

TAMILS
DISPLACED

SRI LANKANS IN EXILE



S. GUY DE FONTGALLAND

Handwritten text in Sinhala script, likely a signature or address, written in blue ink on aged paper.

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Handwritten text in Tamil script, appearing as faint, light-colored markings on the aged paper. The text is arranged in several lines, slanted downwards from left to right. The characters are difficult to read due to fading and the texture of the paper.

Faint red markings or stamps, possibly remnants of a seal or official stamp, located in the lower-left quadrant of the page.

A small, faint red mark or stamp, possibly a date or a small official mark, located in the center of the page.

Dedication

This humble effort is dedicated to the beloved memory of
The Rt. Rev. Dr. Leo Nanayakkara, Catholic Bishop of Badulla
1973 - 1982.

Through out his life time, he firmly stood for the overcoming
of Race, Religion and Caste and openly committed and whole-
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SANTHIAPILLAI GUY DE FONTGALLAND

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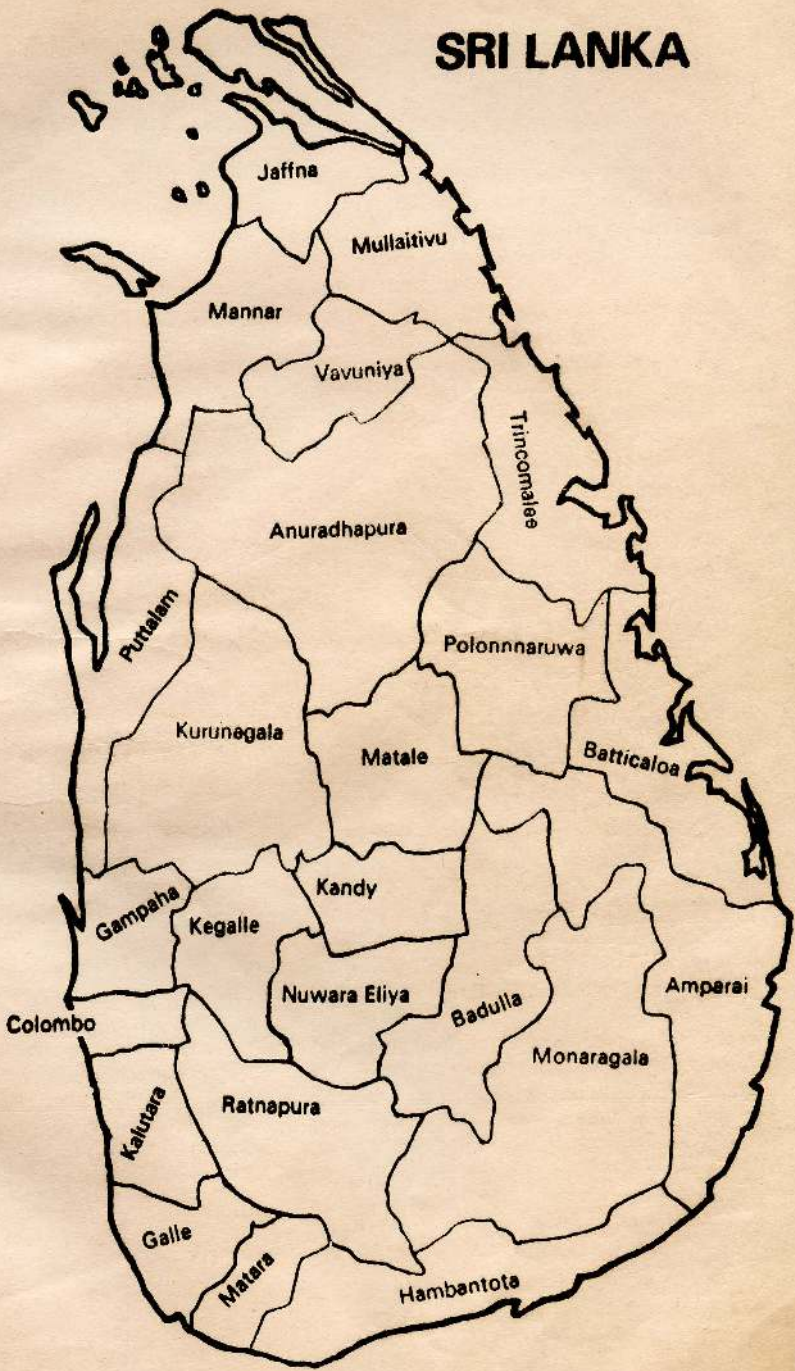
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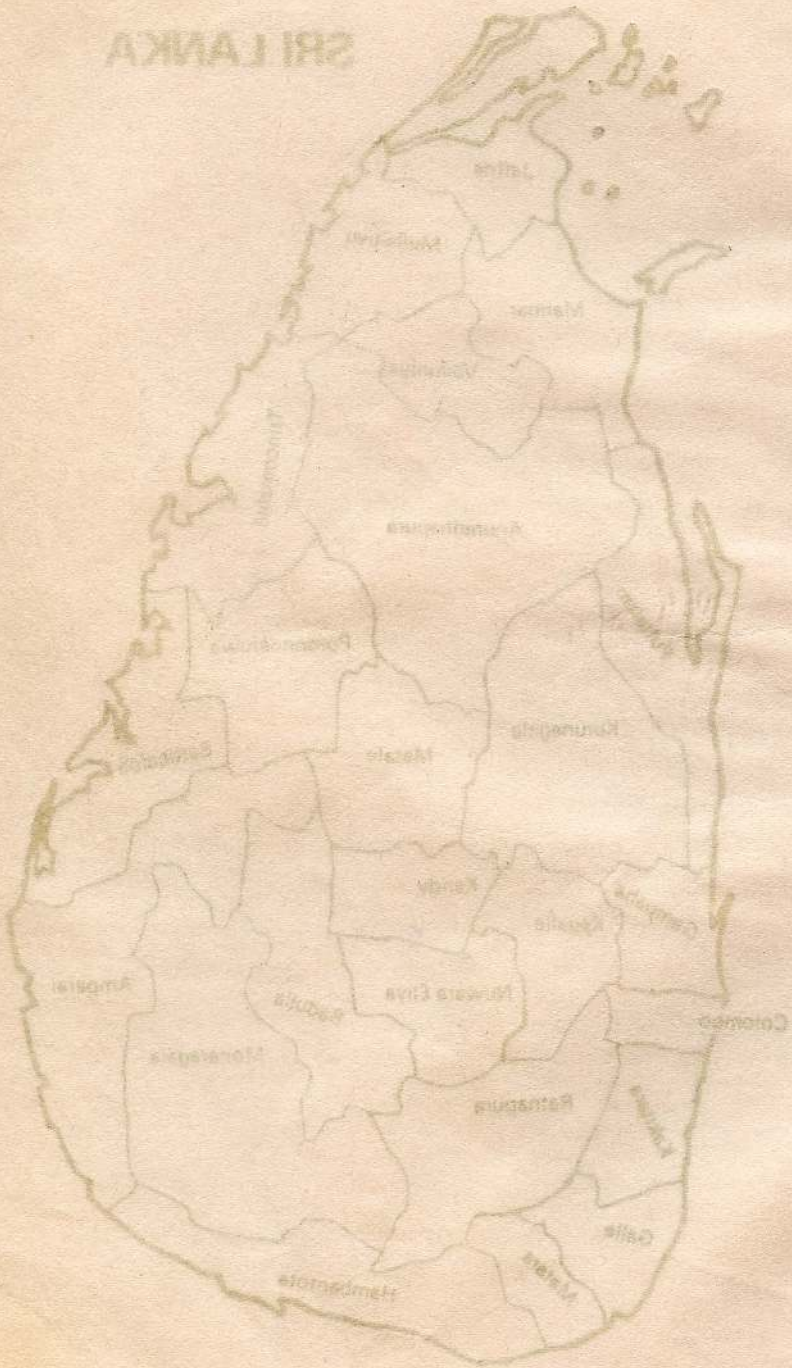
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SRI LANKA



SRI LANKA



THE COVER !

Hands Off ! Refugees Are My Friends

'SOS Racism' was created in the Autumn of 1984 in France with the launching of its famous badge. Two million badges were sold within a space of only six months. 300,000 people attended the multi-racial cultural events held by SOS Racism in Paris. The movement against racism spearheaded by this group was the spontaneous outcome of the expression of a whole generation of young people who wanted to make it clear that racism in France has gone far enough.

Somewhere in 1984, a group of high school friends, in their early twenties, met together. Some of them had been militants owing allegiance to the left wing political parties. One of them was originally from the French West Indies ; another was a girl from Algeria while yet another worked for a French Jewish Students' Association. The rest were 'French of French Origin'.

All the members of this small group had one clear idea in their mind : That is, amongst themselves, colour, sex and race were immaterial. They simply lived together, that was all. The experience, they found, contrasted sharply with the social background where racist crimes had become regular feature and had claimed ten lives in 1984 alone.

The group decided to issue this badge as a moral appeal to young people. The badge consists of an open palm written with the slogan 'TOUCH PAS A MON POTE' (Hands Off My Buddy) which was typical of the language widely in use amongst French high school students. The badge took France by storm. The income from the sale of the badges enabled S.O.S. Racism to set up as many as 30 local committees to fight against racism. At present, offices are also being set up in other countries as well.

Within the context of the Tamils of Sri Lanka fleeing from their Island home because of Sinhala racism, we have chosen this symbol of S.O.S. Racism for its relevance and as a mark of regard and appreciation for the bold stand taken against racism in the world where racist ideologies are growing in strength day by day. The choice of this symbol, we feel, is appropriate because many of the Sri Lankan Tamils who have fled to the western industrialised nations have found to their disgust and horror that they were often faced with the same kind of racist attitude which were not abating but on the increase. All coloured refugees in these countries, are becoming victims of the racist trend.

We sincerely hope that this symbol will serve its purpose and prove to be an eye opener to enable everyone to realise that the people, regardless of their colour, race, sex, or any other ethnic differences, must be treated alike. Therefore it must be first remembered that every immigrant or refugee is a human being entitle to live as such and he should be respected and treated with dignity while extending assistance to him.

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PREFACE

No one can deny that from the earliest times, the world has been continuously witnessing the problems of displaced persons as well as asylum seekers. People seeking asylum or refuge in another country is not thus new to the human history. Yet as we are shortly approaching the 21st century, should we still continue to drive people mercilessly from their own homeland to seek refuge or asylum in another country? Can we not think of civilised ways of dealing with the differences, if any, have cropped within us?

“Love Thy Neighbour” is one of the greatest commandments of Jesus Christ. The spirit of this commandment is also found in all other religions. But we as human beings not infrequently being overpowered by selfish motive, jealousy and hatred try to divide or rule over the people on one ground or the other based on colour, religion, race, language etc. Consequently the weakest (minority) either meekly suffers the hardship imposed on them by the strongest or when the situation becomes intolerable to them, they have no other way than fleeing to other places expecting secured life.

Having personally witnessed how the hapless ethnic Tamil minority in Sri Lanka could not bear the atrocities and the aggression inflicted on them by the majority ruling Sinhala group which claims to profess Buddhism that preaches ‘Ahimsa’ as the way of life, I thought that I should keep on record of these sorrowful events so that the future generation will have the opportunity of knowing the information in its true perspective. But this volume contains only the events that had taken place till its publication. The conflicts of these groups of people are still continuing without any sign of coming to an end in the near future. Therefore, this volume, if not updated later when the conflicts come to an end, will remain as an incomplete part of the history. Even now, this volume is otherwise incomplete because for want of reliable information in record to the large number of refugees who are living independently without seeking any help from the nations where they have taken the refuge, any detail information on them could not be included in this volume. If anyone undertakes this work and brings it on record, it will be an invaluable addition to this book.

While collecting material for this book, I had to face several difficulties. The governments of most of the nations which have settled the refugees were rather reluctant to furnish the required

statistics. Many refugees did not themselves want to be identified. Several of them have no permanent home and if they felt frustrated or discriminated in one country, they were moving towards another country expecting better amenities. Mainly because of these factors, proper statistical data and other materials could not be collected. Nevertheless, accurate statistical data wherever available have been incorporated in the book. In these circumstances, I would urge upon the readers to bear with me if any inaccuracies have crept into this book and also to furnish their suggestions in order to effect improvement to this book at a latter date.

I have received invaluable help and guidance in compiling this volume from many people. I sincerely express my gratitude to Professor J. Vondervoet of the Catholic University of Leuven (KUL) Belgium, who permitted me to undertake this work along with my Ph. D. Programme.

A number of other people and organisations had also helped in one way or other in the collection of materials and in the preparation of manuscript, in reading and correcting the proof and in printing the book. While I thank them profusely for the assistance, I would be failing in my duty if I do not mention specifically of some of them. The Gandhian Foundation Hyderabad provided me with financial assistance to undertake the survey of the refugees settled in Tamil Nadu. The CEBEMO funded me to visit and study the situation of the Sri Lankan refugees settled in some of the European countries. To them I am deeply indebted. A group of dedicated people worked on the CERRO Survey Team which covered the whole of Tamil Nadu, Miss Devaki Rajagopal who was with the survey team helped me to complete the statistics gathered and finally typed the manuscript of this book. Mr. Nirmalan Dhas helped me in the editing work and Mr. K. Sathasivam gladly went through the proof and furnished invaluable suggestions. Another individual who wished to remain anonymous went through the manuscript and furnished significant suggestions which contributed greatly in finalising this volume. The printers also had completed the printing work in the record time. To all of them and also to the various organisations and refugees who readily came forward to provide the required material, I offer my sincere thanks.

Madras

December 1986

Fr. S. Guy De Fontgalland

GLOSSARY

| | |
|-------|--|
| CIC | Ceylon Indian Congress |
| CP | Communist Party |
| CPSL | Communist Party of Sri Lanka |
| CSI | Church of South India |
| CWC | Ceylon Workers Congress |
| EEC | European Economic Community |
| ICJ | International Commission of Jurists |
| HUDEC | Human Development Centre |
| LSSP | Lanka Sama Samaja Party |
| MCC | Madras Christian College |
| MMSSS | Maduri Multipurpose Social Service Society |
| NADSA | National Agricultural Diversification Settlement Authority |
| REPIA | Rehabilitation of properties and Industries Authority |
| SMSSS | Sivagangai Multipurpose Social Service Society |
| SLEP | Sri Lanka Freedom Party |
| TIC | Tamil Information Centre |
| TMSSS | Thanjavur Multipurpose Social Service Society |
| TRRO | Tamil Refugee Rehabilitation Organisation |
| UNP | United National Party |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNHCR | United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees |
| USA | United States of America |
| VMSSS | Vellore Multipurpose Social Service Society |

CONTENTS

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| The cover | v |
| Preface | vii |
| Glossary | ix |
| Introduction | 01 |
| The underlying cause | 02 |
| The Donoughmore Report | 03 |
| Pressure from the Maxist | 04 |
| Disenfranchisement | 05 |
| Vijaya-Mythical origins of the Sinhala people | 06 |
| Sinhala Only | 08 |
| First Exile-Migration | 09 |
| Second Exile - Deportation | 09 |
| Third Exile - Refugees | 10 |
| PART ONE Immigrants and Displaced People in Sri Lanka | |
| 1. IMMIGRATION UNDER COLONIAL RULE | 13 |
| Ceylonese in Malaya | 14 |
| Ceylonese in Australia | 15 |
| 2. REPATRIATION OR EXILE ? | 18 |
| Hill Country Tamils | 18 |
| Institutionalisation of Exile | 20 |
| Lack of integration | 20 |
| Accusations against Ceylon Tamils | 23 |
| Neglect of the Ceylon Tamils | 25 |
| Political controversy | 28 |
| Rehabilitation schemes in India | 30 |
| Conclusion | 34 |
| 3. REFUGEES IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY | 42 |
| The first phase 1958 | 42 |
| The beginning of the brain-drain | 43 |
| Expulsion of the British | 44 |
| The second phase 1977 | 44 |

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----|
| The third phase 1981 | 45 |
| The Violence spreads | 46 |
| The fourth phase 1983 | 47 |
| The National economy is set on fire | 51 |
| Refugee camps | 52 |
| Refugees in 1985 | 56 |
| Refugees in 1986 | 57 |
| Statistics inaccurate | 58 |
| Rehabilitation | 60 |
| Governmental Assistance | 62 |
| Non-Governmental Organisations | 65 |
| Conclusion | 66 |

PART TWO Sri Lankan Refugees in India (Displaced People)

| | |
|--|-----|
| INTRODUCTION | 73 |
| 4. ARRIVALS AT RAMESWARAM | 77 |
| Effects on the Island | 78 |
| Violation of 1974-1976 agreements of Kachchativu | 80 |
| The Number of arrivals | 80 |
| 5. REFUGEE CENTRES (CAMPS) IN TAMIL NADU | 86 |
| Mandapam camp | 89 |
| Tuticorin and Madurai camps | 90 |
| Cottages in dam sites | 92 |
| Kalyana mandapams and other centres | 92 |
| 6. ASSISTANCE FROM GOVERNMENT AND VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS | 95 |
| Government Assistance | 95 |
| Short comings | 100 |
| Role of voluntary organisations | 101 |
| Assistance requested—refugees | 107 |
| 7. DISTRICTS OF CHENGALPATTU AND SOUTH ARCOT | 109 |
| Chengalpattu District | 109 |
| Camps, 1-5 | 111 |
| South Arcot | 117 |
| Camps, 1-11 | 121 |

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| 8. DISTRICTS OF PUDUKOTTAI AND THANJAVUR | 126 |
| Pudukottai District, | 126 |
| Thanjavur District | 130 |
| 9. DISTRICTS OF TIRUNELVELI AND RAMNAD | 133 |
| Tirunelveli District | 133 |
| Tuticorin District | 135 |
| Ramnad District | 135 |
| 10. DISTRICTS OF MADURAI AND ANNA | 137 |
| Camps in the Madurai District | 137 |
| Camps 1--23 | 140 |
| Anna District | 146 |
| Camps in Anna District | 148 |
| 11. DISTRICTS OF SALEM AND TIRUCHY | 152 |
| The District of Salem | 152 |
| Camps 1-7 | 155 |
| Tiruchirapalli District | 163 |
| 12. THE DISTRICTS OF NORTH ARCOT AND DHARMAPURI | 165 |
| North Arcot District | 165 |
| Camps 1-4 | 169 |
| Dharmapuri District | 171 |
| Camps 1-4 | 174 |
| 13. THE DISTRICTS OF PERIYAR AND COIMBATORE | 176 |
| Periyar District | 176 |
| Coimbatore District | 182 |
| 14. REFUGEES OUTSIDE THE CAMPS | 187 |
| Social Stratification | 188 |
| Arrivals | 189 |
| Distribution | 189 |
| Finances | 190 |
| Education | 191 |
| Situation of Adults | 192 |
| The Future | 192 |
| 15. METHODOLOGY AND GENERAL ANALYSIS | 193 |
| Age Group | 194 |
| Religion | 195 |

| | |
|--------------------|-----|
| Place of Origin | 196 |
| Reason for leaving | 197 |
| Economic condition | 197 |
| Family separated | 198 |
| Option to return | 199 |
| Conclusion | 201 |

PART THREE Sri Lankan Asylum Seekers In Developed Countries.

| | |
|--|-----|
| INTRODUCTION | 205 |
| 16. ASYLUM SEEKERS IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY | 208 |
| Socio-political impact | 209 |
| Situation of the refugees | 210 |
| Constitutional protection | 211 |
| Rejection of application | 213 |
| Permission to reside | 215 |
| Number of refugees | 216 |
| Public relief | 217 |
| Access to employment | 218 |
| Housing and living conditions | 219 |
| Restriction of movement | 221 |
| 17. TAMILS IN FRANCE | 225 |
| Problems faced by the Tamils | 226 |
| Social and political impact of the refugees | 229 |
| Socio-economic situation | 230 |
| Policy of the host government | 231 |
| Asylum and refugee status | 232 |
| Numbers | 235 |
| Recent regulation | 238 |
| 18. TAMILS IN THE BENELUX COUNTRIES | 240 |
| Asylum seekers in Belgium | 240 |
| Tamils in the Netherlands | 243 |
| Number of Tamils | 245 |
| Camps opened for the Sri Lankan arrivals | 246 |
| Protest from the Tamils | 251 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| Press and the Tamils | 253 |
| Role of the Dutch government | 255 |
| Sri Lankan refugees in Luxembourg | 257 |
| 19. TAMILS IN SWITZERLAND AND ITALY | 258 |
| Number of refugees | 259 |
| Policy of the host government | 261 |
| Camps | 263 |
| General observations | 265 |
| Sri Lankans in Italy | 267 |
| 20. ASYLUM SEEKERS IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES | 269 |
| Denmark refugees | 270 |
| Number of application for asylum procedure | 271 |
| Refugees in Norway | 276 |
| Number of refugees | 276 |
| Regulations governing the granting of asylum | 277 |
| Refugees in Sweden | 279 |
| Application for asylum | 282 |
| Number of refugees | 282 |
| 21. TAMILS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM | 285 |
| Racism in the UK | 285 |
| Position of the asylum seekers | 286 |
| Policy of the government | 288 |
| 22. REFUGEES IN THE USA AND CANADA | 292 |
| Voluntary agencies | 293 |
| Sri Lankans in the USA | 294 |
| Policy of the host government | 295 |
| Refugees in Canada | 296 |
| 23. SRI LANKAN REFUGEES IN AUSTRALIA | 299 |
| Official policy | 300 |
| 24. REFUGEES AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS | 304 |
| The UNRRA | 305 |
| The IRO | 306 |
| THE UNHCR | 307 |
| International organisations | 310 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| 25. NEW RESTRICTIVE POLICIES | 313 |
| Illegitimacy of deterrent measures | 314 |
| Social costs and psychological strains | 315 |
| Restrictions on education and employment | 316 |
| Conclusion : Myths and appeal | 319 |
| Refugees and the economic crisis | 319 |
| Increasing number of coloured refugees | 321 |
| An appeal to the developed countries | 323 |
| An appeal to the Nations | 325 |
| Appeal to the Tamils | 326 |
| Number of Tamil refugees | 328 |
| Appendix I-The Plight of refugee claimants | 329 |
| Appendix II-Convention relating to the status of refugees-1951 | 337 |
| Appendix III-Protocol relating to the status of refugees 1967 | 344 |
| Appendix IV-A survey of the people from Sri Lanka in India-Questionnaire, | 345 |
| Appendix V-Camp statistics in Tamil Nadu (Questionnaire) | 351 |
| Errata | 355 |
| MAPS | |
| Sri Lanka | X |
| Tamil Nadu (India) | 73 |

TABLES

| | | PAGE |
|------------|--|------|
| 1 : 2 : 1 | Number of repatriate families settled in India | 30 |
| 1 : 2 : 2 | Repatriate schemes | 31 |
| 1 : 2 : 3 | Statement of expenditure | 32 |
| 1 : 2 : 4 | Number of repatriates (1928-1941) | 38 |
| 1 : 2 : 5 | Number of repatriates (1931-1933) | 39 |
| 1 : 2 : 6 | Number of repatriates (1969-1986) | 40 |
| 1 : 3 : 1 | Refugees as on 23rd October 1983 | 52 |
| 1 : 3 : 2 | Refugees as on December 1983 | 54 |
| 1 : 3 : 3 | Refugees in the month of October 1985 | 56 |
| 1 : 3 : 4 | Refugees on the 8th August 1986 | 58 |
| 1 : 3 : 5 | World value of Sri Lankan rupees as on 3.10.86 | 70 |
| 2 : 4 : 1 | The rate of refugee inflow at Ramoswaram | 82 |
| 2 : 4 : 2 | Number of refugees in different districts | 84 |
| 2 : 5 : 1 | Population by religion (Tamil Nadu) 1971 | 88 |
| 2 : 6 : 1 | Cash Dole for family per month | 95 |
| 2 : 6 : 2 | Clothes | 96 |
| 2 : 6 : 3 | Kitchen Utensils | 97 |
| 2 : 6 : 4 | Subsidies | 97 |
| 2 : 6 : 5 | Total expenditure per family per month | 99 |
| 2 : 6 : 6 | World value of Indian rupee 10.10.1986 | 108 |
| 2 : 7 : 1 | Refugees at Chengalpattu | 110 |
| 2 : 7 : 2 | Income of families per month | 116 |
| 2 : 7 : 3 | Refugees at South Arcot | 118 |
| 2 : 7 : 4 | Educational and Income | 119 |
| 2 : 7 : 5 | Occupation and place of origin (South Arcot) | 120 |
| 2 : 8 : 1 | Refugees at Pudukottai | 127 |
| 2 : 8 : 2 | Names of camps at Thanjavur | 131 |
| 2 : 10 : 1 | Refugees in Madurai District | 138 |
| 2 : 10 : 2 | Refugees in Anna District | 146 |
| 2 : 11 : 1 | Refugees in the District of Salem | 153 |
| 2 : 11 : 2 | Place of origin, income and occupation (Salem) | 154 |
| 2 : 12 : 1 | Camps in the North Arcot district | 166 |
| 2 : 12 : 2 | Family background-North Arcot | 167 |
| 2 : 12 : 3 | Occupation and place of origin (North Arcot) | 168 |
| 2 : 12 : 4 | Refugees at Dharmapuri | 173 |
| 2 : 12 : 5 | Family background (Dharmapuri) | 174 |
| 2 : 13 : 1 | Names of the camps in Periyar | 177 |
| 2 : 13 : 2 | Family background | 179 |
| 2 : 13 : 3 | Family income | 180 |
| 2 : 13 : 4 | Occupation and place of origin (Periyar) | 181 |
| 2 : 13 : 5 | Names of the camps in Coimbatore | 183 |
| 2 : 13 : 6 | Family background | 184 |
| 2 : 13 : 7 | Family Income | 185 |
| 2 : 13 : 8 | Occupation and Place of Origin | 186 |
| 2 : 15 : 1 | Age group | 194 |
| 2 : 15 : 2 | Place of Origin | 196 |
| 2 : 15 : 3 | The Economic Condition | 197 |
| 3 : 16 : 1 | No of Asylum seekers since 1980 in the FRG | 214 |

INTRODUCTION

Tamil speaking lands in many nations throughout Europe and the Western World where a lack of adequate knowledge and understanding of the root causes that underlie their predicament compounds their sufferings and isolation in their exile.

We therefore in this introduction, endeavour to set out in as brief a form as possible a presentation of the socio-political and economic factors underlying the continuing expulsion of the minorities, most of whom are Tamil people, from the island of Ceylon.

THE UNDERLYING CAUSE

Following the major realignment of political trends immediately after the second world war and the disintegration of the British empire in the face of the emerging national liberation movements, the civilised world was treated to a political spectacle whose repercussions were not evident at the time. The act in question occurred in what was then a seemingly peaceful island in the Indian ocean, at the southernmost edge of the Indian subcontinent - Ceylon.

Having won its independence from Britain with no obvious signs of struggle, the island at the time received little attention except for the curious fact that its admission to the United Nations Organisation was repeatedly vetoed by the Soviet Union which, on account of the peculiar defence treaty signed by the departing British Colonial administration and the Island's emerging government, maintained that the Island had not attained complete independence and remained in effect under the continued control of Britain.

The very first government of this island embarked upon a hitherto unprecedented legislative exercise aimed at stripping approximately one million of its total population of nearly eight million citizens of their citizenship (Census of 1953). This political act, that deprived about 12.5% of the island's people of their citizenship and which was not very well publicised at that time, was to lead, sixteen years later to the institutionalisation of a process of deportation on an unimaginable scale - a mass exodus which is still in progress and which shows no sign of coming to an end in the foreseeable future. Strangely no one sought to internationalise these problems whether through neglect or design, we do not know.

The same forces responsible for this disenfranchisement and deportation are at the base of the present exodus of Sri Lankan

Tamils seeking refuge in many nations throughout Europe and the Western World, where a lack of adequate knowledge and understanding of the root causes that underlie their predicament compounds their sufferings and isolation, in their exile.

We therefore, in this introduction, endeavour to set out in as brief a form as possible, a presentation of the socio-political and economic factors underlying this continuing expulsion of the minorities, most of whom are Tamil people, from the island of Ceylon.

THE UNDERLYING CAUSE

The origins of the socio-dynamics which have given rise to this problem in modern times¹ can be traced to the growth of a Buddhist revival movement beginning in the year 1920.

The fact that the official language of the country was at this time English², coupled with the fact that socio-economic and political power rested ultimately with the British colonial administration, made it impossible for this socio-dynamic manifestation to unfold in all its pathological fullness. Hence, the seeds were sown, that would in time grow into a spiralling vine of violence against the minorities that would lead to the present exodus.

The source of this discrimination, oppression and violence lay in this Buddhist revival which as portrayed by its leading proponents consisted of a peculiar mixture of racial, linguistic and religious elements combined with a nationalist sentiment posed in opposition to British colonial domination of the island. This mixture of ideological, cultural and nationalist elements consisted only of those relevant to the majority Sinhala linguistic group and hence alienated the several minority ethnic groups from this movement.

Hence, it could be said that there was at this time a vaguely discernible socio-dynamic behind this Buddhist revivalist movement that so structured it as to alienate the island's minorities; and the minorities, perceiving a threat to their interests, were soon to react to this trend, setting in motion the chain of events that were to lead to the present day crisis.

This conflict of interests was first brought to the fore in the preparation and adoption of the Donoughmore Commission report in 1931. The report of this commission was opposed by all the minorities who saw in its widening of the franchise with

an accompanying removal of all safeguards of minority interests and guarantees of minority representations, a distinct threat to their interests through the domination of the electorate by the Sinhala majority to the detriment of the minorities. Despite this opposition, the report was adopted by a majority of just two votes, and hence the dissatisfaction and misgivings of the minorities, which history has shown to have been eminently prophetic at the time, were suppressed through the democratic process.

THE DONOUGHMORE REPORT

The Donoughmore report was in fact opposed by most of the political parties active at that time, for various reasons. In fact, the only two parties in the island that unreservedly supported the report, were A. E. Gunasinghe's Labcur Union and the Unionist Association. The former supported it from the point of view that it represented a democratic victory for the workers whose inclusion in the franchise it recommended, while the latter³ did so lest opposition to the report unduly delay the grant of self rule to the island.

The Donoughmore report was one of the first attempts to treat the inhabitants of the island as a homogenous group. The opposition to this concept was at that time advanced most vociferously by the Kandyan National Association, which called for a federal political structure for the island, a claim supported with the argument that island had never been constituted into a single political entity until the British colonial government arbitrarily treated it as such. It is interesting to note that the very same argument is being advanced today by the proponents of Tamil-Eelam, a separate state for the Tamil people native to the Northern and Eastern regions. The Tamil people maintain that the inhabitants of the island constitute two distinct nationalities and hence argue that a new constitution should be framed in such a manner as to form an union of two nations.

In the 1947 election under the Soulbury Constitution, the Tamil Congress and the Muslims were invited to align themselves with Mr. D. S. Senanayake's UNP. The marxist parties and even the non marxist representatives of plantation workers were totally ignored by the UNP.

There were obvious reasons for this discriminatory move, the real nature and implications of which are often intentionally obscured and confounded by attributing its cause to the same pathological sociodynamic we are dealing with. That this is

false becomes patently clear when it is remembered that Mr. D.S. Senanayake took great pains to rope in the Tamil Congress, accommodate the Muslims, and even include the overtly racist Sinhala Maha Sabha of S.W.R.D. Bandaranayake in his UNP, but made no such overtures towards the Plantation workers.

PRESSURE FROM THE MARXISTS

There were reasons that ran deeper than even the combination of racial, linguistic, religious and nationalist elements that had combined to the disadvantage of the minorities, behind this refusal to include these workers in the newly formed UNP of D.S. Senanayake. The main reason for their exclusion, as will become evident, was the fact that these plantation workers constituted what in Marxist terminology would be described as the islands only true proletariat. This is to say, that they were totally dependent on the sale of their labour for their subsistence and consequently had no recourse other than to rebellion or starvation whenever the conflict between their interests and those of their landlord employers who controlled the power of the state lead to confrontation.

The second reason was that this proletariat was made class conscious by the activities of the Marxist parties, and had successfully resorted to Trade Union action under the leadership of these parties.

A proletariat that constituted over twelve percent of the population, organised and led by the marxist parties, and emboldened by the universal franchise granted by the Donoughmore reforms, was too much of a direct opposition to be reckoned with. Bringing this opposition into the UNP would have meant the certain surrendering of the leadership of this party to the interests of the workers if nothing worse.

Mr. D.S. Senanayake, it must be remembered, had already resigned from the National Congress in 1942 when the Marxist parties gained entry into this forum, and he therefore certainly never intended his UNP to represent the interests of the plantation workers,

In fact it was in recognition of the pressure he faced from these working class forces, that the British Government at whitehall agreed to grant the island dominion status before the workers revolted and seized political power under the leadership of their marxist parties. At whitehall, there was a clear

understanding that Senanayake and the moderates were facing increasing pressure from left wing forces, apart from other critics and that the immediate grant of Dominion Status was now an urgent necessity as a means of ensuring their political survival'⁴. The grant of this independence was to safeguard the British imperialist economic interest and capital investment apart from securing its strategical defence outposts at Trincomalee through a defence treaty signed with the first Government.

The Marxists were of course knowledgeable enough to see through this 'sham independence' which was the reason for the Soviet Union exercising its veto blocking the entry of the island into the UN. It became evident to the government that this Marxist threat had to be combatted effectively if the British economical and strategical interest and those of the local capitalists were to be safeguarded.

Mr. Senanayake and his colleagues set about this task with all the native shrewdness of this economic class. First he founded his UNP with the sole motive of reducing the strength of his opponents in the national council. Thus his party found places only for those who owned estates and commercial interests without regard to their ideological persuasions or ethnic origins. This strategy excluded the representatives of workers and the Marxist revolutionaries. Hence the representatives of the workers and the proletariat were pushed to the opposition.

DISFRANCHISEMENT

The apprehensions of the government had been confirmed when the results of the general elections of 1947 were announced. At this election more than one fourth of the parliamentary seats⁵ were won by Marxist Parties representing the workers and the proletariat. This victory of the Marxist parties was almost entirely due to the plantation workers. What could result if these parties took to extra parliamentary forms of struggle to advance their interest, posed a grave threat that could not be tolerated by the ruling class.

So the first government of the island, frightened by the electoral strength of the workers and proletariat and threatened by their agitations between 1931 and 1948, was prompted to take the unprecedented step of disenfranchising the entire proletariat who happened to be immigrants. In order to achieve this objective the government took this drastic step, which gave a fillip to the 'Buddhist Revival' movement which proceeded to expand

its activities with a view to rousing the racialist elements to the detriment of the island's ethnic minorities.

Thus the deprivation of the citizenship of this section of the proletariat was justified on the grounds that they were 'alien Indians'—a direct threat to Buddhism, the Sinhala language and Race.

The reaction of the British to this deprivation of the citizenship and related franchise rights of those who until a year ago had been British citizens (Citizens of the British empire) and who had been accepted as citizens of the island at the time of independence, was a deafening silence. No doubt Whitehall silently welcomed this act of Mr. Senanayake as through it the British were indirectly benefited in their endeavour to protect their economic and strategical interests involving the island.

However the politically volatile combination of Racism Religion and linguistic chauvinism, under the cover of the Buddhist revival, had been given free reign in order to legitimise this removal of citizenship. This was to have grave consequences for the entire island before it could live through half a century of independence. A peculiarity of this tragedy was that the majority of the victims were Tamil speaking people from South India who constituted one of the island's major ethnic minorities.

This put the Marxist parties in a predicament of having to choose between supporting this proletariat or supporting the proponents of the Buddhist Revival who traded in the national and religious sentiments of the majority Sinhala community. This had come to be the ideological weapon which the ruling capitalist class would utilise to divide the polity in order to protect their own interests, and position of political power.

VIJAYA-MYTHICAL ORIGINS OF THE SINHALA PEOPLE

Frequent appeals to feudal ideological portraits, in myth, legend and folklore coupled with a fear of invasion from the Indian sub-continent helped the growth of chauvinism within the majority ethnic community. This chauvinism caused a division between the majority and the minority groups, and was justified on the ground of intermittent invasions that the island's history has seen from the rulers of southern India.

The feudal ideological content derives from popular interpretations and embellishments found in the opening chapters of the Mahavamsa, an ancient and mythological chronical of the

history of the majority community in the island. According to the Mahavamsa . . . "when the Guide of the world having accomplished the salvation of the whole world and having reached the utmost stage of blissful rest, was lying on the bed of his nibbana, in the midst of the great assembly of gods, he, the great sage, the greatest of those who have speech, spoke to sakka⁶ who stood there near him: 'Vijaya, son of king Sihabahu, is come to Lanka from the country of Lala, together with seven hundred followers. In Lanka, O lord of gods, will my religion be established, therefore carefully protect him with his followers and Lanka.'"7

These contents can be summarised as follows.

1. That the Sinhalese people are racially distinct from any other people in the world.
2. That they are the only group truly indigenous to the island Sri Lanka, with therefore the greatest right to live on it.
3. That they are under constant threat of conquest, (and subsequent racial annihilation) from all other groups surrounding them, and have no other place to take refuge in.
4. That over the centuries, Buddhism has retained its purest form in Sri Lanka alone, thus making the island a shining example (Light of Asia) of religion.
5. That the Sinhala Buddhist people have been given the historical task of protecting, nurturing, and propogating the Buddha Dharma.

Interestingly the Marxist parties, including the leninist CPSL and the more radical 'Trotskyite' LSSP with its claim to ideological purity and Bolshhevik Leninist inheritance, chose to act in clear contradiction of Leninists teachings on the matter of nationalist chauvinism and chose instead to play to the gallery by towing the racist nationalist line and accepting the deprivation of citizenship that had been effected.

Hence not only was the proletariat deprived of its citizenship and political rights but the entire ethnic group consisting of persons of Indian origin lost their parliamentary representation as well through this act. This led to the landed class amidst this community taking to struggle against this deprivation of citizenship rights on the basis of an ethnic identity. Thus they found of themselves leaders of this community that consists of mainly workers and the Marxist parties were forced to surrender their hold on this revolutionary segment of the population. The stage

was thus set for a deterioration of the existing class consciousness to the benefit of the ideological contents of the Buddhist revival that was now clearly a racist chauvinism. One of the political consequences of this removal of the citizenship rights of 12.5% of the population who constituted a minority community, was that members of the majority community received an unequal representation in parliament, further ripening grounds for dissent and protest on the part of the minorities.

SINHALA ONLY

The next act in the drama unfolded itself with the break-away of S.W.R.D. Bandaranayake's Sinhala Maha Sabha from Senanayake's UNP in 1950. Bandaranayake was a liberal democrat with a hazy understanding of the concept and consequences of language and nationality being used as a political focal point in a context where two major languages and four major ethnic groups sought to coexist within an economy dominated by a minute class of landlords and businessmen. He however understood that pandering to the concept of the island being home to the Sinhala nation, and its survival as such being under threat from a vast Tamil presence in South India, served well to polarise the majority community around his party and ensure its political dominance. Moreover his nationalism had certain Democratic elements such as the restoration of the Sinhalese language and culture that had suffered under the colonial era, as well as the indigenous religious, political and cultural institutions. The identification of 'indigenous' with 'Sinhala' led to the exclusion of all other ethnic groups from the emerging national identity. To this extent Bandaranayake's nationalism degenerated into a Racial, Religious and Linguistic National Chauvinism that patronised the interests of the Sinhala Majority at the expense of those of the minorities.

There was no proletariat, or if any a statistically negligible one, amongst the majority community, most of whom still held ancestral peasant properties. Hence there was little possibility of any section of this community being organised to oppose the powerful racist sentiments that the Bandaranayake brand of politics had given rise to. The peasantry who formed over 80% of the people of this community fell solidly in line with his SLFP and consequently Senanayake's UNP tasted an unprecedented defeat at the elections along with the left parties.

The UNP's last minute attempt to incorporate elements of this nationalism into its own campaign was ineffective mainly because of the elitist Western image of the party and its lack of

appeal to the masses whose support Bandaranayake with his indigenous image had won for himself. In keeping with his chauvinist tendencies, Bandaranayake promised his electoral base that he would make Sinhala the only official language of the country. As a result of this move, the first post independence resistance of the minorities emerged. Violence between Tamil and Sinhala speaking people erupted for the first time. Tamils from the South were sent as refugees towards the Tamil regions in the North and East. When the violence erupted in the plantation areas a large number of Tamil plantation workers were moved to the Kilinochchi district.

FIRST EXILE - MIGRATION

The consequences of the Sinhala only act led to the first mass migration of non-Sinhala speaking peoples from the island. All those who fled to the western world at this time were well educated, professionally distinguished and English speaking westernised persons. The west welcomed these immigrants from whose presence there was much to benefit. Most of these persons settled in Australia, Canada, USA and Britain while others sought employment in Nigeria, Ghana, Zambia and other African countries. At this time no one considered these persons to be economic refugees or refugees of any sort, but welcomed them as valuable professionals and immigrants along the lines of the comprador attitude so blatantly exhibited on a recent UNHCR Poster that proudly points out 'Refugees bring more than their bundle of belongings Even Einstein was a refugee'. The flight of the professionals and the intellectuals was welcomed in the west. This did not solve the problem of the island's minorities.

SECOND EXILE - DEPORTATION

The second exodus of the Tamil speaking minorities began with the institutionalisation of a process of deportation in the form of a 'repatriation' pact under which almost 50% of the now stateless plantation workers were to be sent to India, a land which most of them had heard of but never seen. This process of deportation was to be completed over a period of fifteen years but even after the passage of twenty three years it is still continuing. The de-humanising nature of this pact was not taken seriously. There was no strong protest against this inhuman act at international level. This pact is a flagrant contravention of the UN charter on human rights. According to article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (10th December

1948), 'everyone has a right to a nationality; no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality or denied the right to change his nationality'. It was only after nineteen seventy five (1975) that it was realised that the consequences of this deportation was the destitution and often death of these people in the alien land of their exile, and the realisation of its cruel and inhuman nature began to be felt by a few international bodies.

THIRD EXILE - REFUGEES

The third phase of this exodus began in 1972 with the change in the name of the island to Sri Lanka and the adoption of a new constitution on a republican model. An unfortunate feature of this constitution was that the rights of the Tamil language - the language of the minorities - was further eroded and the minorities themselves faced discrimination in the field of education and employment. Buddhism for all purposes was made the state religion and the political life of the island came to be dominated by the Sinhalese Buddhists who made up 65% of its population.

During this period the government began to adopt an aggressive attitude towards the Tamil minority, native to the North and East and subsequently new army camps were opened in these areas. The reasons for this was the government's fear of resistance on the part of this minority. At this time the frustrated minority youth, many of whom faced harassment at the hands of the armed forces, began to flee the island and migrate to France, Germany and other European countries, where at that time visas were not required for Sri Lankans. Some were absorbed as immigrants while others applied for refugee status and were allowed to remain on humanitarian grounds.

This trickle of refugees was accelerated after 1977 when under the present UNP regime vicious communal violence was un-leashed against the Tamil minority. This trend took on mass proportion after the 83 violence and continues upto this day and may well carry on into the future in the face of the harsh militarist policies of state terror being adopted by the present government, in order to crush the struggle of the minorities for their legitimate rights. The deterioration of democratic rights that has accompanied this assault on the minorities, will in the context of the growing economic crisis soon lead to persons belonging to the majority Sinhalese community, as well fleeing the island in the face of increasing government repression.

The experience since independence indicates that the Ceylonese society is not heterogenous. Zolsberg adopts the term 'Syncretic' to describe a society in which 'A process of

amalgamation and integration is being adopted⁸. This is in fact what has been happening in Ceylon since independence up to 1972. Most controversial issues such as those over the national flag, colonisation schemes, deportation of the up country Tamils, the language question, Buddhism as the state religion, have been solved not by compromises, but by unilateral implementation by sheer weight of majority Sinhala Buddhist domination and the states repressive machinery. But today these issues are being questioned by the minorities who are exploited by this process of forced acquiescence and it can only be hoped that their just struggle for a restructuring of the constitution and state apparatus towards a more democratic form finds success.

3. The Ceylon Unionist Association was a body of Western Oriented elite elements - British Subjects - who advocated the view point that the Ceylonese political leaders lacked in administrative, political and legislative experience and hence took the stand that the island was not ready for self rule.

4. K.M.D. Silva's A history of Sri Lanka, Oxford University Press, 1981 p-450

5. In 1947 election 88 parliamentary seats were allocated to 89 electorates. Out of this the UNP won 42 seats, C.F. independent 21, the leftist parties (L.S.P-10, S.L.F. 5, C.P. 3 and C.F.C. 7, one independent who took a leftist stand, total seats 86)

6. Sakka - A name of Indra - King of the gods.

7. The Mahavamsa translated by Wilhelm Geiger, published by the Ceylon Government Information Department, Colombo 1950 p-55

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2. De Silva's work clearly and unequivocally points out the link between language, religion, 'race' and nation in the constitution of this socio dynamic with its consequently strong pathological nature
3. The Ceylon Unionist Association was a body of Western Oriented elitist elements --- 'Pukkah Sahibs' --- who advocated the view point that the Ceylonese political leaders lacked in administrative, political and legislative experience and hence took the stand that the island was not ready for self rule.
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5. In 1947 election 95 parliamentary seats were allocated to 89 electorates. Out of this the UNP won in 42 seats, TC-7, independent 21, the leftist parties (LSSP-10, BLP-5, CP-3, and CIC-7, one independent who took a leftist stand; total seats 26.)
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PART ONE

**Immigrants and
Displaced People
in Sri Lanka**

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Displaced People
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IMMIGRATION UNDER COLONIAL RULE

Ceylonese by nature are not migratory. In Ceylon the rate of growth of population was not as rapid as in the neighbouring countries. The land tenure system was such that the pressure for land too was not as great as in India. Hence there was no economic necessity for the agricultural population to migrate. However the new English educated class did not find adequate scope for satisfying their economic ambition in Ceylon and if necessary were prepared to go abroad when openings were available.

Malaya (1) - (Malaysia) was one of the few countries where the middle class Tamils found some opportunities of earning a better living than they could in Ceylon. The immigration into Malaya from other countries had certainly commenced by 1787 if not earlier. It is generally believed that Ceylonese immigration to Malaya began about the year 1867. The acute shortage of trained staff for administrative and clerical functions caused the government of Malaya to appeal to the government of Ceylon to send Ceylonese for service to Malaya. From the year 1867 at the invitation and encouragement of the Malayan government large numbers of Ceylonese subordinate officers, practically all of whom were Ceylon Tamils from Jaffna, secured employment in building roads, in surveying lands and in doing the work of clerks, dressers etc (2).

The 1891 and 1901 census reports mention some emmigration from Ceylon to Malaya and Australia but no figures are available till 1921, when the first complete census of Malaya was taken. In the 1947 census an attempt was made to split up the Ceylonese into their racial components, but the attempt did not meet with complete success as many of the Tamils and Sinhalese preferred to be termed simply as Ceylonese, rather than as Ceylon Tamils or Sinhalese.

CEYLONESE IN MALAYA :

| YEAR | CEYLON TAMILS | SINHALESE | OTHER CEYLONESE | TOTAL |
|------|------------------|-----------|--------------------|--------|
| 1947 | 16,783 | 2,946 | 3,033 | 22,762 |
| 1931 | | | | 18,490 |

Source; Compiled from the 'Malaya Census Report' (3)

About 88% of the Ceylonese live in five states of the Federation of Malaya; Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, Pahang and Jahore. Unlike the South Indians in Malaya, the Ceylonese did not work on the estates. They were mostly white collar employees and traders. The Ceylon Tamils are mainly clerks in government departments and the railways and the Sinhalese are shop keepers and traders.

In the absence of adequate local English - educated people to be involved both in the government and private sector, the Malay States had no alternative, but to seek their necessary requirement of English - speaking junior staff from sources outside Malaya and most of the persons recruited from these sources were Indians and Ceylonese. In the case of Indians and Ceylonese the conditions in Malaya were sufficiently attractive. For example; wages offered to clerks, teachers and technical assistants in the late 19th century, in Malaya were substantially higher than those prevailing in Ceylon.

Moreover there was the promise of a steady job in a not too distant country and in the case of government service the attraction of permanent pensionable employment. This was considered the ultimate in success by many contemporary Tamils as is exemplified by the following popular Tamil quotation.

'Koli meithalum companikku mei'-(even if it means just tending fowls it is better to do so for the company; That is the government)

'Arai kasu velaiyanalum Arasanga velai vendum' (Even if it is a job worth only half a cent it should be a government job.)

In 1788 the Governor General, Lord Cornwallis, recommended that persons sentenced to life, or 7 years imprisonment or the forfeiture of their limbs should henceforth be transported to Penang or some similar place. According to this, Indians, Ceylonese, Chinese and European convicts were transported to the Straits Settlement during the 19th century. Indians formed 85% of this transmarine convict population of the colony during its

tenure as a penal station. Following agitation by the resident European population, transportation of Europeans, Chinese and Ceylonese convicts ceased by 1854, 1856 and 1873 respectively. (4)

In 1935 a Jaffna Tamil was appointed as an Indian representative to the Selangore State Council thus demonstrating that Ceylonese have been registered as Indians. This policy pursued by the British government has led to silent tension which persists to this date between the Ceylonese and Indian communities in Malaya. Various organisations including the office of commissioners for Ceylon and India have been advising Indians and Ceylonese to become citizens of the Federation. According to the Annual Federation of Malaya Report in 1955 approximately 302,000 Indians, Pakistanis and Ceylonese had become Federal citizens. (5) The community of Ceylonese people in Malaysia have no parliamentary representation and no allotted quota of government employment opportunities or for entrance to higher education abroad. Within Malaysia they find themselves with no option other than to adopt a strategy of genetic integration with the Indian community who have parliamentary representation and quotas for education and employment.

CEYLONESE IN AUSTRALIA

The number of Ceylonese who are enumerated in the Australian census is very small. The birth place statistics show a much larger number who are born in Ceylon. For example the number of Ceylon born was 638 in the 1933 census whereas the number of Ceylonese was 274. It is possible that many of those who migrated to Australia from Ceylon—the majority of whom are fair-skinned Burghers—renounced their Ceylon nationality and became naturalised Australians or failed to give their race as Ceylonese. The number of Ceylonese enumerated in the Australian census is given below.

| | 1921 | 1933 | 1947 |
|------------|------|------|------|
| Full Blood | | | |
| Male | 231 | 196 | 97 |
| Female | 38 | 78 | 53 |
| Total | 269 | 274 | 150 |
| Half Blood | | | |
| Male | 62 | 39 | 51 |
| Female | 49 | 37 | 53 |
| Total | 111 | 76 | 104 |

Source : Compiled from the census report of Australia.⁶

The decline in the number of full blood and the half caste Ceylonese during 1933-1947 was a result of the 'white Australia' policy pursued in that country in controlling immigration, and the emigration of Ceylon Burghers to Australia after the war.

The emigration from Ceylon was of negligible dimension until 1970. Its character, however, is quite different from that of other Asian countries. Ceylon has exported mostly white collar workers and not unskilled labour to Australia. Being educated these emigrant have a greater power to assimilate the foreign culture and are more easily able to adjust themselves to it. The recent exodus commenced after the communal riots would have increased the Ceylonese population in Australia.

CEYLONESE IN AUSTRALIA

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| 1947 | 1933 | 1921 | Full Blood |
|------|------|------|------------|
| 97 | 198 | 231 | Male |
| 53 | 78 | 38 | Female |
| 150 | 274 | 269 | Total |
| | | | Half Blood |
| 81 | 39 | 63 | Male |
| 22 | 37 | 49 | Female |
| 104 | 76 | 111 | Total |

Source: Compiled from the census report of Australia.

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REPATRIATION OR EXILE ?

Approximately 850,000 'Indian Tamils' were living in Ceylon at the time of its being granted independence in 1948. This immigrant labour force increased gradually depending on the demand for wage labour, procured for employment in the plantation economy built up within the island under British colonial rule. Even prior to the laying out of the vast coffee plantations under the British, a small number of approximately 4,000 Indian immigrants had been employed in the spice gardens of the Dutch and portuguese colonial administrations.

Although the immigration of these Indians was after a time sponsored by the colonial government itself on the demand of the plantation owners, it was economic incentive rather than state compulsion which made immigration attractive, to these Indians. Indigenous labour was not available due to the sparse population at the time, and the system of land tenure that had prevailed under the indigenous monarchical system under which almost every person had his own peasant plot to work, making employment as wage labour distinctly unattractive and economically unnecessary.

HILL COUNTRY TAMILS

These plantation workers are defined by the island's constitution as 'people of recent Indian origin' and they are also popularly referred to as 'Indian Tamils' or 'Plantation Tamils'. What is stressed in these terms of definition is the fact that they are defined as 'Indians' and therefore aliens. This attitude of rejection is embodied in the derogative term, 'kalla Thoni' (illicit immigrant) used to intimidate them. This community is the only section of the working class that is totally depen-

dent on the sale of its labour alone for its sustenance, thus being the proletariat of the island. The class contradiction between itself and the large peasantry of both Sinhala and Tamil communities in the island is expressed by the derogatory term, 'Thotta kattan' whose meaning would roughly translate as 'uncivilised plantation labourer' or cooly 'untouchable' used by the peasantry and other sections of the working class, who exhibit a largely petty bourgeois orientation, to belittle these workers.

In our study we will refer to these people as 'hill country Tamils' because these people have come to be identified with the tea plantations situated in the island's central hill country regions that have become their home. Today about 10% of the total number of these workers have moved out, or been driven out by the United Front governments land alienation polices (1970-1977) in the hill country. There is also a tendency to refer to these same workers as 'Upcountry Tamils' which is an acceptable Sinhalaisation of the term hill country which in Sinhala would translate as 'Uda Rata' literally Up=Uda, and country=Rata and hence upcountry.

The very first government of Ceylon stripped off the citizenship of this largely working class community. This was the first time in modern history as far as we discern, where a nation state took this extraordinary step of depriving 12.5% of its population of its citizenship rights.

These workers had been treated fairly equally under the British rule. The Donoughmore Commission granted to these workers the rights of franchise in the teeth of fierce opposition by a few Sinhalese leaders. The reasons for this have their roots in political economy. Though we have briefly outlined their basic nature in our introduction, we will leave this matter to be treated in full in a separate publication later.

Having been stripped of their citizenship rights, these workers were unable to exercise their franchise or partake in the political life of the country. Then in 1964, the Prime Ministers of India and Ceylon collaborated in the signing of the infamous Sirimavo-Shastri pact that doomed 5,25,000 of these persons to be deported to India, a land they had heard of but never seen. Hence began one of the greatest forced deportations of modern times, and the resistance of these workers to the inhuman act imposed upon them was crushed by the instigation of violence and terror campaigns against them. During the period of 1970-1977 an increased quota of these people were driven out under

the scheme of village expansion to settle the Sinhalese supporters of the SLFP. The coalition government then in power felt that these workers had voted against it at the last election and hence pursued a policy of senseless intimidation so that the process of deportation reached its peak during this period. 250,000 workers were deported within this period as against only 20,000 before this government came into power. It is a glaring fact that the LSSP and the CP who were the partners of the SLFP in this coalition were both working class parties but betrayed the interest of these workers.

INSTITUTIONALISATION OF EXILE

The attempt to give this process of deportation a facade of justification and legitimacy through the institutionalisation of the so called repatriation pact led to further problems in its implementation. The programme of rehabilitation of these hapless people had not been properly planned and executed or its feasibility studied and certified. The Criteria for the selection of persons for the various schemes were not clearly defined or explained both to the repatriates as well as to the officials dealing with them. Immigration officials often arbitrarily forced their own decisions on the deportees. Official apathy and often acts of gross inhumanity further eroded the dignity of these deportees. Arbitrary implementation of the pact on a statistical basis led to the splitting up of families with several instances of husbands and wives being separated.

On reaching the country of their exile, viz., India, where, according to the repatriation pact, they were expected to be absorbed into the mainstream of normal life they were considered alien Ceylon refugees and not Indians. Thus this community found itself placed in a psychologically fatal schizophrenic double bind situation where in their own country they were considered alien Indians and treated as such, and when pushed into exile in India were treated there as alien Ceylon Refugees. Their national alienation was therefore complete. This alienation is perhaps best exemplified in the name board displayed in an estate in Kanyakumari district in south India, where some of these deportees have been employed. The board reads "Ceylon Refugees Plantation."

LACK OF INTEGRATION

A great deal of material has been published on the relationship between the Tamils of the North and East and the hill country Tamils, emphasising the antagonism evident between the two communities. The point usually made out is that the

Tamils of the North and East have been indifferent to and have segregated themselves from the hill country Tamils. Though most of these publications are based on popular perception, the antagonism evident in the relationship between the two communities is an unavoidable reality. Hence it is impossible to gloss over this fact and it is necessary to dispassionately study the causes from which this situation has arisen. As far as is evident to us these causes are as follows :

1. The plantation areas being private property, not even the Sinhalese people from surrounding regions could enter there. The plantation workers were also not allowed to move out of the plantation limits. Outsiders were not permitted to enter these plantation areas even for purposes of petty trade. This total isolation made it impossible for the workers to be aware of their situation in relation to the overall situation of the island. Hence they were not even aware of the possibility of organising themselves in order to agitate for the improvement of their situation.
2. In addition to this isolation, the hill country Tamils were cut off from the Tamils of the North and East because of their geographical situation. The plantations are situated in the central hill country region of the island, surrounded by the majority Sinhalese community and cut off from the Tamils of the North and East.
3. The Kankanies and the merchant classes, who derived their economic gains from these plantation workers, were averse to any relationship developing between these workers and other communities. The Kankanies, merchants and traders who operated amongst these workers were mostly Tamils of Indian origin like the workers themselves, and they wished to monopolise the economic turnover arising from these workers. The result of this policy was that the plantation workers were further isolated from the rest of the island's people.
4. The Trade Unions which began a hundred years after the first set of plantation workers arrived, operated on a short-sighted policy of building personality cults around their leaders. This would not have been possible if there were strong links between the workers and the rest of the island's people. Hence towards this end, the Trade Unions tended to maintain the distinction and division between the two communities.

5. The low caste status of the plantation workers, their economic subjugation and pathetic living conditions created an inherent sense of inferiority in their self identity. Around 50% of the Tamils of the North and East were of the Brahmins, Vellalas, Kovias and Pandaram castes which are accorded a very high status under the caste system whereas the workers in the majority belonged to Pallan, Parayan and Chakkilian castes which are far inferior. These were important factors contributing towards their isolation.
6. The ideology spread by the ruling classes that these hill country Tamils were 'Indians' and therefore different from the rest of the people of the island played a major role in their isolation.
7. The personality cults built around trade union leaders were extended to include popular Indian politicians as well as Indian film personalities, and this led the workers to identify with a projected 'Indian Ethos', thereby strengthening the contention that they were alien Indians whose political loyalties were towards Indian interests and leading to the isolation of this community from the Tamils in the North East and the island's people in general.
8. The lack of educational facilities of an equal level to that which was available to the rest of the island's people, kept these workers trapped within an inferior educational system and thus further contributed towards their isolation and alienation.
9. The isolation of the women workers was even more complete since they were treated as vassals by their husbands and were not even allowed to collect their own wages which were paid to their husbands
10. The lack of sufficient economic development to cater to the population in the North and East made it impossible for hill country Tamils to move to these areas and integrate themselves within this community.

Hence it is evident that economic and social factors were operating towards the prevention of the integration of these two communities, but this lack of integration is often projected as arising from some personal antagonism and this projected version has served to strengthen the contradictions that have arisen between the two groups.

ACCUSATIONS AGAINST CEYLON TAMILS

The effects of these social and economic contradictions are often publicised in an emotional rather than an analytical manner leading to real antagonism bordering on animosity having been built up between the two communities. This animosity is as real as the economic and social situations from which it has emerged, but the continued lack of a co-operative relationship between the two groups cannot be remedied by the projection of the situation as one that has arisen out of a conflict in human relations. The two accusations frequently voiced from this non-analytic point of view are as follows:

1. That the Tamils native to the North and East of the island did not launch any significant or strong protests against the citizenship act of 1948 which was used to deprive these workers of their citizenship.
2. That the Tamils of the North and East, who played the role of teachers and clerks on the plantations, did not see to the benefits of the hill country Tamils.

With regard to the first accusation, it must be conceded that it is partly correct as is evident from the fact that one of the members of the Tamil Congress, that drew its electoral strength from the Tamils of the North and East, did support the citizenship act and voted with the ruling United National Party. At the same time, another member of the same Tamil Congress, Mr. S.J.V. Chelvanayagam, opposed the citizenship act walked out of the parliament along with a few others and formed the Federal Party. His contention was that 'Today the axe has fallen on the hill country Tamils, tomorrow it will be on the traditional Tamils'. This shows clearly that the Tamil Congress was not representing one unified interest of the Tamils of the North and East. Though this faction did not launch any mass agitation in opposition to this citizenship act, it made clear its opposition to this act and also the grounds on which it did so.

The same member of the Tamil Congress who voted with the government on the citizenship act had earlier put forward a proposal for the sharing of power between the majority Sinhalese and the other minorities on a 50-50 basis. His proposal, however, had been rejected then. At the time when this proposal had been put forward, there were several Sinhalese factions who rejected the granting of the franchise to the estate workers.

His voting with the government on the citizenship act, therefore, indicated that he had since found common cause with these Sinhalese who saw the electoral franchise of the workers as a threat to their interests, and that he saw the eradication of this threat as being of sufficient urgency to override the threat of the same trend, leading to a general and widespread discrimination against other minority groups as well. Today the same Tamil Congress has failed to make any significant contribution to the struggle for the democratic rights of the minorities.

The accusation levelled against the Tamils of the North and East to the effect that they failed to oppose the citizenship act in 1948 is, therefore, not entirely accurate as on analysis it become apparent that it was only a section of this community represented by the leaders of the Tamil Congress who supported this act. This section cannot therefore, be taken to represent the stand of the Tamil people of these areas as a whole; most of whom are unlikely to have been able to discern the consequence of the citizenship act. In the absence of adequate conscientisation on the issue these people could hardly be expected to identify with an oppressed minority about whom they knew very little.

It must also be pointed out that the workers, affected by this act, did not themselves engage in any vigorous or sustained agitations against it and here it is clearly their own leadership which was at fault.² The leadership of these workers did not take the trouble to explain to them the consequences of this act and mobilise them to protest against it. Instead they concentrated a few hundred middle class elements in the capital city of Colombo for an ill organised and ineffective demonstration which was of little use. The question of why their leaders failed to take this problem to the workers themselves is of decisive importance.

Had the workers launched an agitation against this act, it would have led to a serious breakdown of the island's economy with approximately 75% of its foreign exchange earnings being abruptly cut off. Any attempt by the government to repress these protests would have led to a serious and major breakdown in law and order. Elements within the Tamil Congress who had opposed the citizenship act may well have launched a movement amongst the Tamils in the North and East in sympathy with the striking workers and the two communities would have begun to move closer together in their opposition to governments poli-

cies that went against their interests. The political situation in the island would have been severely destabilised and it is possible that the government would have been forced to resign. It is also possible that the leadership of the workers could have ousted the government and come to power themselves. Obviously the leaders of the workers wanted none of these things to happen, and hence they refrained from awakening the workers to the plight they were being pushed into. It comes as no surprise then, that the leadership of the workers in the CIC and the leadership of the then ruling United National party have maintained a cordial and mutually beneficent relationship ever since this incident in the island's history. It is also no coincidence that the leaders and the financial interests who supported the major workers' Party, the Ceylon Indian Congress, and those who supported the ruling United National Party, were both landlords and wealthy businessmen as were the leaders and interests behind the Tamil Congress which voted with the government on the citizenship act. It is, therefore, patently inaccurate to claim that the Tamils of the North and East failed to support the plantation workers by opposing the citizenship act in 1948.

Rather, the fact of the matter is that the wealthy landlords and elites of all the communities including the leadership of the plantation workers did not oppose this act. But chose to acquiesce to the government in its aim of disenfranchising these workers. The middle class and the professionals amidst those affected by the citizenship act, who participated in the abortive demonstration organised by the Ceylon Indian Congress and those factions that broke away from the Tamil Congress to form the Federal Party, were clearly aware of a common interest in opposing this discriminatory legislation aimed at ripping away the rights of the minorities.

The most unfortunate consequence of this act was that the plantation workers came to be totally dependent on the leadership of the elite elements amongst the Indian immigrant community. This group, instead of acting in defence of the economic and political interests of the hapless workers, allied themselves with the ruling elites and thus become an appendage of the government with the sole motive of feathering their own nests.

NEGLECT OF THE CEYLON TAMILS

The second accusation has two aspects; one being the alleged neglect suffered by the plantation workers under the indigenous Tamils who were employed as teachers and the other

the neglect they suffered at the hands of clerks from this community of indigenous Tamils.

Educational facilities for the plantation workers were denied in a systematic manner until the government forced the estate proprietors to provide the workers with elementary schooling facilities. Since there were no qualified persons among the workers who could be recruited as teachers, the plantation management recruited semi-qualified teachers from the Ceylon Tamils. These recruits had to leave their families and the environment to which they were accustomed in order to take up employment in the plantations under certainly trying conditions.

In the plantation, they were faced with the task of having to teach the workers' children in schools which lacked proper teaching facilities. Further they found that the management did not take their role as teachers seriously and merely looked upon them as persons whose responsibility was to keep the children occupied while their parents were at work. The deprivation that the children of these workers had been subjected to for generations made it necessary for a special curriculum to be devised to enculturise these children if they were to meet the demands of a modern education, and for this task the estate schools were hopelessly inadequate. The salaries that were paid to these teachers were far too low to function as an effective economic incentive for the task they faced. The result was that most of these teachers were soon disillusioned and frustrated, and many of them lapsed into a resigned depression. Others responded to the nearly impossible task they faced by taking their profession lightly.

Undoubtedly the challenges the teachers faced cannot be seen as an excuse for their failure to rise to the occasion. It is clear that they ought to have pointed out the shortcomings of the educational system under which they were forced to work. Perhaps if they had done so, adequate reforms might have been brought out by the authorities. In failing to press for the same, these teachers are undoubtedly guilty of the accusations brought against them. However, it is nothing but right to mention that a few of these teachers did carry out their work in a spirit of dedication. As a result of their dedicated service there are over a hundred and fifty students from the plantations who have been able to enter the universities for higher education. Hence when this accusation is made against these teachers, it must be kept in mind that it is not merely a matter of their personal failure to do their duty effectively but also that they were placed within a

system that failed to provide the facilities and environment needed for them to function efficiently. It must also be noted that the children of the Kankanies and other officers of higher grades belonging to the same Indian immigrant community of which the plantation workers were a part, did receive adequate educational opportunities outside the estate environment. But despite this, none of them chose to return to the estates and serve their people as teachers. Hence in a sense, gratitude is due to these teachers from the North and East who left their families and friends and their accustomed environment in order to serve the plantation workers as teachers.

The situation regarding clerks and other officers was somewhat different. The very nature of their functions placed them in a relationship of dominance and antagonism with the workers. Often they were in a position to influence the future of the workers. Moreover they were the persons who had to act as intermediaries between the workers and the superintendent or manager of the plantation. There were many clerks and other officers who were from the Indian immigrant community as well, and they were placed in the same relationship with the workers. Moreover the kankanies had to deal with these clerks and officers and the two often colluded for purposes of their own financial advancement at the cost of the plantation workers. These factors naturally earned them the suspicion and in some instances the hostility of the workers. Hence it becomes clear that it is not the ethnic identity of the clerks and officers but their position on the hierarchy of estate management that led to the distrust and antagonism in their relations with the workers.

The strength of these accusations made against the indigenous Tamils is beginning to wane as the repression of the Tamil speaking minorities gains momentum. The inevitability of some form of co-operative relationship emerging between the two communities began to be clear with the enactment of the Official Language Act of 1956. Though at the time, the plantation Tamils were not aware of the extent to which this Act would affect their future the present trends are sharply focussing their attention on this issue. The nationalisation of the plantations opened them to the people at large, making it possible for the two communities to strengthen their relationship. Moreover the ethnic violence has brought into sharp focus the dilemma of the plantation Tamils who must now decide whether they are to remain on the plantations or migrate to India or move to the North and East. Several of these workers, who were evicted from their estates under the NADSA programme initiated in 1976 (3), have

already made their choice and moved to the traditional Tamil areas where they hope to build their future in solidarity with the indigenous Tamils. Approximately 81, 095 of these workers have already moved to these regions.

The deciding factor will in all probability be the attitude that the traditional Tamils display towards the hill country Tamils. Following the race riots in 1977 and 1981, large numbers of young people belonging to the traditional Tamil community engaged themselves in helping the affected hill country Tamils to migrate to traditional Tamil areas and establish themselves there. This attitude of solidarity and assistance is a new development in the relationship between the two communities and may well prove to be the foundation for a large movement of Tamils from the hill country toward, the North and East. Despite the best of intentions, however, there are bound to be difficulties in their resettlement. It will take at least another generation for integration to take place to an appreciable extent. The trend towards a movement of people from the hill country to the North and East is reflected in the words of Mr. Amirthaligam who at a seminar at Tellipalai said that 'In the interest of security I feel it would be good if the hill country Tamils migrate to the Northern and Eastern provinces. We are ready to solve their problems and we propose to appoint Welfare Officers in the District Development Councils to solve their problems' (4)

THE EXODUS - THE EXILE

Until 1947, the hill country Tamils had the same political rights as that of the island's people with the exception of the right to vote at village councils which they lost in 1937. The Village Committee Ordinance of 1924 was amended in 1937 to disenfranchise these Tamils from village council elections. Besides this amendment to the Village Committee Ordinance, several ordinances were passed between 1931 and 1947, which indirectly operated towards the economic deprivation and marginalisation of this community. Since independence in 1948, there have been several pacts and agreements aimed not only at the further marginalisation but also at the forced deportation of persons belonging to this community. Despite these attacks on the legitimacy of their citizenship, most of these Tamils continue to consider themselves as part of the island's people.

POLITICAL CONTROVERSY

The 'Indian issues' became a political problem when these Tamils were given a representation in the State legislative

council under the communal representation system. The Sinhalese nationalists were of the opinion that these people were not the permanent settlers of this country and demanded that they should not be given representation in the State legislative assembly. The question of 'permanent settlement' has been raised continuously right through the whole controversy over the 'Indian migrants' position in Ceylon. The following three reports have assessed the degree of permanent settlement of these migrant estate workers in Ceylon.

1. The Donoughmore Commission (1928) estimated that 40—50 percent of the Indian estate workers were permanently settled in this country.
2. The Jackson report on immigration (1938) estimated the number of estate workers who were permanently settled at 60%.
3. The Soulbury Commission report (1946) puts the figure at 80%.

The Sinhala nationalist leaders of the Ceylon polity have always regarded most of the Indian migrants as 'transit aliens' without permanent interest in Ceylon. But the Indian government's opinion was generally that the majority of the Indian population in Ceylon were permanently settled in the island.

Further what is clear is that the majority of hill country Tamils never wanted to leave the country. This is supported by the fact that under the Indian and Pakistani Residents (citizenship) Act, as many as 825,000 of these workers had applied for Sri Lankan Citizenship.⁵ All these prove that it was a few Sinhalese chauvinist politicians who wanted to deprive these people of their basic Human Rights⁶.

All attempts at an agreement to deport these workers to India were objected to by the Indian government until 1964.⁷ It was only in 1964 that the government of Ceylon succeeded in getting India round to accept what it termed the 'Repatriation of the Workers'. From the days of partition in 1947, India has been undertaking the rehabilitation of persons from Tibet, Pakistan, Burma, Vietnam, and Bangladesh. But the rehabilitation of the deported Tamils has run into difficulty since these people have all the characteristics of a backward society economically unprogressive, culturally backward, socially disorganised and illiterate. So these workers were totally unprepared and

unwilling to face displacement. They have been confused, dispirited and disheartened by this process. The process of deportation up to now has caused enormous hardship to these hill country Tamils from the time they prepare themselves for legal documentation, travelling from the estates to the Talaimannar pier, and to Mandapam till they are sent to the place of settlement.

REHABILITATION SCHEMES IN INDIA

According to the official figures, 83,122 families consisting of 415,000 persons have been resettled under the various schemes of assistance up to Oct. 1983.

Table 2 : 1 No. of repatriate families settled in India.

| | | |
|---------------------------|---|--------|
| Kerala | — | 1,551 |
| Andra Pradesh | — | 1,516 |
| Karnataka | — | 988 |
| Tamil Nadu | — | 78,998 |
| Andaman & Nicobar islands | — | 64 |
| Pondichery | — | 4 |
| Gujarat | — | 1 |

It is not known whether these families have become self reliant or are eking out a miserable existence.

The types of assistance given to these deportees whose assets do not exceed Rs. 10,000/- are the following :

1. Employment in government tea, rubber, chinchona projects and State Farm Corporation (For larger families having 5 passports and more, work is offered to only 2 members in each family).
2. Employment in factories like spinning mills, sugar mills transport corporation etc. (Only one male member between 18-25 in each family is given employment, and that too, only for families with 5 or more passports).
3. Settlement in land colonies with land assigned for cultivation. (For families with 5 or more passports).
4. Loans for purchase of lands for cultivation.

5. Business loans of Rs. 5,000/ = per family for self employment.
6. Financial aid for housing Rs. 6,000 in urban areas and Rs. 3,000 in rural areas up to 1980. This aid was increased from 1981 by Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 1000 respectively.
7. Repatriates Bank Scheme Loans from 1981. The ceiling on such loans is Rs. 25,000 per family.
Out of these schemes, the following chart shows the distribution of families amongst these various schemes :⁸

TABLE 1 : 2 : REPATRIATES SCHEMES

| Schemes | No. of families up to 1983 | Percentage to total | Achievement 1984-85 | Target 1985-86 |
|---|----------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| 1. Business loans | 67,748 | 81.5 | 2025 | 4,568 |
| 2. Plantation | 4,571 | 5.5 | — | 450 |
| 3. Industrial (Co-op, self employment, IIT pro) | 3,938 | 4.7 | 1183 | 2,085 |
| 4. Agricultural & Sericulture | 2,500 | 3.0 | — | 460 + 200 |
| 5. State Farm Corporation | 791 | 1.0 | — | — |
| 6. Bank schemes | (3,450) | — | 451 | 1,000 |
| 7. Other States | 3,120 | 3.8 | 373 | 1,500 |
| 8. New schemes | — | — | — | 4,202 |

TABLE 1:2:2

Statement of expenditure (Rupees in thousands) 1983-1986

| Name of the scheme | Actual expenditure 1983,84 | Revised expenditure 1984,85 | Budget estimate 1985,86 |
|--|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Business loan | 1,818,707 | 22,849 | 14,790 |
| 2. Housing loan | 23,945 | 21,770 | 21,700 |
| 3. Land colonisation scheme (loan) | 8 | 235 | 235 |
| 4. Purchase of agricultural land (loan) | 7 | 400 | 400 |
| 5. Relief expenditure cash dole, subsidies, (establishment) charges etc. | 11,522 | 25,950 | 25,853 |

Up to Oct. 1983, roughly Rs 50 crores was spent on various programmes of rehabilitation during the year 1983-84. The central government has allocated Rs. 23.3 crores to Tamil Nadu government but it has not been able to utilise more than Rs. 25,000 so far.

At least 82% of these deported persons were estate labourers in Ceylon. 12% were engaged in business or trade and the others belonged to the workers in the municipality and a few belonged to the category of white collar workers. Despite this 82% of these people received business loans. Expected to engage in activities of which they had no previous experience, they have met with complete failure in their attempt to establish themselves as businessmen: Even the attempt to employ some of the families in the State Farm Corporation was a complete failure. The failure of these schemes was due to various factors, some of which are:

1. No proper orientation given to the deportees.
2. Lack of assistance in the implementation of these schemes in a new country.
3. Unsuitable places selected for the schemes.

4. Inabilities on the part of the deportees to assess the local environment and the people.
5. Failure to integrate with the local population and their cultural isolation as Ceylonese.
6. These deportees have been engaged by the local companies and treated like bonded labourers.
7. The socio-economic cultural and political situation in the new country was unsuitable to meet the necessities of life of these people.
8. The over population in the new country makes it impossible to give special consideration to the problem of the deportees who are only 456,410 as against the 50 million people in Tamil Nadu.
9. Lack of properly trained officers, corruption, cheating and other social evils hinder the implementation of the resettlement projects.
10. Failure of the voluntary organisations to impartially assist in initiating these schemes from the beginning, irrespective of caste and religion.
11. The unnecessary imposition of the limitation of Rs. 10,000 worth of assets per family by the government creates lot of hardship to these people.
12. The authorities who imposed this limitation in 1964 never took into consideration the impending effects of spiraling inflation and the devaluation of the Sri Lankan Rupee.
13. The skill acquired by these people for many generations in the plantation industries is not functionally utilised and instead they are being allotted new avocation.
14. The human aspect of the repatriates is by and large ignored in these schemes.
15. The weaker section of this group, namely, children and women, are not given due place in the rehabilitation schemes.

16. Voluntary agencies have not been whole heartedly accepted by the rehabilitation authorities. There is no co-ordination in the implementation of these schemes.
17. Lack of co-ordination among the different officials of various departments involved in rehabilitation.
18. All loans are not entrusted to one authority such as Repatriates Rehabilitation Financial and Development Bank.
19. Non-implementation of the schemes during the fixed periods.
20. Lack of annual evaluation of these schemes.

CONCLUSION

These hill country Tamils are today the most oppressed of the Ceylonese people both in Sri Lanka and in India as well. In the face of their stateless situation and rejection at the hands of the island's majority community, their deportation may have seemed to some as an improvement in their situation. However, on their arrival in India, it became clear that they would not easily be accepted as Indians even in this land that they had been told was their own. However, they had to undergo the trauma of being separated from the land where they had lived for over five generations and from their family members, friends and the community within which they have lived since their birth. The failure of the government schemes designed to effect their rehabilitation was, therefore, the final and perhaps the most cruel blow dealt to these people who are now completely destitute.

Quite apart from the dismal fate of these persons who have been deported, there are 84,000 persons within the island who have received their Indian citizenship but are unable to leave for India because the ferry service has been shut down and their departure is linked to the return of the people who have fled to India in search of refuge. Since they are technically Indian citizens, these people are not allowed to work within the island and have not only been asked to vacate their posts in the estates but also have been driven out of the lines that served as their homes. These people have been thus reduced to the level of beggars and their future seems to hold out nothing more than a cruel death through slow starvation.

In addition to the plight of these people, the whole question of statelessness does not seem to be any nearer a solution despite the widely projected impression that this is just what has been achieved by the latest agreement that was made in January, 1986. "The only acceptable manner in which the problem of statelessness can be temporarily alleviated would be to first abandon the numbers game and simply recognise as citizens all the so called stateless persons including those who have applied for Indian citizenship, who are physically present in the island. Those who want to leave for India can then do so through normal channels of immigration. Once this is done, a committee of these plantation workers should be elected in order to study the whole problem of the pact in the light of the island's political history, and investigate the situation and aspirations of those who have been deported. In all likelihood, this committee will confirm our experience which indicates that the majority of those deported will opt to return to the land of their birth - Ceylon - along with their natural increase if conditions conducive to such a return are created. The committee can then begin lengthy process of political change that will lead to these persons who have been driven out of their land as unwanted aliens being able to fulfil their political aspirations to return as fully recognised citizens whose contribution to the advancement of their homeland is both acknowledged and recognised."⁹

Since 1958 these people have been subjected to several waves of violence within their own land and this violence does not seem likely to come to an end in the near future. Thus even within Sri Lanka they live in fear and insecurity. This situation can only be remedied when they become free from their excessive dependence on their present leaders and arm themselves for self defence. Then it may begin to dawn on them, their future lies not in meekly submitting to the discrimination and indignities that have been and continue to be heaped upon them, but in joining the other marginalised minorities in a determined struggle to reverse the political and economical trends that have led to their oppression. They need not have any doubts as to which is their own country since even those who have migrated from the island have received their citizenship in the lands they have settled within five or ten years, regardless of whether they are Tamils or Sinhalese or whatever their ethnic origin. Hence these people have every right to fight for the recognition of their citizenship and for all the rights that go with it so that they can win for themselves the right to a share in the political life of the nation that is in proportion to the contribution they have made towards the construction of its modern economy.

REFERENCES

1. The majority of the Indian Tamils were Hindus. 36% belonged to the untouchable castes of Tamil Nadu i.e. the Adi Dravida Groups such as the Pallar and Parayar. 25% belonged to the Ambalakara, Agamudadiar, Kallar, and Padayachi castes. 31% were made up of other miscellaneous low castes. Only 8% belonged to the Vellala caste.

2. The Ceylon Indian Congress launched a satyagraha movement on the 29th of April 1952 appealing to the country's conscience for a fair and just deal for the people, who, though of Indian origin, were born in Sri Lanka; and against the new citizenship and Franchise laws. The business community amongst these persons of Indian origin openly declared their non-co-operation with this satyagraha (The Hindu 11/5/1952 p5).

The satyagraha was staged with sitdown strikes and fasts were observed in batches for hours together, outside the offices of various ministers, including the Prime Minister's office. They did not offer any resistance to the policemen who put them in police vans and transported to various places outside Colombo where they were set free.

The Ceylon Indian Congress suspended the satyagraha movement on the 16th of September 1952 on the assurance given to them by Prime Minister D S. Senanayake that the possibility of reducing procedural difficulties connected with the process of granting citizenship under the Indian and Pakistani Residents (Citizenship) Act of 1949, would be investigated. All the leaders who were involved in this Satyagraha were granted citizenship and are citizens of Sri Lanka today.

This satyagraha movement did not have any major impact since the workers in the estates did not participate. Those who did participate were 5000 volunteers from the CIC. Mr. S. Thondaman, the present leader of the CWC was one of the leaders of this movement. The movement itself was launched years after the legislation affecting citizenship and the franchise were passed. It is also significant that the movement was launched a month before the elections of 1952 which were held on the 24th, 26th, 28th and 30th of that year.

3. NADSA - National Agricultural Diversification Settlement Authority.

Under the scheme 26,000 acres were set aside at the initial stage in order to settle the estate Tamils who were being evicted from these lands first and second to launch out a new programme of diversification of crops on these land and other programmes. At the initial stage up to May 15th, 1981 820 families had been settled. Out of this number only 19 families were hill country Tamils and all the others were Sinhalese, brought from out side areas. Finally this scheme has been completely neglected and for all purposes closed because of administrative malpractice.

4. Veerakesari, (Sri Lanka's Tamil daily paper) 3rd October 1981.

5. Under the Indian Pakistani Residents (Citizenship) Act of 1949 a total of 237,030 applications for citizenship were made on behalf of 850,000 persons. Approximately 36,000 application were allowed and over 200,000 were rejected. The administrative report of the Commissioner for the registration of Indian and Pakistani residents for the financial year 1960 and 1961, issued in Sep. 1962, states as follows: "As on the 30th of Sep 1962, as many as 131,572 individuals were registered as citizens of Ceylon. Only one application still remains to be dealt with under this Act." Thus over 700,000 individuals had been refused registration. This Act was administered most unfairly. The deputy commissioners and the investigating officers, received instructions from above to reject applications in order to restrict the number of persons qualifying for citizenship " Source: CWC Report; 21 Sep. 1963 p-40.

6. According to the Article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Right (10th December 1948). "Every one has a right to a nationality. no one shall arbitrarily be deprived of his nationality or denied his right to change his nationality'. So these hill country Tamils were not allowed to exercise their nationality. But a nationality was imposed on them. Thus disturbing thousands of people from their long standing and lawful way of living in Sri Lanka This is a violation of natural justice. Thus this forced deportation is considered as a notorious pact.

7. Ordinances governing repatriation :

1. Section 22 of ordinance No. 1 of 1928 laid down that if an assisted labourer wanted to return to India within one year

of his arrival in Sri Lanka on grounds of health, unsuitability of work or unjust treatment at the hands of his employer, and if the Indian agent was satisfied that the return of such a labourer was desirable, he was to be repatriated free of cost to the place of recruitment in South India. The cost of such repatriation would be charged to the immigration fund.

b. Later this ordinance was extended by both government to include even those workers who had resided within the island for over a year.

The following Table indicates the movement of repatriates under the provisions of this ordinance between the years 1928 and 1941.

TABLE 1 : 2 : 4

No. of Repatriates 1928-1941

| YEAR | NO. OF REPATRIATES |
|--------------|--------------------|
| 1928 | 3,491 |
| 1929 | 3,130 |
| 1930 | 3,279 |
| 1931 | 5,062 |
| 1932 | 7,307 |
| 1933 | 11,583 |
| 1934 | 2,304 |
| 1935 | 6,252 |
| 1936 | 4,494 |
| 1937 | 5,064 |
| 1939 | 2,975 |
| 1940 | 3,528 |
| 1941 | 3,801 |
| TOTAL | 62,323 |

Source : Government of India. Development Department. G. O. No. 3144 and Public works Department, G. O. No: 5209. Report of the Controller of Labour for 1937 & 1941.

2. a. Two special schemes for repatriation were instituted at the end of 1930 in order to meet the depression in the rubber industry and the consequent unemployment problem.

b. Towards the end of 1932, the Government of Ceylon adopted another special scheme for the repatriation of Tea estate

labourers who were thrown out of employment in the wake of a slump in the Tea industry.

The movement of repatriates under these two provisions were as follows.

TABLE 1 : 2 : 5

No of Repatriates 1931-33

| YEAR | | NO. OF REPATRIATES | |
|-------|------|--------------------|--------|
| a) | 1931 | | 10,645 |
| | 1932 | | 6,744 |
| b) | 1932 | | 257 |
| | 1933 | | 26,883 |
| TOTAL | | | 44,429 |

Source : K P S. Menon's report for 1933 (Agent to the government of India in Ceylon).

3. Repatriation became an effective means to eliminate or reduce, the Indian population in Sri Lanka after the legislative enactments of 1949 and especially after the joint statement of October 1964. The government of Sri Lanka insisted on the repatriation of persons of Indian origin who would not be enrolled as Ceylonese citizens.

Between the 12th of September 1954 and the 30th of November 1965 approximately 123,500 persons were repatriated. Likewise a further 5,620 persons were repatriated between the 1st January 1966 and the 31st of January 1967.

Source : Lok Sabha debates Vol. XLIX 1965,

Vol. II - 1967.

4. Implementation of the Sirima Shastri pact of 1964 began in 1968. We give below, the movement of repatriates under the implementation of this pact.

TABLE 1 : 2 : 6

No of Repatriates 1969- 1986

| YEAR - (up to the end of) | | No of repatriates |
|---------------------------|------|--|
| March | 1969 | 37,423 |
| September | 1969 | 54,512 |
| May | 1970 | 72,000 |
| January | 1972 | 112,662 |
| July | 1972 | 155,038 |
| March | 1973 | 185,711 |
| April | 1974 | 239,157 being the 39,361 Natural Increase) |
| October | 1979 | 328,412 (83, 027 families) |
| October | 1981 | 375,444 (91,144 N.I.) |
| 15th of October | 1983 | 423,000 |
| August | 1984 | 451,859 (123,522 families) |
| 28th of February | 1986 | 459,410(115,458 families and 125, 567 N.I.) |

5. By February 1986, 459, 410 repatriates had been sent back to India under this pact which by then had been supplemented by the Sirima - Indra pact of 1974. Of these 333, 843 persons were covered by the agreement and the balance 125' 567 were

their natural increase. These people constitute 115,438 families.

Source: public (Refugee Rehabilitation Department) Policy notes on miscellaneous relief and rehabilitations of Indians overseas and refugees and evacuees; Government of Tamil Nadu, Madras, 1986 p.2)

In 1986, the Sri Lankan government agreed to give citizenship to another 94,000 stateless persons and the Indian government agreed to accept 85,000 as Indian citizens.

The repatriation pacts between the governments of India and Sri Lanka had expired on the 31st OCTOBER 1981. On this date, of the 600,000 stateless persons entitled to Indian citizenship under the repatriation pacts, 372,487 accountable persons had been granted Indian citizenship. A further 131,079 applications for Indian citizenship were pending and an allowance of 2000 applications was allotted for documents still in transit. a balance of 95,434 persons entitled to Indian citizenship had refrained from doing so. On the 15th January 1986, 82,359 applications for Indian citizenship were pending and 84,359 (82,359 + 2000) persons were accepted for Indian citizenship. Those who had refrained from applying for Indian citizenship amounting to (96,434 - 2 000 persons whose documents were in transit), 94,000 odd persons were accepted as being entitled to Sri Lankan citizenship. It was agreed by the two governments that this citizenship pact would be implemented over a period of 18 months. With this agreement, the Sri Lankan government maintains that the problem of the stateless persons will be solved.

8. Compiled from - A report on the survey of Repatriates from Sri Lanka, 1980. second edition p 73 - CRENIEO, Madras 600006 and, Statement of Targets and Achievements - Rehabilitation Department - Madras 1986.

9. Ceylon Today—UOL 1.No 3, July -August '86, P. 11

REFUGEES IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY (DISPLACED PERSONS)

"In May and June 1958, the island of Ceylon, the peaceful tea garden, burst into flaming headlines in the world press, 'Seven thousand Britians ordered to quit Ceylon', 'Hundreds killed in Race Riots', 'State of emergency declared', 'Dawn to dusk curfew imposed', 'Northern rebel leaders arrested', 'Strict press censorship', 'Civil liberties suspended', 'Tea Rubber lies high in Colombo Port, '12,000 refugees removed to safety', proclaimed the special correspondents who had been forced by the severity of censorship to sneak out of Ceylon and file their stories with the Madras dateline."

THE FIRST PHASE - 1958.

In this first phase of the great exodus, 12,000 Tamils from the Southern parts of the island and its central hills, where they had lived peacefully for years amongst the majority Sinhala Buddhist ethnic group were forced to flee from their homes. The Government, seeing the influx of the refugees, opened refugee camps to give shelter for these homeless. Later at the request of the refugees they were shifted to the Northern and Eastern provinces where they felt more secure at government expeence. Many thousands of Tamils, who had not taken shelter in these government run camps, had taken refuge in friends' houses or had hidden in the jungles. Once the violence subsided and the tension began to ease, these Tamils too moved towards the North and East.

At the height of the violence and tension, the refugees, most of whom were from Colombo, consisting of men, women and children from every walk of life, were herded together in temporary camps. The majority of them were housed in the Royal College—a leading public school in the heart of the city of Colombo. Attacked and stripped of their belongings, these people were isolated amidst the majority Sinhala community that had been turned against them. Further they were demoralised by the race hatred displayed by politicians in whose hands lay the reins of the government of the day, and by the animosity shown towards them by the social workers. Politicians roamed about expressing racial enmity and arrogance by ordering name boards carrying information in Tamil to be blacked out and substituted by English and Sinhala only. Volunteer workers from the Sinhala community refused to work in the refugee camps housing Tamil refugees, declaring that they would wait to serve only the Sinhala 'refugees', who were evacuated to the South by the security forces acting on government orders. These Sinhala persons working in the predominantly Tamil Northern and Eastern regions had not been the target of any violence. There was blatant discrimination between the type of assistance given to the Tamil refugees and the Sinhala evacuees who were brought in from the North and East.

Perhaps the most alienating act was that of the then Prime Minister Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake who chose to visit only the camps where the Sinhala evacuees from the North and East were accommodated; being one of the first visitors at the Thurstan camp set up to accommodate these persons.

THE BEGINNING OF THE 'BRAIN DRAIN'

Many of the professionals and educated elite amongst the Tamils who were affected by this violence lost hope in their ability to live with confidence and dignity amidst the Sinhalese people who had been turned on them, and so they chose to leave the country and settle abroad. Within the island itself, Tamil plantation workers in the rubber plantations close to Colombo and many from the tea plantations in the UVA region chose to move towards the North on their own. Most of these people settled down in the Kilinochchi area about forty miles away from Jaffna. Since this was not a planned or government sponsored migration and since there was enough land available in this area these refugees were easily assimilated by the local population without any major contradictions arising. Though most of these refugees had been plantation workers they were able to change their lifestyle and enter the local agricultural mode of production without much difficulty.

This exodus was not confined to the Tamils. Shaken by the intensity of the ethnic violence, many of the 'Burghers' also chose to leave the country. These persons of mixed Dutch and Portuguese descent had chosen to emulate a western life style like the Britishers who had remained in the island after its independence. They had been well placed as a community under British Colonial rule and being educated and of a broad outlook, were able to see that the contradiction between the ethnic groups in the island was not a transient or chance phenomenon. All those of this community, who could afford to leave the island, began to depart immediately after this violence. Australia, Canada, USA, Britain and other western countries unprotestingly accepted these persons as immigrants. Today these persons enjoy full rights of citizenship in their adopted countries.

EXPULSION OF THE BRITISH

The exodus of the British at this time had political causes of a somewhat different nature at its root. They had in fact been asked to quit the island. This quit order, however, was not directed at all the Britishers living in the island, as some of them were managers and owners of the island's valuable tea and other plantations, and others were holding key managerial posts within the private sector. Those who were asked to leave were the 7,000 odd personnel connected with the maintenance of the British bases at Trincomalee and Katunayake. These bases had been granted to the British under the peculiar and controversial defence agreement signed between the British government and the first government of Independent Ceylon. The then Prime Minister, Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranayake, was intensely suspicious of this agreement and though he was persuaded to leave it intact he could not restrain himself from lashing out at the British military presence which he and indeed the popular masses behind him rightly saw, as evidence of continuing British domination.

THE SECOND PHASE - 1977

The exodus entered its second phase in the year 1977, when violence between the Sinhala and Tamil communities broke out immediately after the general elections that had brought the present United National party regime to power. In this violence, about 7,500 families lost their houses and everything they owned.

A number of station masters, who were Tamils, at different railway stations were done to death and Tamil engineers who

were working on the irrigation schemes in Dambulla, Kekirawa and a number of places in the North Central province were attacked. Several plantation workers were also affected by this violence some of them chose to return to their plantation dwellings, but others decided to move towards the North and East. During this period, the government authorities even assisted these people in their flight towards the areas where Tamil people were concentrated. Government camps were opened to house these displaced persons, mainly in the Vavuniya district.

Between 1972 and 1977, approximately 2,000 families moved to these regions; and in 1977 another 4,000 families moved there as well. Hence the total number of displaced persons who moved to this area upto 1977 was in the region of 40,000 individuals comprising approximately 7,000 families.

Several non-governmental organisations assisted these displaced persons in their attempts to rehabilitate themselves in areas of their choice. Of these organisations, the most active were the Tamil Refugee Rehabilitation Organisation (TRRO) which was formed in 1977, Gandhiam which had been functioning since 1976 and several church organisations.

THE THIRD PHASE - 1981

Further incidents of racial violence emerged in 1981 to give the exodus further impetus. The report on this violence made by the International Commission of Jurists in 1981, said that the violence was of three types, namely, Communal, political, and Terrorism and Violence by the State Security Forces, and pointed out that all these three types of violence had been evident in 1981.²

In the course of the violence in 1981 which began in March and continued until September, Jaffna, the Eastern parts of the island, the Southern, South Western parts and areas near Colombo were affected. A gradual increase in random incidents of violence beginning in March 1981 built up until on the 31st of May, an incident of firing on a police party in the course of a meeting held in connection with the forthcoming District Development Council elections was followed by violent police reprisals. On this occasion, the police personnel ran amok and set fire to the Jaffna public library on the night of 1st June 1981. Incidents of violence and murder by the police and security forces continued.

STUDENTS ON THE RAMPAGE

In the early part of August, the sporadic incidents of violence took a turn for the worse following a clash at a sport meet in which Tamil and Sinhala students were involved. On the 1st August, at an interschool sports meet held at the Weber sports stadium in Batticaloa, a dispute between Tamil and Sinhala students turned violent. The Sinhala students, who were from Amparai, returned to their home town. On the 3rd August, about 4,000 Sinhala students attacked the Tamils in Amparai. Schools, temples, shops and boutiques belonging to the Tamils were destroyed. It has been reported that the Tamil schools were surrounded and the teachers and students attacked.

THE VIOLENCE SPREADS

Tamils in government offices were assaulted and Hindu temples were set on fire. Tamil villages in the areas were attacked by the Sinhala colonists. The nearby areas of Ambilipitiya, Kantalai and Valachenei were also affected. One of the primary reasons for the spreading of violence from the urban areas to the outlying villages is said to have been the very bad management of the system of water sharing under the schemes that irrigated these areas where a large number of people had been recently settled. Approximately 50 houses belonging to Tamils in these rural areas were burnt down by the rampaging Sinhala colonists. Three camps were opened at the Kalmunai Methodist Church, and two at the Hindu temples at Akkaraipattu and Mandur. At the peak of the violence, about a thousand refugees had to be housed in these camps. The Tamils housed in these camps refused to go back to their places of residence because of the absence of safety and security. Racist mobs attacked the Tamil workers attached to the Amparai Urban Council and the government sugar factory at Hingurana.

Following these attacks on the Tamils in the Eastern region the violence spread to other parts of the island. The hill country area where the Tamil plantation workers were concentrated was the area most affected. Ratnapura, Pelmadulla, Kahawatte, Rakwana, Balangoda and Kandy were badly affected by violence and Negombo which lies along the North Western coast was also subjected to violence.

In the Sabaragamuwa province, pre-planned communal violence was let loose from the 12th August and havoc was unleashed

for about 5 days thereafter. The plantation workers in Ratnapura, Pelmadulla, Kahawatte were attacked, their belongings looted and killed. The impoverished hill country workers scattered among 40 estates in the whole district of Ratnapura had to flee in thousands for the safety of their lives either to the several refugee camps set up in schools and churches or to the adjoining jungles. Later large number of refugees had to be evacuated to the main Hindu temple in Colombo where they were placed under the care of TRRO. Apart from the attacks on the estates, over 75 shops and buildings in this area were set on fire. In addition there were about 4 instances of young women being raped and over 10 cases of gruesome killings. The refugees in St. Anne's church at Kahawatte were attacked by gangsters who rushed in groups during which a Tamil merchant was clubbed to death in front of the mission house. Another Tamil youth was set on fire in the drivers room of the mission house, others in kitchen. A 10 year old boy was hit by a petrol bomb and later died. Even the church buildings were not spared. The Anglican church at Rakwana, a Catholic chapel in Oowella-Balangoda and the Anglican church in the Balangoda town, were affected by the violence. During this violence there was a protest and demonstration in Tamil Nadu and the matter was taken up by the central government in the Lok Sabha.

"The plight of the plantation Tamils has been far worse. After almost thirty years of politically listless existence, they faced new threats to their survival, unfortunately and ironically in the wake of the land reform measures implemented by the last government under the Ministership of Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, thousands of plantation Tamil workers and their families were turned out of the estates on to the streets. Large numbers of them moved to the jungle lands of Vavunia in the North and parts of the Eastern Province to begin a new but again hopeless struggle for survival. Within two years they were joined by some of the victims who fled the estates after the 1977 communal riots. These late arrivals from the plantations to the Eastern Province are also vulnerable to communal violence. They too did suffer during the riots of August 1981."³

THE FOURTH PHASE — 1983

"Whatever the reasons, and regardless of whether the perceived grievances have been real or imagined, it is undoubtedly and sadly the case that relations between the Sinhalese and Tamil communities have progressively deteriorated since Independence. The first serious communal violence erupted in May 1958 (while

the SLFP Government was in office); the next came in August 1977, soon after the present UNP Government was elected; then again in August 1981; and most recently in July/August 1983. The intervals between these episodes have become shorter; their extent over the Island has become wider; and the violence has become more intense. All these are characteristics of a situation that is getting worse rather than better. Communal riots in which Tamils are killed, maimed, robbed and rendered homeless are no longer isolated episodes; they are beginning to become a pernicious habit."⁴

From the 25th July 1983, the 'Pearl of the Indian Ocean' has become a land of refugees bringing it to a situation similar to that of countries like Pakistan, Thailand and Hong Kong where the presence of large numbers of refugees has become part of their daily lives. The violence against the Tamil speaking minorities flared up again in 1983, beginning immediately after the local government election held at Trincomalee on the 18th May. By the 3rd June, there were reports of attacks being launched upon the Tamil speaking people in Trincomalee by the Navy, the Police and the Goondas. The hill country Tamils who had settled in these regions following the violence that had been let loose upon them in 1977, were ordered to congregate at fixed points from where they were loaded on to buses belonging to the state owned transport system and transported back to the hill country regions from where they had previously fled. The army which conducted this operation, did not tell these people where they were being taken and did not make any provision for the transport of their household goods and other belongings. On reaching the hill country, these persons were simply off loaded on the streets without any provisions being made for their survival.

This violence rapidly increased and spread throughout the Southern parts of the island and the hill country so that by the end of July the Tamil speaking minorities had lost most of their economic base. The official figures showed that over 150,000 of these persons had lost all they owned and had been driven out onto the streets; their dwellings had been burnt and their belongings looted or set on fire. At the peak of the violence, there were over 100,000 refugees in Colombo alone, the actual number of people affected was probably far in excess of the figures quoted by the authorities.

In 1983, the hill country experienced some of the worst violence ever to occur in Sri Lanka. Badulla, a leading town in

the country, had not been subjected to such violence since 1958. At that time attacks against the Tamils in Badulla and its surrounding areas were led by K M. P. Rajaratna.⁵ Tamil people of Badulla had escaped all subsequent communal violence because on these occasions the traders had bribed the area H. Q. Inspectors. However, when violence broke out on the 26th July 1983, the police were forced to remain inactive while the supporters of the UNP and the Buddhist monks of the area led the attacks against the Tamils. The people who were affected by this violence flocked to Sr. Mary's church and the mosque for shelter. Though the majority of them were Hindus they were unable to seek refuge in their temple since it had been one of the first targets of the mobs. The temple had been damaged badly and the gold in the shrine was looted and the whole structure rendered incapable of offering shelter. The refugees were later moved to the government high school. Though the government authorities claimed that there were 6,952 persons in this centre, there were more than twice this number who had taken shelter in private homes where they remained until they were able to leave for Batticaloa.

Badulla was one of the cities in the plantation areas worst affected by the violence in 1983. As many as 127 houses, 225 shops, 4 Hindu temples, 3 Tamil schools, 2 cinema theatres and 79 vehicles were burnt; 27 shops demolished and 52 people were murdered. Estates close to Badulla district too were affected. Two sets of lines each with 14 units were completely burnt, 12 sets of lines looted and 4 persons attacked.

Bandarawela suffered the same fate as Badulla. Here a Buddhist monk took the lead and stabbed a Malayali doctor. 100 houses were demolished and burnt, 56 shops burnt and 26 shops demolished. 20 vehicles were burnt and 5 people were killed. The people sought refuge in the Hindu temple. Even at the temple, 2 people were killed, and the temple was destroyed. On the following day 3,000 refugees were housed at St. Joseph's College. 4 sets of lines were looted in the estates near by. All the small towns in the Badulla district were thus affected and the refugees were gradually shifted to Bandarawela and Badulla.

Tamils are in the majority in the Nuwara - Eliya district. Despite this, the town was attacked. Mobs entered the hospital and killed 56 patients whose corpses were set on fire immediately. In all, 73 people lost their lives, and several others fled to the jungles for safety. 30 houses, 56 shops and 23 vehicles were burnt. In Gampola, 102 houses and 71 shops were burnt.

19,730 refugees (according to official figures) were rendered homeless in that area. ⁷

The same pattern was repeated in other districts such as Kandy, Nawalapitiya and Matale. Almost all the Tamil shops and houses were attacked and looted. Tamils rushed to the Zahira College for refuge. There was wide spread violence in all the small cities in the plantation areas. Some of the refugees moved to Batticaloa. Others moved to Colombo on their own and of them a small number have come to India as refugees.

The government responded to this situation by setting up refugee camps to accomodate these victims. In order to avoid having to face the harsh reality of its policies having turned the paradise island into a country of refugees, these camps were called 'Welfare Centres'. Most of these refugee camps were set up in school buildings or within the premises of religious institutions. All those who had lost their homes were forced to seek refuge in one camp or the other since hotels and lodges refused to give them accomodation because they were Tamils.

Conditions within refugee camps are perhaps difficult to maintain at an acceptable level, and this certainly was the case in many of the government run camps in Ceylon during this period. Within a week, dozens of refugees began to come down with serious cases of acute dysentery - some say even cholera - and an entire wing of the government hospital in Colombo had to be cordoned off to house the sick refugees.

On the third day after the violence reached Colombo, the Muslims in Nugegoda and some other areas in Colombo were also subjected to attack. Some of the government run refugee camps also were threatened with attack so that the insecurity of the Tamil speaking minorities was complete. These Tamil speaking minorities within the Southern regions of the island were therefore reduced to a precarious situation similar to that of the Jews under the Nazi regime during the second world war. Their isolation and insecurity was confirmed when the President, after four days of studied silence during which he failed to utter a word against the violence that was blazing throughout the country, appeared on the national television network to give voice to what is perhaps the most infamous utterance made by a head of a government: 'The time has come to accede to the clamour and the national respect of the Sinhalese people' To those who had nurtured the hope of someday being able to live with dignity with the major-

rity Sinhalese community, this was perhaps the final blow which led them to identify with the policies of the late leader of the Tamils of the North and East Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam who once said, in 1975, 'Our basic mistake was not to have asked for independence when the British left'.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMY IS SET ON FIRE

The blow to the economic base of the Tamil speaking minorities was devastating if not complete. Within four days of violence, the Tamils lost approximately 2,500 small business and 116 industrial units. Thus 50% of the steel based industry, 70% of the plastic and paint industry and 9 coconut oil mills were set on fire. 28,000 houses, complete with equipment furniture and household goods were burnt in Colombo alone. Official surveys put the extent of the damage at 4 billion rupees, but the figure is much higher, perhaps even double. Five of the industries destroyed alone cost Rs. 2,000 million and an estimated 150,000 persons lost their jobs. Many foreign firms recalled their employees thereby slowing down their operations.

46 Indian companies operating within the island on specific projects and contracts withdrew their Indian personnel. The Bombay based Tarapur & Co. sent 200 men home three months before the joint venture, Taj Samudra Hotel, was scheduled to be completed. A number of Indians working for the Mamani Engineering Corporation Project were immediately sent home permanently. AFCONS of Bombay, which had undertaken one of the largest sugar projects in the island, immediately pulled back all its Tamil workers and closed down its operation within the Southern areas where Sinhalese are in the majority. It was said that even after normalcy was restored, some of the Indian firms had not sent back their Tamil workers but had, instead, hired workers from Taiwan or Korea. The Indo-Sri Lanka chamber of commerce and industry, which was set up in 1982 to help the island to find access to the intermediate technology it was badly in need of collapsed following the eruption of anti Tamil violence.

Tamils made up about 5% of the staff of state corporations and government firms and most government offices also lost the services of the Tamils. While Tamil businessmen faced the total collapse of their establishments, the labour ministry called upon them to pay the wages of the Sinhalese employees. Damaged properties belonging to the Tamils were summarily

vested in the State by an act of parliament. Insurance being a state monopoly, it was not surprising that there was hesitation on the question of payment of compensation against arson and looting. A special government authority called REPIA was instituted in which the damaged properties were vested and to which the owners had to apply for devastation. Sinhala merchants and traders took over the export and import trade after violence.

REFUGEE CAMPS

At the height of the violence in 1983, there were close to two hundred thousand refugees. Some of the refugees housed in various camps were being maintained at the expense of the State as detailed below.

TABLE 1:3:1
REFUGEES AS ON 23rd OCT. 1983

| DATE | NO. OF CAMPS. | NO. OF REFUGEES |
|----------|------------------|-----------------|
| 1.8.83 | 52 | over 100,000 |
| 23.10.83 | 39 | 22,000 |
| 23.10.83 | unofficial camps | 20,000 |

Meals supplied to the refugees consisted of items as follows:

BREAKFAST - 1/3 of a loaf of bread and a cup of plain tea.

LUNCH - Rice, Cabbage mullum (fried cabbage) and pumpkin or cowpea curry (dhal).

DINNER - 1/3 of a loaf of bread and one vegetable curry (This was only for a short period)

Initially, the Red Cross provided the children with milk on a daily basis but this had to be stopped because of the lack of milk powder. This facility was then provided to the infants only. The Red Cross centre treated over a 150 patients daily, and the St. John's ambulance Brigade was also on duty.

The largest camp, housing 6,500 persons, was at the Hindu College - Bambalapitiya, the others were situated at the Ratmalana Airport, Hindu College - Ratmalana, St. Mary's and St. Benedicts Kotahena.

At the Ratmalana camp, the authorities spent Rs. 600,000 on the construction of forty latrines. TCL (Chlorine) was used every day to disinfect the camp premises. The authorities paid a monthly rental of Rs 5,400/ for every 1,000 sq. ft of aluminium sheds in which the refugees are housed. 60% of the refugees in the Hindu College camp at Bambalapitiya were Stateless persons who had no passports, no identity cards and no birth certificates.

At the Hindu College camp at Bambalapitiya, the kovil authorities complained that they had lost around Rs. 100,000 in offerings over a three months period. Soon afterwards all the people affected by the riots who were in the camps in Colombo were sent to the North and East by ship, train and air. In 1977 the government took the full responsibility of sending even the hill country Tamils to the North and East. In 1981, these hill country Tamils who were displaced from the estates were forced to go back to the estates. In 1983, the then Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indra Gandhi, offered her assistance to ship the refugees from Colombo to the North and East immediately after the violence. As is also a common factor after each ethnic violence many of the uprooted hill country Tamils opted to leave Sri Lanka for India. But this type of tension continued only for a few months after the violence. Then as usual they forget about going to India.

TABLE 1 : 3 : 2
 REFUGEES AS ON 11.12.1983 (Government statistics)

| PLACES | NO. OF REFUGEES |
|-------------------------|-----------------|
| BAMBALAPITIYA | 3,969 |
| KOTAHENA | 1,664 |
| RATMALANA HINDU COLLEGE | 2,279 |
| RATMALANA AIR PORT | 2,245 |
| OTHER AREAS IN COLOMBO | 1,100 |
| NUWARA ELIYA | 65 |
| BATTICALOA | 424 |
| ANURADAPURA | 112 |
| VAVUNIYA | 984 |
| MULLAITHIVU | 440 |
| MANNAR | 165 |
| JAFFNA | 5,628 |
| TOTAL | 19,076 |

From July 1983 onwards, refugees in the country are always on the increase mostly in the North and East and in a few places in the Hill country. This situation will continue unless and until a permanent solution to the present ethnic crisis is reached.

Members of the majority Sinhala community became refugees for the first time in 1984 as a result of the attack by the militants in the North and East. These Sinhala state aided settlers had been given arms and training in armed combat in

order to defend themselves when they were resettled in the areas from where they were driven out.

Those who refused to return were settled in the district of Puttalam in the early part of 1986. Prior to this incident, there was no question of there being refugees among the Sinhala community since the government always forewarned them and provided the necessary transport facilities for all the Sinhala people living within the traditional Tamil areas, to move out in time.

Ten thousand Tamils from ten villages near Mullaithivu had been forced to abandon their homes by the security forces. These people were living near the villages of Nayar and Kokillai, and were being housed in churches, schools and other public buildings at Mullaithivu, where they were living in great privation. They were suffering from malnutrition, and were exposed to contagious diseases like dysentery. Dysentery at a camp housing 450 refugees in this area, had already claimed the lives of eleven refugees.

Several persons have been found missing from the camps. At the time of our receiving this information, 120 people are found missing. It is feared that they might have been killed by the armed forces when they went out to collect food. There are 6,000 Tamil refugees in the 350 square miles of the Muttur area and a further 4,000 refugees have found shelter in the jungles. 495 Tamils, who were deprived of their homes due to air raids, took refuge in classrooms at Muttur.⁸

Incidents of harassments of refugees by government Sinhala officers has come to light through the press and there have been instances where refugees were beaten up even within the premises of the government hospitals. 35,000 Tamil refugees have been housed in the camps in and around the city of Mullaithivu.⁹ There are an estimated 9,000 refugees in and around Senapura, which is 25km away from the South City of Anuradhapura. One thousand of them are accommodated in a camp for juvenile offenders run by the probation department of rehabilitation.

Refugees from camps at Akkaraipattu who went out to fetch water and food from nearby villages were shot dead by the security forces. 5,000 people from Adampan sought refuge in neighbouring villages after the security forces went on a rampage of arson and murder.¹¹ 2,000 persons fled the village of Kaithady following an incident when the armed forces ran amok and opened fire at random.¹¹

REFUGES IN 1985

With the increase in the tempo of violence in the North and East from the very beginning of 1985, people of means, in the affected areas, braved the hazard of the sea and the guns of the Sri Lankan Navy boats and safely reached the shores of neighbouring India. But many were not fortunate enough to have this option of fleeing the country. Most of the people in the areas of Trincomalee, Batticaloa Jaffna and Mullaitivu had to be accommodated in make-shift camps such as school buildings, open church compounds or in temporary sheds erected to form impromptu refugee camps. Besides these refugees, a number of people were forced to abandon their houses due to shelling and bombing resorted to by the security forces. These people have had their houses damaged were ordered by the security forces to evacuate the areas where they have been residing. Most of them were fortunate enough to have found alternative accommodation in the houses of their friends or relatives. In some of these evacuated areas new army camps have been opened. Wherever new army camps are opened people living within the close proximity to the camp vacated their homes out of fear. The table below gives the detailed statistics regarding the refugees in 1985.

TABLE 1 : 3 : 3
REFUGEES IN THE MONTH OF OCTOBER 1985

| Places | No of Camps | family | Members | Outside the camp |
|--------------|-------------|--------|---------|------------------|
| Trincomalee | 51 | 5262 | 23,465 | 33,330 |
| Batticaloa | N.A. | N.A. | 8,517 | 30,000 |
| Mullaitivu | 17 | 683 | 5,449 | 12,000 |
| Mannar | 20 | N.A. | 1,100 | 5,000 |
| Anuradhapura | N.A. | N.A. | 15,217 | N.A. |
| Vavuniya | 15 | 712 | 3,994 | 24,000 |
| Kilinochchi | 04 | 99 | 486 | 3,000 |
| Jaffna | 13 | 3,611 | 16,500 | N.A. |

On the 26th December, about 500 refugees belonging to 150 families who were transported under army supervision to a school building between two Sinhala populated villages - Mahinthapure and Alioluwa, and kept there like hostages without any freedom of movement.

Towards the end of 1985, about 300 families were rendered homeless due to floods in the hill country region. They were housed in schools until suitable accommodation could be found for them. According to reports we have recently received, two tea plantations located in the prime tea producing areas of the higher elevations of the hill country have been set aside for a housing scheme to provide houses for the flood victims. Nearly 1,800 plantation workers employed on these two plantations have simply been ordered to move out, leaving their future open to question.

REFUGEES IN 1986

Since 1983, the island has not seen a single day when there were no refugees within the country. Despite this, on the 13th March this year, the island's Minister for National Security made an offer of safe passage between Rameswaram and Talaimannar between the hours of 8.00 a.m. and 4.00 p.m. to all those refugees in India who wished to return. Despite the warnings given by the Government of India, about 1,200 refugees have left India and gone back to their places in Ceylon. Some of them were attacked by the Sri Lankan Navy and 25 of them were killed and 26 of them were arrested while crossing over to the island.

Following a clash between militants and the security forces on the 3rd March, 3,000 refugees were created at Nainathivu. A permanent refugee camp has been opened at this place by the security forces.

Four hundred and fifty families from Vavunia fled to Periyapandivirichchan on the 4th March following search and destroy operations mounted in the area by the armed forces. These families have been housed at the Madhu church quarters. On the 22nd March, 153 families from the region close to the Pallaly army camp moved to Vasavillan due to fear of insecurity. On the 8th August, Mr. Austin Fernando Secretary to the Ministry of Rehabilitation made available the following statistics relating to the number of refugees within the island.

TABLE 1 : 3 : 4
 REFUGEES ON THE 8th AUGUST 1986

| MAIN PLACES | CAMPS | OUTSIDE THE CAMPS | TOTAL |
|--------------|--------|-------------------|--------|
| JAFFNA | 10,706 | 13,510 | 24,216 |
| BATTICALOA | 10,073 | N.A. | 10,073 |
| RRINCOMALEE | 9,995 | 6,606 | 16,601 |
| KILINOCHCHI | 2,977 | N.A. | 2,977 |
| VAVUNIYA | 2,333 | 9,003 | 11,336 |
| MULLAITHIVU | 1,588 | 800 | 2,388 |
| MANNAR | 1,301 | N.A. | 1,301 |
| AMPARAI | N.A. | 504 | 504 |
| NUWARA ELIYA | 69 | N.A. | 69 |

Up to the end of July, 1986, the total number of refugees were 147,000. Out of this, 77,334 are Tamils, 36,242 are Sinhalese and 2,396 are Muslims. Muslims in Trincomalee camps; number 1,749. On the 15th August 86, because of the violence at Amparai, 15,000 people were rendered homeless.

According to statistics from the same source, 40,000 Tamil refugees are housed in refugee camps and 38,000 have found shelter with friends and family members. Of the total number of refugees, only 50,000 are in camps and 66,000 are sheltering with their friends and relatives. From the beginning of the year to the month of July, the total number of refugees is estimated by the ministry sources to have been in the region of 147,000 of whom 32,000 have either fled the country, gone back to their original areas of residence or found new locations on which to settle.

STATISTICS INACCAURATE

One factor stands out clearly inviting our attention, and this is the fact that absolutely no details regarding the

location of the 36 242 Sinhalese refugees have been made available by the Ministry of Rehabilitation. This factor makes it impossible to verify the situation of these persons. 1,746 Muslim refugees are housed within the refugee camps and this makes it possible to calculate the number of Sinhalese refugees and it come to 41,746 (40,000+1,746). This figure when subtracted from the total number of refugees within the camps leaves a balance of 8,254 persons (50,000-41,746) who could be Sinhalese refugees. This leaves a balance of 27,988 Sinhalese refugees who should be outside the camps. It is difficult to see how the presence of such a large refugee population outside the refugee camps could fail to make a noticeable impact on the greater social structure. This number may have been made up of the Kantalai refugees, flood victims in the up country and a few affected due to violence.

On the 26th January this year, fresh violence broke out in the plantation areas creating a new refugee situation in the hill country. 200 Sinhalese from Siripura and Ariyapura-two villages in this region - left as refugees and were accommodated at the Bogawantalawa police station. 150 Tamils who were made refugees are sheltered at the Hindu Maha Sabha building at Hatton. Of the 1,500 people displaced due to these riots, only 600 were sent back to their places of residence by the Department of Social Services. Sixty refugees were sheltered at the Kathiresan temple at Talawakelle. All government assistance to these refugees has been abruptly stopped from the 4th March. As on 28th February, a total of 3,500 Sinhalese refugees were counted as a result of this violence.

At about 5.15 a.m. on the 29th April, the Kantalai Tank in the Eastern Province breached its bund. 125 people were drowned; 425 houses completely destroyed; 450 partially damaged; and over 4,500 families were rendered homeless. Despite the fact that large amounts of foreign aid were immediately received towards the assistance of these refugees, they were so ill-cared for that they had to sell their rations in order to purchase their basic medical needs. 25 Tamil refugees who were returning to Mannar from South India were killed by the Sri Lankan Navy on the 19th June this year.

Nearly 80,000 refugees are housed in over 100 camps scattered within the island. Many of these camps do not have either the essential amenities of life such as toilet facilities and water supply or the facilities provided are of a very poor standard.¹²

The number of refugees in the North and East can be seen to be constantly increasing. This trend will continue until such time a permanent solution to the present conflict is found. Most of the refugees in camps are suffering due to shortage of food and basic medical assistance. The Government, while having allocated Rs. 100 million as refugee assistance for this year, is forcing the refugees to leave the camps by cutting off all assistance to them. For instance, in the beginning of August, 20,233 refugees in Trincomalee had their assistance abruptly cut off. Further, the 40 Tamil refugees housed at the Kathiresan Temple at Talawakelle from 2nd July are still being denied government assistance. Many other camps in Vavunia and Mullathivu areas also face the same fate.

REHABILITATION

The plight of a large number of terrified people, often been subjected to the brutal attacks at the hands of the armed force, has brought in its wake the problem of establishing the necessary administrative machinery to provide them with their daily needs and protection from further violence by the security forces. Their rehabilitation though started on a small scale, the government seems to be unwilling to take this work in a systematic manner.

Following the island wide anti-Tamil violence in July 1983, several thousand of refugees began to move towards the Northern and Eastern provinces. Of these refugees, a large group began to settle in the Kilinochchi area. Most of those settled in this region are plantation workers from the central hills. There are about 950 families being settled in this area.

Four hundred and fifty families have been settled there by the Sarvodaya Movement, 200 families by the Red Barna 150 families by HUDEC and 150 families by the Church of South India-Jaffna Diocese. The Government of Sri Lanka provided land and financial assistance to build houses and to sink wells. Further the non-Governmental organisations are providing health and educational facilities.

Apart from these, the non-Governmental organisations have settled ;

1. by HUDEC in Kilinochchi district ;
 - a. 100 families in Kanagambigaikulam on Government land.
 - b. 80 families at Arockiapuram on Government land.

- c. 50 families at Kulandai Jesu gramam on private land.
 - d. 50 families at Valakachi on private land.
2. The Catholic Diocese of Mannar in the Mannar district;
- a. 93 families at Keerisuttan on Government land.
 - b. 40 families at Karasal on private land.
 - c. 40 families at Thottaval on private land.
3. Catholic Diocese of Trinco-Batticaloa;
- a. 375 families at Sathrukundan on private land.
 - b. 20 families at Thalankuda on private land.

All these refugees are still in the process of adjusting to their new socio-economic situations and it will take a long time for them to properly settle themselves. The continuing strife, moreover raises the threat of their becoming victims once again when the pattern of violence moves towards the areas in which they are at present residing. Very limited opportunities for employment in these areas and the present lack of sufficient irrigation facilities for cultivation make it more difficult for these refugees to become self-sufficient.

In Trincomalee and several other regions, many thousands of refugees from the ongoing violence struggle for their survival and the means to continue their daily existence. For instance, in the Trincomalee district are to be found several refugees who have fled to escape the army reprisals that followed the fierce fighting between the State armed forces and the Tamil militants. In this district, a hundred families have been settled on government land at Muttur.

Several persons in the Vavuniya and Chettikulam areas displaced due to the attacks of the armed forces, are being assisted by several social service and non-governmental organisations. A thousand of these people, housed at the Madhu Church premises, are being assisted by the church. Seven hundred of these refugees, housed at Thiruketheeswaram, are being looked after by Hindu Organisations. 1250 persons, housed at Pesalai, are being assisted by the church. In addition to these persons, 700 others are housed in 9 small camps in Vavuniya. There are 23 camps in the Jaffna district, in which 18,000 refugees were housed at the beginning of 1985. Closer to the South the Sinhala people, victimised by the violence, have settled in Chillaw on the North Western coast.

Refugees settled in Srinagar and Eechilambathai villages in the Seruvila Assistant Government Agents Division under the Refugee Rehabilitation Scheme, have been leaving the place and heading towards Kathiraveli village in the Vakara. Assistant Government Agents Division out of fear and insecurity due to the recent incidents that took place at Mahindapura where 18 refugees and three Government servants were shot dead. As a result, the refugees settled in Village LB-3 under the Rehabilitation Scheme which was set up to accommodate the refugees who fled after the escalation of violence in the months of May and June 1985, are moving to the villages of Peruveli and Sambur in the Muttur Assistant Government Agents Division.

GOVERNMENTAL ASSISTANCE

On the 16th October 1983 the Commissioner General of Essential Services, Mr. Bradman Weerakoon, is reported to have said that the Government was still providing special food rations fortnightly to some 60,000 refugees who had left the refugee camps. He said that of those who were receiving this special food ration, 15,000 persons were those who had returned to the plantation areas, that another 45,000 were those who had left the camps to settle in the North, and that the ration issued fortnightly consisted of three kgs. of rice, three kg. of flour and half a kg of sugar. According to him, the rations were being issued in the Jaffna and Batticaloa districts. He also stated that out of the total of 42,000 refugees still remaining in State run as well as other refugee camps, 14,000 were in Colombo.

The Commissioner General further said that the food aid received was not enough to cover the amount of rations required to feed the refugees. The aid received so far from the USAID, India, the Red Cross and other agencies had been distributed only amongst the refugees except for a temporary issue of tents to the army which had been done with the approval of the donor-USAID. He said that at the peak of the violence in August, more than 100,000 refugees were housed in Colombo, Gampaha and Ka'utara districts.

The Commissioner General has categorised 3 groups for assistance;

1. Spouses and children of all those who are dead as the direct result of violence.
2. Spouses and children of persons missing since the 1983 violence, presumed dead.

- 3 People affected by serious injuries (physical) during the riots and unable to carry out any work.

REHABILITATION OF PROPERTIES AND INDUSTRIES AUTHORITY (REPIA)

Under the emergency regulations, all the affected properties, industries and business establishments were vested in the State. Without specific approval from REPIA to divert or otherwise release them for sale, purchase, gift transfer, assignment, or mortgage, release of any affected immovable property cannot take place. If such sale or transfer is registered, the registration would be ab initio null and void. The same position applies with regard to business and industrial establishments. This was announced by the Chairman, Rear Admiral A.W.H. Perera.

The regulations were made under the pretext that people were buying these properties at a cheaper rate. But in reality this created further problems for the people who had lost their business, industries and houses. When the violence subsided, displaced people were forced to come back to renovate or rebuild their buildings and to continue their work even though they did not want to continue their business in certain areas. Some of them have to sell their properties after the renovation at a lower rate to the Sinhalese and Muslims. Further the assistance given to the displaced people was siphoned off to help the 1,50,000 Sinhala people who lost their jobs by the destruction of the factories owned by the Tamils. They were given the best assistance such as clothes, dry rations and cash doles.

Further the Government also announced a loan scheme to enable them to commence industries. The loan announced was as much as 75%. These loans mostly benefitted the Sinhala people.

The Government departments also granted salary advances of two years at an interest rate of 7.2% per annum. This sum was repayable in instalments. The conditions for eligibility to the relief available under this scheme include that the applicant must be a Government servant with a minimum of ten years' service. The owners whose properties were devastated were allowed to apply for a loan up to Rs. 100,000/= payable in ten years with an annual interest of 7%. Applications under this scheme were to be made before the 15th December, 1983.

As soon as the refugees' needs received a measure of recognition, the Government began to pay them a weekly dole

of Rs. 125/= for every family with five member and above. This was the maximum amount of assistance given. Families with less than five members received less. At this stage most of the refugees were Tamil speaking persons. But at a later stage the Sinhala speaking people who began to join the growing flow of refugees, demanded more financial assistance. The Government consequently raised the weekly dole to Rs. 250/= for a family of five members and above. Apart from this weekly dole, the refugees were totally dependent upon the assistance from the voluntary and other social service organisations in order to meet their needs, from the clothes they require to health and education.

The Government has given strict orders to its agents in Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Mannar Vavuniya and Mullaitivu to prevent any encroachment in these areas and has also cancelled all earlier instructions in respect of settlements on State land.¹³ This instruction has made it impossible for the refugees to make any attempt at rehabilitating themselves in these regions.

The Government has made several attempts to induce the refugees to return to the areas from which they fled, but these attempts have met with little success. Clearly the present crisis will have to be resolved before the refugees can be expected to consider the possibility of returning to the areas from where they have been forced to flee.

Despite the failure to create conditions of security under which the refugees can return to the areas from which they have fled, attempts are being made to cut off even the meagre assistance that is being given to them in order to force them to return to their homes. The refugees are further dissuaded from returning to the places they originally inhabited because of the fact that most of the areas they had previously lived in are now terrorised by the armed forces which have established camps in these areas.

As a result of the presence of the army in the vicinity, the people of these regions are afraid even to go out in order to cultivate their fields. Those who do so are often threatened or simply shot dead while working in the fields. A good number of fishermen too, due to the creation of sea surveillance zones are prevented from fishing. Due to this, there is heavy malnutrition, protein deficiency and starvation among fishermen. Fishermen totalling up to 150,000 are facing the same situation as the refugees.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

CARE biscuits, milk, thripasha and other food items were given, providing the refugees with vital nutritional elements in order to prevent malnutrition. Plastic sheeting, five gallon water cans, tents and blankets were provided by USAID for refugees in the plantation sector. Bread, sugar, flour, dhaj, tinned fish and milk, which were flown in on Indian Airlines and carried on the vessel M. V. Chiddambaram, had also been distributed.

Since August 1983, the Indian Red Cross has given the Sri Lankan Red Cross 10 dispensaries including equipments and medicines, 500 metric tonnes of rice, 60,000 metres of cloth 20,000 towels, 1,000 sets of kitchen utensils and 20 metric tonnes of milk powder. The value of these items in Sri Lankan rupees is 9 million. The total value of supplies given to the Sri Lankan Red Cross by the Indian Red Cross in Sri Lankan rupees is 12,375 million.

In addition to this assistance, on the 25th July 1984, India rushed Homeopathic medicines in response to an appeal by the Sri Lankan Governments Homeopathic Council in order to treat an outbreak of viral diseases like conjunctivitis. A Swiss Disaster Relief Unit team visited the island on August 16 1983, to provide immediate assistance to rehabilitate devastated houses and public buildings. It further undertook to re-construct the destroyed State and private properties approved by the Government. This team also met the REPIA-Chairman. Further many other Government and non-Governmental organisations came forward to assist the Sri Lankan people. For example, Norwegian Relief Agency, CEBEMO, NOVIB, and; Candian organisations etc.

On the 3rd March 1985, Mr. Alderson of Oxfam, who was then in India to study the situation of the refugees from Ceylon, said that the Sri Lankan Government had received 50,000 pounds from Oxfam in order to help rehabilitate the refugees affected in the communal violence in 1983. He claimed that the camps opened to house these refugees were now closed and that many of the refugees had been rehabilitated in resettlement colonies. Further he went on to say that the Government was now faced with the task of rehabilitating nearly 6,000 Sinhala fishermen who had been deprived of their livelihood in Mullaithivu as this area was declared a prohibited zone. He claimed that Sinhala fishermen fleeing these areas were now thronging the streets of Negambo, a town close to Colombo on the North western coast.

Representatives of the World Council of Churches met the Social Service Minister, Mr. Asoka Karunaratne, on the 24th June at the Social Service Ministry and handed over Rs. 300,000 to rehabilitate the people affected by the Kantalai dam disaster. The Australian Development Assistance Bureau had offered the Sri Lanka Government 50,000 Australian Dollars for the rehabilitation of the victims of the dam disaster.

Japan had offered the Social Services Ministry 100,000 US Dollars under the emergency aid package in response to the request from the Government of Sri Lanka. Earlier Japan offered 85,000 US Dollars for the rehabilitation of the victims of an earth slip in the central and eastern provinces. Besides the above mentioned foreign assistance, other societies such as the Red Cross and Sarvodaya movement as well as the Sri Lankan people themselves came forward to assist in cash and kind. The Sri Lankan people alone provided assistance to the value of Rs. 600,000.

Under the Kantalai Development Programme.

Out of the 4,500 families, only 1,031 have lost their houses and were displaced. Under this programme, Government has completed 385 houses, Red Cross to settle 145 families and SEDEC II families.

CONCLUSION

Within the context of the violence unleashed, against the Tamil speaking minorities, the people in the eastern province of the island were the first to suffer. It was here that in 1956, riots broke out between the Tamil speaking minorities and the majority Sinhala group. Even in the subsequent incidents of violence in 1958, 1977, 1981 and 1983, it was from the eastern province that the flames of violence spread to the south, central and western parts of the island. The underlying cause of this unrest between the minority Tamils and the majority Sinhala in the eastern regions has been the systematic State aided, colonisation by the Sinhala dominant State.

As regards the hill country Tamils, the underlying aim seems to terrorise them and to drive them out of the island to India. This strategy is being adopted in order to prevent those who remain after the implementation of the repatriation pacts, from exercising their electoral franchise against the interests of the ruling Sinhala community. The violence against these hill country Tamils also serves to strain the relationship between the Government of the island and the Indian Government.

As will be clear from the above information, in Ceylon today, several thousands of people have been rendered refugees in their own land. The nature of the crisis that has created these conditions is that the ethnic contradiction between a Government dominated by the majority Sinhala community and the Tamil speaking minority, leads to the Tamils suffering from willful neglect at the hands of the Government. The misuse of foreign aid meant to assist the refugees has also come to the fore. Even the aid channelled directly through the Government, found its way to persons it was never meant for. One such example would be the mysterious manner in which the high quality blankets donated to the refugees in the plantation regions had disappeared. They were replaced by locally woven handloom bedspreads which were of little use to protect them against the winter. Following the violence in 1983, the entire stock of main essential food items owned by Tamils were destroyed. It is strongly suspected that the Government was able to cope up with the shortage of foodstuffs that prevailed during the first few days following the crisis by utilising the foodstuffs that were donated for the refugees, to meet the needs of the general population.

A number of social organisations in the North and East as well as in the hill country have been under constant attack by the Government security forces. Consequently many of the organisers of these organisations, who courageously came forward to assist the refugees, have been forced to become refugees themselves. Two priests were killed by the security forces. A number of others have had to go into exile. Consequently most of the centres run by these social organisations have had to be closed.

From 1933, onwards, the Sarvodaya Movement led by Mr. A.T. Ariyaratne, which has always covertly adopted the dominant Sinhala Chauvinist National ideology while overtly professing a humanistic outlook, has been given a boost by the Government and encouraged to dominate the running of the refugee camps in the North and East. The Government patronage of this organisation has reached such an extent that it directly runs about 53 camps in the North and East while other organisations that have hitherto been active in these regions have been severely curtailed.

This Governmental policy of hindering the work, of several organisations working with the refugees and encouraging only this particular organisation to attend to this immense task has only led to the refugees being the losers as even the assistance

that has been approved by the Government does not reach them.

In addition, the Government authority REPIA which was set up ostensibly to attend to the rebuilding of damaged buildings and business establishments attempted to divert funds towards the payment of the salaries of the Sinhala workers who lost their jobs when Tamil owned establishments were destroyed. Immediately preceding the creation of this rehabilitatory authority, the Government declared all damaged property to be vested in the State. This, in effect, amounted to a seizure of all Tamil owned properties. In fact, at the height of the violence, the Government seemed to imagine itself to be at war with some unseen enemy. It even went to the extent of considering the feasibility of forcing all Tamils into concentration camps and of attempting to invoke the defence treaty signed with Britain at the time of the granting of independence to the island.

It is, therefore, clearly evident that the worst hit amongst the refugees who have been created by current events in Sri Lanka, are not those who have fled to India or the more fortunate ones who have been able to finance their flight to western developed countries, but those who are remaining in their own country where they have no proper assistance made available to them. Their situation is made far worse by the fact that they have to live in constant fear of arrest, torture, and sudden death, and the intolerable insecurity that arises from the awareness that some of them have been shot dead by the forces even within the refugee camps. One wonders who can come to the assistance of these people.

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TABLE 1 : 3 : 5

WORLD VALUE OF SRI LANKAN RUPEES
AS ON 3.10.1986

| CURRENCY | UNIT | RATE | |
|----------------|------|---------|------|
| | | Rs. | CTS. |
| US DOLLAR | 1 | 28 . 33 | |
| STERLING POUND | 1 | 40 . 61 | |
| DEUTSCHE MARK | 1 | 14 . 06 | |
| FRENCH FRANC | 1 | 4 . 26 | |
| INDIAN RUPEE | 1 | 2 . 21 | |

PART TWO

**Sri Lankan
Refugees In India
(Displaced People)**

PART TWO

Sri Lankan
Refugees in India
(Displaced People)

INTRODUCTION

We have spent most of our time running in search of safety and hiding places in forests to escape the wrath of the police and armed forces. All types of hardened criminals have been given weapons to hunt down Tamils. Even homes carrying food grains are waylaid by these thugs. Homes owned by Sinhalese are stopped and turned back. Homes owned by Tamil Muslims are stopped, their cargoes are looted and the homes returned. Homes owned by Tamils are burnt. What can you call this except strangulation?" exclaimed a fisherman from Pesalai.

India is a country that has met the challenge of sudden influx of refugees from neighbouring countries. On the eve of independence, millions of refugees from east & west Pakistan deluged India. During the Bangladesh war, nearly 10 million refugees entered India. There were also refugees from Tibet.

The Tamils in the Northern and Eastern provinces have been asked by the security force to leave their dwellings by March 15th failing which they would meet with certain death according to refugees who have arrived from the Island Republic. (NEWS TODAY 20-2-85.)

"Over the last 4 months, people from Pesalai have been unable to pursue their vocations. A dusk to dawn curfew was declared and bombs have been thrown at us. The Government has compelled all Sri Lankans to fly the National Flag on their houses. We have even been forced to buy these flags at Rs. 5/= each. Finally the Pesalai Government Department 3rd store, dealing with fishermen's equipment, was raided on the day before independence (3rd Feb 1985). (It is said that men employed by the government were responsible for this raid). The fishermen were forced to pay for the things removed from the stores. Though we collected this amount, we were asked to sign a declaration to the effect that we were paying the penalty for abetting the tigers and giving an undertaking that we would stop doing so in the future. Because of this we refused and made up our minds to flee to safety.

By this time the entire Mannar area had begun to experience military oppression which was becoming more and more intolerable with every passing day. The height of this savagery was seen just ten to fifteen miles away from Pesalai where we live. We knew it would not be long before we too would become victims of this violence. The breaking into of the department store and the declaration we had been pressurised to sign made the threat more real and made us decide to come here.

We have spent most of our time running in search of safety and hiding places in forests to escape the wrath of the police and the armed forces. All types of hardened criminals have been given weapons to hunt down Tamils. Even lorries carrying food grains are waylaid by these thugs. Lorries owned by Sinhalese are stopped and turned back. Lorries owned by Tamil Muslims are stopped, their cargoes are looted and the lorries returned. Lorries owned by Tamils are burnt. What can you call this except strangulation?" Exclaimed a fisherman from Pesalai.

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The first time that South India and particularly Tamil Nadu faced such a large influx of dependent people was with the beginning of the exodus of repatriates to India from 1968 onwards. The problem of rehabilitation assumed serious proportions only about the year 1975, by which time about 250,000 repatriates had arrived. From 1983 onwards the influx of Sri Lankan refugees has added to this socio-economic problem. The problem itself has taken on a new dimension due to the proximity of the escalating armed conflict in Sri Lanka. Beginning in February 1985, the flow of refugees from Sri Lanka suddenly increased bringing the Sri Lankan crisis into sharp focus and arousing popular indignation against the Jayawardene regimes military repression of the Tamil people.

Subjected to the July holocaust and terrorised by the escalating tensions, the brutal murder of detainees within the prisons and the threats made against the Tamils who had sought refuge within refugee camps, several Tamils who could afford to do so fled to India by air immediately. This trend still continues.

Refugees clamoured to go to India via the regular ferry service between Thalaimannar and Rameswaram and large numbers were able to cross over before this service was suspended as

usual for the monsoon in October 1983. The service was closed down on the 23rd October 1984 and has not yet been resumed. The Shipping Corporation has since expressed its inability to run this ferry service between Rameswaram and Thalaimannar as the Sri Lankan Government has declared the coastline between Mannar and Mullaithivu a surveillance zone and demarcated the five mile stretch of land between these two places as a no man's land.

Though no official reasons were given for the abrupt shutting down of the ferry service, it is known that the Sri Lankan Government was proceeding with plans to pressurise 84,000 Tamils who were awaiting repatriation into leaving for India, despite India's reluctance to accept these people until the refugees who are in India are able to return to their homes with dignity. The Sri Lankan Government was also intent on finding a way to stop the flow of refugees to India since their presence in that country forced its Government to intervene on behalf of these refugees on humanitarian grounds.

There is also a general confusion in the popular Indian perception regarding the term "refugee and repatriate", so that often the media tends to classify both categories as refugees. This confusion is reinforced by the fact that the repatriates have still failed to gain acceptance as Indians amidst the population in general and hence the general term "refugee (Akathi)" is used to describe the refugees as well as the 456,410 repatriates in India.

The political impact created by the presence of large number of Sri Lankan refugees in India resulted in the Sri Lankan Government receiving adverse opinion at several international fora and led to its adopting measures designed to discourage persons fleeing to India. The Sri Lankan Navy began to indiscriminately arrest, shoot and kill refugees while at sea. The fortunates who escaped death were assaulted and their belongings looted. On the 3rd March 1985, 13 refugees were shot dead by the Sri Lankan navy while they were at sea and on the same day 140 were arrested and a further 247 were prevented from leaving the island. In another incident three boatloads of refugees disappeared while at sea. Even the most conservative estimates put the figure at a little over a thousand.

Sri Lankan Government claims that Tigers have instigated the people to get out as they wanted to evacuate the Thalaimannar region to convert it into an operational base. This appears to be a fabricated campaign by the Sri Lankan Government. The present exodus is from about 20 villages mostly inhabited by Tamil fishermen on the North Western, coastal belt of Sri Lanka. Pesalai is considered to be the spring-board from where they can leave for India.

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ARRIVALS AT RAMESWARAM

The authorities have gone to the extent of earmarking one of the six dharmasalas (halls) at Rameswaram as a kind of isolation ward for house refugees with communicable diseases. Breakfast consists of Pongal and coffee. Lunch consists of rice, sambar and vegetables. This is supplied by a private contractor. The food costs Rs. 6/- per person per day. The Southern railway has kept three bogies ready to transport the refugees at Rameswaram to Mandapam camp. (Rameswaram is linked to the rest of India by a rail bridge.)

The Special Theashar and his staff who had been in charge of the repatriates arriving from Sri Lanka were assigned the task of attending to the refugees also. Facilities that had previously been provided to the repatriates were now made available to the refugees. The local authorities had to keep the immoun-

Tamil Nadu was the only ray of hope for the hapless people in their own country. On arrival during the night they take rest at Kothandaramsamy temple located on the outmost tip of Rameswaram. Significantly this temple figures in the Ramayana as the point at which lord Rama instructed Vibhishana who was accompanying him back after the former's conquest of Lanka, to return to his country, and take charge as the king of Lanka.

The port of Rameswaram has been the point of landing frequently used by the country craft bringing refugees to India. Up to the end of March 1985, 500 boats had called at this port to discharge the refugees on board. Though initially these craft were detained by the port authorities, they were later released in order to enable them to carry out their humanitarian service.

Though the sudden increase in the influx of refugees did catch the authorities on the island by surprise, they were quick to respond to the needs of these people. The government of Tamil Nadu also acted with commendable speed.

On arrival they are guided by the local police or public to the port registration office where after verifying their bona fides they are registered. They are then taken to one of the 5 camps at Rameswaram. Two mobile medical teams from nearby Ramnad and Madurai districts conduct a medical check-up. Blood tests are taken to ascertain whether they have malaria. They are also inoculated against cholera. As Rameswaram is a congested little town with polluted water and infested with mosquitoes the possibility of epidemics like Malaria and

cholera breaking, out is very high. The authorities have gone to the extent of earmarking one of the six dharmasalas (inns), Narikudi chatram in Pamban, as a kind of isolation ward to house refugees with communicable diseases. Breakfast consists of Pongal and coffee. Lunch consists of rice, sambar and vegetables. This is supplied by a private contractor. The food costs Rs. 6/= per person per day. The Southern railway has kept three bogies ready to transport the refugees at Remeswaram to Mandapam camp. (Rameswaram is linked to the rest of India by a rail bridge)

The Special Thasildar and his staff who had been in charge of the repatriates arriving from Sri Lanka were assigned the task of attending to the refugees also. Facilities that had previously been provided to the repatriates were now made available to the refugees. The local authorities had to keep the impounded boats in safe custody. There were about 150 boats in the first week of March. The boats are now left on the shore but the Yamaha engines have been dismantled and stored safely to prevent theft.

Sanctuary on Indian shores is not at all a bed of roses for the refugees. They have to face unscrupulous touts and indifferent officialdom.

EFFECTS ON THE ISLAND

The island of Rameswaram is 80 square km in extent and has a population of less than 50,000 most of whom are either fishermen or engaged in services related to tourism. With the escalation of violence in Sri Lanka spreading to the seas, and the influx of refugees, the people of Rameswaram have begun to feel the tensions and strains that have been created by the ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka. The crisis has caused the deterioration of the island's economy and this impact has been sharply felt.

The influx of refugees has destabilised the social structures of the island creating fears of possible outbreaks of disease and social unrest. This has resulted in an abrupt drop in the number of tourists visiting the island. Under normal circumstances the island used to receive an average of 500 tourists every day and this figure plummeted to 150. Tourist guides who used to earn up to Rs. 50/= per day saw their revenue drop to as low as Rs. 5/=. Many of the 80 tourist lodges on the island had to lock their rooms and lodge owners who used to make up to Rs. 1000/= per day saw their income fall sharply. They are

also adversely affected due to the fall in the pilgrim arrivals that has come down from 5000 a day to 1500 a day.

The economy of the island resembles the economy of the Northern and Eastern regions of Sri Lanka. The annual turnover of the island's business community has dropped from Rs. 1,600,000 to Rs. 500 000. Likewise the entire service system linked to the port has become economically depressed. Even shops that used to deal in smuggled goods have been badly affected.

The vessel that functioned as the ferry between the island and Sri Lanka, the TSS Ramanujam, has been consigned to the scrap yard bringing to an end the revenue earned by the shipping corporation. Auto drivers and cycle rickshaw drivers have lost their source of income, and the entire island's economy has entered a state of severe depression.

The islands fishermen have been forced to suspend their fishing operations in the face of repeated attacks made on them while at sea by the Sri Lankan Navy. Of the 1000 boats operating from the island, 600 lie at anchor. The remaining 400 have been moved to neighbouring districts where fishing is possible. Six fish freezing plants in the area lie idle. From 10-12-1984 up to 08-07-1986 about 20 fishermen had been shot dead at sea by Sri Lankan Navy. A number of fishermen have been arrested by Sri Lankan forces, and tortured. Some of the fisherman have had their days catch and nets and equipment robbed. In all 21,000 families spread out over Rameswaram and neighbouring Mandapam have lost their livelihood due to the collapse of the fishing industry in this region which used to produce an annual income of Rs. 36 crores.

Thus the Sri Lankan Government has brought the war against its own people, to the shores of India as well. Short of actually offering resistance to the belligerence of the Sri Lankan forces, the people of the region have expressed their resentment of these arbitrary attacks in a most intense and militant manner. Every incident of violence against them has been followed by agitations, demonstrations and even the burning of the train that runs between the mainland and the island. Their militancy has forced the Central Government to tighten security in the area.

VIOLATION OF 1974 and 1976 AGREEMENTS OF KACHCHATIVU

The arrests of Indian fishermen is a clear violation of the Kachchativu agreement of 1974 which ensures fishing rights in this region and grants Indian fishermen the right to use Kachchativu around Article 6 of this agreement which is officially known as the 'Agreement between India and Sri Lanka on the boundary, in historic waters between the two countries and related matters', permits vessels of both countries to enjoy in each others waters such rights as they have traditionally enjoyed therein.

The fishermen wanted the repudiation of the 1976 agreement which limited them to their territorial waters. India's territorial waters end 11 nautical miles off the Indian coast. This area is shallow, rocky and unsuitable for trawling. Sri Lankan fishermen do not trawl in the prawn rich areas off Kachchativu island as they are interested in catching large fish found in Indian waters. Only the Indian fishermen trawls for prawns. Fishermen are ignorant about the territorial limits due to lack of navigational aids. It has become clear that the Sri Lankan government has violated this agreement and has no intention of respecting the traditional rights of pilgrimage passage and fishing which are enshrined in article 5 and 6 of the agreement of 1974.

THE NUMBER OF ARRIVALS

Following the ethnic violence in Sri Lanka in July 1983, the late Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indra Gandhi took the initiative in responding to the distressed situation of the Tamil refugees by sending the ship 'Bharat Seema' to transport them from Colombo to the North and East. Once this ship had fulfilled this function, it transported the first batch of refugees, who wished to leave for India, from Colombo to Tuticorin, on the 2nd August 1983. 340 refugees arrived on this voyage.

The arrival of this initial group was followed by a steady flow of refugees into India via the regular ferry service that plied between Rameswaram thrice a week on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. This flow of refugees started in August 1983 and continued until the ferry service was closed for the monsoon season at the end of October that year. The service was resumed as usual in January the following year and continued to operate till the last week of October 1984 making it

possible for a large number of people to cross over to India. Those who crossed over by ferry service during this period held visas issued at Colombo and Complied with all the requirements of normal entry procedure.

Following the suspension of the ferry service in the last week of October 1984 due to the onset of the monsoon season, this avenue of entry was not available to the people fleeing from Sri Lanka. Pressures that led to their flight, on the other hand, were building up and this gave rise to an increase in the number of persons who fled to India in country crafts. Refugees also came in fibre reinforced plastic (FRB) mechanised boats. These boats are light and fast — A single engine boat can travel at a speed of 30-35 Kilometres per hour and it is also for the refugees to elude the detection of the Sri Lankan patrol boats. This mode of travel had always been utilised by those who for any reason could not have access to normal procedure but now it became an option that had to be adopted by the refugees. Hence, for example, on the 23rd December 1984, 5 country crafts carrying 400 people landed at Vetharaniyam. Some of the refugees who used this illegal mode of transport had even gone to the Trichy refugee camp. Out they returned because they found the climate at the camp was too hot to bear and the hygiene condition, not up to their expectations.

As on 27th October 1984, 399 families consisting of 1,800 individuals were housed at the Mandapam camp. Of these, 42 families consisting of 177 members were repatriates who had arrived before the violence broke out in 1983. A further 89 families consisting of 500 individuals were housed at the Kottapattu camp at Trichy. Of the 399 families housed at the Mandapam camp, 67 came under the Siriman Shastri Pact, 54 had identity certificates issued by the Sri Lankan government indicating that they were stateless persons, 35 had Sri Lankan passports, 157 had Sri Lankan Emergency Certificates and 49 families had no documents at all. In addition a large number of persons had come by air from July 1983.

With the spurt in violence in the Mannar district beginning in early 1985, tension in this region began to increase. The killing of two priests in the Mannar district added to the fear created by the actions of the security forces in the region.

This sudden increase in the number of refugees arriving by country craft and FRB which began on the 5th February 1985 created the problem of finding accomodation for them at

the camp at Mandapam. Having first received the assurance that financial aid would be made available by the Central Government, the State Government of Tamilnadu instructed the Collectors of its several districts, with the exception of three, to accept a minimum of 1000 refugees and to accommodate them in temporary or permanent buildings as may be available to them. With the instructions of the District Collectors the local Revenue Divisional Officers began searching for suitable buildings. They were able to locate some unused buildings that could serve the purpose.

Arrangement for transport by boats presented its own difficulties. This service was run mainly by the Muslims in the affected areas, who on an average charged between Rs. 100 and Rs. 200 per persons to make the crossing service. This was operated under the cover of darkness between the hours of 6 00 p.m. and 6.00 a.m. The clandestine nature of the whole operation made it necessary for the refugees to hide in the jungles bordering the coasts and make contact with persons who could put them in touch with the boat operators and fix the time for the rendezvous. Embarkation was at night. The journey which normally took not more than 4 hours was dragged out to between six and ten hours due to the detours to be made in order to keep to the shallow water where navy patrol boats could not follow. Further frequent course alterations have to be made in order to avoid detection by these patrols

TABLE 2 : 4 : 1

The rate of refugee in flow at Rameswaram

| | | |
|---------------------------|---|---------------|
| July 1983 to January 1985 | — | 1,843 |
| February 1985 | — | 10,838 |
| March 1985 | — | 6,337 |
| April 1985 | — | 1,179 |
| May 1985 | — | 813 |
| June 1985 | — | 1,130 |
| July 1985 | — | 747 |
| August 4, 1985 | — | 9 |
| August 20, 1985 | — | 201 |
| Total | — | 23,097 |

These figures do not include the people who landed at Vetharaniyam. By the 15th March 1985, the total number of refugees totalled 84,950 of which 17,491 were in different camps.

Since 14th February 1985, the Government began to move the refugees at Mandapam camp to various other temporary shelters in other districts in order to accomodate the incoming refugees.

This movement was temporarily stopped in August 1985 by which time there were 88 camps scattered throughout Tamil Nadu. Later, as the inflow of refugees began to increase again, new camps were opened up and by the begining of 1986 the number of camps had increased to 171. Approximately 6,950 families consisting of 29,394 individuals were housed in these camps. In addition there were, by this time, over 100,000 refugees living on their own outside the camps.

With the passage of time some of the camps began to have problems in continuing to house the refugees since the buildings they were provided with were often privately owned and their owners were pressurising the authorities to return them. Many of the buildings which were Kalyanamandapams, schools, saththunavu buildings, Temple halls and staff quarters attached to Government projects, had other social uses which they had to serve and for which they were required. Hence at present a new permanent structure is being constructed at Koodalnagar; eight kilometres away from the town of Madurai, containing 792 housing units. At present there are more than 150 camps in Tamil Nadu.

| | | | | | |
|-----|--------|-------|--------|-------|---------------|
| 17 | 1,878 | 486 | 681 | 174 | Pettai |
| 19 | 2,038 | 484 | 914 | 217 | Coimbatore |
| 03 | 388 | 104 | | | Tamiraparani |
| 08 | 878 | 124 | | | Kanniyakumari |
| 13 | 1,289 | 287 | | | Anna |
| 01 | 6,110 | 1,140 | 2,822 | 1,348 | Rameswaram |
| 171 | 28,394 | 6,950 | 18,948 | 4,596 | TOTAL |

TABLE 2: 4: 2
 NO. OF REFUGEES IN DIFFERENT DISTRICTS
 -29th of March 1985 January 1986

| District | Families | Members | Families | Members | Camps |
|--------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|------------|
| Thanjavur | 361 | 1,391 | 925 | 3,655 | 18 |
| Tirunelveli | 215 | 875 | 325 | 1,348 | 04 |
| Salem | 154 | 632 | 325 | 1,348 | 09 |
| South Arcot | 333 | 1,431 | 428 | 1,796 | 14 |
| Madurai | 305 | 1,409 | 369 | 1,654 | 23 |
| Pudukottai | 429 | 1,826 | 548 | 2,398 | 11 |
| Trichy | 433 | 1,427 | 354 | 1,366 | 01 |
| Chengalpattu | 204 | 898 | 425 | 1,737 | 11 |
| Dharmapuri | 173 | 701 | 175 | 701 | 04 |
| North Arcot | 201 | 868 | 460 | 1,823 | 11 |
| Periyar | 174 | 681 | 486 | 1,878 | 17 |
| Coimbatore | 217 | 914 | 494 | 2,028 | 19 |
| Pasumpon | | | 104 | 388 | 03 |
| Kamarajar | | | 124 | 875 | 08 |
| Anna | | | 267 | 1,289 | 17 |
| Ramnad | 1,349 | 5,922 | 1,140 | 5,110 | 01 |
| TOTAL | 4,548 | 18,945 | 6,949 | 29,394 | 171 |

Apart from the persons who have arrived by boats, even some of those who have arrived by air, and who were living on their own, began to register themselves either at Mandapam or at Kottapattu. Even individuals were accepted for registration and issued with family cards. Three photographs are taken. One for the head of the family, other for the second in line and the last for the entire family. The photograph for every family cost the authorities almost Rs. 25/=. This triplicate document will be invaluable later to trace the refugees when it is decided either absorb them or to send them back to Sri Lanka.

In addition to the refugees residing within as well as outside the camps, there are also a large number of students who have come to India in order to pursue their studies which have been disturbed due to unsettled conditions in Sri Lanka. Over 7000 such students are pursuing their higher studies at various polytechnics colleges, and universities. Some of them are boarded and others are staying with their friends and relatives. The majority of them are in Madras.

One of the major problems facing the refugees as they land in India is the process of registration. The members of all families do not always travel together as a single family unit in the same boat or at the same time. This often leads to one family being allotted two registration numbers and two family cards. In such cases, the different members of the same family are sent to different camps. It has taken sometimes upto three months of agitation by the family members to get reunited. This difficulty arises due to the fact that the Thasildars of both the districts involved have to agree to the transfer of the concerned family members so that they can be housed together.

From the beginning of 1986, there have been almost no incoming refugees. This was due to the governments having set up a No man's land along the beaches in certain areas as surveillance zones and the strict security surveillance arranged by the Navy.

REFUGEE CENTRES (CAMPS) IN TAMIL NADU

Chapter V

Tamil Nadu is one of the four Southern States of the Indian democratic republic discriptively known as the land of temples where, as it is in the other parts of India, religion constitutes the core of traditional culture and integrated value systems of the society. With a total land area of 130,069 Sq. Kms the State of Tamil Nadu has a density of 372 persons per Sq. Km. To the contrary Sri Lanka, 64,651 Sq. Km in area, has a density of 238 persons per Sq. Km, with a total population of 15,000,000 in 1983.

The people of Tamil Nadu are caught up in its stagnant social system with its deeply stratified class cum caste structures, inequality in the distribution of wealth and land holdings, and acute unemployment problem. Despite a number of Rural Development Programmes and 'Seven Point' plans adopted by governments, more than 40% of the people are living below the poverty line.

Even though the Indian government professes a socialistic policy regarding the import of foreign goods and also has adopted a number of schemes for the welfare of the scheduled tribes and castes, and the other lower strata of society, the problems faced by the people are on the increase. This can be seen to be the result of the following factors ;

1. The strong growth of indigenous capitalism which plays an important role not only on the economic but also in the political field.

2. Inefficiency and lack of initiative on the part of officials who are in charge of implementing the programmes put forward by the central government.
3. Since illiteracy in Tamil Nadu is as high as 52% this ignorance of the people is an advantage to the administrative machinery to play an oppressive role. These factors have resulted in the political consciousness of the people being turned towards mere hero worship of leaders in spite of their suffering.

Tamil Nadu is rich in natural resources in the fields of agriculture, fisheries and industries. These resources have been successfully exploited and are being put to use in various ways. Despite their commercial utilisation the wealth generated does not reach the poorer masses. For instance the land reform laws designed to give an impetus to the rural peasantry has failed to bring any change to the village structure. The minimum wage ordinance has not been implemented and thus most of the villages, to all practical purpose, seem to be continuing under the Zamindar system. The villagers are paid according to the whims and fancies of the local land lords thus creating a dire poverty in most villages.

Most of the land in India is owned by a very small minority of people. This leaves hundreds of thousands of villagers landless and this is one of the root causes of poverty in the land. Despite the socialistic programmes of the Government and the 'Pro-People' image it takes great pains to project, the situation of India's landless poor will remain the same unless there is a social revolution.

According to the census of 1982 Tamil Nadu had a population of 48 million. The following statistics present a picture of its population's religious affiliations as at the census year 1971.

TABLE 2 : 5 : 1

POPULATION BY RELIGION - 1971 PERCENTAGE

| RELIGION | TAMIL NADU | ALL INDIA |
|------------|------------|-----------|
| HINDUS | 89.02 | 82.72 |
| MUSLIMS | 5.11 | 11.21 |
| CHRISTIANS | 5.75 | 2.60 |
| SIKHS | 0.01 | 1.89 |
| BUDDHIST | N | 0.70 |
| JAINS | 0.10 | 0.47 |

Even though India is a secular state, Hinduism plays a major role in Tamil Nadu as it does in the rest of India where the interpreters of Hinduism have diverted the masses in a direction where ritual in ones life, caste consciousness, and Hindu fatalism have been brought to the fore hiding the true religious realities as expressed in the Bhagawat Geeta. The interpreters of religion too are content to maintain the present status quo since it protects their vested interests and ensures them a comfortable lifestyle and recognised social position. The other religions too have from the very beginning structured their doctrine and organisations in such a way as to help maintain the local capitalist system. Thus religion, which is a sign of mankind's aspirations towards its political and economical liberation, which is meant to function as an ideology that leads them in this direction of freedom and light, today indirectly lead them to darkness. Fanatical trends that have developed within all these religions help to foster the existing structures and contribute to the division of the people along communal and religious lines. These factors add to the causes of poverty and the peoples oppressed condition.

Within this context the arrival of a large number of repatriates and refugees has caused fresh complications. Amongst many of these religious groups and even amongst the state administration there has arisen the contention that these people being aliens, assistance to them must be curtailed since the people of the country are themselves living in poverty and have no such schemes to help them to rise above their dismal

situation. This perception of the distressed condition of the repatriates and refugees only helps further their alienation from the local people and prevents their effective integration. Many government officials who contribute towards this line of thinking tend to act in a manner that prevents or delays the proper implementation of the rehabilitation schemes and plans for assisting these people as put forward by government and thus put further strains upon the repatriates and refugees which are ultimately transferred to the local economy so that even the local people suffer. Hence far from helping to solve either the problem of the local population or those of the repatriates and refugees, this perception only worsens the situation of both of them.

Refugee accommodation Centres (Camps) are scattered all over Tamil Nadu except in the districts of Madras, Nilgris and Kanniyakumari. The reason being that these three districts are small in area and have a relatively high density. Madras with a density of 25,205 persons per Sq Km. Kanniyakumari has an area of 1,684 Sq.Kms with a density of 845. The last district has an area of 2,549 Sq Kms. with a density of 247 that produces tea and other cash crops.

MANDAPAM CAMP

The major camps within Tamil Nadu are situated at Mandapam, Tiruchy, Tuticorin and of late in Madurai.

Mandapam, which is 8 km west of Rameswaram, is the transit point from where the first generation of Indians went to ceylon. This was opened by the British in 1916 for recruitment of workers for the plantations in ceylon. This camp is named 'Kelaniya' and so is the camp officers bungalow located close by. This name derives from that of Kelaniveli Indian Association. This association was formed in 1923 by the clerks and minor supervisory staff of the plantations in Ceylon in order to champion their interest. One of its major agitations centred around the demand for wages to be paid directly to the workers and on a regular weekly basis. This association took its name from the Kelaniya river since it originated in the Kelaniveli region. The camp is 2 km away from Mandapam village. In recent times it served as a transit point for the plantation workers who were sent to India under various repatriation pacts. Today it is indeed ironical that the same place is being used to accommodate the Sri Lankan refugees. The camp was bought by the Tamil Nadu government from the then Ceylon government in 1964 for Rs. 2,600,000. The Manda-

camp is spread out over an area of 294.25 acres and consists of 226 blocks containing 1092 hutments. Of these, 85 blocks consisting of 786 hutments are reserved to accommodate repatriates. The camp functions under the administration of a Special Deputy Collector. The Entire camp has been fenced with barbed wire to a height of six feet at a cost of Rs. 500,000, to provide tight security.

The location of the camp itself is picturesque, situated as it is on the sandy beach of the Eastern coast. Built according to specifications laid out by the colonial administration, its buildings are well spaced out and well-constructed roads throughout the camp area. Wells and blocks of toilets though constructed at uniform intervals, have fallen into disuse. But this can be reconstructed at short notice. Trees planted at several points give the camp a look of relaxed serenity.

Exclusively for the camp a medical centre with a 20 bed hospital with facilities for first aid and emergency attention a primary school, a secondary school, a police station and a post office are functioning. There are facilities for religious service. The camp has its own engineering and maintenance staff. Following the increased influx of refugees which began in February 1985, the government has spent Rs. 800,000 on repairing the buildings within the camp. A further sum of Rs 500,000 has been spent on the construction of fire proof light roofed hutments to provide accommodation for an additional 350 families. These hutments have brought the total number of hutments available to the refugees to 1136 (786 + 350). Each hutment consists of a room but constructed in such a way that a part can be used as a kitchen and the rest as a living room.

Following the increased refugee influx in 1985, Ministers and welfare Officers from the Social Service Department visited the Camps at Rameswaram and Mandapam and discussed with the refugees about their Problems and made necessary arrangements to remedy them.

TUTICORIN AND MADURAI CAMPS

The Tuticorin camp consists of 100 permanent units which were constructed by the Government at a cost of Rs. 1,000,000. The refugees began to occupy this camp from the latter part of 1985.

The government has allocated a sum of Rs. 11,088,000 for the construction of a permanent camp consisting of 792 units in Madurai. A part of the construction has already been completed permitting 300 families to be moved in from other camps. Once the construction of this camp is completed, refugees from other temporary camps in Tamilnadu, with the exception of the camps along the coastal regions, will be moved to this camp and the temporary camps they have occupied will be closed. There are also plans from early 1985 for the construction of an additional 2000 housing units at the Mandapam camp and 1000 units at the camp at Tuticorin but these works have not been commenced as yet.

The temporary camps scattered throughout Tamil Nadu consist of various buildings requisitioned for the temporary accomodaton of the refugees. A description of the various types of buildings utilised for this purpose are given below :

Cyclone shelters It is built with funds from the European Economic Community (EEC). Since the coastal belt of Tamil Nadu is prone to suffer frequent damages as a result of cyclones and storms the Tamil Nadu government with the collaboration of the EEC has constructed Cyclone shelters along the coast. The target was to construct 110 such shelters. So far 78 units have been completed and the balance 32 are expected to be completed in the near future. These shelters are designed to temporarily provide accomodation at the time of disaster for a about period of two weeks or at the most for a month. During other times most of them remain vacant.

Each shelter, circular in structure, consists of a two storey building having two large halls with a roofed area of 5000 Sq. ft. Four toilets are attached. The area around the building is open and free of vegetation and trees.

About 30 refugee families averaging 160 individuals are housed in each of these shelters. Thus, on an average, each family receives less than five square metres of space within which they have to cook, live and sleep. In order to avail themselves of some privacy, the families have divided the hall by hanging up their meagre items of clothing as dividers. These camps are invariably overcrowded. Each shelter can comfortably accomodate only about 20 families. The refugees find it difficult to do their cooking since there are no separate sheds where the cooking can be done. The toilets inside the shelters are not used for want of running water to maintain proper level of

hygiene. Hence the second most important requirement is the construction of proper toilets. Since most of these shelters are located in remote areas, the refugees find it very difficult to send their children to school. They should, therefore, be given some additional sheds where they can cook, conduct classes for their children, and sleep at night.

COTTAGES IN DAM SITES

Many dams in Tamil Nadu have in addition to their staff quarters, a series of cottages built to accommodate local tourists who visit these picturesque sites. These staff quarters and tourist cottages have been pressed into use to accommodate the refugees. These quarters and cottages have all necessary facilities so that the refugees housed there have no problems regarding accommodation.

The authorities concerned with the administration of these quarters permitted the refugees to reside there on the undertaking that they would be there only for a short period. Due to these people's presence, the arrival of local tourists has been reduced causing a drop in income from this source. The authorities are, therefore, requesting the government to either shift the refugees or pay Rs. 2/- per day per family as rent.

In some of these units, two or even three families have been accommodated together. The people are however largely satisfied because of the good quality of the housing units and availability of enough water and plenty of firewood. The main problem they face is the lack of transport since all these dams are located in remote areas. In one camp, there are no proper accommodation facilities and the people have to undergo severe hardship.

KALYANA MANDAPAMS

Kalayana Mandapams are large but privately owned halls with attached cooking facilities and toilets. They are rented out for weddings and other social functions. They are usually located in the heart of towns and cities. Some of these Kalayana Mandapams have been requisitioned to house the refugees on a temporary basis. Here too, their owners have begun to request for the return of their buildings since they are subjected to a continuous loss of revenue.

COMMUNITY CENTRES

Some refugees have been accommodated in community centres where all the required facilities are generally available. The only problem they face is from overcrowding.

SCHOOL BUILDINGS

The housing of refugees in school buildings has caused considerable problems to the school authorities who have no alternative places to conduct their regular classes. In some of these schools there is no proper supply of water which has to be fetched from far away places.

HOSTELS

The refugees housed in school hostels have all the necessary facilities. However, it has created problems for the hostel authorities who continue to lose a sizeable income.

NOON MEALS CENTRES

The government of Tamil Nadu has a 'Noon meal scheme' under which children who attend schools are given a free meal at noon. These centres consist merely of an open hall but often without proper flooring and other facilities; Hence the refugees accommodated in these buildings have to manage without toilet water facilities' etc.

CHATTIRAMS

Chattirams are unmanned wayside inns meant to be made use of by travellers. Hence they are meant to serve as temporary accommodation. Refugees, housed in these Chattirams, have to do without any facilities at all.

OLD THEATRES

Refugees have been housed in old theatres in some areas. These buildings have all the necessary facilities except that most of them are old and badly maintained. Rain water leaks from the roof when it rains.

TEMPORARY SHEDS

In some areas, the refugees have been accommodated in temporary sheds, built of cadjan and have very low roof. During

COMMUNITY CENTRES

the rainy season when heavy gales blow through the area, the refugees are unable to even protect their meagre belongings from damage, no other facilities are available.

In addition to these buildings, old market and temple buildings, mills and even buildings of a shipyard at Nagapattinam are used to house the refugees. Many of these structures are open halls which do not provide privacy and other facilities. Consequently the refugees housed there are subjected to great inconveniences.

By May 1986, there were 171 such camps. Today, this number has been reduced following the opening of permanent camps such as the one opened recently at Kudalnar in Madurai.

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ASSISTANCE FROM GOVERNMENT & VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS

Chapter VI

GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE

As soon as the refugees arrive at Rameswaram, they are given meals and sent to the camp at Mandapam. All refugees who have been registered are given the following assistance.

TABLE 2 : 6 : 1
CASH DOLE PER FAMILY PER MONTH (IN RUPEES)
UNDER 12 YEARS OF AGE

| | Above 12 Years of Age | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--|
| | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| 0 | - | 55 | 82.5 | 110 | 137.5 | 165 | |
| 1 | 110 | 165 | 192.5 | 220 | 247.5 | 275 | |
| 2 | 192.5 | 247.5 | 275 | 302.5 | 330 | 357.5 | |
| 3 | 275 | 330 | 357.5 | 385 | 412.5 | 440 | |
| 4 | 357.5 | 412.5 | 440 | 471.5 | 495 | 522.5 | |
| 5 | 440 | 495 | 522.5 | 550 | 577.5 | 605 | |

The first instalment of this amount specified in the above table is given after deducting the expenses for their meals at Rameswaram and at Mandapam. Later this amount is given to all the refugee card holders fortnightly and all the members must be present at the time of distribution.

TABLE 2 : 6 : 2 CLOTHES

| ITEMS | FOR | COST IN RUPEES |
|--------------|----------|----------------|
| 2 DHOTIES | Male | 30.00 |
| 2 TOWELS | Female | 18.00 |
| 4 MATS | ALL | 48.00 |
| 4 BLANKETS | ALL | 180.00 |
| 2 SAREES | Female | 120.00 |
| 2 SHORTS | M. Child | 40.00 |
| 2 SHIRTS | " | 50.00 |
| 2 FROCKS | F. Child | 70.00 |
| TOTAL | | 556.00 |

The above items are the maximum a family is entitled to. If the number of family members is less than 4, then the items are given according to the number of members. If some of these items are not available at the time of their being sent to the camps, they do not receive them afterwards. Some of the refugees said that they did not receive the items specified above and these items were given only once during the arrival at Mandapam. All the families have received all the above items only from may 1985.

TABLE 2 : 6 : 3
KITCHEN UTENSILS

| ITEMS | IN RUPEES |
|---------------------|--------------|
| 1 rice pot with lid | 18.00 |
| 1 large sauce pan | 15.00 |
| 2 large spoons | 6.00 |
| 2 large plates | 10.00 |
| 2 tumblers | 6.00 |
| 1 lamp | 35.00 |
| Total | 90.00 |

All families are given the above items except the lamp without taking into consideration the size of the family. The lamp is given only to those who have babies. These too are given only once at Mandapam, which could last only for six months.

TABLE 2 : 6 : 4 SUBSIDIES

| Items | Child | Adult | Duration | Ration Rate | Max. Normal Rate | Total Per month |
|--------------|-----------------------|-------|----------|-------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Rice | 200gm | 400gm | daily | Rs. 2.00 | Rs. 3 50 | 48kg |
| Sugar | 450gms per person | | monthly | 4.80 | 6 00 | 2½kg |
| Kerosene oil | 3-5 litres per family | | Monthly | 2.35 | 3 00 | 41it |

Out of these items only rice is subsidised below the ration rate. Others are given at the normal ration rate. This allowance is being given to repatriates too from 1981 onwards. The quantity received by a family of 3 adults and 2 children works out to 48 kgs of rice per month.

At the subsidised camp rate $48\text{kg} = 48 \times .57 = \text{Rs. } 27.36$

Under ration rate $48\text{kg} = 48 \times 2.00 = 96.00$

Therefore the subsidy on rice amounts to Rs. 58.64 per family per month.

FREE ITEMS

1. Accommodation in all the camps, electricity and water wherever available is given free. Average expenditure on these items for a family is estimated at Rs. 60/= per month.
2. Other running expenditures such as for related government employees worked out to be Rs. 20/= per family per month.
3. Other expenditures incurred on documentation, taking photograph of families etc, amounts to Rs. 30/=.
4. Shifting to other camps in Tamil Nadu from Mandapam costs an average of Rs. 70/= per family.

From the above assistance if we are to calculate the cost per family (3 adults and 2 children) we will be able to get an approximate estimate of the amount spent by the government.

| Items | Adult | Child | Duration | Ration Rate | Max. Normal Rate | Total Per Month |
|----------|-----------------------|-------|----------|-------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Rice | 400gm | 200gm | daily | 2.00 | 2.50 | 48kg |
| Sugar | 150 gms per person | | monthly | 4.80 | 6.00 | 27kg |
| Kerosene | 3-5 litres per family | | Monthly | 2.33 | 3.00 | 4lit |

TABLE 2 : 6 : 5

TOTAL EXPENDITURE PER FAMILY PER MONTH

| MONTHLY EXPENDITURE | ONCE AND FOR ALL EXPENDITURE |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Cash dole Rs. 357.50 | 1. Clothes and utensils Rs. 646.00 |
| 2. Rent (accomodation electricity, water) 60.00 | 2. Photo, documentation 30.00 |
| 3. Subsidies (rice) 58.64 | 3. Transport 70.00 |
| 4. Other subsidies 5.60 | 4. Extra 10.00 |
| Government servants 15.00 | |
| 6. Extra 3.26 | |
| Total 500.00 | 756.00 |

Taking this once and for all expenditure as for 24 months the monthly average per family works out to Rs. 31.50. Therefore the average spent per month on a family is $\text{Rs. } 500 \div 32 = \text{Rs. } 532/ =$

The Indian government is not a signatory to the 1957 UN Convention on refugees and its additional protocols. Unlike most of the Western Countries who are signatories to the UN Convention where 95% of the Sri Lankan asylum seekers have been denied refugee status and also discouraged from entering the country by the enactment of border regulations. The Indian government has taken necessary action to receive all those Sri Lankans who have reached its border as persons displaced due to ethnic violence, without asking the individuals to prove the cause of their displacement. The Indian government looks after the basic needs of the refugees in the camps. The State government of Tamil Nadu has called upon several organisations

and individuals to supplement the government assistance. It is also committed to solve the Sri Lankan crisis so that these displaced people can return to their own country with dignity and honour.

The Union Finance Ministry has approved the Tamil Nadu government's proposal to relax exchange control regulations in order to permit Sri Lankans to convert currency up to a maximum of 2,000 Indian rupees at Rameswaram. The State Bank of India, Indian Bank and Mr. Nagoor Maurane have been authorised to receive Sri Lankan rupees.

MALPRACTICES AND HARASSMENT

There have been instances where a few of the refugees from Sri Lanka have failed to respect the law and order in the country. A handful of them have been involved in smuggling, drug trafficking and other anti-social activities. However, these incidents are the exceptions rather than the rule.

Several incidents of malpractices and harassment have been detected amongst the officials dealing with the refugees but this does not reflect the policy of the government. Food items issued on ration, for instance, is often short measured and payment of dole is delayed, sometimes leading to starvation amongst the refugees.

SHORTCOMINGS

One of the shortcomings faced by the refugees is that no arrangement seems to have been made to compensate for wear and tear due to the passage of time regarding the basic amenities rendered on their arrival. For instance, clothes given to them on their arrival have now worn out and no replacements have been forthcoming. Kitchen utensils too need replacements.

The dole provided is barely enough to meet the additional expenses needed to protect children, pregnant women and nursing mothers from the ravages of malnutrition. Assistance for children's schooling and for additional attention to their medical needs is also called for and must be provided without delay.

The dole system creates a dependency thereby reducing the dignity of these persons and leads to lack of self motivation. This paves the way to idleness and leads to their unnecessary

involvement in anti-social activities. This trend can be combatted, for instance, by channelling the funds spent on their maintenance towards the creation of industrial sources of employment from which they can earn their living.

ROLE OF VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS

Besides the government of India, and government of Tamil Nadu, a number of businessmen and well-wishers in various districts came forward to assist the refugees. Some of them supplied the refugees with Kerosene cookers; others donated clothes, milk powder, boxes of matches and other items. In Gudiatham, the people supplied cooked meals to the refugees for a whole month. This spontaneous assistance rendered by the Indian people expresses their solidarity with the refugees in the hour of their need.

India, though certainly not amongst the poorest of developing nations, does suffer from an unseemly inequality in the distribution of its considerable resources and wealth amongst its large and rapidly growing population. This has resulted in a large number of people continuing to languish below the poverty line. A number of voluntary social organisations and action groups, now generally referred to as Non-party Peoples Formations, have risen to tackle the task of alienating the situation of the distressed and down-trodden amongst the Indian people both through the distribution of direct aid and through conscientisation aimed at raising awareness of these people regarding their rights and motivating them to work towards exercising them. Many of these social organisations are outgrowths of the social concern of various religions and hence display an essentially religious outlook. Several such organisations have been assisting the Sri Lankan Repatriates and some of them were easily able to extend their services to the Sri Lankan refugees too.

Some of the religious organisations actively involved in assisting the refugees were ;

1. The Ramakrishna Mission
2. The MAITHRI
3. Tamil Nadu Social Service Society (TASOSS)
4. The Inter Church Service Agency (ICSA)

In addition, the following secular organisations working in India came to the assistance of the refugees ;

1. Renalssance
2. Round Table
3. Rural Education and Community Organisation (RECO)

The following organisations have been formed by the refugees themselves in order to tackle the problems they are faced with ;

1. Organisation for Eelam Refugees Rehabilitation (OFFER).
2. Medical Unit for Service to Tamils (MUST).
3. Ceylon Refugees and Repatriates Organisation (CERRO).
4. Tamil Rehabilitation Organisation (TRO).
5. Movement for Integration of Refugees and Repatriate (MIRT).

A brief summary of the various forms of assistance made available to the refugees by these several organisations is set out below :

THE RAMAKRISHNA MISSION

The Ramakrishna Mission, a Hindu organisation has set up outposts at both the Tiruchy and Mandapam camps. This organisation, the most active within the camps, has provided the refugees in these camps with a school accomodating students up to grade five.

Scholarships have been made available to outstanding students to enable them to pursue higher studies at the educational institutions linked to this organisation.

The mission organised a holiday camp at Madras for a group of fifty female refugee children between the ages of six and nine during the end of September 1984. Vocational training is being provided at Tiruchy.

The organisation is assisting 350 children at the Mandapam camp. When the refugees first began to arrive and government facilities were still not available, this organisation provided them with their morning meal. This function has now been taken over by the government but the mission continues to provide a morning meal to the children who attend its school.

Along with the above organisation, it must also be mentioned that the Kanchi Kamakodi Peedam provided food and shelter for 100 children between the ages of five and fifteen years who had lost their parents in March 1985. It also promised to provide this children with training to enable them to become self-employed.

TASSOSS

This is a Catholic organisation which has independent unit in all the dioceses within Tamil Nadu. In the following two districts, namely Pudukottai and Thanjavur, this society has provided the refugees in the camps with basic education.

In the Madurai district the society has provided medical assistance to some of the camps and has also made available vocational training facilities to some of the refugees.

At Vellore the society has planned to distribute mats, utensils etc., to the refugees.

The parish priest of Pounjur and the Holy Family sisters at Chengelpattu are providing medical assistance and educational facilities to the refugees in two camps.

MAITHRI

This Jesuit organisation has for long been engaged in work amongst the Sri Lankan repatriates who arrived at the Mandapam camp. It used to collect statistics and maintain records relating to the repatriates passing through the camp. Meals were provided to the refugees on the day they arrive at the camp but this work has now been taken over by the government. This organisation runs a nursery school and also conducts religious services at the Roman Catholic Church in the Mandapam camp.

The Sri Lanka Refugee Relief and Rehabilitation Service of this organisation has assisted some refugees to find employment, lodging and admission in schools. It also assisted a few individuals with the means of setting up in self-employment.

This agency assisted the refugees by channeling funds for relief work through the Tamil Nadu Theological seminary and the Community Technical and Vocational Training Institute (CTVT) of the Church of South India, and also through the Madras Christian College at Tambaram.

The Tamil Nadu Theological Seminary opened a Refugee and Repatriates Resource Centre at Mandapam. A survey of the refugees was conducted in order to plan out future programmes of assistance. The refugees were provided with reading and recreational facilities. Instructions in the weaving of handicraft out of palmyrah leaves, making plastic wire baskets, training in shoe making and shoe repairs were made available to the refugees. A pastor was placed in charge of this centre in order to provide counselling and attend to the several human problems that tended to develop amongst the refugees. This has terminated its services by the end of 1985.

The Madras Christian college Department of Statistics conducted a sample survey of the refugees in Tamil Nadu and published the result which provided the first attempt at projecting a picture of the situation of the refugees in India.

The farm unit of the college has been engaged in training refugees in various farming practices and animal husbandry in one of the camps in nearby Chengalpattu. Attempts are underway to engage the refugees in these areas in the production of livestock which the farm unit of the college will arrange to market for them.

In addition to this assistance, the college has also instituted a scheme to help the refugee students. Under this scheme, it is possible for the students to apply for assistance through the heads of their respective institutes of higher studies. Assistance given for some is in the form of loans and occasional outright grants.

THE TAMIL NADU ECUMENICAL COUNCIL FOR REPATRIATES AND REFUGEES FROM SRI LANKA (TECRAS)

This organisation was formed in 1984 as a plenary and coordinating forum for the several Church related organisations working amongst the repatriates in 1984. Since the refugees problem had by then made an impact upon Tamil Nadu, the problem of the refugees was taken up as well.

This organisation has taken upon itself the role of conscientising the church as to the problems facing the repatriates and has declared the first sunday of advent as a 'Repatriates Day'.

The overall role and influence of this organisation is largely confined to the limited sphere of the church and its related organisations in Tamil Nadu.

RENAISSANCE

Formed specifically to assist the repatriates, this organisation has extended its work to the refugees within the camps in the Pudukottai district in 1985.

On receipt of funds for refugee assistance from Oxfam this organisation has provided educational facilities to three camps at Pudukottai and also at Tiruchy where they have also provided a library in the camp.

ROUND TABLE

It has been assisting the refugees at Rs. 200/- per family by providing them with mats, provisions and clothes in the Pudukottai district and some other districts. This was financed by West German Agro Action.

RECO

It is involved in relief work and health work in the district of Pudukottai in three camps.

OFFER

One of its main activities is to channel students applications for entrance to educational institutions and to provide immediate emergency relief assistance in cash for their immediate needs and in finding employment for some. It has distributed soap amongst the refugees in the camps. In some camps, they have given triposa and cloths.

MUST

This organisation was started in January 1985. It is providing medical assistance to the refugees in the four districts of Pudukottai, Thanjavur, Dharmapuri and North Arcot. It runs a special clinic in Madras and also gives necessary financial assistance for special treatment. It has distributed clothes to the refugees housed in a number of camps in Chengalpattu, Thanjavur, Periyar and North Arcot districts. Thirty five persons have been trained by this organisation to date. Each of these trainees has been given a first aid kit.

CERRO

As the first stage of its programme, it conducted a detailed survey of the refugees in all districts. On the basis of the data obtained, it informed all the other organisations working with the refugees or interested in doing so, as to the situation of the refugees and what their exact needs were and the magnitude of the assistance likely to be required.

As the second stage of its programme it organised a meeting of all the refugee organisations that are working with the refugees in the district of Pudukottai itself. Here it initiated a meeting calling the representatives from the eleven camps and the organisations that are involved in assisting the refugees within this district in order to build up a relationship between the refugees and the organisations.

At present it provides milk for the infants at the rate of one Kg Amulspray per month. Breast feeding mothers are given one Kg of Viva per month for all the eleven camps. Given a sewing machine to the camp at Krishnajiattinam at Pudukottai.

In addition to this it provides medical care to the refugees in the district of Tuticorin and Tirunelveli. The doctor visits these camps twice a month and gives free medical attention. It has also arranged employment facilities (temporary security guards) for 25 refugee youths in Madras.

TRO

It has been providing medical care and nutritional food in the districts of Chengalpattu, Thanjavur, South Arcot and Madurai. At present it has stopped its work at Chengalpattu since the Red Cross is providing medical attention to the refugees there.

MIRT

It is running a clinic for refugees about four kms away from the Mandapam camp. It has provided medical assistance to the refugees at Madurai on one occasion and has provided mats for the new camp opened at Koodal Nagar at Madurai.

Some of the organisations that were functioning for a short period ceased their activities. There may be other organisations of which we have no information so far. It may be some of them do not want to identify themselves.

To sum up, the assistance given by the Indian government through the Tamil Nadu government and the people in Tamil Nadu have done their best to assist the refugees. Further some of the voluntary agencies help these people with their limited possibilities. We would welcome these people not only to involve themselves in mere relief work but also to assist these people more through vocational training, and group and self employment schemes. Out of all the camps in Tamil Nadu the Mandapam camp stands apart from the short comings mentioned above and is well looked after in comparison to the other camps. This is possible because it is a permanent camp existing from 1968 for the repatriates with all basic facilities laid out. Government is also putting up permanent structures to provide better housing facilities in some of the refugee camps.

ASSISTANCE REQUESTED—REFUGEES

Besides all these assistance, some districts are completely neglected, namely Selam, Coimbatore, Periyar and etc. The basic assistance required by most of these camps are the following :

1. Clothes for adults and children and specially school uniform
2. Proper educational facilities within the camps (shed, teachers and school items).
3. Regular medical facilities wherever not available at the moment.
4. Training in cottage industries, appropriate technology, and preventive health care.
5. Reading materials and recreational facilities
6. Assistance for infants, and breast feeding mothers.
7. Nutritional food items.
8. Self and group employment schemes
9. Special care for handicapped and perennial disease.
10. Shed: wherever overcrowded additional accomodation for multi purposes

11. At least one sewing machine for each camp to attend to their needs.
12. Counselling to overcome social evils that are predominant in the camps.
13. Cottage industries within the camp.
14. Temporary employment assistance closer to the camp.
15. Construction of lavatories wherever it is not available.

Wherever, these requirements are needed in the camps, we will indicate under the district chapters.

There is no doubt that however much assistance given to the refugees it will be very difficult to satisfy them since they are in an unsettled state of mind. Only assistance that can satisfy the refugees is to assist them to go back to their native places. But in the present Sri Lankan context this is a very remote possibility.

TABLE 2 : 6 : 6

| CURRENCY | UNIT | RATES IN RUPEE | |
|---------------------|------|----------------|------|
| | | RS. | Cts. |
| UK POUND | 1 | 18.30 | |
| US DOLLAR | 1 | 12.82 | |
| CANADIAN DOLLAR | 1 | 9.25 | |
| D. MARK (W.G) | 1 | 6.40 | |
| DUTCH GUILDER | 1 | 5.65 | |
| FRENCH FRANC | 1 | 1.95 | |
| SWEDISH KROWN | 1 | 1.86 | |
| AUSTRALIAN DOLLAR | 1 | 8.20 | |
| HONG KONG DOLLAR | 1 | 1.64 | |
| SINGAPORE DOLLAR | 1 | 5.89 | |
| SAUDI ARABIAN RIYAL | 1 | 3.40 | |
| UAE DIRHAM | 1 | 3.50 | |
| SRI LANKA RUPEE | 1 | 0.45 | |

DISTRICTS OF CHENGALPATTU AND SOUTH ARCOT

CHAPTER VII

CHENGALPATTU DISTRICT

This district has an area of 7,863 Sq.Kms and a population of 3,616,508 persons; 21.21% of whom belong to scheduled castes and 1.27% belong to scheduled tribes. The density of this district is 460 persons per Sq. Km.

Soil conditions within this district range from red loam, and sandy coastal alluvium. It has the second largest volume of rice production in Tamil Nadu with an yield of 329,710 tonnes and an area of 217,334 hectares under rice cultivation. Other food grains such as Indian Corn, Kumbu, Ragi and Black Gram are also produced. The total food grain output of this district is 236,437 tonnes and its output of cereals is 352,209 tonnes. In addition the district produces sugar cane, cotton, and ground nuts, having an annual rain-fall of 1,211 mm.

Irrigation facilities are available in the form of 13,151 tube wells, 81,992 irrigation wells, one reservoir and 3,644 tanks. There are 75,525 energised pumpsets. Gross area irrigated is 239,733 which is 78% of the gross area cultivated, that amounts to 306,301 hectares. The area under forest coverage is 43,830 hectares. Fish production in the region is 11,678 tonnes per year.

The population of this district is spread out over 4 revenue divisions, 12 revenue taluks, 101 revenue Frikas, and 2,225 revenue villages. The main source of employment in the region is agriculture and fisheries and there is a reasonably high availability of employment. Salaries however, are very low and the ownership of land is controlled by a few landlords. Those who live in villages, however, own their houses.

The following statistics were collected in May 1985 and were updated in December of the same year.

There are eleven refugee camps situated in this district along its coastal belt from Madras to Mamallapuram. All these camps are within a distance of 40 Kms from Madras. The refugees are housed in Cyclone shelters which have been constructed along the coast.

TABLE 2 : 7 : 1 REFUGEES AT CHENGALPATTU

| Name of the Camps | No. of the camp | No of families | Below 2 years | 2-3 years | 3-10 years | 10-20 years | 20-50 years | Above 50 years | Total Members |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|-----------|------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|---------------|
| Kelampakkam | 01 | 38 | 15 | 16 | 45 | 40 | 74 | 08 | 198 |
| Kovalam | 02 | 38 | 12 | 07 | 23 | 39 | 67 | 09 | 157 |
| Cuddalore | 03 | 44 | 15 | 12 | 34 | 26 | 79 | 12 | 178 |
| Parambankerri | 04 | 36 | 12 | 06 | 38 | 45 | 71 | 11 | 183 |
| Vadapattinam | 05 | 43 | 20 | 22 | 35 | 23 | 80 | 12 | 192 |
| Muthukadu | 06 | 23 | 06 | 01 | 33 | 23 | 26 | 10 | 99 |
| Nemmerli | 07 | 29 | 12 | 03 | 30 | 41 | 51 | 19 | 156 |
| Salavan Kuppam | 08 | 30 | 13 | 05 | 32 | 33 | 63 | 11 | 157 |
| Mudaliyar Kuppam | 09 | 31 | 15 | 16 | 33 | 28 | 60 | 14 | 166 |
| Vempanur | 10 | 21 | 05 | 04 | 18 | 19 | 32 | 09 | 87 |
| Kottaikadu | 11 | 36 | 12 | 06 | 31 | 43 | 65 | 11 | 168 |
| TOTAL | 11 | 369 | 137 | 98 | 353 | 360 | 668 | 126 | 1,741 |

The detailed description of five camps given below, however, relates to the first set of interviews which were collected in May 1985.

Camp No. 01

It is located in a village in the Chengalpattu district, about thirty kilometres away from the city of Madras, along the coastal belt, in a village. There is a school closeby. The camp has been provided with a watchman,

RELIGION, EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION

Ten families were of the Roman Catholic faith, twenty six were Hindus and the remaining two were Muslims. Fifty one persons had an educational standard between grade one to five, six between six and eight, and six persons had followed courses in special studies. There are forty eight children of school going age. Eleven families had been engaged in fishing, sixteen in agriculture and eleven were semi-skilled workers.

PLACE OF ORIGIN, ARRIVAL AND REASON FOR LEAVING

Twenty four families had come from Mannar, five from Pesalai, one from Thalaimannar, and five from Kandy. Fifteen families had arrived during the first two weeks of February, one had come in the latter part of February and twenty two had come within the first two weeks of March 1985. Thirty three families left because of harassment by the military and five families had to leave due to mob violence. Two third of the members in 23 families were still in Sri Lanka. Seventeen families had left from the jungle hideouts, four from homes of friends, one from a government refugee camp in Sri Lanka, one from a voluntary agency camp and thirteen from their own homes. One family had paid Rs. 1,250/= for five members and all the others had paid an average of Rs. 100/= per person as hire of boat to cross over to India.

VICTIMS OF MILITARY ACTION

Ganesh from Mannar, Chandrakumar and A. Kandiah from Vavuniya were arrested and had later been released. Chandrakumar's parents had paid Rs. 5000/= as bribe to the security forces to secure his release. He is suffering from internal injuries. One person from Mannar was arrested and found to be missing after official release. Two persons were injured.

FUTURE

Out of the twelve stateless families, eleven expressed their desire to stay in India, while the rest want to return to Sri Lanka.

Camp No. 02

Cyclone shelter, Kovalam, Chengalpattu 603112. It is located about twenty kilometres away from Thambaram, along the coastal belt. There is a school close by.

RELIGION, EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION

Twenty families were of the Roman Catholic Faith while eighteen families were Hindus. Twenty persons had an educational standard between grade one and five, ten between grade six and eight, three between grade nine and twelve and seven followed courses in special studies. There were thirty three children of school going age. Seventeen families has been engaged in fishing, one in agriculture, one in business, and eight families were semi-skilled workers

PLACE OF ORIGIN, ARRIVAL AND REASON FOR LEAVING

Eleven families had come from Mannar, eleven from pesalai, twelve from Thalaimannar, one from Thiruketheeswaram one from Trincomalee and one from Badulla. One family had crossed over in early January and seventeen families had come during the first two weeks of February, and nineteen during the first two weeks of March 1985. Eighteen families had left because of mob violence and eighteen families because of harassment at the hands of the military. Two families gave no answer. Twenty families said that 2/3 of their members were left behind in Sri Lanka while two families claimed that 2/3 of their members had come over to India. Eighteen families had left from their homes, and eleven from the jungle hideouts, five families from their friends' homes, and three from volunteer agencies camps.

VICTIMS OF MILITARY ACTION

Anton of Jesudasan from pesalai, Anthony Dias from Thalaimannar and Arjuna from Thiruketheeswaram were arrested by the military and later released. Norbert and Emilian from Pesalai were shot dead at Vankalai and bodies were withheld by the security forces. Four others had also been arrested and released but their names were not given. One

person from Pesali was arrested and not released. Marimuthu from Thalaimannar and Uthayakumar from Trincomalee were shot dead at Vangalai and bodies released. Rajaratnam and one other person from Thalaimannar were injured.

FUTURE

Ten families want to settle in India, but the rest want to return to Sri Lanka.

Camp No. 03

It is located in a village about forty three kilometres away from Madurandakam, along the coastal belt.

RELIGION, EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION

Twenty three of these families were of the Roman Catholic faith and twenty families were Hindus. Twenty four persons had reached an educational standard between grade one and five, eight between grade six and eight, five between grade nine and twelve and one had followed a course in special studies. There were forty eight children of school going age. Seventeen families had been engaged in fishing, fourteen in agriculture and nine were semi-skilled labourers.

PLACE OF ORIGIN, ARRIVAL AND REASON FOR LEAVING

Five families had come from Pesalai, six from Thalaimannar, twenty nine from Mannar, one from Adampan, one from Batticaloa, one from Matale and one from Murungan. Three families crossed over during the first two weeks of February 1985, twenty nine crossed during the last two weeks of February 85, eleven during the first two weeks of March 85, and one family reached at the end of March 85. All these families left from the jungle hideouts, two from friends' houses and six from their own homes. Sixteen persons said that 2/3 of their family members were still in Sri Lanka, two families said that 2/3 of their members had come to India, and one family said that all its members had come over to India.

VICTIMS OF MILITARY ACTION

Sebaraj and Jeya from Mannar were arrested and released. Thevisbalan whose parents are in the camp was killed on the 26th January in Mannar.

FUTURE

Nine families who are stateless wish to remain in India. The rest want to go back to Sir Lanka.

Camp No. 04

E. E. C. Building, parambankerni Post, Madurandakam TK. Chengalpattu 603305. This camp is located approximately seventy two kilometres away from Madurandakam. There is a shool close to this camp.

RELIGION. EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION

Thirty six families were of the Roman Catholic faith and six families were Hindus. Forty five persons had a standard of education between grade one and five, twelve between grade six and eight, nine between grade nine and twelve and three persons had followed courses of special studies. Twenty two families had been engaged in fishing, four in agriculture, four in business, four were semi-skilled labourers and two gave no details regarding their occupation.

PLACE OF ORIGIN, ARRIVAL AND REASON FOR LEAVING

Fourteen families has come from Thalaimannar, and twenty two had come from Mannar. Nineteen families had crossed over during the last two weeks of February 85, fifteen families during the first two weeks of March one family had arrived during the last two weeks of March. and One family did not indicate its date of arrival. Twenty five families left because of intimidation by the military and other left because of harassment by the army. Three families had left from their homes, twenty four from the jungle hideouts and others did not answer. Six families claimed that about 2/3 of their members were still in Sri Lanka, and two said that 2/3 of their members had come over to India. The rest declined to give any information.

VICTIMS OF MILITARY ACTION

Santhiago from Thalaimannar and Ravi Fernando from Mannar were arrested and released. Perumal from Mannar was injured by the army.

Camp No. 05

Vadapattinam. It is located in the heart of Vadapattinam which is a coastal village in the Chengalpattu district. The refugees are housed in a cyclone shelter. There are no school facilities close by.

RELIGION, EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION

Twenty families were of the Roman Catholic faith, and twenty three families were Hindus. Fifty persons had reached an educational level of between grade one and five, six had reached the standard between grade six and eight and three between grade nine and twelve. There were sixty one children of school going age. Eighteen families were engaged in fishing, nine in agriculture, fifteen were semi-skilled workers and one gave no information.

PLACE OF ORIGIN, ARRIVAL AND REASON FOR LEAVING

Twenty two families had come from Pesalai, fifteen from Mannar, two from Murungan, one from Chettikulam, one from Thalaimannar and two from Adampan. Eighteen families had crossed over during the first two weeks of February 85, one family during the last two weeks of February 85 and twenty two families had arrived during the first two weeks of March 85. Two families declined to give details regarding their date of arrival. All these families had left due to intimidation by the military. Twenty four families claimed that 2/3 of their family members were still in Sri Lanka. Twenty nine of these families left from the jungle hideouts, one family from home, and the rest declined to give information regarding this aspect.

VICTIMS OF MILITARY ACTION

Two persons were arrested and released.

FUTURE

Two families want to settle in India and the rest want to return to Sri Lanka.

| | | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|
| | 04 | 02 | 04 | — | 10 |
| | 08 | 61 | 86 | 80 | 335 |
| | 200 | 245 | 100 | 600 | 1145 |
| | 38 | 38 | 40 | 41 | 157 |

TABLE 2 : 7 : 2

INCOME OF FAMILIES PER MONTH

| | | No. of the camp | | | | |
|--|------------------------------------|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| | 01 | 02 | 03 | 04 | 05 | Total |
| | 02 | 06 | 05 | 02 | 01 | 16 |
| | 12 | 08 | 16 | 03 | 11 | 50 |
| | 07 | 08 | 08 | 02 | 15 | 40 |
| | 06 | 06 | 06 | 10 | 09 | 36 |
| | 05 | 03 | — | 10 | 03 | 21 |
| | 03 | 02 | — | 02 | 02 | 09 |
| | 03 | 04 | 05 | 04 | — | 16 |
| | 68 | 67 | 65 | 87 | 60 | 337 |
| | 900 | 542 | 700 | 850 | 600 | 3592 |
| | 38 | 38 | 40 | 33 | 41 | 190 |
| | Total income per month in thousand | | | | | |
| | Damage estimated in, thousand | | | | | |
| | No. of families | | | | | |

All these camps are well looked after by various social service organisations. A Madras based social service organisation has provided all these camps with extra sheds and informal education is made available within these camps for children under five years of age.

Some of the families have been given fishing nets so that they can supplement the dole that the government provides, with their own earnings.

Assistance is, however, needed by these people in the form of school uniforms and exercise books for school going children, employment opportunities, sewing machines and other sources of self-employment facilities for setting up cottage industries and facilities for vocational training for youth and others who want to acquire marketable skills.

SOUTH ARCOT

The district of South Arcot has an area of 10,895 Sq. Kms with a population of 4,201,869 and a density of 386 Sq. Km. 36.78% of its population is literates and scheduled castes and tribes make up 27.25% 164,462 hectares of its total area are under paddy cultivation producing 287,780 tonnes of Paddy, Cholam, Cumbu, Ragi Sugar cane, Ground nut, Cotton and Gingelly are also produced, has a total foodgrains output of 322,734 tonnes.

Irrigation facilities available consist of 369 canals with a total length of 4,874 Kms, 25,371 tube wells, 165,419 irrigation wells, 7 reservoirs and 2,677 tanks. The districts fisheries industry produces a total catch of 9,817 tonnes. It has five revenue divisions, 13 revenue Taluks, 86 revenue Frikas, 2,389 villages. Annual rainfall is 1,188.9mm.

There are eleven refugee camps in this district all of which are housed in the cyclone shelters built along the coast between Cuddalore and Chithambaram. The Catholic Diocesan Boundary for Chithambaram Taluk comes under Thanjavur and its Boundary for Cuddalore comes under Pondicherry.

The following tables give the age group, number of family members and religion of the refugees as at 21.6.86.

TABLE 2:7:3

CAMPS AT SOUTH ARCOT

| Name of the Camps | No. of the camp | | Age : 0-03 yrs | | | | | | | | Total members | Hindus (Individuals) | Catholics (Individuals) | Families left |
|--------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|----|-----|---------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|---------------|
| | No. of families | Age : 0-03 yrs | 04-05 Years | 06-14 Years | 15-22 Years | 23-40 Years | 41-50 Years | Above 50 years | | | | | | |
| Athinarayana-puram | 01 | 24 | 11 | 06 | 17 | 27 | 23 | 05 | 04 | 95 | 21 | 74 | 02 | |
| Periyakuppam | 02 | 05 | 02 | — | 04 | 07 | 01 | 04 | 02 | 20 | — | 20 | 15 | |
| Andarmullipallam | 03 | 17 | 07 | 03 | 33 | 15 | 24 | 10 | 01 | 97 | 29 | 68 | 07 | |
| Alampakkam | 04 | 10 | 06 | 04 | 13 | 14 | 09 | 06 | — | 52 | 08 | 43 | 11 | |
| Aiyampettai | 05 | 23 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 107 | — | — | — | |
| Vallampadugai | 06 | 18 | 06 | 09 | 33 | 19 | 18 | 07 | 04 | 86 | 50 | 36 | 22 | |
| Kanagariapattu | 07 | 18 | 07 | 03 | 18 | 11 | 16 | 09 | 01 | 69 | 09 | 60 | 11 | |
| Killai | 08 | 25 | 24 | 05 | 26 | 35 | 31 | 13 | 05 | 139 | 20 | 119 | 12 | |
| Keezhaparambai | 09 | 23 | 07 | 05 | 22 | 19 | 29 | 08 | 02 | 97 | 35 | 59 | 07 | |
| Thandavarayan | 10 | 30 | 10 | 08 | 26 | 31 | 19 | 16 | 04 | 116 | 99 | 17 | 01 | |
| Elanthamedu | 11 | 28 | 16 | 12 | 24 | 17 | 33 | 13 | 02 | 117 | 35 | 82 | 07 | |
| Total | | 221 | 96 | 58 | 216 | 195 | 203 | 91 | 25 | 995 | 306 | 578 | 95 | |

TABLE 2 : 7 : 4

EDUCATION AND INCOME (S. A.)

| Total | 11 | 10 | 09 | 08 | 07 | 06 | 05 | 04 | 03 | 02 | 01 | No. of the camps |
|-------|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------------|
| 212 | — | 23 | 24 | 25 | 25 | 22 | 21 | 10 | 37 | 15 | 10 | Education Grade 1-5 |
| 85 | — | 03 | 09 | 08 | 10 | 13 | 19 | 07 | 08 | 01 | 07 | Grade 6-8 |
| 48 | — | 03 | 01 | 09 | 05 | 14 | 06 | 03 | 03 | 01 | 03 | Grade 9-12 |
| 17 | — | 01 | — | 05 | — | — | — | 04 | 02 | 01 | 04 | Special studies |
| 37 | — | 06 | 01 | 07 | 05 | 14 | — | — | 04 | — | — | Income below Rs.500/= |
| 70 | — | 11 | 14 | 12 | 05 | 09 | — | 04 | 09 | 02 | 04 | Rs. 500-1000 |
| 23 | — | 05 | 02 | — | 03 | 06 | — | 02 | 03 | — | 02 | Rs. 1000-1500 |
| 30 | — | — | 02 | 08 | 08 | 02 | — | 04 | 01 | 01 | 04 | Rs. 1500-2000 |
| 21 | — | — | 05 | 02 | 02 | 03 | — | 03 | 02 | 01 | 03 | Rs. 2000-3000 |
| 20 | — | — | 04 | 01 | 01 | 03 | — | 05 | 01 | 02 | 05 | Rs. 3000-4000 |
| 17 | — | 01 | — | 03 | 01 | 02 | — | 01 | 04 | 04 | 01 | Rs. 4000-5000 |
| 398 | — | 26 | 48 | 13 | 44 | 45 | — | 46 | 49 | 35 | 16 | Income in thousands |
| 10.47 | — | .15 | 2.7 | 1.1 | 1.6 | — | — | 1.2 | .86 | 1.0 | .36 | damage in million |

TABLE 2:7:5
 OCCUPATION AND PLACE OF ORIGIN (S.A)
 AS ON APRIL 1985

| Total | Occupation | | | | | | | | | | Place | | | Arrival | | Reason for leaving | | Left from | | | | |
|-------|------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|--------|---------------|--------------|---------------|------------|--------------------|--------------|-----------------------|-------------------|------|-----------------|--------------|
| | 01 | 02 | 03 | 04 | 06 | 07 | 08 | 09 | 10 | 12 | Mannar | Ihalai mannar | Other Places | February 1985 | March 1985 | Harassment by army | Mob Violence | Majority in Sri Lanka | Majority in India | Home | Jungle hideouts | Other places |
| 151 | 14 | 06 | 20 | 18 | 23 | 18 | 32 | 08 | 12 | 03 | 06 | 06 | 01 | 18 | 22 | 11 | 05 | 01 | 04 | 09 | 08 | 01 |
| 25 | 02 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 10 | 02 | 01 | 08 | 04 | 03 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 13 | 09 | 08 | 05 | 02 | 04 | 08 | 08 | 02 |
| 31 | 01 | 01 | 22 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 08 | 04 | 03 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 24 | 17 | 14 | 05 | 03 | 08 | 17 | 07 | 01 |
| 36 | 02 | 04 | 01 | 07 | 06 | 06 | 01 | 02 | 02 | 02 | 02 | 02 | 02 | 13 | 09 | 14 | 12 | 11 | 02 | 20 | 18 | 01 |
| 103 | 12 | 04 | 23 | 19 | 08 | 05 | 27 | 02 | 09 | 03 | 03 | 03 | 03 | 20 | 22 | 22 | 11 | 12 | 06 | 19 | 10 | 01 |
| 90 | 01 | 09 | 01 | 01 | 23 | 22 | 08 | 21 | 08 | 06 | 06 | 06 | 06 | 18 | 09 | 14 | 12 | 11 | 04 | 14 | 09 | 03 |
| 24 | 06 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 06 | 02 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 21 | 11 | 21 | 10 | 13 | 04 | 09 | 08 | 01 |
| 13 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 03 | 02 | 01 | 07 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 18 | 09 | 14 | 12 | 11 | 04 | 14 | 09 | 01 |
| 205 | 18 | 13 | 24 | 17 | 39 | 20 | 35 | 18 | 08 | 03 | 03 | 03 | 18 | 24 | 17 | 22 | 11 | 12 | 06 | 19 | 10 | 01 |
| 22 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 11 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 22 | 11 | 14 | 12 | 11 | 02 | 20 | 18 | 01 |
| 138 | 11 | 08 | 17 | 14 | 22 | 14 | 21 | 19 | 12 | 03 | 03 | 03 | 03 | 24 | 17 | 22 | 11 | 12 | 06 | 19 | 10 | 01 |
| 68 | 05 | 05 | 05 | 05 | 11 | 12 | 11 | 10 | 12 | 05 | 05 | 05 | 05 | 21 | 11 | 14 | 12 | 11 | 07 | 14 | 09 | 03 |
| 59 | 01 | 03 | 02 | 03 | 12 | 11 | 04 | 13 | 11 | 04 | 04 | 04 | 04 | 21 | 11 | 14 | 12 | 11 | 07 | 14 | 09 | 03 |
| 38 | 01 | 04 | 08 | 01 | 06 | 02 | 07 | 04 | 07 | 05 | 05 | 05 | 05 | 21 | 11 | 14 | 12 | 11 | 07 | 14 | 09 | 03 |
| 113 | 09 | 08 | 17 | 09 | 20 | 19 | 14 | 09 | 14 | 08 | 08 | 08 | 08 | 21 | 11 | 14 | 12 | 11 | 07 | 14 | 09 | 03 |
| 105 | 08 | 02 | 07 | 09 | 18 | 10 | 21 | 17 | 21 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 21 | 11 | 14 | 12 | 11 | 07 | 14 | 09 | 03 |
| 07 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 |

We give below an outline of the situation of the refugees in each of the camps in this district, the facilities they are being provided with and the assistance that they are in need of.

Camp No. 01 ATHINARAYANAPURAM, THANJAVUR, CUDDALORE 608801.

This camp is situated 22 Kms away from Cuddalore about 4 Kms off the Cuddalore Chithambaram main road. It is 6 Kms away from the sea. Bus service to the camp operates four times a day. There is a primary school close by which can accommodate children upto grade five. A school with classes up to grade eight is two miles away. Those who follow higher classes have to go to Cuddalore.

Two additional cadjan sheds have been erected close to the cyclone shelter to provide the cooking space. All the refugee families have been supplied with kerosine stoves. The parish priest from Cuddalore visits this camp, gives the refugees assistance in the form of household goods and conducts religious services. Though government doctors used to visit the refugees they have gradually stopped making such visits. They need toilets and educational facilities within the camp. Since there are ten lady tailors among them, they would like to have a sewing machine so that they can attend to the sewing of the clothes of the inmates.

Camp No. 02 PERIYAKUPPAM, ALAMPAKKAM POST, CUDDALORE.

This camp is located in a remote area 22 kms away from Cuddalore. The refugees have to walk about 4kms to Alampakkam in order to get a bus if they wish to travel. The camp is in the midst of a fishing village and there is a school with classes up to grade five. There is a midwife in the village but no medical supplies are available.

The situation of the camp makes access difficult and in an emergency the refugees have to walk for several kms along the sandy shore in order to reach the main road. No voluntary agencies have assisted these refugees because of the difficulty in reaching this camp. The villagers have tried to assist them by constructing two extra toilets. Fifteen families have already left the camp and those who remain want to return to Sri Lanka. Upto our second visit to this camp on the 26th June 1986, no voluntary agency had come forward to assist these refugees.

V. Joseph of Pesalai and A. Sagayam, were arrested and released.

Camp No. 03

ANDRAMULLIPALLAM, CUDDALORE 608801.

The shelter has an area of 185 x 2 Sq. Mts., and has two temporary sheds are used for cooking purposes. There is a bus service that operates 6 times a day. The camp is situated 25 kms away from Cuddalore, at a distance of 1 km from the main road, close to the sea.

The Jewellery Mart Association has donated kerosine stoves to each of the refugee families. There is a school close by with classes up to grade five. The parish priest of Cuddalore and the Nuns gave these refugees some assistance on one occasion. These refugees require extra sheds where classes can be conducted for the children and educational facilities.

MILITARY ACTION

Raja, 18 years old whose parents are in the camp from Mannar was shot dead in the bus while returning from school. His body was released after a statement to the effect that he belonged to a terrorist group was signed.

Camp No 04. ALAMPAKKAM, CHITHAMBARAM ROAD CUDDALORE 670003.

This camp is situated close to Alampakkam at a distance of about 3 kms from the sea. It is surrounded by the houses of the local population. There are two schools close by and though the refugee children went to these schools at first, they later stopped because they found it difficult to understand the local Tamil dialect.

Two cadjan sheds have been erected in order to provide facilities for cooking. The Catholic priest in the area has on one occasion given them clothes. Government doctors do not visit the camp regularly. One child died of fever due to lack of treatment.

MILITARY ACTION

Peris from Pesalai was arrested and released. 3 families came in their own boats others paid a average of 125/= per person except one family with 2 adults paid 1800/=

Camp No. 05 POOCHIMEDU, AIYAMPETTYI,
CUDDALORE TK 608801.

This camp is located at a distance of 27 kms from Cuddalore. A bus service plies by the camp three times a day. The camp has no medical facilities and two persons have died due to this shortcoming. Five infants have been born in the camp. The refugees in this camp are in need of school uniforms, a grinder, toilets, educational facilities and sewing machines.

Camp No. 06 VALLAMPADUGAI, U. S. M. POST,
CHITHAMBARAM.

This camp is located 5 Kms to the South of Chithambaram, 6 kms away from the sea. It was overcrowded and as a result half the families originally housed here have left the camp. A shed has been provided for cooking purposes. There is not enough water available and the refugees have to go to a river about 2 kms away in order to bathe. Doctors used to visit the camp at the early stages and some Nuns too used to render medical assistance. A student group donated kerosine stoves to the refugees. They need more sheds and educational facilities.

MILITARY ACTION

Beril Aldorna, and Joseph Fernando from Mannar were killed at Vankalai church. Anthony 23 yrs, old from Mannar was killed by army on 5. 1. 85 and the body was given.

Camp No. 07 KANAGARAIPATTU, U. S.
MANAGALAM POST, CHITHAMBARAM.

This camp is situated 1 km off the main road, 4 kms to the West of Chithambaram. There is a school close by with classes upto grade five. A shed is available for cooking but the water supply is irregular and the inmates have to walk a distance of about 1 km for bathing. The refugees in this camp require electric bulbs, tube wells, school facilities and extra sheds. They also want a sewing machine for the camp.

MILITARY ACTION

Emiliyan from Pesalai was killed and the body was not given.

Camp No .08 KILLAI, CHITHAMBARAM TK 608102.

This camp is situated along the main road 14 kms away from Chithambaram. It is close to a river beyond which lies the sea. There are no toilets in this camp. There is only one tap that provides running water only twice a day. The camp is not visited regularly by doctors. It is badly in need of toilets, wells and other basic amenities.

The Parish priest of the area has provided some assistance by way of educational facilities and has provided the refugees with clothes and other items on one occasion. The people in this camp need the same assistance as those in the other camps in this district.

Camp No 09 PITCHAVARAM, A-NAGAR' SENJI COLONY, CHITHAMBARAM 608002.

This camp is situated 9 kms away from Chithambaram close to the sea. There is a school close by with classes upto grade five. There are no extra sheds or toilets. All the families in this camp have been given kerosine stoves.

MILITARY ACTION

Jeyaraman and Pushparaj from Vavuniya were arrested when they tried to cross over to India and released later.

FUTURE

Six families want to remain. Other 24 families want to go back.

Camp No. 10 THANDAVARAYAN SOLAGAN PETTAI CHITHAMBARAM.

It is 12 kms from Chithambaram. There is a school close by up to grade 8. No extra sheds put up. It is about 30 mtrs off the main road. There is a school close by with classes upto grade eight. The families in this camp have been given stoves by a Muslim service organisation. The camp has no extra sheds and the refugees need assistance to erect a few sheds that can be used for all purposes. They also need toilet and educational facilities.

MILITARY ACTION

Ketheeswarm and Kandasamy from Mannar, and Hariheran from Pesalai were arrested and released. Sritharan from Pesalai and Sundaramoorthy from Vavuniya were shot dead.

FUTURE

Eight families want to remain.

Camp NO. 11 ELANTHARAMEDU PITCHAVRM POST, CHITHAMBARAM.

This Camp is located at a distance of 9 kms away from Chithambaram, one km away from the main road. There is a school 3/4 kms away from the camp where there are classes upto grade five.

CONCLUSION

TRO provides medical assistance twice a month and OFFER distributed clothes and soap once. Besides these organisations several other individuals and well wishers came forward to assist the refugees at the initial stages when the situation of the refugees received a great deal of attention in the press. The general need of the refugees in all the camps are for toilets, extra sheds, education and vocational training, infant milk food, clothes, household utensils and job opportunities. The people of recent Indian origin want to stay, others want to return.

DISTRICTS OF PUDUKOTTAI AND THANJAVUR

Chapter VIII

PUDUKOTTAI DISTRICT

Like Chengalpattu, Pudukottai lies along the coastal area of Tamil Nadu. It has an area of 4,661 Sq. Km with a total population of 1,156,816. 38.69% of its population is literate 16.57% belong to scheduled castes and 0.13% to scheduled tribes. The population density of the district is 248 persons per Sq. Km. and having an annual rain-fall of 917.9mm.

The soil in this region is mainly red loam and its main source of employment is agriculture. In 50.4% of the areas, agricultural output consists of paddy which is cultivated over an area of 85,964 hectares. A total of 106,076 hectares is under cereal cultivation. 42,088 hectares are under cultivation with groundnut. A total of 112,109 hectares are under cultivation with foodgrains.

Irrigation facilities are available from 179 tube wells. There are 10,974 tube wells for drinking purposes 47,520 irrigation wells; and 4,816 tanks. There are about 27 canals for irrigation purposes and the main canal draws water from the Mettur reservoir. 49.6% of the districts total area is under irrigation. The second largest source of employment and income is from fisheries with an annual catch around 15,967 tonnes in this district. Reserved forests cover 16,609 hectares and there are 19,517 hectares of open grasslands.

There are eleven refugee camps situated within this district and most of them are located along the coastal belt where most of the fishing and agricultural activities take place. The population of the district mainly belongs to Muslim community and its people are able to maintain a reasonably secure standard of living with most of them owning houses.

TABLE 2 : 8 : 1 REFUGEES AT PUDUKOTTAL DISTRICT

| As on may 1985 | Name of the camps | | | | | | | | | | | TOTAL |
|-----------------|-------------------|-------------|------------|--------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|--------------|-------|
| | Krishnai P. | Melasthanam | Jegatha P. | Vadakkamma P | Kottai P. | Manamakkudi | Pudukkudi | Muthukuda | Kopala P. | Ponnagaram | Nothkotta P. | |
| No. of families | 32 | 18 | 30 | 34 | 44 | 68 | 28 | 44 | 51 | 44 | 48 | 441 |
| Total Number | 122 | 95 | 134 | 178 | 216 | 300 | 92 | 194 | 235 | 208 | 221 | 1995 |
| Age 0-6years | 25 | 17 | 19 | 32 | 56 | 51 | 19 | 17 | 57 | 53 | 35 | 381 |
| 6-14 years | 16 | 32 | 39 | 49 | 46 | 88 | 17 | 43 | 44 | 48 | 58 | 480 |
| 14-22years | 24 | 13 | 28 | 21 | 30 | 50 | 20 | 48 | 41 | 28 | 22 | 325 |

| As on may 1985 | Krishnaji P. | | Melasthanam | | Jegatha P. | | Vadakkamma P | | Kottai P. | | Manamelkudi | | Pudukkudi | | Muthukuda | | Kopala P. | | Ponnagaram | | Northkotta P. | | TOTAL | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------|--------|-------------|--------|------------|--------|--------------|--------|-----------|--------|-------------|------|-----------|--|-----------|--|-----------|--|------------|--|---------------|--|-------|--|--|
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Name of the camps | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 22-40 years | 31 | 26 | 35 | 45 | 57 | 83 | 23 | 47 | 58 | 55 | 64 | 524 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 40-55 years | 15 | 04 | 07 | 12 | 20 | 16 | 09 | 18 | 20 | 18 | 23 | 162 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Above 55 years | 07 | 03 | 06 | 09 | 08 | 12 | 04 | 14 | 15 | 06 | 14 | 98 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hindus (individuals) | 03 | 10 | 42 | 93 | 109 | 188 | 12 | 04 | 149 | 163 | 202 | 975 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Catholics (individuals) | 114 | 85 | 92 | 84 | 107 | 100 | 80 | 190 | 86 | 44 | 19 | 1001 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Distance in kms small town | 08 | 04 | 1/4 | — | 1/2 | 1/4 | 07 | 06 | 1/2 | — | 04 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Perenial diseases & handicaps | 02 | 03 | 01 | 04 | 03 | 02 | 01 | — | 03 | 02 | 04 | 25 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Temporary employment | 05 | — | — | — | 03 | 40 | 20 | 05 | 52 | 20 | 40 | 185 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Arrival | 26 Feb | 22 Feb | 25 Feb | 22 Feb | 26 Feb | 19 Mar | 05 Mar | 03 May | 10 Apr | 07 May | 08 May | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Families left | 02 | 16 | — | 01 | 09 | 01 | 26 | 05 | 02 | 02 | — | 64 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

These camps are situated in remote village areas and the closest main town is Aranthanki. All the camps fall within a distance of 60 Kms from this town and the refugees are housed in Cyclone shelters constructed along the coast.

Several service organisations have come to the assistance of the refugees. The TMSS has provided 5 teachers to render educational assistance and provided basic facilities for the primary grades in 4 camps. The Renaissance provides similar educational assistance for another four camps. The MUST provides medical facilities and conducts health programmes in all the camps in this district. It also supplies milk to children between the age of one and five besides providing recreational facilities.

The Round Table provides relief in the form provisions, mats and other items up to the value of Rs 200/= to each family. The RECO provides educational facilities and health care to three camps. CERRO provides each infant under twelve months of age with a Kg of Amulspray and each breast-feeding mother with a Kg of Viva every month.

Despite the involvement of all these service agencies, there is still a great deal of assistance that is required. Except for one camp, all the others are in urgent need of extra sheds for various purposes such as for cooking and for sleeping at night since the cyclone shelters are overcrowded.

Toilets are also needed very urgently. In some places the local population prevent the refugees from using the surrounding open area, which is the normal practice of the majority of the Indian population. At least one or two toilets have to be provided for each camp.

Each camp also needs a sewing machine to attend to their day to day needs. Except four camps, there are no possibilities of the refugees obtaining any form of even temporary employment. It is, therefore, necessary to arrange some form of group employment to keep these refugees occupied. Of the refugees in these 11 camps there are 296 fisherman, 150 farmers, 31 businessmen, 18 tailors, 11 drivers, 11 carpenters, 8 matchanics, 5 teachers, 1 barber, 4 clerks, 3 peons, and 11 masons. These skilled workers can easily be provided with work. Electricity though available is not properly connected so as to serve the convenience of the refugees. This matter can easily be remedied.

THANJAVUR DISTRICT

This district has an area of 8,280 sq Kms with a population of 4,063,545 and a population density of 491 persons per Sq. Kms. 50.36% of its population is literate and 23.36% belong to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

544,013 hectares are cultivated with paddy producing an output of 1,197,920 tonnes, which is the highest output achieved by any of the districts of Tamil Nadu. Other crops grown are Bengal Gram, Green Gram, Ground Nut and Gingelly. The total foodgrain other than paddy output of this district stands at 630,197 tonnes. The district has an annual rainfall of 1,168.4 mm. Irrigation facilities consist of 46 canals with a combined length of 1,783 Kms, 18,931 tube wells, 41,179 irrigation wells, and 429 tanks. There is no reservoir in this district. Fisheries industry with a catch of 50,979 tonnes is the second largest in Tamil Nadu being surpassed only by Kanyakumari district. Thanjavur has 6 revenue divisions, 20 revenue taluks, 103 revenue frikas and 2,172 villages.

By August 1986, 18 refugee camps had been set up in this district. With the exception of 2 camps, all the others are housed in cyclone shelters. One of these two camps is located at Nagapattinam in a boatyard owned by the fisheries corporation which was earlier used for boat building and for the servicing of fishing craft. The boatyard is located by the side of the harbour within the town area. There are 3 blocks of buildings which are open halls without partitions, and the floors are damaged and in a very poor condition. The main bus stand is only a km away from the camp. There is an office within the camp, with security personnel. In one of the blocks of this camp, about 40 families who are of Indian origin have been housed. The refugees' children are able to attend school close by. Some of the refugees have been able to find casual employment. The other, located in Pushpavanam.

Name of the camps, number of the families and the number of the members are given below.

TABLE 2:8:2 Names of the camps at Thanjavur

| Name of the camp | Familis | Members |
|----------------------------|---------|---------|
| 01. NAGAPATTINAM | 107 | 401 |
| 02. PUSHPAVANAM | 48 | 221 |
| 03. KOVILPATTU | 67 | 233 |
| 04. VELLAPALLAM | 34 | 134 |
| 05. KODIAKADU | 53 | 209 |
| 06. ARCOTHURAI | 24 | 109 |
| 07. PERUNTHOTTAM | 34 | 156 |
| 08. PUDUPATTINAM | 34 | 142 |
| 09. ALANGUDI | 40 | 154 |
| 10. NAMBIYUR NAGAR | 22 | 92 |
| 11. PRATHABA RAMA PURAM | 11 | 43 |
| 12. KOOLAIYUR | 45 | 175 |
| 13. KAMANALLUR | 52 | 263 |
| 14. VILLUNTHAMAVADI | 26 | 105 |
| 15. KOLLUDADU | 53 | 118 |
| 16. KEELATHOTTAM | 38 | 166 |
| 17. MALLIPATTINAM | 35 | 123 |
| 18. SETHU BALA CHATRAM | 45 | 169 |
| TOTAL | 768 | 3013 |

At present, the TMSSS has provided educational facilities at some of the camps. The MUST has opened medical unit at Nagapattinam in order to provide medical assistance to the refugees in this area. Some of the camps in this area are provided with medical assistance and nutritious food stuffs by the TRO. At the early stages, when the camps had just been set up, other organisations and action groups within the area as well as individuals who sympathised with the refugees in their plight, came forward to render whatever assistance they could. They were able to provide the refugees with kerosene stoves, clothes and other such immediate assistance.

Some of the refugees have left these camps and taken up residence on their own and some have even returned to Sri Lanka. The refugees in these camps require the same type of assistance as that required by the refugees in the Pudukottai District.

| | | |
|------|-----|----------------------------|
| 108 | 21 | 08. ARCOTHURAI |
| 186 | 34 | 07. PEBUNTHOTTAM |
| 143 | 34 | 08. PUDUPATTINAM |
| 164 | 40 | 09. ALANGUDI |
| 95 | 22 | 10. NAMBIYUR NAGAR |
| 43 | 11 | 11. PRATHABA RAMA PURAM |
| 173 | 45 | 12. KOOLAIYUR |
| 283 | 52 | 13. KAMANALLUR |
| 102 | 28 | 14. VILUTHAMAVADI |
| 118 | 33 | 15. KOLLUBADU |
| 190 | 38 | 16. KEELATHOTTAM |
| 123 | 28 | 17. MALLATTINAM |
| 188 | 45 | 18. SETHU BALAJI CHATTRAM |
| 2013 | 208 | TOTAL |

DISTRICTS OF TIRUNELVELI AND RAMANAD

Chapter IX

TIRUNELVELI DISTRICT

This district has an area of 11,429 Sq.Kms. with a population of 3,573,751 and a density of 313 persons per Sq.Km. 52.14% of its population is literate and 16.82% belongs to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

125,759 hectares are under paddy cultivation producing 297,850 tonnes of paddy. Other crops cultivated are: Cumbu, Cholam, Behgal Gram, Ragi, Horse Gram and Green Gram. The district's produces a total of 244,722 tones of other food grains. The district's irrigation network consists of 357 canals with a total length of 506 kms, 61 tube wells, 111,903 irrigation wells, 5 reservoirs and 2,795 tanks. It has an annual rain fall of 814.8 m.m. The fishing industry produces a catch of 33,316 tonnes.

There are 4 refugee camps in this district upto September 1986. with the opening of the new permanent camp at Madurai, 2 camps at Tuticorin were closed. One of these camps was shifted to a new place at Madurai and the other shifted to Sangar Nagar in Tirunelveli. This district has now been divided

into two districts with effect from 20th october 1986 and named after the following 2 great patriots of the area, namely Kattabomman and Chithambaranar.

From October 1986, one refugee camp functions at Naranammalpuram in Sangar Nagar in the newly formed Kattabomman District. It is located at a distance of $\frac{1}{2}$ km from the main Sangar Nagar area. 135 families consisting of 590 individuals are housed at this camp.

The refugees are housed in an old army barrack which was used as a mill before finally being abandoned. The barracks consist of 7 blocks but only 4 of these have been occupied by the refugees. The blocks are divided into rows with 12 small rooms in each row. None of these buildings have doors. The roof is leaking in some places. The 3 remaining blocks cannot be occupied because they are in a delapidated condition. For want of open space around the blocks, refugees do the cooking inside the small rooms; a practice which is both dangerous as well as unhygienic.

These barracks are located about 2 kms away from a cement factory and as a result the whole area is badly polluted. Drinking water has to be collected from a single tube well which has to meet the needs of all the 135 families within the camp. The only other tube well is under repair and cannot be used. Electricity is available but for want of enough connection, only 3 or 4 ordinary bulbs are fitted for the entire block.

The children have to attend the school at Sangar Nagar as no educational facilities are available in the camp. The refugees find occational employment at the nearby cement factory but on a temporary basis. Initially the management of the cement factory organised medical assistance for the refugees in this camp but stoped these facility later. Now with the assistance from CERRO, the camp is visted by a doctor once in every two weeks and the refugees are provided with clothes.

No other voluntary organisations have come forward to render any assistaace to the refugees. Their immediate needs are for water, electric bulbs, school uniforms, infant milk food, toilets, repairing of the building, sheds for cooking and a few sewing machines. They also need vocational training and employment opportunities,

TUTICORIN DISTRICT

At present only one camp called 'Ceylon Colony' function at Savariyarpuram. Individual units have been constructed to house the refugees. Earlier there were two camps, one at St. Mary's Boys Home at Millerpuram and the other at the M.C. School at Sentahankulam. A group was sent to Tirunelveli. The remaining 120 families are housed at the above camp.

The original plan of constructing 1000 housing units has not been implemented in full. Only 100 units consisting of ten blocks with ten units each have been completed by the end of 1985 at a cost of 100,000 rupees. The camp has a total of 20 toilets and 10 water tanks to provide water. There is no school at this place. The nearest school is about 5 kms away. For medical facilities, the refugees have to go to Tuticorin which is about 5kms away. Rations are provided on the camp premises.

The Tirunelveli MSSS has helped the refugees to open a cooperative shop in May 1986 for themselves. Each family contributed Rs. 20/= and the society contributed Rs. 3,000/= . The Wholesale dealers provide provisions on credit which is paid back at the end of the month. 2 petty shops have been opened in front of the camp. Some of the refugees have been able to secure jobs.

CERRO conducts a regular medical programme under which a doctor visits the camp every two weeks and provides free medicine to those who need it. The refugees in this camp need assistance to run the co-operative store more efficiently. They also need infant foodstuff, school uniforms and educational facilities. besides vocational training and self-employment schemes. The Roman Catholic church has constructed a small church within the camp premises. The Ramakrishna Mission has opened a building for religious and other services.

RAMNAD DISTRICT

This district has an area of 12,590 Sq. Kms with a population of 3,335,437 and a density of 265 persons per Sq. Km. 45.32% of its population is literate and 16.88% belongs to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. 260,868 hectares are under paddy cultivation producing 258,340 tonnes of paddy. Other crops produced are: Chmbu, Ragi, and Cholam. The district has a total food grain of 396,198 tonnes. It has an annual rain fall of 839.5 mm.

Irrigation facilities are provided through 19 canals with a total length of 20kms, 9 tube wells, 78,773 irrigation wells, 2 reservoirs and 7,198 tanks. The district's fisheries industry produces a catch of 43,922 tonnes. This district has 5 revenue divisions, 18 revenue taluks, 107 revenue frikas and 1,532 villages. In 1983, it was divided into 3 districts, namely, Ramnad, Pasumpon and Kamarajar. Due to this division, only Ramnad district includes the coastal belt.

It is in the Ramnad district that the largest refugee camp is located at Mandapam. The SMSSS has helped the refugees in this camp to put up a fruit and vegetable stall.

There are 3 camps in Pasumpon District. One of them is at Nadarasankottai, about 25kms from Sivagangai which is the capital of this district. The other two camps are located in Cholapuram and at Sakkottai. These 3 camps house a total of 104 refugee families consisting of 388 members. The CSM supplied milk food for all the children for 3 months. We have not visited these areas and are hence unable to give more details regarding the situation of the refugees there.

There are 6 small camps in the Kamarajar district situated in the following places ; Viruthu Nagar, Burma colony, Sathur, Sivagasi, T. Kallupatty, and Krishna Kovil. These 6 camps house a total of 124 refugee families with 560 members. Initially the parish priest of the area was assisting the refugees. Since we have not visited the camps in these areas we are unable to furnish more details.

DISTRICTS OF MADURAI AND ANNA

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|--------------|
| — | 10 | — | — | — | 20 | 10 | 10 | — | — | 5 | Other places |
| — | 20 | 20 | — | 30 | — | — | — | 30 | — | — | Trincomalee |
| — | — | 50 | — | — | — | 50 | — | — | 30 | — | Chapter X |
| — | 10 | 20 | — | 50 | — | 10 | 20 | — | 50 | 30 | Trincomalee |
| 30 | 10 | 30 | 30 | 10 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | — | Madurai |
| | | | | | 30 | 30 | — | 20 | 30 | | Madurai |

MADURAI DISTRICT

The district of Madurai has an area of 12,624 Sq. Kms with a population of 4,535,897 and a density of 350 persons per Sq. Km. 47.36% of its population is literate and 15.56% is made up of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

The area under paddy cultivation is 119,523 hectares yielding an output of 215,860 tonnes. Other crops grown are ; Cholam, Cumbu, Ragi, Black Gram, Red Gram, Horse Gram, and Green gram. Its total output of other food grains is 355,549 tonnes. It has an annual rainfall of 854.8 mm.

The districts irrigation network consists of 206 canals with a total length of 419 kms. 2,466 tube wells, 149,804 irrigation wells, 9 reservoirs and 5,022 tanks. The district has 2 revenue divisions, 13 taluks, 42 revenue frikas and 1,102 villages. In 1985, the district was divided in order to form the Anna District. Seperate statistics relating to this newly formed district are not available.

There are 23 camps in the district of Madurai and 17 camps in the Anna District. One of the permanent camps was constructed at Kudal Nagar in Madurai in September 1986. A detailed description of this camp has already been given.

CAMPS IN THE MADURAI DISTRICT

The following table gives the details regarding the names of the camps, their location, the total number of families, the total number of their members, total number of children under 2 years of age who need special attention, and the places of origin of the refugees in Sri Lanka.

TABLE 2 : 10 : 1 REFUGEE CAMPS AT MADURAI DISTRICT

| Name of the camp. | Camp No. | Families | Members | Students | Below 2 year | Pesalai | Mannar | Thalaimannar | Vavinia | Trincomalee | Other places |
|-------------------|----------|----------|---------|----------|--------------|---------|--------|--------------|---------|-------------|--------------|
| Melur-1 | 01 | 07 | 38 | 13 | 02 | 02 | — | 03 | — | — | 02 |
| Melur-2 | 02 | 14 | 68 | 24 | 04 | 04 | 06 | 02 | 02 | — | — |
| Thiruvathavur | 03 | 05 | 23 | 09 | 01 | — | 02 | — | — | 03 | — |
| Kallikudy | 04 | 14 | 62 | 18 | 05 | 03 | 06 | 04 | — | — | 01 |
| Karisalpatty | 05 | 09 | 51 | 20 | 08 | 02 | 03 | 01 | 02 | — | 01 |
| Thirumangalam | 06 | 28 | 115 | 34 | 07 | 16 | 08 | — | — | — | 04 |
| Thirunagar | 07 | 24 | 114 | 52 | 09 | 08 | 11 | 02 | — | 03 | — |
| Pasumalai | 08 | 13 | 45 | 13 | 03 | — | 13 | — | — | — | — |
| Vaniyur | 09 | 23 | 84 | 17 | 08 | — | 13 | 04 | 02 | 04 | — |
| Alankanallur | 10 | 17 | 77 | 27 | 04 | — | 11 | 01 | — | 04 | 01 |
| Kalyanapatty | 11 | 08 | 41 | 07 | 04 | — | 08 | — | — | — | — |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|
| Vellaimalaipatty | 12 | 13 | 56 | 24 | 04 | 07 | 01 | 04 | 01 | — | — |
| K. Puthampatty | 13 | 15 | 77 | 24 | 10 | — | 03 | — | 12 | — | — |
| Theddappanayanur | 14 | 07 | 22 | 04 | — | — | 06 | — | — | 01 | — |
| Bodynayakanur | 15 | 09 | 37 | 07 | 03 | 09 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Bodynayakanur | 16 | 09 | 39 | 12 | 02 | — | 09 | — | — | — | — |
| Bodynayakanur | 17 | 10 | 49 | 16 | 03 | 08 | — | — | — | — | 02 |
| Uthamapalayam | 18 | 09 | 47 | 11 | 03 | 08 | 08 | — | — | — | — |
| C. Puthupatty (west) | 19 | 12 | 46 | 09 | 03 | — | 06 | 03 | 08 | — | 02 |
| C. Puthupatty | 20 | 15 | 69 | 20 | 04 | — | 15 | — | — | — | — |
| ST. Anne's village | 21 | 32 | 152 | 45 | 15 | 12 | 11 | 01 | 06 | 01 | 01 |
| Manchaluru Dam | 22 | 07 | 31 | 07 | 03 | 07 | — | — | — | — | — |
| G. Kaillypatty | 23 | 13 | 69 | 18 | 06 | 02 | 02 | 09 | — | — | — |
| TOTAL | 313 | 412 | 431 | 111 | 81 | 142 | 34 | 26 | 16 | 14 | — |

The houses are accommodated in a community centre at Kaillypatty about 5 kms away from Thiruvannam town. Drinking water is available; accommodation is satisfactory and electricity is provided. Sewing facilities however are not available. Books provided by the government have not been

We give below a brief description of the location of the camps and of the extent of the basic amenities available to the refugees in each camp, the assistance that has so far been given to them and the further assistance that is required.

Camp No. 01

The refugees are housed in a Grama Chavady at Melur situated in the heart of the Melur town. Water for drinking is available in the camp but not for bathing. There is not enough space to comfortably accommodate the inmates. Electricity is available. School books provided by the government have been issued to the children. The medical aid provided by the government is not satisfactory. They require proper medical attention, water for washing clothes and bathing.

Camp NO 02.

The refugees are housed at a Sankoothum Office at Melur. Drinking water and electricity are available. School books have been issued. Facilities for bathing, accommodation and medical are not satisfactory. They are in urgent need of these facilities.

Camp No. 03

The refugees are housed at the Union office at Thiruvathavur, about 8 kms away from Melur. Drinking water is available but bathing facilities are not satisfactory. Electricity is available. They are in need of medical assistance and other facilities.

Camp No. 04

The refugees are housed at Barathi Memorial hall, Kallikudy in the Thirumangalam area at a distance of about 15 kms from the nearest town. Books provided by the government have not been issued to the refugees. Medical assistance is satisfactory. They are in urgent need of water, extra space where they can do their cooking and sheds to extend the space available for their accommodation.

Camp NO. 05

The refugees are accommodated in a community centre at Karisalpatty about 5 Kms away from Thirumangalam town. Drinking water is available; accommodation is satisfactory and electricity is provided. Bathing facilities however are not available. Books provided by the government have not been

issued to the children. Medical aid provided is satisfactory. Three families from this camp have moved out of the camp and are residing on their own. They require a grinder, extra bulbs and other assistance.

Camp No. 06

The refugees are housed at Suthandiradas Chatram in Thirumangalam. Except for electricity and the provision of the school books that the government has made available, all other facilities are insufficient. The TRO assists these refugees by providing medical aid. The camp itself consists of an old building where the toilets cannot be used.

Camp No. 07

This camp is within the Madurai municipal limits. The refugees are housed at Alagathevar Colony at Thirunagar, 8 Kms away from Madurai city. Drinking water and accommodation are satisfactory. School books have been provided, but electricity is not available. Medical assistance is provided by the TRO.

Camp No. 08

The refugees are housed at a CSI hostel at Pasumalai about 5 Kms away from Madurai. Drinking water and electricity are available there are no facilities for bathing or washing. The school books provided by the government have been issued to them. Medical assistance is being provided by TRO.

Camp No. 09

The refugees are housed in the Onduvil Mandapam which is an old building at Vandiyur 2 km away from Madurai city. Some of the refugees are staying outside the camp. The camp has no regular supply of drinking water. The accommodation is also not satisfactory. Medical facilities are not satisfactory. Electricity is not available. They require educational assistance, school uniforms, admission to schools and Medical assistance.

Camp No. 10

The refugees are housed at an Union office at Alankanallur which is a small town, situated at a distance of 18 kms from Madurai city. Water is not available in sufficient quantity either for drinking or for any other purposes. One section of

the camp has electricity and the other does not. School books have been provided. Medical assistance available is not satisfactory.

Camp No. 11

The refugees are housed at the community centre at Kalayanapatty at a distance of about 13 kms from the nearest town. It is located in a remote area to which access is not easy. Drinking water and electricity are available but not bathing and washing facilities. The accomodation is not satisfactory school admissions have been a problem. Medical facilities are unsatisfactory. Some of the children admitted to the schools nearby have given up schooling later. They need infant food, school uniforms and clothes.

Camp No. 12

The refugees are housed at the Cellaimalaipatty Community Centre. This is a remote area 5 Kms away from Usilampatty. Electricity is available School books provided by the government have been issued to them. Apart from the medical facilities provided, all other facilities are unsatisfactory. They are badly in need of a shed, and the shed which is at present used as a kitchen needs repairs. They need Educational assistance and a proper supply of water.

Camp No. 13

The refugees are housed at the K-Pothampatty Community Centre about 6 Kms away from Usilampatty. Facilities available are generally satisfactory. The MMSSS supplied these refugees with milk for sometime and discontinued the supply. They are in need of a few extra sheds.

Camp No. 14

The refugees are housed at the community centre at Thodappanayakkanur, about 8 kms away from Usilampatty. Except for accomodation, all other facilities are very poor. There is a school close by with classes upto grade 5. They are in need of every assistance possible.

Camp No. 15

The refugees are housed at Aranmanai at Bodinayakkanur which is a small town. The refugees have seperate rooms for

each family. Drinking water and bathing facilities are not satisfactory. The medical facilities provided at the Theni hospital are not satisfactory either. Electricity is available, the books provided by the government have been issued to them.

Camp No 16

The refugees are housed at the travellers bungalow at Bodynayakkanur about a kilometre away from the nearest town. Drinking water is available but facilities for bathing are not provided. The books provided by the government have been issued to them. Medical facilities provided at the Theni hospital are not up to standard. There is no electricity provided. The MMSSS is assisting these refugees.

Camp No. 17

The refugees are housed in a school building at Bodynayakkanur about 1 km away from the nearest town. Accomodation and bathing facilities are not satisfactory. Electricity is available. Books provided by the government have been issued to them. Medical assistance is not satisfactory. They are in need of toilet facilities and other assistance.

Camp No. 18

The refugees are housed at a checkpoint (Chunga Chavadi) within the Uthamapalayam town. Drinking water is available. But they have to walk a distance of 3 kms in order to bath. Accomodation is not satisfactory but electricity is available. The school books provided by the government have been made available. Medical facilities are not satisfactory. They are in need of a few extra sheds and other assistance.

Camp No 19

The refugees are housed at the Community Centre at Puthupatty west about 6 kms away from Uthamapalayam. Drinking water is not easily available and bathing facilities are not provided. The accomodation is also unsatisfactory. The refugees have to pay for their electricity. The school books provided by the government have not been issued to these refugees. They are in need of a proper supply water and other assistance.

Camp No. 20

The refugees are housed at Sanniyappan Kovil at Puthupatty, 5 kms away from Uthamapalayam. Drinking water is not good and facilities for bathing are unsatisfactory. Accommodation and medical facilities are not satisfactory. The refugees have to pay their electricity bills. The books provided by the government have been made available.

Camp No. 21

The refugees are housed at Karaddai Kanguvarpatty at St. Anne's village, 12kms away from Periyakulam. Water and other facilities are made available to them by the religious brothers of the area where individual house are put up for them. This is a new camp opened during the latter part of 1985. No electricity is available. The school books provided by the government have not been issued to them. They need lamps, vocational training.

Camp No. 22

The refugees are housed at the tourist bungalow at Manjalaru a remote area 8 kms away from periyakulam. The roof of building leaks badly. Electricity is available. The books provided by the government have been issued to them. They need medical assistance. The roof of the building need urgent repairs.

Camp No. 23

The refugees are staying at Vinobha Nagar at G. Kallupatty, 14 kms away from periyakulam. Bathing facilities are not satisfactory. Accommodation and medical facilities are satisfactory. No electricity is available. The school books have been issued to them.

It will be seen from above that all the refugees in these camps are in need of food items, infant food, clothes, and utensils. With the exception of 2 camps, all the others are in need of toilets. Eleven camps require additional space. Although they all have access to schools nearby, they need additional educational facilities and facilities for vocational training for those who have studied above grade 6. No employment opportunities are available to the refugees.

In December 1985, there were 369 families consisting of 1,684 members but by September 1986, there were only 313 families with 1,412 members left. Some of the families had moved to other places on their own. Some of them had gone back to Sri Lanka.

The voluntary organisations assisting the refugees in these camps are ; the MMSSS, the TRO, and the MIRT. The latter last mentioned organisation has visited the camps only once. The OFFER has provided the refugees in some of these camps with soap on one occasion. The people in the neighbouring areas have helped the refugees in many ways, especially with regard to obtaining admission to schools.

| Name of the camp | No. of the camp | No. of the families | No. of members | Students | Below 3 years | Released |
|------------------|-----------------|---------------------|----------------|----------|---------------|----------|
| Palsur | 08 | 12 | 108 | 33 | 06 | 01 |
| Pudukudaluru | 08 | 15 | 118 | 17 | 03 | 03 |
| Ammabari | 04 | 15 | 68 | 24 | 03 | |
| Etekebarthi | 03 | 08 | 38 | 11 | 04 | 01 |
| Methuram | 03 | 03 | 38 | 06 | — | — |
| Muthuram-1 | 04 | 38 | 158 | 20 | 08 | 02 |
| Total | | | | | | |

TABLE 5: 10: 3 REFUGEE CAMPS IN ANNA

TABLE 2: 10: 2 REFUGEE CAMPS AT ANNA DISTRICT

| As on Sep. 86. | Names of the camp | No. of the camp | No. of the families | No. of members | Students | below 2 years | PLACE OF ORIGIN | | | | | |
|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------------|----------------|----------|---------------|-----------------|--------|--------------|-------------|----------|--------------|
| | | | | | | | Pesalai | Mannar | Thalaimannar | Trincomalee | Vavuniya | Other Places |
| | Natham-1 | 01 | 28 | 129 | 50 | 09 | 05 | 09 | 08 | — | 05 | 01 |
| | Natham-2 | 02 | 09 | 28 | 06 | — | — | — | — | 09 | — | — |
| | Erakaipatty | 03 | 06 | 36 | 17 | 04 | 01 | 03 | 02 | — | — | — |
| | Ammapatty | 04 | 12 | 68 | 34 | 02 | | | | | | |
| | Puthu Ayakudy | 05 | 12 | 57 | 11 | 03 | 02 | 06 | 04 | — | — | — |
| | Palani | 06 | 19 | 108 | 33 | 06 | 01 | 01 | 17 | — | — | — |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|----|-----|------|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| Poothampatty | 07 | 12 | 55 | 15 | 03 | 02 | 09 | 01 | — | — |
| Usilampatty | 08 | 20 | 89 | 25 | 13 | 05 | — | — | 15 | — |
| Vedachandur | 09 | 06 | 24 | 06 | 01 | 02 | 04 | — | — | — |
| Dindigul | 10 | 34 | 190 | 82 | 23 | 15 | 19 | — | — | — |
| N. G. O. Colony | 11 | 07 | 37 | 11 | — | 01 | 01 | — | 04 | 01 |
| Kullanamatty | 12 | 12 | 46 | 08 | 10 | — | 08 | 04 | — | — |
| Neheruji High School. | 13 | 20 | 92 | 31 | 08 | — | — | 10 | 10 | — |
| Nilakottai | 14 | 19 | 82 | 14 | 01 | 01 | 17 | 01 | — | — |
| Anaipatty | 15 | 20 | 96 | 26 | 04 | 14 | 02 | 01 | — | 03 |
| S. Medupatty | 16 | 20 | 82 | 21 | 03 | 05 | 12 | — | — | 02 |
| Maillampatty | 17 | 06 | 31 | 14 | 02 | — | — | — | 06 | — |
| TOTAL | | 262 | 1250 | 404 | 92 | 54 | 91 | 48 | 44 | 05 |

ANNA DISTRICT

camp No 01

Located 1 km away from the nearest town. This camp is housed in the regulated market building. There is no drinking water nor any facility for bathing. The camp is over crowded. There is no proper electrical connection. All the children in the camp attend School. Despite the government's directive that the refugees should be given school books, no school books have been given to the children of this camp. Medical facilities are available. This camp is being assisted by the MMSSS, which has been giving them milk food and training in sewing. The refugees in this camp need educational facilities for students above grade five. They are also in need of toilets and other facilities.

camp No. 02

This camp is located in a Grama Chavadi, one km away from the nearest town. Water is not readily available, though the accommodation is reasonable. Toilets and electricity are available. The government school books have not been made available to the children. The MMSSS assist these refugees by providing them with vocational training and also supplies them with milk. They require food items, utensils and clothes.

camp No. 03

This camp is located in a community centre four kms away from the nearest town. Drinking water is available but the refugees have to go to other sources for bathing. The accommodation is satisfactory but there is no electricity. School books have been issued to these refugees and their medical needs are being attended to. There has been occasional friction between refugees and the villagers in this area. The MMSSS is assisting the refugees in this camp. They need a shed for cooking purposes and toilets.

camp No. 04

This camp too is located in a community centre which is about eight kms away from the nearest town. Drinking water and bathing facilities are satisfactory and the accommodation is also reasonable. School books have not been provided. Medical assistance is available. The MMSSS is assisting the refugees in this camp. They need a shed for cooking purposes. All these four camps are in the Natham area.

Camp No. 05

This camp is located in a school building which is five kms away from the nearest town. This camp is in need of urgent assistance. Except for the school books provided by the government no other facilities are available. Even water is not available at this camp. The refugees in this camp are in urgent need of extra sheds, electricity, water, toilets and medical assistance.

Camp No. 06

This camp is housed in the Arul Jothy Chatram at Athivaram and is very close to the town. The camp is overcrowded and has no water facilities. The refugees have to pay for using electricity. Government school books are provided the medical assistance provided is not up to the mark. They are in need of extra sheds for cooking, medical assistance and educational facilities. The three camp mentioned above are situated in the Palani area.

Camp No. 07

This camp is located in a community centre in a remote area 7 kms away from the nearest town which is a small one. Drinking water is available but all other facilities provided are very poor. So far no voluntary agencies have come forward to help these refugees. In this camp too there has been occasional friction between the refugees and the local villagers. These people need practically every form of assistance as they are lacking in all essential facilities.

Camp No. 08

This camp is housed in a community centre, situated nine Kms away from Ramanathapuram. Except for drinking water, and the supply of books provided by the government, all other facilities are very poor. The accomodation is of a very poor standard. The camp is located in a remote area. There is no electricity supply. These refugees need assistance in the form of medical care, educational facilities, extra sheds and toilets.

Camp No. 09

These refugees are housed at Gandhi Grounds at Vedachandur. School books have been provided by the government. There is no drinking water or electricity. It is not possible to

freely visit these refugees and prior permission has to be obtained. They are in need of assistance in medical care toilets, and extra sheds. The three camps described above are in the Vedachandur division.

Camp No. 10

This camp is housed at the Palsamy Chatram, that is, two kms away from the nearest large town. Drinking water is available but bathing facilities are not provided. The accommodation is satisfactory. Electricity is available. The government school books have been provided. At the initial stages, these refugees were assisted by the Regional Religious Organisation-Dindigal. They need toilets, proper water and bathing facilities, vocational training and educational facilities, and medical assistance.

Camp No. 11

This camp consists of a single house situated at NGO Colony 2 kms away from Dindigal. All the refugees in this camp are of Indian origin. The camp has drinking water but for bathing water is not available. Toilet facilities are available. So also electricity. The government school books have not been provided. At the initial stages these people have been assisted by the TRO.

Camp No. 12

This camp is located in a community centre at Kullanpatti almost three Kms away from the nearest town. Drinking water is not available. The refugees find it very difficult to obtain their daily requirements. There are no facilities for bathing. The accommodation is satisfactory and electricity is available. The government school books have been provided. Medical facilities too are satisfactory. The refugees have to travel a distance of 3 kms in order to collect their rations. Their needs are : toilets, school uniforms, vocational training.

Camp No. 13

This camp is located at the Nehruji High school 1 km away from the town. Drinking water is available but no facilities for bathing. Accommodation is satisfactory. The refugees have to pay their own electricity bill. The school books are provided by the government.

camp No 14

This camp is located at an old match factory half a Kilometre away from Nilakkottai town. There is insufficient drinking water. Bathing facilities are not available. The books provided by the government have not been issued to these people. Medical facilities are also not available. The camp is overcrowded. The MMSSS is helping these refugees. They have been provided with kerosene stoves. The assistance required by the refugees in this camp are : toilet, water and vocational training.

camp No. 15

This camp is located at the Shoudrashdra Chatram in Annipatty which is 7 kms away from the nearest town. The refugees themselves have put up individual huts around the Chatram. Water is available but the accomodation is unsatisfactory. There are no toilet facilities. No electricity has been provided for the huts. The books issued by the government have been made available to the refugees. Medical facilities are also available. At one time the refugees in this camp had been provided with temporary employment in the brick industry but at present this employment discontinued. Their requirements are : toilets, educational facilities and vocational training.

camp No. 16

This camp is located at the Shoudrashdra Chatram as Mettupatty close to the Vaigai river. They have no problem regarding the availability of water. The accomodation, however is not satisfactory. Electricity and medical facilities have been provided. The camp is located at a distance of 8 kms from the nearest town. There has been friction between the inmates of this camp and the surrounding villages due to the alleged misbehaviour of the refugees. They need toilets and extra sheds.

camp No. 17

This camp is located at the community centre at Malliam-patty, 10 Kms away from the nearest town. Drinking water is available. The accomodation is not satisfactory. The school books provided by the government have been issued to the refugees. Medical facilities made available to them are satisfactory. They need toilets, educational facilities and training in sewing.

The three camps mentioned above are situated in the Ethilodu area. It will be seen from the above detail that infant food, clothes, vocational training, employment facilities and all what we have indicated specifically under each camp. Some of the voluntary organisations other than there mentioned above have assisted these people in some of the camps such as OFFER and TRO.

DISTRICTS OF SALEM AND TIRUCHY

CHAPTER XI

THE DISTRICT OF SALEM

This district has an area of 8,650 Sq. Kms with a population of 3,441,717 and a density of 398 persons per Sq. Km. 39.29% of its population is literate and 19.84% is made up of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

43,552 hectares of land are utilised for paddy cultivation yielding an out put of 92,750 tonnes. Other crops grown in this district are : Cholam, Cumbu, Ragi, Red Gram, Bengal Gram, Ground Nut, Sugar Cane, Cotton, Coffee and also famous for its, sweet mangoes. Irrigation facilities available consist of 122 canals with a combined length of 378 Kms, 6 tube wells, 220,406 irrigation wells, 1 reservoir and 854 tanks. It has an annual rain-fall of 842.4 mm,

This district has 6 revenue divisions, 9 revenue taluks, 72 revenue frikas and 1,075 villages. It has three largest magnesite mines and several lime stone mines which feed a cement factory. Several small units producing sago are working in and around a Salem town. Agriculture, poultry farming, handloom and housing units provide large-scale employment to the people. In the early seventies the Indra Gandhi administration in collaboration with soviet expertise, set up a modern Stainless steel production plant in the district, giving industry further impetus and creating the need for service infrastructure for the maintenance of the labour force required by this industrial unit. Consequently commercial links have been strengthened and the rate of exchange of resources has quickened, making Salem an important trade centre of Tamil Nadu. Expansion of this steel plant is envisaged under the present government,

TABLE 2 : 11 : 1
 Refugees in the District of Salem (May 85 Aug 86)

| No. of the camps | No. of families | Total members | HINDUS | CATHOLICS | Age; 0-05 yrs | 05-15 yrs | 15-25 years | 25-40 years | Above 40 yrs | Education | | | Special studies | Monthly Income in '000 | Total damage in '000 |
|------------------|-----------------|---------------|--------|-----------|---------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| | | | | | | | | | | Grade 1-5 | Grade 6-8 | Grade 9-12 | | | |
| 01 | 24 | 113 | 03 | 21 | 17 | 33 | 29 | 25 | 09 | 28 | 05 | 02 | 02 | 43 | 788 |
| 02 | 14 | 71 | 07 | 07 | 11 | 15 | 14 | 19 | 06 | 10 | 06 | 02 | 02 | 20 | 183 |
| 03 | 41 | 199 | 08 | 31 | 19 | 54 | 55 | 39 | 29 | 36 | 23 | 17 | 17 | 23 | 857 |
| 04 | 35 | 148 | 29 | 06 | 25 | 43 | 38 | 27 | 15 | 37 | -- | 01 | 02 | 57 | 620 |
| 05 | 30 | 124 | 21 | 07 | 18 | 27 | 31 | 21 | 27 | 25 | 02 | 03 | 01 | 67 | 558 |
| 06 | 27 | 128 | 15 | 12 | 33 | 24 | 26 | 29 | 09 | 26 | 04 | 02 | 02 | 35 | 92 |
| 07 | 26 | 126 | 06 | 20 | 27 | 38 | 30 | 25 | 06 | 33 | 06 | 04 | 04 | 35 | 552 |
| Total | 197 | 829 | 89 | 104 | 150 | 234 | 223 | 185 | 101 | 195 | 46 | 31 | 30 | 280 | 3650 |

TABLE 2 : 11 : 2

(Place of Origin, income and Occupation (Salem))

| No. of the camps | PLACE | | | | INCOME | | | | | | | | OCCUPATION | | | | |
|------------------|---------|--------|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|---------|-------------|--------|------------|----|--|
| | Pesalai | Mannar | Thalai-Mannar | Other places | Below Rs.500 | Rs. 500-1000 | 1000-1500 | 1500-2000 | 2000-3000 | 3000-4000 | 4000 & above | Fishing | Agriculture | Labour | Semi skill | | |
| | | | | | 01 | 02 | 08 | 01 | 07 | 02 | 01 | 05 | 20 | — | — | 04 | |
| 01 | 23 | — | — | 01 | 02 | 08 | 01 | 07 | 02 | 01 | 05 | 20 | — | — | 04 | | |
| 02 | — | 05 | 05 | 04 | 02 | 01 | 04 | 02 | 01 | 02 | 01 | 03 | 02 | 01 | 05 | | |
| 03 | 01 | 33 | 01 | — | 17 | 01 | 04 | 01 | 01 | — | — | 17 | — | 06 | 11 | | |
| 04 | — | 19 | 05 | 04 | 04 | 07 | 07 | 09 | 01 | 01 | 02 | 02 | 06 | — | 07 | | |
| 05 | 02 | 16 | 11 | 01 | 03 | 10 | 04 | 03 | 03 | — | 05 | 09 | 12 | — | 09 | | |
| 06 | 01 | 19 | 01 | 01 | 03 | 10 | 01 | 05 | 02 | 02 | — | 06 | 09 | 02 | 02 | | |
| 07 | 20 | — | — | 06 | 05 | 04 | 06 | 03 | 02 | 01 | 01 | — | — | 01 | 05 | | |
| Total | 47 | 92 | 23 | 17 | 36 | 41 | 27 | 30 | 12 | 07 | 14 | 57 | 29 | 10 | 43 | | |

CAMP No. 01**KUMARAGIRI DEVASTANAM ANNAMPETTI, SALEM 3**

Location : This camp is situated at the Kumaragiri Devasthanam at Annamoytai approximately 10 Kms away from Salem town. The camp accommodated in a building consisting of three large halls, adjoining a Hindu temple. This building is usually rented out for community functions such as weddings and public gatherings. Since it is not designed for permanent habitation by a large number of person, sanitary facilities are not enough to cope with the present demand, leading to a general deterioration in the hygiene conditions in the surrounding area.

Following are the problems the temple authorities feel that they are losing considerable income normally generated through renting out the building for community functions.

As this building belongs to the temple, the refugees are not allowed to prepare any non-vegetarian food on the premises. This has seriously affected their dietary habits creating protein imbalances and resultant nutritional problems. Though the refugees in this camp are predominantly of the Roman Catholic faith, the Catholic clergies are not allowed to hold religious functions or ceremonies on these premises. The camp is not far from Salem town. It is therefore possible for the refugees to secure temporary employment within the town area. But for want of proper public transport to this camp the refugees have to walk to the nearest available transport point from which they avail themselves of public transport. Consequently, they have to spend considerable time and waste their energy in the to and fro journey between the camp and the place of employment. At the time of this survey, security for the refugees in this camp, was provided by three watchers.

Arrival and Reason for Leaving

Twenty one families arrived between the 1st and 15th February 1985 and 3 families arrived between 1st and 15th March. 7 families came in their own boats. All left from home except one family. Of the 24 families, 20 had left because of fear and 4 had left because of direct intimidation by the security forces. In the case of 16 of these families, all their members have come to India. In 4 cases, 2/3 of their family members are still in Sri Lanka. In the cases of 2 families, 2/3 of their family members have come to India and in 2 families, most of their family members are still in Sri Lanka.

Victims of military action

Amongst these families, it was reported that one Alphonse and Henry from Pesalai had been arrested and still not released. Pooraj had been injured. Sahaya Goonge from Pesalai had been arrested and released. Peris from Pesalai had been shot to death and his body not released and Thanaletchumy from Pesalai had been shot and her body released. All those affected are members of the 24 families housed in this camp.

Future

Except for one family, all the others expressed a desire to return to Sri Lanka.

Camp No. 02

VELLASAMY CHETTIYAR HIGHER SECONDARY SCHOOL, OMALUR, SALEM

Location: This camp is situated at the Vellasamy Chettiyar Higher Secondary School, at Omalur, 20 kms away from Salem town. The camp consists of small open halls. There are no water or toilet facilities. Water has to be brought from outside. Security is provided by 5 watchers. Daily roll call of all registered members of the camp is taken. Those absenting themselves do not receive their rations for the number of days absent.

Arrival and reason for leaving

One family arrived, during the 1st week of February; 3 families between 16th and 28th February 1985. One family on the first week of March and 8 families during the last two weeks of March. One family declined to give the date of its arrival. Three families with 7 persons had paid a total of Rs.4,500/- for their journey to India; 2 families had come in their own boats; 2 families had come with their friends and one family with 4 adult members had paid 1,900/- to reach India.

13 of the families left their homes out of fear and one family left because of direct intimidation by the security forces. In the case of 4 families, 2/3 of their members had not left Sri Lanka; and in another 4 the members on the husband's side had remained in Sri Lanka. One family reported that its members on the wife's side had remained behind on the island. Another family reported that 2/3 of its members had come to India. In the case of 3 families, all their members had come to India.

Victims of military action

Anthony pillai from Thalaimannar and Parameswary and Kalaivathani from Jaffna were arrested and released. Jeganathan and Pandi from Mannar were shot dead.

Future

Only one family wants to settle down permanently in India. All the other 13 families intend to return to Sri Lanka.

CAMP NO. 03

PAPPAMMAL KALYANA MANDAPAM, METTUR DAM-I, SALEM-636 401.

Location : This camp is situated 57 kms from Salem town, about 5 kms away from the Mettur dam. The Caveri river runs along the side of the camp. The refugees are housed in a very good building as it provides enough living space. This building belongs to the municipality and is usually rented out for weddings and similar community functions. The refugees in this camp have received some assistance from the people in the neighbourhood. They have been provided with kerosene stoves.

The refugees themselves are of an enterprising outlook. The educated youth in the camp have organised themselves into a group to attend to the maintenance of the camp premises. These youth have organised classes for school going children. One of the refugees has brought a sewing machine and is engaged in tailoring.

Arrivals and reason for leaving

One family arrived during the first 2 weeks of February 1985. 3 during the last 2 weeks of February and 35 during the first 2 weeks of March. All of them had paid at the rate of Rs. 125/= per person to cross over to India. One family had come in its own boat. All of them had fled out of fear. Two families stayed in the jungles before they left for India. One family had stayed at a voluntary agency camp and one family had put up with a friend. All the others had left directly from their homes. 19 families reported that 2/3 of their members are in Sri Lanka, and eleven families reported that all their family members have come over to India. 4 families reported that 2/3 of their members are in India, and 5 families gave no details.

Victims of Military action

Anthony pillai, Manickam, Bernard Xavier and Jeganathan from Mannar were arrested and released. Alixton from Thalaimannar was arrested and released. Kalimuthu and Ponnappan from Mannar were shot dead and their bodies were withheld by the security forces. Balan from Adampan, Peter from Chettikulam and Manobalan from Mannar also were shot to death and their bodies were withheld by the security forces.

CAMP NO. 04

LIONS KALYANA MANDAPAM, SALEM ROAD, -RASIPURAM.

Location : This camp is situated two furlongs away from the main bus stand in the Rasipuram area. It is in the midst of the residential area. The camp consists of a Kalyana Mandapam having a hall with semi permanent residential facilities. This building is rented out to marriage functions. The refugees are housed on the top floor of this building. Besides the problems of water and toilet facilities, the hall itself is not large enough to provide sufficient living space for all the refugees. Educational facilities are available in the locality. A camp office with 3 persons has been put in charge of the refugees.

Arrivals and reason for leaving

One had arrived on the last week of January. One family arrived on the first week of February, twenty seven families arrived during the last two weeks of February. One family had arrived on the first week of March. Two families arrived during the last two weeks of March and two had arrived in April 85. Three families had paid Rs. 3,800/= for ten adults while others had paid on an average of Rs. 100/= per adult to cross over to India. Five families had left because of mob violence and one family had left because of direct intimidation by the armed forces. All the others had left out of fear. Twenty six families had left directly from their homes, 4 had left from government run refugee camps in Sri Lanka, two families had left from their friends' houses and 3 families had been staying in the jungle hideouts before they left.

In the case of 20 families it is reported that 2/3 of their members were still in Sri Lanka. 2 families reported that 2/3 of their family members are in India, 10 families reported that all their members have come over to India and 3 families declined to answer.

Victims of military action

Nadarajah and Velu from Mannar were shot to death and their bodies were withheld by the security forces. Viswana than from Mannar and Christavam from Chettikulam were arrested and released. Shanmugam, Sinnadurai, Yoganathan and Vijayan from Jaffna, Vavuniya, and Thalaimannar respectively were injured.

Future

Nine families wish to settle in India, while the rest want to return to Sri Lanka. There are 5 stateless families and 2 families are citizens of India.

CAMP NO. 05

NAR MILL, MUDALIPATTY, SALEM ROAD, NAMAKKAL.

Location: This camp is situated in a private mill owned by a repatriate from Sri Lanka. There is very little space and no proper toilet facilities are available. At the beginning the local people were sympathetic and helpful. But of late suspicion has arisen among them that the refugees has become competitors for the limited employment opportunities available in the area. The owner of the mill himself wants to sell the land and the building but apprehends that the presence of the refugees is a hinderance to his plan. There is a school about a mile away from this camp on the main road connecting Salem and Namakkal, but this school is not functioning effectively. Two persons have been placed incharge of this camp.

Arrival and reason for leaving

One family had arrived during the last two weeks of January 1985; 3 families during the first two weeks of February; and Twenty four families arrived during the last two weeks of February. Two families declined to give details regarding their date of arrival. On an average, each adult had paid Rs. 100/= to reach India. 4 families reported that they had paid Rs. 6,000/= for eleven adults.

All these 30 families had fled out of fear. One family had fled from a government run refugee camp in Sri Lanka,

but the rest had come directly from their homes. Eleven members reported that 2/3 of their people have remained in Sri Lanka. Three families claimed that 2/3 of their people are in India and 9 families said that all have come over to India.

Victims of Military action ;

Gunasekaran from Manner was shot to death and his body was handed over to the concerned family. Ravichandran and Raja from Adampan, and Baluvigneswaran from Thalaimannar were injured. Of the total of 30 families, 5 residing in India are stateless and the rest are citizens of Sri Lanka.

Future

Nine families want to remain and settle down in India, 2 families have not decided and 19 families want to return to Sri Lanka.

Camp, No 06.

BASHA BAI KALYANA MANDAPAM, SENTHEMANGALAM ROAD, NAMAKKAL.

Location ; This camp is situated in the heart of Namakkal town, at a distance of about 1 Km from the bus stand. It consists of an old building having a hall divided in the middle. The floor is uncemented and the available space is somewhat insufficient. Other facilities are satisfactory. Security is provided by 2 persons who are in charge of the camp.

Arrival and reason for leaving

Twenty families arrived during the last two weeks of February and 7 families during the last two weeks of March. One family had paid Rs. 5,000/= to cross the border. Another family had paid Rs. 1,000/= for 4 adults. The rest has all paid on an average Rs. 1000/= per adult, to reach India.

All said that they had left because of fear. One Family had left from the jungle hideouts and all the others had left from their homes. Nine members reported that all their family members have come to India and another nine

members reported that 2/3 of their families, have remained in Sri Lanka. In four families the husband's relatives still remaining in Sri Lanka, and another four families declined to comment.

Victims of military action

The refugees reported that Ravi from Mannar had been shot dead and his body had not been released. Shanger from Chettikulam had been shot dead and his body returned to the family. One person from Chettikulam had been arrested and still not released.

Future

Of the total of 27 families, 5 families want to settle down in India and 22 families want to return to Sri Lanka. This group included 3 families who are Indian citizens and 6 families who are stateless.

CAMP NO. 07

ARUMUGANAR MANDAAM (MUNICIPAL HALL), ATHUR

Location : This camp is situated in the heart of Athur town close to the Athur Municipal Council. The refugees are housed in the Municipal Hall. This hall consists of 2 platforms with uncemented floor in between. There are only 2 toilets for women. The camp has been provided with 2 watchers.

Arrival and reason for leaving

Two families had arrived in October 1983; three families arrived in April 1984. 5 families had arrived during the first two weeks of February 1985, 15 had arrived during the first two weeks of March; and one family arrived during the last two weeks of April. Six of these families had arrived by the ship (Ferry service), one family had paid Rs. 1000/= for 2 adults, another family had paid Rs. 500/= for 2 adults; 3 families had come in their own boats and 10 families had come in their friends' boats. And the rest had paid Rs. 150/= per person to cross over to India

Five families left because of mob violence and all the others left out of fear. Five families had left from government run refugee camps in Sri Lanka and the rest had left from their homes. Four members said that 2/3 of their family are still in Sri Lanka, one said that 2/3 of his family are in India and 21 families said that all their members have come over to India.

Victims of military action ;

Mohan from Colombo was shot to death. One person from Pesalai was arrested and released. Pathmanathan from Pesalai was injured. One Kasinathan was missing.

Future

Four families wanted to settle down in India. These four families were of Indian origin and are in possession of Indian citizenship. Seven families were undecided as to whether to go back to Sri Lanka or to stay in India.

Conclusion

Of these nine camps, three have now been closed and shifted to Madurai, on the 20th September 1986. No voluntary organisations have come up with any programmes to assist the refugees in these camps, though at the initial stages some groups did give them some assistance. The refugees in this district are in need of medical facilities, school uniforms, clothes, vocational training and employment.

Location : This camp is situated in the part of Athur town close to the Athur Municipal Council. The refugees are housed in the Municipal Hall. This hall consists of 2 partitions with unmentered floor in between. There are only 2 toilets for women. The camp has been provided with 2 waterers.

Arrival and reason for leaving

Two families had arrived in October 1983; three families arrived in April 1984. 5 families had arrived during the first two weeks of February 1985. 15 had arrived during the first two weeks of March; and one family arrived during the last two weeks of April. Six of these families had arrived by the ship (Ferry service). One family had paid Rs.1000/- for 2 adults, another family had paid Rs.500/- for 2 adults. 3 families had come in their own boats and 10 families had come in their friends' boats. And the rest had paid Rs.150/- per person to cross over to India.

Five families left because of mob violence and all the others left out of fear. Five families had left from government run refugee camps in Sri Lanka and the rest had left from their homes. Four members said that 2/3 of their family are still in Sri Lanka, one said that 2/3 of his family are in India and 21 families said that all their members have come over to India.

TIRUCHIRAPALLI DISTRICT

This district has an area of 11,095 Sq. kms with a population of 3,612,230 and a density of 326 persons per Sq.Km. 45.62% of its population is literate and 19.96% belongs to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

127,027 hectares are cultivated with paddy yielding an output of 250,870 tonnes. Other crops grown in the district are : Cholan, Cumbu, Red Gram, Bengal Gram and Horse Gram. The total output of this district is 417,026 tonnes. The districts irrigation network consists of 108 canals with a length of 752 kms, 2,996 tube wells, 160,147 irrigation wells, 3 reservoirs and 2,328 tanks. It has an annual rain-fall of 842.6mm. The district has 4 revenue divisions, 10 revenue taluks, 85 revenue frikas and 990 villages. The district does not include any coastal areas.

There is only one camp at Kottpattu in this district. This camp is situated at a distance of about 5 kms away from the Tiruchy town on the Tiruchy-Pudukottai road that leads past the airport. This camp was constructed in 1978 in order to accomodate the incoming repatriates whose rate of arrival was so great that the Mandapam camp was not sufficient to accomodate them.

The camp has 5 blocks each with 2 storeys. An extra building was added in May 1985 in order to accomodate more refugees. Refugees and a few repatriates have been housed in this camp from 1983 when the first of the Tamils fleeing the July ethnic violence arrived. By the end of October 1984, there were 89 refugee families consisting of 500 persons, and a few repatriate families. By May 1985 the number had increased to 446 families consisting of 1,146 individuals. By January 1986 the number of families had decreased to 354 but the total number of family members increased to 1,366.

Most of the refugees housed here have been sent there directly from Mandapam and others have come through Vetharaniyam. Some of the refugees who arrived by plane have also

been registered at this camp. This camp has all necessary facilities like water, toilet, electricity etc. There is a permanent camp office with a staff of about 5 persons

In April 1985, we were able to carry out a survey of 66 families in this camp. Of them, 22 families were from Mannar, 15 were from Pesalai, 11 were from Colombo, 7 were from Jaffna, 6 were from Vavuniya, 4 from Nuwara Eliya and one from Batticaloa. 31 families are Roman Catholics and 35 are Hindus. Of these families, 18 were engaged in the fisheries industry, 12 were in business and 12 were semi-skilled workers. There were 10 government servants, 6 agricultural workers and 6 labourers 2 families did not provide the required data. There were 36 children between the age of 1-5, 79 between the age of 5-15, 88 between 15-25, 63 between 25-40 and 45 above 40. 12 families had earned less than Rs. 500/-per month, 23 had earned between Rs. 500—1,000 per month, 10 families had earned between Rs. 1,000—1,500 per month, and 8 families had earned between Rs. 1,500—2,000 per month, 4 families had earned between Rs. 2,000—3000, 4 families had earned between Rs. 3,000-4,000 per month 3 families between Rs. 4000—5000 per month and 1 family had earned above Rs. 5,000. 4 students and one family failed to provide the required data.

Initially the CSI provided educational facilities to the children up to the level of grade five as also Vocational training facilities. This work was later taken up by the Ramakrishna Mission, which has set up its own office within the camp. The CSI now assists some of the refugees by accomodating them on a self employment scheme outside the camp for a very limited individuals. Some of these refugees have been able to secure employment by themselves in the area.

This was the largest camp next to Mandapam until the camp at Kudalnagar in Madurai was constructed. Most of the refugees housed at this camp are those who have arrived between February and March 1985. Some of the inmates have been living in the camp for over two years. Their requirements are infant food, provisions, vocational training and self-employment schemes. Individuals and organisations have rendered assistance wherever possible.

THE DISTRICT OF NORTH ARCOT AND DHARMAPURI

NORTH ARCOT DISTRICT

This district has an area of 12,268 Sq. Kms with a population of 4,414,324 and a density of 360 persons per Sq. Km. 40.89% of its population is literate and 22.01% belongs to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

Paddy cultivation covers an area of 118,280 hectares producing 231,580 tonnes of paddy. Other crops cultivated in this district are Cholam, Ragi, Cumbu, Red Gram, Horse Gram, Sugar Cane and Ground nut. It has the largest area—153,675 hectares—under ground nut cultivation. The other food grains production of this district is 238,693 tonnes. It has an annual rain fall of 927.1 mm. Irrigation facilities consist of 748 canals with a combined length of 118 Kms., 239 tube wells, 294,748 irrigation wells, 1 reservoir and 3,189 tanks. It has 4 revenue division, 13 revenue taluks, 104 revenue frikas and 1,911 revenue villages.

At the end of August 1986, there were eleven refugee camps in this district, as against 5 at the initial stage. We give in the next page statistics relating to 4 of these camps which we had surveyed.

CAMP NO. 01 Municipal High School, Gudiatham, Vellore.

Location : This camp is situated in the heart of Gudiatham town. The refugees are housed in the part of the Municipal High School. At the time of this survey, they were depending upon the meals supplied from outside by individuals or groups people. Doctors made regular visits to the camp. Video films were provided for their entertainment. All the refugees have been provided with stoves. No one is permitted to enter this camp without the permission of the Collector. Even the people of the area cannot supply any items or visit the camp without the Collector's permission. The inmates are escorted when they want to go out.

Females have been asked to wear local dress, perhaps to prevent any moral malpractices. This strict security measures has resulted in an unhealthy alienation of the refugees from the local people, who as a result often peep through the gates as though they are looking at some strange people. The refugees seem to be quite satisfied with their situation, but they are not sure how long they will be able to continue in this place.

Victims of military action

21 years old Uthayakumar from Vavuniya was shot to death and his body was withheld by the security forces. Sivalingam from Mannar was arrested in the sea and released.

CAMPS IN THE NORTH ARCOT DISTRICT

TABLE 2 : 12 : 1

| Name of the Camp | Families | Members |
|--------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 01. Mission Compound, Ambur | 43 | 169 |
| 02. Apsara Theatre, Vaniampadi | 21 | 97 |
| 03. Sathanur Dam, Chengum | 40 | 194 |
| 04. Municipal High School Gudiatham | 19 | 91 |
| 05. Cheiyar | 39 | 173 |
| 06. Thiruvannamalai Camp | 20 | 78 |
| 07. Arakkonam (Harijan Girls Hostel) | 28 | 130 |
| 08. Cholingan (Harijan Girls Hostel) | 32 | 137 |
| 09. Vandavasi | 23 | 73 |
| 10. Pedasta Hospitel | 46 | 180 |
| 11. Ratnagiri | 30 | 123 |
| Total | 341 | 1450 |

TABLE 2 : 12 : 2
FAMILY BACKGROUND (N.A)

| No. of the camp | No. of the families | No. of members | Hindus | Catholics | 1-5 years | 5-15 years | 15-25 years | 25-40 years | Above 40 years | Grade : 1-5 | 6-8 | 9-12 | Special studies | Income in '000 | Damage in '000 |
|-----------------|---------------------|----------------|--------|-----------|-----------|------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|-----|------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 01 | 43 | 169 | 17 | 25 | 24 | 34 | 51 | 36 | 17 | 13 | 06 | 07 | 03 | 61 | 90 |
| 02 | 21 | 97 | 10 | 11 | 21 | 26 | 22 | 22 | 06 | 16 | 03 | 03 | 02 | 39 | 330 |
| 03 | 40 | 194 | 26 | 15 | 44 | 54 | 36 | 41 | 19 | 47 | 04 | — | 01 | 43 | 469 |
| 04 | 19 | 91 | 07 | 10 | 22 | 20 | 26 | 18 | 05 | 25 | — | 01 | — | 28 | 337 |
| Total | 123 | 551 | 60 | 61 | 111 | 134 | 135 | 117 | 47 | 101 | 13 | 11 | 06 | 171 | 1226 |

ОСВЕЩЕНИЕ РАБОТЫ И РАБОТЫ ПО ПРОИЗВОДСТВУ (N.A)

TABLE 3 : 13 : 3

TABLE 2 : 12 : 3
OCCUPATION AND PLACE OF ORIGIN (N.A)

| Camp Number | Pasali | Mannar | ThalalMannar | Other places | Fishing | Agriculture | Semi skill | Others | Arrival | | | Harassment | Mob violence | Left From | | | Majority in India | Majority-Sri Lanka |
|-------------|--------|--------|--------------|--------------|---------|-------------|------------|--------|----------|-----------|------------|------------|--------------|-----------|--------|--------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| | | | | | | | | | 1-15 Feb | 15-28 Feb | 1-15 March | | | Home | Jungle | Other places | | |
| 01 | 10 | 23 | 02 | 07 | 05 | 13 | 20 | 02 | 02 | 09 | 24 | 06 | 33 | 09 | 19 | 03 | 03 | 33 |
| 02 | 02 | 16 | 02 | 01 | 14 | 04 | 01 | 02 | 04 | 04 | 03 | 09 | 09 | 09 | 06 | 02 | — | — |
| 03 | 08 | 27 | 04 | 01 | 18 | 06 | 04 | 08 | 03 | 16 | 20 | 12 | 26 | 13 | 14 | 03 | 01 | 20 |
| 04 | 01 | 17 | — | 01 | 11 | 02 | — | — | — | 19 | — | 12 | 09 | 08 | 08 | 03 | 05 | 06 |
| Total | 21 | 83 | 08 | 10 | 48 | 25 | 25 | 12 | 09 | 38 | 47 | 39 | 77 | 39 | 47 | 11 | 09 | 59 |

CAMP No. 02 SATHANUR DAM, CHENGUM

Location: This camp is located near the Sathanur dam which is about twenty seven kilometres away from Chengum. The dam, and the surrounding area has been beautified and made into a local tourist attraction. The refugees are housed in some of the quarters earlier used by the staff working on the dam. These quarters are usually rented out to tourists. The refugees have been housed in 9 of these twin house units, each of the unit is shared by two or three families. The quarters have all the basic amenities except for the minor inconvenience created by the supply of water being limited to twice a day, in the morning and evening. The people are quite satisfied with the facilities which include electricity and toilets. This camp was earlier used to house the refugees from Burma.

Victims of Military Action

Thangarasu from Thalaimannar was shot dead and his body was withheld by the security forces. This incident took place on the 26th April 1984. One person in his family has manifested signs of psychological disequilibrium following this incident. Kulasekeram from Pesalai had been arrested and nothing is known of his whereabouts. Kalimuthu was shot dead at his home in Uilankulam on the 4th February 1985. Veeriah was arrested while at sea with thirteen others but was released afterwards. All items in their possession at the time had been retained by the security forces.

Future

Two families want to settle down in India, and thirty one families want to return to Sri Lanka. Six families are unable to make up their minds about their future.

CAMP NO. 03 Mission Compound, Ambur.

Location: This camp is situated about 1 km away from the main road at a point about fifteen kilometres away from Vaniyampadi in Ambur.

The refugees are housed in a building which was used as a boarding house by the Protestant Mission to which the building and the compound belong. There is enough space. Adequate water is supplied from outside. This camp was meant to be only a temporary arrangement. Initially there was considerable sympathy and assistance forthcoming from the local population.

The refugees have to walk a distance of about one and a half km in order to collect their rations which are being supplied through a local trader. The area is thickly populated. There is a big school close by the camp. Agriculture is the main source of employment in this area there are also a number of tanneries close by. There

is ample scope for self employment projects to be set up for the refugees in this area. About 5 officials stationed at this camp to look after the interests of the refugees.

Victims of Military Action

Thirty seven year old Rasu was arrested at Trincomalee and later released. Ravichandran from Mannar was arrested on the 4th December 1984 and later released. He was eye witness to the shooting of one hundred and forty persons at the spot where he was arrested. Murugan was killed by Sinhalese thugs in 1980.

Future

8 families wish to settle down in India on a permanent basis while thirty three families want to return.

CAMP NO. 04 : Upsara Theatre. Kachcheri Road, Vaniam-padi

Location : The refugees are housed in unused and improperly maintained building, once used as a theatre. It is an open hall with two entrances. The building is surrounded by tanneries and the entire area is heavily polluted by waste from these tanneries. Even the water is heavily polluted. Firewood is very difficult to obtain in this area and so the refugees have bought stoves on their own. These refugees were first put up at Cheiyar and later shifted to this location. There is very tight security at this camp 5 persons are in charge of the place.

Victims of Military Action

Chandran was shot dead on the 16th January 85, Thuraipandi was shot dead on the 13th January and their bodies were withheld by the security forces. They were from Pesalai and Mannar respectively. Santhiago Fernando, Yoganathan Fernando, Thommai Meas and Dasan from Mannar arrested by the security forces.

Future

16 families want to return to Sri Lanka while 4 families want to settle down in India.

Conclusion

The basic requirements in all the eleven camps are more or less similar. MUST has initiated a health programme from June 1986, providing regular medical assistance. In the camp at Cheiyar, from April 1986, it provides 200 ml milk per child per day and has also appointed a lady teacher to attend to the educational needs of these children. OFFER has provided clothes and soaps to most of these camps once only. VMSSS has been planning to render relief assistance to the value of Rs. 200/- per family. All assistance sought for are enumerated in chapter III.

DHARMAPURI DISTRICT

This district has an area of 9,622 Sq. kms, a population of 1,997,060 and a density of 208 persons per Sq. Km. 29% of its literate and 16.17% belong to scheduled caste and tribes.

28,973 hectares are under paddy cultivation producing 545,000 tonnes of paddy. Other crops cultivated in this district are Cholam, Ragi, Cumbu, Red Gram, Horse Gram, Ground Nut, Gingelly and Sugar Cane. Its total food grains output is 295,933 tonnes. This district has the largest area—61,482 hectares—under cultivation with Horse Gram. Irrigation facilities consist of 239 canals with a combined length of 287 Kms, 26 tube wells, 106,977 irrigation wells, 3 reservoirs and 2,176 tanks. It has an annual rain fall of 843.6 mm

It has 2 revenue divisions, 8 revenue Taluks, 50 revenue firkas and 643 villages. 4 refugee camps have been functioning in this district from the beginning of 1985. The tables in the next page set out in detail the situation of the refugees housed in these camps.

Camp No. 01.

Regulated Market Building, Morapur Road, Dharmapuri 636702.

Location : This camp is situated in the main town of Dharmapuri which is about five hours journey from Madras by road. The refugees have been housed in an abandoned building used earlier by the government regulated market. It is located about two kms away from the main bus stand. This building consists of a big hall with two entrances but without any windows or other ventilation and as a result it is very hot and stuffy inside. There is a big open space in front of the building.

Electricity available but the whole building has only a single bulb. Water and toilet facilities are reasonable. At the time of this survey, there was an outbreak of infections dise-

TABLE 2 : 12 : 4
REFUGEES AT DHARMAPURI

| No. of the camp | No. of families | No. of members | Hindus | Catholics | Age below 5 yrs | 5-15 years | 15-25 years | 25-40 years | Above 40 yrs | Grade 1-5 | 6-8 | 9-12 | Special studies | Total Income in thousands | Total things left behind |
|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|--------|-----------|-----------------|------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|-----|------|-----------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 01 | 35 | 146 | 29 | 06 | 26 | 29 | 39 | 37 | 14 | 23 | 03 | 04 | 07 | 50 | 926 |
| 02 | 45 | 211 | 30 | 15 | 38 | 60 | 52 | 41 | 21 | 50 | 07 | 02 | — | 81 | 900 |
| 03 | 45 | 231 | 07 | 38 | 39 | 68 | 50 | 47 | 28 | 57 | 17 | 06 | 05 | 34 | 989 |
| Total | 150 | 678 | 66 | 59 | 103 | 157 | 141 | 125 | 63 | 130 | 27 | 12 | 12 | 165 | 2815 |

TABLE 2 : 12 : 5
 FAMILY SITUATION (DHARMAPURI)

| No. of the camp | Place | | | | | | | | | | Occupation | | | | | Arrival | | | | | Left from | | | | |
|-----------------|---------|--------|--------------|--------------|---------|-------------|------------|--------|-----------|-------|------------|-----------------|--------------|------|--------|--------------|----------------|--------------------|--|--|-----------|--|--|--|--|
| | Pesalai | Mannar | Thalaimannar | Other Places | Fishing | Agriculture | Semi skill | Others | Feb. 1-15 | 15-28 | Mar. 1-15 | Harassment-Army | Mob violence | Home | Jungle | Other places | Majority-India | Majority-Sri Lanka | | | | | | | |
| 01 | — | 25 | 07 | 02 | 12 | — | 15 | 01 | — | 32 | 02 | 14 | 19 | 17 | 14 | 02 | 05 | 17 | | | | | | | |
| 02 | 05 | 18 | 16 | 05 | 16 | 13 | 08 | 04 | 09 | 35 | — | 18 | 22 | 24 | 16 | 04 | 03 | 17 | | | | | | | |
| 03 | 25 | 17 | — | 03 | 29 | 03 | 05 | 03 | 18 | 22 | 02 | 25 | 18 | 24 | 12 | 03 | 02 | 14 | | | | | | | |
| Total | 30 | 60 | 23 | 10 | 57 | 16 | 28 | 08 | 27 | 89 | 04 | 57 | 59 | 65 | 42 | 09 | 10 | 48 | | | | | | | |

ase in the camp and the risk of its spreading was evident. As a result some of the refugees were considering the possibility of fleeing from this camp.

Victims of military action

Mahendran from Mannar was arrested and released on the 25th February 1985. Ruba Crooz 25 years from mannar was shot dead at Vankalai church, and the body was given to the family. N. Shanmugavel from Mannar was arrested and later released, Nadarajah from Mannar was shot dead at Vavunya camp. Jeganathan from Batticaloa was arrested four times and released.

Camp No. 02

Kelavapalli Dam, Hosur.

Location : This camp is situated on the Kelapalli dam site. The dam is yet to be completed due to a land dispute which is pending before the courts. Some of the abanded houses earlier provided for the construction staff have been allocated for housing the refugees. They are housed in 24 twin house units, each of which contains a hall, kitchen and bathroom. Since water and toilet facilities are not enough to serve all the refugees, the facilities available in the remaining houses, most of which are in a state of disrepair, are also being used by them. There is only one well.

There are very few people in this locality which borders the neighbouring Karnataka State. As a result of its close proximity to Karnataka the refugees find it difficult to communicate in the local Karnatata language which is being more prominently used. Though the camp is only 8 kms away from Hosur town, the refugees have to walk a distance of 3 kms to the nearest bus route to reach the town. There are 3 buses a day to the closest point. As a result the refugees find it very difficult to go to the town to buy their provisions as provisions are not locally available. Though the refugees have been supplied with kerosene stoves, it is very difficult to get kerosene oil in the area. There are no health and school facilities in the area.

Victims of military action

Marimuthu and Arumugam from Mannar were arrested and later relased. S. Sinnathamby and Vellasamy from Vavuniya were killed at the Vavuniya camp. Vijeyakumar and Jeyaraj

were arrested and later released. Some persons from Manner had been forced by the security forces to eat their identity cards. Ganesh from Thalaimannar was arrested and made to stand on his knees in the hot sun for 2 hours

Future

Two families want to settle permanently in India, and the balance 43 want to return to Sri Lanka.

CAMP No 03 Vaniyar Dam, Hosur TK, Dharmapuri 636905.

Location : This camp is situated near the Vaniyar reservoir project which is yet to be completed. Several houses meant for the staff are lying vacant. The refugees have been allotted forty three of these houses. Water and toilet facilities have been provided in these houses. The camp is situated 45 kms away from Dharmapuri and is 3 kms away from the main road. The nearest place where purchases can be made, is about 8 kms away. This is basically an agricultural area with paddy and sugar cane being the main crops, There is another source of employment.

Victims of military action

Selvarajah from Mannar was arrested by the army on the 28th March. Victor Emmanuel from Pesalai, was shot to death when returning to Sri Lanka by boat with some others.

Future

Three families want to settle down in India and the balance 42 want to return to Sri Lanka.

CAMP No. 04 Thumbala Halli Dam, Palacode

Location : This camp is situated 12 miles from Palacode, on the side of a dam. The staff quarters built for the personnel working on the dam, have been allocated to the refugees. The dam is surrounded by a village. There is a bus service to Palacode with a bus running every two hours. 25 families consisting of 90 members are accommodated in this camp.

Conclusion

Medical assistance is provided by MUST while clothes and soaps were supplied by OFFER once only. The assistance sought for are school uniform, clothes for adults specially for women. The camps need an extra shed and toilet facilities. Other requirements are as in other camps.

THE DISTRICTS OF PERIYAR AND COIMBATORE

Periyar District

This district has an area of 8,290 Sq. Kms., a population of 2,068,462 and a density of 252 persons per Sq. Km. 39.81% of its population is literate and 17.09% consists of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

55,106 hectares are under cultivation with paddy producing an yield of 155,720 tonnes. Other crops cultivated are Chola, Ragi, Cumbu, Horse Gram, Ground nut and Sugar Cane. The total food grains output of this district is 192,370 tonnes of paddy. This district has an annual rain-fall of 717 mm. which is one of the lowest in Tamil Nadu. Irrigation facilities consist of 12 canals with a combined length of 862 kms, 17 tube wells, 97,729 irrigation wells, 5 reservoirs and 52 tanks.

It has 3 revenue divisions, 17 revenue taluks, 47 revenue frikas and 150 villages. By August 1986, there were 17 refugee camps in this district but at the time of our survey in May 1985, there were only 8 camps. We give below the statistics relating to the camps covered by our survey.

Table 2 : 13 : 1

NAMES OF THE CAMPS IN PERIYAR

| Name of the Camp | No. of Families | No. of Members |
|--|-----------------|----------------|
| 01. Perumpallam Dam, K.N. Palayam | 19 | 90 |
| 02. Nadaraja Sabai. Ganapathypalayam | 19 | 85 |
| 03. Velmurugan Theatre, Bhavani | 16 | 86 |
| 04. R. N. Pudur, Erode | 42 | 212 |
| 05. Perumalmai, Perundurai | 22 | 81 |
| 06. Chenguthurai' Sennimalai | 12 | 54 |
| 07. Nambiyur | 25 | 104 |
| 08. Nambiyur (IInd Batch) | 19 | 86 |
| 09. Manivel Theatre (Two Camps) | 46 | 196 |
| 10. Suriampalayam (3 Camps) | 83 | 358 |
| 11. Near M.C.T.B., Dharmapuram Town | 25 | 82 |
| 12. Gobi TK, Tiruppur | 22 | 82 |
| 13. Athiyur | 25 | 117 |
| 14. Vellodu | 24 | 86 |
| 15. Thiruvalluvar Rice Mill | 20 | 75 |
| 16. Nadupalasam | 22 | 81 |
| 17. Chathiram Binagar St., Dharmapuram | 20 | 62 |
| Total | 461 | 1937 |

Conclusion

Almost all the camps in this district are overcrowded and the refugees are not satisfied with the accomodation provided. For example, in camp No. 1, the refugees are housed in cadjan sheds with very low roof. These sheds cannot withstand any strong wind or heavy rain. The area itself is remote and surrounded by the Mysore forests. The refugees have to walk 3 kms to reach the nearest bus route. There is no possibility of finding employment in the area. No one except CERRO had come to this remote area in order to assist these refugees, CERRO has distributed most urgently needed clothes to the refugees.

Many of the shelters provided to the refugees are badly in need of repair. Some of the shelters do not have electricity. This is one of the districts where the refugees are in urgent need of assistance. They require temporary sheds, medical facilities, educational facilities, clothes, utensils and all other assistance listed in chapter III. Most of the refugees in this district want to shift to some other places having better facilities.

| | | |
|------------------------------------|-----|------|
| 10. Sumanpalyam (3 Camps) | 83 | 358 |
| 11. Near M.C.T.B. Changanam Town | 27 | 82 |
| 12. Geol. K. Thoppu | 22 | 85 |
| 13. Athiyar | 28 | 117 |
| 14. Velodu | 24 | 88 |
| 15. Thiruvallur Rice Mill | 20 | 78 |
| 16. Nabadassam | 22 | 81 |
| 17. Chakkiam Binigar St. Changanam | 20 | 82 |
| Total | 481 | 1837 |

TABLE 2 : 13 : 2

FAMILY BACKGROUND

| No. of the camps | No. of families | Total members | HINDUS | CATHOLICS | Below 5 years | 05-15 yrs | 15-25 years | 25-40 years | Above 40 yrs | Grade 1-5 | Grade 6-8 | Grade 9-12 | Special studies |
|------------------|-----------------|---------------|--------|-----------|---------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------------|
| 01 | 19 | 90 | 05 | 14 | 20 | 19 | 32 | 11 | 08 | 20 | 03 | 05 | — |
| 02 | 19 | 85 | 07 | 12 | 11 | 26 | 25 | 17 | 06 | 19 | 05 | 03 | 01 |
| 03 | 16 | 86 | — | 16 | 10 | 31 | 11 | 22 | 10 | 26 | 07 | 03 | 01 |
| 04 | 42 | 212 | 34 | 08 | 37 | 58 | 41 | 43 | 21 | 41 | 06 | 05 | 07 |
| 05 | 22 | 81 | 06 | 16 | 10 | 25 | 16 | 19 | 12 | 16 | — | — | 02 |
| 06 | 12 | 54 | 08 | 04 | 08 | 13 | 21 | 10 | 02 | 09 | 04 | — | — |
| 07 | 25 | 104 | 20 | 05 | 17 | 27 | 25 | 20 | 15 | 21 | 05 | — | — |
| 08 | 19 | 86 | 19 | — | 22 | 24 | 15 | 19 | 09 | 23 | 05 | 02 | — |
| 09 | 46 | 196 | 25 | 21 | 35 | 30 | 35 | 40 | 43 | 31 | 03 | — | — |
| Total | 220 | 994 | 124 | 96 | 253 | 253 | 221 | 201 | 126 | 206 | 38 | 18 | 11 |

TABLE 2 : 13 : 3 FAMILY INCOME

| No. of the camps | Total income in '000 | Things left behind '000 | Income : Below Rs. 500/ = | Rs. 500-1000 | 1000-1500 | 1500-2000 | 2000-3000 | 3000-4000 | Rs. 4000 & above | Harassment by army | Mob violence |
|------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| 01 | 55 | 146 | — | — | 02 | 02 | 03 | 01 | 01 | 19 | — |
| 02 | 24 | 146 | 02 | 07 | 04 | 02 | 01 | — | 01 | 19 | — |
| 03 | 38 | 978 | 03 | 01 | 04 | 02 | 03 | 01 | 01 | 16 | — |
| 04 | 46 | 328 | 17 | 11 | 03 | 01 | 02 | — | 02 | 41 | 01 |
| 05 | 19 | 620 | 01 | 07 | 08 | 02 | — | — | — | — | — |
| 06 | 20 | 420 | — | 01 | 05 | 03 | 03 | — | — | — | — |
| 07 | 32 | 600 | 01 | 01 | 04 | 03 | 03 | — | — | 01 | 12 |
| 08 | 26 | — | 03 | 09 | 13 | 14 | 04 | — | 02 | — | — |
| 09 | 98 | 989 | 02 | 17 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Total | 358 | 4227 | 19 | 54 | 43 | 29 | 19 | 02 | 07 | 96 | 13 |

TABLE 2 : 13 : 4
OCCUPATION AND PLACE OF ORIGIN (PERIYAR)

| Camp Number | Place | | | | Occupation | | | | Arrival | | | Left From | | | Majority in India | Majority-Sri Lanka |
|-------------|---------|--------|--------------|--------------|------------|-------------|------------|--------|----------|-----------|------------|-----------|--------|--------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| | Peasali | Mannar | Thalaimannar | Other places | Fishing | Agriculture | Semi skill | Others | 1-15 Feb | 15-28 Feb | 1-15 March | Home | Jungle | Other places | | |
| 01 | 04 | 13 | 02 | — | 16 | 02 | — | — | — | 18 | 01 | 19 | — | — | 11 | 07 |
| 02 | — | 16 | 03 | — | 05 | 06 | 08 | — | — | 19 | — | 19 | — | — | 09 | 08 |
| 03 | 16 | — | — | — | 09 | — | — | 06 | — | 16 | — | 16 | — | — | 09 | 03 |
| 04 | — | 31 | 03 | 06 | 03 | 26 | 09 | 02 | 04 | 11 | 04 | 38 | 04 | — | 12 | 29 |
| 05 | 05 | 08 | — | 09 | 05 | 04 | 06 | 02 | 01 | — | 20 | — | 19 | 03 | — | — |
| 06 | — | 08 | — | 04 | — | 07 | — | 05 | — | 12 | — | — | 02 | 10 | — | 05 |
| 07 | — | — | 13 | — | 04 | — | 03 | 01 | 04 | 10 | 01 | — | 20 | 01 | 02 | 18 |
| 08 | — | 05 | — | 14 | — | 10 | 03 | 05 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 12 |
| 09 | — | 24 | 06 | 14 | 08 | 05 | 04 | 26 | 02 | 23 | 04 | — | 32 | 01 | — | 17 |
| Total | 25 | 105 | 27 | 47 | 50 | 60 | 33 | 47 | 11 | 109 | 30 | 92 | 57 | 15 | 43 | 99 |

COIMBATORE DISTRICT

The district has an area of 7,469 Sq Kms., a population of 3,060,184 and a density of 410 persons per Sq. Km. 53.1% of its population is literate and 16.97% belong to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

34,151 hectares are under cultivation with paddy yielding an output of 99,770 tonnes. The major crop produced by this district is Cholan, which is cultivated on 118,793 hectares. Other crops are Ground nut, Horse Gram, Sugar Cane, Maize, Cumbu, Ragi, Bengal Gram, Cotton and Gingelly. Its total food-grain production is 232,678 tonns. This district has the lowest rainfall - 711 mm in the whole of Tamil Nadu. Irrigation facilities consist of 38 canals with a combined length of 587 kms, 81,749 irrigation wells, 3 reservoirs, and 74 tanks. There are no tube wells in this district.

The district has 3 revenue divisions, 7 revenue taluks, 47 revenue firkas, and 481 revenue villages. At the time of our survey, there were 8 refugee camps in this district. By August 1936, however, the number of camps had increased to 20. We give below statistics relating to the 8 camps covered by our survey.

With the exception of camp No. 07, all other camps lack proper facilities. Some of the other camps are overcrowded. Camp No. 07, situated on the Aliyar dam, has adequate electric city connections, good housing and proper water supply. The refugees here are housed in the quarters constructed earlier for the Dam staff. The Dam is situated close to the Kerala border.

At the initial stage several organisations and individuals came forward to help the refugees and those refugees who were housed in camps close to city were benefitted most. However very few organisations have come forward to assist the refugees in this district on a regular basis. The refugees here need the same types of assistance that are needed by those housed in camps within the Periyar district.

TABLE 2 : 13 : 5 Names of the Camps in Coimbatore

| Name of the Camp | No. of Families | No. of Members |
|---|-----------------|----------------|
| 01. Sivananda Colony | 43 | 219 |
| 02. Cithambaram Park | 20 | 93 |
| 03. Thirumoorthy Nagar, Udumalaipet | 42 | 194 |
| 04. Kacheri Road, Mettupalayam | 10 | 40 |
| 05. Old Panchayat Union, Mettupalaypm | 10 | 42 |
| 06. Alamkombu, Mettupalayam | 08 | 37 |
| 07. P.W.D. Colony, Aliyar, Pollachchy | 46 | 206 |
| 08. Cinthamany Theatre, Avinasy | 16 | 59 |
| 09. Kasigoundapalayam, Avinasy | 10 | 32 |
| 10. Tatabedu | 42 | 168 |
| 11. Municipal Town Hall, Thiruppur | 50 | 226 |
| 12. Mettur Shandy | 12 | 49 |
| 13. Travelers Bungalow, Sirumugai | 13 | 52 |
| 14. Thekkampatti | 28 | 116 |
| 15. Elementry School Pundupalayam | 20 | 82 |
| 16. E. School, Kayaneicken Palayam | 21 | 84 |
| 17. Mid-Day Meal School, Athistheru CBE | 22 | 86 |
| TOTAL | 413 | 1785 |

TABLE 2 : 13 : 6 FAMILY BACKGROUND (COIMBATOR)

| No. of the camp | No. of the families | No. of members | Hindus | Catholics | 1-5 years | 5-15 years | 15-25 years | 25-40 years | Above 40 years | Grade : 1-5 | 6-8 | 8-12 | Special studies |
|-----------------|---------------------|----------------|--------|-----------|-----------|------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|-----|------|-----------------|
| 01 | 43 | 219 | 17 | 26 | 33 | 70 | 49 | 45 | 22 | 56 | 17 | 16 | 08 |
| 02 | 20 | 93 | 19 | 01 | 25 | 22 | 17 | 22 | 07 | 26 | — | — | 01 |
| 03 | 42 | 194 | 11 | 31 | 45 | 44 | 47 | 36 | 22 | 43 | 12 | 11 | 02 |
| 04 | 10 | 40 | 07 | 03 | 06 | 12 | 04 | 13 | 04 | 11 | — | 01 | — |
| 05 | 10 | 42 | — | 10 | 05 | 10 | 09 | 09 | 09 | 06 | 03 | 02 | — |
| 06 | 08 | 37 | — | 08 | 08 | 08 | 07 | 11 | 03 | 08 | — | — | — |
| 07 | 46 | 206 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 08 | 19 | 78 | 12 | 04 | 10 | 16 | 11 | 13 | 09 | 04 | — | — | — |
| 09 | 10 | 332 | 08 | 02 | 08 | 06 | 06 | 08 | 04 | 06 | — | — | — |
| Total | 208 | 1241 | 74 | 85 | 140 | 188 | 150 | 157 | 80 | 160 | 32 | 30 | 11 |

TABLE 2 : 13 : 7 FAMILY INCOME

| No. of the Camp | Total income in '000 | Things left behind '000 | Income per month below Rs. 500 | Rs. 500-1000 | Rs. 1000-1500 | Rs. 1500-2000 | Rs. 2000-3000 | Rs. 3000-4000 | Rs. 4000 & above | Harassment | Mob violence |
|-----------------|----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|------------------|------------|--------------|
| 01 | 72 | 921 | 07 | 08 | 10 | 02 | 06 | 02 | 03 | 41 | 02 |
| 02 | 20 | 150 | 04 | 06 | 07 | 02 | 04 | 01 | 01 | 20 | 01 |
| 03 | 95 | 985 | 03 | 04 | 07 | 09 | 07 | 04 | 05 | 42 | 01 |
| 04 | 15 | 212 | 01 | 03 | 05 | 01 | 02 | 01 | 01 | 10 | 01 |
| 05 | 18 | 210 | 01 | 03 | 01 | 02 | 03 | 01 | 01 | 10 | 01 |
| 06 | 18 | 650 | 01 | 01 | 03 | 01 | 02 | 01 | 01 | 08 | 01 |
| 07 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 |
| 08 | 67 | 174 | 01 | 01 | 02 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 |
| 09 | 07 | 391 | 01 | 10 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 | 01 |
| Total | 312 | 3693 | 10 | 36 | 35 | 16 | 25 | 06 | 09 | 131 | 02 |

TABLE 2:13:8
OCCUPATION AND PLACE OF ORIGIN

| Camp Number | Place | | | Occupation | | | | Arrival | | | Left From | | | Majority in India | Majority-Sri Lanka | |
|-------------|---------|--------|--------------|------------|-------------|------------|--------|----------|-----------|------------|-----------|--------|--------------|-------------------|--------------------|----|
| | Pesalai | Mannar | Thalaimannar | Fishing | Agriculture | Semi skill | Others | 1-15 Feb | 16-28 Feb | 1-15 March | Home | Jungle | Other places | | | |
| 01 | 06 | 20 | 11 | 04 | 09 | 11 | 14 | 04 | 27 | 22 | 14 | 40 | 02 | 01 | 12 | 31 |
| 02 | -- | -- | 19 | 01 | 06 | -- | 09 | 05 | -- | 20 | -- | 20 | -- | -- | 07 | 13 |
| 03 | 06 | 33 | 02 | -- | 27 | 03 | 04 | 06 | 10 | 19 | 13 | 42 | -- | -- | 24 | 18 |
| 04 | -- | 08 | -- | 02 | 01 | 08 | -- | 01 | -- | -- | 10 | 09 | -- | 01 | 02 | 08 |
| 05 | -- | -- | 10 | -- | 08 | -- | -- | -- | -- | 06 | 04 | 10 | -- | -- | 07 | 03 |
| 06 | -- | 08 | -- | 06 | -- | 01 | 01 | 01 | -- | 08 | -- | 08 | -- | -- | 05 | 03 |
| 07 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 08 | 01 | 12 | 01 | 02 | 01 | 03 | 03 | 01 | 14 | 02 | -- | 02 | 13 | 01 | -- | 09 |
| 09 | -- | 03 | 03 | 04 | -- | 05 | 05 | -- | -- | 01 | 05 | 01 | 04 | -- | -- | 05 |
| Total | 13 | 84 | 46 | 13 | 58 | 30 | 36 | 18 | 51 | 78 | 46 | 132 | 19 | 03 | 57 | 90 |

REFUGEES OUTSIDE THE CAMPS

The refugees from Sri Lanka in India can be divided into three broad categories as follows; the refugees housed in government run camps, refugees living in families outside the camps, and the individual adults living outside the camps. The situation of the refugees housed in the government run camps has already been described at some length.

We do not have complete statistics regarding the refugees living outside the camp. Attempts made to secure such statistics could not succeed due to the following factors;

1. The refugees outside the camp refused to participate in the survey apprehending that information regarding them may be leaked to the Sri Lankan Government or made available to the Indian Government which they felt may at some time decide to deport them.
2. These refugees have no permanent place of residence and keep moving from place to place frequently and this makes contacting them very difficult.
3. They are generally distrustful and suspect the persons contacting them unless the persons concerned happen to be someone known to them already.
4. Most of them are under the impression that the crisis will be solved in a very short time, not exceeding a year, and hence they are always in an unsettled state of mind expecting that their departure for their homeland

is imminent. Thus they feel that participating in the survey is irrelevant and unnecessary and may only lead to a leakage of information about themselves which they feel may cause them more problem.

However the groups which are in need of assistance are ready to give information provided they are assured that they will be helped.

Social Stratification

These refugees residing outside the camp are generally from the middle class. They come from Nuwara Eliya, Kandy, Badualla, Bandarawela, Matale and Ratnapura in the central hill country region and Colombo which were by far the worst affected by the violence in July 1983. There are also those who have come from the North as well as Trincomolee, Batticaloa and other areas in the East. The majority have been employed in middle level categories such as government officials, accountants, junior executives, teachers, corporation employees, and small businessmen. The few professionals and middle level businessmen have been able to establish themselves fairly successfully in India. The upper middle class is conspicuous by its absence amongst these refugees.

Religion

85% of the refugees are Hindus, 10% are Catholics and 5% belong to other Christian denomination

Ethnic Groups

Nearly 35% of the refugees are Sri Lankan Tamils of recent Indian origin and most of them have been granted the Sri Lankan citizenship. 55% are Sri Lankan Tamils from the North and 5% are from other areas.

Reason for leaving

The majority of the refugees from Colombo and the hill country fled due to mob violence. Those from the North have fled because of intimidation by the security forces. Some especially social service workers, government servants, lawyers and priests, have been suspected of maintaining links or sympathising with the Militant Organisations and have been forced to flee before the security forces could detain them.

Arrivals

Between July 1983 and August 1984, about 4,500 people crossed over to India seeking of refuge. Most of them came by air, and others by ferry. The first group of refugees to arrive consisted mainly of people from Colombo and the hill country areas. Between August 1984 and March 1985, a further 40,000 refugees had crossed over to India. Most of them were from the North and were fleeing from the attacks launched by the government security forces in the Northern regions. By the end of December 1985, another 15,000 had crossed over. 75% of them have lost their business and other sources of income as well as their houses and other assets.

Distribution

These refugees are scattered all over Tamil Nadu with only a few groups having settled in Kerala, Andhra, Karnataka and Bombay. A tentative estimate of the number of families residing in the different districts of Tamil Nadu is as follows:

| Place | No. of Families |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Madras | 3,500 |
| 2. Tiruchy | 2,500 |
| 3. Maduri | 1,000 |
| 4. Coimbatore | 1,000 |
| 5. Tirunelveli | 1,000 |
| 6. Nilgirs | 500 |
| 7. Kanyakumari | 1,000 |
| 8. Salem | 500 |
| 9. Ramanathapuram | 500 |
| 10. All others combined | 4,000 |
| Total number of families | 15,000 |

In addition, there are nearly 2,000 individuals in Bombay. These refugees are part of the group of individual adults who have fled for various reasons. A further 7,000 of this group of youths are enrolled for courses of study in various Polytechnics and technical colleges as well as in Universities. Eleven thousand of these young people are scattered throughout Tamil Nadu, most of them having been sent out of the country by their

parents in order to avoid arrest and torture at the hands of the security forces. Several hundred youths who have deserted from or left the militant organisations add to this youths group, their battalefield experience and consquent tensions and frustrations adding to the broblems that inevitably arise.

Legal Status

All these refugees are being given tourist visas and for all purposes are treated as tourists except for the fact that the Central Government has instructed the immigration authorities to renew these visas every six months, due to the ethnic violence.

Finances

The families living outside the camp can be divided into three categories on the basis of their financial situation, and available resources. About 10% of them were able to bring with them the necessary financial resources to establish their own means of generating an income. Most of them have invested in medium scale businesses. Another 50% of them were able to transfer the money they were getting from their family members abroad, to India; and are managing their existence here. The balance 40% crossed over to India with their savings thinking that the problem would be solved within a few months or at the most a year. These people have now reached a critical economic situation soon they have to somehow find the means to generate an income even if they are forced to continue to survive at their present standards of living.

The first 60% of the refugees on the other hand, actually proved to be an asset to the Indian government by virtue of the foreign exchange they bring into the country. Thus they perform the function of tourists for all purposes. This group consists of about 9,000 families. Each family spends an average of 2,000 indian rupees per month merely on their basic essentials.

House rent varies between Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,500 per month for a house generally accptable to the average middle class family. Middle class food requirements involve an expenditure of a minimum of Rs. 300/- per person per month. The amount of foreign exchange brought into India by these families, therefore is quite significant. The balance 40%, i.e.; about 6,200 families, however, have to find out at least Rs. 500-1,000 per month to maintain a lower middle class lifestyle by renting a flat and severely limiting their consumption to the barest essentials.

When compared with the amount of Rs. 522/- that the government spends per month on each of the 7,000 refugee families in the camps, the foreign exchange brought into India by the first group of 60% is substantial. It not only offsets the government's total expenditure on the refugees but actually leaves a surplus.

Education

Most of the students are able to find admission in schools grade up to high school level and also in polytechnics and technical training institutions. However, entrance to those seeking university education has not been found easy despite the fact that the government has provided an admission quota for Sri Lankan refugees. The government on its part has gone out of its way to do all it can to accommodate the educational aspirations of the refugees but there are many limitations because the local educational network is already heavily over-crowded by the local population.

Economic assistance to students, however, has not been forthcoming and this is a form of assistance which must be made available to them. Tuition fees at the University level alone cost student 3,000 Indian rupees per year. After the agitation by some students and others, the annual college fees were reduced to 360/- Indian rupees. They require about 700/- Indian rupees per month for boarding, tuition fees and other expenses.

Employment

There are no schemes formulated for the employment of the refugees from Sri Lanka. In 1983 a scheme was put forward for the granting of loans to refugees and repatriates but this scheme not implemented since the number of refugees far exceeded the estimated figure. Some voluntary organisations and individuals have come forward to assist the refugees in whatever way possible and some have been helped to establish themselves in self-employment. Furthermore, these agencies have also assisted the refugees in finding admissions to the educational institutions. The OFFER and the MCC Tambaram have been assisting in this field in a limited way.

40% of the refugees are in urgent need of financial assistance or self employment scheme or temporary employment in order to meet the requirements of daily life.

The situation of adults

Many of the young people were sent out of the island with whatever savings they had in order that their lives could be protected from the marauding army of the State and to manage their livelihood abroad. These adults seeing that their chances for bright future were not too hopeful in India tried to go over to the western world which they have come to identify with affluence. Several unscrupulous persons posing as travel agents lure some of these youths parting with their money on the pretext of arranging for their departure to the western countries. Thus leaving them with no way of continuing their existence as a result of which some of them were forced to criminal activities. Together with those who have left the militant organisations, these disillusioned and desperate youths are beginning to form a lumpenised strata at the lowest economic level of the refugees. About 5,000 of these youths are eking out a living in India. It is not surprising to find that drug traffickers have been quick to utilise their abilities

The Future

Almost all the refugees outside the camp wish to return to Sri Lanka once the problem is solved. In fact some of them had already left taking the risk of being harassed by the security forces. Many of those, who had thus left, did so because they could not find away to meet their living expenses in India. Even the refugees who are engaged in business prefer to return to Sri Lanka because they feel that they will have better prospects in Sri Lanka than they have now in India. Even if they do not return to Sri Lanka they desire to continue to maintain to their business link there, if conditions facilitate such economic relations become possible.

Some of the refugees, especially the younger people amongst them, tend to look for possibilities of leaving India for some western country. However this course is now neither cheap nor reliable since refugees have to pay a large sum for the necessary arrangements to go abroad and there is also no guarantee that they will reach their destination unhindered. The risk of being cheated and of losing such sum of money also acts as a deterrent. Still many continue to nurse hopes of going to the west and the number of people attempting the journey has in no way declined.

METHODOLOGY AND GENERAL ANALYSIS

The purpose of this survey is mainly to study the socio-economic situation of the Sri Lankan refugees, taking the family as the basic social unit extent of the damage and loss of property and life sustained before they left the Island, the location at which they are being housed and the basic assistance provided and that they are in need of in India. One of its main intentions is to advise the voluntary agencies as to the type of assistance needed by them. In fact several voluntary agencies urged that this survey was essential to analyse the overall situation in order to enable them to adjust their programmes. It was also the aim of the survey to assess the number of refugees who wish to settle down in India on a permanent basis instead of returning to their Island even after the present crisis is solved.

First, a detailed questionnaire was drawn up and a sample survey was carried out. Thereafter, a systematic attempt was made to collect the available information in its fullest possible form. The author and his team visited most of the refugee camps and explained the purpose of the survey. To the refugees, voluntary agencies and government officials rendering assistance to them. Each individual family volunteering to furnish the necessary information was interviewed and the survey questionnaire filled up. The method followed was to elicit from one member of the family answers to the questionnaire in the presence of the rest of the family members, while the members of the survey team filled the form. A copy of the questionnaire is given in the appendix. In some cases, individual families expressed their reluctance to provide the detailed personal information. In such a situation, the general survey of the whole camp made and the date and other information collected were deemed as covering the full situation of such camps.

CHAPTER XX

Obstacles Encountered

Some of the refugees were reluctant to provide the necessary data out of fear of being deported by the government of India or that the information provided may fall into the hands of the government of Sri Lanka. This fear has no basis because only the details regarding the shortcomings of the present situation and about their needs were assessed. In 3 camps, a few youths created a climate of suspicion by questioning the motives of the survey and prevented the people from cooperating. The only motive that can be ascribed to this behaviour is that this group wished to maintain an exclusive control over the information regarding the refugees in the particular camp. However, in all other camps, the survey team received the unreserved cooperation of the refugees. The author with his team was able to visit more than two thirds of the camps in India, in 1985.

Analysis

In the previous chapters, we have given all available statistics relating to most of the refugee camps, and have also furnished a brief description of the nature of the localities in which the camps are situated, the extent of facilities provided, the names of voluntary and other organisations which have been rendering assistance to the refugees and the immediate requirements of the refugees. We now provide a more general analysis taking into consideration certain aspects concerning the refugees in most of the camps in India.

Age Group TABLE 2 : 15 : 1

| Age Group | No. of Persons | Percentage |
|-------------------------------|----------------|------------|
| 1—05 years | 792 | 19.1% |
| 05—15 years | 1,045 | 25.2% |
| 15—25 years | 960 | 23.2% |
| 25—40 years | 886 | 21.4% |
| 40 years & above | 462 | 11.1% |
| Total number of respondents : | 4,145 | 100% |

The survey reveals that the number of individuals above 40 years of age is very small. The majority of them falls within the middle age group which is by far the most productive group and most of whom had been engaged in gainful employment. The productive capacity of this age group now lies dormant for want of employment opportunities.

The other large age group (5-20 years) consists of mainly students who make up 36.3% of the refugee population. Thus about one-third of the refugees is comprised of people within the youthful age which have become the target of indiscriminate arrest, torture and gruesome killings that are being perpetrated by the Sri Lankan armed and security forces. They have consequently come out of their country, not for seeking any personal gain but because their lives are constantly in danger. It was also apparent that many parents have brought with them their younger members of their families and in several cases older people have also been left behind.

What can be derived from the above analysis is that voluntary agencies in rendering assistance to these refugees have to concentrate on the following two aspects: In the first instance, the huge manpower and the immense wealth of their skills now lying idle in the camps should be provided with outlets where they can be gainfully employed. Secondly, the youths must be given the necessary facilities to enable them to acquire a good education and technical knowledge skill. Failure to provide these basic needs will eventually lead to frustration. Whatever other forms of assistance are rendered may ultimately become in effective and meaningless and the burden of maintaining them will only increase from time to time.

Religion

Out of 884 families taken, 448 (51%) are Hindus and 436 (49%) belong to Catholic and other Christians sects. Hence the refugees are almost equally divided on the basis of religion whereas in the Island the Hindus constituted 15.5% of the total population and the Catholics and other Christians together make up 7.5%. More or less equal division of the people into Hindus and Catholics reflects the high percentage of Catholics living in the district of Mannar where they make up 42% of the population. 80% of the refugees have come from the district of Mannar.

Place of origin TABLE 2:15:2

| Place | No. of families | Percentage |
|----------------------------|-----------------|------------|
| Pesalai | 238 | 17.5% |
| Mannar | 961 | 59.5% |
| Thalaimannar | 163 | 10.5% |
| Other | 170 | 12.5% |
| Total number of families : | 1,615. | 100% |

Pesalai has been considered separately because it was from here that the refugees first began to flee to India. There was a time when the whole of Pesalai was completely deserted.

Thalaimannar has also been considered separately since it is the closest point from which they can easily leave for India. All other areas in the Mannar district have been taken together as Mannar and the people listed under this heading have come mainly from Uilankulam, Adampan, and other villages in the Mannar district. About 85% of the people in the camps have come from the Mannar district. The exodus from the district of Mannar has severely affected the day to day life in the district as a result of which some of the schools have been closed, the output of the fishing industry in the area has been considerably reduced, and many other activities have been brought to a standstill.

Other refugees are mainly from the Hill Country, Colombo and Trincomalee. The number of refugees from all other areas are negligible and most of them belong to the category of people of recent Indian origin. Some of them are stateless; some are Indian citizens; and others have Sri Lankan citizenship. There was also a small group of these persons of recent Indian origin who had moved into the Mannar District after the violence in 1958, 1977 and there after.

Reason for Leaving

Out of 473 families taken, 150, (31.9%) left due to their having been victimised by mob violence and 320 (68.1%) left due to harassment by the security forces. There is not much difference between these two forms of harassment except that in the first instance what is faced is State terrorism in a covert and subtle form where the security forces instead of participating directly instigate mob violence and bringing in lumpen elements from other areas to terrorise and intimidate the people, attack their economic base, destroy their means of livelihood and loot their belongings thus reducing them to destitution. The harassment of the people by the security forces, however, is a new phenomenon which began in 1980 and continues unabated. Under pressure of increasingly frequency of guerrilla attacks the forces thus retaliated by blindly killing civilians, living near by. Often the massacre of civilians carried out by the security forces, is calculated and premeditated to take revenge for their losses suffered in their fight against the militants.

The Economic condition

TABLE 3 : 15 : 3

Following table furnishes the economic conditions of families.

| No. of Families | Income Per month | Percentage |
|-----------------|---------------------|------------|
| 111 | Rs. 500 and below. | 13.3% |
| 246 | Rs. 500-1,000 | 29.4% |
| 173 | Rs. 1,000-1,500 | 25.6% |
| 136 | Rs. 1,500-2,000 | 16.2% |
| 086 | Rs. 2,000-3,000 | 10.3% |
| 035 | Rs. 3,000-4,000 | 04.2% |
| 051 | Rs. 4,000 and above | 06.0% |

The first category consists mainly of landless labourers, most of whom are of recent Indian origin. The second category is made up mainly of semi-skilled workers such as labourers in fishing villages. Teachers also fall under this income bracket. The third category is made up of businessmen, professionals and agriculturists who own their land. The next two categories are made up mainly of those who own boats and fishing equipment and who employ others to work under them. The last two categories consist of individuals owning large area of agricultural lands and fishing equipments and machinery.

One may indeed wonder why the last four categories have to stay in the refugee camps. This is because even though their income is fairly high, they have never cultivated the habit of saving but spending all the income to maintain high standard of living, some have reinvested their income in their business. Some of them have even brought their boats and fishing equipments with them to India. Hence it is apparent that nearly 90% of these people had in one form or another been self-employed or employed as part of a community working group. Only a few of them have been in government service or employees in government public corporations. Thus they have been leading an independent life depending on their own means of generating income.

Family separated

Out of 258 families, taken for the analysis, 24% (62 families) said that most of their family members had come over to India. 76% (196 families) said that most of their members were still in Sri Lanka.

This situation has arisen because most of the elderly people have opted to remain back. They are of the opinion that they will not be able to adjust themselves to the new environment. Of the 24% of the families where most of the family members have come over to India, it was seen that these families were either of recent Indian origin, or from Pesalai village which was completely deserted for reasons already mentioned.

Separation of members from several families have created further tension particularly on occasions when social commitments have to be performed as for instance, at the time of funerals, weddings etc. The refugees also have no way of quickly getting news of those they have left behind on the Island. The postal service has become so slow and unreliable that there is no guarantee that letters will reach safely. The cost of an aerogramme moreover is Rs. 5/= which makes postage a luxury that a few of them can afford.

Damage Claimed

Damage claimed refers to the buildings, other assets as well as personal and household goods that the refugees have lost through arson, looting by mob violence or the security forces or in the case of incidents occurring in non-Tamil areas,

by the people of the region. People having left everything and fled through fear that their houses would have by now been destroyed, and in any case they have no hope of being able to recover the furniture and other movable items which they have left behind. Hence the amounts they have claimed may be treated as in excess of the actual loss sustained. Most of the business community have lost heavily. The fishermen who have lost their boats are the next most severely affected. The third largest losers are the people from Colombo who have virtually lost all that they had saved. The extent of damages claimed by the refugees residing outside the camps, however, is far higher than that claimed by those in the camps.

Option to return

All the refugees excepting a few who are of recent Indian origin are firm in their desire to return and in fact are anxiously waiting for the day when they can do so. Amongst the people of recent Indian origin however there are many who would rather settle down here than return. Having become destitute to the ethnic violence, they are urgently in need of financial assistance to start their lives afresh. If they are to remain permanently in India, they should be afforded sufficient assistance to rehabilitate themselves. On the other hand, if they are to return to Sri Lanka, there is no guarantee of any assistance being forthcoming by the government to help them to begin life all over again.

It is significant to note that many of these people have expressed their willingness to return to Sri Lanka if some organisation or authority would guarantee their peaceful settlement. This clearly shows that it is this underlying economic and personal insecurity that holds them back. If adequate measures are taken to counter this fear they will be only too glad to return to the island.

Therefore, we can state with confidence that at least 90% of the refugees are anxious to return to the Island, once a suitable climate is created. Historically however, it must be noted that in a very few cases, the refugees been able to get back to their land of origin in such a short time. Hence it is not possible to make any prediction as to whether these refugees will be able to do so. In the mean time, some of them may decide to return out of sheer frustration taking the risks involved in doing so. Already about 1,600 refugees have chosen this risky path and the fate of the less fortunate ones amongst them has already been described,

Conclusion

The general analysis reveals that the refugees are largely from the middle and lower middle classes. Secondly except for the few Tamils of Indian origin, the poorest of the poor are definitely not amongst those who have left the country. Accustomed as they are to a reasonable standard of living, for good education and better social advancement, these refugees need much more assistance than that would be demanded by the local Indian rural population. Therefore, if the voluntary agencies and the government can expand and improve the volume and variety of assistance it would go a long way to enable the refugees to sustain themselves without becoming victims of disease and ill health in India.

Our survey has clearly shown that the notion that these people will stay on here if they are provided with more assistance than that is available to the average Indian villager is illogical and fallacious. In fact, the refugees are waiting for the opportunity to return to their own country. The contention that these refugees should not be given any assistance since the people of India do not have access to such assistance is also an untenable one since they are not Indians and are from a completely different economic environment in which they have lived all their lives and to which they belong. Many of the local social service organisations and action groups are reluctant to undertake the responsibility of helping these refugees on the ground that they would soon return to Sri Lanka thus making any permanent programme to assist them impossible. The refugees have already remained here for over two years and it is very unlikely that they will leave India in the very near future. Even if any problem arises as to what to do with a permanent programme started for them should they suddenly return, it can easily be solved by transferring it to the repatriates or to the local population. Keeping this possibility in view, the programmes can be so designed to include the repatriates and the locals from the very beginning. This will also help to create better rapport between the refugees and the villagers, besides helping the latter to improve their standard of living.

CONCLUSION

The people in Sri Lanka, in toto, are those who have at some time or other, immigrated to the Island from India. According to the latest discovery made by the American scientists, Island of Sri Lanka was separated from the mainland of India about 9000 years ago (about 7000 BC) with an error margin of 500 years. So Tamils and Sinhalese are both of Indian origin as are the Muslims and the hill country Tamils. The island was invaded by Indian rulers on several occasions before the 13th century often in collaboration with the Island's petty kings during the period of conflict with each other. Even the British, the last colonial rulers of this Island, first administered the Island from Madras, (East India Company 1795-1801) before setting up a separate administration for the Island.

Hence a close affinity existed between the Island and the sub-continent from the dawn of history. During the great economic depression in nineteen thirties and the world war II, the Island's people depended more and more on the Indian economy even for their staple food (rice) and other commodities. This economic link with India continued to increase unabated till the eve of independence to the inland in 1948. It had been importing more than 50% of the requirements from India.

After the independence, the relationship began to deteriorate, due to rise of a national ideology based on the legend 'Mahavamsa' first written during the 6th century AD. Since then it underwent several vital modifications quite contrary to one another. Often references are made to this legend in order to establish that Sri Lanka belongs to the Sinhala race alone and that others are aliens. Tamils are considered to be the left overs of the South Indian invasions. Thus they are being treated as a dangerous anti-national elements.

This anti Indian sentiment led to the Sri Lankan government making demands of India which impinged on its interests. Nevertheless, in a spirit of magnanimity, the Indian government gave in and signed the Repatriation pact of 1964 and the Kachchathivu agreement of 1974 and 1976. On these occasions, the opinion or interests of the State of Tamil Nadu were not

taken into consideration. Despite this, within the island, there was very little identity of interests between the 52 million Tamils in India and the 3 million Tamils on the Island. They shared very little in common with regard to their cultural identity except for the fact that both communities spoke the same language. Following the Island's independence in 1948, even the spontaneous trade relations began to slow down as trade became more formalised and concentrated around the capital city of the Island-Colombo.

The differences between the Tamils from Ceylon and the Indian Tamils show clearly in the contrasting behaviour of the Ceylonese refugees in Tamil Nadu and the local population. These differences are set out here in order to help the people understand the different life style and behaviour patterns of the refugees and not to compare the merits of one against the other. In the first instance, however, it must be realised that these refugees are people who were able to muster the resources necessary to cross over and hence are not from the lowest classes but are rather from the middle and lower middle classes whereas the majority of the Indian population amidst whom they are housed are from the lower classes of landless labourers and poor peasants. Added to this is the fact that the average income of even the poverty level was far less in Sri Lanka than that it is in India. The refugees were thus used to a much higher standard of living than that enjoyed by the comparable classes in India. The Island's physical quality of life rating is also one of the highest in Asia. The people of the Island were accustomed to a much more refined and civilised way of living than the rural masses of India or many other Asian and African nations.

Most of the refugees had their own houses. The Tamils of Sri Lanka are renowned for the very high value they give to their personal privacy so that it is a habit with them to build tall fences around their houses to screen out glances of passers by. Toilets are an essential part of every house. The very idea of defecating or urinating in the open is an affront not only to the islanders modesty but much more so to his or her sense of social hygiene. Likewise a toilet without access to water is considered unacceptable since the islanders place great value on personal hygiene and to fail to follow a call of nature with adequate ablutions would be considered totally unacceptable by most Sri Lankans. Yet these are everyday factors in India where outdoors are everymans toilet and personal hygiene is neglected.

The islanders are scrupulous regarding their dress when they go out of their homes, even on the shortest of errands. Their dress is always neat, even men customarily cover the top of their body by wearing a shirt. Men, women and children consider footwear an essential part of their dress. It is normal for unmarried women to wear frocks. The local Indian population however has other customs. The men go about without a shirt. As the refugees who wear shirts, they are considered to be too rich to be called refugees. Unmarried Indian girls wear long skirts that reach to their toes and with a shawl wrapped from the waist upward to cover the top portion of the body, which is known as half saree. The Indians therefore consider the Sri Lankan girls who wear frock immoral. This causes them great pain of mind. The wearing of footwear is considered a luxury in India. The fact that the refugees do so makes the local population conclude that the refugees are very rich and therefore are not in need of any help. Moreover some of the refugees have brought as much of their belongings as they could carry. Naturally they have chosen the most expensive of their belongings to bring with them like transistors, radios, cassette sets, and other such luxury goods which are commonplace in Sri Lanka. To the Indian population, however these articles are exclusively the preserve of the rich, and hence they tend to develop a very wrong notion that these refugees are not in need of any assistance and that they are in fact impinging upon the hospitality of India.

Eating habits are another field where a great difference is evident amongst the refugees and the local population. The only common factor they share is that they both use their hands to eat with. Apart from this, the way they use their hands is quite different. The refugees find the Indian method of eating quite repulsive and in all probability the Indian population feels the same way about the way the refugees handle their food. The food itself also differs greatly. The refugees are used to having meat or fish at least 4 days a week as one of the main dishes that go with their plate of rice. This dish is usually complemented by at least two vegetables cooked with lots of coconut milk, chille and spices. This type of cooking causes a lot of expenditure more utensils and more firewood to prepare. The Indian population in Tamil Nadu, on the other, hand, is quite satisfied with rice and 'Sambar'. 'Sambar' is a kind of soup made by boiling vegetables and thickened by the addition of dhal or other grain. It has no coconut milk and only a small quantity of oil is used for seasoning. To the refugees whose palets are

accustomed to highly spiced dishes, this kind of preparation tastes insipid and moreover to them appears to be totally lacking in nutritional value. The Islanders take great care of their children providing them with best cloths and schooling that they can afford.

Caste wise too, there is a sharp difference. To begin with although the caste system does exist in the Island it is not institutionalised as it is in India. That is to say, one is not required by any law or regulation to declare ones caste for any official purposes of the state, In India, however, caste appears on every record beginning with ones birth certificate. The lowest caste amongst the most of the refugees are from the Karayar which is much higher up on the caste hierarchy than the lowest caste in India which is the harijan. These factors that have become a part of the personal make up of the refugees will not simply change overnight. The refugees will continue to feel uneasy and feel repulsed by many of the local customs and norms. It is even less likely that they will accept these norms and customs in the near future because their minds are set not on integration but on returning to their Island home as soon as possible! Hence it is necessary for the people who have come forward to assist them to try and understand their different background and lifelong experience which are quite different from the Indian experience.

It is also a fact, that these very differences have created a historical prejudice amongst the Islands people against Indians, who are thought of as being of inferior caste, uneducated and unclean. Coming over to India with such an impression, the refugees have now got to accept these Indians as their benefactors and social equals. This situation is likely to help in removing this prejudice and build a new relationship between the Tamils of India and the Tamils of the Island. Thus this can be seen as an opportunity for the forging of new bonds that has grown out of the Sinhalese myth that the islands Tamils will join the Tamils of India in order to further their own interests. This myth may indeed become true to the extent that the Tamils are likely to be joined by the Indian Tamils in trade and other activities in the future. Within the context of an independent Tamil state in the Island, across culture and academic links will also increase.

In spite of the several shortcomings inherent within their situation in Tamil Nadu, the refugees are immensely appreciative of and grateful to the Indian Government, the state government

of Tamil Nadu, and the Tamil people of India for having given them a place of refuge and assisted them as best that they could, despite the fact that the great majority of the people of India are themselves living below the poverty line and in need of assistance. This timely assistance so unhesitatingly and spontaneously extended will never be forgotten and will go down in history to be remembered for all times.

However the task of extending assistance to the Tamils of Sri Lanka is not over yet and will not be complete until the central government of India realises that the aspirations of these Island's Tamils are indeed legitimate and comes to their assistance in their struggle to find the means of giving them expression. Likewise it is essential that in the future the Central Government refrain from riding roughshod over the interests of Tamils of South India and include them in the decision making process with regard to any bilateral relations between India and Sri Lanka, since history has shown quite clearly that relations between the two countries are felt most by the Tamils of South India which is physically, ethnically and culturally the part of India closest to the Island of Sri Lanka.

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PART THREE

**Sri Lankan
Asylum Seekers
In Developed Countries**

PART THREE

Sri Lankan
Asylum Seekers
in Developed Countries

INTRODUCTION

Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, The Republic of Korea, Philippines and Thailand showed that almost two million of their citizens were employed in the Middle East in 1981. Today even this avenue of employment is gradually being closed down as the Arab countries cut down on development expenditures in a bid to cope with the economic recession that is sweeping through the economy of the capitalist world and soon most of the Asian countries will have to deal with the reality of a severe economic problem of having to absorb tens of thousands of people returning from these countries.

Manpower is one of Asia's fastest growing exports. Foreign exchange remittance from this trade rose from a mere 200 million US Dollars in 1968 to 3,900 million US Dollars in 1978, and even more sharply to 7,300 million US Dollars in 1980. Revenues from the export of labour, helped Pakistan cover 75% of its trade deficit in 1982. It covered nearly 50% of India's foreign trade deficit in 1980 and 22% of Bangladesh's trade gap of 1982. But this flow of labour to the European countries was restricted and controlled once the labour requirements of these countries had been satisfied, and these countries began to adopt policies that called for the returning of the immigrant labourers to their countries of origin.

Most European countries did not have restriction on Sri Lankans regarding visas, but from 1980 onwards when outgoing Sri Lankans began to publicise the discriminatory and repressive policies of the Sri Lankan government, these governments were pressured by the government of Sri Lanka to bring restrictions on the entry of Sri Lankans. In response these governments brought new laws into force governing the issue of visas to Sri Lankans.

The general tightening of entry regulations to European countries, forced the Asian immigrant workers to look elsewhere; for employment; and this they found in the Oil producing countries of the Middle East. A survey covering eight countries -

Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, The Republic of Korea, Phillipines and Thailand showed that almost two million of their citizens were employed in the Middle East in 1981. Today even this avenue of employment is gradually being closed down as the Arab countries cut down on development expenditure in a bid to cope with the economic recession that is sweeping through the economy of the capitalist world, and soon most of the Asian countries will have to deal with the potentially explosive economic problem of having to accomodate tens of thousands of people returning from these countries

In many cases those seeking jobs abroad had been forced to do so due to various political factors, such as civil unrest within their own countries, terrorism, descrimination on the basis of language, religion or race and the oppression of the ethnic minorities. Sri Lanka is no exception to this general trend and it can be clearly seen that apart from the approximately 1,500 Tamils who were taken to Malyasia by the British to serve as clerical and administrative staff from 1867 onwards; all other Sri Lankan Tamils started moving out of the country only after the first overt ethnic violence broke out against the Island's Tamil speaking minorities in 1956,

Until the year 1972, it can be observed that the Sri Lankan Tamils seeking employment abroad were almost all highly qualified professionals many of whom were recognised specialist in their respective fields. Hence most of these professionals were welcomed for the valuable expertise that they brought with them, especially by the United Kingdom which was the Island's most recent colonial ruler. Most of these highly qualified persons left the Island due to the official languages act under which it was made mandatory that they learn the Sinhala language if they were to continue in service.

The seventies saw a decrease in employment opportunities in the European countries which were now beginning to face

an unemployment problem with which they had so far not been burdened. On an average it can be seen that 10% of the working population of Europe has remained unemployed for the last ten years or so and hence it is but natural that these countries began to exhibit a marked resistance to the taking in of foreigners who would place further demands on the available resources of employment.

It was at this economically critical juncture that the repressive policies of the Sri Lankan government towards the Island's Tamil speaking minorities began to increase leading to a corresponding increase in the number of Tamil youth seeking safety in foreign lands. Hence against the already prevalent backdrop of unemployment in Europe, the exodus of Tamil youth to these countries, which began to accelerate. In the period following 1974, became an alarming issue in these countries and came to the fore as a major problem when this inflow abruptly increased due to the holocaust of July 1983. Most of the Sri Lankan Tamils who fled their country are concentrated in the industrialised Capitalist countries such as the federal Republic of Germany, France, Switzerland, The Netherlands Belgium, Great Britain, the Nordic countries, U.S.A. and Canada; and Australia in the South.

ASYLUM SEEKERS IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Tamil people from Sri Lanka began to flee in search of refuge to several European countries. Following the anti-Tamil riots in 1977 many of them began to seek asylum in Germany and this trend continues. By the end of 1985 there were between twenty five and twenty six thousand of them scattered throughout the country. Very few of them have been accepted as refugees. Most of the refugees who arrived upto the end of 1984 were young men and adults between the ages of nineteen and forty.

Accidents and untoward incidents have occurred, with their attended effects on the morale of the refugees and the attitude of the German people towards them. A few refugees have been found guilty of trafficking in drugs and have been deported. During Christmas in 1984, one of the prisons in Berlin

caught fire and three Tamil refugees were amongst the six prisoners who lost their lives.

Socio-political Impact

The situation of the refugees from Sri Lanka in Germany is far from comfortable, though most of them continue to be tolerated on humanitarian grounds. The German people have had little contact and interaction with the peoples of the under-developed regions of the world and hence the German public has a very poor understanding of the problems of the refugees from these countries. Some of the German authorities tend to treat aliens in general in an arrogant manner. These trends are strong in the Federal Republic and people both within and outside the country, must be alert to this problem.

The presence of refugees in Germany has had an influence on the political development of the German people and the refugees from Sri Lanka contribute to this factor too. Of the German political parties, the Greens, who are liberal in outlook, support the granting of asylum to the refugees. However the major trend is towards a growing refugees but also against enophobic outlook that borders on racism and which is directed not only against the highly visible presence of foreign labour as well. Within this context the politically charged presence of asylum seekers is often used as a scapegoat for the economic problem of the lack of employment. This trend with its racist undertones and patently inaccurate portrayal of the underlying factors that have contributed to the economic crisis being faced by the German people, has all the potential of becoming the tool with which reactionary elements may seek to divide the people and seek the marginalisation and even the deportation of those racial groups portrayed as being undesirable aliens. That this is no idle speculation is amply demonstrated by the fact that in December 1984, an attempt was made to deport two thousand Labanese persons. This move however had to be abandoned in

the wake of protests from forty five Human Rights Organisations. Despite this opposition, the West Berlin government (The Christian Democrat Controlled Senate) is considering ways of tightening regulations that define the criteria under which asylum status can be granted, and is also seeking ways to limit the time for which political fugitives may remain in Germany.

In the face of such xenophobic trends, the unceasing campaign of human rights and voluntary organisations has played an important role in fighting for the rights of the refugees from Sri Lanka and in securing for them, the ability to remain in Germany on humanitarian grounds. The Sri Lanka Refugees Council in a telax message, sent to the Federal authorities, from Berlin on the 21st of January 1985, called upon them to take note of a recent decision of the Federal Magistrates court, according to which the persecution of Tamils in Sri Lanka was just one aspect of a civil war; respectively that of the excesses committed by an army that the state had lost control over.

Several other organisations in Berlin, among them the Catholic Pax Christie and the protestant student's community; joined the council in its appeal. The council's statement went on to say that it was possible, simply by reading the Sri Lankan news papers, for everyone to see that the Tamils returning to Sri Lanka voluntarily or after a deportation were arrested, questioned and often not released from custody until months later. Repeatedly, Tamil passengers have been robbed, maltreated, raped or even killed in public, in buses and in trains. Thus the Tamils were in great and undeniable danger in their own country, and have to be granted asylum.

Situation of the Refugees

This is the background against which the Ceylonese people in exile are forced to make the best of available facilities and manage from day to day. Most of them await with longing,

the day when the Sri Lankan government will recognise their rights and agree to a solution which will enable them to return. Clearly, these Tamil people have not gone to Germany to seek employment as Sri Lanka's representative to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Christopher Case Chitty cynically claimed in the course of exercising his right of reply on the 12th of March 1986. Procedural requirements that have to be met, and the living conditions offered to refugees in Germany are enough to daunt even the most adventurous job seekers and it is only the waves of terror unleashed upon them by the Sri Lankan armed forces that have forced them to overcome these hinderances in their desperate efforts to find a place of refuge. We give below a very brief account of the process faced by those seeking asylum in Germany in order to help dispel the cynical contention that these Ceylonese people who have sought refuge in Germany and other European countries have done so in order to better their economic prospects. Maliciously spread, this claim that has been frequently paraded at international fora by the Sri Lankan government when faced with questions regarding the reasons for the flight of the Tamil people from under its regime, serves only to distort the real issues being faced by the Tamil people.

Constitutional Protection

The Federal Republic of Germany is party to all main instruments relating to refugees. Article 16, section 2, of its constitution accords a subjective right to asylum to people who are politically persecuted. It is upon this article of the constitution that German refugee law is based, and it is elaborated in the law on asylum procedures of 1982, and in a number of related legal and administrative measures.

Entry into the Federal Republic of Germany from the German Democratic Republic, is not subject to passport control, since the Federal Authorities consider traffic between the 1945 occupation zones, to be inter-German traffic.

Asylum seekers entering the country without the necessary entry clearance, are required to apply for asylum to the Border Police immediately. The Border police will then transfer their appeal to the Aliens Police unless it is evident that the applicant has already found protection elsewhere. Any asylum seeker who is in Germany illegally should apply to the Aliens Police without delay.

The asylum seeker will be required, by the Aliens Police, to answer questions about his country of origin, itinerary, sojourns in other countries earlier applications for asylum and other details which may be deemed necessary. An official from the Federal Office will then draw up a report on the interview.

All applications for refugee status in the Federal Republic of Germany are examined by the Federal Agency for the recognition of foreign refugees whose Head quarters are in Zirndorf near Nuremberg. It is the agencies responsibility to decide who is a refugee according to the law and who is not. It has two main offices and 7 sub offices and is responsible to the Minister of Interior.

The asylum requests reach the Federal Agency via the aliens authorities. It can be a short written application on the detailed description or a pre screening interview that the local authorities had with the applicant. If the Applicant is represented by a lawyer they ensure that the lawyer receives all correspondence on the case. Then a person who is acquainted with the country of origin of the asylum seeker, pre screens the application. The Applicant is then called for an interview. In more than 80% of the cases the decision is appealed and moves on to the administrative courts. An officer then speaks for the defendent in these cases at court. About 60,000 cases are taken of for a year. The appeals procedure could until recently, last for upto 8 years ; but it has now been shorten to expedite cases.

The decisions of the Federal Agency are based on a detailed examination of the cases which includes at least one interview with the applicant. The agency has a documentation centre to collect information from available International and national sources on the situation in the countries of origin of the asylum seekers. If an applicant is accepted he is given all the privileges provided by the 1951 UN Convention and the 1967 protocol. If the decision turns out to be negative, the Federal State in which the applicant lives will be informed. Appeals against this decision can be made by the asylum seekers themselves or by the Federal Commissioner for refugee affairs who represents the government. If an appeal is made the case moves on to one of 22 administrative courts with over 550 judges.

Rejection of Application

Refugee status may be refused if the Federal Office considers that the applicant has no well founded fear of persecution. This refusal may be qualified by the observation that the application is manifestly unfounded.

Applications for asylum may also be rejected if the asylum seeker has been found guilty of a particularly serious non political crime or an act of terrorism as defined by the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism to which Germany has acceded without reservations. It must however, be borne in mind that the constitutional right to asylum set out in article 16 has no limitations other than those described above and that the Federal Constitutional Court has not as yet made its pronouncement on the compatibility of the European Convention and the Article 16 of the German Constitution.

TABLE-3:16:1

NO. OF ASYLUM APPLICANTS SINCE 1980 IN THE FRG

| Main countries of origin (individuals) | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | March 1985 | Total |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| TURKEY | 57,913 | 6,302 | 3,688 | 1,548 | 4,180 | 1,659 | 72,290 |
| POLAND | 2,090 | 9,901 | 6,630 | 1,949 | 4,240 | 1,346 | 26,156 |
| PAKISTAN | 6,894 | 5,188 | 3,909 | 1,963 | 1,587 | 643 | 18,174 |
| INDIA | 6,693 | 3,220 | 2,819 | 1,548 | — | 547 | 14,827 |
| SRI LANKA | 2,673 | 2,750 | 1,416 | 2,645 | 8,063 | 4,269 | 21,816 |
| AFGHANISTAN | 5,466 | 3,601 | 2,072 | — | 1,198 | 564 | 12,901 |
| GHANA | 2,768 | 3,378 | 4,114 | 1,611 | 2,670 | 1,215 | 15,756 |
| LEBANON | — | 2,032 | 1,165 | 691 | 1,451 | 437 | —5,776 |
| IRAN | — | — | — | 1,190 | 2,658 | 1,057 | 4,905 |
| ETHIOPIA | 3,614 | — | 1,275 | 906 | 2,264 | 745 | 8,804 |
| CHZECHOSLOVAKIA | 2,385 | 2,000 | 2,110 | 1,400 | 1,475 | — | 9,370 |
| TOTAL NUMBER | 107,818 | 49,391 | 37,423 | 19,737 | 35,278 | 14,214 | — |
| RECOGNISHED | 12,488 | 7,828 | 5,019 | 5,032 | 6,566 | 3,127 | 40,060 |
| REJECTED | 69,463 | 54,168 | 26,606 | 22,624 | 15,485 | 4,192 | 197,820 |
| Manifestly Unfounded | — | — | 1,103 | 4,187 | 4,065 | 340 | 8,702 |
| VIA W. BERLIN | 9,737 | 13,942 | 6,304 | 5,578 | 12,006 | 4,865 | 52,432 |
| SRI LANKANS | | 2,750 | 397 | 1,127 | 3,907 | 1,790 | 9,971 |

Source : OFFICIAL STATEMENT BY THE FEDERAL MINISTER OF INTERIOR : 14-5-85

If the Federal Office rejects the application for asylum because it is 'Manifestly Unfounded', the asylum seeker is obliged to leave Germany without delay. The Aliens Police serve him with an expulsion order which may be appealed. If the appeal is successful, the applicant can seek to rescind the decision of the Federal Office; if not, the asylum seeker may be expelled. After the end of the asylum proceedings an asylum seeker can introduce a fresh application and if new information or evidence can be invoked, the application may be reintroduced to the Federal office. If not, a new application is not receivable.

Asylum seekers may be expelled on the grounds that they constitute a serious menace to public order and security, and they may also be expelled if their application is not receivable or has been rejected in the last instance. The 1982 law relating to asylum procedures actually confers on the Border Police, the authority to refuse an asylum seeker entry into Germany or even to deny him access to asylum procedures in certain cases. This has been the response to the fact that since 1980 asylum seekers have been on the increase. For instance, in the year 1984, 8,000 refugees from Sri Lanka alone had applied for asylum.

Permission To Reside

Once an application has been accepted for processing, the applicant is permitted, to remain in Germany until a final ruling regarding his application is made. Applicants are usually required to reside within the state where their application has been submitted and to remain within the jurisdiction of the Aliens Police. The Aliens Police may restrict the asylum seeker to a specific town or place of residence. Decisions on the restriction of residence can be appealed, but appeals have no suspensive effect.

The law prescribes that asylum seekers will as a rule, be accommodated in reception centres and the Aliens Police of the

state where the asylum seeker has submitted his application will issue him a residence permit which is valid for six months and which must be renewed periodically until asylum procedures are completed. Asylum seekers have to deposit whatever travel documents they may possess, with the Aliens Police.

Number of refugees

Every day between 100-300 asylum seekers from the Middle East, Africa and Asia surface in West Berlin after travelling through East Berlin. From January to the end of July 1986 the Federal Republic of Germany received more than 50,000 applications for asylum, 27,000 of which were filed in Berlin. People choose this route since its constitution guarantees asylum to every victims of political persecution and it is easily accessible. While most airline companies refuse to allow passengers with no visas for their ultimate destination to embark others are more accommodating. On arrival at Schönefeld Air Port (East Berlin) however migrants, from developing countries endowed with a 5 mark transit visa (48 hours) find their way to Friedrichstrasse Station on the East West city railway line. These passengers get through the border checks without any difficulties and disembark 10 minutes later at 'Am Zoo' having seen neither hide nor hair of a Western customs officials. This is only one of the anomalies that sets Berlin apart from all other cities in the planet. Because of this in 1985 (May) the Federal Republic of Germany even managed to negotiate an agreement with the German democratic republic whereby the latter undertook not to authorise any more Tamils without visas to travel to the West. From 1985, 9964 Sri Lankan Tamils have entered Germany through this source. After this new agreement no Tamils dare to use this transit point. Most of the refugees are often herded into different conditions under the responsibility of communes and it is legally obliged to accept certain quota of refugees.

Out of the 155,000 asylum seekers who arrived in Europe during 1985, approximately half are registered in the FRG.

There are 65 centres providing accomodation for asylum seekers in Bavaria. Some of these centres are called the Barracks by the town folks.

Public Relief

Asylum seekers in need, receive public relief during the asylum procedure and this assistance may be allocated in kind, especially in the reception centres. Asylum seekers who have children are not entitled to a childrens allowance during the period taken to complete asylum procedures. In several states, asylum seekers assigned work that is of Public Utility on penalty of loss of social assistance. It is however disputed whether this practice is legal in view of the fact that asylum seekers are barred from employment on the free labour market. In some collective housing centres, people are rarely allowed to provide and prepare their own food and instead they are fed collectively. In some areas, for example in West Berlin, the methods of obtaining social assistance themselves are very humiliating. Here claimants must carry special identity cards to be presented at the supermarket when they buy goods with their foodstamps. Cases are known where medical care stamps are given out only one day at a time so that claimants must go to the social assistance office every day for a new authorisation. Such practices vary from town to town.

On an average about 1050 Deutch Marks are spent every month on each individual refugee. The social assistance in some areas takes the form of free lodging, electricity, and an allowance of between 320 to 340 DM for food and pocket money. Twice a year an allowance of about 700 DM is given to the refugees in order to meet their requirements in clothes. The necessary kitchen utensils are supplied free of charge and medical attention is also made available without cost. Camps where food, shelter, electricity and all other needs are provided, pay their inmates between 40 to 65 DM as pocket money. The children are the worst affected by this practice. For instance in one camp

a child is given only 155 DM without food, and of this amount the owner of the camp deducts 56 DM for electricity. The balance money is not enough even to buy sanitary towels for the child.

The practice of providing cooked food has been resisted by the refugees mainly because they find it difficult to adjust to the diet provided. In some of these camps there have been demonstrations and strikes demanding an end to this practice but the practice, of providing cooked food still continues. Taking private accommodation is possible only in certain States and even here this facility is provided only in exceptional cases involving families who cannot be properly accommodated within the collective residence for want of proper family living quarters. In such cases the house rent is born by the social security services.

Upto March 1985 the social assistance being given to the refugees amounted to only 80% of the amount of assistance given to the German citizens in need of social assistance. However, the High Court in Berlin decided in April 1985 that the refugees should be given the same social assistance that is made available to German citizens.

Caritas Cologne opened a centre for the treatment of refugees who are victims of torture in April 85. Similar centres are also found in France, Denmark, Canada, The Netherlands and Phillipines.

Access To Employment

In principle asylum seekers are not allowed to work during the period it takes for their application for asylum to be processed. However, the Federal Office of Labour may issue a work permit after the applicant, has completed two years of residence in Germany. In case where it is known that the asylum seeker will not be expelled regardless of the outcome of his application, a work permit may be issued after the completion of one

year, of residence. There are frequent instances of asylum seekers working illegally. Even if an asylum seeker is given a work permit this does not automatically entitle him to employment. The first priority for employment is given to German nationals, secondly to persons from member countries of the European Economic Community and only thirdly to the refugees. The local office of the Labour Board, must hold any job open for members of the first two groups for a period of three months before the job can be allotted to an asylum seeker. Thus in certain states, asylum seekers are unable to find employment even after having resided there for between 4 to 5 years. From 1986 onwards asylum seekers may be issued a working permit only after 5 years or residence in Germany.

'Community work, entitles them to an additional allowance of between 1 and 2 DM per hour and is made available for about two days a week. The refugees in general are not opposed to this arrangement, but they point out that the denial of official work permits is in direct contradiction to this practice of assigning them forced labour.

Housing and Living Conditions

Most of the refugees are being housed in camps which are called collective accommodation centres, where they are required to remain for between one or two years. However, there are people in these centres who have remained there for between three and four years more! Most of these camps are very large with old and dirty buildings which are often old army barracks. About a third of these camps, house more than a hundred people each and the UNHCR report of July 1983 describing the Thiepval Barracks in Tübingen where some of the refugees are housed will help project a picture of the conditions that the refugees have to content with. 'These former military barracks, dirty and in poor condition, are situated in the town. There are

two hundred and thirty five inmates of twenty one different nationalities, forty percent of whom are East Europeans. A number of them have their families with them and some of them have been there for as long as two and a half years. The rooms are large but the communal room and services are in the basement and dark. A limited amount of work is possible in the camp itself at the rate of two marks per hour, but there is no opportunity to find employment outside. The director is a former officer. After complaints about him and conditions in general there has been some improvement in treatment. A small carpentry workshop run by social workers gives instruction to three or four people a week."

Despite all the protests at this camp during the last year, there are now nearly five hundred inmates at Thiepval. The latest figure we have received is four hundred and six. Of course not all camps in Germany are of this kind and Thiepval may well be the worst in the country. According to government figures published in 1984, only about a quarter of all asylum seekers were actually forced to stay in collective centres in 1983. What we are certain of is, however, that the number of people forced to reside in such camps has increased considerably since then. For instance, in Bavaria, half of all asylum seekers are now in compulsory collective housing. It also strikes us as significant that this trend of housing the refugees in camps has been encouraged despite the fact that the cost to the government of this type of housing is far higher than that of private accommodation.

Figures for July 1984 state that the average cost per asylum seeker for a month in collective housing centres was 1054 DM. Voluntary agencies inform us that the estimated average monthly cost per asylum seeker in individual accommodation could be as low as half this amount. So the government which always quotes the economic strain that the presence of the refugees creates as its reason for discouraging the asylum seekers, is prepared to pay more just to put people

in these centres. This factor of course hints at deeper and seemingly sinister motives operating behind this policy of collective housing which amounts to nothing more than a policy of putting the refugees into camps. Most of these camps are to be found in the South of Germany, in Lower Saxony, Hesse and Bavaria; the three districts closest to the East German border, and a few of them are also to be found spread out over the rest of the country.

Restriction of movement

The movement of an asylum seeker is restricted to the city, or to the municipal council area, which is smaller than a district, covered by the local police office. The asylum seeker needs special permission to move to other places.

A person who fails to comply with these requirements is liable to be found guilty of an offence and fined 50 DM on the first offence, 100 DM on the second and will be sentenced to prison if the offence is committed once more. In certain states these restrictions are not so stringent and many of the refugees wish to go to these areas. This restriction on their movements makes it difficult for them to meet with their family members and friends. They have to obtain permission from the Alien Police for all purposes even to attend to work connected with asylum procedures,

Regulation of Residence

The possibility for an asylum seeker to regularise his sojourn in Germany after irregular entry, has been virtually non-existent since the recruitment of foreign workers came to an end in 1973. In 1980 Germany introduced entry visa obligations for nationals of Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Ethiopia, India, Sri Lanka and Turkey, in order to reduce the flow of workers from these countries. There had been many asylum seekers amidst those

who arrived in Germany from these countries. Foreigners may apply for naturalisation after having completed ten years of residence in Germany, but refugees may apply for naturalisation after seven years of legal residence, provided that they are sufficiently integrated by then. Time spent as an asylum seeker by virtue of 'Toleration' may be included in the seven year period. Aliens married to German citizens may be naturalised after five years of residence.

Integration - Language Lessons

Fluency in the German Language is a key factor when determining integration for purposes of regularisation of residence and hence the German authorities will not bear the cost of language lessons until political asylum has been granted. However, charitable organisations sometimes offer free German lessons. No possibilities for higher education or vocational training have been made available through government sources for the asylum seekers.

Conclusion

The recent exodus of one hundred and fifty five Sri Lankan Tamils from Germany to Canada has become a sensational issue today. Even before this dramatic incident, refugees from Germany had begun to cross over to other European countries. In fact though approximately twenty five thousand refugees from Sri Lanka have applied for asylum in Germany some of these people are not in the country today and the German government has been silent on this fact. The reasons behind the flight of these people from Germany lie within the policy that the German Authorities persist in adopting towards the refugees.

The refugees from Sri Lanka who reached Germany after 1980 received a very different treatment to those who had arrived earlier. The confinement to camps and lack of freedom

of movement, and the non-availability of educational facilities for those above seventeen years of age together with the refusal of permission to find employment, has given rise to a frustration amidst these people. Many of them have languished idly in these camps for between four and five years and are haunted by the fear of being suddenly sent back to Sri Lanka. The psychological effects of this sort of prolonged idleness cannot be beneficial; and continued, may even constitute a subtle form of harassment which may be used to encourage them to leave the country. The West German Chancellor, Dr. Helmut Kohl has said that the flood of Third World refugees flowing into West Germany was intolerable and a summit meeting of Federal and State political leaders would be held in September 1986 to tackle the problem. 'A solution must be found soon because the Federal Republic is no immigrant nation, and we don't want to become one'. Dr. Kohl said recently in an interview on the ZDF television network.

He denounced 'human traffickers' who arranged for the transport here of thousands of visaless Asians and Africans seeking asylum only to improve their standard of living. Many refugees had no fear of political persecution at home, the standard for granting asylum in this country, the conservative Christian Democratic Chancellor said. This only serves to indicate that this xenophobic attitude on the part of the German government may well be the most significant factor behind the flight of the refugees from Germany. It is time the German government opened its eyes to the fact that those who flee their homelands in search of refuge do not do so by choice but out of the sheer force of circumstances. The least that can be done to help these persons is to welcome them and make them at home until they can return to their countries.

Germany would do better to bring pressure upon the Sri Lankan Government to negotiate and implement a political

solution that will enable the refugees to return, than to try to subtly pressurise the refugees who have sought refuge within its borders into fleeing to some other land.

Useful Addresses

UNHCR,
Rheinallee 18,
5300 Bonn 2.

Caritas,
Deutscher Caritasverband,
Karlstrasse 40,
7800 Freiburg, Germany.

Amnesty International,
Sektion der Bundesrepublik Deutschland e V.
Postfach 170229,
5300 Bonn I.

Jorg Lang,
Diakonisches Werk der EKD,
Staffenbergstrasse 76,
Postfach 476,
7000 Stuttgart I.

Federal Office,
Rotheburgerstr, 29,
8502 Zirndorf.

Amnesty International,
Sri Lanka-Koordinationsgruppe e.v.,
Museumsstr. 7.
7410 Reutlingen.

Labour Asslstance,
Oppelnerstrasse 130,
5300 Bonn I,
Germany.

Eelam Tamils Welfare Association,
Postfach 370151,
1000 Berlin 37.

TAMILS IN FRANCE

France is signatory to the UN Convention on Refugees and the additional protocol providing for its implementation.

There are no formal refugee camps in France, and asylum seekers who arrive in an irregular manner have to depend on support from Voluntary agencies until they are able to secure asylum or begin working to support themselves. In extreme cases voluntary agencies (Mainly CIMADE, or Secours Catholique) provide temporary accommodation and very limited financial assistance towards their subsistence. Once a refugee has received his provisional document regarding asylum, he may be admitted, through a refugee agency, to a provisional accommodation centre for a period up to six months. There he will receive accommodation, food, medical assistance, counselling; and with a view to subsequent integration, French language courses; and some pocket money. These centres are spread throughout France and are funded and run by the French Ministry for National Solidarity.

Problems Faced by the Tamils

Most of the Sri Lankans, seeking refuge in France, speak only Tamil and a very little English. They, therefore find it very difficult to explain their cases to the authorities and convince them of their bona fides. This contributes to the popular perception of them as being in search of economic advancement rather than being in genuine need of security and refuge from political persecution and social insecurity. Most of their applications for asylum will in all probability be rejected. About 10% of their total number will ultimately be granted refugee status.

Around 50% of the Sri Lankan refugees are facing serious economic and other difficulties. Their houses are overcrowded and they are not able to sufficiently meet their daily needs. This situation is however, compensated by their freedom from fear of state terrorism and its attendant insecurity. A few of them have received naturalisation and around 20% are able to work and earn a living as immigrants. A few have been able to effectively integrate themselves into the mainstream of French society and are leading a middle class life with secure employment: able to own houses, and avail of other social comforts. The "Service de Secours" has helped the Tamils to set up and run a small canteen which helps them to generate some income.

With the emergence of various acts of terrorism in France, strains have begun to develop within the French tradition of granting asylum to persons who are facing political persecution. Measures are therefore being taken to decrease the inflow of refugees by giving local authorities permission to deny asylum to any asylum seekers who do not seem to be in imminent danger of facing political persecution, and who seem to be seeking asylum only in order to better their economic conditions. Terrorism has therefore begun to tear up the proud French tradition of being a country ever ready to offer protection to those who face political persecution.

The presence of large number of immigrants has its own repercussion, and when taken together with the wave of terrorism, has led to unfortunate consequence for those seeking political asylum. For instance, there are around 600,000 Muslims in France holding their own peculiar conception of life which differs considerably from the outlook of the French people. This cultural difference creates a barrier and prevents integration giving the impression that the immigrants are holding themselves aloof. On other hand, the refugees from South East Asia have demonstrated that they have a remarkable ability to adjust to the new environment. But there is considerable social envy directed against them as a group, amounting almost to a sort of jealousy.

Many of the refugees who arrived in France before 1st January 1981, were able to benefit from the measures taken by the French Government in May 1981 when provisions were made for illicit immigrants to legalise their stay by obtaining residence permits and the right to reside and work in France as immigrant workers. Some of the Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka, however, feeling that they were entitled to refugee status pursued the matter further with the result that today they find themselves without either of these facilities.

The very first and most serious handicap facing the Sri Lankan Tamils is the language problem since they do not know to speak French. They also find it very difficult to master the language. They are, therefore, forced to depend on one of their compariots to act as translator and submit their dossier to OFPRA. Often they have to pay the refugee who serves as translator for this service. This difficulty in communicating and the false attestations of documents submitted, which is very often the case, increase the likelihood of their applications being rejected. Despite these setbacks however, some of the rfggees from Sri Lanka could produce evidence that entitles them to get refugee status.

The following extract from an article on Sri Lankan Refugees in France, which appears on page 32 of the issue of the UNHCR journal 'Refugees' for the month of June 1986, gives a vivid picture of their situation :

'Meanwhile, the fate of many Tamils consists in spending hours washing dishes in a restaurant, or taking temporary cleaning Jobs. Most of them undertake undeclared and ill-paid work. Up until now, and provided they renew their visas every three months. 'Official' asylum candidates have had the right to register with OFPRA while waiting for the outcome of their application. This entitled them to an allowance for a period of one year. This amount, however, is not enough to pay the prohibitive rents demanded by housing agencies in Paris, where most of the Tamils live. All alone, the new arrival inevitably turns to his compatriots and is sometimes even exploited by those from whom he request help. "When you have no fixed address, you are sometimes obliged to pay whoever helps you find lodgings". They have to have an address before they can submit their application or find work. In order to reduce their expenses to the minimum, they set themselves up in hotel rooms in central Paris or in apartments in the northern districts or the suburbs. They share cooking facilities and literally live on top of one another.

This deplorable situation has been compounded by the fact that since the beginning of 1984, young girls from Sri Lanka have begun to be sent abroad to France to join whoever has been chosen by their parents, for them to get married to. These young mothers usually do not qualify for social security payments if the father is not employed. Fortunately an Association has been formed by doctors in order to deal with such cases so that these young mothers may be hospitalised if they fall ill. In the case of those few who have been accepted as refugees however, social assistance is available for their children and increases with every child born to them.

Social-political impact of the Refugees

On the French political scene, the National Front has entered parliament with 9.8% of the vote, retaining 35 parliamentary seats. The Front has decisively beaten the left, with all the ominous understones, this political change indicates. In fact this is the first time since Hitler's Nazism began to make their political presence felt in Pre-War Europe, that a party running on a racist plank has made significant political gains on the continent. The main political programme thrown to the electorate Mr. Le Pen's National Front was that of the reparation of the four million immigrants from former French colonies in North Africa. If he has his way, FRANCE WILL BECOME THE FIRST EUROPEAN COUNTRY TO EMULATE SRI LANKA IN REJECTING THE CITIZENSHIP OF AND DEPORTING A LARGE PERCENTAGE OF ITS POPULATION ON THE GROUNDS OF RACE AND NATIONALITY.

This political fact will serve as an indication of the degree to which racism has become an accepted and common place factor in French society. The effects of this disturbing trends are certainly brought to bear on the Sri Lankas refugees as well, in particular because they come under the broad public perception of being 'coloured' immigrants.

Whatever hopes may be harboured, the hard political reality seems to indicate that an emerging generation concerned with its economic advancement, politically unsophisticated as to ideology and bereft of the benefit of any intimate knowledge of the great struggles and sacrifices that have brought Europe victory over fascism and won at least the fragile democracy that prevails in much of the west, is rapidly falling victim to the racist ideologies of the likes of Le Pen. Thus the future of the refugees in Europe is far from secure and they may soon find themselves threatened by the very same forces that they have fled from.

Socio-economic situation

The illegal activities of some of the Tamil refugees, notably the involvement of some of them in the smuggling of drugs and trafficking in the same, has led to Sri Lankan refugees being equated with Drugs. However it must be noted that such sensationalist positions fail to take into consideration the sociological causes for the linkage of particular crimes with refugees from particular countries even though the existence of these reasons in no way serves to justify the crimes themselves. Underlying economic reasons that have led to smuggling and dealing in drugs on the part of the Sri Lankan refugees has led on the part of refugees from African countries to their engaging in prostitution. The fact that these economic factors have not given rise to prostitution amidst the Sri Lankan refugees is due to the fact that the number of women amongst them is negligible unlike as in the case of the Africans. Prostitution being the crime with lesser punishment and which is by far the harder to detect and prove, the African refugees in their search for economic betterment have taken advantage of it, while the absence of women amongst them has forced the Sri Lankan refugees to meet their economic hardships through the more risky and dangerous crime of smuggling and trafficking in hard drugs.

Since the average citizen of France, as in most countries, is not cognizant of such sociological relations, he falls easy prey to the notion that trafficking in drugs or prostitution is a part of the inherent 'Badness' or even an ethnic characteristic of the aliens in their midst and this ignorance when exploited by political forces such as the National Front, are apt to lead to the building up of xenophobia. This xenophobia bodes ill not just for the refugees alone but for the whole of French polity as the recent political history of Europe makes quite clear.

There is also a general feeling that the refugees have come to France for economic rather than security reasons. This has arisen mainly because of the lack of communication between the local citizens and the refugees and due to lack of proper publicity given to the situations from which the outflow of refugees has arisen. This is perhaps the most easily remedied of the social problems arising from the presence of the refugees and its solution will lead to substantial betterment of the relations between them and the local citizenry.

Policy of the host Government

All international treaties governing conduct towards refugees have been accepted by France and have been made part of French statutes so that their provision prevails over Municipal law. However the granting of asylum and refugee status is subject to a number of ministerial directives and circulars issued from time to time. These directives are of considerable practical significance, as observation of international convention notwithstanding, the ease with which they are implemented is totally dependant on official directives influencing the matter.

Anyone persecuted for his actions in defence of his freedom has a right to asylum in the territories of the French Republic. An asylum seeker who arrives directly in France is normally given a right of temporary residence (permit) by the commissioner of the republic of the relevant department. He will normally be given a right to a permanent residence (permit) after he is recognised as a refugee by the *office Fransais de protection des refugies et apatrides* - OFPRA. The main organisation that deals with asylum seekers and refugees is the office of the Minister of Interior and of de centralisation (*The prefet de Police*) and the French Office for the Protection of Refugees and Stateless Persons (OFPRA).

The positive determination of the refugee status (and therefore, as a normal consequence the granting of asylum) of

bona fide asylum seekers who have been residing for some time in third countries, is influenced by recent developments in French jurisprudence notably decision No. 20527 of 16th January 1981 made by the *conseil d'Etat statuant au contentieux don la affaire conte*. If the applicant has not been recognised as a refugee or has not been living under effective protection, tantamount to asylum, in the third country, he will be recognised as a refugee in France.

As asylum seeker may be expelled to a third country by *arrete* (decree) of the Minister of the Interior and of decentralisation if his presence in French territory seriously threatens public order. The expulsion procedure provides significant formal guarantees a summons within 15 days notice to a public hearing by a consultative commission composed of magistrates and senior officials, with counsel, interpretation, legal aid etc. (Law No. 81-973). If this commission gives a negative opinion the expulsion...may not be carried out.

The period between the arrival of an asylum seeker and the moment he is issued a provisional document varies between a few days in the provinces and two or three weeks in Paris.

Asylum and Refugee Status

While a person to whom asylum is granted is normally a refugee within the meaning of the 1951 convention and 1967 protocol; under French law, an alien may also be given the status of *beneficiaire de l'asile* (Beneficiary of asylum) or *asylee*. This applies to an alien whose case does not correspond at all to the criteria of the Geneva convention or who may for personal reasons refuse to request refugee status although he fulfills all conditions required to that effect. *Asylee* status is granted by the Minister of the Interior and it is distinctly less favourable than refugee status. Prior to the accession of France to the 1967 protocol those granted *Asylee* status constituted a significant category. Nowadays however this being most exceptional status is not relevant to the Sri Lankan situation.

Authorisation to center asylum

It is for the Minister of the Interior or his delegate to grant asylum, but the determination of refugee status falls within the province of the OFPRA. There are communication channels at various levels between these two administrative bodies. Whereas recognition of refugee status entails in most (but not all) cases the grant of durable asylum, the latter may be granted to persons without refugee status as well,

Transfer of Residence

An alien whose refugee status has already been recognised in a third country and who therefore holds a conventional travel document, issued by that country, may arrive in France with an ordinary *visa de court séjour* (short term visa). If he is seeking durable asylum in France, he should report as soon as possible, and at any rate before the expiry of his visa, to the relevant *mairie* (town hall), or *préfecture* or in Paris to the *commissariat de police*, and request a permanent residence permit. He will have to explain why he left his country of asylum and also why he did not request a *visa d'établissement* from the competent French Consulate.

An alien living in a third country with refugee status, or who has been granted some other kind of (Temporary) asylum in that country, may have received a French *Visa d'établissement* (Resettlement visa). He should, within eight days of his arrival, report to the *préfecture* of the department in which he proposes to reside (or in Paris, to a *commissariat de police* dealing with newly arrived aliens). He will be issued a residence permit normally an orange card of temporary residence which is valid for one year and attests the *bearers* nationality. The applicant will be advised to request a certificate of refugee from OFPRA, as soon as possible.

Proof of persecution

The asylum seeker who arrives directly at the French border from the country in which he fears persecution with or without sufficient documentation, or who enters France in a clandestine manner, must request asylum at his very first contact with the *police des frontières* (border Police); he will be issued with a *sauf-conduit* (safe-conduct) and referred to the *service des étrangers* (Aliens' Office) of the *préfecture* of the department in which he proposes to reside. The clandestine asylum seeker must report 'without delay' as prescribed by Article 31.1 of the 1951 convention to the relevant *Mairie* or *préfecture* or, in Paris to the *commissariat de police*, and request asylum. It will be for the authorities to evaluate the delay in view of the circumstances and of the possibilities enabling the applicant to undertake the steps required, but in no case will a protracted clandestine sojourn be accepted.

Cases of immediate refusal of asylum seekers at the border, including cases of deportation have been reported on several occasions by some voluntary agencies. While 'Mistakes' are made more or less deliberately by subordinate or even higher officials such actions are contrary to prevailing ministerial instructions. Even if an asylum seeker enters French territory in an irregular manner, he should and in normal cases, actually does receive one or more of the afore mentioned documents; *sauf-conduit*, *convocation*, *récépissé de demande de carte de séjour*, *autorisation provisoire séjour*.

Ofpra

It may request supplementary written information. When OFPRA frequently takes its decisions on the basis of written documentation, it may invite the applicant to report for an interview. It is important, therefore that the applicant always keep OFPRA informed of any change of address.

OFPRA must notify its decision to the applicant, as well as to the relevant prefecture, within four months of the deposit of the

duely completed request, If the applicant has not been notified within four months he should inquire with OFPRA if possible with the assistance of a voluntary agency. The matter may have been delayed for incidental administrative reasons.

IF OFPRA recognises an applicant as a refugee, he receives a *certificate de réfugié* (Refugee certificate) which is normally valid for an initial period of three years and is renewable for periods of five years. Dependent minor children may also be recognised as refugees. In fact it is important that the refugee request OFPRA to issue certificates to each of his children under the age of sixteen. The spouse may also be recognised as a refugee unless he/she is a national of a state other than the one in which the refugee has faced persecution.

Service social d'Aide aux émigrants (SSAE), is the French arm of the Geneva based international social service. This has been involved in assisting the immigrant and refugees. This has been subsidised by the State. This gives a special allowance granted by the government to asylum seekers with the temporary resident permit. 1000 FF per adult and 350 per child per month. It is given only to those who are passing through a refugee centre. A refugee may contact SSAE at any stage of his exile and in most cases he will receive personal attention. This organisation is dealing with refugees almost from 80 countries. This can be approached through other organisations too.

In 1979 an association—'The French Tamil Solidarity Association'—was started with the assistance of the *Service Réfugiés de Secours Catholique*, in order to assist these réfugiés from Sri Lanka. Now it is functioning as Tamil coordinating committee.

Numbers

Sri Lankans seeking refuge began arriving in France from 1974 when there were ten arrivals. In 1979 there were 422 arrivals from Sri Lanka. By 1983 there were 10,000 Sri Lankans seeking refuge mostly in Paris and Lyons and by 1985 their number increased to 22,000 - 25,000.

Most of these refugees have been males below the age of forty, but lately from 1983 onwards their families have begun to join them.

Social Welfare

A refugee who has received his provisional documents, and who chooses to live on his own, may according to the merits of his case, receive a subsistence allowance provided from governmental funds through the *service social d'aide aux émigrants* (SSAE) for a period of one to three months, or longer. Such an asylum seeker who chooses to live on his own may also follow French language lessons.

The receipt for request of residence permit, besides mentioning a *demande l'asile* also bears the reference M.O.E. (foreign manpower). With either of these documents and the *reçu de dépôt de demande de statut de réfugié* received from OFPRA, the asylum seeker will obtain a provisional authorisation from the directorate for labour and employment of the department. This authorisation is valid for a period ranging from three to six months and is renewable as long as the request for recognition of refugee status is pending with OFPRA.

Family Members

Asylum is also granted *de jure* to family members (spouse, children, dependent, parents, dependent brothers and sisters) of a refugee, who are admitted to France for reasons of family reunification. It is for the family member to request the necessary visa from the French counsel in the country of departure and for the refugee to provide evidence of accomodation facilities and of sufficient means to support family members whom he wishes to have join him.

Upon arrival in France the family member is issued the receipt for request of residence permit by the relevant *préfecture*. If he wishes his refugee status to be reorganised the receipt will be stamped a *sollcicit l'asile* and the OFPRA procedure should be followed.

Upon delivering a refugee certificate, OFPRA informs the Commissioner where the refugee resides. He issues the latter an orange *carte de résident temporaire* the validity of which can range from between six months to a year. After one year the refugee is entitled to a green *carte de résident ordinaire* which is valid for three years. The last document in this series is the white *carte de résident privilégié* which is valid for ten years and is renewable. The refugee may request this card after he has resided for at least three years without

interruption in France, and provided that he fulfills the administrative conditions otherwise required. With respect to nationality, all residence cards mention the nationality, of the refugee. Upon renewing a refugees *carte de résident*, the *préfecture* subordinates the delivery of the document to the renewal of the OFPRA refugee certificate.

Exceptions

The *bénéficiaire d'asile* and more generally 'Certain aliens who are temporarily or permanently not in a position to obtain a passport from the authorities of their country of origin and who are de facto stateless persons or refugees but may not have the benefit of the 1951 or 1954 convention may be issued as a matter of exception the travel and identity document provided for by the Geneva Conference held from the 23rd August to 2nd September 1927. The document is issued by the relevant *commissaire de la République*, but only after decision by the Minister of the Interior and of Decentralisation. It has a validity of two years but its holder needs an exist or re-entry visa in order to leave or return to France.

Practice of crafts or trade

Aliens, including refugees, need a *carte de commercant étranger* (aliens trade card) to engage in crafts or trades. By administrative practice, refugees and nationals of states with which France has concluded reciprocity agreements may obtain this card without difficulty.

Naturalisation

In order to request French nationality by naturalisation an alien and therefore also a refugee must have resided in the country for 5 years. This period may be reduced to two years in some cases or the requirement may be waived altogether. The naturalisation process is an administrative one which rests with the Minister of the Interior (Through the *commissair de la république*), the Minister of Labour and the Minister of Justice. The procedure involves the usual investigation and last about one year. A French national by naturalisation has the same rights and duties as any other French national but is not eligible to public office during the first ten years.

A number of exiles and de facto refugees from Africa and Asia have acquired French nationality by reintegration (recovery), in their capacity of (FORMER) inhabitants of French territories.

A refugee or other alien born in France may acquire French nationality *de jure* or by making the declaration forseen by law. In this case the procedure is of a judiciary nature. As a rule refugees should seek the advice of their sponsoring agency on naturalisation procedures.

Visits to country of origin

Travel to the country of origin does not automatically entail loss of refugee status. According to ministerial instructions of 31st Oct 1973, travel to the country of origin may be authorised in exceptional cases particularly for humanitarian or family reasons; in such cases it takes place under the cover of *sauf conduit* specially delevared for that journey with a validity normally limited to three months, on which a visa to and fro of equal validity is affixed.

Recent Regulations

A new regulation came into effect on the 17th May 1985 making it easier to get refugee status. The official organ through which such applications will be accepted continues to be the OFPRA, through which applicatons will be sent to the UNCHR. There will be a representative of the UNHCR present at every appeal or hearing of each refugees application for asylum.

The method of applying as follows :

1. Contact the police on arrival and claim refuge. You will be given a one month temporary residence permit which permits your stay but will not permit you to work.
2. During this one month, your duty is to make your application for asylum to the OFPRA
As soon as your application is registered at OFPRA you will receive permission to remain in France until your case is decided. This period of waiting usually lasts upto four months and in some cases it may take much longer, but during this period you can find work in order to support yourself.
3. If you lose your case, you can still make an appeal to the commissioner of the UNHCR.
4. If your appeal is also rejected then you will have to leave the country within one month of notice or face legal action, which may be taken to deport you.

A group of 25 voluntary and other associations who have formed a commission to publicise the situation of refugees in Europe, supports this law and recommends its adoption by all European countries.

This commission which met in Paris to form a body for the dissemination of better information regarding the refugees and their situations, will remain until the end of 1986. The publicity campaign it has launched will cover the whole of Europe,

Organisations helping refugees :

1. CIMADE,
Service Oecumenique D'Entraide,
176, Rue de Grenxelle,
75007 Paris.
2. CARITAS FRANCE,
106 Rue De BAC,
75007 Paris.
3. FRANCE TERRE D'ASILE (FTDA),
416 Passage Louis,
75011 Philippi
Paris.
4. OFPRA
6, Rue Emile Raynaud.
93300 Aubervilliers.
5. THIERRY Quinsat
SSAF
72, Rue Regnault
75013, Paris
6. NATIONAL IMMIG-
RATION OFFICE
44 Rue BarGue,
75015 Paris.
7. SECOURS CATHOLIQUE,
106, Rue De Bac,
75341, Paris
8. MAIRIE DE PARIS,
PARIS TOWN HALL)
Hétel De Vilie,
75004 Paris.
9. SOLIDARITE SRI LANKAN,
22, Rue Milton,
75009, Paris.
10. UNHCR
Branch Office,
159, avenue
Charles-de-Gaulle,
92200, Neuilly-
Sur Seine.

TAMILS IN THE BENELUX COUNTRIES

Asylum Seekers in Belgium

The total number of Sri Lankan Tamils who have applied for refugee status in Belgium is seventy five. These seventy five refugees are not housed together at any particular place and are scattered through out Belgium.

These refugees are provided with 150 Belgian Franks per day in order to meet their living expenses. In addition they are provided with free housing and electricity. The refugees have to find their own rooms and once they have done this the rent is paid directly to the owner by the government.

Asylum seekers are given temporary permits and these are to be renewed every month. A renewed fee of between 40 to 100 Belgian Franks is charged, the rate varying in different Municipalities. They may be issued with work permits once they have received their visa and this work permit has to be renewed along with the visa.

Until 1977 the refugees in Belgium were treated on par with Belgian citizens. They are given 12,500 Belgian Franks per month and were given all the essential freedoms. With the deterioration in the economic situation in 1979 however, the government began to impose restrictions with regard to foreigners. In the same year there was a sudden influx of refugees when the government was requested to take 2000 Vietnamese as invited refugees or as quota refugees. Another 6000 Vietnamese qualified for residence in Belgium under the family re-union scheme.

Between 1979 and 1980, there were 800 Indians, 600 Pakistanis and 300 Guaneses in Belgium. In the year 1979 however Belgium admitted the largest number of refugees as accepted by any European country when it accepted 18,000 of the 36,000 persons who applied for residence as refugees. Following this however, the intake of refugees has been sharply curtailed since the presence of foreigners has started causing anxiety amongst the Belgian people. There is a certain amount of discrimination for Muslim refugees because of their cultural and religious differences.

The asylum seekers come overland from other European countries. They have to find their own accomodation in Belgium, which is not easy. They are not uniformly treated in all over Belgium. The right wing racist tendencies appears to be rising in the political sphere while the liberal left losing ground. This is reflected, for instance, that of the 19 communes in Brussels city, 6 do not accept refugees.

Asylum seekers who apply for refugee status are compelled to follow language classes, and if they fail to attend these classes conducted free of charge, they face cuts in their allowance.

They are also assisted by the CPAS (Social Center for Public Aid) which is a government organisation that helps all the refugees and also aids Belgian citizens who are dependent upon social welfare assistance. Other private social service organisations such as CARITAS, Protestant Social Centre, Red Cross, and ORIENS help the refugees. Health insurance is provided for them. CPAS ensures it that they receive proper clothes ORIENS plays an important role while helping the Phillipinos. it renders yemen service to the Sri Lankans who are in Belgium and who are caught in the transit. This is the only place where Sri Lankans often meet to discuss their day to day problems. This work was initiated by Fr. Du Mortier who was in Sri Lanka as a missionary for 23 years. He assists them on humanitarian grounds and the centre is used for social gatherings for Sri Lankans too.

The presence of a growing refugee population has given rise to various kinds of feelings, amongst the Belgian people, the most prominent of which is the anti-foreigner sentiment. This anti-foreigner stance had led the right wing parties trading in racist sentiments coming to the fore in the political

field. As already mentioned earlier, six communes in Brussels have outrightly refused to accept any refugees. Other communes refuse to take more foreigners than 25% of their population. In 1983, there were strikes and demonstrations and opposition against the presence of the refugees.

Applications for refugee status are increasing especially from Asia and Africa. The increase in the coloured refugee population has given rise to more problems. There has also been a rise in terrorism within the country. Some of the Asian refugees have been involved in trafficking drugs. Some of them have had to be imprisoned. Some refugees had created disturbances at the CARITAS office. Amongst those arrested for illegal activities are both Sinhala and Tamil people from Sri Lanka. With opposition to the presence of refugees growing, the government in June 1985 instructed all foreign missions to desist from employing anyone who did not have a valid visa.

Up to date, 36,000 people have been given refugee status in Belgium.

Belgium has a population of 9.86 million in 1980. It has 3 official languages. Dutch is spoken approximately by 58% of the population in the Flemish region and in Brussels. French is spoken by 41% in the Walloon region and in Brussels. German is spoken by less than 1% in the district of Eupen and Sankt-Vith along the German border. In each region language used in the language of the region.

Useful Addresses

Belgian Red Cross,
Chaussee de Vleurgat 98,
1050 Bruxelles.

Protestant Social Centre,
Rue du Conseil 4,
1050 Bruxelles.

ORIENS,
244 Chaussee de Waterloo,
1060 Bruxelles.

UNHCR Branch Office
11a, rue Van Eyck
1050 Brussels,

Tamilis in the Netherlands

Since the end of the second world war in 1945, thousands of refugees had come over to the Netherlands. Until the 1970s, the inflow of refugees had been mainly from European countries. For instance, there had been large refugee inflows from Hungary in 1956 and from Czechoslovakia in 1968 and in later years, the majority were from Latin America, Africa, Vietnam and Turkey.

The Dutch resettlement intake quota provides for the acceptance of 250 refugees per year. In the past however, Vietnamese boat people were accepted exceeding this quota. Within the context of the present inflow of refugees however, the country is faced with an entirely new phenomenon. The inflow is generally consists of urban educated refugees who are predominantly young single males. Their arrival is also well organised so that as soon as they are present on Dutch soil, their applications for asylum are submitted. Unlike in the case of the refugees who are accepted through the quota system, these refugees arrive without any prior intimation. Their presence often put intense strain upon the refugee support network, which is geared specifically to assist the most helpless of the refugees.

Invited Refugees

There are two types of refugees who are accepted. The first of these groups is known as the "invited or quota refugees". The number of these refugees who will be accepted by the government is decided in consultation with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees since The Netherlands is a signatory to the United Nations convention of refugees 1951.

The invited refugees are housed in reception centres as soon as they arrive. They do not need any documents to prove that they are refugees since their bona fides have already been investigated and established by the UNHCR. The reception centres are run by the Ministry of Welfare, Public Health and Culture which is responsible for the reception and counselling of the refugees during their stay at these centres. The initial reception period lasts for a few weeks only during which the refugees undergo a medical examination and are given a preliminary introduction to the Dutch way of life and also Dutch language lessons.

Once sufficient number of vacant houses have been located within a given municipality, the refugees are allowed to move into the municipality concerned, as a group. The long term reorientation and introduction to the local way of life, proper training in the use of the Dutch language etc., are the responsibility of the respective municipality in which they are housed. The municipalities, known as 'Kerngemeentes'; are allocated the necessary funds for this work through the Ministerial order for Minority Welfare.

Between the years 1946-1984, the total number of refugees was 18,700.

| Country | Year | No. of Refugees |
|--------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Because of the war | 1946-1951 | 5,500 |
| Hungarians | 1956 | 3,300 |
| Asia/Oceania | 1972 | 300 |
| Latin Americans | 1973-1984 | 1,750 |
| Vietnamese | 1975-1984 | 6,400 |
| Polish | 1982 | 100 |
| Iranians | 1984 | 50 |
| Others | | 1,300 |
| Total | 1946-1984 | 18,700 |

These refugees are given the rights of refugees with A-status. By virtue of the article 15 of the Aliens Act, these refugees have the rights and obligations that the Dutch people themselves are governed by. However they do not have to perform military service and they have no voting rights at any elections.

Spontaneous Asylum Seekers

The second group is known as 'individual refugees'. Many people seek refuge in The Netherlands on their own initiative without the prior notification or approval of the UNHCR. These spontaneous asylum seekers are those who have been forced to leave their countries due to fear of persecution for political, or religious activities, or because of their racial identify, language or other factors. Today refugees belonging to one hundred and forty nationalities are in Amsterdam.

Each year, around 2,000 persons seek asylum in the Netherlands. But many of them are denied asylum. The

procedure for applying for asylum is long and complicated. The entire process must be attended to under the psychological pressure or uncertainty as to whether asylum will ultimately be granted or whether all the efforts taken would end in vain. Until the satisfactory completion of the procedure, which takes a long time to complete, the refugees have no right to housing work, or to study.

The only governmental assistance extended for individual asylum seekers is payment of a subsistence allowance. After the formal granting of asylum, the municipality becomes responsible for reception, orientation, counselling and other help.

During the period from 1975 to the first quarter of 1985, 13,304 individuals have sought asylum. In the first quarter of 1985, 2,067 persons had applied for asylum, and 210 cases were pending from the previous year. Out of these persons, only 34 (6.7%) received A-status, 118 (23.2%) received B-Status, 46 (9%) received ordinary resident permits and applications, from 311 persons (61.1%) rejected. The balance cases had been left undecided. The persons given B-status are those who do not qualify under article 15 of the Aliens Act but allowed to stay on humanitarian reasons. Their needs are taken care of. They are also being protected against being returned to their country. They do not however, receive the refugee passport. Instead given the aliens passport in keeping with local passport regulations. This passport must be renewed periodically. Apart from this distinction, those with B-status receive much the same rights as that of those with A-status.

There is also a third category of asylum seekers. The status given to them is similar to the students permit or C-status gives them the right to stay with social assistance and permission to remain for more than a year with housing provided. A few refugees from Sri Lanka have been allowed to stay on the C-Status basis.

Number of Tamils

A new regulation known as the "RVVT (bed-bath-bread) Regulation" has been enforced since 10th April 1985 to regulate the refugees from Sri Lanka. No of refugees from Sri Lanka had been given A- status, 23 were given B- status and 78 granted permits of residence by the Ministry of Justice. The Dutch Ministry is trying to 'expedite' the processing of the cases of refugees.

A good number of cases have already been rejected. Most of the rejected cases have applied for second time.

The present system of individual screening of applications for asylum will however continue in order to satisfy the Dutch citizens who are concerned about the refugees and wish to see that all those who genuinely warrant the granting of refugee status are accepted. This assurance was given to the Dutch people by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Hans van Den Broek (Refugees : OCT. 85, p-42).

A study of the particular case of the refugees from Sri Lanka reveals that they had begun to trickle into the Netherlands after the July 83 holocaust. By August 1984, 325 asylum seeker had applied for refugee status. By March 1985, this number had increased to a little over 3,400, out of this number 2,615 had applied for refugee status.

For a country where the number of casual refugees has been fluctuating around 1,000 annually, the sudden increase to 2,000 in 1983 and to 2,600 in 1984 became more significant. Since a major part of this increase was due to the arrival of 3,400 refugees from Sri Lanka within a short period, this group received a lot of adverse publicity from the public. This led to a corresponding reaction from the Government.

Camps Opened for the Sri Lankan Arrivals

Under the earlier policy, anyone who had applied for refugee status was given social assistance according to the applicant's age. Each individual used to get between 800 to 1,200 guilders per month and was free to choose his place of residence and to purchase all necessary items according to his needs. This system did not create any social problems as the applicants felt that they were being treated equally.

Under the changed policy however, the camp system was introduced with effect from the 10th April 1989. This made the refugees from Sri Lanka feel as though they were being treated differently and undue restriction was being placed upon their freedom. This brought about a lot of frustrations and gave rise to various social evils, which in turn made several of the refugees from Sri Lanka leave the Netherlands to other countries. The author visited the camps in the months of January and February and collected the following statistics.

Camp No. 01

Name and address of the camp : Loolaan 59, P. O. Box. 1184, 7301 BK, Apeldoorn.

This was the first camp started exclusively for the Sri Lankan Tamils on the 4th April 85. The total number of individuals admitted in this camp was 103 of whom 25 are married with their families left in Sri Lanka. The building is situated near the city of Apeldoorn and close to the Queens Palace. Earlier it was used as a Hotel. The people are happy with the accommodation. The owner takes care and attending to their needs. In this area, local contacts are not easy since most of the people residing around this area belong to the upper class. There is no possibility even to look for a part-time labour job since the agricultural lands are far away. The people are assisted by UAF to study Dutch in the Polytechnic school.

Camp No. 02

Name and address of the camp : Callantsoog, Hotel seinpost, Dorpsweg 23, 1759 GG, Callantsoog

This camp is closer to the sea beach. 80 individuals and 3 families with 4 children are in this camp. This used to be as a hotel during the summer season. The houses are well maintained. But there is insufficient heating during winter. There is a possibility for the people here to secure work for about 7 months of the year in the flower fields. The people in this village are very sympathetic towards the refugees. The Catholic priest of this area assists them whenever necessary. Most of the people in this village are members of the Dutch Reformed Church. When there is a shortage of local labour these people assist in the fields. The owner of the hotel, residing in the premises, is very helpful to them.

Camp No. 03

Name and address of the camp : Wijk aan Zee, Voorstraat 42, 1949 BJ, WIJK AAN ZEE.

The total number of individual admitted is 92, of whom about 8 are married. A good number of youngsters are found in this camp. This building was earlier used as a hotel, and located 5

kms from the railway station. There are altogether 33 rooms. In some rooms there are 4 people, in others 3 and 2. They are dissatisfied with the owner of the building and the person appointed by the government to distribute the food items. A little tension was created in this camp where the police has to intervene.

Camp No. 04

Name and address of the camp: Maastricht, Kasteel Vaeshartelt weert, 9, 6222 PG, Maastricht.

The total number of individuals admitted is 96, of whom 15 are married. This camp is little interior and is out of the way from the city. No houses close by. Travelling is very difficult. There are altogether 12 rooms, accommodating 7 to 14 people in each room. It is a very old building with inadequate facilities. It has no separate dining room or visiting hall. Earlier this building was used by the Dutch people as a holiday camp. Even though the owner of the building maintains good relations with the refugees, he is unable to help them much. The camp is over crowded. The people are thoroughly dissatisfied.

Camp No. 05

Name and address of the camp: Hoensbroek, Lotbroekerweg 19, 6433 HZ Hoensbroek,

The total number of individuals admitted in the camp is 88 of whom 25 are married. The total number of rooms in the camp is 36. 2-3 people occupy each room. It is a very old building. This camp was started in 29.5.85. There is not enough space in the kitchen. One washing machine available often goes out of order. The people of this area are very sympathetic towards them. A Dutch priest living close to the camp who had lived in the Northern part of Sri Lanka for 18 years visits this camp twice a month. The camp is not far away from the railway station. 36 refugees have opted to study Dutch language from 24.2.86. Classes are conducted in 2 groups for 3 days a week, ie; 7½ hours a week. This is organised by the University Assistant Fund from UTRECHT.

Camp No. 06

Name and address of the camp: Asseltsestraat 57-59, 6071 BS SWALMEN, ASSELT. This camp was opened on 1st July, 1985. The total number of individuals admitted in the camp is 43, of whom 7 are married.

There are 10 separate buildings used earlier as tourist centre during the summer season. The buildings are in very good condition. About 4-5 people stay in each building. All the necessary facilities are available. The camp is situated in a small village close to Roomond city. The people of the area are friendly with the refugees. No school facilities are available in this area. UAF is planning to assist these people to learn Dutch. One boy was drowned while swimming in the canal nearby. The body was sent home with the assistance of other refugees.

Camp No. 07

Name and address of the camp-(a) Grooths, 6301 Ev Nieuweweg 52, Valklen Burk Netherlands (b) Grooths 6301 Ev Nieuweweg 31 Valklen Burk, Netherlands.

Earlier the camp where they stayed at Grevenbicht was burnt by accident. From there they were shifted to the present camp on 20.1.86. Now they are staying in 2 places close to each other. There are 20 individuals housed at No. 52 consisting of 8 families with a total of 4 children.

There is a common bathroom and kitchen in the camp at No. 52 and common utensils for cooking. This creates a lot of problems in the camp. In the other camp on the same street at No. 31, there are 2 families with 5 children, a brother and sister, and a single girl totally 12 people. In this camp each family has separate room, kitchen and bathroom.

Camp No. 08

Name and address of the camp-Lochemseweg 37, 7244 RR Barchem.

It is little out of the city. About 96 members are accommodated among them are 2 families. It is over crowded. Other necessary facilities are lacking, specially bathrooms and toilet facilities.

Camp No. 09

Name and address of the camp-Kastanjelaan 24-26, 6828 GM Arnhem.

It is located in heart of the city. About 32 members are house in this camp. The kitchen is too small. Very old building and repairs are going on every day. Out of 4 toilets, 2 are always out of order.

Camp No. 10

Name and address of the camp-Groningerstraat 107, 9402 LA Assen.

It has about 90 members. Bedroom facilities are very poor. 10 beds are accommodated in one room. No carpets for the floor, No proper kitchen facilities. Visitors' hall is converted into bedroom.

Camp No. 11

Name and address of the camp-Veerkenweg 13, 4751 CR Oud Gastal.

The room conditions are very bad. Very difficult to get hot water facilities. There is a regular checking of the rooms by the person incharge. People are thoroughly dissatisfied with the place. There was an incident where police had to intervene. About 100 members are residing here. A few families are accommodated.

Camp No. 12

Name and address of the camp-Vakantie, Conferentieoord Jeugdland, Zutphensestraatweg 9, 6955 AC Ellecom.

It is located a little out of the city. About 55 people are in the camp. Situation here is the same as the other camps.

In all there are 45 Sri Lankan refugee families in the Netherlands. At the end of December 1985, about 1,250 refugees from Sri Lanka had applied for refugee status in Netherlands. Of this number, 980 persons were in the 12 camps scattered throughout the Netherlands. Those in the camps are given the facilities classified under the general heading "bed-bath-bread". The facilities provided vary from camp to camp. In general following amenities have been provided :

1. Food items
2. Toilet goods
3. Other necessary things connected with bed-bath-bread.

4. 20 guilders per week as pocket money.
5. 150 guilders once in three months for clothes
6. 200 grams meat and 150 grams vegetables once in two days.
7. Change of bed sheets once a week.

In the month of March, the Dutch Parliament being very unhappy about the living conditions of refugees from Sri Lanka, asked the government for an immediate change in their situation and called for an end to the camp system. This suggestion was welcomed by the refugees who hoped that they would once again be given the same types of welfare assistance as extended to others and be allowed to live as they chose in the same way that other refugees were permitted to. This issue was to be taken up by the Parliament on the 12th March 1986 but it was postponed first to the 11th April and then to 23rd April.

Protest from the Tamils

Representatives of the CDA, VVD (Dutch ruling parties at the time) said that the present cabinet should make the decision to abolish the bed-bath-bread regulation that was being applied to refugees from Sri Lanka. On the 13th April after the Parliamentary debate, they decided to continue the bed-bath-bread system. Following this decision, according to the national paper *De Volkskrant*, on the 23rd April, two camps, Ellecom and Wijkaan Zee were destroyed by fire and there were disturbances in other camps as well. The destruction continued on the 24th and 84 refugees from Sri Lanka, went on a hunger strike in Hoens Broek. On the 25th April, 40 refugees in Lochem went on a hunger strike.

Following this, Minister Brinkman sent a letter to all the Tamil refugees, saying that he was disappointed and shocked about the destruction and asking them to respect legal order. The head of the health department of WVC however said the Netherlands does not treat them properly and that Europe in general displays negligence in the way it treats refugees. Since the head of the Health Department is under the control of Minister Brinkman he hastened to say that he does not agree with what the head of his health department had said.

Since the beginning of 1986 itself the Association of Dutch municipalities had asked for a consultation with Brinkman (WVC),

De Korte (international Affairs), Kortevan Hamel (Law) and Kappeyne van de Copello (Social Department) on the issue of Sri Lankan refugees. Initially the departments had not agreed for the consultation, but on the 28th April, it turned up unexpectedly for a meeting with this association. The municipalities asked for understanding the cause for the aggression of the refugees saying that it was due to the isolation forced upon them by the government. 89 refugees from Sri Lanka housed at Apeldoorn camp, appealed to the people of Apeldoorn for understanding the cause for their actions. In Assen, 100 Tamil refugees held a demonstration in front of the town hall. Refugees in Heerlen and Oud Gastel also went on a hunger strike.

On the 1st May, *De Volkskrant* published an article, written by Mr. Florin of VVN in which he explained the grievance of the Tamil refugees and their situation here. In this article, he objects to the plans of Mr. Brikman to extend the bad-bath-bread regulations which he said were a total failure. His alternative suggestion was that the municipalities should find vacant houses for accommodating the refugees and the government should pay money to provide the necessities of living

Some of the underlined reasons for these protests are as follows;

1. The Sri Lankan refugees in particular have been kept in isolation in camps over a long period. This has resulted in frustration, mental agony and tension
2. Most of the adults are unmarried and separated from their family members and are not effectively engaged in any occupation. This situation has added to their frustration.
3. While remaining in this state of tension, they are hearing the untold misery and atrocities frequently inflicted on the Tamils staying in their homeland by the security forces of the Government of Sri Lanka. The people who have come over to this country are the bread winners for the family. Now in their absence, their family members would suffer even for their subsistence. This pathetic situation has accelerated their feeling of animosity towards the Government of Sri Lanka.
4. The camp system has separated the refugees from coming together as the distance between the camps is too far requiring a large amount of money to travel to other camps but they do not have the money for this purpose.

5. Excepting for a few camps like Apeldoorn, Asselt and Callantscoog, the living conditions provided in other camps are far from satisfactory. Overcrowding, unhygienic living conditions, risk of gas leaking, insufficient storage facilities, inadequate bathroom and washing facilities, want of hot water, etc. are adding up to their problem.
6. In regard to food, they should eat what they get. Vegetarians are also treated like others. Even the infants had to depend upon the food served for the adults.
7. The allowance given to meet the clothing requirements to protect themselves against the cold weather they are not accustomed, is highly inadequate. As a result, in this weather they are not able to maintain proper health.
8. The amount of pocket money to meet the other incidental expenses like hair cutting, occasional travel, is also inadequate.

In some camps the WVC employee or the housemaster could realise and appreciate the difficulties of these people and cooperate with them. But this is not the case in other camps. In one camp, WVC employee was responsible for creating the tension.

Press and the Tamils

On the 3rd May, three letters of readers were published in *De Volkskrant* under the heading "Aggression of Tamils." One letter from an anthropologist explains why outbursts of aggression are often seen from refugees in general and under what kind of situations they do or do not develop. According to him, one of the most important studies made in this field is from S. Keller, 'Uprooting and social change' (1975) which is about the refugees in Punjab. The same newspaper had one page article about refugees in Netherlands, stressing the tremendous difference in the treatment accorded to invited and uninvited refugees. Following this publicity there was to be a consultation between 12 municipalities which have refugees from Sri Lanka within their limits and a cabinet delegation consisting of Brinkman, Korte van Heme (Law) Ruding (Finance) and Brokz (Housing). In the meantime, 27 persons from four of the hostels accommodating refugees from Sri Lanka were arrested and the refugees in these hostels had to be moved to temporary accommodation since the hostel buildings had been seriously damaged.

Mr. Wiebengce of the Dutch liberal party said, 'It must be spelt out to the Tamils in big letters that here in Holland we are accustomed to use arguments rather than bricks and torches to push home our opinions.' The damage caused to the buildings housing the refugees in the course of this protest action launched by the Tamils against the manner in which they were being given discriminatory treatment instead of being given the same facilities as extended to other refugees was estimated to be over five million guilders. Four national morning dailies carried editorials condemning the behaviour of these Tamils. The Protestant Amsterdam newspaper '*Trouw*' said that this action by the Tamils had done them no good and would cause them further problems.

WVC asked Mr. A. J. Gortworst of the St. Nicholas group to bring these Tamils from the various centres together for a discussion in the ministry building. This meeting succeeded in giving these refugees the feeling that the government was taking interest in their situation and so the violence and hunger strikes were called off. The WVC promised to take quick action on the proposals for both short and long term improvements in the camps. On television, one of these refugees from Sri Lanka apologised for the violence and said that it was not the kind of thing that should have been done. The problem itself, however, is still not completely solved as it will be difficult for the WVC to find new accommodation. It is proposed that meetings between the WVC and the refugees be held every month so that the WVC can explain the policy of the government to them directly in order to prevent any undue misunderstanding arising.

The role of the voluntary organisations

In the Netherlands, a number of voluntary organisations with different functions assist the refugees. Almost all these organisations have taken up the stand that the situation in Sri Lanka is not safe for the Tamils to live even in the South. The names of these organisations are;

VVN, SOCIAL PASTRAL WORK GROUP, CEBEMO, UNHCR, AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, SRI LANKA WORK GROUP, NOVIB, CARITAS NEERLANDICE, DUTCH INTER CHURCH AID, THE DUTCH EMBASSY in Sri Lanka etc. They have submitted a memorandum to the Government listing all the problems the Sri Lankan refugees are facing in the camps and pleaded before the Government to grant at least 'B' - status to the refugees.

The University Assistance Fund (UAF) is engaged in organising classes in Dutch language and to direct the people to the poly-technical schools despite the Government policy which does not assist these people to learn the Dutch language or any other useful skills. In the seminar on the Restrictive Asylum Policy in Europe in Netherlands held from 16th-18th of January 85, where 35 voluntary organisations from 13 West European countries concerned with refugees were present, these organisations too condemned the role of the Dutch Government. The Social Pastral Work Group and VVN (Dutch Refugee Association) have regular meetings with the representatives of the camps to see to their needs. It is those voluntary groups whom the Government has been forced to turn to for assistance is solving the situation of protests whenever they arise.

Role of the Dutch Government

The refugees in Netherlands come under the following 3 Ministries:

1. Ministry of External Affairs
2. Ministry of Justice
3. Ministry of Welfare and Culture. (WVC)

The Ministry of External Affairs from the time of arrival of Sri Lankan refugees from 1983 up to now, maintains the idea that innocent Tamils are not persecuted in Sri Lanka if not for the periodic incidents & believes whatever interpretation is given by the Sri Lankan Government. On 17th January 1985, they had secretly deported 45 Tamils who arrived at Sehiphol Air Port on their way to East Berlin. The Dutch government, without allowing them to continue their journey, deported these people to Sri Lanka without the knowledge of the Dutch people. Tamils are intercepted at the Dutch German Frontier and sent back to West Germany even if there is no evidence that they had made an asylum request there or stayed in Federal Republic of Germany for a longer period. The explanation of the Dutch Government as to why it had negated the UNHCR requested not to send back Tamils to Sri Lanka and above all, why it had interfeared with travellers who are in transit, was vague and unsatisfactory. There is the feeling that they were acting in consultation with authorities of West Germany in a joint attempt to close the East Berlin loop-hole.

Due to the gradual increase of the refugees from 1983 to 1985 March and the pressure applied by the few voluntary organisations to give refugee status to the Tamils who have applied, they

deputed an official delegation to Sri Lanka to investigate whether the Tamils were really being persecuted and to see whether these refugees could be returned to Sri Lanka. The team was in Lanka from April 21st to 28th. The delegation, after investigation, accepted that the situation in the North and East was not safe for the Tamils, but concluded that they could live in the South of Sri Lanka. This conclusion was strongly opposed by the voluntary organisations in the Netherlands.

Our Appeal to the government

1. Accord due recognition to the real situation in Sri Lanka as reported in the UNHCR report and as revealed by the study done by independent non-governmental groups. To solve the problems of the refugees, the government should study in depth the root cause of the problems. For the good of all the people in Sri Lanka, they must exert pressure on the Sri Lankan government through the imposition of economic or other sanctions towards solving the problems in Sri Lanka and must take up the full responsibility for this action.

2. The Ministry of Justice should identify all refugees who have applied for refugee status and grant them at least B-status until such time the situation in the country returns to normal.

It must stop the camp system and give the refugees the freedom to move about and to study or to work wherever possible. So that they can be easily rehabilitated when they go back to their own country. The present social evils that are taking place occasionally amongst the refugees will stop if their living condition are made pleasant in your country. If this is not done, the amount of 54.86 guilders spent per person a day will not be a useful contribution to these people. We again appeal to the new government to stop the camp system because of the complication it has created and to accept these people as refugees so that they will be able to live in your country at least for some time with basic rights and amenities.

Sri Lankan Refugees in Luxembourg

The tiny Duchy of Luxembourg, with an area of only 999 Sq. Miles, is one of the original signatories to the UN Convention on refugees of 1951 and to its additional protocol of 1967. At present there are over 400 refugees in the country, the largest group amongst them being the Vietnamese followed by refugees from Chile and those from Iran. There are very few Sri Lankan refugees in this country.

Applications for asylum are dealt with on an individual basis. Each applicant has to prove his eligibility for asylum. This is partly due to the restrictions being placed on the granting of asylum in all other European countries.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs determines the eligibility for according refugee status after investigating each application that is brought before it. The investigation is done by the national authorities in consultation with the Ministry of Justice. The decision is based on two important factors. The first is that of the country of original asylum since the applicant may be sent back to this country. The second factor is the production of adequate evidence to prove that the applicant faced persecution and threats to his personal safety in his country of origin.

Assistance to the refugees is handled by private associations set up in conjunction with the government and the Red Cross. Integration of the refugees is difficult because of the language factor. The language spoken is Letzeburgeoeh which is a German dialect spoken but without any script. The country's two official languages are French and German as a result one has to study all the three languages,

DUTCH REFUGEE ASSOCIATION
3e Hugo de Grootstraat 7,
1052 LJ AmsterUam.

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F. C. Dondersstraat 16,
3572 JH Utrecht.

MINISTRY OF JUSTICE,

Schedeldoekshaven 100,
2511 EX Ded Haag'

UNHCR BRANCH OFFICE,
Standhouderslaan 28
2517 HZ The Hauge.

**MINISTRY OF WELFARE
(WVC)**
Steenvoordelaan 370,
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**INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL
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TAMILS IN SWITZERLAND AND ITALY

Switzerland has been a traditional sanctuary especially for those from Western Europe, and it has for long enjoyed the reputation of being a liberal non-racist nation. Thousands of European youths in the post-war-years chose to make Switzerland their home.

The arrival of coloured refugees from Asia and Africa has given rise to strong opposition from the right wing Neo-Fascist Political Organisation which have political ideologies strongly tinged with racism. This is causing a considerable straining of the country's image as a liberal non-racist nation. The government is torn by conflicting interests of desiring to uphold these noble and cherished characteristics and on the other hand of responding to the demands of the people, most of whom are unaware of the reasons behind the inflow of refugees. They are, however, keenly aware of the threat that the presence of these refugees poses to their own economic security and stability and hence these people fall an easy prey to the Neo-Fascist right wing political organisations which advocate a hard and unyielding line of totally barring the entry of coloured refugees.

These right wing organisations project an image of the coloured refugees as basically insincere persons with a mercenary outlook who claim refugee status mainly in order to obtain access to the relatively secure and economically higher standard of living obtainable in Switzerland. This misinformation coupled with the lack of proper and systematic information on the situation obtaining in the homeland of these refugees is leading to a rising tide of racial prejudice directed against the coloured refugees in Switzerland.

The culture shock suffered by the refugees finds its counterpart in the shock suffered by the locals when confronted with the presence of coloured Asians in their midst, and when they find that these Asians live according to traditional Asian values and life-style that are totally alien to their own. The resulting tension and suspicion is often exploited by right wing factions in order to fan the flame of racial prejudice aimed against the coloured refugees and their presence amidst Switzerland's large Caucasoid population,

Number of refugees

From the early eighties, Switzerland had coped with a growing influx of Asian and African refugees who arrived in the country and sought political asylum. In 1976, a mere 853 applications for asylum were recorded but the number had swelled to 7,435 by the year 1984. In July 1985, 1,000 applications for asylum were filed with the authorities, and in August, 1985 a further 900 applications were filed. In September, 1,073 more applications were received and 1,200 were received in October 1985. The total number of applications for asylum received in 1985 were between 9,000 and 10,000.

Asylum seekers tend to concentrate in the large cities. In Bern for instance, there is a large gathering of Sri Lankan Tamils, whereas Africans, are concentrated in Geneva and Fribourg. Zurich is host to a large number of Chilean refugees. Turkish refugees are found more in Basel.

With 67 refugees for every 10,000 local inhabitants, Switzerland has the highest concentration of refugees amongst the European countries. The total foreign population of Switzerland as at the end of 1983 was 1,152,502 out of which 32,312 were refugees who had been granted asylum. These refugees, however, constitute only 2.8% of the total foreign population.

Legal Provisions

Switzerland's Asylum Act of 1979 was revised for the first time in 1984. Under this revision, the attractiveness of life in Switzerland was played down without detracting from the fundamental issue of political asylum. The revision dealt with three points as follows :

1. Candidates can no longer make an appeal against the decisions regarding their applications.

2. The Federal Police is no longer obliged to interview an asylum seeker in person once it is established that the request is clearly unfounded.
3. If the request for asylum is refused, the federal police may at the same time decide to deport the applicant from Switzerland.

The Tamil asylum seekers have been permitted to remain in Switzerland temporarily until further notice.

Tamil Refugees

Of the 22,000 refugees as in 1985, Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka were 2,000. Besides these refugees, there were also about 200 Tamils in Switzerland as immigrant workers. All these 2,000 Sri Lankan refugees have applied for political asylum but upto the end of 1984 only one Tamil had been granted asylum. Even this one case, according to Amnesty International, was due to an administrative error! By the end of 1985 there were about 3,500 Tamil refugees in Switzerland, spread out over the country except for Geneva.

The Tamil refugees in Switzerland are facing many hardships. Most of their applications for asylum have been rejected after making individual inquiries. The officials maintain that the Tamil refugees have come to Switzerland for economic reasons, that their claims are manifestly unfounded and that their presence in Switzerland is taking away money that should rightly be spent on the Swiss people. During the inquiry, the refugees were asked questions in such a manner that whatever the answer, it will definitely lead to the rejection of their applications. Some of the refugees have been asked whether they have involved in terrorist activities and those who have been arrested have been asked to describe the colour of the building in which they were detained. Most of the refugees were asked why they did not go to India instead of coming to Switzerland.

A few of the Tamil refugees have been deported, due to their involvement in anti-social activities which have created problems for the local people. The presence of the rest of the refugees will be grudgingly tolerated until such time the government decides to repatriate them. The decision not to deport them is largely due to the fact that the UNHCR issued a statement on the 12th October 1984, urging the Swiss government to take stock of

the dangers facing the Tamils in Sri Lanka. The Swiss Centre for Aid to refugees had also appealed to the European parliament in Stroasbourg on behalf of the refugees. Despite this grudging permission to remain having been granted, the Swiss officials continue to harass the Tamill refugees by tapping their telephone conversations and opening their mail. Sometimes their official documents are taken away from them as well.

Policy of the Host Government

The Federal Council of Switzerland had sent a team to Sri Lanka from the 11th to 20th August 1984 to assess the security situation of the Tamil community. On the basis of the report of the commission, the Federal Council of Switzerland announced on the 1st October 1984 that all Sri Lankan Tamils seeking asylum in this country would be sent back.

Switzerland's Red Cross chief, Kurt Balligne, visited Sri Lanka on the 20th October 1984 in order to make arrangements with the Sri Lankan Red Cross to facilitate the return of Sri Lankan refugees from Switzerland and see that they are properly resettled. Two important people on the team were Switzerland's Federal Officer of Police, Mr. Peter Hes, and the Director of refugees, Mr. Urs Wdern.

Thomas Bernhart of Amnesty International protested against the decision to send the Tamil refugees back. He emphasised the fact that the Tamils were in great danger in Sri Lanka and pleaded that they should not be sent back. On the other hand the Sri Lankan Minister for National Security issued a statement on behalf of the Islands's government saying that all refugees returning from Switzerland may be arrested if found to be withholding information. Labour M.P, Jeramy Corbyix said " 'I do not accept that it is safe to return Tamils to Sri Lanka and I am horrified that the Home Secretary Leon Brittain is effectively preventing proper consideration of asylum cases." One of the Swiss officials resigned over the issue of three Sri Lanka Tamils being deported to Sri Lanka.

According to Elizebeth H. Kopf, Swiss Federal Councillor and head of the Federal Department of Justice with the arrival of the Tamils from Sri Lanka in Switzerland was faced with the problem of minorities this time originating from the third world. Lack of awareness of this problem is one of the main reasons which provoked hostile reactions from part of the population. (Refugees; August 1985 p. 43). The Head of Switzerland's Department of

Justice, however, conveniently sidestepped the official policy of harassment and rejection of asylum applications in a very contrived manner; which policy still continues!

The harassment of Sri Lankan Tamils is not an isolated phenomenon for it can be seen that while white European refugees from the East European countries fleeing communist regimes were gladly accepted by the Swiss government, black and coloured refugees from the developing world who are fleeing due to tyrannical capitalist governments are being harassed and rejected by the Swiss government clearly revealing that there is a definite pattern behind the refugee policy of this country. In Secbeach near Zurich, for instance, 52 Chileans who had sought asylum but they were being threatened with deportation. Consequently took refuge in a parish home where they and 20 Swiss Nationals started a hunger strike. Other Parishes have followed their example. Private individuals too have begun to clandestinely offer refuge to other applicants threatened with expulsion making it clear that the 'lack of awareness' of the problems of the third world does not seem to have played such a prominent role in provoking the hostile reaction on the part of the people as has the government's own policy towards the refugees.

In another operation whose racist undertones surface in its very name 'Black Autumn' on the 3rd November 1985, 59 Zairians were sent back to Kinshasa in an aircraft chartered by the Swiss government. This even provoked a veritable storm of protest from the Swiss people who demanded for adaption of more humanitarian asylum policies. This storm of protest far exceeded even the worst of the Neo-Fascists racist campaigns which demonstrates clearly that the Swiss people are in no way unaware of the problems of the people of third world as claimed by Federal Councillor and head of the Swiss Department, Elizebeth H. Kopf. Once again it shows quite clearly that it is the Swiss government and not the Swiss people that is out to harass the refugees and stir up racist sentiments in order to turn the people against the presence of foreigners so that its own failure to deal with the basic economic problem of unemployment will be blacked out by a blinding wave of irrational racist sentiments a course of action commonly adapted by bankrupt third world regimes such as, for instance, the Sri Lankan government.

Osar

The Swiss Central Office for Aid to refugees declared 15th June 1985 as "Refugee day" and organised cultural festivals

where the refugees from different countries could display their traditional cultural forms and explain their values. The OSAR celebrated its 50th anniversary on the 14th June 1986.

Propaganda

Television Swiss Romade, on the 2nd December 1985, transmitted a film titled 'Visa Pour Nulle Part'. This film was welcomed by many as it came at a time of growing xenophobia arising out of the government's restrictive policies regarding refugees. The purpose of this film was educational, aimed at making people aware of the problem of the refugees and to obtain finance for their physical survival.

A new journal, 'Refugee Law' has been published by the Swiss Central Office for refugee Aid. This journal contains detailed articles on recent refugee issues in Switzerland such as how asylum seekers find illegal entry, the lifting of the ban on the deportation of Tamil refugees, the revision of the laws of asylum and so on. Here too it can be shown that it is the official policy of the government that encourages the xenophobic attitude amongst the people which the government then cites as justification for its increasingly harsh policies towards the black and coloured refugees from the third world.

Camps

The refugees are confined in camps. Many of the Sri Lankans are being sheltered in the refugee camps in Bern. The government provides a cash dole of 800 SF. In one of the camps the kind of food supplied is much against the wishes of the refugees who have their own dietary preference since they come from the third world where food is quite different from what preparations consumed in Europe.

The camps that are run by the Salvation Army do not have enough facilities such as toilets, and living space. The author had the opportunity* of visiting the camps several times in 1984 and found that these establishments resembled in all respects some form of concentration camps.

Security is rigidly maintained. Visitors have to produce their identity cards or passports before being granted permission to enter the camps. Social service agencies which are willing and able to assist these refugees are prevented from doing so.

by the government which can thus again be seen as the prime force behind the harassment of the refugees. The camps that are run by the Red Cross, however, are far different. They are a little away from the city and have enough facilities to serve their inmates. The inmates in these camps are very appreciative of the working of the Red Cross.

As there is no common place where the people from Sri Lanka to meet, and no formal organisational structure under which they can do so in an orderly manner, they often congregate on the railway station at Bern. At such times there are so many of them together that the appearance is given of one being in any large Tamil city in Sri Lanka.

Sociological Effects

While this restricted existence on a cash dole without proper facilities to earn an independent livelihood and mix and integrate with the local population can be tolerated for short periods of time but to remain in the situation for two years and more is well nigh intolerable. The strain of this forced idleness is made worse by the ever present fear of sudden deportation. The stress generated thus leads to various social evils such as infighting and drunkenness amongst some of the inmates of the refugee camps. Such social evils are sometimes given undue publicity by the media, thus creating further resentment amongst the local citizenry as a result slogans such as 'Foreigners get out' are frequently seen scribbled on the walls along the sidewalk.

One such media blitz against the refugees was based on an alleged incident of rape where nine refugees were alleged to have raped a mentally retarded women. The judge who heard the case, however, himself expressed doubts as to the accuracy of the allegation due to the incoherence in the woman's testimony. The truth of the matter was probably well expressed by one of the accused as follows, 'We do not deny that the incident took place but it was not rape. The truth is that she was our friend and she came to the camp voluntarily as any other of our girl friends do.'

Procedures relating to refugees

The matters concerning of the refugees are attended to by the Federal Police Office of each Canton. The UNHCR headquarters is based in Geneva.

Asylum is normally refused in the following cases :

1. The asylum seeker has stayed in another country for over 20 days.
2. If it appears that the applicant has already found asylum or protection elsewhere.
3. If the applicant cannot prove his fear of persecution or serious prejudice Asylum procedures may take as long as two years to complete and during this time the applicant is not allowed to travel about without permission. The principle of family reunification between a refugee and his spouse and minor children is recognised by asylum law

General Observations

The future of the Sri Lankan refugees in Switzerland is at stake since the problem in the Island instead of far from receding is increasing in intensity day by day. Since the duration of these refugees stay in Switzerland is likely to be prolonged, additional arrangements and facilities along the following lines will have to be provided :

1. With regard to the governments difficulty in finding out adequate space to accomodate these persons, arrangements will have to be made to distribute them evenly amongst the several Cantons in smaller and more easily manageable groups.
2. Since Switzerland has a relatively low unemployment rate of only 1%, these persons can be allowed to seek employment.
3. A residence permit can be issued to them on a annually renewable basis until they are able to return to their country so that they can freely move about. This will help to break down the cultural barriers, fears and distrust of the local population.
4. The gradual dismantling of the camp system and substituting this facility with means by which they can gradually move out and set up house on their own.
5. The voluntary agencies must be helped to organise vocational training and other training course.

6. Provisions must be made to keep the refugees desiring to pursue higher education.
7. All applications must be provided with the necessary facilities and encouraged to follow language courses according to the needs of the area, in which they are housed.
8. These people must be given access to a town hall or other centralised community centre where they can gather at least once a month to exchange information regarding their condition and progress, as well as to disseminate news regarding the political progress made towards settlement of the crisis in their country.
9. Counselling services should be arranged in languages that they are familiar with, in order to help prevent the building up of undue stress generated by their alienated situation.
10. Since these asylum seekers are going to be sent back to their homeland once the political crisis in that land is solved, it will ultimately be in the interest of the Swiss people and their government to build up creative and healthy relations with these people who will carry with them an image of the country of their exile, which image may well determine the economical and political relations of their two peoples in the future.

Organisations dealing with the refugees

| | |
|---|--|
| Swiss Central Office for Aid to Refugees, Kinkelstrasse 2, 8006 Zurich. | Amnesty International, Monbihoustrasse 26, 3001 Bern |
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| Caritas, Lowenstrasse 3, 6002 Luzern. | Christlicher Friedensdienst Falkenhoheweg 8, 3012 Bern. |
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Suisse HEKS,
Forchstrasse 282,
8008 Zurich.

Sri Lankans In Italy

Italy is party to the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 refugee protocol with the geographical limitation which stipulates that only refugee from Europe may benefit from the provisions of the convention. Refugees originating from non-European countries fall under the UNHCR's mandate and Italy is not bound to extend to them the benefits of the 1951 convention. A non-European refugee may be considered a refugee under the mandate of the UNHCR provided he opts for resettlement in a third country. Non-European refugees arriving directly from their country of origin may in accordance with the Italian legislation be refused entry. However it adheres to the principle of not deporting any refugees which it recognises as a general principle of public international law. Non-European refugees are tolerated in Italy though the Italian authorities promote all possible steps to limit the influx of non-European refugees. If they are not under the protection of the UNHCR, they risk expulsion by the police to the frontiers of neighbouring European countries or to the country of origin. The refugees accepted by UNHCR are given an identity document and a provisional sojourn permit pending resettlement abroad. They are also entitled to an Italian aliens passport (green colour) in order to emigrate or in cases of special need. The majority of the non-European asylum seekers live in most precarious conditions without residence or work permits and without social security, medical assistance or adequate legal protection. The voluntary agencies assist the refugees who come under the UNHCR mandate. Refugees who have been issued an ordinary alien resident permit for instance for study purpose may participate in the Italian health insurance scheme.

Some of the European asylum seekers are in the camp at Latina. This centre has 5 identical one storey block, up to 6 beds in one room. The inmates are exposed to stifling in Summer and freezing in Winter. Bachelors' quarters are dirty and neglected. The canteen in this camp provides 3 meals a day. The food is good, hot and plentiful. Almost everyday at 1 p. m., 700 refugees que with plates and tray. There is a church and each ethnic group has its own priest. For almost all of them, Italy stepping stone, a bridge sometimes illusory towards America, Canada, Australia, Scandanevia or Switzerland. Many are exhausted by waiting here without hope. In 1984, 528 asylum seekers vanished from the camp. Some of them left Italy and some others are in the black labour. In 1985 2,647 asylum seekers had arrived and 1,310 immigrated. From January to middle of July 1986 1,954 arrived. This camp can no longer accommodate additional arrivals of refugees and the position in the camp at Capua is the same. The new arrivals are directed to pensions and boarding houses : 4 in Rome, 1 at Mentana, 6 at Latina, and 1 at Cisterna.

In the year 1984 the number of European origin accepted as refugees was 390. Under the UNHCR mandate further 1,069 were accepted. In 1915, 225 and 596 refugees respectively were accepted. Out of this only a very few were Tamils accepted and under the UNCHR mandate. According to our information so far only two come under the category. There are approximately 400 Tamils in Italy without any documents. There are also about 600 Sinhalese who are mostly engaged as house maids.

Visa requirements for Sri Lankans were introduced only from 1981. There are number of foreigners without any legal document. Unless there are serious crisis where foreigners are involved the police takes no serious action. Most of the people apply themselves to black labour and marginal work-working in the restaurants, or in the houses or in plucking fruits and potato lifting earn in between 200-250 US \$ per month; in some places with food and lodging provided. But there are no other forms of assistance. There is no future for these Sri Lankans in Italy, Some people use Italy only as a transit point.

ASYLUM SEEKERS IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES

The Nordic countries are Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Iceland. All of them have signed the United Nations Convention on refugees of 1951 but with certain reservations. The Nordic countries themselves have signed a convention under which any refugee moving from one Nordic country to another will be returned to the Nordic country where he first entered. The refugee will be obliged to apply for asylum or refugee status from this first Nordic country he enters. This returning of the refugee to the first Nordic country he enters should be effected without delay and definitely within a year of his entering another Nordic country; according to the provisions of the convention. Each Nordic state retains the right to check the passports at its borders with the other Nordic countries. Foreigners have been advised to obtain separate visas for entry to each Nordic country they intend to visit. Up to the end of 1985, 18,000 have received the refugee status in the Nordic countries.

Iceland

Iceland is the Northern most of the Nordic countries and it is an Island. Due to its geographical location, very few refugees arrive spontaneously on its shores. However it has accepted 50 Vietnamese boat people and their families. So far no Sri Lankan has sought refuge in Iceland.

Denmark

In June 1983, the Danish parliament adopted a new Aliens Act, which in terms of refugee law, has been described as unique in Europe. This Act has abolished the laws regarding prescreening for asylum seekers. It has established a special refugee appeal board to which all negative decisions made by the authorities

can be filed and the asylum seeker can be represented by a lawyer of his choice. The commission provided for is independent, and is composed of seven members. The Act also provides for the granting of refugee status on humanitarian grounds to both de facto and refugees as well as those covered by the convention if the reasons given in support of their claim to refugee status are insufficient to warrant the granting of the same. Under the provisions of this Act, this power to grant asylum is vested in the Ministry of Justice.

According to the new law, no asylum seeker can be turned away at the border. The number of refugees, especially from Iran, Iraq, Sri Lanka and Lebanon has risen dramatically since the liberalisation of Denmark's immigration law in 1983. These refugees are arriving spontaneously at the Danish border in order to seek asylum. Numerous refugee groups whose exodus is more or less clandestinely organised via East Germany, also head forwards Denmark. In fact, about 2/3 of the refugees wishing to enter Denmark arrive by boat from Gadger having embarked at Warnemunde in East Germany, and they bear transit visas issued by the East German authorities.

At the end of 1985, in an attempt to reduce the number of asylum seekers, the Danish and Swedish governments arrived at an understanding with the German Democratic Republic. According to this understanding, the East German government would issue transit visas to nationals from various countries in the Middle East and Asia, who wish to proceed to Denmark or to Sweden only if they are already in possession of entry visas to one of these countries.

Economic Provisins

According to the alien's office a budget, a sum of 250 million Danish Crowns has been set aside for refugee assistance for the year 1986. According to the Ministry of Social Affairs, each refugee admitted costs the State 120,000 Danish Crowns during the 18 month period of integration. (1 US Dollar=9.1 Danish Crowns) In addition to the direct State aid provided for the refugees, the government has also entrusted private voluntary agencies; and among them especially the Danish Refugee Council and the Danish Red Cross; with the task of attending to the reception and integration of refugees in Denmark.

Number of Refugees

There are refugees from some thirty to forty nations in Denmark and amongst them are Sri Lankans too. The majority of these refugees are from Lebanon, and the others are mainly from the

Middle East and South Asia. There are also amongst them, about a thousand refugees who arrived from Poland in 1985. The total number of refugees was 1,332 in 1983. This figure had risen to 4,312 in 1984. Out of the 4,312 refugees who had sought refuge in Denmark in 1984, 1,839 had been granted permission to remain in the country before the year was over. Of the total number of refugees, 168 were quota refugees and 132 were refugees rescued at sea. During 1985, 8,600 refugees arrived in Denmark. (80% of these refugees received positive response to their requests for asylum). At this rate of influx, there will be about 10,000 entering the country for the year 1986 from West Asia, Iran and Sri Lanka. Up to the end of 1984, there were over 249 Sri Lankan refugees in Denmark. This number increased to five hundred in 1985 and in 1986, it has exceeded 2,000 since it is easy for them to cross over to Denmark from West Germany where there are large number of Sri Lankan refugees. Frighten by the sudden influx of the refugees, the Conservative majority government in Copenhagen in planning to ban the entry of refugees from Asia.

Refugees' situation

Despite the high rate of unemployment, rumours regarding there having been fights in the refugee camps, and the few incidents of crime committed by the refugees, the local people show no signs of hostility towards the refugees. The only exception to this tolerance are the few cases where politically marginal right wing groups have launched campaigns against the presence of the foreigners.

In recent times however, there have been signs of a growing fear that the presence of the refugees may give lead to elements of the political unrest which gaver ise to the refugees, spilling over to Denmark as well. The attempted bombing of a Copenhagen Synagogue is cited as an example how this problem could very easily occur again without warning. There are 64 refugees for every 100,000 people in Denmark which works out to 1 for every 859 people.

Application for Asylum Procedure

Applications for asylum are processed by the aliens police in Copenhagen unless one of the following factors applies to any particular case;

1. The asylum seeker has already found asylum or otherwise found protection against persecution in another

country. (The time allowed enroute is normally two weeks)

2. The Danish Aliens Act of 1983, has been revised as of 19th Oct. 86. It allows for the rejection at the border, *inter alia*, of asylum seekers who do not possess valid visas for Denmark. It follows that persons in a refugee-like situation may be return to the country of origin (If not exposed to persecution) and that convention refugees may be return to a country of transit or of 1st asylum.
3. If the asylum seeker's behaviour and statements reveal that his application for asylum can be granted.
4. If the asylum seeker's case falls under either the Danish - German Border Agreement or the convention on waiver of passport control at the Intra Nordic Frontiers.

According to the Danish - West German Border Agreement, aliens, including the asylum seekers who entered via Germany; may be sent back to Germany if they have already received sanctuary there or stayed in Germany for a period exceeding a week. If the person concerned has spent more than two weeks in Germany, he may be returned to that country even if his asylum proceedings have begun more than two weeks after his arrival. This option of returning the refugee to Germany remains open until six months of his residence in Denmark have elapsed. This provision also applies to those who have entered Germany from Denmark.

If the entry of an asylum seeker has not been refused immediately and has been allowed to enter Denmark, he is interviewed extensively by the aliens police and provides an interpreter when necessary. The questions asked in the course of this interview are usually related to the following issues: Bio - Data, Identity Papers, Travel Documents, Itinerary (Including any periods of residence in other countries), previous periods of residence in Denmark, Education and Training, Military Service, Political background, reasons for seeking asylum in Denmark, prospects for the future. The police report that is drawn up on the basis of the data collected in the course of this interview constitutes the basic document on which the asylum seeker's case rests.

Hence, in order to make sure that the asylum seeker's statements have been correctly understood and recorded without making any omissions, the report is read aloud to the asylum seeker, and if necessary translated into his own language, before he is asked to sign it.

Categories of Legal Status

Granting B - Status to an asylum seeker is a national administrative practice, based on an exchange of letters dating back to 1965, between the Ministry of Justice and the Danish Refugee Council. It entitles the asylum seeker to the right to continue to reside in the country and to apply for and receive a work permit in order to enable him to seek employment. It also affords the asylum seeker a measure of protection against deportation. It is normally granted to asylum seekers who not may satisfy the criteria of the convention, but whose fear of persecution cannot be entirely dismissed; either because there remains the risk that they may on return to their country, be persecuted or subjected to prosecution judged to be disproportionate by Danish legal traditions or because their fear of persecution is difficult to verify but cannot be excluded.

An asylum seeker who is granted B status may appeal against this decision on the grounds that he qualifies for convention status. Moreover, he may, at a later stage, submit an application for convention status if fresh reasons supporting a change of status are produced in support of his appeal. Such an application for the change of status should be submitted to the Ministry of Justice which will then consider the case on its merits. In consultation with the Danish Refugee Council.

A refugee who is granted convention status is given a resident permit for a period of five years, which after the expiry of this period is extended for an unlimited period of residence. On the other hand, the resident permit in the case of refugees who have been granted N-status is normally issued for a period of 12 months only. This is followed by an extension for another twelve months. The next extension is for two years, the following one for five years and after this period an ultimate extension is granted. Like all Danish citizens, a refugee is issued with CRP Kort (Central Personal Register Card) which also serves as a social security identification.

Employment

Refugees in Denmark have the right to work without any legal restriction in any profession or trade except in certain posts related to national security. Work permits are issued for the same length of time as resident permits. Practical limitations in finding admission to the labour market may be experienced especially in regard to jobs requiring a command of the language. The exercise of certain liberal professions, for instance, the medical profession, pharmacists, veterinary, medical practitioners etc., require special permission and the equivalent of a Danish diploma or degree in the relevant field. It is a common sight to see scores of unemployed Sri Lankan Tamils, Pakistani, Lebanese and Iranian youths just loitering about.

Social Assistance

Refugee with B status are not entitled to childrens allowances until after one full year's residence in Denmark. They cannot apply for certain social pensions, (widows, invalids, old age etc.,) until they have acquired Danish citizenship. Instead, they may receive ordinary public relief allowances after a 12-18 month integration period with the Danish Refugee Council.

Education

All refugees are offered 6 to 12 months courses in the Danish language which are organised for them by the Danish Refugee Council. Small children may be left at a Danish Refugee Council kindergarten while their parents attend language classes. Specialised courses serve as preparation for further technical and vocational training. There are special courses for illiterates. Refugees, who are going to study at universities, may be offered further language training, for instance, through courses in high schools.

Citizenship

Aliens may, on application, obtain Danish citizenship after seven years of residence in Denmark and the procedures therefore can be started after 6½ years. In some cases, stateless person and refugees may obtain citizenship in less than seven years.

The Danish Refugee Council

On an average the Danish Refugee Council provides assistance to refugees for a period of eighteen months. After

this period, the refugees who still need social assistance are entrusted to the social services of the municipality in which they reside. Assistance rendered by the Danish Refugee Council towards the social and economic integration of refugees includes social assistance, housing, clothes, furniture medical and dental aid, Danish language courses, employment counselling and placement, educational counselling and placement, social and legal counselling, information on emigration, assistance towards family reunification, repatriation and naturalisation. The Danish

Refugee Council has its own interpreters.

Usefull Addresses

Danish Refugee Council,
No. 4, Kronprinsessegade,
P.O. Box. 53,
1002 Copenhagen.

Ministry of Justice,
Slotsholmsgade 10,
1216 Copenhagen K.

Aliens Polices

Anker Høegaardsgade 5,
1572 Copenhagen V.

Caritas Denmark,
Skt Pedersstraede 3,
1453 Copenhagen K.

Refugees In Norway

The Norwegian, Fridtjof Nansen, was the first High Commissioner for Refugees of the League of Nations. He is, therefore, regarded as the father of international refugees policy. Relatively few refugees, however, reach his native Norway on their own. The Aliens Act in force in Norway at present, dates back to 1956, but a governmental committee has presented part of a proposal for a new Act which is currently under discussion. This proposal contains elements from both the Danish as well as the Swedish Acts. From the point of view of the claimant, the new proposals if adopted will lead to several improvements in terms of limiting the prescreening procedures and to an increased right of appeal. Under the current Act, the right of appeal to the Ministry of Justice or through the courts does exist, but does not necessarily suspend a decision to deport the person concerned. The reception of refugees comes directly under the state. Norway is the first of the Nordic countries to have introduced municipal based refugee reception centres.

Number of Refugees

Since the second world war, Norway has taken in about 10,000 refugees. During the period between 1975 and 1985, it has accepted 5,000 Vietnamese refugees. The new phenomenon faced by Norway today is the increasing number of spontaneous refugees from the Middle East and South Asia.

In 1984, Norway received 668 persons as refugees. Of this number, 503 were Vietnamese boat people and the other 121 were from different nationalities. Out of 300 spontaneous refugees in 1984, 43 were granted refugee status, 93 were allowed to stay, 43 were rejected, 2 withdrew their applications and 119 are awaiting the outcome of their cases.

In 1985, Norway has accepted 630 persons as quota refugees from South East Asia. The number of spontaneous asylum

seekers in this year reached 800. Out of these 800, 460 are registered. Of them, 80 have been given refugee status, 270 have been permitted to stay on and 110 have been expelled. No decision has been taken with regard to the rest.

In 1986, Norway quota of refugees has increased from 500 to 1250. As we have been unable to get the number of refugees from each individual country who have sought refuge in Norway we can only roughly estimate the number of Sri Lankan asylum seekers in this country to be between 300 and 500.

Social impact of refugees

Refugee and asylum seekers are not the only foreigners in Norway. This country like most of others in Europe is also experiencing a rising tide of xenophobia. A survey recently published in *Aftenposten*, a leading daily newspaper, revealed that one out of two Norwegians believes that foreigners should be encouraged to go home. Asked whether they would favour a liberalisation of present immigration policy, 84% answered no!

Regulations governing the granting of asylum

An asylum seeker may be refused asylum for the following reasons:

- a. If he fails to provide evidence of actual persecution or of well founded fear of persecution.
- b. If he has obtained asylum/protection elsewhere or has been too long en route.
- c. If he has been found guilty of a serious non-political crime.
- d. If he is considered to be a risk to the security of Norway.
- e. If his application is rejected he is normally asked to leave the country immediately and if he lacks the money to do so the State will bear his travel expenses.

No precise time limit has been set for the time allowed en route, but if an asylum seeker has stayed in another country which can duly be considered as his country of first asylum, he may be obliged to return to that country. In actual practice, the period of time permitted en route may vary from 15 days to three months. However, an alien falling under the Nordic passports agreement may be returned to the country through which he first entered the area within one year of his entry.

Employment

Since a ban on the immigration of foreign workers was brought into force in 1975, severe restrictions have been imposed on the possibility of foreigners obtaining work permits in the country. The ban does not affect the regulation regarding resident permit for foreigners who do not intend to work in Norway and also does not apply to refugees. In principle, asylum seekers are not allowed to work, but a temporary labour permit will be issued by the *Stans U1 endingskontor* (State Aliens office) upon request. The asylum seekers can attend free language courses at the institutes of the *Fri Undersning* (free education) or the *Arbaidernes Opplysningsforbund* (ACF) - (Workers Education Association).

Organisations assisting the refugees

State Refugee Agency,
Stensberggate 25,
Oslo 1.

Norwegian Refugee Council,
Prof. Dahlgate 1,
Oslo 3.

Office for Free Legal Aid,
Akersgata 55,
Oslo 1.

Caristas Norway,
Fagerborggt 17,
Oslo 3.

Refugees in Sweden

The Swedish Aliens Act distinguishes between two categories of refugees :

- a. Refugees in accordance with section 3 of the Aliens Act (The so called 'A' refugees or convention refugees).
- b. Refugees in accordance with section 5 and 6 of the Aliens act (The so called 'B' refugees or de facto refugees).

The second category described above is considered as foreigners, but not as refugees, who can demonstrate serious reasons as to why he should not be returned to his country of origin because of political conditions there. Draft evaders and deserters are also entitled to residence permits as B - refugees, provided that they establish that they run the risk of being sent to a theatre of war. In both cases resident permit can be refused if 'special Reasons' are at stake.

Application for asylum

Asylum seekers are advised to apply for asylum immediately upon arrival, although this is not specified in the Aliens act. Unwarranted delays in applications for asylum are not well received.

An asylum seeker arriving at the border without the necessary entry clearance must apply to the border police for asylum. If he fails to do this, he will be returned immediately. If, however, an asylum seeker has succeeded in crossing the border irregularly or illegally he should apply to the local aliens police for asylum as soon as possible.

The asylum seeker is asked to specify the status where he wishes to apply for;

- a. A - refugee status, with or without a declaration on refugee status, resident permit and a convention travel document.

- b. B - refugee status implies only the granting of a resident permit and if needed, a Swedish aliens passport.

Every asylum seeker must apply for resident and work permits in the special form provided by the police. If the asylum seeker wishes to obtain refugee status, as defined in the convention, he must submit the application to the police at the time of the very first interview. This will be recorded and reported to the immigration board. If a convention document or a Swedish aliens passport is needed, the asylum seeker must submit his request by filling a special form provided for the purpose.

Sweden has concluded a deportation agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany according to which an asylum seeker can be returned to the country he first entered, if he has resided there for more than two weeks.

The Immigration Board

The Swedish aliens law, adopted in 1980, grants the right of asylum to 3 categories of persons as follows:

1. Convention Refugees
2. De Facto Refugees
3. War deserters

The term "De Facto Refugees" covers all those who are not recognised under international provisions as being refugees. The case of Sri Lankan Tamils can be deemed to fall under this category. Despite their not being internationally recognised as refugees, de facto refugees nevertheless have compelling reasons for not wanting to return to their country, and are able to establish the credibility of the reasons they give for not wanting to return to their country. The category of war deserters, within the present historical moment, applies mostly to asylum seekers from Iran and Iraq.

Swedish law provides for a thorough screening procedure which is very thorough and it is possible to reject the application within a period of three months if the screening process finds evidence show that the applicant has made inaccurate or contrived claims.

The decision of the Immigration Board with regard to each application may have one of the following results :

1. Convention refugee status is granted, residence and work permits are issued, as also a travel document (If the applicant has applied for one).
2. Conventional refugee status is not considered and instead residence and work permits are issued (The applicant is therefore considered to be a B - refugee)
3. Convention refugee status is rejected but residence and work permits are issued (B - status)
4. Convention refugee status is rejected but residence and work permits are issued on humanitarian reasons,
5. Convention refugee status, residence and work permits are rejected. In such a case, a decision to return or expell the applicant will be taken. The decision may also include a prohibition to return to Sweden for a specified period of time.

Documents

An asylum seeker can keep his national passport during the period that it takes for the authorities to arrive at a decision regarding his status. If he has no pasaport, he can either obtain a provisional aliens passport or he can use the "Yellow Card" as an identity document. The national passport is kept in temporary deposit with the Aliens Police. If the asylum seeker wishes to travel abroad he has to request the Aliens Police to return this passport.

Work Permit

The refugee must obtain the work permit in order to take up employment. This permit will usually be granted along with the issue of the resident permit. Normally work permit is not limited to any specific job.

Assistance

Lodging for refugees outside the quota system are usually found with the assistance of the police and social workers, either in hostels or with friends. The rent is paid by the social welfare authorities, which also grant the refugees a subsistence

allowance. In certain areas, refugees are offered language training through voluntary educational organisations. The children of all asylum seekers are obliged to attend primary and secondary schools

Sweden has a nine year compulsory comprehensive educational programme known as "*Grundskola*". Children start their schooling at the age of seven years and leave on completing the age of sixteen. These nine years of schooling are also compulsory for children who have completed their compulsory schooling in countries where the period is shorter.

Immigrants, including refugees, are entitled to free training in the Swedish language. The language courses are arranged in transit centres all over Sweden by various educational associations. A legislative Act of 1972 provides all resident immigrants who have labour permits or who are registered in Sweden, with a leave entitlement up to 240 hours in order to enable them to attend language classes. Although these language classes may be conducted during working hours, their employees are required to pay their salary in full.

Refugees who do not have sufficient vocational training or unable to obtain work in their trade or profession or are likely to become unemployed, they can attend special courses. The most common courses consist of retraining course which provides for basic vocational training for unemployed persons, generally within sectors where there is a labour shortage. Anybody taking part in a retraining course or some other form of labour market training receives a training allowance. Persons seeking asylum in Sweden are not entitled to take up employment while waiting for their cases to be concluded. They are provided with accommodation and certain allowances which cover most of their basic needs.

The general policy in Sweden is that the asylum seeker should not be given the opportunity to settle into the Swedish socio-economical system to an extent that is not more than absolutely essential before the final decision on his application for asylum and resident permit has been taken. This policy is adopted in order to make the compulsory deportation of the applicant easier, in case the application is rejected.

Number of refugees

Many of the refugees who arrive in Sweden today are young men who for years have been subjected to war or other serious political conflicts. Those who seek asylum in current times are

much more militant than those who came some time ago and hence are more interested in continuing their political struggle in the new country. Terrorism and other acts of violence that used to be virtually unknown in Sweden have begun to appear in the wake of the arrival of the refugees. In order to highlight their struggles and to make their demands more keenly felt, the refugees have often resorted to hunger strikes, demonstrations etc.

Since the second world war, Sweden has taken in 100,000 refugees, but these refugees have been mainly those from Eastern Europe and Latin America. From 1950 onwards the country has begun to accept 1,250 refugees per year on a regular basis.

With the beginning of 1980, refugees have begun to arrive from almost every part of the world. The year 1984 saw an abrupt increase in the number of persons seeking refuge and the total of 12,000 refugees arrived in this year was the highest for any one year in the post war period. Out of the 12,000 arrived in 1984, 2,300 were rejected and 9,700 were admitted. Of this figure, 8,000 were de facto refugees and 1,210 were quota refugees. Amongst the quota refugees, there were 428 from Latin America, 322 from Eastern Europe and 271 from Asia. Of the 8,000 who were allowed to stay, 4,600 were given resident permits.

A similar pattern can be seen in 1985. Since there are no statistics relating to the number of refugees from individual countries, we can only roughly estimate that there are between 300 and 400 Sri Lankan refugees in Sweden.

The amount spent on maintaining the refugees for the year 1984 has been estimated to be 600 million Swedish Crowns. (1 US Dollar — 7.65 S. Crowns) During the same year Sweden's contribution to the International programme for aiding refugees (outside Sweden) amounted to 400 Million Swedish Crowns. These funds have primarily been channelled through the UNHCR and other voluntary organisations.

Social impact of refugees

The public attitudes towards the refugees are discernible in two ways. One point of view holds that Sweden is a large country and that with a little good will on the part of the people it can well absorb a large number of refugees. The other is a negative - one. The new arrivals viewed with suspicion and scepticism, especially when the cultural and linguistic differences between the refugees and the Swedish people are large as has increasingly become the case with the changing character of refugee immigration in recent years.

At present there are 38 refugees for every 100,000 Swedish nationals.

Recent developments

Both the Norwegian and Swedish authorities have proposed changes in their respective Aliens Acts. These changes will allow sanctions to be imposed on shipping companies and airlines that bring in aliens who do not possess the necessary travel documents and visas. Sweden is also re-orienting its international policy with a view to find out international and regional solutions to the various problems that are responsible for creating the refugees it has to cope with.

Organisations helping refugees

Swedish Refugee Council,
Tunnelgatan 20 B
11137 Stockholm,
Sweden.

Immigration Board,
Vikboplan 7,
P. O. Box. 6113,
600 06 Norrköping.

TAMILS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Sri Lankans in the UK face one primary problem, viz., Racism. Not infrequently, racism is practised in a disguised covert or in subliminal forms within the country's administrative structures which disabled the refugees from fighting against this insidious social disease.

Racism in the UK

Under the present conservative Government of Margaret Thatcher, the attitude of Britain's white majority towards the country's black ethnic minority proceeds on the same line as being followed by Sinhalese majority against the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka. In fact the Tamil refugees in the UK have not been protected from the attacks by Sinhalese students studying there. The Sinhalese students had even been allowed to run amok amongst the Tamil immigrants to the UK and to cause severe damage to their properties. Political trends demanding the repatriation of black workers have emerged on the British political scene. At least on one occasion, the Repatriation Pact created by the Sri Lankan government was quoted in order to lend an air of legitimacy to the British move to the institute similar proceedings against its black workers.

Immigration laws give officials sweeping powers which are often used to harass and intimidate Britain's immigrant population. Ironically it is found that black skin or coloured complexion on a person is good enough to attract administrative harassment. The Sri Lankans are having the same unhappy state of feelings as that of other coloured minorities in Britain.

The workers were encouraged to immigrate to Britain after the second world war in order to take up work which the British workers themselves were not willing to do. However,

as economic conditions degenerated following the war and employment became scarce, the local labour began to compete for these jobs which had earlier proved unattractive to them. This is the underlying economic force that has given rise for favouring the need for repatriating the black workers, to their respective homeland.

The trend towards repatriation has not been officially legitimised or institutionalised. However, the local employment policies adapted tend to show discrimination against the employment of black workers, thereby creating an economic hardship to them.

The practice of laying off black workers is one of the ways in which life is being made intolerable for them. Stringent new immigration laws linked with new legislation on housing, education and social service have set the final seal on the marginalised and oppressed ethnic minorities. It is within this bleak settings that the Sri Lankan Tamil refugees have been compelled to live.

Position of the asylum seekers

The government's refugee statistics published for the first time this year reveal that more applicants for asylum are being given what is called 'exceptional leave to remain' on humanitarian grounds rather than according straight away the refugee status. Under this category the people have to renew their permits annually for at least the first 4 years in the country. If the permission to stay is not granted the people are left in a precarious situation unlike those with refugee status. In 1977, according to the Home Office statistics, refugee status was given to 55% of those who applied and 'exceptional leave to remain' was granted to 23%. In 1985, these percentages were exactly reversed. Asylum seekers from certain nationalities such as Afghans, Iranian and Polish benefitted from the 'exceptional leave to remain' regulation but Sri Lankans did not have this benefit even after arrival of a large group of 1,300 Sri Lankan refugees during the month of May 1985. Instead, the government imposed a visa requirement for them.

This is the first time Britain has imposed strict visa sanction against a member of the Commonwealth. Further more, the British government has drastically, shortened the time

allowed to the British members of Parliament for filing appeals against deportation of Sri Lankan Tamils. Normally MPS can stop deportation of foreign nationals while making representation about their cases. The time allowed for submission of appeals usually lasts for several months. In the case of Sri Lankan Tamils, representation will have to be made within 24 hours of application by an MP to stop their deportation from the UK. The Government has also introduced visa restriction on the citizens of India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nigeria and Ghana from first Oct. 1986. The Daily Telegraph stated that "oddly enough most of the Asian immigrants in this country come from trouble spots. We have about 300,000 Sikhs most of whom are apparently favourably disposed to the terrorists. We have perhaps 100,000 Kashmiri Muslims some of whose militants last year murdered an Indian diplomat. We have already a base for Tamil terrorism, despite all the restriction". The government of Britain is happy that it has virtually stopped the flow of Tamil refugees. It was not until June 1986 that the Home Office decided to grant "exceptional leave to remain" to those who were already in the country. The Home Office however maintained that the new arrivals could not expect the same treatment. The High Court in 1985 instructed the Home Office not to use artificial or inhuman criteria in a judgment concerning a 34 year old Tamil who had been refused asylum on the grounds that he had not been individually singled out for persecution.

There are 17,000 Indo-Chinese in the UK. The committee asked the government to relax its family re-union criteria so that more Indo-Chinese refugees mainly from Hong Kong could come and join their relatives. This recommendation was accepted by the government.

Once an individual is recognised as a refugee, he enjoys more or less the same economic and social rights as a British national. According to the staff of the British Refugee Council, while educational facilities provided are good, housing is very difficult. In order to meet the urgent needs it has set up 2 hostels in London and they are always full,

400 Tamils have applied for asylum in the UK in 1984. An estimated 1,500 have arrived in Britain during May 1985. The government has permitted 1,000 of these persons to remain in Britain. In addition, a large number of students, who went to the UK after 1972 and who are unable to return

to Sri Lanka due to the present crises, have applied for asylum in Britain, and they have been allowed to stay only on humanitarian grounds.

Most of the Sri Lankans who entered the UK before 1972 are well settled. Some of them have become British Nationals. Their number amounts to more than 20,000. Among the large number of millionaires in Britain, 1.4 Bangladeshis and Sri Lankans-known as Asians range from 100-500. The British government's latest statistics in 1981 estimated 4,000 millionaires are among the country's 56 million population. The particulars of these millionaires either by names or nationalities, have not been furnished. It is that the Asians may have 1/10 of the country's millionaires. Sri Lanka born Nirji Deva, 36, an aspiring conservative party politician is now heading a government inquiry on European air fares. He said the Asians have not received the traditional honours of other wealth makers in Britain. They have not been knighted. They do not sit on the board of directors in any institution or given any prominent place in any an association of top British executives or in many major companies. They have no representatives in the parliament, (Refugees September 1985 p-39). According to our information a long time ago, one Indian by name of Sinha was made Lord Sinha in Britain.

Policy of the Host Government

The UK is party to all principal conventions relating to refugees. These conventions and agreements are not self-executing. Therefore, provisions have to be made for their incorporation within the local municipal legislations for them to become effective. The most important domestic legislation affecting the refugees is the Immigration Act of 1971. Requests for asylum are considered within the framework of this Act and its accompanying immigration rules. All applications wherever made are referred to the Home Office Department of Immigration and Nationality, for decision.

In practice, there are two forms of status that can be granted to the asylum seekers. The first one granting recognition as a refugee within the meaning of the 1951 convention. Persons who can come within the purview of this category are those who comply with the criteria specified the 1951 convention and the protocol of 1967. The second category is one where asylum is granted without refugee status. This is a guarantee against repatriation and it recognises that there are valid and compelling reasons for not returning the asylum seeker to his country of origin.

Asylum seekers who have been in the country in some other capacity prior to their applying for asylum (Refugees sur place) can, according to the changes in immigration rules apply for asylum on the ground that they are unwilling to return to their country owing to well founded fear.

Those making irregular entry into the country as well as those who enter the country with false documents will be automatically sent back to the country of their departure unless they are refugees who request for asylum and are able to show adequate proof that they have a well founded fear of persecution in their own country.

There is no set limit for the time lapsed en route for asylum seekers except that they should come as directly as possible to the UK from the country where they face persecution. Those attempting to enter the UK with entry clearance or a valid visa can be refused permission to do so unless they declare and prove that their intention to seek asylum in Britain was valid reasons. If a person makes such a request for asylum, it is the responsibility of the Immigration Officer to examine their case and ascertain whether any prima facie evidence exists to support the validity of the request for asylum.

An asylum seeker who has been refused asylum under both the categories may still be permitted to stay in the country under exceptional circumstances, regardless of the requirements of existing regulations, at the discretion of the Home Secretary but such permission does not include any guarantee against repatriation.

In recent years, the government has sponsored two programmes for the admission of designated refugees from Latin America (1974-1979), and for refugees from Indo China (as from 1978). Under these programmes, the government has delegated the responsibility for the reception and resettlement of the refugees to voluntary agencies but has provided governmental funding through the Home Office to meet the cost of specially set up reception centres providing basic English tuition and orientation as well as initial resettlement needs.

The recognized refugees and persons granted asylum receive all the facilities that British citizens are entitled to. However restrictions do exist in certain areas, as for instance, in the field of employment, education, housing health and social assistance.

The following categories of asylum seekers have no right to appeal ;

1. If they are illegal entrants
2. If they are so called visa national but have not obtained entry clearance
3. If they apply after their rejection permission to stay has expired.

Government has rejected the recommendation of the Home Office Committee to the House of Commons. The Home Office Ministry argues that any extension of appeal rights would lead to an unmanageable influx of asylum seekers. Many of them are bogus or from those who are fleeing due to economic deprivation.

The Home Office took steps to clear up backlog of cases and to resolve atleast 75% of application with in 6 months. It has also taken the liberal decision of allowing the asylum seekers whose applications are not decided upon within 6 months to take up employment.

Major concern of the government of the UK is the number of asylum seekers who move from the country of their first asylum to more distant countries - typically European or North American. This has led to much talk of regionalisation, that is, the concept of keeping refugees in countries of asylum in their geographical region, The head of the Home Office points out that it is better for people to remain within the areas in which they are culturally and linguistically familiar. But neighbouring countries are unwilling to recognise them as refugees since the possibilities of their integration, employments and education are limited.

General Information

Since the 18th century, Britain has been a nett exporter of people. In 1964, more people have left Britain than have entered. In 1981, 79,000 people emigrated.

Over 200 million citizens of the European economic community have the right to work and live in Britain and they are entitled to bring their families with them. This facility does not extend to countries in Europe who are not within the EEC. In 1982, out of 3,920 long term work permits that were issued to persons from the new commonwealth and Pakistan.

In Britain, "Immigration Detention Centres" exist at Harmondsworth and Ashford. Queens buildings are used primarily for the control of Asian and African immigrants to Britain.

In 1983, for instance, 428 Indians, 624 Pakistanis, 167 Bangaladeshis, were held at these various centres. Their stay within these detention centres varied between one to six months. They included persons who were suspected of violating the Immigration Act, including overstays, alleged illegal immigrants and immigrants recommended for deportation.

The Rannymede Trust demands better race relations and immigration laws.

Organisations Helping Refugees

British Refugee-Council,
Bondway House,
3-9 Bondway,
London SW 81 SJ.
U.K.

Christian Aid,
240-250 Ferndale Road,
Brixton, London SW 9.
U. K.

unhcr Branch Office

36, Westminster Palace Gardens,
Artillery Row,

London. SW 1P 1RR.
U. K.

British Council of Churches,
Community and Race
Relations Unit,
10 Eaton Gate, London
SW 1. UK.

REFUGEES IN THE UNITED STATE OF AMERICA AND CANADA

Number of Refugees

From 1st October 84 to September 85, 70,000 refugees had been admitted to the USA with 50,000 of them coming from East Asia ; 9,000 from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union ; 5,000 from the Near East and South Asia and, 3,000 each from Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean countries. They would add to one million refugees who have already been resettled in U.S.A. From October 1979 - December 1980, approximately 113,000 South East Asians had arrived in U.S.A. By the end of 1984, there were more than 700,000. The U.S.A. accepts 3,000 refugees from Africa every year. Out of this, 90% are from Ethiopia. Besides the refugees, it also takes 600,000 new immigrants every year ; that is, about twice the number accepted by all the countries of the world combined. About 500,000 Salvadorians are residing illegally in the USA. It is estimated that about 62,000 refugees will be entering the country in 1986.

Admission

The Bureau for Refugee Programmes of the Department of State is responsible for processing refugees who wish to be resettled in the USA. Asylum seekers' applications are examined by the immigration and naturalisation service which determines whether the applicants qualify for admission to the USA. The documents of the refugees, going to the USA, are sent to the American Council for Voluntary International Action ; an Umbrella Agency of the National Voluntary Agencies. These cases are divided among the 12 private voluntary agencies and

two State Agencies, that are responsible for Refugee Resettlement through arrangements with the Department of State. Most of the Asian refugees since 1980 have concentrated in the States of California, Texas and Washington.

Assistance

The Department of State gives reception and placement grants amounting to US. \$ 390 for each refugee from Soviet and Eastern Europe, and US \$ 560 for other refugees they accept to the National Voluntary Agency to support initial resettlement activities. The voluntary agencies are responsible for rendering different kinds of assistance to them. They locate initial housing, collect furniture and clothes for refugees, provide cash towards rent, food and medical bills, help them apply for jobs obtain social security cards, drivers' licences; and help them to enroll in training and educational programmes. For 24 months, a voluntary agency spends a medium average of US \$ 4,850 in cash, goods and service, towards the settlement of a single refugee. The primary goal of this assistance is to help the refugee to become self-sufficient as early as possible. The unemployment rate for the refugees is higher than that for the USA population as a whole. There are fewer South East Asian refugees in the work force. The Department of Health and Human Services Office of Refugees Resettlement in the fiscal year 1985 has requested US \$ 273.7 million for Federal Assistance to refugees in the form of cash, medical and social services. The office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) gives a grant of 1,000 US \$ per refugee to voluntary agencies for assistance to refugees other than those from South East Asia and Cuba. These grants have been used for refugees from Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, Afghanistan, Ethiopia and Iraq.

Voluntary Agencies

There are a number of voluntary agencies that work in cooperation with the voluntary refugees resettlement agencies, mutual assistance association, the Federal State and local government agencies to provide assistance for large number of refugees effectively and efficiently as possible.

Since 1978, the political asylum project of the Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights based in New York city has monitored proposed legislation and regulations concern-

ning refugees and asylum seekers. In the USA hundreds of volunteer lawyers represent asylum seekers who cannot afford to retain private counsel. About 2,000 asylum applications are filed in each month by the aliens in the USA. Well over 1,000 asylum applicants are in administrative detention in the USA. Under USA law, asylum applicants in immigration proceedings have a right to appear and be assisted by legal counsel. But such assistance must be at no expense to the government.

The burden is on the individual to show that there is a reasonable possibility that he or she will be persecuted in the home country. The administrative authorities often apply the law quite stringently and generalised allegation of danger will not meet the requirements. A little more than 20% of the aliens who have applied are being granted political asylum.

A good number of asylum seekers are in detention. The reason is that they are either precluded from release consideration under administrative regulations instituted in 1982 or because they are too poor to be able to afford to post the bonds necessary for them to gain release.

A new alien detention camp was opened by the end of 1985 in rural Louisiana, 200 miles from Texas. It has an ordinary capacity of 1,000 with a contingency capacity of upto 6,000, most of whom will be asylum applicants who are in long term administrative detention because of the typically protracted character of the asylum and jurisdiction process in the USA.

Sri Lankans in the U. S. A.

A number of Sri Lankans have settled in the USA following the beginning of the exodus from the Island in 1956. The majority of these immigrants, numbering over 10,000, are Tamils. This Tamil community is well organised, particularly in some key urban areas, and is articulate in expressing its concern about conditions in Sri Lanka. Tamils in Massachusetts, for example, succeeded in having the States legislature to pass a resolution urging President Reagan to press for the creation of a separate state for the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

In addition to the above number, 400 more had arrived between the summer of 83 and early 85. Out of this the government has received about 130 applications for political asylum. According to the government sources, most of the applications received from Sri Lankan Tamils revealed that they were not in the country during the 83 unrest, but apprehending persecution if they were to return.

Policy of the host government

Even though the USA acknowledges the serious communal problem in Sri Lanka, all applications for asylum had been denied until 85. According to the government, the motive of these asylum seekers arise out of economic considerations rather than any real threat to their security. The USA government considers that the Sri Lankan government can deal with the

communal problem and that the situation does not warrant the use of refugee mechanisms as yet. The urgency of asylum claims may be undermined to, by the fact that these Sri Lankan Tamils in the USA have not exercised their other options more readily available, most notably safe haven in India or even perhaps, in certain areas in Sri Lanka. Further there is reluctance to open the door apprehending the flood of new Sri Lankan Tamil arrivals in the USA, should asylum be granted to these people already there.

The USA has also chosen not to institute a policy of extended voluntary departure for Sri Lankans. This policy, currently in effect for Poles, Afghans, Ethiopians and Ugandans—allows nationals who are not otherwise entitled to stay in the USA or unwilling to return to their homelands or to stay on and work temporarily in the USA until the situation becomes clear that conditions in their home country permit a safe return. The temporary permission may be granted even if an individual's claim for asylum has been rejected. The USA has expressed the view that the situation of the Tamils vis-a-vis their home government is not so dangerous or desperate now as to warrant such a policy. A few Tamils who are unable to prove individually that they are persecuted, are, however, asked to leave the country in spite of the UNHCR appeals not to deport any Sri Lankan Tamils at least for the present.

Refugees in Canada

Canada is one of the two countries which had accepted the 1983 pogrom not as an aberration but as a continuous reality. The Canadian government adopted what it terms 'special humanitarian measures' to benefit those adversely affected by the situation in Sri Lanka who also had family members in Canada. Such individuals have been allowed to come to Canada under a family reunification programme. All Canadians were immigrants at one time or other and there is no discrimination against the newcomers whatever their origin may be.

Sri Lankan Tamils begun to move to Canada ever since the 1956 pogrom and the implimentation of the Official Language Act. These Tamils are largely well off and also holding good position in Canada. About 8,000 Sri Lankan Tamils had gone to Canada and settled down before 1983. Between July 1983 and the beginning of 1985, about 2,000 people have gone to Canada. By the begining of 1986, a little less than further 2,000 people would have reached this country.

Except for the people who have gone before 1983 and the people who went under the family reunification programme, the situation of the others whether they have applied for immigrants or refugee status is not so pleasant. However, compared to assistance made available to the Sri Lankan refugee in the European countries they are clearly better off in Canada. Yet the refugees in Canada also need further assistance and encouragement because they have not gone there in search of white colour jobs like the groups that went to Canada before 1983.

In 1984 the Minister of Employment and Immigration said that Canada would keep to the same intake of refugee as in 1983. Its policy is to focus on refugees who require the greatest help and also on refugees or who remain vulnerable

in their country of first asylum. There is change from the policy of taking more people from East European countries than from other areas such as south East Asia.

There are special humanitarian programmes designed for the victims of civil disturbances. Consequently the refugee from El Salvador, Iran, Lebanon, Poland, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. are in particular given periority under the family reunification programme.

The refugee quota includes both "Convention refugees" and "designated classes". These refugee groups have not been precisely covered by the UN Refugee Convention definition. They are in a "refugee-like" situation. At present, there are three designated classes namely Self-exiles, mainly from Eastern Europe; political, and oppressed people, mostly from Latin America; and Indo-China.

There are also a few other ways by which the refugees can be admitted in Canada. Asylum seekers already in the country can apply for Convention refugee status. Canada has a thriving private sponsorship programme. Private groups or recognised organisations can sponsor refugees over and above the quota accepted by the government. At the peak of the Indo-Chinese refugee crisis, 34,000 refugees were privately sponsored—more than half of the total number accepted during that period. In 1982, 4,859 refugees were admitted under the private sponsorship programme.

The 1984 rerugee quota has been fixed at 12,000 distributed on the basis of geographical region as follows:

| | |
|-----------------|-------|
| Central America | 2,500 |
| South East Asia | 3,000 |
| Europe | 2,300 |
| Africa | 1,000 |
| Middle East | 800 |
| Other Regions | 400 |

Contingency Reserve 2,000 (unforseen emergency refugees allocation)

In total, it is estimated that in 1984, than 20,000 refugees and other victims of displacement or persecution were settled in Canada.

In 1985. there Sri Lankan Tamils under the Canada World Youth Exchange Programme sought refugees status in Canada. The incident when 155 Tamils landed on the Canadian coast

in the month of August 1986 sparked off a reaction that has become a microcosm of how the attitudes towards refugees can change from sympathy to hostility in a matter of days or even hours. Even though this event was given much publicity the Canadian government accepted them and issued visa for an year. Now the government is ascertaining the reason why they have left West Germany and on individual basis, their case is being taken up. This incident of the Tamils in the European Countries has created recentment and even went to the extent of examining whether the immigration laws are though enough to meet such situations. Foreigners who came to Canada as visitors and get married to a landed immigrant or a citizen of this country can apply for permanent residence without having to go back to the country of their origin and apply for it.

The total number of illegal immigrants to Canada is estimated between 20,000 and 50,000. A government programme to allow long term illegal immigrants in Canada to apply for permanent residence has been extended up to Jaunary 3rd 1985. (provided they have a five year qualified underground status and no criminal records).

Assistance

Assistance for the refugees in Canada has been forthcoming form there main sources : The government, The Non-government agencies that sponesor refugees, and the relatives of the refugees themselves. Government assistance to the refugees amounts to 400 Canadian Dollars per month per individual on a sliding scale, so that a family of 4 receives only 900 dollars. In addition, each refugee, on arrival, receives a clothing allowance of 225 dollers and a further sum of 600 dollars for an individual or 1,600 dollars for a family of 4, for the purchase of kitchen utensils and furniture. This payment is made only once. Despite the high cost of living, these amounts enable the refugees to estab ish themselves at a reasonably comfortable level.

Like the native Canadians, in some areas suffer on account of the economic recession and consequent waves of unemployment. They are then entitled to unemployment benefits based on the income they last earned. It usually exceeds the government allowance of 400 dollars. The unemployment is more frequent in certain areas and also amongst the latest arrivals who speak less English and have less qualifications.

(1 Canadian dollar = 0.7 US Dollars. August 1985)

We give in the appendix a description of the situation that the refugees in Canada are faced with, written by David Matas for the Amnesty International group.

SRI LANKAN REFUGEES IN AUSTRALIA

Asians are not new to Australia. During the Australian Gold rush of the 1980's, several thousand Chinese reached the country. In 1984, Asians were the largest group amongst the immigrants who entered Australia, by which time the earlier Asian immigrants and their descendants had been well settled and integrated. Australia, with over a hundred nationalities, having contributed to the making of its population, has been faced with the question whether it can any longer continue to maintain an image of being linked with Europe in any way. Its doors have continued to be open to Asians. The recent years have seen a marked resurgence of Asia migration to Australia. On account of the following two factors.

First the official decision to increase the trade with Asia has led to closer relations with its trading partners. Japan is now the Australian exporter's best customer. China is also on its way to becoming one of the other main trading partners, Sri Lanka too with its export of tea to Australia has developed a significant trade link with this country. The second factor is that the immigrants from Asian countries willingly undertake the jobs that are least acceptable to the average Australian citizen. By doing so, they soon occupy important position within the overall social system and economy. This characteristic has actually attracted the Australian employers at one time since the country was then faced with a shortage of labour and there was no unemployment, problem either.

The Asian arrivals, both immigrants as well as refugees and those seeking political asylum, have posed a significant challenge to the Australian people who have a tradition of opting for as little work as possible and who contribute to-

wards a very easy going outlook. The Asians, on the other hand, have for generations been moulded into a hard working group trained to meet the competitive labour markets of Asia where labour is available in excess and employment opportunity is scarce. It has been quite a shock to the Australian to see how the new Asian countrymen are hard working, efficient and industrious.

The recent increase in the number of Asians arriving in Australia consist of immigrants as well as refugees and others who enter the country and then seek asylum on various grounds. A significant number of Tamils left Sri Lanka for Australia after the ethnic violence of July 1983, and the option for family reunion remains open to them making it quite likely that they will soon begin to sponsor the arrival of their kith and kin from the island. Besides this a number of Tamils have applied for refugee status in Australia following unending ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka.

During the last four years however, jobs have increasingly scarce with the increase in new arrivals. According to the 'Big Brother Movement', not enough young Britishers have been accepted under the Australian immigration programme. However, Europeans and Britishers still constitute a clear majority amongst the immigrants. It was only in 1984 that Asian formed the largest proportion of the immigrants who were accepted (32% of the total).

The government maintains the position that Australia is a multi-cultural society and everyone is free to use his own language and maintain his own custom and tradition. A special television programme channell 'O' shows in more than 30 different languages with English subtitles. This has not however prevented the emergence of social conflicts amidst the diverse nationalities that make up the Australian society. Sometimes the new arrivals find that they are being looked down upon by the earlier settlers.

Official Policy

Australia maintains a comprehensive immigration programme which encourages the arrival of immigrants while at the same time subjecting their selection and rate of arrival kept under planed and systematic controls. This programme is geared towards the achievement securing the economic and demographic

goals in this country which has a population still small in proportion to its vast area and unexploited resources. Refugees and those seeking political asylum have, therefore, been welcomed not only for humanitarian reasons but also because they help achieve the demographic targets of its immigration programme. Today the refugees represent an important category within Australian's total immigration.

Australia has accepted refugees from 140 countries as permanent residents which means that they are encouraged to integrate themselves with the local population. Therefore they have to learn English and accept the Australian political institution. At the same time however, they are permitted to follow their own cultural and traditional activities.

The country takes in a total of 12,000 refugees every year. It has also provisions to accommodate a contingency figure of another 2,000. The expected figures for 1986 are as follows: 5,800 from Indo China, 2,000 East Europeans, 1,750 Latin Americans, 1,600 from the Middle East, 200 Africans and 650 others. Sri Lankan Tamils come under the last category. It is estimated that 500 Tamils have moved to Australia, since the Island's political process entered its present crisis. The total number of refugees accepted by Australia over the last ten years is 420,000 inclusive of 100,000 from Indo-China.

All refugees, given resident status, are entitled to sponsor their close family members and others who fall within the criteria laid down by the "family reunification programmes". The sponsor in Australia must secure the necessary funds to facilitate such migration of family members under this reunification scheme. Consequently there is usually some delay in finalising the cases under the family reunification scheme.

Under the community refugee settlement scheme, it is possible for a community group to sponsor a refugee family in conjunction with the government department. In such cases, the community group concerned receives the refugee family on arrival and attends to all its needs. One-fourth of all refugees settled are assisted by religious organisations. Most of the others, sponsored by the government, and are eligible to occupy the network of resident migrant centres for a period up to twelve months.

Assistance

All refugees are entitled to immediate governmental social security benefits which continue until they achieve an independent source of income. This restriction on the financial provision is one of the reasons why Australia has to be fairly selective in choosing the refugees.

Perhaps the most original service offered to refugees and immigrants is the Telephone interpreter Service (TIS). The refugees or immigrants can telephone the central interpreter pools from almost any where in Australia for the cost of not more than a local call. This service provides an important source of information and access to organisations working with the refugees.

The attitude of the local population has certainly helped the country to maintain an open doors policy towards refugees. Media coverage makes the people of the country reasonably aware of the refugee situations around the world. Australia has also contributed towards the rehabilitation of handicapped refugees by accepting 70 such persons in 1985.

One should not, however, imagine that Australia provides a haven for refugees. One major difficulty faced by foreigners in the country is that their educational qualifications are not being given due recognition there. Many refugees are well qualified and have much past experience in their professions. Still they are unable to enter suitable positions of employment.

Many non-governmental organisations take care of the refugees while the government provides the major part of the assistance required. The Refugee Council of Australia (RCOA) consists of an umbrella organisation of 30 non governmental organisations which meets regularly to discuss issues facing the refugees and submit its resolutions for government's consideration.

Legal Status

All unauthorised entrants to Australia are required to apply for refugee status to the committee for the determination of refugee status (DORS). This committee makes a recommendation to the Ministry of Immigration and the Ethnic Affairs with whom the final decision on status rests. Some arrive as tourists or as temporary residents and then apply for refugee status.

Sri Lankans in Australia

Sri Lankans have been migrating to Australia under the family reunion programme for a long time. Hence there is a sizable Sri Lankan community consisting of both Sinhalese and Tamils in Australia. This process of migration under the family reunification programme has been encouraged following the ethnic violence in the island.

Today apart from those who make use of this facility, approximately 500 Sri Lankan Tamils have found their way to Australia as refugees. All other Sri Lankans have been accepted only after they have obtained the required visas at the point from which their journey originates and not at the point of entry.

Useful Addresses

1. UNHCR Regional Office
GPO Box 1983, Canberra City A. C. T. 2601,
2. Eelam Tamil Association,
P. O. Box 215, Enfield,
M. SW 2136,
3. Sri Lanka Human Rights C,
P. O. Box 56,
St. Paul's Church, Sydney,
NSW 2031

REFUGEES AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

What we hear about refugees today may be considered by some as a twentieth century new phenomenon or something peculiar to our time. But historically there have always been refugees in one part or other of the world.

History would reveal that in the earliest times, groups of primitive people who were persecuted by the stronger groups fled from their accustomed territories to new and unknown lands. We can only guess what happened to these early refugees though we find traces of them in archeological excavations and later in the works of early writers. The population of the world was smaller then, and there was more space. It is possible, therefore, that the arrival of new groups in vacant or sparsely inhabited areas led to the development of the land to greater prosperity. And it should always be remembered that, throughout history, refugees have frequently contributed to the well-being of their new homelands, however, great may have been their initial needs and problems. As time passed on, and national or city states emerged, society became more organised, as a result refugees in a new country had to adapt themselves to an existing, and to them alien, way of life.

As centuries passed, groups and individuals continued to find it necessary to flee from their homeland, and to seek safety elsewhere. They fled for the same reasons which cause refugees to flee today, because their religious beliefs, political

opinions, their social customs or their race, were regarded by the powerful people in their homeland as dangerous to be put down by force or punishment. Many of the instances are well known to us. Hannibal died a refugee. Mary and Joseph fled with the Child Jesus from Herod. David spent the last nine years of his life in exile. Calvin fled as a refugee from France to Geneva, Paris received Chopin, and many other distinguished artists and writers. The list of brilliant men and women who have in the very recent years sought and received asylum away from their homes is too long to mention. There were also many whose names we do not know, and the particulars in regard to their needs and possible sufferings are lost to us.

It was in 1685 that the edict of NANTES was revoked by Louis, the XVI starting off an unprecedented persecution of Huguenots (Pilgrim Fathers) in France. The Huguenots fled to other European countries which were for the first time confronted with the considerable influx of asylum seekers. But at that time there were no organisations to take care of their needs.

As the different nations in the world have started giving importance to their own boundary, documents and proof of identity or nationality have become all-important, making it more and more difficult for the refugees to gain admission and to remain in foreign countries. After the first World War, the international community became increasingly aware of the problem consequently measures were started to protect and help the refugees. In 1921, the League of Nations appointed Fridtjof Nansen to the newly created post of League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

The United Nation's Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA)

Then the UNRRA was established by 44 countries under the auspicious of the United Nation in November 1943, that is 2 years before the United Nation itself was officially created. The UNRRA was responsible for the repatriation of those for whom there was no other durable solutions. By the time the operations were completed in July 1947 some 7 million persons had been assisted and returned to their country of origin. However, 850,000 persons registered with the organisation had refused repatriation and had to be considered as refugees in need of a permanent place of refuge. Thus a large number

of pre-war refugees from Russia, Armenia, Assyria, Germany, Austria and Spain faced questionable status and an uncertain future because certain inter-governmental organisations were inoperative.

At the first UN Session in 1945, Norwegian, United States, France, United Kingdom and other countries stressed that the refugee question was essentially a humanitarian and social problem and as such governed by the charter (Article No. 1) which says that one of the purposes of the UN is: 'To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.' But the European countries were holding a different opinion. During the discussion, most of the UN member countries defended the principle of voluntary repatriation and were opposed to forced repatriation. Eastern European countries were of the opinion that the refugee problem could be solved by repatriation through bilateral agreements between the countries concerned.

International Refugee Organisation (IRO)

On the 15th December 1946, the UN General Assembly approved setting up of the IRO. Established on a temporary basis, the IRO started operation from 1st July 1947. It assumed responsibility for all refugees who had previously been dependent on other organisations and admitted all other displaced persons meeting its criteria. In the words of the General Assembly, its "task was to put an end to one of the most tragic consequences of World War II". Its Head Quarters were in Geneva. About 90 offices were located all over Europe and in America and Asia.

The refugees dependent on the IRO originated from some 30 countries. Most of them were from Eastern Europe. The majority of them were living in West Germany, Austria, Italy, other countries in Western Europe, the Middle East, North Africa and China. The IRO was granted a period of 4½ years to fulfil its mission. During this time, over one million refugees were resettled (634,000 in the US, Canada, Australia and Israel alone); 73,000 were repatriated; and 410,000 remained in countries they wished to.

Long before the expiry of the mandate of the IRO, the need to create a successor to the IRO was discussed at UN Headquarters. By this time, a number of fugitives crossing the borders into Western European countries were once again swelled due to several dramatic incidents. Consequently the need was acutely felt for the establishment of universally acceptable criteria aimed at granting refugees the indisputable right of asylum. Thus in December 1948, the UN proclaimed the 'Universal Declaration of Human Rights' article 14 of which states that, 'everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution'. On the 3rd December 1949 the General Assembly decided to appoint a UN High Commissioner for refugees. The statute was promulgated by the General Assembly one year later and the UNHCR was placed under the authority of the General Assembly itself. Although its initial mandate was limited to a three year period to start from 1st January 1951, its design was not only innovative but also liberal.

United Nations High Commissioner For Refugees (UNHCR)

The UN General Assembly had adopted on 25th July 1951 the text of the Convention (see appendix) relating to the status of refugees. This Convention came into force on 22nd April 1954. By the end of 1986, it has been accepted by 100 states as one of the major instruments in the field of International Humanitarian Law. The first Commissioner of the UNHCR (1951-1956) Gerrit Jan van Heuven Goedhart was responsible for building up the organisation. He died in office at the age of 55.

By the 1960s with the emergence of new refugee situations especially in Africa, it became clear that the Convention was becoming rapidly obsolete. In 1967, the anomaly was removed by the General Assembly with the adoption of a Protocol - the 1967 Protocol - (see appendix), thus rendering the Convention potentially applicable to all refugee situations the world over. The question of admission of an asylum seeker and state responsibility in this regard remains one of the missing links, yet to be filled in International Refugee Law.

The United Nations also evolved a number of other conventions concerned with the problem of refugees as well as a number of Regional Conventions. Because there are a great

many refugees in Africa, particular importance is attached to the convention governing the specific aspects of the problems of refugees in Africa, adopted in 1969 by the Assembly of Heads of State and governments of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). While dealing with the right of asylum and non-deportation this Convention stresses that to admit an asylum seeker and recognise him as a refugee is not unfriendly to the country from which he came, but is a peaceful and humanitarian act.

The terms of a Convention become binding on the State which had ratified the Convention. Consequently the terms of the Convention are to be reflected in the laws and administrative regulations of the asylum country. The High Commissioner, therefore, encourages the governments to amend their laws or pass new ones, which recognise specifically the rights of refugees. The refugees in their turn should not only abide by the country's laws but should not also indulge in political activities directed against the government of their country of origin.

New Commissioner (1986...)

Jean-Pierre Hocke, the Director of the International Committee of the Red Cross is the present High Commissioner of UNHCR. With a staff of 1,600 in over 80 countries and a budget of US \$ 500m looks after 10m refugees from Afghanistan to Zimbabwe. The HCR is one of the UN's biggest programmes. The High Commissioner is recognised as one of who knows the 'field' well (*UN Homme du Terrain*). At his first press conference in January 1986, he stressed that he wished to tackle the refugee problem at its 'root' rather than simply go on assisting the refugees flowing endlessly into the camps in Somalia, Thailand or Pakistan. How far he can extend UNHCR's job into the sensitive and political arena that is at the root of these refugee movement remain to be seen.

Will he allow the UNHCR to serve the ends of the US Foreign Policy? Adoption of double standards is occasionally discernible in UNHCR's policy. For instance, while it brought considerable pressure on the South East Asian countries to provide asylum to the Vietnam boat people, it has allowed the US to reject Haitian boat people.

The UN function was started in the post-world war II period to help the victims of the political disruption of Europe. Today Europe once again feels itself besieged with refugees. There are non-Europeans from Sri Lanka, Chile and Zambia who become possible victims of racist xenophobia in the European countries where they seek asylum. Can the HC afford to ignore the need to protect refugees in his own Switzerland?

Today the traditional protection role of the office of the UN's HC for refugees is not always sufficient to safeguard the safety and welfare of refugees, for example, Provisional certificate on individual refugees can be used by UNHCR to stop deportation. They do not take this advantage since this involves lot of formalities and it may displease the country of deportation. Further they tend to accept the camp system in Europe which was stopped in 1956.

At the 35th meeting of the UNHCR's Executive Committee held in Oct. 1984, it was considered that the refugees who have already received asylum in one country, then moving to another country without first getting permission from the authorities of that state is described as irregular movement. Under the new UNHCR scheme, known as Refugee At Sea Resettlement Offers (RASAO) which began in 1985, 15 governments have ensured that visas would always be available when required by RASAO. There is also reimbursement scheme to ship owners to cover expenditure arising as a direct result of rescuing refugees.

UNHCR has been re-organised its set up. The former Division of International Protection is now known as the "Division of Refugee Law and Doctrine". The main International treaties of universal scope specially relevant to asylum and refugees are:

1. Convention of 28th July 1951 relating to the status of refugees.
2. The agreement of 23rd November 1957 relating to the refugee seamen.
3. The protocol of 31st January 1967 relating to the status of refugees.

4. The protocol of 12th June 1973 to the agreement relating to refugee seaman.

International Organisations

Increasing restrictive policies of European governments vis-a-vis asylum seeking refugees; treatment at the border, detention and deportation, had made many organisations to speak against these restrictions. Humiliating living conditions have to be endured while an asylum request is being examined, often for years on end. Some Governments try to remove asylum seekers to other countries or to deter new arrivals. Voluntary organisations have come forward to organise a number of seminars at the international level in order to fight against harsh government policies towards refugees. Following are the seminars held in different places and the international Organisations.

1. Seminar on the Integration of Refugees in Europe held in Geneva, Sep. 1983 upon the invitation of UNHCR.
2. World Council of Churches consultation of the protection of asylum seekers in Western countries held at Niagra Falls in May 1984.
3. The first seminar at Zeist (Netherlands) held in January 1982 on "Problem of Asylum seekers in Europe".
Second seminar at Zeist from 16-18 January 1985 "on Restrictive Asylum Policy in Europe",
It was attended by 36 participants representing 24 non-governmental agencies from 9 European countries and by 14 observers from International Organisations.
4. The standing conference of Canadian organisations concerned for refugees held in Ontario from May 30 to June 1st 1985.
5. In each country, voluntary organisations have been holding regular seminars.
6. The Council of Europe ad hoc committee of experts on the legal aspects of territorial asylum, refugees and stateless persons (CAHAR) provides twice yearly occasions for exchange on current matter.

CHAPTER
ANNEXES

7. Member States of the Council of Europe.
8. Regular seminars organised by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.
9. Inter European Corporation in the field of legal information and legal council.
10. Several of Refugee Councils in each country.
11. Amnesty International (United Kingdom).
12. International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC)
13. Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues (ICHI)
14. International Council of Voluntary Agencies (ICVA), Geneva.
15. International Disaster Institute (IDI).
16. International Refugee Integration Resources Centre (IRIRC)
17. Inter-governmental Committee for Migration
18. European Consultation of Refugees and Exiles (Netherlands)
19. CARITAS Internationalis (Rome).

20. The Hague Consultation on asylum and refugees in Europe, its informal working group met in Geneva on the 24th and 25th June to exchange news regarding the plight of asylum seekers from Sri Lanka. The participants recognised that "the only way to make progress towards solutions for those who have sought refuge outside their country is through a concerted international approach. Any solution must take into account both political, social and economic realities, as well as internally accepted humanitarian standards."

NEW RESTRICTIVE POLICIES

Today the countries of Western Europe face a refugee phenomenon which is different in that the people feeling to these countries in search of refuge no longer come from the communist countries in Europe as in the past. Today the major portion of those arriving in search of refuge are from the third world countries, mainly from Asia, Africa and Latin America. These refugees, whose language, religion, social and cultural values, customs and complexion differ radically from those amidst whom they seek refuge, have made the Europeans react sharply to their presence. While the refugees from communist countries have been received with supportive sympathy, these refugees from the third world have received a far less enthusiastic reception.

Deep seated racial prejudices, and sentiments of social intolerance have emerged in reaction to their growing presence as political instability in the third world drives more and more of them to seek refuge. Gradually the opposition to their presence has grown into intolerance and resentment, as a result several European countries have now passed legislations designed to restrict the inflow of refugees. This reaction is also further aggravated by the economic crisis these countries face, since their capitalist economies have proved to be incapable of meeting the economic expectations of their own citizens. This economic crisis that is now rapidly destroying the illusion of unending progress that emerged with the beginning of the industrial revolution, is giving rise to an increase in unemployment that plays into the hands of racial prejudices so that factions claiming that the influx of foreigners is the cause of the unemployment are rapidly gaining ground in the political sphere. Ironically it can be seen on closer analysis of the global economy that the

crisis engendered within the third world from which these refugees, are fleeing, stems from the economic relations that have grown up between the developed countries and the third world following the industrial revolution and the establishment of economic and political empires commonly described as the phenomenon of imperialism.

MEASURES OF DETERRENCE

Within this total context, it becomes clearly apparent that the measures of deterrence taken even in those cases where it is believed that they bring about a decline in the number of arrivals, do not deal with the causes prompting the asylum seekers to leave their country and seek asylum in lands with which they are quite unfamiliar. In fact if the underlying political causes of the upheavals compelling the refugees to flee for the safety are taken into consideration, these deterrent measures evolved by the Developed countries would appear reprehensible and also in clear violation of their international obligations towards refugees. If these deterrent measures are increased and strictly enforced, undoubtedly the persons from the third world would be forced to seek refuge in other third world countries, thereby further straining the fragile economies of these developing countries and also alienating the peoples of the third world more and more from the developed countries. This alienation may well lead to a crisis in their political relations with an attendant threat to world peace.

Within the present international political and economical context where relations between countries have been such that they have led to the exploitation of whole regions whose development has therefore been sacrificed to the growth of a handful of nations which today enjoy the fruits of modern technological development and advancement, these deterrent measures are quite undesirable. When the causes of the flight of these refugees from their own countries, often against their wishes, are related to their personal safety or to the apprehension about their socio-economic future, the measure of deterrence are quite inappropriate and likely to create further grave international problems.

An inadequate response

The in-adequacy of deterrence as a response to the refugee situation is made quite clear when one takes into account the fact that these deterrent measures do nothing to reduce

or relieve, far less to remove, the economic and social pressures in the countries of their origin. Following these, currently evident policies of deterrence, the notion of 'Manifestly unfounded' claims, or 'Abusive' claims are being used increasingly in a number of Developed countries in order to reject applications which ought to be examined in the normal manner under established procedures. It is absolutely essential in connection with the invocation of these provisions that if the notion of 'Manifestly unfounded' or 'Abusive' claims is to be applied, these terms should be interpreted strictly in keeping with the criteria adopted in the conclusions of the Executive Committee of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees at its 33rd and 34th Sessions.

Any procedures established to deal with 'Manifestly Unfounded' or 'Abusive' asylum claims must be implemented by the authority normally competent to deal with and decide on the acceptability of claims for asylum. These procedures should provide for the possibility of appeal or review. The applicant must also be permitted to remain in the territory where asylum has been sought, pending the final decision. In addition to this, the difficulties frequently confronting the asylum seekers in establishing their claims should be recognised. In particular, they should not be required to maintain an unduly high standard of compliance with regard to regulations that demand documentary evidence of their situation. They should be permitted the benefit of doubt when such documentary evidence is not available or when the production of such evidence is capable of exposing them and/or their family members to danger in the country of their origin.

Illegitimacy of deterrent measures :

All developed countries by accepting the different conventions have undertaken to allow asylum seekers to enter their territory, at least temporarily, in order to justify their request for asylum and/or recognition of refugee status and for enjoying, if applicable, the rights and freedoms provided for by these conventions. The right to asylum, i.e., the subjective right to be granted asylum, is provided for by the constitution or by other national provisions in the majority of the developed countries. Hence it is clear that by adopting measures of deterrence deliberately calculated to dissuade, deter or prevent refugees from entering its territory in order to request asylum, the State concerned is effectively trying to render inoperative its international obligations with respect to asylum and refugee

status. In many cases these measures of deterrence constitute a violation of the constitutional or other legal provisions on the granting of asylum of the State concerned.

Detention measures are frequently encountered in many countries where asylum seekers are detained as illegal entrants prior to the lodging of their claims for asylum. In some countries, detention of aliens has become a form of discrimination, where certain nationalities are more liable to detention than others. As a general rule, asylum seekers should not be subjected to detention, although it is clear that there may be exceptional circumstances in which an individual measure could be justified. The asylum seekers should not be placed in detention except under rare circumstances, is one of the principles of Article No. 31 of the United Nations Convention on Refugees of 1951. The Convention deals with the problem of some countries detaining asylum seekers for long periods of time after refusal of their applications, because of their being no country to which they could be sent, and expresses the position that this practice should be discontinued.

Extradition

Although fully aware of the implications of article 1F(b), in certain European countries persons are extradited prior to the completion of asylum procedures, to the country where they fear persecution. In some cases, refugees have been extradited or threatened with extradition even after recognition. In at least one case, a refugee has been extradited under the rules of speciality. These practices are serious violations of the principles laid down in the 1951 Convention, and, of general International Law governing the granting of asylum to persons seeking protection and refuge.

Social Costs and Psychological Strains

Asylum seekers are totally dependent on the goodwill of their host country. As such, they are in need of much greater assistance than the economically depressed section of the country in which they have sought refuge. Despite this, the level of social assistance made available to the citizens of the country concerned.

The situation has now been further worsened by the institution of procedures under which asylum seekers are denied all monetary allowance and are provided with the required social

assistance only in kind. Not only is this practice psychologically undesirable but it also appears to be designed precisely in order to create humiliating relations between the refugees and the authorities they relate to since these new procedures create several administrative difficulties and cost much more than it does to provide the refugees with a simple cash dole to cover their needs.

It is also necessary to ensure that a minimum standard of physical and mental health is maintained amongst the refugees through the adoption of suitable measures such as providing access to public health insurance and primary health care facilities immediately on arrival. Bureaucratic measure such as the requirement of preliminary authorisation with short-term validity in order to obtain medical care are totally unacceptable and must be replaced with more efficient and human measures.

The practice of restricting Non-Governmental Organisations involvement in the rehabilitation of refugees must also be stopped. The voluntary agencies must be permitted to assist the refugees in learning the local language adapting to local customs and seeking employment.

Restrictions on education

Restriction are placed on the asylum seekers ability to acquire any education or pursue courses of higher education or specialised training. Training in any vocational course is also not made available. Even learning the language of the country concerned is sometimes not permitted to the refugees.

This restriction totally irrational. This can be viewed as yet another measure aimed at deterring the asylum seekers from entering the land and encouraging those who have arrived to leave. As such, it is perhaps one of the most heartless and inhuman measures of deterrence adopted since it cripples the individual for life and disables him from fitting into the modern economic context and earn a living.

Restrictions on employment

The denial of employment to the asylum seekers is another serious disability inflicted upon them. It leads to the progressive loss of their marketable skills, reduces their motivation and depresses their psychology. The resulting inability for the families of asylum seekers to function as compact economic units leads to their disintegration.

In view of the fact that the majority of the asylum seekers will ultimately be allowed to remain in Europe, this restriction on their employment is a needless form of harassment. It is nothing but a part and parcel of the 'Package of deterrents' that the European countries have put together in order to discourage the asylum seekers from entering their countries,

This underlying policy must be done away with. The asylum seekers must be provided with employment wherever possible and with facilities for retraining where it is necessary for them to enter new occupations. The provision of employment training facilities to all asylum seekers must be ensured since even if they are ultimately denied asylum, the skills acquired will not be in vain.

Another unhappy trend that emerges is that despite this restriction on the asylum seekers right to work, there have been instances when they have been forced to engage in community work. These measures are contrary to the International Labour Office Convention on Forced Labour.

Restrictions on freedom of movement

Despite the high value placed upon the personal freedom of movement in developed countries, the asylum seekers often have strictures placed upon their freedom of movement. They are often confined to camps of one sort or another. For instance in Germany the law prescribes that asylum seekers must, as a rule, be accommodated in 'assembly camps'. Conditions in these camps have been severely denounced as being humiliating, dirty and intolerable. In addition, they are not allowed to leave the district where they have been assigned residence. Switzerland has about 35 reception centres and the government encourages the construction of more. The Netherlands specially created the camps system for the Tamils. France has provisional accommodation centres within which accommodation is up to the option of the asylum seekers. However the truth of the matter here is not that the country has adopted a policy that is more rational and humanitarian in nature but rather infrastructures to implement any form of restriction on their freedom of movement. In Europe in 1956 camp system was abolished for the European refugees.

The general tendency behind these restrictions imposed on the asylum seekers' freedom of movement is one of increasing surveillance on them and generally making their stay uncomfortable. When the extended period of time that it takes for an application

for asylum to be processed and a ruling made, it becomes clear that these restrictions on movement form a powerful deterrent to those entering the country in search of refuge. It is also important to note that these restrictions on the movement of the asylum seekers is contrary to the spirit of the Convention of Refugees (Article 26) and to the International Instrument on Human Rights. It is contrary to Article 2 of Protocol 4 of the European Convention on Human Rights. It is contrary to Articles 12 of the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights.

Linked with this restriction on their right to free movement is the limitation imposed on their right to reside where they choose. They are being confined to camps and hostels which are not conducive to comfort. The asylum seekers must be provided with accommodation of a reasonable standard where they can maintain themselves in a self-reliant manner. The practice of collective feeding must also be stopped and the asylum seekers must be permitted to cook their own meals.

Laws relating to Aliens and the Granting of Asylum

Asylum law determines the attitude a country adopts to those who approach its borders seeking refuge. At the border, all those seeking entrance to the country are the same in the eyes of usual civil law. In order to be treated under asylum law, the person approaching the border has to behave in a manner that is different from the usual traveller. Their behaviour has to make it quite clear that they are in danger of facing persecution and that they are in need of asylum. They have to ask for asylum and explain their motives and show whatever evidence is available to support their claim for special entrance.

The policy of deterrence practiced by Developed countries is an abhorrent one creating humiliation to the refugees and asylum seekers. These countries, like all others, are also anxious to find out an end to the problems posed by refugees and asylum seekers. Bringing pressure to bear upon the asylum seekers and refugees themselves can hardly be accepted as an effective or legitimate means of solving the problem. They are, after all, innocent victims of circumstances that are beyond their control. Hence these countries who wish to see an end to the problem of refugees and asylum seekers should concentrate their attention and energies not on accelerating the flow of these fugitives but on bringing about appropriate and permanent changes in the circumstances that have forced these people to flee from their own countries.

Conclusion : Myths and Appeal

Refugees and the economic crisis

The Paris based Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) monitors the economies of the Western industrialised nations. In its latest report, it has estimated that some 31 million persons may remain unemployed in the OECD countries, averaging 8.25% of the total workforce.

In North America, comprising the United States and Canada, this level of unemployment is likely to rise. The prospects for Europe are mixed. Britain is likely to have one of the largest unemployment rates by the year 1987. Its projected percentage of 11.75% compared with the second highest of 11.5% is the highest for Europe. Unemployment figures will be 10.25% for France and 7.25% for Germany. The average for Western Europe will be 11.0%

The increase in applications for asylum coincided with the sharpening of the economic crisis in Europe. During this period, many European nations felt obliged to refuse extension of stay permits to substantial number of immigrant workers. A high proportion of the applications for asylum received during this period were, therefore, from persons who did not wish to leave these countries where they had resided for long periods of time and which they consequently did not wish to leave, and not from people who were seeking to enter the country for the first time.

The economic crisis in Europe at the time was not, of course, an isolated phenomenon. It had its reverberations in the under developed and developing countries as well. It was no co-incidence that many of the Developed countries had close economic ties with the poorer third world nations that shared the economic

destabilisation that was felt during this period. This economic crisis had its effects on the political situation as well. The European countries adopted measures that were sharply discriminatory and which selectively affected the economic wellbeing of the foreign workers. Similarly sections of the population in the less developed nations too found their economic base being threatened and their response to this threat often took the form of some sort of political persecution based on ideology or race. The result was that a section of persecuted people sought refuge in the more developed nations. The first stage of this phenomenon became evident when students from the poorer countries who were studying in Europe began to refuse to return to their own countries which were undergoing the throes of political unrest, and chose instead to apply for asylum in the countries where they had been studying.

Hence it becomes apparent that the prevailing notion that many Developed Countries were during this period "Invaded" by hordes of people from the third world seeking asylum, and these asylum seekers face no political crisis but have come to Europe merely to better their economic prospects for the future, can be seen to be patently false. Unfortunately, this illusion persists within the consciousness of the Western people and it is this illusion that is manipulated by interested persons in order to produce racist and xenophobic attitudes.

Are the Sri Lankans considered as economic refugees? This is not true if one were to have an objective view of the situation that has developed and still obtains in Sri Lanka. These refugees have come out of the country in order to save their lives. 90% of these people are from the age group of 19-40 years who have left all their family members and fled the country. Their parents and families want them to be out of the country whether they have been involved in political action or not. In the Tamil social and cultural context, the male member in the family looks after his parents and sisters. Had these people continued in Sri Lanka, they would have assisted them with the earnings they make or assisted the families in the family agricultural production. Now their conscience is deeply strained because they are unable to do this. Wherever they are, they have the duty to support their family members financially in whatever small way possible. Because of this, the little money they save they send home. Does this mean that they are economic refugees?

A few may have a reasonable amount of money. This is possible if 2 or 3 members of the same family are employed abroad. The younger members of the family give their savings to the eldest member of the family and the latter shares the total income with their parents. This does not mean that they have got money by illegal means. There may be a few cases of individuals who might make money by illegal means. Some of them might work without a permit to earn a little extra money whenever possible. These are only isolated cases to be disregarded while objectively and realistically examining the situation.

Economic problem can be solved is only through providing employment at least on a part time basis. Jobs and profit sharing can be utilised as avenues by which employment opportunities can be increased. This involves a change in the present economic policy of these countries and not the use of refugees as an excuse for failure to make this change.

Increasing number of coloured refugees

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, there are now 12 million refugees spread through out the world. More than 4/5ths of this number are in the non-industrialised developing countries, which by definition are ill equipped to provide proper care and assistance to these refugees. While the majority of these refugees are concentrated in Asia, Africa comes second in the line of those called upon to play host to these unfortunate people. Within Asia itself, Pakistan is the country with the highest concentration of refugees. Today there is one refugees for every 7 persons of Pakistan population while only 3% of the refugees are in Europe. The upsurge of racist sentiments which have been awakened earlier by the presence of a large number of immigrant workers is therefore only an excuse made by the Developing world to avoid responsibility of accepting a fair share of coloured refugees. This excuse is also used to justify the new laws enacted to discourage refugees entering the Developed countries

International Awareness

It is generally recognised that the problem of refugees are international one and that international co-operation is necessary in order to cope with the burden placed upon countries that have to host the refugees. The international assistance is vital in order to fill the economic vacuum between the legal right of a State to grant asylum and the principle of non-deportation.

No rational effort to solve the problems caused by the influx of refugees is at all possible without first exploding the myth that there is an endless horde of persons from the third world seeking economic betterment in European countries by claiming to be refugees. This myth cannot be fought from a liberal point of view but has to be demolished through a consistent campaign of disseminating causes of each separate refugee situation, call upon the government to adopt appropriate foreign policy stands, and make adjustments in its economic aid programme towards the refugee country. On an overall basis, a constant campaign must be mounted in order to drive home the point that the brunt of the refugee problem is at present being borne only by the developing countries and not by the industrialised developed nations. The fact that most refugees come from countries that are not extremely poor must also be publicised besides emphasising that it is to escape from personal danger, that they have fled from their homeland.

Often the developing world is the source of much of the raw material and cheap labour that the affluence of the industrialised world depends on. The industrialised world, therefore, depends on the governments of these poorer countries being sufficiently well disposed towards them as to identify their interests with that aim and thus act in their interests rather than in the interests of the people of their own developing countries. With the rise in political consciousness, such strategies are soon subjected to question, and opposition to the regime friendly towards the industrial nations begins to build up. The regime and its friends are naturally seen as oppressive forces. Thus the industrial countries fearing the loss of their access to the raw materials and manpower, and also as is increasing, the strategic advantage obtainable from their presence in the country concerned, begin to support the embattled regime in an effort to hold on to their privileges. Sooner or later the struggle is militarised and assures the proportion of an armed struggle with an attendant refugee problem.

There is also a great need for a global perspective with regard to efforts to solve the current crises. For instance, the fact that the combined foreign policies of the European and other developed countries do contribute a great deal to the conflicts that give rise to refugees is little known and not widely publicised. Arms provided to repressive regims that stand in the way of popularly accepted political change in the developing world often leads to the use of violence against these repressive governments.

This violence is then characterised as 'Terrorism' and more arms and other repressive apparatus are poured in to prop up the besieged government.

In order to ensure a stable political and economical situation in the countries from which refugees and asylum seekers emerge, the developed countries must maintain a rational and coherent foreign policy aimed at achieving these ends. The practice of funding dictatorial and racist regimes, for instance, can be direct cause of the emergence of refugee and despite the fact that this is now well recognised, the developing countries continue to fund such regimes even while lamenting the problem of refugees. The parcelling out of development aid must also be tied firmly to conditions of political stability. The sale of arms must also be brought under the control of a firm policy that determines under what conditions such sales may be made. There is little use in lamenting the presence of refugees while the government continues to provide the guns that causes people to flee their countries.

Hence, it can be seen that the European countries along with other developed industrial nations contribute significantly to the refugee phenomenon. It is time now that they contribute in a systematical manner towards solving the problem too.

An appeal to the Developed Countries

In the light of the measure evolved by other countries to deter asylum seekers from arriving within their borders, it is not surprising to see the 155 Tamils having adopted a novel and risky mode of travel. The Canadian authorities attitude of welcoming them is certainly commendable, but what is important is the fact that these refugees have been subjected to such great pressure that they had chosen to take such high risks in order to find a place of refuge. The question has been raised to the effect that these persons appeared to have been fleeing not from their original country but from countries of first refuge. If this is correct, then it compounds the gravity of their situation for it proves that not only are refugees being forced to flee their countries, but also that the treatment being meted out to them in the countries where they sought refuge earlier has become so hostile as to force them to flee yet again to other countries. There may also be other personal factors involved in the making of such a precarious flight but what it does prove clearly is that we have entered into an age where the refugee phenomenon needs greater attention and stronger safeguards are needed in order to protect these fugitives from harassment at the hands of the countries where they seek refuge.

If harassment in any form is to be avoided, then certain measures must be taken whatever the economic situation of the host country may be. The whole question of rejecting applications on the grounds that they are manifestly unfounded must be re-examined as the logic that holds it to be probably that a large number of people flee their country with no more justification than to better their economic interests is one that runs counter to sociological trends where people tend to form their identities on the basis of their geographical locations. Provisions must be made for the following :

1. The open welcome of the refugee and the provision of income generating sources with all necessary assistance until the refugee can establish himself independently. The refugee should be assumed to be genuine until and unless proved otherwise.
2. The acceptance of large number of refugee from any country must set in motion an immediate change in foreign policy that is conducive to the encouragement of the government to solve whatever problem the refugees may be facing. The cost of maintaining those who flee must be off set against any economic aid that may be guaranteed to the government.
3. In the case of armed conflicts and civil war, the emphasis should shift from the question of terrorism to that of the states response to terrorism the phenomenon now known as State terrorism, where the popular aspirations of the people that have been uncowed by repressive means is subjected to attacks by the State armed forces. This phenomenon should be severely dealt with so that the use of force in political change becomes unnecessary, thereby minimising the need for people to flee their country.

Demoralisation, deprivation and dependency have been some of the main outcomes of present day refugee assistance programmes should not be linked to the idea of an indefinite and never ending process of providing assistance to the refugees. Refugees should be assisted in such a manner that they are able to retain their dignity. Moreover they should be motivated to involve themselves in the resolution of the crisis their country faces so that their links with their country are maintained and they can look forward to returning to their land one day.

Appeal to the Nation

Important changes must be made in the convention on refugees and its additional Protocol of 1967. The scope of these instruments should be widened so as to cover not only just individuals seeking political asylum but also provide for whole peoples who are threatened with violations of their human rights. This is the only way in which ridiculous situations such as the one now being faced by the Tamils from Sri Lanka can be avoided. In their case almost the whole world accepts the fact that Sri Lanka is now torn by Civil War and that the Tamils are at the receiving end of the armed might of the State armed forces. However when it comes to a question of refugee status or political asylum these same countries reject their applications on the grounds that individual causes for the granting of asylum must exist and be proved.

The further inhumanity of dragging out the cases for asylum submitted by the refugees while they languish with on hopes for a future, must also be stopped. It may be argued that legal proceedings take time, but this is precisely why the asylum seeker must be allowed and to set up house and lead a normal life until, and unless he is proved to be ineligible to do so. Governments appear to derive the possibility of appeasing their opponents by thus accounting for the presence of the refugees by claiming that they are not deported, but the conditions under which they are allowed remain, despite the claim that they are being allowed to do so on humanitarian grounds, are anything but humanitarian. Often the excuse for this inhuman treatment is sought in minute racist factions whose slogans are amplified by the government and projected as a strong opposition to the presence of the asylum seekers. In doing so the government only helps develop and strengthen such racist trends. In some instances refugees are discouraged in order to cater to the relationship between the government of their own country and that of the country where they have sought refuge.

In the case of the Sri Lankan Tamils it can be clearly seen that it is the young males who have fled in search of refuge and this ought to prove that they are faced with an enemy that is selective in its destruction and therefore highly organised. Despite this clearly evident factor, the Sri Lankans are still asked to prove their cases on an individual basis and their applications are often rejected. This leads to their wondering from country to country seeking a land that will allow them to remain in dignity and peace until they can return to their own.

With the exception of those who left the Island before 1972 and settled in the USA, Canada and Australia and those who went to Germany and France and other European countries before 1978 all the other Sri Lankan refugees are in constant state of tension due to the undecided state of their future. Most of them now consider that they have made a mistake in fleeing their country—implying of course that the death they faced there was less daunting than the harassment faced in their attempts to secure asylum in foreign lands—and realise that they are caught up in a situation where they cannot return to their country while at the same time they face economic and cultural degeneration in their present context. The most humanitarian solution to their situation is that they be accepted by the countries willing to do so and that they be allowed to build their lives anew there or grainfully occupy themselves until they are able to return to their country.

Appeal to the Tamils

No doubt, you are going through a bitter experience and struggling for existence in a foreign country. You are constantly under pressure and anxiety and tension when you hear of the continued atrocities heaped on your own kith and kin in your own homeland. Despite all these difficulties, you have chosen this difficult path of seeking refuge in foreign lands amidst people to whom the problems you face in your homeland are unknown. They may not understand or appreciate your values or your lifestyle. Still you must be patient and bear the problems with equanimity, adjust your behaviour, conduct and character keeping the following in mind always.

1. Be conscious of what is taking place in Sri Lanka and diffuse this knowledge to the people where you are now.
2. You also have a responsibility to make every possible attempt to solve the present situation in your homeland

and do so as one united group without letting yourselves be divided in support of various political or militant factions.

3. During your stay in abroad, make use of your time by studying the language and any other study having appropriate technology which will be helpful in the task of re-building your homeland once you return. To acquire this knowledge and other kinds of assistance, you should adopt only democratic and legal means.
4. Be satisfied in the country where you are rather than spending your time crossing over from one country to another.
5. Always keep in mind the fact that the instance of misbehaviour from an individual is enough to get a bad name for the entire Tamil community and it will create distress and ill-feelings towards all the people. Therefore please ensure that you do not involve yourself in any social evils. The anti-social activities will lead to resentment amongst the people who have given you refuge in their country. Even if you are forced to protest against intolerable or discriminatory treatment, however just your cause may be, try to keep your demonstrations within the democratic norms and pattern as used by the local people themselves.
6. The present critical situation within your homeland has compelled some of you to think along narrow and divisive terms of caste, religion, class or political preferences. But you should see yourselves as Tamil refugees anxiously waiting for the successful liberation of your nation from the clutches of the forces of neo-colonial exploitation and political oppression and racism. This should be the spirit under which you should live and in every action you undertake while in exile.

A BUNDLE OF BELONGINGS ISN'T THE ONLY THING A REFUGEE BRINGS TO HIS NEW COUNTRY.

IT DOESN'T TAKE MUCH TO BECOME A REFUGEE, YOUR RACE OR BELIEFS CAN BE ENOUGH

A REFUGEE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE YOUR PROBLEMS.

Number of Tamil Refugees

TABLE : X

| COUNTRY | Sri Lankan Refugees 1986 | Total No. of Refugees 1986 | Total Population in million 1980 |
|----------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| India | 130,000 | 137,200 | 663.6 |
| F.R. Germany | 26,000 | 134,000 | 61.56 |
| France | 22,000 | 174,200 | 53.71 |
| Switzerland | 4,500 | 30,600 | 6.37 |
| Netherlands | 2,500 | 15,000 | 14.14 |
| United Kingdom | 3,500 | 135,000 | 52.0 |
| Denmark | 2,000 | 8,500 | 5.12 |
| Sweden | 600 | 90,600 | 8.31 |
| Norway | 500 | 11,800 | 4.09 |
| Italy | 400 | 15,200 | 57.04 |
| Belgium | 75 | 36,600 | 9.86 |
| Canada | 3,000+ | 353,000 | 23.94 |
| U.S.A. | 3,000 | 1000,000 | 227.64 |
| Australia | 300+ | 89,000 | 14.62 |

Besides this refugee population there are a number of Sri Lankans Tamil immigrants in :

| | |
|-------------|--------|
| U. S. A. | 10,000 |
| Canada | 8,000 |
| U. K. | 35,000 |
| Australia | 20,000 |
| Switzerland | 250 |

And a very small number in Germany, France, Netherlands, Belgium and in Italy.

APPENDIX-1

The Plight of Refugee Claimants

Refugee claimants are among the most wretched people in Canada. They have fled countries where they have been imprisoned for their beliefs, they may have been tortured, their lives may have been threatened. They know no one or almost no one in Canada. They normally cannot speak either French or English. A refugee claim can take years to process before a final determination is reached. Until a person is recognized as a refugee, he is not recognized as a resident, even though he may be here for years. Despite his lengthy stay, he is treated as if he will be leaving in a week or two.

There are few areas of life that are not regulated by government and there are few areas of government regulation where residency does not make a difference. Whenever residency does make a difference, a refugee claimant suffers. On top of it all, there is a conscious effort not to make refugee claimants too comfortable here, for fear it will lead to abuse of the refugee claims system. Refugee claimants, by and large, come from Third World countries, that lack the standard of living and infrastructure of Canada. Allowing refugee claimants too easy access to a Canadian standard of living would, it is feared, attract frivolous refugee claimants trying to benefit from a temporary stay in Canada. The result is that the misery refugee claimants suffer is not just circumstance. It is there by design.

Complicating the problems the claimants face is the fact that there are two ways of making a refugee claim, in status and out of status. The problems a claimant faces depends on whether he makes his claim in status or out of status.

An in status claim is a claim made while the claimant is still a visitor in Canada. If a person makes a claim in status, his status is extended until the claim is determined. The person, theoretically, retains his status as a visitor.

An out of status claimant is a person who has lost his visitor's status, or who never had visitor status. Such a person has no status in Canada. He is in Canada pending determination of his claim, and for no other reason.

The problems refugee claimants face can be seen in the work permit system, in their work search efforts, in the school permit system, in medicare, in legal aid, in welfare, in family allowance, in drivers' licences and the difficulties they face in family reunion.

1. Work Permits

One general rule is that a foreign worker has to apply from outside Canada to get a work permit. Another general rule is that the claimant must have a job offer certified by the Government of Canada as being a job for which no Canadian is available.

Out of status refugee claimants are exempt from both of the rules. A out of status refugee claimant may obtain a work permit, even though he applies from within Canada. He may obtain a work permit even though the Government of Canada is not prepared to certify that there is no Canadian available for the job. Superficially, refugee claimants are advantaged by these exemptions. However, these exemptions are the cause of lot of their problems. There is a suspicion that refugee claimants come to Canada, not to seek protection, but in order to benefit from these exemptions. This suspicion works against claimants in a number of ways. It makes their refugee claims harder to establish. A refugee claim invariably depends on the credibility of the claimant. When a claimant benefits financially from making a claim, his credibility is put under a cloud. The suspicion creates a countervailing tendency. There is a tendency to prevent claimants from doing too well financially.

A work permit will be given only if the claimant will be destitute without it. If he has friends or relatives in Canada willing to support him, he will be denied a work permit. To obtain a work permit he must establish, to the satisfaction of immigration officials, that his friends and relatives in Canada are not willing or able to support him. If one member of the family is working, then other members of the family cannot work. An exception is made only where the family would be eligible for welfare.

even with one family member working. In that case, a second family member will be allowed to work. If a claimant has a work permit for one job, he will not be given a work permit for another. He will not be able to hold two jobs at once. Again an exception is made only where the claimant, without the second job, would be eligible for welfare. The effect of these restrictions is to impoverish claimants. They are allowed to earn enough to keep off welfare, but no more. Government thwarts any earning initiative beyond that.

For in status claimants, the situation is even worse. An out of status claimant may not be entitled to a work permit, but at least he is eligible to be considered for one. The immigration manual the government puts out as guidelines for immigration officers says that in status claimants do not enjoy any privilege provided under the Immigration Act to an out of status claimant in respect of eligibility for employment authorization. The department has the power to refuse even to consider an application for a work permit made by a refugee claimant in status.

2. Work Search

Through the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC), the Government of Canada offers an employment service, matching job offers with job applicants. It is a heavily used service, particularly for unskilled labour.

Refugees claimants cannot take advantage of this service. They are not allowed to register with CEIC. The government restricts the service to residents of Canada. Refugee claimants must find work on their own.

3. Schooling

In status claimants have to conform to the terms in which status was granted in order to retain their status. They can go to school only if they have permission to go to school, given by the Department of Immigration.

The department will give permission to go to school only to minor dependants of refugee claimants. It will not give permission to go to school to adult refugee claimants. The position of the department is that "studies are not considered necessary for subsistence while a claim is being determined." Before a

minor dependant is given permission to go to school, there must be a statement from the school that any non-resident fees that are payable have been paid. Schools do not have to charge refugee claimants non-resident fees. If they do, the charges can be onerous.

Out of status claimants can go to school without authorization. There is no blanket permission in the law. There is just no provision in the law for out of status refugee claimants who wish to go to school. Because the law does not provide for the situation, immigration officials have no say in whether out of status refugee claimants go to school or not.

CEIC finances training programs at community colleges, and on-the-job training to give Canadians the skills they need to find work. Refugee claimants are ineligible for these training programs. Because they are not permanent residents, they need not apply.

4. Medicare

Medicare eligibility is determined provincially, not federally and eligibility can vary from province to province. In Manitoba, according to the Manitoba Health Services Commission, a refugee claimant is eligible for medicare once he has work permits totalling twelve months or more. A claimant need not have one work permit totalling twelve months or more. It is enough if he has several work permits that together total twelve months or more. A claimant need not have actually worked twelve months. His eligibility commences as soon as he receives a work permit that will take him to twelve months. So, for instance, if he is given sequence of four three-month work permits, then, after nine months, after he received his fourth permit, he would be eligible for medicare. This rule imposes a deprivation on refugee claimants. Claimants do not get work as soon as they arrive in Canada. They may not get work at all.

Private health insurance may simply not be available. Manitoba Blue Cross has a visitor health care plan. The application must be received by Blue Cross within seven days of arrival in Manitoba. The terms of the policy plus all extensions cannot exceed 32 days. Persons applying for immigrant status are not eligible for coverage under the plan.

A person denied medicare is not denied medical help. Doctors and hospitals will give medical help to refugee claimants, but they will charge the claimants. These charges can discourage people from seeking medical care they need. If the charges are not paid, they may be put out to collection. Harassment by bill collectors is an additional trouble refugee claimants hardly need.

5. Legal Aid

Like medicare, legal aid is a provincial matter. Legal aid eligibility rules can vary from province to province. In Ontario, the regulations provide that each area director has the power to issue legal aid certificates to residents. Area directors cannot issue legal aid certificates to non-residents. Only the director of legal aid can do that. In practice, in Ontario, except in a rare case, refugee claimants are not issued legal aid certificates.

The Canadian refugee determination process is complex. A claimant without a lawyer can be at a serious disadvantage. There are lawyers who will volunteer their services when legal aid is not available. The unavailability of legal aid can discourage a claimant from even approaching a lawyer to act.

6. Welfare

Welfare is, theoretically, subject to national standards. The Canada Assistance Plan provides for federal cost sharing of provincial welfare. Under the plan, need is the only criterion for welfare eligibility. Residence in Canada is not relevant. There have been, in spite of federal requirements, provincial restrictions based on residency. The B.C. welfare regulations provide that a welfare recipient must be either a Canadian citizen or a permanent resident. In one case, the B.C. welfare authorities gave welfare to a refugee claimant. The B.C. government appealed the granting of welfare to the courts. The Supreme Court of B.C. held that the B.C. welfare regulations prohibited a refugee claimant from getting welfare, since such a person was not a resident.

It is cold comfort to refugee claimants that British Columbia is in violation of the Canada Assistance Plan. The Minister of Employment and Immigration has sided with refugee claimants and against the Government of B.C. on this issue. Yet refugee claimants in B.C. are still ineligible for welfare.

7. Family Allowance

According to the Family Allowances Act, to be eligible for family allowance, a person must be a citizen, a permanent resident, a visitor, or the holder of a permit. According to the Family Allowances Regulations, if a person is eligible as a visitor or holder of a permit, he must be authorized to remain at least twelve months, and his income must be subject to income tax.

Out of status refugee claimants are neither visitors nor permit holders. They are, in principle, not eligible for family allowance.

In status refugee claimants are visitors. An in status refugee claimant would be eligible for family allowances, provided he was authorized to remain at least twelve months, and his income was subject to income tax.

However, in status claimants are not entitled to be considered for work permits. In status claimants are denied work permits, simply because they are in status. An in status claimant will normally be unable to earn the income and pay the income tax that will allow him to receive family allowance.

8. Drivers' Licences

Provincial Highway Traffic Acts typically provide that a non-resident may drive without a licence issued by the province for three months. A non-resident can rely on any licence he may have been issued by the jurisdiction from which he came.

The acts do not say that a person has to be a resident to obtain a driver's licence. In practice, that is how they are interpreted. Refugee claimants are denied the possibility of applying for drivers' licences. If they appeal to supervisory staff, the initial decision may be reversed. However, the initial refusal may be enough to discourage claimants from going any further.

9. Family Reunion

Adding to the hardships of grappling with government bureaucracies is the fact that refugee claimants are often alone. If they came from a country with a visa requirement, a visa will not be issued to allow their families to join them. The

Government of Canada will not issue a visitor's visa to a spouse or children to allow them to join refugee claimants in Canada.

Only permanent residents and citizens can sponsor their immediate family to come to Canada. Refugee claimants, whether in status or out of status, will not be allowed to sponsor their families for entry into Canada.

Because a refugee claim can take years before it is finally determined, claimants can be separated from their families for a prolonged period of time. This prolonged separation can lead to marriage breakdown and disintegration of the family unit. Spouses abroad are unaware of the complexities and delays of the refugee system. They may believe that the claimant spouses are just refusing to send for them.

Recommendations

A Conference on Refugees and Settlement held recently in Winnipeg, sponsored by the Citizenship Council of Manitoba, the Anglican Church in Winnipeg, and the Interfaith Immigration Council, dealt with the plight of refugee claimants. A Workshop came up with a number of recommendations. Some of these were:

- a) In status claimants be eligible for work permits.
- b) Work permits not be denied because of permits held by spouses.
- c) Work permits for additional jobs not be denied.
- d) Work permits not be denied because a friend or relative is willing or able to assist.
- e) Schools not charge non-resident fees to refugee claimants and their dependants.
- f) In status claimants and their dependants be given permission to attend school.
- g) Refugee claimants be covered by medicare from the date of their claim.
- h) Legal aid be available for refugee claimants.
- i) Refugee claimants not be denied welfare by virtue of their status or lack of status in Canada.

- j) Refugee claimants be entitled to family allowance on making a claim.

Conclusions

Refugee claimants should not be discouraged from making refugee claims by making them miserable in Canada. Enforced misery is not an appropriate abuse control mechanism. It is a mechanism that, regrettably, is being used not only or even most stringently in Canada. Scandinavia, Switzerland, and West Germany have all fallen prone to the same technique.

In Switzerland, all refugee claimants are denied work permits. In West Germany, refugee claimants are put in camps. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees has reported "shocking and inhuman" conditions at these camps. The UN has said of Switzerland, Scandinavia, and West Germany that there is a negative attitude that attempts to raise in asylum seekers the desire to return to their own country and to dissuade potential new arrivals. Those governments believe that a significant number of asylum seekers are fake refugees, people simply looking for a better way of life. The governments are determined not to make life better, to make it worse than the Third World conditions from which these claimants came.

This enforced misery makes no distinction between the abusers and the genuine refugee. The genuine refugee suffers as much as someone who has come looking for a better way of life. The way to control abuse is a speedy determination of a refugee claim. A speedy determination will deny abusers a long stay in better conditions than exist at home. Would-be abusers will not incur the expenses of the trips if the stays they can engineer by abuse are invariably short. Real refugees in Canada must be treated in a humane fashion.

David Matas is a lawyer in private practice in Winnipeg. He chaired a workshop on refugee claimants for the Conference on Refugees and Settlement. [By David Matas, *Canada's Periodical on Refugees Vol. IV No. 4, 1985 P 22-24.*]

Appendix II

Convention Relating To The Status Of Refugees-1951 (Selected articles only)

Article 1 *DEFINITION OF THE TERM "REFUGEE"*

a. 1 For the purposes of the present Convention, the term "refugee" shall apply to any person who :

a. 2 As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country ; or who, having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.

In the case of a person who has more than one nationality, the term "the country of his nationality" shall mean each of the countries of which he is a national, and a person shall not be deemed to be lacking the protection of the country of his nationality if, without any valid reason based on well-founded fear, he has not availed himself of the protection of one of the countries of which he is a national.

Article 2 *GENERAL OBLIGATIONS*

Every refugee has duties to the country in which he finds himself, which require in particular that he conform to its laws and regulations as well as to measures taken for the maintenance of public order.

Article 3 *NON-DISCRIMINATION*

The Contracting States shall apply the provisions of this Convention to refugees without discrimination as to race, religion or country of origin.

Article 4 RELIGION

The Contracting States shall accord to refugees within their territories treatment at least as favourable as that accorded to their nationals with respect to freedom to practice their religion and freedom as regards the religious education of their children.

Article 7 EXEMPTION FROM RECIPROCITY

1. Except where this Convention contains more favourable provisions, a Contracting State shall accord to refugee the same treatment as is accorded to aliens generally.
2. After a period of three years' residence, all refugees shall enjoy exemption from legislative reciprocity in the territory of the Contracting States.
3. Each Contracting State shall continue to accord to refugees the rights and benefits to which they were already entitled, in the absence of reciprocity, at the date of entry into force of this Convention for that State.
4. The Contracting State shall continue to accord to refugees the rights and benefits beyond those to which they are entitled according to paragraphs 2 and 3, and to extending exemption from reciprocity to refugees who do not fulfil the conditions provided for in paragraphs 2 and 3.
5. The provisions of paragraphs 2 and 3 apply both to the rights and benefits referred to in articles 13, 18, 19, 21 and 22 of this Convention and to rights and benefits for which this Convention does not provide.

Article 11 REFUGEE SEAMEN

In the case of refugees regularly serving as crew members on board a ship flying the flag of a Contracting State, that State shall give sympathetic consideration to their establishment on its territory and the issue of travel documents to them or their temporary admission to its territory particularly with a view to facilitating their establishment in another country.

Article 13 MOVABLE AND IMMOVABLE PROPERTY

The Contracting States shall accord to a refugee treatment as favourable as possible and, in any event, not less favourable than that accorded to aliens generally in the same circumstances, as

regards the acquisition of movable and immovable property and other rights pertaining thereto, and to leases and other contracts relating to moveable and immovable property.

Article 17 WAGE-EARNING EMPLOYMENT

1. The Contracting States shall accord to refugees lawfully staying in their territory the most favourable treatment accorded to nationals of a foreign country in the same circumstances, as regards the right to engage in wage-earning employment.
2. In any case, restrictive measures imposed on aliens or the employment of aliens for the protection of the national labour market shall not be applied to a refugee who was already exempt from them at the date of entry into force of this Convention for the Contracting State concerned, or who fulfils one of the following conditions :
 - a. He has completed three years' residence in the country ;
 - b. He has a spouse possessing the nationality of the country of residence. A refugee may not invoke the benefits of his provision if he has abandoned his spouse ;
 - c. He has one or more children possessing the nationality of the country of residence.
3. The Contracting States shall give sympathetic consideration to assimilating the rights of all refugees with regard to wage-earning employment to those of nationals, and in particular of those refugees who have entered their territory pursuant to programmes of labour recruitment or under immigration schemes.

Article 18 SELF-EMPLOYMENT

The Contracting States shall accord to a refugee lawfully in their territory treatment as favourable as possible and, in any, event, not less favourable than that accorded to aliens generally in the same circumstances, as regards the right to engage on his own account in agriculture, industry, handicrafts and commerce and to establish commercial and industrial companies.

Article 20 *RATIONING*

Where a rationing system exists, which applies to the population at large and regulates the general distribution of products in short supply, refugees shall be accorded the same treatment as nationals.

Article 21 *HOUSING*

As regards housing, the Contracting States, in so far as the matter is regulated by laws or regulations or is subject to the control of public authorities, shall accord to refugees lawfully staying in their territory treatment as favourable as possible and, in any event, not less favourable than that accorded to aliens generally in the same circumstances.

Article 22 *PUBLIC EDUCATION*

1. The Contracting States shall accord to refugees the same treatment as is accorded to nationals with respect to elementary education.

2. The Contracting States shall accord to refugees treatment as favourable as possible, and, in any event, not less favourable than that accorded to aliens generally in the same circumstances, with respect to education other than elementary education and in particular, as regards access to studies, the recognition of foreign school certificates, diplomas and degrees, the remission of fees and charges and the award of scholarships.

Article 26 *FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT*

Each Contracting State shall accord to refugees lawfully in its territory the right to choose their place of residence and to move freely within its territory, subject to any regulations applicable to aliens generally in the same circumstances.

Article 27 *IDENTITY PAPERS*

The Contracting States shall issue identity papers to any refugees in their territory who does not possess a valid travel document.

Article 28 *TRAVEL DOCUMENTS*

1. The Contracting States shall issue to refugees lawfully staying in their territory travel documents for the purpose of travel out:

side their territory unless compelling reasons of national security or public order otherwise require, and the provisions of the Schedule to this Convention shall apply with respect to such documents. The Contracting States may issue such a travel document to any other refugee in their territory they shall in particular give sympathetic consideration to the issue of such a travel document to refugees in their territory who are unable to obtain a travel document from the country of their lawful residence.

2. Travel documents issued to refugees under previous international agreements by parties thereto shall be recognised and treated by the Contracting States in the same way as if they had been issued pursuant to this article.

Article 30 TRANSFER OF ASSETS

1. A Contracting State shall, in conformity with its laws and regulations, permit refugees to transfer assets which they have brought into its territory, to another country where they have been admitted for the purposes of resettlement,

2. A Contracting State shall give sympathetic consideration to the application of refugees for permission to transfer assets wherever they may be and which are necessary for their resettlement in another country to which they have been admitted.

Article 31 REFUGEES UNLAWFULLY IN THE COUNTRY OF REFUGE

1. The Contracting States shall not impose penalties, on account of their illegal entry or presence, on refugees who, coming directly from a territory where their life or freedom was threatened in the sense of Article I, enter or are present in their territory without authorization, provided they present themselves without delay to the authorities and show good cause for their illegal entry or presence.

2. The Contracting States shall not apply to the movements of such refugees restrictions other than those which are necessary and such restrictions shall only be

applied until their status in the country is regularized or they obtain admission into another country. The Contracting States shall allow such refugees a reasonable period and all the necessary facilities to obtain admission into another country.

Article 32 EXPULSION

1. The Contracting States shall not expel a refugee lawfully in their territory save on grounds of national security or public order.
2. The expulsion of such a refugee shall be only in pursuance of decision reached in accordance with due process of law. Except where compelling reasons of national security otherwise require, the refugees shall be allowed to submit evidence to clear himself, and to appeal to and be represented for the purpose before competent authority or a person or persons specially designated by the competent authority.
3. The Contracting States shall allow such a refugee a reasonable period within which to seek legal admission into another country. The Contracting States reserve the right to apply during that period such internal measures as they may deem necessary.

Article 33 PROHIBITION OF EXPULSION OR RETURN (REFOULEMENT)

1. No Contracting State shall expel or return ("refouler") a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion.
2. The benefit of the present provision may not, however, be claimed by a refugee whom there are reasonable grounds for regarding as a danger to the security of the country in which he is, or who, having been convicted by a final judgement of a particularly serious crime, constitutes a danger to the community of that country.

Article 35 CO-OPERATION OF THE NATIONAL AUTHORITIES WITH THE UNITED NATIONS

1. The Contracting States undertake to co-operate with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for refugees, or any other agency of the United Nations which may succeed it, in the exercise of its functions, and shall in particular facilitate its duty of supervising the application of the provisions of this Convention.
2. In order to enable the Office of the High Commissioner or any other agency of the United Nations which may succeed it, to make reports of the competent organs of the United.

Nations, the Contracting States undertakes to provide them in the appropriate form with information and statistical data requested concerning :

- a. the condition of refugees.
- b. the implementation of his Convention, and
- c. laws, regulations and decrees which are, or may hereafter be, in force relating to refugees.

Appendix III

Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees - 1967

(A Part only)

Article 1 GENERAL PROVISION

1. The States Parties to the present Protocol undertake to apply articles 2 to 34 inclusive of the Convention to refugees as hereinafter defined.
2. For the purpose of the present Protocol, the term "refugee" shall, except as regards the application of paragraph 3 of this article, mean any person within the definition of article 1 January 1951 and... "and the words "...as a result of such events" in article 1A (2) were omitted.
3. The present Protocol shall be applied by the States Parties hereto without any geographic limitation, save that existing declarations made by States already Parties to the Convention in accordance with article 1B (1) (a) of the Convention, shall, unless extended under article 1B (2) thereof, apply also under the present Protocol.

Article 2

CO-OPERATION OF THE NATIONAL AUTHORITIES WITH THE UNITED NATIONS

The States Parties to the present Protocol undertake to cooperate with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for refugees, or any other agency of the United Nations which may succeed it, in the exercise of its functions, and shall in particular its duty of supervising the application of the provisions of the present Protocol.

Appendix IV

A Survey of the People from Sri Lanka in India-Questionnaire

The Constitutional violation of Human Rights has led to the eruption of continuous violence against the minority Tamils in Sri Lanka thereby causing severe damage to life and property of unarmed innocent civilians. As a result there is a mass exodus of Tamils who are moving out of that country for the sake of security. The migration still continues in large numbers, There seems to be no end to the violence too. The sad plight of these people is aggravated as they are scattered all over in other parts of the country. The present attempt should be to consolidate these people for an organised effort to eke out an existence and to return home to safety.

A survey is therefore proposed to be conducted in India. initially in order to :-

1. Arrive at a faire estimate of the number of Sri Lankan people staying In India.
2. Gauge the magnitude of their hardship due to the violation of human rights and to seek compensation from the authorities concerned.
3. Explore measures for their welfare.

Ultimately, on the basis of the result of the survey, an organised effort will be made to obtain assistance for these people till they stay in India. It is hoped that the survey findings will give clear picture of their conditions to the Government and voluntary agencies in India and abroad, enabling them to make concerted efforts for the amelioration of their sufferings.

We appeal to you for your kind co-operation in this attempt.

Administrative Secretary-CERRO.
(Ceylon Refugees and Repatriates
Organisation)

Besant Nagar,
Madras — 600 090.

1. Identification

1. Name of informant
2. Present Address
3. Residence (India) Camp, Shared, Rented, Owned
4. District
5. Address in Sri Lanka & district of last residence

2. 1. Family Details

Name of members in the family at present
 Sex..... Age.....
 Relationship to the informant..... Marital Status.....
 Religion..... Occupation... .. Income per month...

2. 2. Affliction to Family Members Due to Violence

Nature, Name of Person, When, By Whom, How
 Loss of life.....
 Injury.....
 Arrest.....
 Eviction.....
 Others

2. 3. Loss of Property

Name of person
 Type of property.... .. Value in Sri Lankan Rs.....
 If the property is insured ; (Amount Paid — Amount
 Received)
 (cash, jewels, utensils, furnitures house, industrial
 equipment etc.

2. 4. Loss of Employment

Name of person who lost
 Type of Employment (government, Private)
 Self Employment
 Value in Sri Lankan Rs.

2. 5. After Effects of Riots

2. 5. 1. Were you compelled to leave your residence as a result of the riots ? Yes/No.

- 2.5.2. If so where did you say? Government camp, Homes of Voluntary Agencies, Friends' Houses At Home, Jungle.
- 2.5.3. Did you lodge any complaint or statement of calamity to the police or any other official in Sri Lanka? If so; Name of the authority, Date of complaint, Nature of the follow up action.
- 2.5.3. 1. Are you willing to give further information for claiming compensation against the loss (or damage or injury) sustained by your? Yes/No. If "yes" do you agree to come for an independent enquiry with necessary evidence? Yes/No,

2.6. Type of Assistance Recived By The Family in Sri Lanka

| From whom | Period | Value Rs. | Remarks (satisfied or not) |
|-----------|--------|-----------|----------------------------|
|-----------|--------|-----------|----------------------------|

Food

Clothing.....

Transport.....

Shelter.....

Cash

Others.....

2.7. Details of Family Members Living in Sri Lanka or Elsewhere

Names.....

Relationship to informant.....

Sex..... Age Country

Purpose of living away from the family ...

2.8. Reasons for Leaving Sri Lanka

Violence, intimidation, Harrassment by security forces, Education, Employment, Others,

3.1. Arrival in India

Names, Place, Date

Who assisted on arrival?

Nature of assistance,

Assistance satisfactory or not Why & how moved to the present address.

3. 2. Even if the Problem in Sri Lanka Remains unsolved, Do You What to go Back to Sri Lanka or to any other Country or to continue your stay in India?

Name of person India,.....
 Other country Sri Lanka.....
 Purpose

4. 1. Needs Obtained in India

| | | |
|------------------|---------|---------------------------|
| Basic needs, | Source, | Adequacy |
| Food ... | | Clothing..... |
| Shelter..... | | Medical Care ... |
| Counselling..... | | Financial Assistance..... |

4. 2. Education (Formal)

Name of person,
 Admitted to grade
 Place
 Institution.....
 Medium.....
 Source.....

4 3. Education (Informal)

Name of person.....
 Training in Skills
 Experience.....
 Self Employment... ..
 Amount ...

4. 4. Employment

Name of person...
 Qualification or proficiency in trade...
 Under an employer...
 Working with voluntary agencies...
 Type of job...
 Unemployed...
 Monthly income, (Remarks)

5. Nature of Assistance Required

5. 1. Education Formal

Name of person,
 Grade to which to be admitted
 Place
 Institution
 Medium

5. 2. Education (informal)

Name of person
 Subject
 Medium
 Place
 Duration
 Amount requested
 Payment Installment

5. 3. Self Employment

Name of person...
 Type of employment....
 Place...
 Loan Requested ...
 Guarantor ...
 Payment Installment

5. 4. Languages Known Names,

Tamil, English, Sinhales, Others

6. Your Opinion For The Culture

6. 1. Staying in India till you can return to Sri Lanka?
 Yes / No

6. 2. To settle down in India permanently? Yes / No

6. 3. If you own anything in Sri Lanka what type of assistance you require and which district you like to go?

6. 4. What type of assistance you require to settle down in India and in which area?

6. 5 Undecided? Yes/No

6. 6. Details of Travel Documents with You at Present

Name of person...
 Passport No. Issue Date & Validity upto
 Emergency Certificate
 Visa date of issue & validity upto
 Mode of transport to India
 Remarks

Name of Enumerator

Place

Date

Signature

Signature

Name in Block letters

Appendix V

Camp Statistics in Tamil Nadu

1. District
2. Name & Address of the camp
3. Number of members, Male, Female, Total
4. Numbers of individuals
5. Number of families
6. Religion: Hindus Catholics Christians Muslims
7. Age: 1-3yrs 4-5yrs 6-14yrs 15-22yrs 23-40yrs 41-55yrs
Above 55yrs Total, Male: Female: Total:
8. Infants (one to eleven months) M ; F, Total
9. Pregnant mothers, 10. Breast feeding mothers
11. Handicapped persons, 12. Perennial Diseases

13. Government Assistance

Housing

Type of Building, space, Rooms, Halls, Extra and No. of sheds toilets, Both rooms, Electricity Distance from the main road Remarks :

Water Facilities

Well, Tube well, Pipe, Continuous supply, Distance, Bathing & washing, Remarks :

Material Supplied

Utensils, mats, clothes, stoves, others Remarks :

Subsidies Given

Amount, Rice, Sugar, Kerosene Oil, Fire Wood, Others Rate

Duration

Remarks :

Health

Inside the camp, Distance from the camp, Education Attendance, Polytechnical study facilities,

Grade 1-6

Grade 6 and above

Remarks

14. Non-Governmental Assistance

Name of the organisation Type of assistance Duration of the assistance

15. No. of persons involved in earnings

Possibility of earnings

Raw materials available in the locality

16. First batch arrived on Second batch arrived on
17. No. of persons/families left the camp
18. Non-Governmental Organisation closer to the camp
19. **Occupation**
Fishing, Farming, Carpentry, Mason, Tailor, Barber, Guards, Salesmen, Peon, Business, Clerk, Teaching, Others,
20. Camp representative No. of committee members
21. No. of officials in the camp
22. Any other remarks
Signature of the enumerator Date Ceylon Refugees & Repatriates organisation, H-11/3, Kalakshetra Colony, Besent Nakar, 600 090.

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| <i>PAGE</i> | <i>LINE</i> | <i>INSTEAD OF</i> | <i>READ</i> |
|-------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 3 | 17 | unduly delay | lead instead of |
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| 271 | 27 | may give lead | may lead |
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| 228 | 9 | substance | substance |
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Sri Lankans in Exile :

TAMILS DISPLACED is a first attempt to study the problems and situation of the Tamils in diaspora, with a brief introduction to the causes underlying their present plight.

The first part of this book traces the problems of the Tamils who have been displaced within their own country between 1958 and August 1986. It also speaks about the situation of the Hill Country Tamils and their relationship with the Island's indigenous Tamils, the problem of repatriation, and its consequences

Part two gives first hand information regarding the Tamil refugees spread throughout Tamil Nadu. While appreciating the assistance provided them by the Indian Government it speaks of the many shortcomings they are faced with and points out the main areas in which they need further assistance.

The third part of this book speaks of the Tamil refugees in developed countries ; West Germany, France, the Netherlands Switzerland, Italy Belgium, Great Britain, the Nordic Countries and other countries such as Canada the USA and Australia. It also brings to light the role of International Organisations regarding the refugees, and describes their situation and the specific problems that they face in these various countries.

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Though Fr. Guy himself has his origins amidst the Island's indigenous Tamil community in the North, his work has been mainly amongst the plantation workers in the Uva Province and the Sinhala peasants of the surrounding villages. During this period he followed a course of studies in Sociology at the Catholic University of Louvain (UCL) between the years 1978-1980 and was awarded *Licentie* in Sociology. At present he is following a Ph. D. programme at the Catholic University of Leuven (KUL).

Having completed his survey of the Displaced Tamils from Sri Lanka in India and the developed countries, he is now actively involved in the work of assisting these refugees in India. He is also the Editor of the Journal 'Ceylon Today'. Sri Lankans in Exile is the first book he has published.