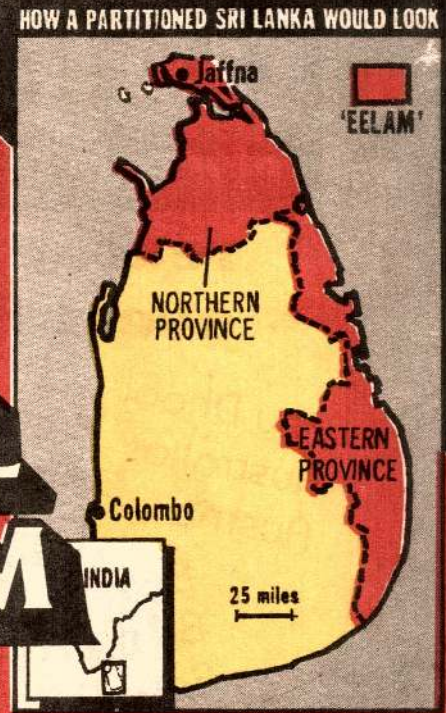


# TAMIL

## Information

10/42

# TAMIL EELAM



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# TAMIL

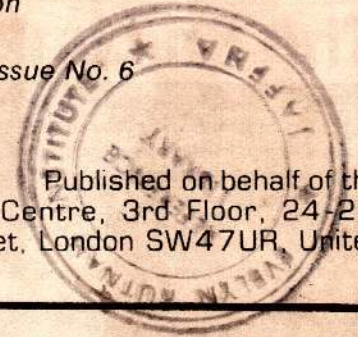
## Information

Editor: S. Sivanayagam

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## Tell the world what we want

The dynamic Madras evening daily NEWS TODAY carried in its issue of 17th December 1984 an editorial under the title "Enough is enough", which we are reproducing in full in our inner pages. If we can borrow a simile from Francis Bacon in his allusion to books that "some are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested", this editorial is one that deserves to be "chewed and digested" by all Tamils who are concerned about their future in that island polity of Sri Lanka. Editor T.R. Ramasamy has posed the one question that is most relevant to the critical situation in which the Tamils find themselves today: "Gentlemen, what exactly do you want?". A simple question, an embarrassing question, but a question that Editor Ramasamy has a right to ask, because he is speaking from our side of the fence!

How many of our so-called "leaders", how many of our militant groups, have given a clear answer to that question? Do we want a Tamil Eelam, or an Eelam Revolution, or a "viable alternative" to Tamil Eelam? If it is going to be "viable alternative", what does that mean? Does that mean District Councils, Provincial Councils, Regional Councils and Village Councils, or regional autonomy, special autonomy or Federalism? What do we want – Fish, Flesh, Fowl or Pure Veg.? Who is going to decide how "viable" the alternative is – the oppressed people in their graveyard soil, or someone who lives in an air-conditioned room in Madras?

Anyway, who gave anyone the mandate to ask for a "viable alternative to Tamil Eelam"? The late respected Tamil leader, S.J.V. Chelvanayakam, once called the "Father of the Tamil Nation", but whose name is rarely now mentioned by his trusted heirs, declared in January 1975, on winning the Kankesan-turai by-election: "...I wish to announce to my people and to the country that I consider the verdict at this election as a mandate that the Tamil Eelam nation should exercise the sovereignty already vested in the Tamil people and become free. On behalf of the Tamil United Front, I give you my solemn assurance that we will carry out this mandate". Where are these living lieutenants who stood beside him and cried hosannas when he said that? Over one year later, in May 1976, a reconstituted Tamil united Liberation Front (TULF)

passed a pious resolution at Pannakam which said that the "Free, Sovereign, Secular, Socialist State of Tamil Eelam based on the right of self-determination inherent in every nation has become inevitable in order to safeguard the very existence of the Tamil nation in this country". Where are the living authors of that resolution? Again one year later, in a bold peroration, the TULF manifesto addressed the Tamil people: "...What is the alternative to a nation that lies helpless as it is being assaulted, looted and killed by hooligans instigated by the ruling race and by the security forces of the state?... There is only one alternative..." No prizes are offered, but guess what the alternative was? A "viable alternative to Tamil Eelam"? Fooling the Tamils and the world by holding talks for one year on what kind of Provincial Councils we want?

Gentlemen, it is time we tell our friends, tell the world, and above all, tell our own people, what we want. And tell it publicly. Out with it, please. We are paying too heavy a price in terms of human lives, human miseries and genocide of the young Tamil generation, to go on playing political games. The people are in no mood to accept any more political careerism, any more jostling for leaderships, any more groupism, any more armchair theorising in the comforts of Madras, London and Lesotho. People are dying daily on their own soil, living in eternal fear and left to starve, denied normal life, denied freedom of movement, denied their harvest, denied their fish catch, denied everything that the Declaration of Human Rights upholds universally, and even denied the opportunity to complain, because left orphaned by their leaders they have no one to complain to.

Are we, even in this hour of crisis, so bereft of concern for our suffering fellow Tamils, that we cannot sink our personal differences and group approaches and proclaim with one voice that we stand unitedly and unequivocally for one objective and one objective only – the liberation of our people from Sri Lankan State oppression and the setting up of an independent proud Tamil Eelam? It is our failure to spell out our objective that makes the world think that it is non-achievable. The Tamil man is known to survive many a crisis. What is left to be proved is that we can even triumph in a crisis.



# The Sri Lanka scene

Two powerful bombs, each weighing about 20 pounds were discovered inside the hatch of a ship berthed at Kankesanthurai on 28th November. Police sources said the vessel "Pacific River" belonging to the Mercantile group of Companies would have been badly crippled or sunk had the two time bombs not been detected in time.

25 Tamil youths from the Jaffna Peninsula who had been on their way to Katunayake Airport in a private van were intercepted by police at Kandana and detained on suspicion. The youths had told the police they were flying to Berlin. All of them were in possession of passports.

24 Sinhala youths found listening to a recorded speech of JVP leader Rohana Wijeweera in a jungle area were arrested by the Hungama police and later remanded indefinitely by the Hambantota District judge.

The Gampola police took a 34-year old year Tamil into custody suspecting him to be involved in terrorist activity. He was produced before the acting Magistrate, Gampola who remanded him.

A Nepalese couple had complained to the Colombo Fort Police that while they were travelling in a crowded bus their travelling bag had been ripped open and US dollars and other cash together with their passports and air tickets to Kathmandu had been stolen.

Speaking in Parliament, Foreign Minister Shahul Hameed replying to Leader of the Opposition Anura Bandaranaike said that if the Opposition wanted him to prove that Sri Lanka had friends he would get down military assistance and troops "tomorrow"!

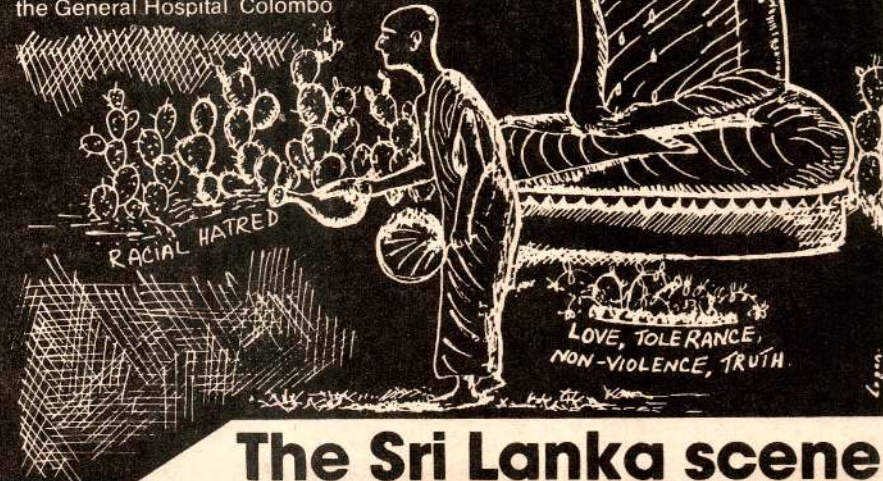
Leader of the Opposition Anura Bandaranaike said in parliament that most of the Sri Lanka envoys are incompetent and were unable to counteract the "false propaganda by the Eelam lobbies abroad. He said two of the best Sri Lankan ambassadors were Mr. Ernest Corea and Mr. Jayantha Dhanapala.

The salaries of the Prime Minister, Cabinet Ministers and all of the Parliamentarians including District Ministers, Project Ministers and Deputy Ministers have been increased by about four-fold. The leader of the SLFP Mr. Srimavo Bandaranaike has said her party was strongly opposed to such salary increases in view of the fact that the ordinary man on the street was heavily burdened by the rising cost of living.

The first Prime Minister of Ceylon Mr. D.S. Senanayake had referred to Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan as the "greatest Ceylonese of all times", said Colombo Mayor Sirisena Coorey at a brief ceremony held to mark the death anniversary of the renowned Tamil leader. He said Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan was free from sectarianism, Communalism and Racialism, and would have been a very sad man had he been living today.

Students of Peradeniya University have driven away private security personnel whose services were engaged by the University authorities recently. The University security men however continue to man their places.

An ammonia leak from the Sapugaskanda State Fertilizer Corporation factory compelled many people to take medical treatment. Following the inhaling of ammonia-mixed air both young and old people started vomiting and some of them complained of illness and difficulty in breathing. May of them were treated at the General Hospital Colombo.



Child sex "tours" are being offered in West Germany, the Netherlands, Japan and the United States of America to Sri Lanka, according to a report by an international children's organisation. There are more than 2,000 underage male prostitutes in Colombo, the report says.

Several thousand young men, most of them unemployed, stood on a 2-mile queue in Colombo on 28 November in response to the government's call for recruits to the Air Force to join the war against "terrorism".

Howling foxes are causing anxiety to residents of Badulla. They believe that these night prowlers are rabid and could attack their pet dogs. The animals come from the western Badulla Velverton Hills and their howling has been causing fright to the children in the locality.

Posters depicting a Tiger on top of TULF leader Amirthalingam's head with Rohana Wijeweera's JVP as the tiger's tail and the "Russian bear" in the background, appeared on the walls of Colombo and the city suburbs on November 28.

# The Sri Lanka scene





## Lalith Athulathmudali now tries the Bharata Natyam approach!

"On distribution of firearms to Sinhalese citizens in Trincomalee and other coastal areas, the Minister (Lalith Athulathmudali) said this had been done "much against my wish".....

Addressing a meeting later the Minister said the militants should be converted or convinced that peace, prosperity and DELIGHTS OF AESTHETIC LIVING could be achieved without resorting to violence...

— The HINDU 9 December 1984

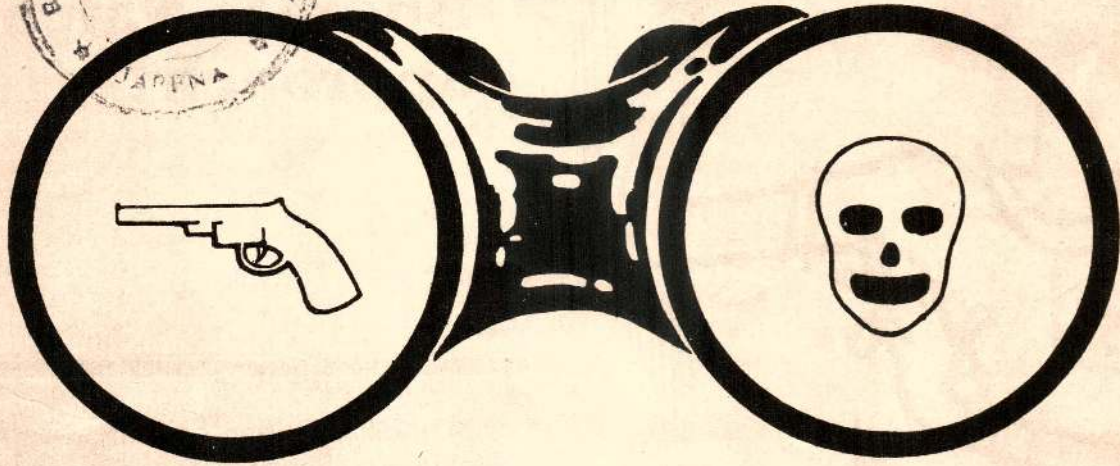
Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, Minister of National Security, presiding over a largely attended meeting at Godawanagoda Vidyalyaya, Tangalle, stated that the "Tigers" would be grasped by their necks very soon and would be finished off..

— The ISLAND, Colombo 17 November 1984





# You



can help combat

**Sri Lanka  
Government**

**TERRORISM**



# HERE IS HOW!

## You can help combat Sri Lanka Government Terrorism

By understanding the exact nature of the perennial violence going on in Sri Lanka.

*"Ethnic violence" is a phrase loosely used in the world media to describe happenings in that country. That is not a correct description.*

*The issue in Sri Lanka is not between the majority Sinhala people and the minority Tamils. It is one between the SRI LANKA GOVERNMENT that acts and speaks on behalf of the Sinhala people ONLY, and the Tamils who are waging a relentless struggle to live free from fear, harassment, torture, loss of property and arbitrary killings; which, now they know, can be attained only by achieving nationhood in their own exclusive traditional Tamil areas in the north and east of the island.*

*In other words, it is a "war" between two nations within an island, where two peoples, each with its own distinctive Religion (Buddhism and Hinduism), Language (Sinhala and Tamil), Culture, and separate traditional homelands, each qualifying to be a nation, but thrown together by accidents of geography, history and centuries of western colonialism, who no longer find it possible to co-exist as equals or with mutual trust or respect, under the same polity.*

*In this "war", there are two contestants:— 1. A "lawfully constituted government" but continuing in power by dodging the normal democratic process and enjoying the tacit support of a few other governments of the world, and using the entire might of its Army, Navy, Air Force and Police and specially trained Police Commandos to crush the resistance of the Tamil people through repressive measures, acts of terrorism against unarmed civilians and indiscriminate killings under cover of "fighting Terrorism". Acts of State terrorism include State-inspired mob attacks in areas where Tamils live as minorities and killings, torture, rape and robbery by armed forces in areas where Tamils are in a majority, under cover of specially passed laws, Censorship, 42-hour and 61-hour curfews, blocking of communication with the outside world and maliciously false propaganda through a State-controlled media and government diplomatic missions abroad.*

*2. The other contestant in this "war" is a collective body of over 3 million Tamil people who are unarmed, who live besieged by the armed forces, whose freedom of movement both within and outside the country are severely restricted and fraught with risks of danger to life and limb, and who have no governments to back them, and whose fight for survival is spear-headed by a few groups of Tamil militant youths badly outnumbered by the armed forces both in numerical strength and weaponry, but yet have proved more than a match through sheer dedication, heroism, valour, ingenuity, sense of sacrifice, supreme confidence and a determination to win.*

*Who do you think are the "TERRORISTS" ? Those who oppress or those who fight oppression ? Who are the "criminals" ? Those who kill to keep themselves in power, or those who kill in self-defence ?*

*If killing ARMED TRAINED soldiers is known as "Terrorism", what would you call the killings of UNARMED Tamil citizens, men, women and children, in their homes and on the roads ? The Sri Lanka government calls it "fighting terrorism". As a thinking fellow-citizen, what would you call it ?*

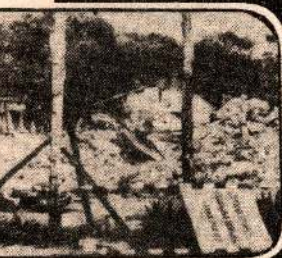


# December Diary

## Government Terrorism and Liberation Struggle in Tamil Eelam

The price of Liberation

December 1 ▶



Chavakachcheri Police Station – part of the rubble after the TELO attack on Nov. 20

While the Sri Lanka government was busy announcing and creating a "no man's land" on the coast – from Mannar on the north-west coast to Mullaitivu on the north-east, news arrive that the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam shift the focus completely by making a strike in the Tamil heartland!

Marking a new phase in the struggle to liberate the traditional Tamil homelands not only from the Sinhala armed forces but from Sinhala hoodlums and convicts planted there by the government after terrorising and scattering Tamils of recent Indian origin, militant youths launch a surprise attack on convict settlements at Dollar Farm and Kent Farm, resulting in the deaths of at least 42 convict settlers and the fleeing from the area of several hundred others.

According to a Reuter report based on information given by government sources, "more than 110 people were killed in attacks by Tamil separatist guerillas and ensuing battles with troops in Sri Lanka". The report also said: "The attacks involving about 60 rebels were carried out less than 24 hours after the government announced emergency measures to counter what it called separatist threats to launch a major rebel offensive".

In Colombo, a 6-hour night curfew is imposed. Prime Minister Premadasa announces in Parliament that he was ready to hold discussions with anybody for the sake of preserving the sovereignty, integrity and democratic institutions of the island nation.

The Indian Press reports: Two Israeli Mossad spies have been handed over to the Vetharaniam Police in Tamilnadu, according to a press release issued by the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF).

December 2 ▶



After a road mine went off at the Kaithady-Chavakachcheri Road

A Colombo report says that Sri Lanka government has claimed that its Air Force helicopters fired on a flotilla of 19 boats on the northern coast, suspected to be carrying "Tamil commandos", "driving back" 18 of them to Indian waters and killing 10 "terrorists" in the 19th boat.

India, in a statement issued in New Delhi yesterday describes as "highly irresponsible" Sri Lankan allegations that an invasion of Sri Lanka was being organised from India by separatist guerillas. The official spokesman said: "These are totally without basis and we are shocked that a war psychosis is being built". The statement also said, inter alia, "Government has been reports of the emergency regulations promulgated by the Government of Sri Lanka earlier this week. These are highly restrictive and are bound to cause harassment and hardship to ordinary people. But this is an internal matter for Sri Lanka..."

News of attacks by Tamil militants on Sinhala fishing settlements planted in Tamil areas with government sponsorship. Sinhala casualties as given by Sri Lanka government spokesman Dr. Wicrema Weerasooria this morning was that 27 were killed at Nayaru and 30 at Kokkilai. In the afternoon, the State-owned radio said 29 were killed at Nayaru and 30 at Kokkilai. But by the night the government "drastically reduced the figures of those killed to only 11". The TIMES, London, headlined the news by saying: Sri Lanka riddle: Sri Lanka confusion on death toll".

Dr. Weerasooria also said that "continuing attacks on Sinhalese civilians had created a refugee problem. Non-government organisations and foreign groups like UNICEF were helping to look after about 3,000 refugees".

(It is significant to note that although Tamils had learnt to become refugees in their own country following periodic attacks by mobs and later by armed forces from the year 1956, this was the first time in the history of independent Sri Lanka that Sinhalese knew what it means to be refugees in one's own land).

December 3 ▶

Revenge killings in Army camp at Vavuniya. At least twenty helpless Tamils held as "terrorist" suspects massacred within camp premises in retaliation for Tamil militant attacks on convict settlements and State-sponsored fishing colonies. The government version of the incident as supplied to foreign correspondents in Colombo and carried in the GUARDIAN, London of December 4, said: Twenty Tamil guerillas suspects were killed yesterday when they apparently tried to escape from an army camp as it came under attack from other rebels... after the assault, apparently launched to free 60 alleged Tamil guerillas who were being held in the camp the rebel force which suffered no casualties, disappeared into the jungle without trace...!

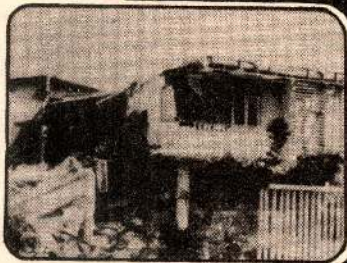
Meanwhile, it was officially reported from Colombo that the government has begun arming Sinhalese civilians in the Eastern province. The National Security Minister admits that guns had been given to Sinhalese fishermen in Kokkilai and Nayaru.



# December Diary

## Government Terrorism and Liberation Struggle in Tamil Eelam

December 4 ▶



Wanton destruction of house at Hospital Rd., Jaffna, by army men, after LTE blew up an army truck full of soldiers on 9th April.

Nine Sinhalese employees of Kankesanturai Cement Factory kidnapped by Tamil militants belonging to Tamil Eelam Liberation Army (TELA) and held as hostages. Ransom note demands release of three TELA leaders, removal of all Sinhalese workers from the northern Cement factory and a sum of Rs. 10 million (Sri Lanka currency) to be delivered to TULF leadership in Jaffna. Govt. says it will not negotiate nor give in to the ransom demand. TULF President M. Sivasithamparam says they have nothing to do with the kidnapping or the ransom demand and appeals for release of hostages.

Although government refused to give in to the three demands of the militants, it is known that all 180 Sinhalese employees of the Cement factory were quietly evacuated from Jaffna.

In Mannar, army goes on rampage and kills 24 Tamil and Muslim residents following detonation of a land mine by Tamil militants which killed one soldier in a jeep and injured nine others. Army men also enter the Murunkan Post Office, order the staff out and shoot at them killing two assistant Postmasters and two postmen and injuring the Postmaster Vinayagalingam and three others.

In desperate attempt to cover up Army cowardice National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali comes up with another brazen lie in Colombo. He says he had received information that the bodies of 27 people, believed to be Tamils, were found in Mullaitivu, and that they were killed by terrorists, who he said were now killing the Tamils as well!

Armed forces continue spree of killings. A local correspondent in Colombo quoted by the AFP said about ninety bodies had been found on the Mannar-Murunkan Road, all Tamils, shot dead by armed forces which had run amok in the area during the previous two days. Nearly 400 Tamils could have been killed by troops in all Tamil areas during the previous week, the same source said.

Mystery surrounds the fate of the 9 hostages kidnapped two days ago, with Lalith Athulathmudali claiming that they had been killed and challenging the militants to prove that they were alive.

Sri Lankan Cabinet welcomes the "very positive statement" issued by the US State Department in Washington affirming American support for Sri Lanka in the current "terrorist-induced crisis".

G. Parthasarathy summons Sri Lanka High Commissioner in New Delhi to protest against Sri Lanka's act of aggression in sinking an Indian fishing trawler off Rameshwaram. An Indian Navy vessel rushed to Rameshwaram to protect Indian fishermen, following another incident when two Indian fishermen Rajendran and Mookayan were shot at from a Sri Lankan Navy boat within Indian waters.

December 6 ▶

Sri Lanka government orders significant military build-up. State Minister Anandatissa de Alwis tells newspaper Editors in Colombo that part of the foreign military equipment has already arrived. Distribution of firearms to Sinhalese in Trincomalee causes panic among Tamils. Trincomalee reports say, Tamils are woken up by midnight knocks on their doors by Sinhalese "Vigilance" groups with government issued guns looking for Tamil militants.

Tamil militants attack two fishing hamlets near Kumulumunai in Mulaithivu district chasing away recently planted Sinhala settlers in this traditional Tamil area.

In Colombo young Tamils are rounded up from homes for questioning. Police and army forces rush to estate towns of Hatton and Ratnapura following incidents. Curfew from 2.30 p.m. to 6.00 a.m. Rural Industries Minister S. Thondaman appeals to President Jayawardene to provide protection to Tamil plantation workers.

December 7 ▶

December 8 ▶

At Rameswaram, mandapam and Pamban, Tamil nadu fishermen stop trains in protest against "failure of the governments both at the Centre and in the State to provide assistance for safe fishing on the seas".

In Jaffna 4 bowsers containing 4800 gallons of diesel for the state owned Bus Transport Board hijacked by Tamil militants.

42-hour curfew imposed in Tamil district of Jaffna, Kilinochchi and Mulaithivu. Three of the four diesel bowsers hijacked earlier discovered close to Thondamannar" a point from which boats operate". An Indian coast guard aircraft makes search for three missing fishing boats.

December 9 ▶

Under cover of curfew armed forces burn down office of the Ceylon Workers Congress at Vavuniya. C.W.C. leader and Minister, Mr. S. Thondaman disputes official spokesman's claim that Tamil militants were responsible for the burning and asked "If it was done by the terrorists what was the army doing? What is the use of having an army there if they cannot prevent it?"

In an ancient traditional Tamil village, Then Marapu Adi 65 km from Trincomalee armed forces along with Sinhala hoodlums attack 165 Tamil families and destroy houses. At Thiriyayai about 42 km from Trincomalee, several Tamils were killed and hundreds of others injured when armed forces summon them to a local Stadium and attack them.



# December Diary

## Government Terrorism and Liberation Struggle in Tamil Eelam

In Colombo, US special envoy General Walters has discussions with President Jayawardene and Lalith Athulathmuthali on the security situation in the country.

Meanwhile, a Colombo report said a serious crisis was emerging within the Jayawardene government. Over 500 Tamil youths rounded up in Jaffna under the 42-hour curfew, according to the government controlled Sunday Observer

**December 10**

One Indian Tamil fisherman (Muniswamy) killed and 4 others injured by Sri Lankan naval boat. It was alleged that shooting took place well within Indian waters off Rameswaram. 24-hour hartal in protest at Rameswaram.

The number of Tamil youths taken into custody in Jaffna is estimated at over 5000 according to today's report from Jaffna. Several girls among those taken to custody. 14 bodies were found in Point Pedro and 18 at Mathagal seashore.

Government announces imposition of fresh 61-hour curfew in Jaffna and Kilinochchi areas.

In Colombo, government-controlled "Daily News" states that U.S. envoy General Walters was expected to discuss "a shopping list of military supplies necessary to meet the terrorist threat". Daily News also says that there was a strong possibility "of Britain providing helicopters and patrol boats to overcome the terrorist menace".

**December 11**

New Delhi report says Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has voiced deep concern in a strongly worded statement over the indiscriminate killing of Tamils by Sri Lankan security forces, summary arrest of hundreds of youths and virtual siege of Jaffna.

TULF leader A. Amirthalingam arrives in Colombo to take part in the Round Table talks reconvened for December 14.

U.S. envoy Gen. Walters arrives in New Delhi after two days of intensive discussions with Sri Lanka government

Sri Lanka government promises substantial rewards to Tamils who give information leading to the recovery of arms and ammunition in the north and east. Rewards include Rs. 25,000/- for an SLR 2.62 rifle and Rs. 20,000/- for a sub-machine gun or Soviet AK 47 rifle.

Several hundred Tamil youths rounded up in Jaffna during curfew hours from their homes brought to Colombo in a specially chartered cargo boat, "Merc Serendib".

Sri Lanka Cabinet says there were "various errors of fact" in the statement by Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi on the situation in Sri Lanka.

Gen. Walters holds talks in New Delhi with Foreign Secretary M.K. Rasgotra, Chairman of the Policy Planning Committee G. Parthasarathy and Principal Secretary to Prime Minister Dr. P.C. Alexander.

Sri Lanka Deputy High Commissioner in Madras S. Piyasena denies that he is being recalled.

TULF leader Appapillai Amirthalingam tells PTI in Colombo that TULF's participation at the 14th Round Table talks depends on the outcome of the talks they will have with the President on Thursday, but independent observers in Colombo think that their non-participation under any circumstance is extremely unlikely.!

**December 12**

On the eve of the Round Table talks, Sri Lanka Foreign Minister Shahul Hameed issues strongly-worded statement expressing regret and dismay at Rajiv Gandhi's charges. A. Amirthalingam says the question of TULF participation at the RTC would be known only on the morning of the talks.

**December 13**

RTC talks in Colombo. As expected TULF participate. Buddhist clergy boycott conference. President Jayawardene proposes amendment of the Constitution to create District the Provincial Councils and a second chamber for resolving the "ethnic problem".

**December 14**

Ceylon Workers' Congress protest over burning of three temporary refugee camps for Tamils at Vavuniya by armed forces. About 500 families of Indian origin displaced by army atrocities elsewhere were accommodated in these camps.

Disappointment in New Delhi over the draft proposals presented by President Jayawardene which fall far short "of the Tamil community's expectations".

Army men on the rampage kill Methodist minister Rev. George Jayarajasingam near Mannar and government blames Tamil "guerillas" for the act.



Jaffna undergraduate girl Malathi hospitalised after army men threw acid on her face



# December Diary

## Government Terrorism and Liberation Struggle in Tamil Eelam

Victims of indiscriminate shooting by army on Jaffna roads.

**December 15**

President Jayawardene tells convention of the ruling UNP that the proposals presented before the APC yesterday would be ratified by the people through a Referendum or General Election. If the country accepted the proposals, the Tamils could give up the demand for Eelam and accept the National Flag, the National language and the National Anthem.

While Amirthalingam says TULF was yet studying the proposals "in depth". Buddhist clergy warn the President not to try to rush the proposals until "terrorism was completely eliminated".

**December 16**

Colombo newspaper "The Island" says Tamil militants have planned to kidnap National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali.

**December 18**

Eight Policemen along with an informer, were killed at Ambalanthurai near Kaluwanchikudy when Tamil militants who were given chase by the Police party, turn back at them, throw hand grenades and shoot them down in open combat. Government while admitting the loss of the eight policemen state that they were killed by a land mine.

In Colombo, Lalith Athulathmudali promises to look into a complaint of how a pregnant mother was robbed and raped by a soldier at Tinnevely on the 14th, but an official "spokesman" briefing newsmen later says "terrorists dressed in army uniform" were responsible for the rape.

Public agitation at Akkaraipattu following the detention by the police of 38 school girls who sat the GCE (OL) exam. The exam was earlier disrupted by unknown people.

Two army officers and two privates were killed and six other soldiers wounded, four of them seriously, when the truck in which they were travelling ran over land mines laid by Tamil militants near Padaviya in the north. They were also attacked with rocket-propelled grenades, official sources stated.

**December 19**

Sri Lanka government creates a new ministry for mobilising manpower for national defence. Ranil Wickremasinghe named the Minister in charge.

18-hour curfew imposed in Negombo, a coastal town north-west of Colombo. Prime Minister Premadasa given additional portfolio of Minister of Emergency Civil Defence.

**December 20**

In Madras, the Organisation for the Protection of the Tamils from Genocide and other violations of human rights (ProTeG) sends appeal to the International Committee of the Red Cross Geneva, for relief measures to Tamils in north Sri Lanka driven to near starvation by atrocities committed by security forces.

In a fresh swoop in Jaffna, armed forces cordon off Jaffna city limits, make house-to-house searches and pick up youths. A large number of staff of the General Hospital among those taken. Over 1000 believed to be rounded up but government says 300 of those were released the same evening.

In Negombo, at least two Tamils were burnt to death and two Tamil-owned shops set on fire.

**December 21**

"All-Party Conference" in Colombo winds up abruptly. Delegates including TULF leaders, who had gone ready to discuss the President's proposals submitted earlier, were told that their task had ended. The Buddhist clergy did not attend.

PTI reports from Colombo of a deepening crisis within the government.

Two Sinhalese Police Inspectors, Terrence de Silva and J.A.R. Nanayakkara, kidnapped by Tamil militants at the Jaffna Railway Station. The Inspectors, both residents of Kurunegala were there to take the Inter-city express to Colombo. Inspector (Headquarters) Jaffna, Ranjit de Silva makes an appeal for their release on humanitarian grounds while clarifying that they did not belong to the Intelligence section.

President Jayawardene's proposals rejected by all parties, including an influential section of his own party.

Secretary of the Supreme Council of the Maha Sangha, Ven. Dr. Walpola Rahula says that the Sinhalese people were being chased away from the north. "For the first time since the Portuguese invasion of the country the Sinhala people are now living in refugee centres", he says.

In Salem in Tamilnadu, addressing a public meeting, Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi referring to the collapse of the Colombo all-party conference, says: "We have to review the problem and see what we can do to the Tamils in Sri Lanka".

**December 22**

Tracker dogs helping to trace the abductors of the two Police Inspectors lead the Police to a well near the Jaffna University hostel and then lose the scent. Army men enter the University and promptly arrest a Senior lecturer and twenty students who were at a lecture.



# December Diary

## Government Terrorism and Liberation Struggle in Tamil Eelam

**December 23** ▶

Sri Lanka government announces that armed forces will now use rockets, bombs and small-calibre artillery against "Tamil separatist guerillas".

Minister for Industries Cyril Mathew openly opposes President Jayawardene's proposals.

Armed forces terrorise Tamils in five villages in north-eastern Mullaitivu district — including Kokkilai, Nayaru and Kumulumunai and evict them from their homes. Over 1000 villagers flee to the jungles in fear. Thousands of others seek sanctuary in temples, churches and schools in Mulliyavalai.

**December 24** ▶

President Jayawardene sacks Industries Minister Cyril Mathew, and replaces him with earlier Deputy Minister Denzil Fernando.

**December 25** ▶

Ousted Minister Cyril Mathew alleges that he was sacked at the behest of Indian Chairman of the Policy Planning Committee G. Parthasarathi. Informed sources in Colombo say that sweeping changes are likely in the Ministry of Industries following the removal of Cyril Mathew who was Minister for 7½ years.

In Jaffna, at Anaicottai, Police Inspector Gnanapragasam, formerly in charge of Kayts Police, shot dead by Tamil militants.

**December 26** ▶

Tamil militants who kidnapped the two Police Inspectors demand ransom of Rs. 50 lakhs in gold bars for their release. They send video cassette along with ransom note, showing the hostages reading the day's newspapers as proof that they were alive.

**December 27** ▶

Tamil youths who kidnapped Police Inspectors extend deadline for payment of ransom till 8 a.m. of 28th. Police say that government will not pay ransom but the wives of the two officers are trying to raise the money for it privately. But independent sources believe that government while not wanting to lose face might yet give in to the ransom demand through other ways because of pressure of opinion from within the Police force.

Sacked Minister Mathew says he would strive to build a single Sinhala movement to look after the interests of Sinhala people.



**December 28** ▶

A UNI report from Colombo says: "The hostage drama involving two Sinhalese Police Inspectors assumed shades of a crime thriller today with the authorities carrying out the first condition set out by the abductors for their release. The abductors had demanded that government should indicate its readiness to pay the ransom by broadcasting on the State radio a particular obituary notice, which should read in Tamil: Rajagopal of Chulipuram expired. Husband of Annalakshmi father of Sinnamani and Nagendran. Body will be cremated at Chulipuram cemetery at 5 p.m. today, Friday, December 28. It was the last of the four notices broadcast after the news bulletin today".

Two crew members of Indian fishing boat, Sahayam (20) and Thangam (27) injured when Sri Lanka naval personnel attack the boat with lethal weapons and take away the prawns catch. Both fishermen admitted to Rameswaram hospital.

**December 29** ▶

A Reuter report from Colombo says President Jayawardene may send a special envoy to New Delhi to reopen a dialogue with Indian government on the island's ethnic problem.

**December 30** ▶

Colombo newspaper "The Island" says government is considering counter measures in the event of Eelamist groups making Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) (See full report elsewhere).

**December 31** ▶

Lalith Athulathmudali holds out threat that for every man that the Tamil militants train in any part of the world, "we will train a hundred persons". Without mentioning India by name, he renewed the charge that Tamil militants were "undergoing training in a neighbouring country in order to set up a separate State in this country".

A Sinhala newspaper (sister paper of "The Island") — the Divaina quoting a government spokesman said five friendly countries, both western and socialist, have offered military aid to Sri Lanka. The new military aid, including fighter planes and ships, are expected to reach Sri Lanka in January, the paper said.



# TAMIL EELAM -

**It might be  
closer than  
you think!**

S. Sivanayagam

On Sunday, December 30, 1984, the Colombo newspaper — The Island — which claims to be the English newspaper with the largest circulation in Sri Lanka, carried the following lead news item on Page 1 under the headline, **LANKA PONDERES STEPS IF EELAMISTS DECLARE UDI:—**

*The Sri Lanka Government is considering counter-measures in the event of Eelamist groups making a Unilateral Declaration of Independence.*

*Sources said that information had been received of such attempts being made by expatriate Tamil groups abroad and a decision taken to prepare immediately for counter-measures.*

*According to intelligence sources, the Eelamist strategy is to proclaim a new state called Eelam on January 14, Thai Pongal Day. Sources said that the government of Mauritius (a tiny Indian Ocean island with people of Indian origin being the dominant race) had been approached to be the first to grant recognition to the new 'state'.*

*In addition to the present Regional Heads of the Foreign Ministry, Sri Lanka's veteran Ambassador in Moscow, Mr. Neville Kanakarathne, and Ambassador in*

*Geneva Mr. Jayantha Dhanapala, have been summoned to Colombo to discuss steps that should be taken in the eventuality of a UDI being declared.*

*Sources also said that the assistance of the Pakistan Embassy had been sought in this respect.*

*The Embassy was asked by the Foreign Ministry what action was taken by the Pakistan Government when Bangladesh was declared an independent sovereign state in the aftermath of the war.*

*Sources also said that Sri Lanka's principal embassies in Western countries such as the United States, Federal Republic of Germany, Britain, France, Australia and Japan had been alerted.*

*Meanwhile, the Government has been receiving assurances from many foreign*

*government of their commitment and support for the territorial and political integrity of Sri Lanka.*

*One such assurance was given by the United States Government when terrorist activity escalated following the killing of Brigadier Ariyapperuma, Commanding Officer, Gurunagar Army Camp and the attack on the Chavakachcheri Police Station.*

*Recently, the "Canberra Times" published a message sent by the Foreign Minister of Australia Hayden on December 20 to Sri Lanka Foreign Minister Hameed which said that the Australian Government wished to see a united, stable and peaceful Sri Lanka and that there could be no doubt about Australia's support for Sri Lanka. The message also said that the Australian Government strongly condemned terrorism, in particular the recent escalation of violence".*



# TAMIL EELAM —

The fact that no "Eelamist" or any Eelam group in any part of the world spoke anything about a Unilateral Declaration of Independence on Thai Pongal Day is irrelevant to this discussion. What is important to note is, whatever the rest of the world thinks about the possibility or viability of a future Tamil Eelam, the Sinhala people and the Sri Lanka government very clearly see dreaded visions of a divided Sri Lanka in the foreseeable future. It could be, that right now, they are the only ones seeing the writing on the wall so clearly, while the rest of the world is suffering from a mental block and consequent myopia.

The entire war psychosis of the Sinhala government and the people today is explainable only on the basis that they are obsessed with the thought of Tamil Eelam. More Sinhalese go to bed with Eelam in their thoughts than Tamils — a delicious quirk of fate but nevertheless true. Let us look at the Sri Lanka scenario today

The desperate attempts made by the government to plant in Tamil areas Sinhala convicts, Sinhala migrant fishermen and other unemployable elements, cannot be explained except as an attempt to grab as much of the future Tamil Eelam territory as possible before the inevitable UDI takes place. The decision to issue firearms to Sinhala civilians to defend themselves against Tamil nationalists in Tamil territory may be a desperate and unwise step, but it is one that could be undertaken only in a country preparing for civil war.

In Colombo, sensitive areas of administration are being cleared of Tamils, even those holding high positions. 60% of the Tamil staff in the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation have been asked to go "on long leave" and stay at home until they are called back. In the Telecommunications Department, there are hardly any Tamils left, both on the technical side and on the switchboards. All the airport communication systems are handled by Sinhalese except for one Tamil officer at the Katunayake International airport whose expertise the government is unable to do without, but who however is being closely watched day and night by Intelligence officials, without the poor man realising it himself. The communications system at Palaly airport, Jaffna, (a military airport now) is handled entirely by Navy personnel. At attempt to transfer out all Tamil officers in the Port and Customs

was stopped only because the Sinhalese Principal Collector of Customs, Mr. Dissanaike, had the guts to say that would be "open communalism" and threatened to resign if government persisted in such a move. Senior Tamil officers in the Government Analyst's Department have been systematically side-stepped and junior Sinhalese officers are entrusted with the day-to-day responsibilities.

Today, every Tamil in Colombo, young or old, whatever the position he holds, is looked upon as a Fifth Columnist. Conversation among Sinhalese officers in Government Departments cease abruptly as soon as a Tamil officer is sighted. It is no longer a question of Tamils deciding that they cannot co-exist with the Sinhalese any more; the Sinhalese themselves are fast coming to that conclusion.



Jinnah

What of the Sinhala army of occupation? Ian Jack, writing in the SUNDAY TIMES, London, on 16 December said

"The army, frankly, is jittery. Last week, courtesy of the Minister of National Security, I flew to the northern and eastern provinces in a 35-year-old de Havilland Dove to find a force besieged in its own country behind sandbags and barbed wire. The officers seemed thoughtful, decent men and not at all gung-ho. Sri Lanka has no modern military tradition — the British never raised standing armies here as they did on the subcontinental mainland — and 10 years ago its officer class could have looked forward to a career spanning squash, bridge and interesting jaunts to Dartmouth and West Point.

"They agreed that in an increasingly sectarian conflict an overwhelmingly Sinhalese army could be impossible to

control. They pointed the finger at political ideology: first the British, who divided as they ruled, then the linguistic and religious chauvinism of the Sinhalese, who had destroyed Ceylon's early promise as secular state, last the Tamils, who wished to preserve their superiority in jobs and education.

**"They also agreed that a political solution was the only way out. Either that, they said, or Eelam, unimaginable five years ago, would be so much nearer the imagining."**

"So much nearer the imagining" Mildly put, but coming from Sri Lanka army officers themselves, it speaks a lot. At the officer level, they have already seen the wisdom that the so-called "terrorism" cannot be ended by military means. After all, going on killing civilians cannot be a final answer to their inability to kill the "terrorists" themselves. At the level of the rank and file of the armed forces, the morale has sunk even lower. The only way they demonstrate it is by feeling their way in fear, and then shooting in fear. Every moving shadow anywhere makes the soldier think of a "Tiger". Their behaviour at times is so frenzied that eye witnesses in Jaffna now think that a lot of army men are acting under the influence of drugs! Whether they are drugging themselves, or whether under Mossad advice they are being drugged by the High Command, one does not know. Anyway, how long will a "jittery" army working up courage under drugs, going to last the pace of a civil war?

If the world thinks that the territorial demarcation of Sinhala area and Tamil Eelam area is a problematical issue, then the world does not know one salient truth. The division has already occurred — in the minds of both peoples.

Trevor Fishlock writing in the TIMES London, of January 3, spoke of a train journey he made from Jaffna in the north to Colombo in the south. "There was a strong force of khaki-uniformed police on board, carrying sub-machine guns and rifles", he wrote. "They were nervous and restless, constantly walking up and down. The train was full...."

"Late that night we reached Anuradnapura. We were out of the tense and torn northern province, where the fight between the army and the terrorists rages. The troops continued to hurry up and down the train, their fingers close to the



# It might be closer than you think!

triggers, but they were suddenly less keyed-up. There was a noticeable easing of tension. "You see", my companion said, "they feel they are in their own country now"

It is of course admitted that the Tamils have yet to make a case for Tamil Eelam in the eyes of the international community. This is the reason why academics, media men, opinion makers, Human Rights workers, even sympathisers of the Tamil cause, particularly New Delhi opinion, while expressing genuine sympathy for the Tamils, and convinced that they need to be helped, draw the line when it comes to separation. But this need not unduly worry the Tamils who are convinced in their own minds that there is no "viable alternative" to Tamil Eelam that would be acceptable to both the Sinhalese and Tamils — which therefore is a wild goose chase. They need not worry, because history is not fashioned by academics or media men or opinion makers, and in the final analysis not even by leaders of nations! Events tend to quicken in momentum in given directions as and when they take place and the cumulative resultant is what we call a historical force. That force waits for no man, not even the leaders of nations.

The partition of India was one that no one wanted at the beginning — except one tuberculosis-ridden man, Mohamed Ali Jinnah. When the idea of Pakistan was first mooted in 1940, one of India's influential leaders C. Rajagopalachari saw in the slogan "the sign of a diseased mentality". He called it "absurd and impracticable" and a "tribal" concept. Yet it was the same C.R. who told the Allahabad sessions of the All India Committee a few years later: "Let us give to the Mussalmans what they are asking". Nehru and Patel were aghast. But PARTITION DID COME. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, a Pakistan leader who was by any comparison a more powerful leader than President Jayawardene boasted just four months before Bangladesh became a reality: "Bangladesh over my dead body!". Bhutto lived for a decade thereafter. Then there was a man who at one time at the cross-roads of history was more powerful than anyone else in contemporary history. Adolf Hitler. The Third Reich, born on January 30, 1933, was one which Hitler boasted would endure for a 1,000 years! It lasted twelve years and four months!



*If President Jayawardene were to adopt an Aryan Adolf-Hitler-like posture, what would he look like?*

**TAMIL INFORMATION artist  
Anandamurugan thinks the likeness  
would be striking!**

There are two morals to be learnt from these: First, what politicians and leaders pronounce, however powerful they are in given situations, might ultimately be of no consequence in terms of history. Second, the world generally becomes wise, only AFTER an event. There is too little of foresight and too much of hindsight. For example, once Tamil Eelam becomes a reality, there will be hundreds of academics, media men and political analysts who will explain to the rest of the world, very cogently and very patiently WHY Tamil Eelam was inevitable!

If one looks round, all the present arguments against Tamil Eelam would be found to be based purely on personal prejudices, mental blocks and lack of both imagination and historic sense. "Viability" of the future Tamil Eelam for example; as if anything could be said to be not viable before it is born! As this writer, in an article to the Colombo weekly TRIBUNE said 7 years ago: (15 October 1977): "... Nothing is a sound economic proposition before it is born... Israel in

the desert was not a sound economic proposition before it was born, let alone being a sound military proposition. After all, Sir, Sri Lanka after 29 years of freedom on a plate and the generous patrimony of Tea, Rubber and Coconut, is still not a sound economic proposition... What is important is not that Tea earns foreign exchange while onions won't. The flaw in this thinking is the arguing against a futuristic situation in terms that are static and contemporary... The point I am trying to make Sir, is that Eelam, like happiness and sorrow, hope and despair, conviction and doubt, is primarily a STATE of MIND. One can't argue it away by statistics, polemics and threats, or wish it away by whistling in the dark. The one important thing is the ability to recognise a historical process, a process in which even leaders of nations and leaders of parties could become irrelevant..."

There is also a very common, threadbare argument about SIZE. A foolish commentator in the ECONOMIC ST. London, once said: "An independent state carved out of Sri Lanka (which is smaller than Scotland) seems an absurdity". If that is the argument, Singapore (618 sq.k.m.) more than a hundred times smaller than Sri Lanka (66,000 sq.k.m.) is obviously a flourishing absurdity!

Even if we place the size of the future Tamil Eelam as one-fourth the size of Sri Lanka, (that would be 16,500 sq.k.m.) does the world realize that there are already in existence more than 25 independent countries in the Third World that are smaller than the future Eelam? Are the Bahamas (11,396 sq.k.m.) Bahrain (596 sq.k.m.) Barbados (430 sq.k.m.) and Brunei (5765 sq.k.m.) all absurdities? How about Cyprus (9251 sq.k.m.) Grenada (344 sq.k.m.), Lebanon (10,400 sq.k.m.), Maldives (298 sq.k.m.), Mauritius (1865 sq.k.m.)...? What kind of absurdity is Seychelles (278 sq.k.m.)?

The greatest tragedy of the Tamils is that from the time they began to be massacred in July 1983, the "accredited" leadership had been eternally talking of a "VIABLE ALTERNATIVE TO TAMIL EELAM" and not Tamil Eelam, thereby cheating their suffering people of the only objective they cherished. But what the Tamils failed to achieve by their own efforts, is likely to be realised now through Sinhala obduracy!



# Killings in Sri Lanka and General Walters

The first British Soldier to be convicted of murder while on duty in Northern Ireland was jailed for life on 14.12.84 for killing a Roman Catholic during a disturbance in West Belfast — (There is no capital punishment in U.K.).

The judge, in a reserved judgement at Belfast Crown court found private Ian Thain, aged 19, a soldier with the First Battalion Light Infantry, guilty of murdering Thomas Reilly, aged 22. Mr. Reilly died when Thain, who had served in the province for only 3 months, fired a single shot as he ran along a road after a fracas between youths and a military patrol.

At the end of a 90-minute judgement the judge told Thain, who joined the army in September 1982, that Mr. Reilly's death had been a tragedy for his family and friends.

In his 64 — page judgement, the judge described Thain as being "deliberately untruthful" when it suited him and that he had "concocted" a defence "alleging that he thought Mr. Reilly was pulling a pistol to shoot him. "It confirms my conclusion that the accused had no honest belief that the deceased was going to draw a gun and shoot him

The judge said Mr. Reilly who had been drinking acted in a disorderly manner, ran away from an army patrol and that a corporal had shouted get him

Thain had been thinking intelligently, had shouted three times "Stop, Army, or I'll fire" but the judge said that by his decision and deeds he had not been in a

very frightened or emotional state, he had needed a steady hand to bring a rifle with a telescopic sight to his eyes and fire through the heart of the deceased.



## LETTER FROM LONDON

Thain had not made sure his shot hit its target. After the shooting he had run with a colleague to within five yards of the dead man and failed to warn his colleague that the deceased was armed or had attempted to shoot him.

The judge said Thain had not searched for Mr. Reilly's weapon, or suggested a search should be made and had not explained the man was armed when he was asked by a senior officer what had happened.

"The accused's reticence astonishes me. I am satisfied beyond all reasonable doubt that the reason for the accused failing to give this explanation for his action for so long was that this is a defence which he has since concocted"

Thain was said to have been deeply affected by the death of Private Curtis, a colleague from the same town who was killed in a booby trap bomb. An army witness said that on patrol Thain lacked confidence and that after the death of Private Curtis he had lost more confidence and been upset.

Over 300 Tamils have been arbitrarily shot by the Sri Lankan Security forces during the past few weeks alone, but General Vernon Walters, President Reagan's special envoy, describes Sri Lanka at a practising democracy.

Well Mr. Walters, should't it be the duty of all those who talk about democracy to make sure that applying the same standards of justice as the British, the criminal elements in the Sri Lankan security forces and administration are brought to justice as soon as possible for the random killing of Tamil civilians? If convicted, the correct punishment would be hanging or life imprisonment. In a democracy, rule of law requires that even an armed terrorist cannot be shot on sight without first making an attempt to arrest him.

If conditions of war exist, then the "brave young Tamil freedom fighters taking on the Sri Lankan terror machine" should be entitled for protection as per Geneva convention on the treatment of prisoners of war.

**P Varothayasingham**

## Development Aid misused: Norway shows concern

*The following is an English translation of a statement made by Ms Marit Wikholm, MP (Labour Party) in the Norwegian Parliament, on the 26th of November 1984 on Sri Lanka.*

... Finally a few words on Sri Lanka. I have noted the Committee's (Parlia-

mentary Committee on Foreign Policy) remarks that one will appraise the situation in Sri Lanka according to White Paper No. 36 on Norway's Cooperation with Developing Nations. I think it is important that the Government of Sri Lanka is made to receive strong signals that Development Aid can be altered if it continues its systematic hunt and near extermination of Tamils. Despite President Jayawardene's strong efforts to explain away the acts of tyranny and maintain that it is the Terrorist Groups they are fighting, we know from, among others, BBC-Reports and from Tamils living in Norway, it is only a propaganda to legitimize (the Government's) own actions. I am also referring to 3 Amnesty-Reports of the last year. People are disappearing, and

being murdered, and houses and shops are being burnt.

"That Tamils are resorting to counter-offensive is natural. But it is up to the Government of Sri Lanka to restore Law and Order. There are very good reasons for Norway to follow the developments closely. Our entire Development-Aid-Policy will fall into disrepute if we risk our Development Aid Funds being used by one ethnic group to suppress another. I would like to ask Minister Brusletten (Minister of Development Aid) whether we can be sure by any means that a certain proportion of the Grant for Sri Lanka will go to Projects in the Tamil areas and what practical problems are encountered in that respect?"



# Tamil Refugees in Mauritius

A number of Tamil youths from Jaffna, Vavuniya and Batticaloa have sought refuge and asylum in Mauritius. Mauritius is a small island off the coast of East Africa with a land area of 1,865 sq.k.m. with a population of under one million. 51% of the people are Hindus.

Although there is a wave of sympathy for the Sri Lanka Tamil refugees, Mauritius being a small developing nation, will not be able to divert any of its own resources towards the rehabilitation of these refugees. It is therefore proposed to appeal to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) in Geneva for assistance.

The national Press of Mauritius has been giving substantial publicity to the situation of the refugees from Sri Lanka. In a much-publicised interview, a 22-year old Tamil youth, a musician by profession, has narrated the horrors that Tamils are subject to, under Sinhala State terrorism in Sri Lanka. He said: I have two of my brothers in jail. I do not know whether they are yet alive. They were never involved in any violence. But because they are Tamil youths, the government thinks they are terrorists. It is the Sri Lanka government that is terrorist. I fled to India first. Even in Tamilnadu there are agents of the Sri Lanka government trying to kill refugees like us. It was with

great difficulty I could find the money to come to your friendly island. Until it is safe enough to get back to our own country, please help us. We Tamils who are hunted like wild animals by our own government in our own country will never ever forget the sympathy and help you are giving us.

Meanwhile, the Mauritius Tamil Temples' Federation, the Mauritius Tamil Council, the Tamil League, are in the forefront, in receiving and accommodating and looking after these Tamil refugees. Mr. Kadiresan Pillay, Mr. A. Parasuram of the M.S.M. Party, Mr. Jayam Kattaree and Dr. Pillay of the M.M.M. Party, Mrs. Poonusamy and Mr. Chettiar of the Labour Party are appealing to all Tamils in the country to provide the necessary hospitality until the government finds help from the UNHCR.

The Tamil Temples' Federation has appealed to the Prime Minister to get all international assistance possible. Leading members of the Federation — Mr. V.V. Pillay, Mr. Mooleyan, Mr. Ponneyen and Mr. Chetty, are already active in drawing up other assistance programmes. One Engineering student who could not continue his education at the Moratuwa University in Sri Lanka has been admitted to the Engineering Faculty in the University of Mauritius. Since the fees are very

high, social welfare organisations are trying to raise the funds to help this student. Another youth, a student of classical music has started giving music lessons to Tamil youngsters and is able to earn his living.

In a letter addressed to Prime Minister Ameerud Jugnauth, with copies to Minister of External Affairs A.K. Gayan and Minister of Education A. Parasuram, Mr. V.V. Pillay, Secretary of the Tamil Temples' Federation has said: "The Mauritius Tamil Temples' Federation and indeed the whole Tamil community are extremely grateful to you and your government for the courageous stand you have taken in favour of the trampled Tamil minority in Sri Lanka. From the reports we receive regularly on the situation in Sri Lanka we are sad to note that violence against the Tamil community continues with more intensity... We cannot witness these events without showing our total solidarity with our oppressed brothers and sisters in Sri Lanka. Our Federation kindly requests you to instruct our Permanent Representative in the United Nations to raise this issue formally in New York so that the international community may be appraised of the situation and may call on the government of Sri Lanka to stop the genocide of Tamils there. We hope, Sir, that your government will take urgent action. please".

## Letter from Seychelles

### Sri Lanka State Terrorism condemned at Seychelles

At a memorial meeting held at the Seychelles Hindu Kovil Sangam in remembrance of the late Mr. T. Shanmugarajah, Treasurer, Thiruketheeswaram Temple Trust and his son S. Niruthan, both of whom were among six killed in a car on their way to a refugee camp from Kirillapone on 29 July 1983, Mr. Kailasanathan, Attorney-at-law Seychelles, spoke at length about the atrocities committed

by the State security forces against Tamils in Sri Lanka. He traced the history of Tamils in that island and pointed out that the Sinhalese had openly vitiated the agreement to share power subsequent to independence from the British. He said the progressive governments in the region including the government of Seychelles have been watching the situation in Sri Lanka with growing concern and alarm.

### Tamil Dances on Seychelles TV

For the first time in Seychelles, a cultural show consisting of Kolattam and Kummi (traditional Tamil folk dancing) were presented by the Seychelles TV. The Hindu Kovil Sangam presented this programme on behalf of the Tamils of this country. TV viewers were deeply impressed by the young Tamil women

dancers dressed in traditional Kanchipuram silk costumes and ornamental jewellery and the grace with which they executed the rhythmic beats of Kolattam and Kummi. The dancers who came from the rich Tamil trading community which forms the backbone of the retail business here, were trained by Miss Verma.

## Tourism fiasco in Bonn

"Eelam sympathisers in Bonn broke up an exhibition on Sri Lanka's tourism held at the Frankfurt Plaza Hotel in Bonn on November 25," according to the Colombo newspaper, "The Island".

The report says "This prestigious exhibition which commenced on November 19 was scheduled to conclude on December 4, but Eelam supporters in Bonn forced themselves into the Hotel and disrupted the exhibition, resulting in the exhibition seeing a premature end.

"They had also threatened the Hotel management that they would bomb the Hotel the following day if they did not close up the exhibition.

"The exhibition was organised by the Sri Lanka Tourist Board and Condor Tours and backed by the Sri Lanka Embassy in Bonn.

"According to Sri Lanka sources Police authorities in Bonn had said they could not provide the exhibition with 24-hour protection till the end of the exhibition on December 4."



# NEWS TODAY



SATURDAY 8 DECEMBER 1984

## editlines

# UNP Government concedes 'Eelam'

Please don't be surprised, pleasantly or otherwise, at this headline statement. Sometime truth is never stated. Only it is accepted.

Read these clear pointers: (1) The United National Party Government of President Jayawardene has decided to issue rifles, revolvers and, in some cases, group-owned sten guns to the country's majority population of Sinhalese. The issue of licences will be a mere 'formality' in all these cases. The BBC and the British news agency Reuters have reported this — not any Indian news agency although the news has been picked up by all world wire services. (2) As part of the arms-to-Sinhalese programme about 250 guns had been distributed in Trincomalee harbour town to the ethnic majority. (3) Tamils arriving in Colombo have been arrested and screened; they are being given identity cards to help police surveillance on them as if they are aliens. (4) The Sri Lankan Government is importing weapons and

equipment for its Sinhalese army on a large scale from all countries including South Africa. (5) Tamils in the coastal north, in Jaffna, have been pushed into the interior. (6) Shoot-at-sight orders have been issued and permanent curfew imposed in the Tamil areas and (7) Lanka's troops, consisting only of Sinhalese, have been licensed to kill the Tamils on sight, without fuss or pretext.

All these things could happen only when "two nations" are at war. It is immaterial whether or not these two nations are within a single geographical area. By the very measures it has resorted to, the UNP Government has conceded the point it is at war nothing less with the 'Tamil Nation' on behalf of the Sinhalese of the same island.

In India too we have ethnic and minority problems. The Indian Government never allows the "majority" to acquire guns and rifles to be used against the minorities. It is, therefore, obvious that

what is taking place in Sri Lanka is nothing short of a war by Sinhalese nation on the *de facto* nation of Tamils.

It is time India mobilises world opinion in support of the struggling *Tamil Nation* instead of the ethnic minority as such. The Tamil nation has the will to fight and needs both moral and material support.

And India, meanwhile, should also exercise its clear right of hot pursuit of Sri Lankan naval boats which intrude the Indian waters to threaten and kill Indian nationals. The pursuit should extend even to the South West port of Colombo from where the orders for all breaches are issued.

*This country can't keep Sri Lanka united when the Government there has already divided it.*

When a Government allows a majority to kill the minority, without regard to the concept of an all-in state and nationhood, the oppressed minority



has a right, under the international law, to defend itself by all means. Defence includes seeking help. India should not be apologetic on its duty to train and arm Tamil Nationalists who are fighting both for their survival and nationhood.

MONDAY 17  
DECEMBER 1984

## Enough is enough

It is time the various Tamil 'nationalist' movements in Sri Lanka clarify where they stand vis-a-vis a basic, fundamental issue. Only this will help others who sympathise with them, emotionally and ideologically, to draw the desirable line as to what extent they can go in order not to look sheepish afterward.

The basic issue is, "Gentlemen what exactly do you want"? The statements being made by the various groups have not helped us to understand what they actually want and how they propose to reach the set goal, if any.

Let's take the Colombo talks being held in fits and starts with nuts and bolts strewn all around. The proposal for these talks was made by G. Parthasarathy, late Indira Gandhi's special envoy in the immediate aftermath of the 1983 July carnage of Tamils. The Colombo Government did not accept the proposal immediately. It

required three visits by GP to Colombo to get the talks started.

When President Jayawardene came to Delhi in November 1983 he talked about two 'provincial self-governing' councils for the Tamils. India welcomed it as one step forward, despite the three steps backwards recorded by the ethnic killings earlier in July. The TULF leadership which had come into India with a semi-refugee status was persuaded to take part in the talks.

The talks which were originally scheduled to conclude within three weeks have been prolonged for about 12 months now. In the meantime, the Colombo Government officially organised the killing of Tamils in order to wipe out the stigma of unofficial killings by mobs! The state killings everywhere are justified in the name of tackling real or imaginary terrorism. Mossad commandos, the British SAS agents, the CIA undercover operatives and the South African white brigades in non-battle fatigues were despatched to the northern areas along with special army and navy units. Jaffna was placed under near-continuous curfew which gave the excuse to the army and commandos to kill innocent Tamil youths including girls.

Action breeds reaction. The Tamil nationalists, pushed to the wall, had no option except to retaliate which they did.

This gave more excuses for the Sinhalese army to place the Northern and Eastern parts under a virtual siege that amounted to starving the whole population. More vicious forms of suppression elicited more daring retaliation in the empirical cycle of nature's laws.

When the talks started in early January, the issue was one of finding out a political solution to the "chronic and persisting problem of Tamil grievances". This obviously excluded State-organised violence since no political solution could be sought in an atmosphere of all round terror. Therefore we can truthfully say that the character of the talks has changed in December from what it was in early January this year.

Three Tamil organisations stood invited to the Colombo conference. These were the Tamil United Liberation Front which was the official opposition to the Government in the Colombo Parliament, the Ceylon Workers' Congress led by Thondaman who is a cabinet minister and the Ceylon Tamil Congress whose existence many are not aware of. Here the *theory of exculpation* stood out like a sore thumb. The various other Tamil nationalist organisations were excluded. It was a different matter that these would not have responded to the invitation, but the fact was they were not "recognised" and, therefore, were not invited.



Why was this so? Evidently these organisations were not prepared to accept the basic premise of the talks, namely that a solution should be sought within the framework of Sri Lanka's unity and oneness, something unexceptionable in normal circumstances if the Colombo Government itself had not chosen to divide the nation-state into Sinhalese and Tamils nad had not armed the Sinhalese to set them against the Tamil minority whose only sin was heroism in the face of a most ruthless state-terror. That White Terror everywhere should have to be countered by Red Terror is the element and being of all liberation movements, born naturally or created by repression over long years. This was not understood by the Colombo Government. This was not surprising. But what was most surprising was that the parties represented, on invitation, at the Colombo talks pretended to condemn the state-sponsored atrocities without giving up their participatory politics in what they themselves call a colossal deception or fraud.

We all know where the Ceylon Workers Congress, which claims to represent only the Estate Tamils of Indian origin, stands. Its leader is in the Jayawardene Cabinet and he can't disown collective responsibility for the State terror. But it must be conceded to the credit of Thondaman that he is not dishonest. He clearly says that whatever



Eelam through Round Table talks ?

"To his credit, he is not dishonest"

happens a solution can only be within the framework of a united Sri Lanka.

What prevents the TULF, which has been hounded out of the Parliament itself on the oath issue from taking a clear stand, whatever it is? Its leadership, we are sorry to say, is running with the hunted hare even though it is not exactly hounding with other crazy dogs. We would like to know what this TULF, mostly stationed in India, is, whether it is fish or fowl, whether it is just a hare taking often to the dinner table on invitation by the hunters.

Let not our friends in the TULF think that we are being uncharitable or hostile to them. Far from it. We have carefully gone through the maze of statements issued by the TULF's authorised spokesmen, some of which we have

published in full to help the readers to understand what they say. We went through these again before writing this piece. We found that the much-respected Amirthalingam, the TULF General Secretary, at one stage had gone on record to say that the DMK's demand for military intervention was 'not unjustified' and even represented "my own mood". Military intervention for what? To preserve the unit of Sri Lanka at a time when it does not want the Tamil population at all for the reason of its now wanting the ethnic issue to persist or prolong? Or is it for creating a Tamil homeland? So far as we could understand even the DMK's election manifesto clearly spells out Tamil Eelam as the inevitable goal and claims that this can never be reached through round or square table talks.



At the latest 'round' in Colombo, President Jayawardene circulated the "draft law" for solving the problem as he sees it. This is based on the single pillar of his policy — neither separation nor autonomy as in India for the Tamil-dominated area. He calls it "participatory democracy". There is no point in going profoundly into the wording of this or that clause in the proposals, legally drafted or otherwise, until an answer is forthcoming from the TULF on whether or not it accepts this basic approach, namely, no separation, no autonomy, only the powerless powers of a district board.

We are being told that Amirthalingam is holding talks with the Colombo Government and seeking clarifications. This gives an impression that he accepts the basic approach, as outlined by President Jayawardene, and

only wants peripheral improvements here and there. It is for him to clarify whether this impression is correct or not. Of course, we concede the basic proposition that it is not for anybody here to decide what the Tamils in Lanka should get and how.

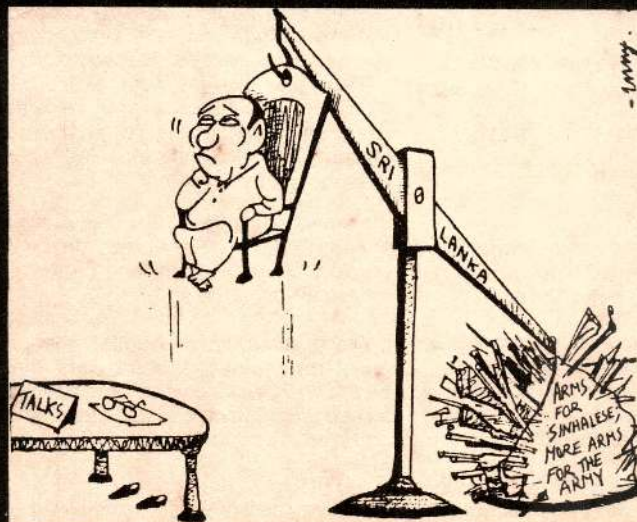
And now comes the most important point. The dialogue with the Colombo Government can wait, because, willy nilly, that Government is determined to liquidate terrorism which is the bad name given to Nationalism fighting for a bare existence for Tamils on a hostile soil. More immediate is the need for dialogue among the Tamils themselves to evolve, by a democratic process, however painful it may be, to reach a consensus on the basic question — "what do we want" ?

All great things must have a simple beginning unless they're a deception that is

planted on both the oppressor and the oppressed. Calling somebody a cold-blooded murderer and joining him at 'some table' is bad enough for a normal human. When it is collectively done, it could be called 'a hangman's game'.

Neither revolution nor liberation is a tea party. It is sacrifice, courting death for a cause. The cause seems to be missing. Words uttered here, on this side of the Palk Straits should match deeds done there, on the other side of the same narrow straits.

Risking repetition, we again pose the question: Gentlemen, please tell us what you want, where you stand. Please remember it is for You, You and You to decide. You can save a lot of embarrassment for your supporters who, we can't avoid saying, are being taken for a ride. Enough is enough.



As Indian cartoonists see it



# SINHALA JOURNALIST WRITES FROM JAFFNA

GEMINI News Service

There is a part of Sri Lanka entry to which requires a passport or other form of identification.

This is Jaffna peninsula, heartland of the Tamil minority, where young guerrillas, styled Liberation Tigers, are engaged in a "war of independence" against President Junius Jayawardene's Sinhalese-dominated Government.

At Elephant Pass, the narrow spit of land linking the peninsula to the mainland, all travellers must go through a barrier manned by the military.

The objective is to apprehend guerrillas, but for ordinary Tamils travelling in either direction it can be a harrowing experience.

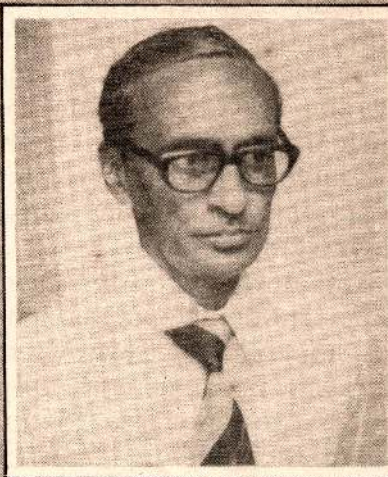
The treatment meted out at the barrier is a barometer of the state of affairs in Jaffna: if there have been recent guerrilla attacks on the security forces, the guards can be nasty.

Once inside the peninsula, it is an eerie existence for the people. They live in a perpetual state of anxiety and fear, not knowing when they will be the target of what Tamil leaders have described as the "Sinhalese army of occupation".

For in the battle against the guerrillas, security forces make mass arrests of youths and sometimes resort to indiscriminate killings and devastation of houses and property as reprisals.

Almost the first question most people ask another in the morning is: "Heard anything last night?" The reference is to operations by the guerrillas or the security forces.

If the answer is in the negative, the people heave a sigh of relief and go about their daily business; otherwise they stay at home.



*Gamini Navaratne is a unique personality in Sri Lanka. In a country torn by an ethnic divide of South and North, where the Press is either kept or tamed by the government, Gamini Navaratne though a born Sinhala Buddhist and belonging to the South, yet chose to work in a North as Editor of the Jaffna-based SATURDAY REVIEW — the only Sinhalese living in Jaffna with popular acceptability, editing the only English journal that had dared to challenge State terrorism in Tamil areas. With humanism as his religion, he has been a consistent and doughty fighter for human and fundamental rights of the people, and in the process has now taken up the cause of the Tamil people.*

Wherever they go, they take the identity card with them, which Sri Lankans living outside the peninsula need not do.

After dusk the people do not venture out at all. There are no late cinema shows, concerts, parties or other social functions. They are observing a curfew of their own even when no official curfew is on.

Supplies of food and other essentials coming from outside the peninsula tend to be disrupted after each bout of violence, and prices soar.

Though Jaffna is a fish surplus area, this item is now rarely seen on tables. The Government's declaration of the offshore areas as a "surveillance zone" to prevent guerrillas travelling to and from neighbouring South India, which they are using as a sanctuary, makes it impossible for the fishermen to go to their favourite grounds in the Palks Strait.

There is also a liquidity crisis. Most banks outside Jaffna have been closed following robberies. Almost all the state banks and many other State institutions have been robbed or bombed. The few banks in the city do not carry much cash and stay open for only one hour a day. Most traders refuse to accept cheques.

Jayawardene's Government blames the guerrillas for all the sufferings of the people of the north: if they cease their depredations, it argues, then the people would be able to lead a normal life.

There are two major guerrilla groups — the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) led by V. Prabhakaran and its splinter, the Tigers Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO) led by Sri Sabaratnam. Both have their headquarters in Madras.

Since 1977, when Jayewardene's United National Party (UNP) assumed office, official figures say they have killed 79 policemen, 42 soldiers and 169 civilians, either supporters of the UNP or "police informers".

In the latest exploits, they blew up the northern army commander, Col. A. Ariyapperuma and his jeep on November 19 and two days later attacked a police station killing 27 officers.

The Tamil people were frightened by the expectation of a retaliatory attack by the security forces. Declaration of a curfew and confinement of troops to barracks pre-empted any immediate reaction. But judging by past trends, observers believe that reprisals are bound to come sooner or later.

It was the killing of 13 soldiers in Jaffna in July 1983 that sparked the biggest pogrom against Tamils living in the Sinhalese areas in the south.

More recently, in August, the north coast town of Valvettiturai was shelled by the Navy while soldiers and policemen looted and burnt houses after several navy and police personnel had been killed.

While the guerrilla campaign has achieved considerable success in paralysing the state machinery in the region,



the reprisals have served to further alienate the Tamils from the Government and accelerated the physical division of the two races so desired by those who dream of a separate state to be called Eelam.

The number of Tamils living outside their traditional homelands in the north and east has dwindled substantially since 1983 almost all the Sinhalese civilians who had been living and working in the north have gone back.

In this situation, the Government's decision to suspend all development work in the neglected north and to divert the funds for defence is not helpful.

In fact, the adoption of a military approach has complicated a basically political problem: the demand of the Tamils (who form 13 per cent of the 15 million population) for a more equitable sharing of state power and all the benefits that flow from it.

Sinhalese resistance to this demand has prompted sections of the Tamils to strike out for a separate state.

Another pogrom could well lead to a Bangladesh situation, observers believe, with India intervening on behalf of the Tamils. — GEMINI.

By **GAMINI NAVARATNE**  
*Jaffna*

## DEFIANT TAMILS CHALLENGE ARMED FORCES

By **DAVID GRAVES** in Madras From **THE DAILY TELEGRAPH**, London — December, 4 1984

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the major group of separatist rebels responsible for the recent violence in Sri Lanka, said last night it planned to intensify its campaign.

Mr. A.S. Balasingham, the rebels' official spokesman, said in Madras: "The Government seems hellbent on a military solution, and if that is what they want, they will get a military answer".

The Tigers, who have been fighting for a separate Tamil state in the north and east of Sri Lanka for eight years, had become "disillusioned" with political talks aimed at reaching a solution to the communal violence, he said.

The realisation that the Government did not want to negotiate a peaceful solution at talks in Colombo with the Tamil United Liberation Front, the main Tamil

political party, had forced the Tigers to act, he maintained.

"Our campaign will intensify until the Government realises it cannot defeat us militarily", Mr. Balasingham said.

He denied that the Tigers, the largest of the Tamil guerrilla groups, had attacked civilian targets in the island over the past week.

The Tigers' spokesman maintained that two prison resettlement camps attacked by the group in the northern province contained serving prisoners armed by the Government to become a Sinhalese paramilitary force.

Mr. Balasingham, a social scientist who worked in London for 12 years, said: "We have never attacked civilians in the past and we will never do so in the future".

He also denied that the Tigers had

attacked two fishing villages in the north of the island on Sunday, as claimed by the Government, although he did not rule out another guerrilla group being responsible.

He revealed that leaders of the six other guerrilla groups had held talks in Madras over the past month with Mr. A. Amirthalingam, the Front's Secretary-General to try to persuade him to withdraw from the Colombo talks.

Mr. Balasingham maintained that the Front had lost its mandate to speak for the minority Tamil population which makes up 18 per cent of Sri Lanka's 16 million Sinhalese-dominated population.

The Tigers had also had talks with the other groups, he said, aimed at a united rebel military command which could defeat the Sri Lankan Armed Forces, if necessary....

## Exit Piyasena!

The Sri Lankan Deputy High Commissioner in Madras is now back in Colombo, for good. A diplomatic busybody who sometimes went beyond his diplomatic bounds, and considered an 'upstart' by some of his own High Commission staff, he was recalled obviously for a mixture of reasons.

The Madras based 'PROTEG' (Organization for the Protection of the Tamils from Genocide and other Violations of Human Rights) had accused the Deputy High Commission in Madras over two months back of spying on Tamil political refugees in Tamil Nadu. The "Indian Express" of 28th of September carrying a report of a press conference held in Madras in this connection said:— It (PROTEG) "accused the chancery of being involved in espionage, spying not only on Tamil political refugees from Sri Lanka who have sought sanctuary in Tamil Nadu but also on others who were known to sympathise with the cause of Sri Lanka Tamils.

"Addressing a press conference, Mr. S.C. Chandrahasan, coordinator of PROTEG, charged that the mission was in a position to engage in the extermination of persons "who are involved in the struggle against State oppression in Sri Lanka". Mr. Chandrahasan, showed photostat copies of a letter allegedly written by a Sri Lanka spy called "Jaisinga" to the First Secretary in the Sri Lanka Deputy High Commission office in Madras, to prove his charge...."

The Madras Tamil Daily 'Dhinamani' (a newspaper belonging to the Express group of newspapers) carried a lengthy report in its issue of 13th December explaining the circumstances in which Mr. Piyasena was recalled to Colombo. The "Indian Express" of 15th December carried the following report:—

"Sri Lankan Deputy High Commissioner in Madras, S. Piyasena, who had to quit his job in Madras following his alleged involvement in a sex scandal, flew back to Colombo by a morning Air Lanka flight on Friday.

"The Sri Lankan Government had re-

called Mr. Piyasena after the External Affairs Ministry in Delhi objected to his activities in Madras in the past few months.

"Though Mr. Piyasena maintained that he was going to Colombo only temporarily to assist his government in the round table talks, a farewell party was organised on Friday in the Deputy High Commission, it is learnt.

"Mr. Piyasena who was reported to have told President Jayawardene that he would buy up all the journalists of Madras, allegedly got involved in a sex scandal after he appointed a massage-parlour woman as his "social secretary" a specially created post.

"Following this, his wife left him and returned to Colombo while his daughter, a student in Colombo, created a scene in the Deputy High Commission a few weeks back over the presence of the "social secretary" according to a High Commission source. This was followed by a formal protest by the Indian Government to Sri Lanka.

"A career diplomat is likely to replace him, it is learnt".



## The betrayal of the Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka – II

Since the dawn of Independence in 1948 the plantation workers ceased to be the concern of parliamentary politicians, as they had no means of sending any one to parliament. The plantation workers were united in very powerful trade unions. Their primary concern did not go beyond problems of wages and working conditions. Even in those spheres their successes were tardy. When the plantation workers resorted to trade union action they were, attached as foreign workers holding the 'nation to ransom'. They were not part of the nation. They were the serfs and not citizens. The plantation workers was thus forgotten from 1948 to 1964. Their lives were in ruins. They did not benefit by any of the progressive legislation of the Independent Sri Lanka, except the Employees Provident Fund Act, and that too because the Employees Provident Fund Scheme would not help the Govt. in its monetary requirements if nearly 600,000 wage earners were left out of the scheme. In fact, when the scheme was under discussion, in parliament a few parliamentarians wanted the Indian Tamil-non-citizen-labour excluded from the scheme.

The Housing, Health and Education of the Plantation Workers were in total neglect. By the device of granting 'nominations' to the trade union leaders, to represent the plantation workers in parliament, the Govt. skilfully divided the trade union movements. The trade union leaders became 'nomination' seekers and their rivalries intensified and ruined the only bastion of strength left to the plantation workers, the trade union movement. Through careful manoeuvres the planting interests and the Govt. forces splintered the plantation trade union movement.

However, there have been occasions when the plantation labour had evinced its capacity to act with unity and resolve, despite their quarelling, leadership and their varying political loyalties. The two instances worthy of record are when the plantation workers to a man refused to take an oath of allegiance to the unitary state constitution of Sri Lanka under the Sixth amendment to the Constitution in 1983. Equally they stood united on their wage demand strike in 1984, despite the Government's divisive tactics and the threats of communal holocaust.

Consequent to the deprivation of franchise and the continuing neglect of their welfare, the plantation workers became the dying community of Sri Lanka. Infant mortality was highest among the plantation Tamils. Illiteracy rate was the

### The 3rd betrayal - the Sirima-Shastri Pact, & the July '83 pogrom



highest among the plantation workers. Housing became the most acute problem and overcrowding in the barrack like rooms was simmering into explosive proportions. A television programme telecast in London touched the conscience of the tea consumers. There was an outcry in Europe against the treatment of the plantation workers and several international aid agencies rushed to ameliorate the conditions of plantation workers.

The expulsion of Indians from Burma and the Sino-Indian border war gave Sri Lanka an opportunity to attempt to solve the Simmering problem of the stateless. India and Sri Lanka entered into an Agreement now wellknown as Sirima Shastri Pact of 1964. The Sri Lankan Prime Minister Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, cleverly exploited the China Syndrome of India in the wake of India's humiliating defeat in the Sino-Indian border war, by persuading India to accept repatriation of 525,000 persons of Indian origin, and their natural increase. This is the most historic 'Sell-out' of the Indian Tamils by the Indian Government. All the principled stands taken by India before 1964 on the issue of the citizenship rights of Indian Tamils were suddenly abandoned. This agreement is India's second humiliating defeat of India after the Chinese debacle, the only difference being the defeat was at the negotiating table. For the first time in nearly quarter of a century of negotiations between India and Sri Lanka, India surrendered to the Sri Lankan position, which was India must take back her 'citizens'.

After this third betrayal, (first by Britain in 1943, second by Indian Tamil leaders in 1951) a sense of defeat, demoralisation and dejection pervaded the Indian Tamil community in Sri Lanka. Even today the Indian Tamils feel let down by all those who they believed had an inescapable moral duty to defend and secure their inalienable human rights. The community lost its confidence and will to fight for itself. The years 1964 – 1974 were the gloomiest decades for the Indian Tamil Community. They were now championless and hopeless. They had become cleaved into two halves – those who should go to India and those who may stay in Sri Lanka. There was also a supplementary Agreement of 1974 which said a further 75,000 persons and their natural increase were to be repatriated to India. The process of repatriating over 7 lakhs of persons (including the natural increase) was to have been completed within a period of 17 years and that came to a close in 1981. Nevertheless the gruesome



## The betrayal of the Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka – II



*Srma Bandaranaike*

*Lal Bahadur Shastri*

process of repatriation is continuing with increasing tempo even now.....

Repatriation agreements were the harbingers of the destruction of a community which had evolved into a composite group with a distinct culture of its own. Despite several odds, this little community formed themselves into a distinct identity and was evolving peacefully with slow understanding with the Sinhala population nearby, when by one fell blow, the Repatriation agreements halted the process of confident growth and shattered their identity and solidarity.

In the fifties and sixties, the community was clamouring for education and recognition of its distinctive culture. Cultural, festivals, dramas, publications and literary festivals and seminars marked the emergence of a community consciousness and the assertion of a distinct identity. An educated middle class comprising of teachers, trade Unionists and other professionals began to make its appearance. There was a vigorous campaign for social amelioration and increased educational facilities. The seventies which commenced the repatriation shattered the confidence. There was a growing spirit of resistance. People destroyed Indian passports and refused to go to India. Repatriation was resisted and cries that fundamental rights cannot be smothered were raised. The repatriation agreements were vigorously attacked and international

opinion was canvassed against deprivation of citizenship rights. The plantation people who for hundred and fifty years built the prosperity of Sri Lanka were not prepared to leave the land of their creation as destitutes. They were prepared to move into Tamil areas.

They were prepared to fraternise with the Sinhala people. They demanded Sinhala education for their children, which was denied by the Govt. Integration with the Sinhala people became their cherished desire. They demanded the integration of the plantation schools with the national school system and succeeded to a certain extent in winning that demand. They supported Sinhala candidates in the national polls. They accepted Sinhala leadership in the Trade Union movement. They eschewed separation as a political solution. Their confidence grew to such an extent that in the last General Election in 1977 there was as many as eleven Indian Tamil candidates. It appears that this assertion of a distinct identity and a display of confidence and the emergence of the plantation people as political force however small has been resented by the Sinhala people and their politicians and the Buddhist Clergy.

There have been quirks of circumstances which led to a growing misunderstanding, between the Sinhala people and the Indian Tamils. The Sinhala people thought the Indian Tamils would naturally

sympathise with the indigenous Tamils who had now charted out a clear and lowest demand for a separate Tamil State. Mr. S. Thondaman, traditional Indian leader, accepted election as one of the three presidents of the TULF in 1974. This act of folly, made the Sinhala people convinced that all the Tamils are united and the Sinhala people had to unite to resist the Tamils. In this climate of inter-social acrimony, Mr. Thondaman, who was elected to the opposition in 1977 crossed the floor to become Minister in the Jayawardene Govt. This appointment too had infuriated the Sinhala chauvinists as an act of betrayal of the Sinhala people.

Mr. Thondaman even after joining cabinet kept on asserting that he is not a member of the UNP. His sole justification for joining the cabinet was his oft proclaimed faith in Jayawardene. Thondaman continued to keep up his good relationship with the TULF and even voted against the Govt. sponsored no-confidence motion against the leader of the opposition Mr. Amirthalingam. While Thondaman took his oaths under the Sixth Amendment to the constitution, rejecting separation, his followers, the plantation people refused to pledge their oath under the constitutional amendment and Mr. Thondaman upheld that popular decision. Leaders like him hardly solve any problem, nor can they inspire the community they profess to lead with any sense of direction. Thondaman leadership of the Indian community for nearly forty years has left the community purposeless and directionless.

Today, therefore the Indian Community is at the cross roads. July 1983 has demonstrated unmistakably how vulnerable and defenceless the Indian Community is. In 1977, 1980, 1981 and finally 1983 the Indian Tamils have been increasingly subjected to brutal attacks by the Sinhala arsonists and marauders. The Indian Tamils who were exterminated politically in 1949 are now being exterminated physically by the Repatriation agreements and the murderous assault let loose on them frequently with impunity. The Govt. of which Thondaman is a part has permitted the physical destruction of the Indian Tamil Community. July 1983 has been a culmination of the racist attacks on the Indian Tamils. The majority community has not expressed horror revulsion against these communal pogrom of the Tamils.

*R.R. Sivalingam*



# INTERNATIONAL BRIEFS

**BEIJING:** Karl Marx is out of date, according to the latest Chinese thinking. Dealing a fatal blow to the once unquestioned Communist party doctrine, China now believes that it could not rely strictly on Marxism to build a modern nation. An unprecedented front page editorial in the official Communist Party organ, the PEOPLE'S DAILY said the works of Karl Marx (1818 - 1883), founding father of Marxist philosophy, were obsolete. "Marx died 101 years ago. His works were written more than 100 years ago. There have been tremendous changes since his ideas were formed", said the unsigned commentary. "Some of Marx's ideas are no longer suited to today's situation, because Marx never experienced these times, nor did Friedrich Engels or Vladimir Ilyich Lenin".

**NEW YORK:** CIA is the victim of its own reputation because of the revelations in the American Press", the Indian ambassador K.S. Bajpai told a questioner at a meeting of the Foreign Policy Association he addressed on December 10. The ambassador was asked how the government of India looked upon the charges by the Soviet Union that CIA was involved in the assassination of the late Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi. "If other countries want to exploit their (CIA's) reputation for their own purpose, I would prefer not to enter into an argument of east-west contest", Mr. Bajpai said.

**MANILA:** The Asian Development Bank (ADB) has approved a loan of \$45 million to Sri Lanka. The loan is aimed at helping reverse the decline of Sri Lanka's Tea, Rubber, and Coconut production and exports. The money will be used to finance factory rehabilitation, vehicles and housing. The loan is payable over a period of 40 years with a 10-year grace period at one per cent interest rate.

**UNITED NATIONS:** The U.N. General Assembly marking the celebration of Human Rights Day on December 10, unanimously adopted an international treaty outlawing torture. The convention was adopted after seven years of negotiation and will come into force after ratification by 20 of the 159 Assembly members. The Assembly President, Mr. Paul Lusaka said adoption of the treaty "represents a major step towards creating a more humane world". Suspected torturers would be extradited to their own country or tried under anti-torture laws in the country where they are caught.

**NEW DELHI:** Mr. R.N. Kao, former security adviser to the Prime Minister and also former Director of Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) has been appointed member of the Policy Planning Committee of the External Affairs Ministry. Mr. Kao, who holds the rank of Secretary, will assist committee chairman G. Parthasarathy.

**KATHMANDU:** Nepal, which has the world's highest mountain, also has the world's highest lake, deepest gorge, highest road and the highest human settlement, according to a just published book. R.K. Pandey says in his "Nepal's Physical Geography", that the highest lake is "Tilich" located at an altitude of 4,915 metres in Manang, north west of the Nepalese capital. The deepest gorge is "Kaligandak" which is 6,967 metres deep and located between the Annapurna and Dhaulagiri mountains. The highest road is the "Kuti Pan" which is at a height of 6,650 metres. The sherpa village in Dolpha, situated at a height of 4,421 metres, is the highest human settlement.

**NEW YORK:** Indian poet and Macarthur Foundation Fellow A. Ramanujan received the Taraknath Das Foundation annual award for his "contribution to Indo-American understanding". Mysore-born Ramanujan who is widely known for his translations of South Indian literature, has been a professor in Chicago University's Department of South Asian civilisations.

**THANJAVUR:** Kamban Kottam, a memorial to the renowned Tamil poet, Kavi Chakravarti Kamban was inaugurated by Finance Minister of Tamilnadu V.R. Nedunchezhiyan at Therazhandur, the poet's birthplace about 60 km. from Thanjavur. A Kamban statue was also unveiled at the same place by Chief Secretary K. Chockalingam.

**CONNECTICUT:** John B. Higgins, the American who became a Carnatic music exponent died on December 7, when he was knocked by a hit-and-run driver, he was 45. Higgins was named director of Wesleyan University's Centre for the Arts in 1968 after achieving prominence and a wide following in India as the first Westerner to master the difficult art of singing south Indian classical or Carnatic music. City police said Higgins was walking his dog near his home when a pick-up truck crossed the centre line, struck and fled the scene. In Madras, noted Carnatic violinist T.N. Krishnan described as a "tragic loss" the death of

John Higgins. Carnatic vocalist T. Brinda said she had no words to describe Higgins' devotion to Carnatic music.

**MADURAI:** The Madurai Adheemam and Mr. K. Veeramani, general secretary of the Dravida Kazhagam were arrested here on December 13 and released later when they launched a picketing programme at the Ramnad Collectorate. The picketing was organised by the D.K. to protest against the atrocities of the Sri Lanka army on the Tamils and Rameswaram fishermen and the inaction of the Central and State governments on the issue. Speaking before the procession started, Mr. Veeramani gave a warning that if the government failed to ensure the safety of Rameswaram fishermen, an agitation would be launched to retrieve Kachchatheevu.

**NEW YORK:** Actress Elizabeth Taylor, aged 52, has accepted a marriage proposal from New York born Dennis Stein and along with it a huge sapphire engagement ring. Taylor and Stein, a film executive, have been dating for about a month. It will be the Oscar winning movie queen's eighth marriage.

**MADRAS:** Another accused in the Meenambakkam airport explosion case Saravanabavan, was granted conditional bail on December 14 by Justice S.K. Khader. Saravanabavan, an Indian citizen and member of the Madras Flying Club, had been arrested along with seven others in connection with the blast. In the case registered against him, it was alleged that he was a friend of one Maheswaran leader of an organisation called Tamil Eelam Army fighting for a free Eelam in Sri Lanka, and that he attempted to take a case containing a time-bomb by an Air Lanka flight to Colombo airport.

**MADURAI:** A December 15 report says that about half a dozen ships of the Indian Navy would be deployed by the Union government to the Rameswaram coast to "extend protection" to Indian fishermen fish off Rameswaram, Pamban, Mantapam etc. within the territorial waters. They would be there "as long as it is warranted".

**UNITED NATIONS:** The General Assembly voted overwhelmingly on December 14 to declare Israel a non-peace loving State guilty of war crimes and called on all nations to isolate it "totally". The document was adopted by 88 votes to 22 with 32 abstentions.





## Mother Lanka,

# Whither bound are you ?

*An expatriate Tamil son writes :*

A Point of View

My Dearest Mother.

My soul is in agony when I find the way you are suffering at the hands of those born to you.

Mother, I am shocked and horrified to see those born to you fighting with each other and destroying themselves and you in the process. It is unbelievable that people with deep culture and religion that teaches self-realisation and compassion should act in such a way that it appears to be the beginning of the end of our culture and religion.

Mother, it is a matter of great regret that the present situation is brought about only by a fraction of the total population. The majority who love you and feel for you do not seem to do anything about it and I am unable to find the reason. Why? I do not know whether it is out of fear for the few who are destroying you or is it that they prefer to mind their own business leaving the matter to the government in power to solve it — Yes I say Government in power, because they are only concerned as to how they can be in power at all costs even if it means that the Mahaveli River should flow with your blood!

Mother, it is very sad to know that none of your children of the recent past or those of the present parliament are concerned about unity, justice or fairplay — above all your welfare.

Mother, it should be remembered that the Law of Nature has its own course. Those who are in thirst of power by whatever means or at whatever cost don't last long. They go down in history as those who let down humanity. But those who died for the sake of their fellow men live in the hearts of all for ever.

Mother, where is Rome that Ruled the World and where is Hitler who killed six million people? Rome is now history and Hitler in the Chamber of Horrors! On the other hand Mother, it is common knowledge that the allied forces who were on the verge of collapse finally won the war because they fought for a just cause. The turn of events of the war is proof that in the end it is truth and justice that succeeds and prevails. Amongst men — Abraham Lincoln and Mahatma Gandhi will for ever live in the hearts of all. Recently the late President Sadat of Egypt — who would not surrender his position, finally realised that he should think of his country and the future of his people and for that sake alone he put his pride in his pocket and went across

the Suez in search of peace. Though his dreams were dashed by a few men of unsound mind he will undoubtedly join the galaxy of those who lived not for themselves but for humanity.

Mother, it is not that we do not have such men like Abraham Lincoln, Mahatma Gandhi or Anwar Sadat. We had and we still have. No one can deny that our statesmen of the past like Sir James Peries, Hector Jayawardene, E.W. Perera and Sir P. Ramanathan were in anyway inferior. A life study of these men show that they were men with a vision and a mission in life — who lived for you and worked for you. It was your future and the future of your children irrespective of race or religion that they were concerned with so that there may be eternal peace, harmony and progress to make you a Paradise on earth.

Mother, the tragedy that befell us after these statesmen departed is that men of their stature feared to enter public life as the arena was being invaded mostly by unscrupulous individuals some with no education and some unemployed — these took to politics as the saying goes — as a last refuge! Most of these men I refer to were those who were not even qualified for an ordinary job. If any of them applied for a job that required the minimum qualification they would have been rejected and yet these men had the audacity and dared to enter parliament. The people had the foolhardiness and stupidity to send them to Parliament. Consequently the people had Governments they deserved comprised mostly of these men. Mother, it was your unfortunate fate as it sometimes happens in the life of families. Mother, even those others who were in Parliament and who are in Parliament today and have the capacity and ability to steer with confidence, courage and success seem, for no apparent reason, to have surrendered to the wicked few who are in and out of Parliament. The result is destruction of our culture, religion the people and yourself.

Mother, I am as guilty as any other for my silence. I beg of you Mother for your forgiveness. Unfortunately, I do not belong to the majority race, as such I cannot change the course of things yet I feel I have a duty to express myself to you so that I can feel relieved that I have done my part in some measure. If you will understand I will be at peace.

Mother, it is now stupid for us to go back to history. It is silly to ask who came first and who has the right to be in Sri Lanka. We





have to take stock of ourselves and everything around us as they are at present and devise ways and means for a peaceful co-existence and to be partners in progress.

Since 1956 there has been a deterioration of security for the minorities and no doubt it has resulted in the feelings between the two communities getting more and more strained. No one but the leaders who handled the reins of government are solely responsible for the situation in which we are. I do not wish to analyse the reason at this state and waste the time of the readers as it is common knowledge.

Recent horrifying events have shown that it is impossible for both communities to live as we did and share the joys and sorrows together as we did during foreign occupation of yourself.

Mother, the Government in power knows and all know that the large majority of the Tamils never wanted a division of the country. Had a vote been taken I have no doubt the majority would have voted against the creation of a separate State — of course all wanted a political solution to the minority problems — which was never solved! Agreements no doubt were reached between the leaders of successive governments and Tamil Leaders but the agreements were either destroyed or shelved — all because a few wicked men and women wanted it so.

It was this that left the Tamil leaders helpless. The Governments on the other hand went on regardless by carrying out its policies with no consideration for the problems of the minorities. The appeals of the Tamil leaders fell on deaf ears. There then emerged a New Generation of Tamil Youth. They had their grievances. They are a New Force in this Nuclear age when numbers don't matter. The old order had changed. They felt that they had no future and they had their reasons for it.

No Government ever thought of economically developing the North and East except to throw 3 Industries as consolation, namely the Paranthan Chemical, the KKS Cement Factory and the Eastern Paper Mills. Except for the Paper Mill the other two only polluted the air and destroyed valuable land. Thanks to the late G.G.!

The late Mr. G.G. Ponnambalam, a multimillionaire, in whom the entire Tamil Community placed their trust departed this world without leaving one cent to the benefit of his community.

Mother, it is my belief that when a man enters public life, he must share at least a small percentage of his wealth with the Community. If he has no wealth to share, then, his time must be dedicated. If he does neither he has taken to politics as a last refuge for his own ends.

Mother, what the late Sir P. Ramanathan single-handedly contributed to the country and to the Tamils, the rest of the Tamils put together (the leaders and the Rich Business Community) have not done. It was because of that great Statesman that the Tamils today have a University, a Cultural College and a Hindu Girls College.

Mother, when one man could have done all these, was it difficult for the others, either jointly or alone, to have put up a few schools, hospitals or charitable institutions — or given scholarships to the deserving poor children of their community — let alone putting up industries and farms in the North and East? This type of Contribution and development would have kept the youth usefully employed. People were only hoarding wealth and did everything possible to amass wealth and live in luxury whilst their fellowmen and youth were struggling for

survival. Recent events have shown the futility of acquiring wealth and the uncertainty of life. If we are to live in peace, we have also got to look after in some measure the needy and the handicapped. They have also to be kept happy as they are in that situation due to misfortune.

Statistics will show that the intake of the Tamils into the Civil Services, the armed forces and the Police has been dropping. Besides admission to the University on merit was replaced and this resulted in the doors to higher education being closed to the Tamil youth. The final blow has been the systematic Government Sponsored Colonisation of Traditional homelands of the Tamils by Sinhalese people. The greater tragedy is that the majority of the Colonists, the Government brought to these areas, were the convicted criminals. It appears that this was a deliberate act to wipe off the Tamils in their own areas in times of crisis as it has happened since 1956! This practice, the Tamil youth felt, would inevitably lead one day to the total annihilation of the Tamil race as a whole from you. Mother, it is out of this agonising situation you gave birth to a New generation whom the Government calls 'Terrorists' but they call themselves the Liberation movement popularly known as 'Tigers'!

It will be seen that since 1956 there has been communal riots. Each time it became worse because the one time disciplined police and armed forces had disappeared and the new recruits taken were not disciplined. Besides most of them were thugs in uniform! It also appears a Department of Destruction. Their aim seems — (according to events) — to wipe out the Tamils first from places outside North and East and finally from their own homelands. During the riots of 1956 and 1958 the Tamils in Amparai, Galoya, Polannaruwa, Panadura, Kalutura and other remote areas were beaten and chased, some killed in horrifying manner. In the subsequent riots the few left in those areas and the Tamils in places like Kurunegala, Anuradhapura, Ratnapura, Negombo were beaten and chased and some killed.

The operation of the department of destruction becoming more and more successful they planned deliberately and as wickedly as possible to concentrate on the Main city of Colombo, Kandy, and upcountry where the Tamils are settled in large numbers — some for generations. This department was only waiting for an opportunity and they knew it would come or they would create it. It came on the ill-fated 23rd day of July, 1983 when 13 soldiers were killed in Jaffna. Although the Tigers were fighting the government and its forces, the immediate provocation for the killing of the soldiers by the Tigers is different. According to what I hear the soldiers had raped 3 Tamil girls and one of them committed suicide. Whether this is a fact or rumour I do not know. But rumours have also brought about riots. The department of destruction waited patiently till the burial of the unfortunate victims — the soldiers — and then went about on the rampage — a situation they revel especially when the armed forces, being angered by their own men being victims, were slow to get to the streets. The result was the innocent Tamils in the City of Colombo and surrounding areas and in the up-country who had no stakes and who all along supported the government, especially the present government and felt secure and happy and many who were fast losing their identity, were made to realise that they were Tamils!

Mother, here I do not have to elaborate on the destruction of property and lives over the recent incident: It is now world news. It appears that the department of destruction had accomplished its object. Now they have turned to the North and







East. The government has lost control of the armed forces. The armed forces are a Law unto themselves. They have destroyed the prestigious Public Library of Jaffna, Markets, Houses and shot and killed school boys and absolutely innocent Tamils in the North, East and other areas.

Mother, if this is not terrorism, I do not know what terrorism is. The army behaves like an army of occupation. They have no fear for their superiors, no respect for law and order, above all, no loyalty to the government. This is a dangerous situation which is capable of producing an Idi Amin. The Government says that the soldiers are also human beings and the Tamils are responsible for it. Mother, this must be told to the marines. The government sent the armed forces to the North for the only reason to track down the terrorists and eliminate them. If that is so, when the terrorists or the Tigers see the soldiers what will be expected, they no doubt will go for the soldiers, for the soldiers are going for the Tigers. Besides, mother, when one joins the police or the armed forces, one accepts the risk to life involved in such service. They are there to protect the public and to track down the terrorists. But alas! it is not so. The public, in this context, the Tamils, are horrified at the sight of the armed forces.

It appears that the so-called Tigers are ready to die and there is no question of stopping them at whatever cost. What then is the plight of the innocent Tamils? Are they to be butchered for they are Tamils or is it thought that, that is the way to stop the Tigers from what they are doing so that they give up the cry for a separate state.

Mother, whatever it is, it is the Government in power that has to take full responsibility of protecting the people and their property and punish all offenders whoever they are in such a manner that acts of violence are not repeated. If the Government is not in a position or cannot protect the people, they are inefficient. They must quit or find a solution.

The immediate step must be to withdraw the army from the North and East. They serve no purpose at all. They have not even caught the Tigers' tail! If they are there to protect the public it is rather unfortunate. They have not understood their purpose. If they are there to track down the Tigers, they have miserably failed. But, on the other hand, their despicable conduct has increased the number of Tigers and created tension putting the innocent people into a state of helplessness. The people are safe with the Tigers as long as they don't cross their path but with the army they are even afraid to cross the road. What the government must be concerned with is the welfare and harmony of the people. It is the immediate withdrawal of the army that will bring back the lost confidence of the people. The Government should not feel that it is weakness to take that step. It is in the interest of the people and the government must have the courage to do it. It will give greater strength.

The Tamils fought shoulder to shoulder with the Sinhalese for Independence from the colonial yoke in the hope that they would be equal partners because the Tamils and Sinhalese have been in Sri Lanka from time immemorial and are therefore sons of the soil. This cannot be denied. The Tamils have now been disillusioned because of a few wicked politicians and their gangs. Tamils nevertheless accepted till recently that as the Sinhalese are the majority and Sri Lanka being the only place in the world for the Sinhalese, they were entitled to a greater share in the affairs of the country than the Tamils. The Tamils conceded this and had negotiated since Independence with

successive governments for a reasonable and peaceful settlement but the trust and confidence reposed by the Tamils was thrown over board by successive governments because a few wicked men and women both in the government and outside wanted it so. The result is the destruction of the economy, the people and the country. These wicked men are a combination of some politicians, ex-convicts, some in army uniform and some in yellow robes masquerading as priests and have been going about on a mission to exterminate the Tamils first from areas outside the North and East and finally to destroy the Tamils from their homelands itself. This needs no evidence to support. The events since 1956 are ample testimony to prove it.

Mother, the destruction of lives and property of the Tamils since July, 1983 demonstrated how wicked the plan is, and at this hour if the Tamils look up to Mother India, is it wrong? More than anything, it is the duty of India to intervene in order to save the Tamils from total destruction. People call the events in Sri Lanka a domestic one and there should be no interference from India or from any other country. Yes — it was domestic at the beginning and up to a point. But now it has ceased to be domestic. It is now not only the concern of India but of the whole world. This is a situation in which the United Nations should have stepped in but they will not, for we are their poor relations.

Mother, if when the IRA killed the security forces of UK and the security forces in turn go on a rampage in Ireland killing innocent citizens and in UK if the Englishmen begin to kill or burn the Irish men (this will not take place as even in the wildest dreams the Englishmen respect Law and Order) I have no doubt that the United Nations security council would have gone into emergency sessions because they are their rich relatives and would not want to allow such a situation. In any event if that were to happen, could it be called a domestic affair? If it did, by now Northern Ireland would have achieved Independence. Let us take another example — the Falklands. When the Argentine army invaded Falklands the British living thousands of miles away wasted no time in recapturing Falklands. Although the status of Falklands is in dispute, one can see that it belongs more to Argentine than to Britain. If the Argentine forces began shooting down the British civilians in Falklands I have absolutely no doubt that the British forces would have first destroyed Argentine and then gone to Falklands.

Mother, I give another example to show what is domestic and what is not.

If a husband scolds his wife it may be said as a quarrel between husband and wife. If the husband moderately chastises his wife even by beating, it may still be called domestic. But if the husband proceeds to pour petrol on his wife and sets her ablaze, can it be called domestic any more? If anyone says so, there is something wrong with him. A sensible neighbour should not have allowed the situation to reach that stage. If the neighbour happens to be the kith and kin of the wife, I have no doubt he would have broken the wall and dealt with the husband in a manner to either reconcile or to separate. If India had shown serious concern in 1958, a solution would have been found for the Tamils and Sinhalese to live in peace and harmony and for the progress of the country. It was the then thought the issue was domestic.

It must however be said to the credit of both India and Tamil Nadu that they restrained themselves or never wanted to interfere in the affairs of Sri Lanka till it came to a state when the Tamils







are being killed, burnt alive and their properties destroyed. It will be seen that at the beginning when the minorities agitated for their rights in peaceful manner and were beaten neither the Indian Government nor Tamil Nadu uttered a word about it. Can it be said that the Indian Government or the Tamil Nadu people are wrong when they now show concern about what is happening to the minority Tamils in Sri Lanka?

Mother, it is admitted that the Sinhalese also came from India. If today there is a state in India that speaks the Sinhalese language and practises Buddhism, will not the Sinhalese people look up to that state for help in times of crisis rather than to the western world? It is therefore nothing but natural for the minority Tamils to look up to Tamil Nadu and India for protection and for a political solution at this moment of crisis.

It is foolish to think that India or Tamil Nadu intends to invade and it is madness and blackmail to say that if it happens no Tamils in Sri Lanka would be left alive. If when the minority is butchered as it has happened on more than one occasion, it is the duty of Tamil Nadu and India as a whole to intervene not for the purpose of invasion or conquest but purely in the name of Dharma (which is the very foundation upon which India stands) to save the Tamils from total annihilation and to find a lasting political solution so that peace may prevail for the good of the two communities and for the prosperity of Mother Lanka and its neighbours. If in such a situation India or Tamil Nadu does not intervene to save the Tamils in whatever manner necessary, they are not worthy of their existence.

If our Sinhalese brothers only place themselves in the position of the Tamils and think for a moment as to how they would want the matter to be solved, I have absolutely no doubt that the problem would not take long to be solved and all this made outburst on either side will cease immediately.

Mother, I am in unbearable grief at what has happened to you. If an acceptable solution is not found, I do not wish to imagine what your fate would be. I hope I will not live to see it. If, however, a political solution is found, I will not want to die, for you would be paradise on earth.

If no solution is found, I am afraid that EELAM will be born not necessarily because of the agitation of the Tamils, but because of the atrocities that would be committed by the Sinhalese speaking thugs assisted by a few wicked minded politicians and supported by the dangerously indisciplined armed forces with the silent approval of an inefficient or a weak government taking cover unashamedly under helplessness.

Mother, I have not lost faith or hope in the majority of my Sinhalese brothers with whom I have lived and I know their hearts. But I dread the few wicked politicians and their gangs.

Mother, if only the government, the few wicked men and the indisciplined forces can see the writing on the wall — that is the restlessness amongst the Sinhalese youth which may surface at any moment, I am sure they will without wasting time solve not only the ethnic problem but also the economic and social problems faced by the people. If they lose sight of this growing tendency I can foresee that not all the forces of the country can control what might erupt in the near future. At that stage it would be interesting to know whether the armed forces will shoot down the Sinhalese civilians and destroy their property as they did in the North and East. That would be the day of judgement of any Government.

## Not many happy returns !



Two unlike people share the same birthday — November 26! They are Sri Lankan Minister of National Security Lalith Athulathmudali, and the other is the one he would most want to see dead or alive — the leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, Velupillai Prabhakaran. The big-talking Minister fighting a losing battle is now 48 and the militant hero is just 30.

## Diplomat's sarcasm !

Whatever may form part of the diplomatic armoury, sarcasm is certainly not one. But the Sri Lanka government's open hostility towards India and the constant anti-Indian tirade has made Indian High Commissioner in Colombo, S.J.S. Chhatwal come out with some delicious sarcasm very uncharacteristic of a diplomat.

Commenting on the Sri Lankan charge that some of the 18 boats that allegedly attempted to land at Mannar on November 30 and were repulsed by its aircraft were manned by "people from Tamilnadu", Mr. Chhatwal told UNI in Colombo that Sri Lanka seemed to be the only country which had developed the "wonderful expertise" of finding out the nationality of the skippers of boats while flying over them in jet aircraft!

Mr. Chhatwal said: Not only this. In another incident near the island, it was reported that the Sri Lankan navy attacked a boat carrying ten people. While nine died instantaneously, the tenth waited to confess that all of them were trained in Tamilnadu before he also decided to die!



# TAMIL INFORMATION CENTRE

3rd Floor, 24-28, Clapham High Street, London SW4 7UR  
Telephone: 01-627 4508 (2 lines) International: + 44 1 627 4508

## LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

The Insecurity of Tamils in Sri Lanka by Tamil Information Centre —  
12 pages, 1983, 60 g., £1.00.

Ethnic Conflict & Violence in Sri Lanka Report by the International  
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Report of an Amnesty International Mission to Sri Lanka, 31st January to  
9th February 1982 — an Amnesty International Publication —  
12 pages, 1983, 170g., £2.00.

Plight of Hindu Society in Sri Lanka by Tamil Refugees Rehabilitation  
Organisation 43 pages, 1982, 60g., 50p.

Sri Lanka: The National Question & The Tamil Liberation Struggle by Satchi  
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273 pages, 1983, 370g., £5.50.

Dear Sri Lanka Ambassador... Your Slip Is Showing — A Tamil Information  
Centre Publication — 24 pages, November 1983, 40g., 40p.

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Sri Lanka: Current Human Rights Concerns and Evidence of Extrajudicial  
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— June 1984... 250g., £3.00.



# TAMIL INFORMATION CENTRE

3rd Floor, 24-28 Clapham High St.  
(Voltaire Road entrance)  
London SW4 7UR  
U.K.



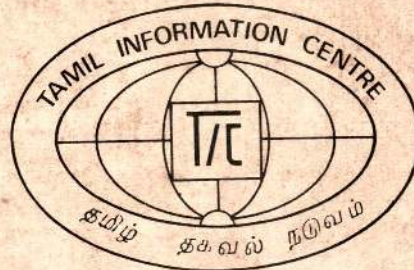
**Madras Office:**  
E-114, 16th Cross St., Besant Nagar,  
Madras 600 090

**Madurai Office:**  
18, South-North 1st St.,  
Singarayar Colony  
Narimedu  
Madurai-2

*"Without the knowledge that Human Rights exist,  
people cannot seek their own protection.*

*Without the knowledge that Human Rights are violated  
no individual or organisation can seek to provide  
protection.*

*Both the promotion and protection of Human Rights  
therefore require that INFORMATION BE AVAILABLE  
FOR ALL....."*



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