18 November 1986. It contains improvements and modifications to the proposals by the government of Sri Lanka of September 1986, based upon discussions between President Jayewardene and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and at the ministerial level in Bangalore. The Working paper deals with provincial Governors, the constitution of a Demarcation Committee for the Eastern province, the establishment of an inter-Provincial Ministerial Council, and various other matters. With appendices: formulations suggested by the Sri Lankan side; observations on the working paper on Bangalore discussions; schedule of offences to be investigated by the National Police Division.

- 1 **All Party Conference, Colombo:**
January 10 to December 30, 1984.
- 1.1 **Political Parties:**
- All Ceylon Tamil Congress (ACTC)
Ceylon Workers Congress (CWC)
Communist Party of Sri Lanka (CP)
Democratic Workers Congress (DWC)
Lanka Sama Samaja Party (SSP)
Mahajana Eksath Paramuna (MEP)
Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP)
Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF)
United National Party (UNP)
- SLFP and the MEP withdrew early in the proceedings.
- 1.2 **Other organizations:**
- All Ceylon Muslim League
Christian Organizations
Council of Muslims in Sri Lanka
Hindu Organizations
Sinhala Associations
Sri Lanka Buddhist Congress
Supreme Council of the Maha Sangha
- 1.3 **Delegation of Government ministers**
- 2 **Thimpu I, Bhutan:**
July 8, 1985 to July 13, 1985.
- 2.1 **Tamil participants:**
- Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF):
M. Sivasithamparam
A. Amirthalingham
- People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam (PLOT):
Sitharthan
Vasudeva
- Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO):
Mohan
Charles
N. Satyendra
- Eelam Revolutionary Organization of Students (EROS):
E. Ratnasabapathy
Shankar
- Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF):
Ketheswaran
A. Varatharaja Perumal
- Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE):
Sivakumar
A. Thilakar
- 2.2 **Sri Lanka Government**
- H.W. Jayewardene*, Attorney at Law
G.V.P. Samarasinghe, Secretary to the Cabinet
H.L. de Silva, President's Council
L.C. Seneweratne, President's Council
Nalin Abeysekera, Legal Draftsman
E.F. Dias Abeysinghe, Former Secretary of the All Party Conference
C. Mahendran, Director General of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Ministry
Jayanathrajapakse, Director of Asia Desk, Foreign Ministry
Dr. Satis Jayasinghe, Medical Consultant
A.T. Jayekaya, Deputy High Commissioner, Madras
Tilakaratne, High Commissioner, India
Mark Fernando

3 **Thimpu II, Bhutan:**
August 12 to August 17, 1985.

3.1 **Tamil participants:**

TULF:
M. Sivasithamparam
A. Amirthalingham

PLOT:
Sitharthan
Vasudeva

TELO:
N. Satyendra
A. Charles

EROS:
E. Ratnasabapathy
Shanker

EPRLF:
K. Loganathan
A. Varatharaja

LTTE:
Anton
A. Thilakar

3.2 **Sri Lanka Government**
representatives

4 **Political Parties Conference:**
First round started on June 25,
1986,
second round started on July
15, 1986.

All Ceylon Tamil Congress (ACTC)
Ceylon Workers Congress (CWC)
Communist Party of Sri Lanka (CP)
Democratic Workers Congress (DWC)
Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LLSP)
Nava Sama Samaja Party (NSSP)
Sri Lanka Mahajana Party (SLMP)
United National Party (UNP)

July 1983:

July bloodshed.

July 7, 1983:

The Indian foreign minister Bhandari went on an official visit to Sri Lanka.

August 1983:

President Jayewardene's brother, H.W. Jayewardene, visited India.

President Jayewardene indicated that he would take steps to fully implement the District Development Councils Act from 1980, and that he would also consider other measures.

December 1983:

Elaboration of proposals by J.R. Jayewardene and the Indian envoy Parthasarthi, presented as Annexure C.

January 1984:

The All Party Conference starts.

December 1984:

The concrete proposals presented at the closure of the All Party Conference were a scheme consisting of district development councils and a council of state. There is general agreement that these proposals did not represent effective devolution of powers.

1985:

Deteriorating relationship between India and Sri Lanka. Indian efforts at resumption of negotiations were rejected by the Sri Lankan government.

April 1985:

Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF) formed, consisting of LTTE, EROS, EPRLF and TELO. (PLOT which is the fifth of the major Tamil organizations, did not take part in the establishment of this new organization.)

May 1985:

Anuradhapura massacres. This was the first attack on Sinhalese civilians outside the northern and eastern provinces.

June 1985:

Summit Gandhi - J.R. Jayewardene. Discussions of the possibilities for a ceasefire and new negotiations.

July 12, 1985:

Thimpu I. First round of formal negotiations between the government of Sri Lanka and Tamil representatives. The Tamil militant groups recognized as negotiating partners.

The Tamil representatives presented four principles as a basis for negotiations:

1. Recognition of the Tamils as a nation.
2. Recognition of a Tamil homeland.
3. Recognition of the right to self-determination.
4. Citizenship to all Tamils in Sri Lanka of Indian origin.

August 1985:

Thimpu II. Government rejects Tamil demands and presents a scheme of devolution which essentially resembles district development councils.

Thimpu II breaks down after alleged government attacks on Tamil civilians in the Vavuniya and Trincomalee districts.

August 28, 1985:

Draft for a solution worked out by the Sri Lankan and Indian government (the Delhi accord). This draft provided for the establishment of provincial councils with restricted legislative and executive power.

September 1985:

Second ceasefire.

Discussions about the composition of the ceasefire monitoring committee.

December 1985:

TULF presents a scheme for devolution of powers as an answer to the Delhi accord. The scheme advocates the establishment of a Tamil linguistic state in the northern and eastern provinces.

January 1986:

Mrs. Bandaranaike's civic rights were restored.

January 1986:

The Tamil militants withdraw from the ceasefire after violations on both sides.

January 30, 1986:

The government answers the TULF proposals from late 1985; the proposals are rejected on the basis that they represent the first steps towards a federal state.

June 25, 1986:

The President convenes a Political Parties Conference. The government presents proposals for a system of government with provincial council as the major unit of devolution.

July 15, 1986:

Political Parties Conference, second round.

December 19, 1986:

President J.R. Jayewardene and the two Indian Ministers discussed further ideas in continuation of the discussions held in the past. At the end of the discussions the following proposals emerged:

- i The present territory comprising the Eastern province minus the Ampara Electoral District may constitute the new Eastern province.
- ii A Provincial Council will be established for the new Eastern province.

iii The institutional linkages between the Northern province and the Eastern province discussed earlier will be further refined in order to make it more acceptable to the parties concerned.

iv The Sri Lanka Government will be willing to consider a proposal for a second stage of constitutional development providing for the Northern province and the new Eastern province coming together subject to modalities being agreed upon for ascertaining the wishes of the people comprised in the Northern province and the Eastern province separately.

v The Sri Lanka Government is willing to consider the creation of an office of Vice President to be appointed by the President for a specified term.

vi The five Muslim MPP of the Eastern province may be invited to visit India and to discuss matters of mutual concern with the Tamil side under the auspices of the Government of India.

(The text of December 19, 1986 is a reprint of page 131 of the Government Press publication "*Draft Proposals (30.8.85 to 19.12.86)*".)

AN OVERVIEW OF THE MAJOR PROPOSALS PRESENTED FOR A SOLUTION TO THE ETHNIC CONFLICT: 1983 - 1986

All Party Conference:

January 10, 1984 to December 30, 1984

1984:

Annexure C.
2 pages.

February 21, 1984:

Ceylon Workers Congress.
All Party Conference Working Paper.
26 pages.

July 23, 1984:

Jayewardene, J.R.
Memorandum presented to the All Party Conference.
4 pages.

August 13, 1984:

Report of the working group of officials and experts to Committee A of the All Party Conference.
40 pages.

August 16, 1984:

Report of the working group of officials and experts to Committee B of the All Party Conference.
16 pages.

September 21, 1984:

Jayewardene, J.R.
Report to the plenary session of the All Party Conference.
12 pages.

September 30, 1984:

Amirthalingam, A.
Statement at the plenary session of the All Party Conference.
10 pages.

December 1984:

Government of Sri Lanka.
Draft district and provincial councils bill.
34 pages.

December 14, 1984:

All Party Conference Secretariat.
Statement of his excellency the President.
14 pages.

Thimpu:

July 8, 1985 to August 17, 1985

July 13, 1985:

Joint statement made by the Tamil delegation on the concluding day of phase I of the Thimpu talks.
7 pages.

August 12, 1985:

Jayewardene, H.W.
The government's position on the TULF proposals.
5 pages.

August 17, 1985:

Joint response of the Tamil delegation on the concluding day of phase II of the Thimpu talks.
3 pages.

Post Thimpu

August 28, 1985:

Sri Lanka government's proposals on devolution of powers.
21 pages.

December 1, 1985:

Tamil United Liberation Front.
A framework for devolution of powers.
28 pages.

January 30, 1986:

Government of Sri Lanka.
Observations on the proposals presented by the TULF.
65 pages.

Political Parties' Conference:

Started in June 1986

June 25, 1986:

Jayewardene, J.R.

Statement to the Political Parties' Conference.

30 pages.

July 18, 1986:

Reports of the five committees appointed by the Political Parties' Conference.

December 19, 1986:

Government of Sri Lanka.

Proposals that emerged on December 19, 1986.

Devolution of powers

1957:

Bandaranaike - Chelvanavakam Pact

1. Northern province one regional area, eastern province two or more regional areas.
2. Possibilities for amalgamation of the provinces.
3. Election: direct elections.
4. Powers: delegation of powers from Parliament, specified in parliamentary act, including agriculture, cooperatives, lands and land development, colonization, education, health, industries and fisheries, housing and social services, electricity, water schemes and roads.

1965:

Senanayake - Chelvanavakam Pact

1. Establishment of District Development Councils.
2. Powers: vested with powers over subjects to be agreed upon by the two leaders.
3. Government should have power under the law to give directions to such councils in the national interest.

1968:

District Council Bill

Amalgamation of already existing units, but no new powers (the bill was withdrawn after opposition).

1980:

District Development Councils Act no.35

Development Councils for each administrative district shall be constituted with effect from July 1, 1981.

Minority rights

1948:

Soulbury Constitution

"No...law...shall make persons of any community or religion liable to disabilities or restrictions to which persons of other communities or religions are not made liable; or...confer on persons or on any community or religion any privilege or

advantage which is not conferred on persons of other communities or religions." (section 29)

The Constitution also provided for appeal to the British House of Lords.

1972:

First Republican Constitution

Section 29 removed and not replaced by any similar paragraph.

The courts subordinate to the legislative assembly.

1978:

Second Republican Constitution

Chapter 3 contains a summary of fundamental rights, more extensive rights than under the 1972 Constitution, but weakened by Article 15 which restricts the fundamental rights for reasons of national security, race or religious harmony, national economy, public law and order, health or moral.

Language

1944:

A resolution was moved by J.R. Jayewardene in the State Council that Sinhalese and Tamil should be the official languages of Sri Lanka.

1945:

S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike took steps in the direction of making Tamil and Sinhalese official languages.

1946:

The State Council proposed two official languages in Sri Lanka.

1948:

Soulbury Constitution

English as official language.

1956:

Official Language Act no. 33 of 1956

Sinhala was established as the only official language. Official administration to be in Sinhala, meant that recruitment and promotions were made dependent on fluency in Sinhala.

1957:

Bandaranaike suggested "reasonable" use of Tamil, which meant right for Tamils to be educated in Tamil, right to exams for public service in Tamil, right to correspond with government in Tamil.

Bandaranaike - Chelvanayakam Pact

1. Recognition of Tamil as the language of a national minority of Ceylon.
2. Without infringing on the position of the Official Language Act, the language of administration in the northern and eastern provinces should be Tamil.
3. Any necessary provision shall be made for the non-Tamil speaking minorities in the northern and eastern provinces.

1958:

Tamil Language (Special Provision) Act no. 28

This act provided for the use of Tamil in education, public examinations and official correspondence. The act was not implemented, which means that regulations were not passed.

1961:

Official Language Act

Under this act regulations were passed to make Sinhalese the official language. Proficiency in Sinhala was demanded for public servants employed after 1956.

Language of the Courts Act no. 3

This act replaced English by Sinhala in courts of law.

1965:

Senanayake - Chelvanayakam Pact

1. Action to be taken to make provision for the Tamil language to be the language of administration and of record in the northern and eastern provinces.
2. The policy of the Party is that a Tamil-speaking person should be entitled to transact business in Tamil throughout the island.
3. The policy of the Party is to amend the Language of the Courts Act to provide for legal proceedings in the northern and eastern provinces to be conducted and recorded in Tamil.

1966:

Tamil Language (special provisions) Regulations

The act provided for Tamil language to be used:

1. In the northern and eastern provinces for the transaction of all government and public business and the maintenance of public records.
2. For correspondence between Tamilspeaking people and officials.
3. For official publications.

(The regulations were not implemented.)

1968:

Regulations under the Tamil Language Act of 1958

The regulations came as a follow up of Senanayake - Chelvanayakam Pact from 1965, the regulations were implemented under strong protests from the opposition parties.

1972: •

First Republican Constitution

Sinhala as official language was given constitutional status. Regulations under the Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Act of 1958 as subordinate legislation, were introduced.

1973:

Language of the Courts (Special Provisions) Law

Use of Tamil in proceedings in courts and tribunals exercising jurisdiction in the northern and eastern province.

1978:

The Second Republican Constitution

The national languages of Sri Lanka should be Sinhala and Tamil. The official language, Sinhala, should be in the language of administration throughout Sri Lanka, but the Tamil language should also be the language of administration for the maintenance of public records and the transaction of all business by public institutions in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. The Constitution provided for Tamils to be educated, to correspond with Government institutions and to sit for public examinations in their own language.

Tamil could be used in Courts of original jurisdiction in the North and East.

Education - university admission

Up to 1970:

Admission on the basis of open competition (merit).

1971:

Standardization: Different qualifications for Sinhalese and Tamil students. Lower qualifying marks required for Sinhalese students than for Tamil students.

1974:

Standardization and district quotas, district quotas meant giving weightage to backward areas.

1978:

Merit: 30%

District quotas: 55%

Less developed areas: 15%

Religion and the State

1948:

Soulbury Constitution:

Secular state.

1972:

First Republican Constitution:

Buddhism given "foremost place".

1978:

Second Republican Constitution:

Buddhism maintained "foremost place".

Political representation

1833:

From the time the British unified Sri Lanka, representation was on a communal basis.

1931:

Donoughmore Constitution

Introduced territorial representation. The system resulted in a Sinhalese - Tamil ratio in the State Council of 5:1, as compared to the 2:1 ratio which prevailed in the 1920's.

1940's:

The Tamil leader G.G. Ponnambalam demanded a 50:50 ratio in representative bodies.

1948:

Soulbury Constitution

1. Maintained territorial representation, but sought to give surplus representation to the minorities by giving special weightage to sparsely populated and backward rural areas (would favour the Ceylon Tamils and the Muslims). Provisions were also made for multi-member electoral districts to secure representation of ethnic, religious and social groups living in the Sinhalese areas.
2. Elections in one-man constituencies, one round. This electoral system was adjusted several times in the following decades, but the basic principles were maintained.

1978:

The Second Republican Constitution

1. The Constitution introduced local elections and elections to the legislature on the basis of proportional representation to end the trend towards landslide majorities for parties that obtain a plurality of votes.
2. Referendum was provided for as a method by which the president can ascertain the views of the public on questions of major importance.

Colonization and land settlement

1957:

Bandaranaike - Chelvanayakam Pact

"...the powers of the regional councils shall include the powers to select allottees to whom lands within the area of authority shall be alienated and also power to select personnel to be employed for work on such schemes."

1965:

Senanayake - Chelvanayakam Pact

Land in the northern and eastern provinces should in the first instance be granted to landless persons in the district, secondly to Tamil-speaking persons resident in the northern and eastern provinces, thirdly, to other citizens of Ceylon, preference being given to Tamil residents in the rest of the island.

COMPARISON OF THE PROPOSALS GIVEN BY THE GOVERNMENT OF SRI LANKA ON JUNE 25, 1986 AND BY THE TAMIL UNITED LIBERATION FRONT (TULF) ON DECEMBER 1, 1986

This comparison intends to highlight the major areas of dispute in the conflict, namely law and order, land settlement and the question of linkage between the

northern and eastern provinces. (Whenever "state" is referred to in the TULF proposal, this means the Tamil linguistic state.)

THE GOVERNMENT PROPOSAL

THE TULF PROPOSAL

Internal law and order

POLICE

Structure:

The Director Inspector General of Police (DIG) is to be appointed with concurrence of the Chief Minister of the Province. The President has the final word in this procedure. The DIG is to be responsible to and under control of the Chief Minister in respect of the maintenance of public order. A Provincial Division shall consist of the DIG, Superintendents of Police (SP) and Assistant Superintendents of Police (ASP), all seconded from the National Division, and Provincial ASPs, Chief Inspector, Inspectors, Sergeants and Constables recruited in the Province. The cadres of the Provincial Division shall be fixed on ascertained principles. These principles shall be applied to all Provincial Divisions without distinctions.

The DIG is to be posted by the Inspector General of the Police (IGP) in consultation with the Chief Minister. The DIG shall be responsible to and under control of the Chief Minister. The SPs shall be elected by the IGP in consultation with the Chief Minister from among the ASPs of the state. The SPs are entitled to be promoted as DIGs. The number of ASPs may be decided from time to time by the state unit. The ASPs shall be recruited locally.

Control:

The police force shall function under the overall direction and control of the IGP. (But at the same time, the Dig is responsible to and under the control of the Chief Minister in respect of the maintenance of public order, as described under structure.)

The police force shall be subject to the control of the Tamil linguistic state. Superintendence shall vest in this state. No person, officer or court shall be empowered to supercede or control any police function. The state may pass laws for reasons connected with security. These laws shall supercede any other law on the subject.

Recruitment, transfer and disciplinary control:

All members of the police force shall be seconded from the National Division. Recruitment and promotion standards shall be set by a national Police Commission (members: IGP, nominee of the President, nominee of the Chief Minister). The Provisional Police Commission shall be responsible for transfers, promotions, disciplinary control over officers in the Provincial Division. There shall be a right of appeal to the National Police Commission.

The police force shall be locally recruited. Recruitment, transfer and disciplinary control is to be under state control.

Intervention by the central state:

The President is given powers to intervene if the security of, or the public order in a province is threatened.

The central police force and armed forces may be sent to the state on the request of the Chief Minister or in the concurrence of the Chief Minister.

Judicial power:

Judicial powers shall be a function of the central state.

There shall be a High Court in the Tamil linguistic state. The members shall be appointed by the President in consultation with the Chief Justice and Chief Minister.

Land settlementControl:

Land (that is to say rights in or over land), land tenure, transfer and alienation of land and land improvement will devolve upon Provincial Councils. However, such devolution will be subject to the following exceptions:

Lands which are vested in the state will be utilised without any restrictions by the government of Sri Lanka.

Inter provincial irrigation and land development projects will be the responsibility of the government.

The state should be vested with powers over land, within its area of authority. All powers pertaining to land in all aspects, including land settlement under all irrigation schemes, and other forms of land settlement, falling within the territorial limits of the states, and all other forms of land use, including the said territorial limits will be a devolved subject.

The Central Minister will have no powers in respect of a devolved subject within the territorial limits of the state.

Land alienation:

Here the government differs between three types of land in accordance with the division above:

- a) Land alienation under provincial schemes will be under the Provincial Council.
- b) Land alienation for state lands will be made by the President on the advice of the provincial councils.
- c) The major area of dispute is what the government calls inter provincial irrigation and land development schemes.

According to the government proposal, principles and criteria regarding the selection of allottees for such lands will also be determined by the government of Sri Lanka. The actual application of these principles, selection of allottees and other incidental matters, will be within the powers of Provincial Councils.

The government in its proposals seemed to accept that the Tamil entitlement to land on the basis of national ethnic ratios could be made available in the eastern province: the Trincomalee and Batticaloa districts.

In view of the utter impossibility for Tamils to hold land in any land settlement scheme outside the northern and eastern provinces, the Tamils had enunciated the principle that in respect of land alienation under irrigation schemes, such as the mahaweli Scheme, the cumulative percentage of the Tamil and Muslim entitlement to the totality of the land that would benefit under such a scheme throughout the country should be allotted to them in areas within the northern and eastern provinces.

Linkage between the northern and eastern provinces

"The principal agencies, apart from the Central Government, for the exercise of the powers of Government within the framework of the Constitution as amended will be: the Provincial Council in each province."

The government stated its willingness to consider "suitable institutional arrangements to provide for the Provincial Councils in the island and act in coordination on matters of mutual interest and concern."

"The northern and eastern provinces, which are predominantly Tamil-speaking shall constitute one Tamil linguistic state."

The central state and its relationship with the devolved unitThe executive power in the devolved unit and the relationship to the central state:

Executive power, including all matters in respect of which provincial councils have power to enact legislation) shall be delegated to the Governor, and shall be exercised by him either directly, or through officers subordinate to him. The Governor of a province shall be appointed by the President.

The executive power of the state shall vest in the Chief Minister and Council of Ministers. The Governor shall appoint the leader of the largest party in the Assembly as Chief Minister. The Chief Minister shall choose the members of the Council of Ministers.

Elections:

Elections will be held in respect of each province on the proportional representation system on the basis of district administration for the constitution of a provincial council.

Did not mention elections.

Establishment:

A bill for the amendment of the Constitution to enable the creation of Provincial Councils and devolution of powers on them shall be enacted by Parliament by a two-third majority. Thereafter, Parliament will pass an act, directly conferring on the Provincial Councils the requisite legislative powers. Such powers shall not be revoked or altered in any manner except by an act of Parliament passed by a two-third majority after consultation with the Provincial Council or Councils concerned.

The proposal did not go into this aspect.

Dissolution:

Where the President is satisfied that the affairs of any Provincial Council are not being carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution or of any other law, he may take such measures or pass such orders as he may deem fit to ensure that they are so carried on, including an order for the dissolution of the Council or for taking such consequential measures as he may deem necessary.

No bill or resolution or part thereof affecting any nationality shall be passed, unless a majority of Members of Parliament belonging to that nationality agree to such a bill or resolution or part thereof.

- "A GROUP OF TAMILS" - 440
- ABEYSEKERA, CHARLES - 389, 461
- ABEYSINGHE, LALITH - 462
- ABRAHAM, A.S. - 170, 254, 330
- AGONISTES - 198, 228, 422
- AKBAR, M.J. - 199
- ALI, SALAMAT - 20, 24, 164,
185, 449, 506
- ALL CEYLON MOORS ASSOCIATION -
92
- ALL PARTY CONFERENCE
SECRETARIAT - 53, 91, 124,
134, 135
- AMALI - 300
- AMARATUNGA, CHANAKA - 375
- AMIRTHALINGAM, A. - 67, 126,
148
- ARNEY, GEORGE - 115
- ATHULATHMUDALI, LALITH - 178
- AVEBURY, LORD - 510
- BALASINGHAM, A.S. - 169
- BALASURIYA, TISSA - 35, 192,
390, 410, 453
- BANDARANAIKE, S.W.R.D. - 423,
424
- BANDARANAIKE, SIRIMAVO R.D. -
149, 425, 426
- BEHR, EDWARD - 157
- BOBB, DILIP - 162, 342, 349,
383, 391
- BODDENS, HOSANG, J.F - 85
- BUGGE, HANS CHR. - 511
- CASPERSZ, PAUL - 462
- CENTRE FOR SOCIETY AND RELIGION -
8, 284, 326, 350
- CEYLON FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
(...ET AL) - 158
- CEYLON WORKERS' CONGRESS - 82,
317, 372
- CHAKRAVARTI, NIKIL - 280
- CHOPRA, PRAN - 384, 487
- CHRISTIAN WORKERS FELLOWSHIP -
346, 398
- CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR NATIONAL
HARMONY - 18, 50, 292, 310, 408,
459, 463
- CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT - 215
- COMMITTEE "B" - 116
- COMMITTEE ON LAW AND ORDER - 434
- COMMITTEE ON GENERAL DEVOLUTION -
432
- COMMITTEE ON PROVINCIAL COUNCILS
- 435
- COMMITTEE FOR RATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT - 75, 281, 324, 500
- COMMITTEE ON LAND AND LAND
SETTLEMENT - 433
- COMMUNIST PARTY OF SRI LANKA - 277
- COMMUNIST PARTY OF SRI LANKA,
12TH CONGRESS OF THE - 80
- COOMARASWAMY, RADHIKA - 54, 436
- COUNCIL FOR LIBERAL DEMOCRACY -
55, 289
- COUNCIL FOR LIBERAL DEMOCRACY,
COMMITTEE OF THE - 37
- COUNCIL OF MUSLIMS - 119

- COUNCIL OF HINDU ORGANISATIONS
- 413
- CRITIC - 153
- CYPRUS DELEGATION TO UN
COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS - 90
- DAYASIRI, GOMIN - 121
- DE SILVA, MANIK - 69, 139,
164, 210, 242, 344, 472, 485
- DE SILVA, MERVYN - 32, 43, 48,
66, 77, 79, 97, 103, 105, 109,
112, 117, 123, 127, 151, 155,
163, 189, 200, 207, 208, 219,
229, 248, 266, 272, 299, 309,
321, 343, 348, 363, 429, 466,
484, 488, 495, 503
- DE SILVA, BERNADEEN - 390
- DE SILVA, COLVIN R. - 63, 145
- DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION - 101
- DHANAPALA, JAYANTHA - 118
- DHARMALINGAM, V. - 223
- DHILLON, D.S. - 338
- DISABLED PEOPLES'
INTERNATIONAL - 104
- DISSANAYAKE, NIMAL - 141
- DIXIT, J.N. - 470
- EELAM NATIONAL LIBERATION
FRONT - 188, 307, 480, 501
- EELAM PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY
LIBERATION FRONT - 177
- EELAM REVOLUTIONARY
ORGANISATION - 177
- ELLIOTT, JOHN - 298, 361
- ENNALS, MARTIN - 409
- EPITAWELA, PREMAKUMARA - 19
- FERNANDO, G.A. - 165
- FERNANDO, CELESTINE - 56, 306
- GONSALKORALE, INDIRA - 339
- GOONETILLEKE, H.A.I. - 76
- GOVERNMENT OF SRI LANKA - 57,
132, 133, 327, 331, 368, 414
- GUNATILLEKE, GODFREY - 130, 410,
463
- GUNAWARDENA, VASANTHA K. - 464
- GUNewardena, V. (VICTOR) (ED.) -
131
- GUPTA, BHABANI SEN - 362
- GUPTA, SHEKHAR - 272
- HART, JUDITH - 415
- INTERNATIONAL ALERT - 312, 513
- INTERNATIONAL PEACE RESEARCH
INSTITUTE, OSLO - 513
- INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF
FREE TRADE UNIONS - 86
- ISMAIL, QADRI - 231
- JAYAWICKRAMA, NIHAL - 58
- JAYewardene, H.W. - 171, 225, 313
- JAYewardene, J.R. - 40, 87, 110,
125, 161, 328, 386, 387, 437
- JEYARAJ, D.B.S. - 441, 454, 455,
471
- KARUNARATHNE, VICKRAMABAHU - 182,
399, 427
- KEARNEY, ROBERT N. - 160, 255, 332
- KIRTHICHANDRA, GAMINI - 314
- KOSHY, NINAN - 220
- KUMARATUNGA, VIJAYA - 400

- KURUKULASURIYA, LAL - 514
- LANKA GENERAL SERVICES UNION - 226
- LANKA SAMA SAMAJA PARTY - 277, 494
- LIYANAGE, P.B. - 314
- MACDERMOT, NIALL - 88
- MADIHE PANNASIHA MAHA NAYAKA THERA - 1, 59, 60
- MALHOTRA, INDER - 353
- MISSEN, ALAN - 216
- MOVEMENT FOR INTER-RACIAL JUSTICE AND EQUALITY - 154, 461
- MUJIB OF SRI LANKA - 2
- NARAYAN, S. VENKAT - 38, 46, 47, 77
- NAVARATNAM, V. - 6
- NAVARATNE, GAMINI - 152
- PANDIAN, M.S.S. - 240
- PANT, K.C. - 89
- PARTHASARATHY, MALINI - 371
- PAVANASASIVAM, V. - 334
- PEOPLES LIBERATION ORGANIZATION OF TAMIL EELAM - 278
- PERERA, ASITHA - 27
- PERERA, JEHAN - 193, 290, 351, 352, 388
- POLITICAL PARTIES CONFERENCE SECRETARIAT - 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528
- PONNIAH, S. - 301, 516
- PRABHU, CHAWLA - 308
- PRESIDENTIAL SECRETARIAT - 10, 33
- QUEENSLAND ASSOCIATION FOR SRI LANKAN UNITY - 287, 333, 347, 357
- RAJ, BENJAMIN JOSEPH - 334
- RAM, MOHAN - 283
- RAMASWAMY, CHO - 385
- REDDY, G.K. - 26, 41, 168, 232, 256, 259, 262, 269, 270, 271, 286, 482, 490
- RETNANANDAM, J.K. - 175
- RETNANANDAM, J.W. - 176
- ROBELLO, MICHAEL - 318
- SAMARANAYAKE, T. - 483
- SAMARASINGHE, S.W.R. DE A. (...ET AL) - 194
- SANMUGATHASAN, N. - 297, 319, 428, 508
- SARAVANAMUTTU, PAIKIASOTHY - 142
- SATYENDRA, NADESAN - 143
- SEBARATNAM, C.S. - 491
- SELBOURNE, DAVID - 217
- SILVA, K.P. DE - 401
- SINGER, MARSHALL R. - 195
- SINHALA ASSOCIATION OF SRI LANKANS IN THE UK - 419
- SIRIWARDENA, REGGIE - 324, 500
- SIVANAYAGAM, S. - 65
- SIVATHAMBY, KARTHIGESU - 78
- SRI LANKA FELLOWSHIP - 144
- SRI LANKA MAHAJANA PARTY - 277

- SRI LANKA HUMAN RIGHTS
COMMITTEE - 402, 486
- STEVENSON (... ET AL) - 492
- STOKKE, HUGO - 515
- SUBRAMANIAN, T.S. - 186, 234,
235, 236, 268, 403, 404, 405,
406, 446, 467, 468, 502, 509,
518
- SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE MAHA
SANGHA - 61, 62
- TAMIL EELAM LIBERATION
ORGANISATION - 177, 257
- TAMIL UNITED LIBERATION FRONT
- 11, 94, 263, 304, 305
- TAMPOE, BALA - 447, 504
- THAMBIAH, R.W.C. - 224, 380
- THE SRI LANKA ASSOCIATION OF
BRITAIN - 407
- TIRUCHELVAM, NEELAN - 3
- TRINIKAYA MAHA SANGHA SABHA -
431
- U.K. STUDY GROUP - 4
- UNITED NATIONAL PARTY - 81
- UNITED NATIONAL PARTY,
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE -
102
- VENKATRAMANI, S.H. - 122, 155,
173, 189, 207, 211, 266, 272,
293, 308, 391, 465, 473
- VERITAS - 196
- VISHVA HINDU PARISHAD - 84
- WEERAKOON, GAMINI - 42
- WEERANANTRY, C.G. - 95
- WIJESINHA, RAJIVA - 315
- WINCHESTER, SIMON - 369
- WOMEN FOR PEACE - 282
- WORKERS' PARTY OF CEYLON - 150
- WORKING GROUP OF OFFICIALS &
EXPERTS - 114

ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION -
438

ALL PARTY CONFERENCE - 28, 39,
49, 51, 52, 53, 56, 57, 58,
61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68,
69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 76, 77,
79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 87,
88, 91, 92, 93, 94, 97, 98,
100, 102, 104, 110, 111, 113,
114, 116, 121, 122, 123, 124,
125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130,
131, 132, 134, 135, 139, 145,
146, 147, 148, 149, 151, 154,
155, 160, 161, 331

ARMAMENT - 342

ARMED FORCES - 123, 126

ARMED VIOLENCE - 101, 120,
153, 154, 159, 163, 169, 179,
275, 308, 312, 318, 333, 337,
354, 359, 361, 374, 383, 385,
404, 446, 502, 518

ARREST - 167, 503

BUDDHIST SANGHA - 1, 64, 93,
146, 151, 180, 212, 227, 460

CEASEFIRE - 166, 177, 179,
183, 188, 189, 190, 201, 207,
216, 219, 222, 226, 243, 250,
253, 254, 259, 260, 269, 271,
273, 274, 275, 277, 281, 283,
284, 285, 287, 288, 292, 293,
294, 296, 299, 302, 318, 319,
330, 379, 415, 478, 487, 515

CHRISTIANS - 17, 35, 83, 220

CITIZENSHIP - 86, 317, 330,
346, 350

CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS - 37

CIVIL RIGHTS - 323

CLD - 37

COMMISSION OF INQUIRY - 293,
294

COMMONWEALTH - 402

CWC - 32, 82, 237

DEMOCRACY - 145

DETENTION - 167

DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS - 305, 444

DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION - 376,
409, 415, 511, 513

DEVOLUTION OF POWERS - 2, 3, 4,
10, 11, 17, 33, 38, 41, 43, 45,
46, 50, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 60,
61, 62, 63, 67, 75, 78, 81, 82,
83, 84, 91, 92, 93, 96, 110, 113,
114, 117, 119, 124, 125, 126,
127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132,
133, 134, 135, 137, 140, 141,
145, 146, 148, 149, 150, 182,
185, 191, 196, 197, 199, 203,
206, 209, 215, 218, 232, 236,
237, 241, 244, 247, 258, 262,
263, 275, 287, 290, 292, 295,
300, 301, 302, 303, 305, 314,
316, 320, 324, 325, 326, 327,
331, 340, 341, 353, 358, 364,
368, 372, 373, 384, 386, 387,
389, 390, 396, 399, 400, 406,
407, 411, 414, 422, 423, 424,
426, 427, 428, 429, 431, 432,
433, 435, 436, 444, 451, 455,
457, 458, 459, 461, 462, 468,
472, 477, 483, 484, 487, 488,
491, 494, 495, 498, 501, 509,
510, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520,
521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526,
527, 528

DISCRIMINATION - 19, 175

DISTRICT COUNCILS - 57, 124, 125,
126, 130, 132, 325

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT -
59

ECONOMIC GROWTH - 221

ECONOMIC POLICY - 221

EDUCATION - 116, 326, 438, 524

- ELECTIONS - 107, 255, 481
- ELECTORAL RIGHTS - 289
- EMPLOYMENT - 116, 438
- ENLF - 188, 247, 307, 501
- EPRLF - 403
- EROS - 405, 479
- ETHNIC CONFLICT - 8, 18, 26,
27, 35, 50, 60, 66, 80, 87,
90, 95, 108, 142, 145, 149,
160, 174, 192, 193, 194, 195,
255, 306, 312, 315, 323, 334,
339, 347, 351, 357, 380, 388,
408, 475, 493, 510, 513
- ETHNICITY - ETHNIC GROUPS - 2,
19, 194, 195, 306
- EXPATRIATES - 95, 144, 314,
357, 419
- FACT-FINDING MISSIONS - 167,
216, 220
- FOREIGN AID - 103, 167, 376,
402, 409
- FOREIGN POLICY - 105, 275
- GOVERNMENT POLICY - 5, 7, 14,
18, 20, 47, 53, 57, 58, 81,
100, 110, 112, 113, 117, 131,
132, 133, 134, 139, 160, 161,
164, 178, 180, 190, 193, 203,
204, 209, 213, 214, 217, 225,
228, 238, 254, 256, 266, 272,
279, 298, 302, 308, 309, 319,
320, 322, 326, 327, 328, 329,
331, 349, 356, 358, 364, 368,
369, 373, 375, 388, 395, 396,
411, 414, 426, 428, 430, 450,
465, 467, 471, 496, 497, 507,
514
- GROUP RIGHTS - 8, 71, 83, 108,
121, 144, 196, 312
- HINDUS - 84
- HISTORY - 60, 320
- HISTORY SINCE 1948 - 143, 424
- ICRC - 285
- INFORMATION, RIGHT TO - 198
- INQUIRY - 27, 104, 171
- INSURGENCE - 286
- INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS -
347, 492
- INTERNATIONAL LAW - 118
- INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS - 9, 15,
25, 29, 32, 41, 42, 43, 48, 66,
99, 106, 109, 115, 139, 155, 156,
162, 164, 165, 181, 184, 189,
198, 245, 249, 280, 321, 330,
342, 343, 344, 377, 512
- INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION - 300,
380, 402, 409, 449, 506
- IRRIGATION - 305
- LAND SETTLEMENT - 1, 4, 45, 59,
67, 140, 180, 200, 263, 270, 290,
292, 305, 326, 327, 386, 387,
433, 520, 524, 526
- LANGUAGE - 27, 67, 116, 144, 305,
316, 320, 340, 394, 438, 516
- LAW AND ORDER - 263, 292, 305,
313, 326, 386, 387, 434, 524, 526
- LEGISLATION - 55, 57, 88, 95,
117, 132, 134, 167, 314
- LSSP - 63, 494
- LTTE - 169, 404, 448, 505
- MASS KILLINGS - 239, 242, 243
- MEDIA - 176

- MEDIATION - 9, 10, 12, 14, 15,
19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 31,
33, 38, 40, 43, 47, 141, 156,
168, 170, 175, 185, 190, 207,
211, 232, 240, 244, 245, 246,
256, 260, 262, 264, 266, 275,
283, 285, 286, 291, 297, 298,
304, 307, 309, 311, 321, 330,
336, 342, 345, 348, 355, 356,
359, 360, 362, 363, 364, 370,
371, 377, 379, 383, 391, 455,
470, 471, 474, 485, 490, 518
- MILITANT GROUPS - 7, 19, 23,
52, 65, 78, 120, 141, 152,
159, 161, 163, 173, 177, 180,
185, 189, 190, 209, 211, 214,
221, 225, 234, 235, 239, 240,
244, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254,
255, 259, 261, 266, 268, 269,
271, 272, 278, 280, 283, 286,
295, 297, 298, 302, 308, 309,
316, 319, 361, 371, 374, 378,
381, 385, 388, 391, 392, 393,
396, 397, 429, 439, 446, 450,
467, 468, 469, 471, 473, 478,
479, 480, 484, 489, 490, 498,
502, 503, 507, 508, 518
- MILITARIZATION - 4, 123, 329,
349
- MILITARY AID - 138, 365, 369
- MINORITY RIGHTS - 6, 19, 32,
60, 96, 141, 143, 179, 194,
195, 197, 223, 224, 290, 305,
385, 389, 516
- MUSLIMS - 45, 92, 96, 231,
234, 341
- NATIONAL STATE - 428
- NATIONAL SECURITY - 313
- NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS
- 8, 18, 136, 215, 216, 241,
276, 337, 350, 367
- NSSP - 182, 392, 393, 399
- OBLIGATIONS OF STATES - 171
- PARLIAMENT - 24, 55, 161, 200,
328
- PEACE - 8, 30, 34, 35, 48, 56,
70, 86, 90, 105, 108, 136,
144, 158, 175, 176, 192, 231,
241, 276, 282, 284, 306, 310,
312, 317, 350, 367, 408, 453,
456, 474, 493, 510, 511, 512,
513, 515
- PLANTATION WORKERS - 52, 86,
317, 330, 346
- PLOT - 278, 406
- POLICE - 11, 305, 327, 434, 528
- POLITICAL PARTIES - 5, 28, 72,
73, 79, 112, 186, 208, 289,
315, 331, 441, 476, 488
- POLITICAL PARTICIPATION - 30,
54, 57, 132, 493
- POLITICAL PARTIES CONFERENCE -
277, 372, 381, 386, 387, 390,
395, 396, 410, 412, 413, 414,
416, 417, 418, 419, 425, 430,
432, 433, 434, 435, 437, 438,
439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 451,
463, 469
- POVERTY - 17
- PRESIDENT - 34, 41, 42, 43,
48, 74, 87, 102, 107, 110,
125, 161, 172, 181, 182, 322,
387, 412, 416, 417, 445, 456,
466, 468, 481
- PRESS - 25, 43, 101
- PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS - 95
- PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS -
95, 118, 171, 292, 313
- PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION - 114
- PUBLIC AFFAIRS - 375
- PUBLIC ORDER - 289
- REFERENDUM - 204, 227, 258, 464,
481
- REFUGEES - 29, 89, 156, 170, 171,
338

- REGIONAL COUNCILS - 84, 126, 281
- REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT - 62, 305
- RELIGION - 30, 56, 220
- RESEARCH - 334, 339
- SAARC - 449, 506
- SELF-DETERMINATION - 3, 16, 39,
44, 49, 99, 141, 143, 150, 179,
182, 185, 191, 223, 224, 225,
251, 252, 255, 257, 263, 290,
300, 301, 314, 327, 399, 401,
406, 447, 504, 508
- SEPARATISM - 5, 20, 21, 22, 24,
32, 95, 157, 196, 255, 333
- SINHALA BUDDHISM - 59, 60, 61,
62, 71, 140, 151, 174, 193, 231
- SLFP - 74, 79, 149, 163, 200,
205, 212, 227, 323, 365, 375,
388, 420, 422, 424, 425, 426,
452, 460
- SLMP - 400
- SOLIDARITY - 284
- STATE TERRORISM - 150
- TELO - 257
- TERRORISM - 17, 101, 102, 105,
106, 109, 115, 118, 139, 161,
163, 171, 184, 287, 308, 313,
333, 357, 380, 419, 449, 506
- THIMPU - 180, 187, 188, 190,
191, 202, 203, 204, 205, 207,
208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213,
214, 217, 219, 222, 223, 225,
226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231,
232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 239,
242, 243, 245, 248, 250, 251,
252, 253, 254, 257, 266, 268,
274, 278, 332
- TORTURE - 167
- TRADE UNIONS - 158, 346
- TULF - 2, 5, 7, 11, 13, 16,
20, 25, 32, 34, 40, 41, 42,
43, 44, 46, 47, 49, 64, 65,
67, 78, 94, 112, 115, 117,
126, 148, 186, 208, 214, 223,
225, 228, 236, 251, 252, 253,
259, 261, 263, 286, 295, 302,
304, 305, 316, 325, 326, 327,
335, 340, 349, 396, 397, 416,
421, 429, 442, 445, 465, 467,
468, 473, 484, 518
- UN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
- 85, 86, 88, 89, 90, 171,
337, 338
- UN SUB-COMMISSION - 85, 86,
104, 118
- UNITED NATIONS - 379
- UNP - 81, 102, 163, 466
- VIOLATIONS OF RIGHTS AND
FREEDOMS - 312, 337
- VIOLENCE - 1, 22, 27, 35, 36,
52, 80, 97, 122, 157, 160,
255, 272, 281, 288, 297, 299,
306, 315, 332, 344, 357, 381,
410, 415, 454, 475
- WOMEN 282
- WORLD BANK 409

CANADA - 376

CYPRUS - 90

EUROPE - 347, 492

INDIA - 2, 10, 14, 15, 16, 19,
20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29,
31, 32, 33, 34, 38, 40, 42,
43, 47, 48, 66, 89, 102, 105,
106, 109, 111, 113, 123, 139,
141, 156, 162, 164, 165, 168,
170, 172, 180, 181, 184, 185,
187, 189, 197, 199, 207, 211,
218, 222, 230, 232, 237, 238,
240, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248,
249, 256, 259, 260, 262, 264,
266, 268, 269, 271, 272, 273,
275, 280, 283, 285, 286, 291,
296, 297, 298, 300, 304, 307,
308, 309, 311, 321, 322, 330,
333, 336, 338, 342, 343, 344,
345, 347, 348, 349, 353, 355,
356, 359, 360, 362, 363, 364,
366, 370, 371, 382, 383, 384,
385, 388, 391, 444, 454, 455,
470, 471, 472, 474, 478, 482,
484, 485, 490, 498, 499, 503,
508, 509, 518, 521, 528

ISRAEL - 102

NETHERLANDS - 85

NORWAY - 511

TAMIL NADU - 152, 156, 219,
280, 385, 446, 502

UNITED STATES - 138, 139, 334,
356

YUGOSLAVIA - 90

SRI LANKA HUMAN RIGHTS DATA BASE PROJECT

A PRESENTATION

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The Sri Lanka Human Rights Data Base Project has as its aim to establish a decentralized computer-based documentation system on human rights in Sri Lanka, as part of the global network on human rights information, HURIDOCs (Human Rights Information and Documentation System). A network of collaborators from research institutions, information services and NGO communities will be involved to provide complete, reliable and accessible documentation and also to act as initial recipients for the dissemination of information to a wider network of potential users.

The system provides extensive documentation on laws, decisions, and events concerning civil and political rights. Materials showing the degree of fulfillment of economic and social right will also be included.

Information on alleged human rights violations, such as

- * extra-judicial killings
- * torture
- * military attacks on civilian targets
- * arbitrary arrests and detention
- * discrimination
- * denial of the right to nationality

is well covered, and indexed by categories derived from the International Human Rights Covenants.

Though the frequency of such events is due to the current ethnic conflict, the documentation of human rights incidents is not limited to that setting. Human rights law is seen as applying to all parties to the conflict. In the collection of information, the efforts to resolve the conflict are also emphasized.

INTERNATIONAL CONCERN

The initiative to establish a human rights data base reflects the concern expressed in international fora, such as

- * the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and Sub-Commission for the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities
- * Amnesty International, International Commission of Jurists, International Alert and numerous other NGOs.

THE USERS

The system is an information tool for people and organizations that have an active interest in human rights affairs with special interest in Sri Lanka. These include policy makers, journalists, educators, researchers and the staff of relevant non-governmental organizations.

SERVICES

PUBLICATIONS

The project will publish bibliographies, directories and related research publications. Current and planned titles are given in the "List of publications".

COMPUTER SERVICES

With a computerized data base of approx. 3000 bibliographic records, the project can provide literature searches based on author, on subject index terms, on title, and other bibliographic descriptors. Similar searches can be carried out in the address data base, which lists organizations, institutions, and researchers of relevance.

In addition to print-outs listing relevant literature, the project can in most cases provide copies of the documents themselves.

NEWS SERVICES

The project receives and can offer the following news services:

- Telexes, from International Press Service (IPS).
- News and chronicles of events from Sri Lanka, delivered by computer-mail from Tamil Information Centre (TIC), London.
- Monthly newspaper cuttings from Sri Lanka and India, collected by Christian Conference of Asia - International Affairs. These cover the following newspapers: *Hindu*, *Island*, *Statesman* and *Sun*.
- Weekly newspaper cuttings from Sri Lanka. These cover: *Ceylon Daily News*, *Island*, *Sun* and *Weekend*.
- News bulletins from Sri Lanka's Embassy in Stockholm.
- Articles on Sri Lanka from the periodicals covered regularly by the project: *Asiaweek*, *Christian Worker*, *the Economist*, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, *Forum*, *Frontline*, *the Hindu*, *India Today*, *Lanka Guardian*, *Saturday Review* and *Tamil Times*.

VIDEOS

The project has the following videos:

- Mrs. S. Bandaranaike, president of Sri Lanka Freedom Party - on restoration of her civic rights.
- Siva's people (BBC programme sent 19.06.84).
- Violence in Jaffna, May/June 1981. (Tamil/English version).
- The escape from "paradise". (On refugees).
- Der Weg in die Freiheit. (In German).
- TV documentary about Tamils in Sri Lanka.
- Tortured.
- Banished from paradise: violence in Sri Lanka.
- Channel 4 News (BBC), 20.06.86.



REFERENCE SERVICES

An important and frequently used service is to assist users in finding additional sources and resources, located at other institutions and organizations, libraries and data bases.

SEMINARS, MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES

We can, by agreement, arrange

- information meetings and seminars on Sri Lanka,
- training in the technical aspects of documentation systems and human rights data bases.

Our resources can also be used for conferences or seminars arranged by other groups and organizations.

NOTE:

The Sri Lanka Project is still at an experimental stage. The project has been established with limited financial resources and the voluntary labour of many persons, and has no secure recurrent budget. Due to this constraint we may have to charge for services requiring substantial use of time for the project staff, or involving extensive access to the data base and its archives. But charges will be related to the ability to pay, and we welcome all queries from interested users.

INFORMATION SOURCES

- Sri Lankan newspapers and collected newspaper cuttings.
- Journals and periodicals, collected articles.
- Academic journals and periodicals.
- Theses and other academical papers.
- Documents, reports, newsletters and other publications by international and national, governmental and non-governmental organizations and institutions.
- Telexes, newsletters and computer-mailed news reports.
- Videos.
- Bibliographies and directories.
- Computer print-outs from a number of data bases.

NETWORK

The project cooperates with several other documentation centres:

- CMI; Christian Michelsen Institute, Bergen
- HURIDOCS; Human Rights Information and Documentation System
- IDOC; International Documentation and Communication Center
- International Alert
- OECD; Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
- NORAD; Norwegian Agency for International Development
- SIM; Netherlands Institute for Human Rights
- ZDWF (German documentation centre on refugees)

Additionally we are in contact with a wide network of organizations and individuals working on, or with interest in, Sri Lanka and the ethnic conflict, both in Sri Lanka and internationally.

List of publications

SRI LANKA HUMAN RIGHTS DATA BASE PROJECT

1. **KUMAR RUPESINGHE, BERTH VERSTAPPEN: Ethnic conflict and human rights in Sri Lanka: a select annotated bibliography.**

The bibliography will be basically a compilation of the list of holdings at the International Peace Research Institute. The final version of the bibliography will include approximately 2500 records, classified according to different categories of human rights and with indexes according to author, subject and country.

2. **KUMAR RUPESINGHE, MARIT HAUG: The negotiations process in Sri Lanka 1983 - 1986: a select annotated bibliography.**

Available as a separate annotated bibliography with over 500 entries on the All Parties Conference, the Thimpu negotiations and the Political Parties Conference.

3. **SRI LANKA HUMAN RIGHTS DATA BASE PROJECT: Ethnic conflict, human rights and development in Sri Lanka: a directory of organizations.**

The final version of the directory will cover approximately 2000 entries. The directory attempts to locate specialised human rights and related organizations working on Sri Lanka. It hopes to identify governmental, inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations relevant to Sri Lanka.

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4. **Compendium of researchers on ethnic conflict, human rights and development in Sri Lanka.**

The compendium will list the large and growing number of researchers nationally and internationally on the above theme. The compendium will restrict itself to actual research projects, but it will also list all other efforts such as student dissertations, doctoral theses and consultancy reports.



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Institutt for fredsforskning
International Peace Research Institute, Oslo

Rådhusgt. 4, 0151 Oslo 1, Norway.
Tel. (02) 11 41 05 / 472 11 41 05.
Telegr. adr./Cables: Peacere search, Oslo.
Phonetelex nr: 72400 FOTEX N Attn.: Peacere search
Bankgiro: 8200.01.44904. Postgiro: 2 00 72 50.

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