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Hon. Lalith Atulathmudali
Minister of National Security

"PEACE AND DIGNITY FOR ALL"

Tamil Terrorists have changed their tactics from attacks on Policemen and Army personnel to the murder of Civilians – men, women and even children. They have even murdered Sinhala and Muslim farm families. Children in the arms of their mothers have been shot dead.

Here, the Minister of National Security of the Government of Sri Lanka addresses Parliament on these issues. (*The speech was made on the 29th of November '84*)

The terrorist threat to this country has been going on for about 12 years. The first incidents of a violent nature were around 1972, and the first major event in that terrorist conspiracy was in 1975, when the then SLFP Mayor of Jaffna, Mr. Alfred Durayappah, was brutally murdered while he was on his way to prayer at a Kovil. Since then there have been a number of incidents ; a number of people have lost their lives, a number of people have been deprived of their property, members of the security forces have been attacked and their struggle has been going on now, ever increasing in intensity and efforts, for twelve years.

There are a number of people who give you causes for the terrorist movement. They will analyse it to political ideologies, they will analyse it to social problems, they will analyse it to economic and educational disparities, and these analyses can go on for a very long time. But the essence of it is that whatever the problem is, the terrorist groups are committed to resolving it by violence. There are those who believe that other solutions, variously described as political, could resolve this problem. I do not deny that political issues have to be resolved by political

means. This Government has never said "no" to a political solution and a political negotiation. It is committed to seeking a political solution to the special problems of all the communities, especially the minorities in this country. It has made every effort. But of those who come and plead for a political solution, although I do not doubt their bona fides, they are making one false assumption. The false assumption is that the terrorists want a political solution. The terrorists do not want even a political solution. They do not even want a political discussion. A number of times Members of the Government have called upon the terrorists to give up their arms and to settle this matter peacefully. There were many promises of amnesty, but the terrorists, by their behaviour, do not want that. They sometimes think that our offers of kindness, of amnesties and of political discussions are signs of weakness. They are against those who take part in political discussions. They have openly attacked the All-Party Conference.

In fact, Sometimes I have found well-meaning people who say, "What has the All-Party Conference done ?" or "Why is it so slow ? Why has it gone on for such a long time ?" to them there is one short answer. What is the alternative ? The terrorists have an alternative. Their position is, "Forget about discussions, forget about conferences, go ahead and fight it out". Make no mistake about that. That is their position. There may be others who want to discuss and

others who want to settle but the terrorist groups have been consistent in their view that they must fight it out.

Now, the terrorist activities would have been curbed and would have ended long time ago if not for the fact that they had obtained for themselves bases and areas of operation in which our writ does not lie, because it is outside our country. I do not think anybody doubts the fact that if there were no terrorist bases in Tamil Nadu the terrorists would not be in a position to do anything at all. It is this base that has given them succour, the support and the ability to continue with their hit and run methods. We know a number of cases right from 1974 or 1975. They commit a crime in Sri Lanka, particulary in the Jaffna peninsula, and they run away to Tamil Nadu ! There was a time when the authorities in Madras recognized that fact and performed their international obligations by returning the terrorists like Kuttimani in 1974. Then there was no denial that the terrorists were there. Then there was no denial about bases and camps. They were found there and sent here. But in recent times the position has changed. They say, "No bases, no camps," but we know that they come from there. Indian academics have gone and seen it. The Indian newspapers have seen it and reported it. If there are no training camps in Tamil Nadu, then Tamil Nadu is a unique place, because it is the only place in the world that can turn out trained terrorists

and despatch them abroad without any training ! So, that is the main reason why the terrorists can continue with these activities. Otherwise, there would have been no difficulty in dealing with the problem.

Step by step the terrorists have moved towards more sophisticated methods. They started the hit and run method and for a long time they have continued the hit and run method. But now there are signs that they are beginning to change. Earlier they used to shoot a person and their shooting was not only confined to policemen, not only confined to army people, but anybody whom they considered, according to their definition, "a traitor" they have shot. They have shot politicians, government officials and they have shot people who are personal enemies, as "traitors". I will give you a good example where a man was shot as a so-called anti-social element only a few weeks ago. And what are the facts of that case ? He had been charged for rape many years ago and had been acquitted. About five years after acquittal they destroyed him as an anti-social element and said, "You committed that rape." Now we know the reason. It is because the so-called victim of the rape was a close relation of one of the terrorists. So, even the courts do not count, even the ordinary judicial procedure in Jaffna handled entirely by Tamil-speaking people, by Tamil-speaking juries, by Tamil-speaking judges, and witnesses do not count. A Tamil-speaking jury

acquitted the man, but the terrorists, for personal reasons, executed him ! They are no respecter of persons, no respecter of any system. They are no respecter of any community. In fact, that was what they proved about a week ago, they have killed more Tamil-speaking people than Sinhala-speaking people.

Their hard-core is in the Jaffna Peninsula. All operations outside that are conducted by people sent from the Jaffna Peninsula. They have got more sophisticated. They use walkie-talkies, they use modern communication systems and they also use travelling by sea. If anybody has any doubt about that, you would know the story of what happened in Batticaloa only last week. The terrorists had come from Jaffna to Trincomalee and taken a boat from Trincomalee and arrived in or were about to arrive in Batticaloa and while transporting these things they pretended to be fishermen. I will come to that in detail later on. But it is important. They take cover under normal occupations. In fact, we have the report from the helicopter pilot who identified these people, who saw them. He says, "They were pretending to fish." The only thing was they disobeyed him. When he gave the order, 'stop !' they refused to shut-off their engine and continued to proceed and still pretended to be fishermen. Then when he fired at the engine, immediately they removed their tarpaulin, pulled out their rifles and started firing at the helicopter. The

helicopter pilot then went up and fired back and immediately three terrorists were killed, and thereafter, as you would know, some more were killed in the process of capture and in the process of shooting out. Now, if that incident had not happened and they had been simply arrested, somebody would have come and said, "You are harassing innocent fishermen !". We face this argument sometimes in the drawing rooms of Colombo. The problem of innocent civilians–I am not saying that there is no problem. Sometimes it does happen. In any situation like this it does happen that you cannot fully and finally distinguish between an innocent and a terrorist. And there are grades of terrorists, I can tell you that. Who is a terrorist ? Is it the person who uses the gun ? Or, is he also not a terrorist who accompanies a terrorist with a gun ? Is he also not a terrorist who gives a house to a person who has a gun and who wants to kill ? Is he also not a terrorist who watches the movement of the army and then goes and tells a terrorist, "Do not go that way ; the army is around" ? I will give you a good story of what I did. Recently, we had put the military forces in civilian clothes going in private vehicles, and they could not be distinguished from the ordinary people. But they had a gun with them. Some of the so-called innocent people saw these people, and came to them and said, "Do not go that way because the army is there". Now what are they?

At least they are terrorist collaborators. I am telling you this because there is a lot of misconception about this. I am not saying that everybody living in the Jaffna Peninsula is a terrorist. I am not saying that everybody living there is assisting the terrorists, but I do say that there are a lot of terrorists masquerading as innocent civilians.

Now, we have to deal with that problem. We have to create a situation where there can be no doubt about who is a terrorist and who is not a terrorist. My advice to those—when I have finished my statement you will realise why—who are innocent civilians in Jaffna is that they should seriously confine their activities, only go ahead with their absolute essential work, and of course, if they have their friends and relations outside Jaffna, perhaps, it might be good for them to take a holiday out of Jaffna. That is the kind of situation that we are facing.

The terrorists have been mounting their actions. Their simple device is to increase the number of people trained, train them in Tamil Nadu, buy weapons for them from outside sources, bring them across here, and attack the security forces, first on the hit and run method, and now, since Chavakachcheri, on an open confrontation. I must say, speaking for the security forces, we welcome open confrontation. We think hit and run is cowardly, and if you are going to have more open confrontation, then it is much easier because the innocents can be left aside.

Now, this moment, there is a new situation, and that is why I am making this statement. For 3 to 3 1/2 months the anti-terrorist work went on. Their headquarters were knocked out in a number of places. Some of their boatyards were captured. In certain areas they lost a number of people. They found it difficult to carry out certain activities. Their bombing since about August last year was not successful. Then, last week, they gained success after a long time, one is the bomb that very unfortunately killed Brigadier Ariyapperuma, and the second was the planned attack on the Chavakachcheri Police Station. That was to be followed up by an attack on the Kaluwanchikudi Police Station, the Pulmoddai Police Station, we believe the Killinochchi Police Station and one or two other police stations which need not be mentioned here now. Unfortunately for them, other than Chavakachcheri, it did not work. But for the terrorists it is a very simple thing. They look at it very differently. We are happy when an attack is foiled. We are happy when we manage to withstand an attack. The Chavakachcheri Police Station was attacked four times earlier by the terrorists and all their attacks were repulsed. But for the terrorists it is a different thing. I think you will recall that after the bomb attack on the hotel in Brighton by the IRA, Mrs. Thatcher, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, escaped miraculously. The IRA then issued a statement and it said—

"Do not worry. For you to win, you have to be lucky everytime. We need to be lucky only once."

That is the thing. The security forces in the country have to go on being lucky all the time. They have to be lucky all the time and if they fail once, then the terrorists would have got what they wanted. We have to explain to the country, we have to deal with a large community and, we have to worry about how they feel about the situation. We cannot explain the whole situation to them because some of the matters are security secrets. The terrorists have to be lucky only once every hundred times.

This time the terrorists have said – they said so last year and the year before too – and have said it clearly that by January 14th, 1985, Thai Pongal Day, they are going to declare a State of Eelam in Jaffna. They are making ceremonial preparations for this. Last week they stole two beautiful tusks from the Jaffna Museum and also an old Dutch cannon. According to the information we have, their plan is to use these tusks when they declare the State of Eelam on 14th January, 1985 – they are elephant tusks. That only shows they were there at that moment.

To achieve this, according to the "Hindu" newspaper which is fairly good at reporting terrorist statements, they have said that the terrorists have told them through a newspaper called "Eelanadu", that their goal is to chase out the security forces from the Jaffna Peninsula one month and two days from now. By 31st December, 1984, they want to chase the security forces out of the Jaffna Peninsula at least.

To do this, their plan is to attack government buildings directly. No longer are they going to be satisfied with hit-and-run tactics. We have intelligence to show that they will attack police stations and army camps in the peninsula and whilst they are trying to do this, they will have diversionary attacks against installations, particularly around Colombo. We believe that they will launch simultaneous attacks. To do this they are claiming – and in Madras it is an open secret – that they are going to bring up to 4,000 people from Tamil Nadu. This may be an exaggeration on their part ; when they have 40 people they say they have 400, and when they have 400 people they say they have 4,000. But a government cannot work on the basis that this is an over-estimate or propaganda. We believe that this force has to be dealt with.

All this, the attack on the Chavakachcheri Police Station, the attempted attack on the Eastern Province by sea, the death of Brigadier Ariyapperuma, the fact that the terrorists are now wearing uniforms and they have openly declared that by 31st December they are going to chase the army out of the peninsula and on January 14th they are going to declare the State of Eelam in Jaffna, should leave nobody in this country with any doubt as to what steps should be taken. I think the most die-hard opponent of the Government will have to suspend his opposition for the next eight weeks. There is no room for division ; there is no room for criticism except in a friendly way. We are all facing

this issue – not only you and I who are in this Parliament, but everybody in this country. Everybody, whatever community he belongs to, whether he speaks Sinhala or Tamil or English, whether he is Sinhala, Tamil, Muslim or Burgher or from any other community, whether he is Buddhist, Hindu, Roman Catholic, Christian or Muslim, all of us who believe in unity, who believe in peace, who believe in discussion, who believe in negotiation and who believe in the democratic way of life, must accept this as direct threat to you and as a direct challenge to the kind of society that you would like.

There is no room for anybody to be neutral on this issue. Those who are neutral will have to be taken to be necessarily on the other side. Nobody will be able to sit on the fence because, if I may so, anybody who sits on the fence will have the spike going into his soul.

For these purposes, the responsibility falls on two groups to deal with this problem. It falls first on the Government, and I want to spell out what the Government proposes to do. What we are going to do, is not easy for any Government to do. The Government is there to protect all the people, to create the least possible inconvenience for the law-abiding people, to allow them to live in their houses, to allow them to go about their business, to allow them to go to school with their children, to allow them to go to the market and buy things and sell things and to allow them to go on with the least possible

disruption in their lives and livelihood. We have, despite all the efforts of the terrorists, maintained that situation, particularly in the Jaffna Peninsula. People have gone about their ordinary business, people have worked in the fields, people have gone fishing until very recently, people have been going to factories and producing goods, and goods have been transported to and from the Jaffna Peninsula.

We think, with regret, that would not be possible in the weeks ahead. The provisions of the law and the rules and regulations that we are now presenting will certainly be unpleasant. We can only express regret, and we can only say that as far as possible we would like to keep these provisions as short as possible. We hope, and we are certain, that they would be only temporary, but they are necessary although likely to affect the lives of many persons. We know that sometimes those people who are affected will not be those necessarily responsible for these terrible acts. We cannot curb these terrible acts without taking the steps that we propose.

The Government wishes to make it very clear that these provisions have been brought into force after very careful consideration of their possible impact on the normal lives of peaceful citizens. Every single provision has been carefully thought out and the necessity for each carefully examined. The developing situation and the need to safeguard the life of the community have, however, been the paramount

consideration. These provisions have been enacted with a view to safeguarding the life of the community and enabling the Government to discharge its responsibility to the vast majority of the citizens of this country who wish to live in peace and harmony regardless of their ethnic and other differences. If one were to consider that these provisions impose severe hardships on persons living in the relevant areas in this country – and they undoubtedly do – I would urge that these hardships be viewed in the context of the necessity for and the duty of the Government to rid the country of this menace of terrorism once and for all in the larger interests of all concerned. Such hardships as are bound to arise have to be considered against the countervailing catastrophic consequences of a rein of terrorism. This Government, and I believe the vast majority of the people of this country, are committed to prevent this and as a corollary to its pledge to safeguard law and order within the democratic framework.

The provisions that are being brought in have to be considered under two headings. One is prohibited zones and the other is security zones.

It has become necessary to declare as a prohibited zone an area of land and sea which may roughly be described as an arc ranging along the Western, Northern and North-Eastern Coast from Mannar to Mullaitivu. The sea and the land area immediately adjoining the sea and the coast, in width about 100 metres, will form this prohibited zone. That is, within

that area no person can stay. No person shall remain in or enter that zone for any purpose whatsoever without the authority of the Superintendent of Police. Anybody in that zone will then necessarily be there for an unlawful purpose and considered to be involved in terrorist activity. Special provision, however, will be made for access to the mainland by permanent residents of the islands off these shores. I am referring specially to the islands of Eluvaitivu, Analaitivu, Nainativu or Nagadeepa, Delft, Palaitivu and Irnaitivu. Whoever is a permanent resident of an off-shore island will be provided with a way of having access to the mainland and will be provided with a way of going through the 100-metre zone and also travelling over the sea under special authorization. Even, here, although we have to declare a prohibited zone, we are very conscious of the need to protect the lives of those who are living in the off-shore islands. We know that many people who are living in the off-shore islands have by and large desisted from acts of terrorism. But we cannot help that. If we allow completely free access, the whole purpose of the zone will be defeated, and we do not intend to provide any exceptions whatsoever that will defeat the purpose of a prohibited zone. If as a result of the operation of this prohibited zone a person is affected in respect of his livelihood or usual source of income, we have provided for applications to be made to and relief to be given by the Competent Authority.

There again, the Government, conscious of its duties to its citizens, knowing that it has to do something which is absolutely necessary, is prepared to look into each of those cases on an individual basis to see what relief we can give them. It is essential for the effective operation of the security forces that there should be even this small area of land bordering the Northern Coast completely free from human habitation and human activities. It is in the interests of the peace-loving citizens themselves that they should leave this area free for the forces to effectively provide for surveillance, to carry out reconnaissance, and so provide full security to those that inhabit the land south of this prohibited zone. Unless this No-Man's Land in the form of a prohibited zone or a cordon 'sanitaire is established in this manner, we cannot guarantee the effective functioning of the forces and the avoidance of any unnecessary and unfortunate collision with the civilian population.

In the demarcation of the prohibition zone we have taken into account the areas of the most intense terrorist activity and made the boundaries such as to have within the zone the minimum area necessary for the work of the security forces.

The other set of provisions, relate to the security zone. Before I go to that I want to illustrate one or two examples of what happens in prohibited zones. Boats coming from Tamil Nadu, even if they get past the surveillance zone, which is also being strengthened

with necessary extra items, have to land on the coast. Landing on the coast is by itself illegal. If anybody is seen either from the sea, the land or the air landing on that coast, well, he will be deemed to be involved in an illegal operation and dealt with that in that way. There will be no exception. Anybody landing on the coast is not innocent. Nobody can come and say he was an innocent civilian who happened to be on the coast. This is to make sure that we can draw a distinction without difficulty between a terrorist and an innocent civilian. The helicopter pilot up at 1,500 or 2,000 feet by virtue of these provisions will be able to say, "that is an innocent civilian ; that, is a terrorist", because if you are in the prohibited zone you are deemed to be a terrorist. The same thing will apply to the security zone provisions which I shall describe now.

The security zone includes all the Grama Sevaka Divisions of the Jaffna District and certain Grama Sevaka Divisions of the Kilinochchi District but those Grama Sevaka Divisions also will be only those North of Elephant Pass. Nothing South of Elephant Pass in the Kilinochchi District will be covered by the security zone at the present time. Certain roads leading to and out of the Jaffna District will also be within the security zone. The object of this security zone provision is to enable the security forces to be satisfied with the identity of persons entering and residing in the areas concerned. For this reason, all persons in this zone should, if they are citizens of Sri Lanka, carry with

them their national identity cards, furnishing them for inspection if so required by a police officer or a member of the forces. If he happens to be a non-citizen, then he must carry with him a valid passport or other valid travel document. Any person who is not a permanent resident of the security zone and who is entering it should report to the police station nearest to his temporary residence within seven days of coming into force of the regulations. Any person who wishes to enter or leave the Security Zone must do so after reporting his movements to the AGA of the Division of his last residence. That is, any person living in Colombo, if he wants to go into the Jaffna District, he must report that fact to the nearest AGA who will then inform the check-point in Elephant Pass and there they will decide whether he will be allowed to enter or not. Nobody can move in and out of the Zone without notifying a public authority. Anybody who has therefore a *bona fide* business has only the little inconvenience of informing why he is going and coming.

We also propose to enforce, with amendments, Section 76 of the Police Ordinance. This requires that every householder in the prescribed area must furnish the OIC of the police station, when required to do so, with lists of inmates of his house, distinguishing persons of the family from the servants or others in it. If so requested, he should also report any increase or any deminution or change in the composition of his

household, and he will not, on receipt of a prohibiting order, harbour any strangers without notice to the OIC of the police station. This is at the moment Section 76 of the Police Ordinance. The only difference is, under that Ordinance you have to report to the Magistrate or the IGP, since there will be large numbers involved we have delegated that by Emergency provisions to the OIC of the police station.

Then, there is another problem. Terrorists use vehicles. They rob vehicles, they do what they have to do and then they abandon the vehicles. We cannot cope with this situation unless we do something about the vehicles. This is a very stringent provision about vehicles, but that does not affect everybody because there are only a few vehicle owners or vehicle users. But if any persons find it difficult in Jaffna to use their vehicles under these provisions—I sympathise with those who will feel that—they are welcome to remove their vehicles from the Jaffna District—and we will allow for that—and take them to any other place in Sri Lanka such as Colombo.

We are of the view, that unrestricted vehicular mobility will create security problems, and it has created security problems. The Government wishes, while placing minimum restrictions on the movement of persons with *bona fide* objectives, to ensure that persons with subversive intentions do not have

vehicular mobility to help them attain their objectives. For this purpose we have had to make provisions which prohibits any residents in the Security Zone from possessing any motor vehicle without a written authority from the ASP of the area. Nobody can possess a vehicle without a written authority from the ASP of that area. Such authorization should be prominently displayed when the vehicle is in use. So you cannot use your vehicle without authorization. If you get that authorization, you will have to put it up prominently on your vehicle, to be seen. But the right to possess does not give you an unrestricted right to use. There are two things. One is the right to possess for which you will have to get a permit, and the second, you will have the right to use prescribed in that permit and in the provisions of law limiting you to particular uses, which we think are the only ones that you have to use, the vehicle for the next few weeks.

Use of any motor vehicle or a pedal cycle or bullock cart on any public road in the Security Zone would require approval by the Competent Authority. Cars, lorries or Sri Lanka Transport Board buses will be allowed to ply within the Security Zone only along specific routes at specific times and in specific directions. Distinctive colours have been assigned for authorisation in respect of specific routes. We have so arranged the times and directions as to impose the least possible inconvenience on the public, taking into

account the times they most want to get about their legitimate business and the directions in which they are established traffic trends.

For example, we propose to allow on certain specified routes, movement towards Jaffna between 6 in the morning or 6.30 in the morning and 8.30 in the morning. The Peninsula is not such a big place. From Point Pedro to Jaffna is only 21 miles. No other place is that much further away. You will be able to travel towards Jaffna whether from Elephant Pass or Point Pedro or Vasavilan or Kankesanthurai or from Pungudutivu or from Karainagar–Kayts, and Vaddukkoddai Manipay area, Chankanai – Jaffna from 6.30 till 8.30 in the morning. The whole idea is, people coming to work, persons coming to school–that is the time that they want to come because that is the heavy traffic period, and usually they will be coming into the town. That will be provided for.

Then the curfew is going to be imposed, I think, at 4 o'clock now. We will allow from 2 o'clock to 4 o'clock for vehicles to leave Jaffna. Therefore, anybody wanting to come to Colombo will have to leave Jaffna at 2 o'clock, come past Elephant Pass before 4 o'clock and proceed southwards. Anybody wanting to go to Jaffna will have to get to Elephant Pass before the time allowed to move from Elephant Pass to Jaffna.

These times of course can be changed from time to time, looking at the convenience of people. But the times are specified, the vehicles are specified, the routes are specified, and the directions are specified.

Now, between those hours, for example, 8.30 in the morning and 2 o'clock in the afternoon, where there will be no movement except walking of course, anybody using a vehicle in the Jaffna District will then have to contend with the Security Forces operating against them on the basis that they are on unlawful activity. They would have to contend with the helicopters as well. So, law-abiding people are earnestly requested to keep away from the road. Go to your business in the morning attend to it within your area, and if you need to come back, we will allow you to come back by curfew time.

The Sri Lanka Transport Board will also be requested to follow these rules. Private buses are not provided for in these routes, because we find that they are quite often the vehicles of the terrorists.

Then, along with the restrictions on the mobility which has been one of the supporting factors in the spread of terrorism, is the need for the restriction in the availability of fuel. Certain regulations are designed to look after this aspect of the matter. Certain persons only are authorised to deal in fuel, and that too with restrictions in regard to the quantity of fuel that may be possessed and the quantity that may be issued in particular circumstances.

Every car will not be allowed to have more than a specified amount of fuel in its fuel tank. If you have an excess of fuel in the fuel tank, even during authorised times of movement you would deem to be committing an offence and that vehicle will become the property of the Government.

We have also to look after the allied problem of the all-too-frequent loss of vehicles or the hijacking of vehicles or what is sometimes in fact the staged hijacking of vehicles. We are aware of staged hijacking also. It is not an uncommon occurrence in the areas in which the terrorists have operated that vehicles have been hijacked in collusion with the owners. We have had instances where terrorists have purchased vehicles, particularly vans, for their own use. They finance the purchase, and the registration is in the name of some other party. Shortly after purchase a hijack is staged and the terrorists get away with what is in fact their own vehicle registered in another's name. Loss of vehicles are not reported as frequently as they occur. It will now be a requirement within the Security Zone that any person permitted under the regulations to possess a vehicle should forthwith, and in any event within twenty-four hours, report the loss of a vehicle. If he does not report it, the vehicles when found will be the property of the Government.

Under the regulations, an officer of the Police or the Forces of appropriate rank—this is very important, may remove any obstacles, permanent or

temporary, which obstruct sight or movement within the Security Zone. Quite frankly, the freedom of movement of the Security Forces and the freedom to deal with subversive elements is the compelling reason for this. We cannot afford to have anything that impedes the guardians of the law in their duties in this Zone. If anybody suffers loss because of removal of any item which we find as an impediment to sight or movement, we again as a human Government are making provisions for such person, if he has complied with the other provisions of the law, to make a claim for compensation. But there is no way by which he can obstruct the removal, because that will be done forthwith. But there again, we do not want to cause loss unnecessarily, and therefore we are providing for law-abiding people to make a claim for compensation.

As much as in the case of vehicles, so in the case of other equipment, collusive action cannot be ruled out where they have been used for terrorist purposes. Houses are used, other equipment is used. People lose equipment by arrangement. They say it is by fear, but we have now evidence to show that the fear is only an excuse for participation. Now under the provisions, any particular vehicle or other equipment used in committing an offence can be searched, seized, removed or detained and on conviction of the person concerned all such property will be forfeited. Any aggrieved party can make a claim to the High Court of

Colombo that his property has been used without his knowledge or contrary to his instructions and seek release of such property.

Then, there is one other provision which will apply not only to the Security Zone but to the whole of Sri Lanka. That relates to the stitching of uniforms. Another problem that we had to face is the proliferation of facsimiles of Police, Army, Navy and Air Force uniforms used by terrorists as camouflages for their activities. Even yesterday we had some terrorists walking about in the Jaffna town pasting posters, dressed in uniform.

We know one of the interesting reasons why they are using uniforms now is because they are very upset about something that did not take place in Chavakachcheri. Normally, with a huge attack like in Chavakachcheri, the biggest attack they have done, they expected two consequences. Firstly, that the people in this part of the country would go and riot. This, they did not do because the people of this country are now wiser than the terrorists on this issue. Secondly, they expected that at least the Forces, the Police and the Army would go on the rampage and commit some excesses in Chavakachcheri. In fact, the terrorists, from our intelligence we know, were expecting us to demolish the entirety of the Chavakachcheri town. But nothing like that happened. They were waiting to take photographs..

Actually, in Thimbirigasyaya when there was one small incident, we know of some terrorist agents who came, got some people to make a shout and take a photograph in front of one of those shops, but the shop they photographed, was one of the old ones. That is their propaganda move. So, because of that they are now planning to wear uniforms, shoot a few civilians in the Jaffna Peninsula, take photographs and try and say the Security Forces have done it. In the past, many of these neutral people who sit on their arm chairs and criticize who sit on their arm chairs and give us solutions to problems, whenever a person wore a uniform, always said "The army has done it". I remember in the Vavuniya incident, because they had worn army shorts, there were some people who quickly rushed to say it is the army. They were cautious. Without investigating there were people who were prepared to condemn the Security Forces. Now, when they know that terrorists are also using uniforms, I wish those people would think again. The terrorists are waging a war against us. Make no mistake, they do not want to talk. They want to fight it out. Unless we appreciate that and take the necessary steps, in this line, then it is going to be a very long drawn out matter. So, we have an example, as I said, in the attack on the Chavakachcheri Police Station. We are aware that it is a common device by those seeking to enter places of security or to act in a manner that would be legal for the Police and the Security Forces to

masquerade in the dress of such forces. While the problems created by the adoption of look-alike uniforms by private security organizations and security personnel privately engaged is receiving the attention of the Government with a view to correcting the situation, we find that certain terrorists dress themselves up in look-alike uniforms to get about on subversive activities without let or hindrance and that certain tailoring organizations are actively helping them. These uniforms are stitched on various scales by individuals and by tailoring marts located not only in the Northern District but in many other parts of the country including Colombo in particular.

We have therefore had to provide that no person anywhere in Sri Lanka shall stitch or tailor any garment with a view to turning out anything resembling any uniform of the Police, Army, Navy or Air Force without appropriate authority. We cannot have persons dressed so as dangerously to mislead the public and to confuse the Security Forces as well by posing off as members of such forces. Particularly at a time when the Police and the Security Forces have legitimately to be in many places guarding, patrolling and for the prevention of offences, the people must know who in fact are the real guardians of the law.

One of the important things, is that it is not only in Jaffna. We know the terrorists want to attack so many of our installations and it is very easy for them to

wear Army uniforms or Police uniforms and come to one of our installations pretending to protect it and then to destroy it. In fact, I omitted to mention it that other than in the Jaffna District some of the important installations outside the Jaffna District are going to be declared "prohibited zones". For example, an area round the Sapugaskanda complex, including the refinery and other things. That will be declared a "prohibited zone" and then you and I also shall not enter. That should be clearly understood. So anybody entering prohibited zones will be deemed to be involved in terrorist activity and dealt with. If I use the Indian phraseology as the Minister of Transport says "Will be shot at sight".

In fact, what we are doing here, is not unknown in India. If you look at the provisions brought in the "Punjab" yesterday, the Government of India, in its wisdom, has declard that 500 metres along the border of Punjab, bordering Pakistan, is declared a prohibited zone. That is on the Indian side of the Indo-Pakistan Border. In Punjab 500 yards has been declared a prohibited zone and nobody is allowed to go there. No person shall live there, no person shall move there. Now, we are only declaring 100 metres from the shore and, of course, the whole of the sea.

Any person who wishes to use his premises for himself or for any other person to stitch or tailor garments resembling those of the Police or the forces will have to obtain appropriate authority to do so.

Possession of any uniforms or any garment resembling a uniform will also require special permission. Anybody who gets a tailoring order to do uniforms anywhere in the country be careful. Because he may be getting into grave difficulties. Let him not come and then tell us, "I am sorry, I did not know about this rule." Well, some of them may not be stitched any more, certainly not for the next few weeks.

Then there is another matter which we have to deal with. "One of the most dangerous and most diabolical devices handled by the terrorists and with such callous disregard for human life, are the bombs and explosive devices. Most of which are brought from Tamil Nadu. It is essential that there should be certain collective responsibility in the Community for safeguarding of life and property. We have instances elsewhere in the world, where responsibility for the presence of explosion or explosive devices have had to be brought home to the Community which assists in or refrain from preventing explosive devices within certain areas." This means that within a certain area of your own house an explosive device is planted or is found, or explodes then, *prima facie*, a certain responsibility will accrue to you. It will be then your duty to explain why you were not in a position to give this information to prevent it or to prevent exploding it or from being planted there. While we are bringing this idea of responsibility for the Community, we are also giving handsome rewards to those who give

information with regard to the likelihood of the planting of explosive devices or the presence of such devices. Those who fail to be circumspect about such devices will, of course, suffer certain punitive action. Penal action for failure to give information regarding explosive devices would necessarily be much more stringent while the corresponding benefits following co-operation with the authorities will be very rewarding. Where explosives are found by the authorities or blasts take place, it will be necessary to re-locate the people within a given area from the site of the discovery or the blast. The Government is not satisfied that in every instance of the discovery of explosive devices or the placing of such devices, the people in and around the area are as ignorant as they make it out to be and, therefore, within the Security Zone, vicarious responsibility will have to be taken for the consequences of default, by those living within a certain distance from the point concerned. Here again, moved by human considerations we will still permit people to prove that they could not have known of did not know. But relocation will become a necessary consequence upon an explosion taking place.

It must be emphasised that these rules temporary. It is our hope that these rules would be necessary for only the shortest possible time. Public co-operation and volunteer efforts can minimise the time. They provide us with a necessary legal framework within our democratic form of Government to impose certain

restrictions on certain persons for the common good of all. These are by no means unique in the strategies of governments to maintain effective control over a situation as serious as that which we now face. Many countries have had to resort to such unpleasant devices in times of national stress and tension with the adoption of similar restrictive and regulatory measures.

I have elaborated, not in as detail as the regulations and rules set out, the general principles upon which we have acted. We said we want it to be temporary. These are designed to meet the threat of invasion. It is our design to foil the ambitions of the terrorists to declare an Eelam by the 14th of January. They are designed to prevent any effort to push out the security forces from the peninsula by the end of December. But to do this the Government needs the co-operation of everybody all over the country. You will ask yourselves, "What can people do ?" Now, on this matter everybody talks. I am not complaining about talking. But we cannot solve these problems really by talk. We cannot make it all by announcement. We need action. I have no objection of people being concerned. They ought to be concerned. The more concerned they are the better. I said three days ago that I am going to make this statement. I know that there is a great deal of public attention and concern. But, all the talk, even friendly criticisms must be accompanied by action. Maintaining security is the

responsibility of all. You in your home, in your work place, on the roads you travel, everywhere that you go, for a social function you should be on the alert.

I think, there is a special responsibility on those who play an important role in our society. I appeal to the citizens who have greater responsibility in our society to come forward and play their role to maintain security in their areas. I would appeal to the principals and teachers, leaders of religious groups, voluntary organizations, high officials of both the public and private sector, trade union leaders all over the country and members of the trading community.

I would appeal, especially to the Tamil-speaking people of Sri Lanka – for some of them I know in their minds there are a number of problems. On one hand they do have feelings of grievance on certain problems that affect them, but those grievances cannot be solved by plunging this country into chaos. Those grievances will not be remedied so long as terrorism continues because all our energies are diverted towards stemming the terrorists side more than dealing with the problem of grievances. In this trying time for the Tamil-speaking people of this country ; especially for the people who live in the Jaffna peninsula I would appeal to them to show their patriotism to this country, because whatever the terrorists do, they are not going in the future to belong to any other country. This will still be part of Sri Lanka. I know that it is difficult, but now is the time to show your patriotic feelings.

When it comes to installations there is a tendency in this country to think that every installation can be defended by the Police and the armed forces. If that is so, we will not be able to cope with the problem. All over the world property is first defended by the owner. Those who are responsible for the property must undertake the primary responsibility of protecting it. We can provide advice as we do now. We can provide training as we are doing now. We can declare it a prohibited zone to make it easier for you and your people to govern that area. I believe the people of this country are determined to make use of this opportunity provided by the terrorists openly challenging the whole country that they would declare Eelam by January 14th. The people in this country are prepared to accept this challenge. If you have any doubts of what I say go down to the Air Force grounds now and see the thousands and thousands of young men who are queueing up in order to join the Air Force. I think we are going to do the same thing be calling applications for the Army, Navy and the Police also and try to bring into these forces as many people as we can.

I could see that the time has come to contribute to the national defence effort. There is a National Defence Fund. I know the Members of Parliament are those who would normally give a lead in this matter. May I suggest for your consideration, that it might be a good time to make a contribution to the National

Defence Fund of the salary of January 1985 by all the Members of Parliament in this country. I think that act of the Members of Parliament will inspire this country to face what I would consider to be the greatest challenge which it has faced since 1815. What is at sake is our independence, the unity of our country, the democratic way of life. We are faced by an enemy who does not want to talk to us, an enemy who want to kill all of us, an enemy who has places abroad from which he can draw succour. He is therefore not an internal enemy. He is an external enemy. He cannot survive without those places which gives him succour. We as a Government have taken appropriate steps internationally. We have brought these matters to the notice of those who ought to know about what is happening abroad. We are now in the process of taking these steps internally. The moral of the security forces in the peninsula is high. I spoke to them even this morning. They have to face that situation. They need your support. They need your support in heart and head. Idle criticism and useless speeches do not help, but practical programmes and determination will help.

There are two things that I would like to mention to the people of our country. We have learnt a long time ago that vigilance is the price of liberty. I think I can amend that a bit and say, vigilance alone is not the price of liberty, but the endurance too of such temporary restrictions on it are as essential for its

survival. We are going to win this battle as humanely, as purposefully, as possible. There will be no restrictions in the operations involved. We are determined to win because there is no alternative to winning. This country will not be the same unless we win.

Whatever the obstacles, the people, the Government and the Opposition, all stand together to ensure that these diabolical international terrorists are defeated and destroyed to ensure that everybody in this country, whatever community he belongs to, can walk in peace throughout this land with dignity, in equality, in friendship and in amity.

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