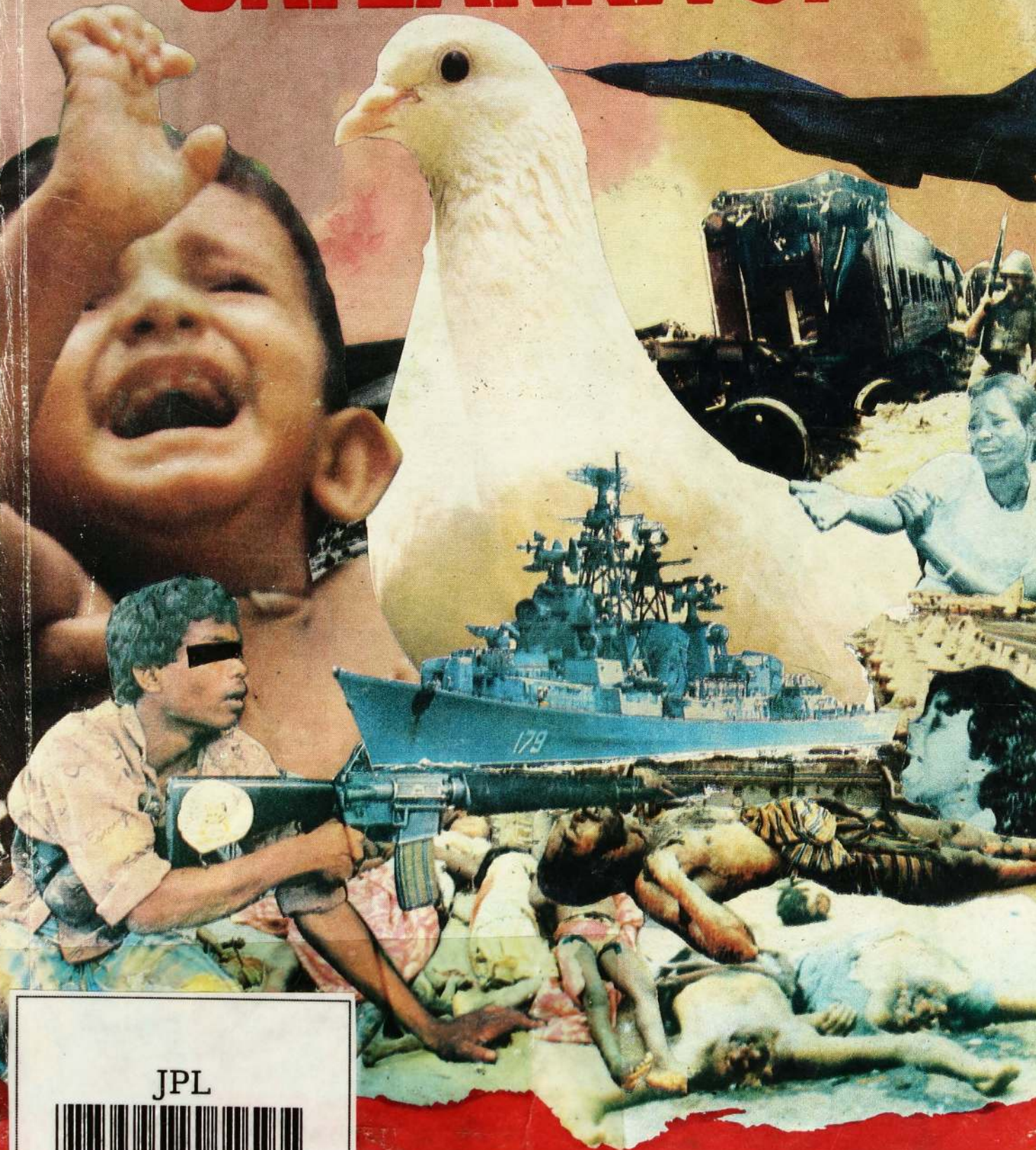


# 100 DAYS IN SRI LANKA '87



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S. Kumaraswamy  
08/88



பொதுசன நூலகம்  
யாழ்ப்பாணம்.  
கடல் சாலை 459



# 100 DAYS IN SRI LANKA '87

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Raghavan Iyer, born in Madras India in 1930 is Professor Emeritus of the University of California at Santa Barbara and formerly Fellow and lecturer in Politics at Oxford University. He was earlier President of the Oxford Union Society and Chief Research officer to the Head of the Planning Commission of the Indian Government. He is the author among other works of "Parapolitics - towards the city of Man" and "The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi".

## FOREWORD

The eyes of the globe have been intensely focussed upon the travails of Sri Lanka, which has become a microcosm of the world mirroring the ailments of our age. All governments today seem to be helpless before the raucous passions of race and religion, tribalism and nationalism. Sri Lanka is blessed by Nature with great beauty and by history with the noble heritage of the timeless Teaching of Gautama Buddha. Any statesmanship, political wisdom and spiritual vision shown by its leaders and citizens will truly be trailblazing in a bewildered world which is struggling to discard habitual enslavement to the politics of greed, the religion of hatred, and the terrorism of the sick. The sudden turn of events in Sri Lanka during the last year is a formidable challenge to those who wish to build a better future for South Asia.

Mr. Tyrone Fernando, Deputy Ministe for Foreign Affairs, has produced a thought-provoking document which is conspicuous for its stark factuality and therapeutic honesty. He speaks out of the anguish of an entire nation, and on behalf of its desperate search for a future worthy of its sacred inheritance and its splendid potential. Whilst he welcomes free discussion on issues

that are bound to be controversial, it is his hope that many will be clastened and emboldened by this book to draw the larger circle and transcend the passions of the past, so that, phoenix-like, there may arise from the ashes of despair a fresher spark of fervent hope.

I first met Tyronne Fernando when I was teaching at Oxford in the early sixties. Tyronne had already distinguished himself as president of the Oxford Majlis and as Chairman of the University Labour Club when he came to me to study Political Thought from Hobbes to Marx. His tutor at Keble College, Mr. Basil Mitchell, was a Socratic Christian whom I knew when I was the Senior Treasurer of the Socratic Club. I am delighted to think that Tyronne has preserved something quintessential of the Socratic spirit in his persistent efforts to adopt richer and broader standpoint in viewing the seemingly insoluble problems of partisan politics. This augurs well for the future of Sri Lanka, and I am confident that he will render invaluable service to his country whilst retaining his loyalty to social solidarity and the uplift of the least favoured sons and daughters of the soil.

Gautama Buddha is known to millions for his Great Renunciation and unconditional compassion for the wretched and the weak. There is not a single soul with a grain of goodness who cannot afford to renounce paltry concern and petty claims, and concretely shoe elementary consideration for all victims of bloodshed by resolving aright and anew to give one more turn to the Dharmachakra, the Wheel of the Law. May many Sri Lankans join in the awesome and sacrificial task of rebuilding a new nation upon this blessed and benighted island, thus releasing a ray of hope which may cast its radiance throughout the South Asian subcontinent and, in time, all over the globe.

Santa Barbara, California

RAGHAVAN IYER

May 1988

## PREFACE

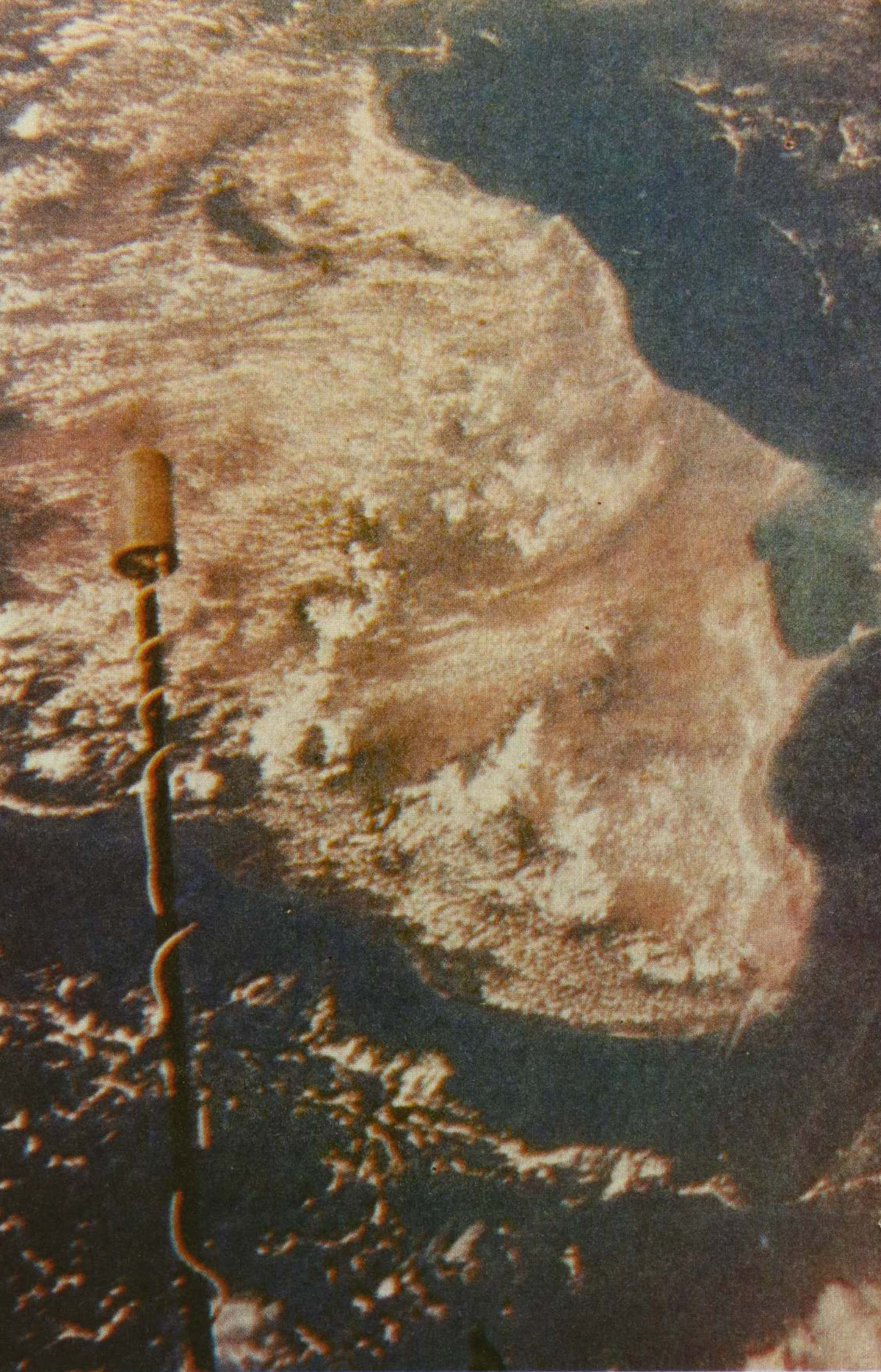
*This is the account of an intensely human drama. It abounds with the quotations and views of the many characters involved either directly or indirectly. I acknowledge these with my thanks. It also contains accounts of my own involvements, in these events. I make no apologies for either.*

*Alas, the 18th century British poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge once wrote: "If men could learn from history... What lessons it might teach us! But the light which experience gives is a lantern on the stern, which shines only on the waves behind us". May he be proved wrong!*

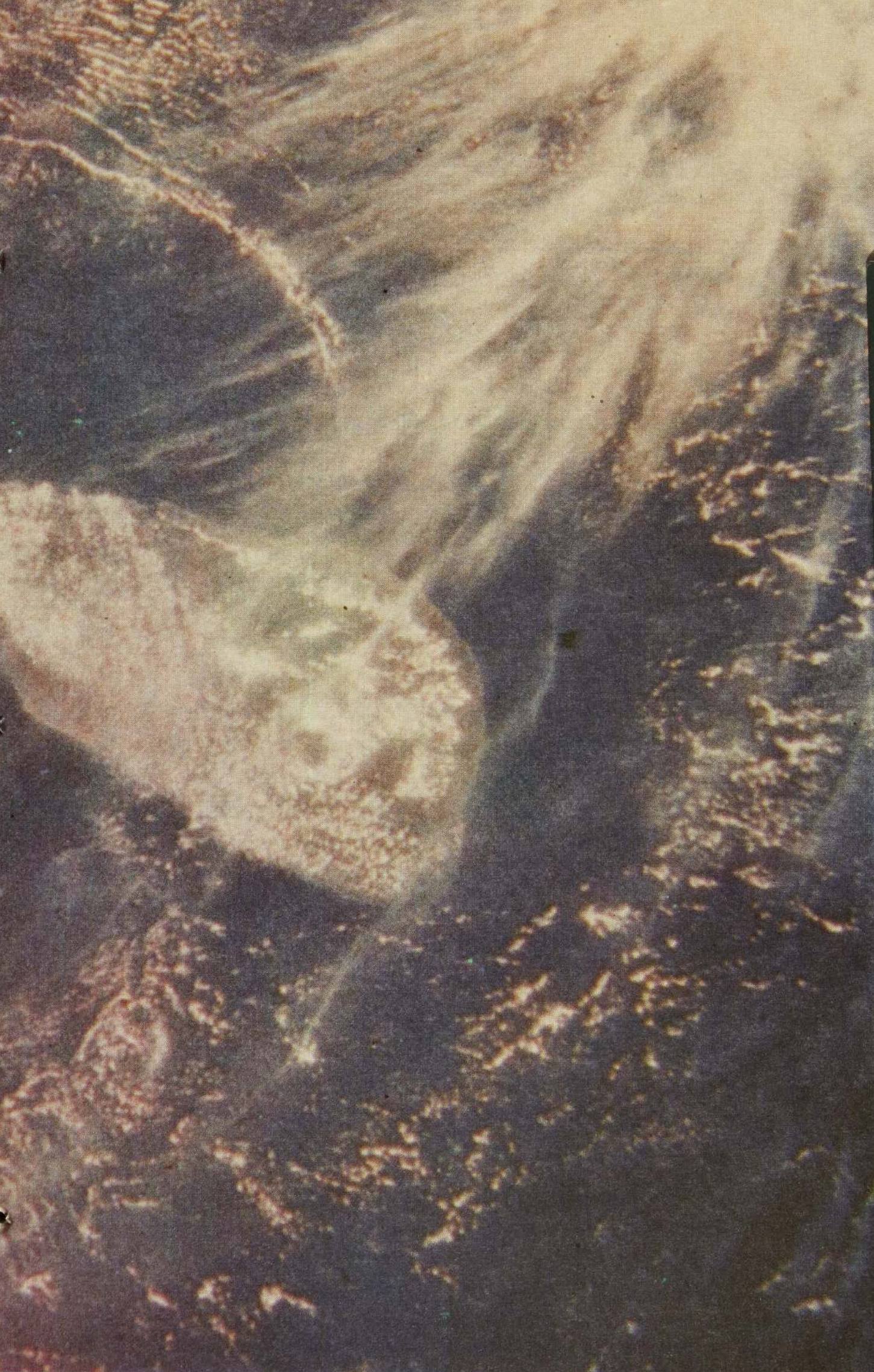
*I dedicate this book to all those who have made their exits from the stage in particular the late Harsha Abeywardena, and those who shared with me the anxious moments of the drama in particular my daughter Tehani.*

**Tyronne Fernando**

**Colombo July, 1988.**



India, Sri Lanka and the Indian Ocean photographed from Outerspace, 1983,  
(by courtesy NASA, USA) Digitized by Noidam Foundation  
noidam.org | aavanaham.org



## 1

# THROUGH THE MISTS OF HISTORY

India has always claimed a special interest in the Indian Ocean. Indian writers have claimed that there is “an implicit legitimacy, by and large globally accepted that India has legitimate grievances against the military presence and activities of outside powers in the area which bears its name and where it has vital interests... India has the primary requirement of ensuring that no outside interference takes place in the region.”<sup>1</sup>

The Indian Ocean however is one of the largest oceans in the world. It extends from South Asia to Antarctica and from East Africa to South East Australia. There are 44 littoral and hinterland states with a combined population of 1,300 m. people. 60% of them (800 m.) live in India.

Sri Lanka (formely Ceylon) is one of the Ocean's largest Islands with a population of 15 m. and lies 35 km. to the South East of the Southern-most tip of India. The narrow Palk Straits divide them

1 Namboodiri Amand and Steedhar, Intervention in the Indian Ocean, New Delhi ABC Publishing House 1982, page 234.

Famous Sri Lankan Philosopher Ananda K. Coomarasamy wrote "Ceylon is a more perfect window through which to gaze on India's past than any that can be found in India herself"<sup>2</sup>

Yet, from time immemorial India has looked warily at Sri Lanka. Equally "it is not unnatural that there should exist in Sri Lanka ever present fears and anxieties on the very score of juxtaposition to a colossus".<sup>3</sup>

According to Indian mythology, Lanka was the abode of the "demon" King Ravana of whom the Ramayana epic says "the Rolling Ocean seeing Him stills its waves". It was believed that Ravana had "conquered the celestial kingdom and brought all the Gods in chains to Lanka and made them serve him"<sup>4</sup>



2. Ravana and Hanuman 3000 B.C.

Around 3000BC Ravana had abducted Sita the wife of Indian prince Rama. Rama assisted by the "Monkey" Hanuman, built a bridge from India to Sri Lanka and led an armed invasion to rescue Sita. It appears that Hanuman spoke to Sita in the Tamil language.<sup>5</sup>

2 In Medieval Sinhalese Art 2nd Edition Pantheon Books New York 1979, p. 18.

3 Shelton U. Kodikara Foreign Policy of Sri Lanka; Chanakya Publications Delhi 1982, p. 18.

4 D. Thomas, Epics, Myths and Legends of India; Taraporevala 14th ed. 1980, p.58

5 Article by my father Shelton C. Fernando on "Ravana King and Savant" published in Times Weekender of 19th and 26th April 1968.



*Hanuman building bridge across Palk Straits*

Again, according to the Mahawamsa, the Great Chronicle of Sri Lankan history, the Sinhala race in Sri Lanka was begun by the Aryan prince Vijaya, who was banished from north India by his father and arrived in Sri Lanka about 500 BC. This event coincided with the passing away of India's greatest son Gauthama Buddha who according to the Mahawamsa had decreed that where Vijaya landed would become the Dharmadveepa - the blessed Isle-where the Buddha's teaching would be preserved. According to the Mahavamsa "when the Guide of the World, having accomplished the salvation of the whole world... was lying on the bed of his Nibbana, in the midst of the great assembly of Gods, he the great sage, the greatest of those who have speech, spoke to Sakka who stood there near him. 'Vijaya, son of king Sinhabahu is come to Lanka together with seven hundred followers. In that land of gods will my religion be established, and therefore carefully protect him with his followers and Lanka'." Buddhism in fact was brought to Sri Lanka 250 years later by Mahinda, the son of Indian Emperor Asoka during the reign of King Devanampiya Tissa and has survived to this day.





*Tamil influence as far South as Polonnaruwa — Siva Temple 12th Century*

With the flourishing of Sinhala civilisation in Sri Lanka there were successive invasions from India by the Cholas, Pandyan, the Pallavas and Maghas. They were constant irritants to successive Sinhala civilisations. They became the origins of the Tamil minority community in Sri Lanka, settled largely in the north of Sri Lanka. Nicholas and Paranavitane assess their strength thus: "Prince Devanampiya Tissa had to yield the sovereignty of Anuradhapura to rulers of Tamil race not many decades after his death, and Buddhism for the time being ceased to enjoy the privileged position which that monarch had accorded in his dominions."<sup>6</sup> In 161 BC at Anuradhapura in a celebrated duel with spears on elephant back Sinhala King Dutugemunu killed Tamil King Elara. As late as 1070 A.D. the Cholas were in occupation as far south as Polonnaruwa and were defeated by Sinhala king from Ruhuna Vijayabahu I.

In the 16th century the Western colonial powers appeared in the Indian Ocean and subjugated both India and Sri Lanka.

The "key to the control of India" became the port of Trincomalee, on the eastern coast of Sri Lanka. Indeed Sinhala Kings notably Parakramabahu I and Nissanka Malla had launched naval expeditions against South India from this port in the 12th century. The Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the British now fought for it.

<sup>6</sup> Nicholas and Paranavitana Concise History of Ceylon ; Ceylon University Press 1961, p.54, 55.

“Trincomalee harbour from its nature and situation is that which stamps Ceylon (Sri Lanka) one of our most valuable acquisitions in the East Indies” wrote capt. Robert Percival, a Britisher in his “Account of the Island of Ceylon in 1803”

Trincomalee is one of the world’s largest natural harbours lying midway between the Cape of Good Hope in Africa and Singapore in east Asia. It can accommodate over 500 large ships. Penelope Tremayne in her “Terrorism in Sri Lanka”<sup>7</sup> says “Sri Lanka is of immense strategic value if only for its geographic location set astride the Gulf-Far East oil route, of an importance second only to that of the Cape... In this vast expanse of Ocean only Trincomalee is capable of basing a large surface fleet”.

In fact Lord Nelson the famous Admiral of the British Fleet who had visited Trincomalee as a teenage sailor in 1775 called it “the finest harbour in the world”.<sup>8</sup>

In 1945 Jawaharlal Nehru wrote in his “Discovery of India.”<sup>9</sup> The triumph of the Chinese Revolution was hailed with enthusiasm as portents of the approaching freedom of India and of the elimination of European aggression in Asia. The conversion of Singapore into a great naval base and the development of Trincomalee harbour in Ceylon appeared as parts of the general preparations for the coming war, in which Britain would try to consolidate and strengthen her imperialist position and crush Soviet Russia and the rising nationalist movements of the East.”

During World War II Trincomalee Harbour was the base for Allied South East Asian Fleet under Lord Mountbatten and was bombed by the Japanese in 1942.

India and Sri Lanka both became free and independent from the Western colonial powers in 1948.

7 Published by the Institute for the Study of Terrorism. London 1986.

8 R.K. de Silva, *Early Prints of Sri Lanka*; Serendib Publications 1985, p.202.

9 The Signet Press p.350.

Although both post independent India and Sri Lanka remained non-aligned and had not entered into military pacts and alliances with foreign powers, (except that the British base at Trincomalee continued until 1956) on Aug. 9, 1971 the Soviet Union and India entered into a "Treaty of Peace Friendship and Co-operation".<sup>10</sup>

Articles 8 to 12 of the Treaty State that "In accordance with the traditional friendship established between the two countries each of the High Contracting Parties solemnly declares that it will not enter into or participate in any military alliances directed against the other party.

Each High Contracting Party undertakes to refrain from any aggression against the other party and not to allow the use of its territory for the commission of any act that might inflict military damage on the other High Contracting Party.

Each High Contracting Party undertakes to abstain from giving any assistance to any third party that engages in an armed conflict with the other party. In the event of either party being subjected to attack or threat thereof, the High Contracting Parties shall immediately enter into mutual consultations with a view to eliminating this threat and taking appropriate effective measures to ensure the peace and security of their countries.

Each High contracting Party solemnly declares that it will not enter into any commitment secret or public with one or more States which is incompatible with the present treaty. Each High Contracting Party further declares that no commitment exists, nor shall any be entered into between itself or any other State or States that might cause military damage to the other party.

<sup>10</sup> Keesing's Contemporary Archives p.24773.

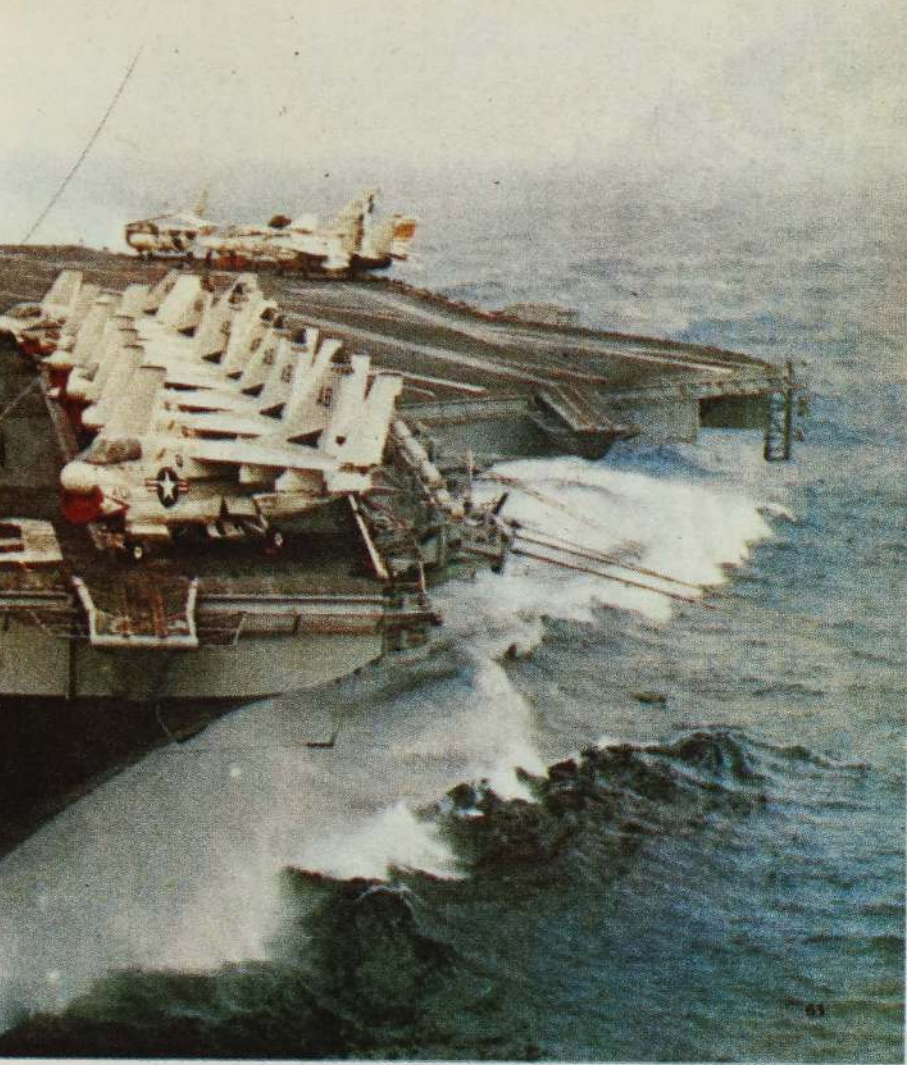


*A warship in the Indian Ocean, 1980*

This treaty is concluded for a period of 20 years and will be automatically extended for every subsequent period of five years unless either of the High Contracting Parties declares its intention to terminate it by giving notice to the other High Contracting Party 12 months prior to the expiration of the treaty. This was when Indira Gandhi, Nehru's daughter was Prime Minister. However C.L. Sulzberger reveals in his "Fathers and Children".<sup>11</sup>

"I asked Nehru if India thought of signing any strictly defensive alliance with any powers or joining a mutual defence coalition of a regional nature. He answered. 'no alliance is contemplated. After all, what is a strictly defensive alliance? A defensive alliance automatically becomes a military alliance and the purpose of a military alliance is to deal with preparations for war'. This was in 1952.

In the seventies and eighties the Soviet Union's Naval presence in the Indian ocean grew steadily.



by courtesy Jane's Naval Review

P. Wall observes in "The Indian Ocean and the Threat to the West"<sup>12</sup> "the USSR fleet in the Indian Ocean includes more nuclear submarines than the US, British and French navies put together. This is backed by a growing merchant marine and the largest fishing and hydrographic survey fleet. The threat that such a fleet including the submarines can pose to the West's long and vulnerable route round the Cape must be clear." The Soviets obtained facilities in S. Yemen and Ethiopia.

Simultaneously, American naval activity in the Indian Ocean substantially increased during 1979 and 1980 in response to the Iranian revolution and the Soviet presence in Afghanistan. The US continued the expansion of facilities in the Island of Diego Garcia (as part of the preparations for the Rapid Deployment Force) and obtained facilities in Australia, Kenya, Somalia and Oman. K.M. Panikkar foresaw that "all sea coasts into which communism might penetrate will become areas of security for the United States".<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> London Stacey International 1975, p.62

<sup>13</sup> India and the Indian Ocean; London 1951 p.87



*Trincomalee Harbour from Swami Rock*

In 1980 Sri Lanka reversing a decision of 1972, opened Trincomalee for the use of all foreign warships, including both American and Soviet - provided they do not carry Nuclear Weapons and are not at war.

George Litwak and Chubin in their "Security in Southern Asia; India and the Great Powers"<sup>14</sup> (rightly conclude) "The developing super power naval competition in the Indian Ocean runs counter to Indian foreign policy interests in two important respects, first the shadow effect of extra-regional naval power undercut, Indian politicomilitary primacy in the subcontinent; second such deployments, from the Indian perspective accelerate the transformation of South Asia into a possible area of cold war confrontation".

With regard to the first, Jane's Naval Review for 1987 says: "India continues to build up a navy of formidable proportions. Is it part of a plan for hegemony in the Indian Ocean? India has the ability to launch and support a invasion of Sri Lanka, to seize the Maldive islands, or the Seychelles. Or perhaps it is prompted by fear of India's Soviet friends".



The Sri Lankan proposal for an Indian Ocean Peace Zone had been approved by the United Nations General Assembly in 1971. It had declared "The Indian Ocean, within limits to be determined, together with the air space above and the ocean floor adjacent thereto, is hereby designated for all time as a zone of peace"

It "Called upon the great Powers in conformity with this Declaration, to enter into immediate consultations with the littoral States of the Indian Ocean with a view to

- (a) Halting the further escalation and expansion of their military presence in the Indian Ocean;
- (b) Eliminating from the Indian Ocean all bases, military installations, logistical supply facilities, the disposition of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction and any manifestation of great Power, military presence in the Indian Ocean conceived in the context of great Power rivalry"

It "Called upon the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean, the permanent members of the Security Council and other major maritime users of the Indian Ocean, in pursuit of the objective of establishing a system of universal collective security without military alliances and strengthening international security through regional and other co-operation, to enter into consultations with a view to the implementation of this Declaration and such action as may be necessary to ensure that:

Warships and military aircraft may not use the Indian Ocean for any threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or independence of any littoral or hinterland State of the Indian Ocean in contravention of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations."<sup>15</sup>

The Indian Ocean Peace Zone proposal had however not become a reality.

These post-independence events also coincided with the growth in Sri Lanka of a movement by a section of the Tamil minority community demanding an independent state of "Tamil Eelam" carved out of Sri Lanka and separate from the Sinhala majority. The state was to include Jaffna with the Northern Province of Sri Lanka (where the Tamils Comprised 95% of the population ) and Trincomalee with the Eastern Province of Sri Lanka. (Where the Tamils were only 45% of the population)

The younger elements in the group began resorting to armed terrorism to achieve their goal collecting arms and finances abroad and training their men also abroad.

On a visit to Sri Lanka in 1927, Mahatma Gandhi, the great Indian apostle of non-violence had warned of the dangers of communalism. In a speech at the Young Men's Buddhist Association in Colombo published in

15 UN General Assembly Resolution No 2832 (XXVI) of 16th December 1971



“Young India” of 8th Dec. 1927, he said “Gautama held the life of even the crawling things of the earth as precious as his own”.<sup>16</sup>

Half a century later terrorism was to flourish for 12 years in Sri Lanka, feeding on communalism and ironically Indian soil was allowed to be used to nurture it.

Then in one hundred days in 1987, there was an unusual catalysis of events. The result was a dramatic change in the relations between India and Sri Lanka and in the face of politics in the Indian Ocean caused by a Indo-Lanka Peace Accord whose architects were the 43 year old Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, Indira Gandhi's Son and Nehru's grandson and the 80 year old Sri Lankan President J.R. Jayewardene. The latter commented “There must have been a unique configuration of planets and stars.”



*United Nations Building, New York*

16 Quoted in the Moral and Political writings of Mahatma Gandhi Vol I by Dr. Raghavan Iyer; Clarendon Press, p.504.

# 2

# TERROR STALKS LANKA



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# The Island

Wednesday 22nd April, 1987 Registered in Sri Lanka as a Newspaper Vol. 7 No. 96 PRICE Rs. 3.00

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- 15 vehicles mangled
- 20 shops gutted
- Thousands flee carnage

## Terrorism strikes heart of Colombo

Govt. clamps down curfew  
EROS, LTTE believed responsible

by M. Ismath and Jehan Haniff  
Terrorists struck at Gas Works Street in the Pettah at 4.45 p.m. yesterday killing about hundred people and leaving over 200 injured in a bomb attack that caused near panic during the rush hour. The bomb attack also destroyed about fifteen passenger vehicles and taxis. About twenty shops were totally wrecked. Injured people were burnt to death in the inferno set off by the bomb blast in the destroyed shops. On the street, the dead and the injured lay in bloodied pits with scores trapped inside the vehicles they were about to leave the Central Bus Stand.  
Government said it believed EROS and LTTE were responsible for the attack. A massive downpour left the scene of the terrorist attack still smouldering as we went

Over twenty five women and fifteen children were reported to be among the dead by eyewitnesses whom The Island spoke to.  
Ladies and gents shoes, handbags, blood soaked clothing, and the stench of burning human flesh greeted passers-by as Police Special Squads rushed to the scene. Police searched, found and defused yet another bomb that would have exploded within minutes claiming as many lives, a senior police officer on the scene told The Island. Police estimated the fatal bomb to have packed a power of as much as seventy five kilos.  
The explosion dug a four foot deep crater right opposite the row of shops facing the Central Bus Stand junc- tion. Shops across the street twenty five paces away also sustained moderate to extensive damage from the explosion that snooded out telephone and power cables,

criss-crossing the immediate area. Hundreds of people gathered at the scene, the worst ever witnessed in Colombo in a single event surpassing the carnage wrought in July 1983 by its solitary intensity.  
Men were still digging into the burning debris refusing to accept the fact that their comrades in trade at the fresh fruit drinks stalls at the scene of the explosion had been blasted to bits while they were away across the street at a tea break.  
Scores of people returning home after work never made it yesterday for their caught in a death trap while waiting for their passenger vehicles to move out. Others died where they stood — queuing for the buses which were about to take off. Children holding onto their mothers' hands after an evening's shopping paid with their innocent lives as the bomb, now believed to have been kept in a parked three-wheeler taxi-

cab, reduced them to bits of flesh and bone. Men of the area, crying and wiping tears of anger and grief loaded over four hundred bodies, dead and seriously injured, many burnt almost to the bone, to be despatched to the Emergency Service section at the General Hospital.  
Chaos broke out as hundreds of dead and injured, many only torsoes, were un- loaded onto stretchers and some just rushed in by the people themselves, into the Accident Service section which was not half sufficient to accommodate the urgency.  
The emergency lent wings to the hospital staff as they rushed over two hundred injured to the Sri Jayewardhanapura Hos- pital for emergency treatment.  
Government rushed Police and Naval troops to the scene while Air Force person- nel circled the area by helicopter in an immediate move to prevent any backlash in

the metropolis.  
Traders of the area still working at the scene in an immediate salvage operation found wads of dollars and dinars along with passports which had been thrown out of the possession of the owners by the explosion that were ripped off them by the explosion that saw hundreds of people suddenly die in Colombo's worst tragedy yet.  
Eye witnesses said they saw bodies flying as high as twenty feet into the air. Walls of the building that received the worst of the blast bore testimony to the carnage as a mixture of garbage, mud and human flesh in a gory mixture was washed off them by the persisting rain.  
In the shops, the scene was one of total destruction. On the road vehicles with human remains in them burnt to a cinder still stood in the mud and rain — mangled corpses.  
(Continued on Page 3)

**SOS for blood**  
The blood bank for donations of all yesterday appealed groups of blood.

The Central Bus Stand at Pettah is in the heart of the city of Colombo, capital of Sri Lanka. Pettah or Pita-Kotuwa, meaning outer-fort is just outside the Fort built by the Dutch in the 17th century when they ruled Ceylon, as Sri Lanka was then known. Between 4.30 and 5.00 p.m. on a week day the Central Bus Stand at Pettah is a hive of activity. Thousands of people having worked in the city all day come there to find a bus to take them home. Particularly after 1977 when President J.R. Jayewardene assumed office and opened the doors to a free economy, foreign investment and employment opportunities both at home and abroad, commuter traffic to the city increased twentyfold. Private buses also were allowed to compete with state run buses. The American expert on terrorism Walter Laqueur in his "Anatomy of Terrorism" has rightly said that "the terrorist needs democratic permissiveness as a fish needs water".<sup>1</sup>

1 Quoted in Jennifer Shaw et al eds, Ten Years of Terrorism; London Crane Russak and Co Inc. 1979, p.20



On Tuesday, 21st April 1987 at 4.40 p.m. a time bomb placed in a car parked near the Pettah Bus Stand weighing 100 kg. exploded. This terrorist strike resulted in the instant deaths of nearly 150 innocent men, women and children. Nearly all those who had died were members of the majority Sinhalese community. The terrorists of the Tamil community who had been using violence to gain a separate state of Eelam for 15 years had for the first time struck a deadly blow in the heart of Colombo.

“I thought this is what hell would look like. Although it was only 4.40 p.m. it was dark. It was raining. There were fires everywhere, bodies strewn all over the place, people running helter-skelter”. This was told to me by one of my Personal Assistants Dissanayake who happened to drive into the scene a minute later in my jeep. Lucky to have been alive Dissanayake transported many of the injured to hospital. No other vehicles were available immediately since all had been destroyed by the bomb explosion.



I myself was in Ambalangoda 75 Kms. South of Colombo opening a Museum of Masks together with Minister of State Anandatissa de Alwis and on hearing the news rushed back to Colombo on a road lined with groups of excited and explosive people.

Two days later I was summoned to a meeting of angry Members of Parliament of the United National Party Government who met under the Chairmanship of the leader President Jayewardene in Parliament. After many angry speeches a resolution was passed that terrorist violence would be crushed militarily and that no more negotiations would take place until this was done. An Emergency Session of Parliament was held on the same day. The President's Deputy, Prime Minister R. Premadasa addressing Parliament said that he would brand anybody who asked for a political solution in this context a traitor.

It was Mr. Premadasa who had in 1984 for the first time publicly accused neighbouring giant India of harbouring and even giving military training to the Tamil terrorists in the Southern most part of India

Tamilnadu, which is only 35 km. away from the Northern end of Sri Lanka where there is a predominantly Tamil population. He had always maintained that if not for the support of India, there would have been no terrorist problem in Sri Lanka. On 24th May 1984 he had said in Parliament referring to India "why are you encouraging these terrorists there?... If you want to invade this country, if you want to swallow this country, do so openly without trying to hide".<sup>2</sup>

On 23rd April 1987 he made another forceful speech in Parliament on the same theme and after he finished he met me in the lobby and said very sincerely "I don't know whether this is diplomacy, but these are the feelings of our people".

The total population of Sri Lanka is about 15 million. Out of this 74 per cent or about 11 million belong to the majority Sinhalese community. The Sinhalese community arrived in the Island nearly 2500 years ago from Northern India. The minority Tamil community comprising of 12% of the population or about 2 million people came to the Island from Southern India, mostly what is now Tamilnadu, about 300 years later.<sup>3</sup> The balance comprise of Muslims and Burghers. (descendants of the Dutch) who came much later.

About 2/3rd the Tamil community live in the Northern and Eastern areas of the Island, but the balance have lived in the predominantly Sinhalese Southern areas employing themselves fruitfully in Government Service, the professions and business (see Map). Many of them were inducted into Government Service during

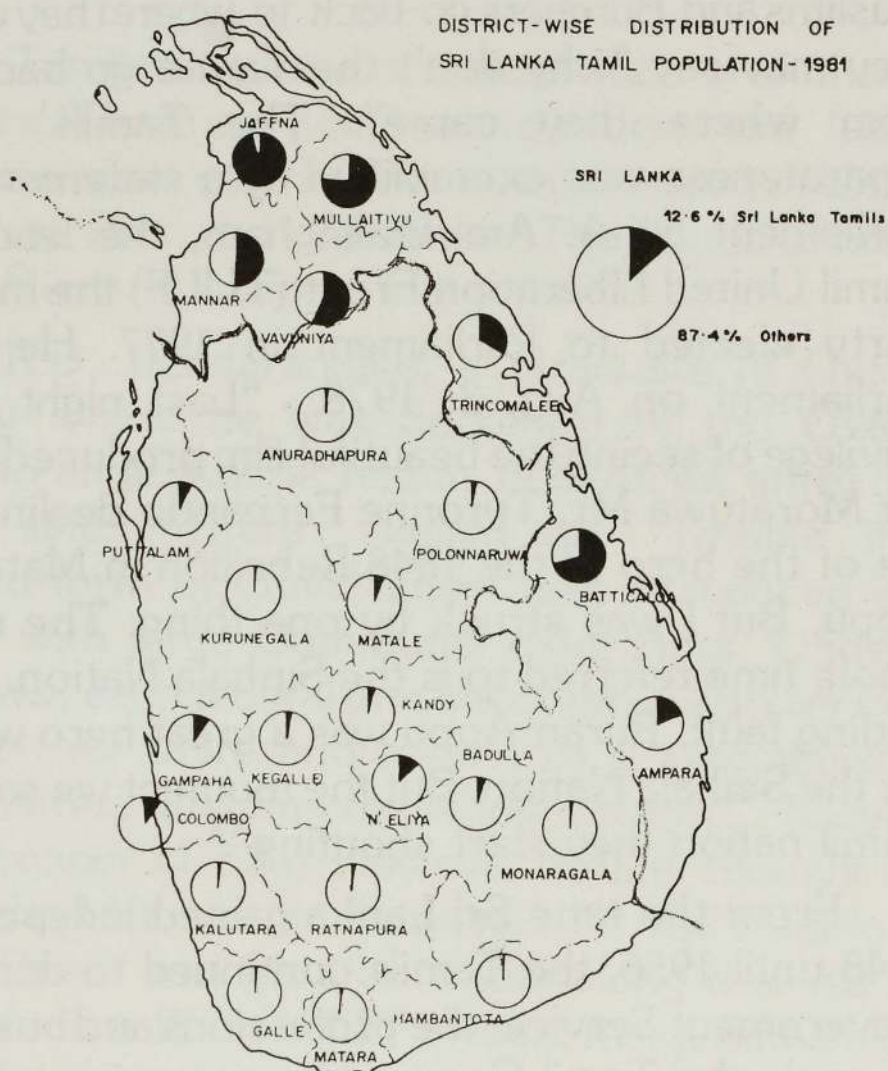
2 Hansard 24 May 1984, Col.210.

Indeed there has been much speculation that actual plans for an invasion were underway in 1984 before Indira Gandhi was assassinated by Sikh separatists in October that year.

3 However certain sections of the Sinhalese community have also originated from South India and some as late as the 13th century.

Michael Roberts: Caste conflict and Elite formation Cambridge University Press 1982; p.50.

DISTRICT-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF  
SRI LANKA TAMIL POPULATION - 1981



Source: Dept of Census & Statistics

British colonial times. Indeed the Sinhalese have always felt that the Tamils during colonial times were a privileged community who got a better deal in education, in Government job placement, as a reward for their loyalty.

Unlike the Muslims and Burghers who have integrated themselves into the Sri Lankan community life, the Tamils have always been a little apart. While many Sinhalese would never say "Why don't the Muslims and Burghers go back to where they came from" they may say "why don't the Tamils go back to India from where they came". The Tamils' feeling of separateness was exemplified by a statement made in Parliament by A. Amirthalingham, the leader of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) the major Tamil Party elected to Parliament in 1977. He stated in Parliament on Aug. 3, 1978. "Last night I had the privilege of seeing the beautiful film produced by the MP for Moratuwa Mr. Tyronne Fernando dealing with the life of the hero of the 1848 Rebellion in Matale, Puran Appu. But I was struck by one thing. The nation the whole time referred to is the Sinhala Nation... I am not finding fault. Puran Appu was a great hero who fought for the Sinhala Nation. But the moment we say we are a Tamil nation they start shouting".<sup>4</sup>

From the time Sri Lanka gained independence in 1948 until 1956, the Tamils continued to dominate the Government Service, the professions and business. For example the Tamil Community comprising 12% of the population made up for 35% of the Engineers, 30% of the Surveyors, 35% of the Doctors, 33% of the Accountants, 16% of Govt. Administrators, and about 18% of University Admissions. The Male unemployment rate among Tamils is 8.8% while it is 14.7% among the Sinhalese. There is a ratio of 1 school for 344 pupils in Jaffna whilst it is 1 school for 738 pupils in Colombo. In health facilities too, Jaffna is one of the most advanced areas of the country.



The fact that there are 50 Million Tamils across the waters-30 km away - in Tamil Nadu (compared to 11 million Sinhalese and 2 million Tamils in Sri Lanka) also made the Sinhalese “a majority with a minority complex” Marxist ideologist Hector Abeywardena has analysed thus: “Sinhalese ideology always had some kind of self preservation emphasis... unable to make realistic assessment of geopolitical realities”.<sup>5</sup>

The Tamils in turn were suspicious of Sinhalese dominance. ‘There is a genuine and widespread feeling that the two races can never live as partners in a United Island’ wrote Prof. A.J. Wilson in “The States of South Asia: problems of national integration”<sup>6</sup>.

S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, a Graduate of Oxford University where he was Secretary of the Oxford Union, and an aristocrat had in 1926 on his entry into politics said: “There would be trouble if a centralised form of Government was introduced into countries with large Communal differences. Under a Federal Law, each federal unit has complete power over itself. Yet they unite and have 1 or 2 assemblies to discuss matters affecting the whole country”. (Ceylon Morning Leader 14.7.26). However he later thought it is wiser to shed his suit and trousers for the traditional National Dress and gave an undertaking that his Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) would make Sinhala the only Official Language of the country. He swept to power in 1956 toppling the government of the U.N.P.

In 1956 the Eksath Bhikku Peramuna (the United Monks’ Front) was “one of the most articulate single interest groups working to make Sinhala the only state language” observes Haward Wriggins in “Ceylon Dilemmas of a New Nation”.<sup>7</sup> Buddhist monks have

5 Ceylon Daily News 20th January 1988 p.4

6 C. Hurst and Co. London 1982, p.299

7 Princeton University, p.206.

from early times taken upon themselves the role of protecting and safeguarding the Sinhalese race as well as the religion of the majority of the Sinhalese, Buddhism. Buddhism like the Sinhalese also came to Sri Lanka from India but unlike in India where it withered, Buddhism prevails to this day in Sri Lanka as a powerful force.

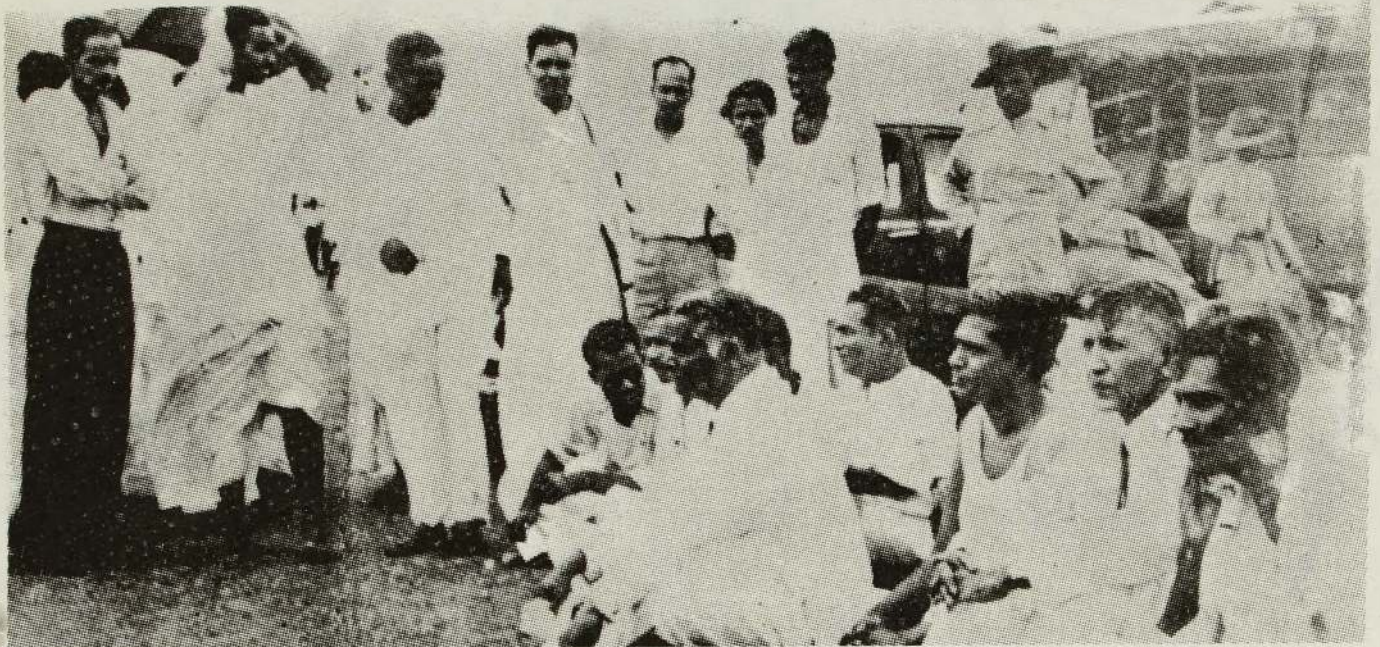
The "Sinhala Only" policy would mean that the Tamils would to some extent be discriminated against unless they learnt Sinhalese. I remember however my father the late Mr. Shelton C. Fernando (then Permanent Secretary to the Home Ministry) telling me that he had been a Chief Guest at the prize Giving at Jaffna College Northern Province in 1955 and a large number of Sinhalese languages classes were voluntarily in operation.

Mr. Bandaranaike's Sinhala only legislation of July 1956 ironically put a stop to all that. Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, a leader of the Trotskyite Equal Society Party (LSSP) the Lanka Sama Samaja Party forewarned in Parliament during the debate on the Bill: "Do we, does this House, do our people want a Single nation or do we want two nations? Do we want a Single State or do we want two? Do we want one Ceylon or do we want two? And above all, do we want an independent Ceylon which must necessarily be a United and Single Ceylon or two bleeding halves of Ceylon which can be gobbled up by every ravaging imperialist monster that may happen to range the Indian Ocean? These are the issues that in fact we have been discussing under the form and appearance of a language issue".<sup>8</sup> V.N Navaratnam a young Tamil Leader said during the debate : "Very soon when we form this autonomous Tamil State, I hope within a federal set-up, when we build monuments to those people who helped to form our autonomous Tamil State, foremost among them would be the name of the Hon Mr. Bandaranaike... Then the Sinhalese people will

know who their traitors were...”<sup>9</sup>

There were protests by Tamils. Sinhala-Tamil communal tension steadily escalated after the passage of the Sinhala Only Act of 1956.

Bandaranaike made an effort to come to some settlement with the leaders of the Tamils at the time, particularly the much respected S.J.V. Chelvanayagam.



*Tamil leader Chelvanayakam protesting against Sinhala Only legislation. 1956.*

The B-C Pact of July 1957 as it was popularly called envisaged the setting up of Regional Councils. The Regional Councils were to have powers over “Agriculture, Co-operatives, Lands and Land Development, Colonisation, Education Health, Industries and Fisheries, Housing and Social Services, Electricity, Water Schemes and Roads”. The Northern Province was to form one Regional Area while the Eastern Province was to be divided into two or more regions to amalgamate even beyond provincial limits, and for one region to divide itself subject to ratification by Parliament” and “for 2 or more regions to collaborate for specific purposes of common interest”. Tamil would be recognised as the language of a national minority, and the language of administration in the Northern and Eastern provinces would be Tamil with “any necessary provisions” for minorities in those areas.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Hansard: 13th June 1956 Col. 1502

<sup>10</sup> From Joint Statement issued by Prime Minister and representative of Federal Party on July 26, 1957

COLOMBO, THURSDAY, APRIL 10, 1958

# Representations made by Ministers, trade unions and monks CANNOT IMPLEMENT PACT - PM

## Equal to 'activities' of Federal Party

Decision ANNOUNCED TO NATION (By a 'Daily News' reporter)

### 'A NEW SITUATION HAS ARISEN'

Further consideration of the problem has now become necessary, he said.



### Bride leapt in front in train

### ABROGATE PACT, TRADE UNIONS AND BHIKKHUS SAID

### Not totally unexpected

### Ministers confer F.P. made 'scrap'

The Mr. Bandaranaike has morning Federal Party the pact and paper.

Three decisions

Trap gun victim

Guides to South

The Times of Ceylon LATE IN FOUNDING IN 1845

### Govt services stop at 6 p.m., no cinema

### STATE OF EMERGENCY

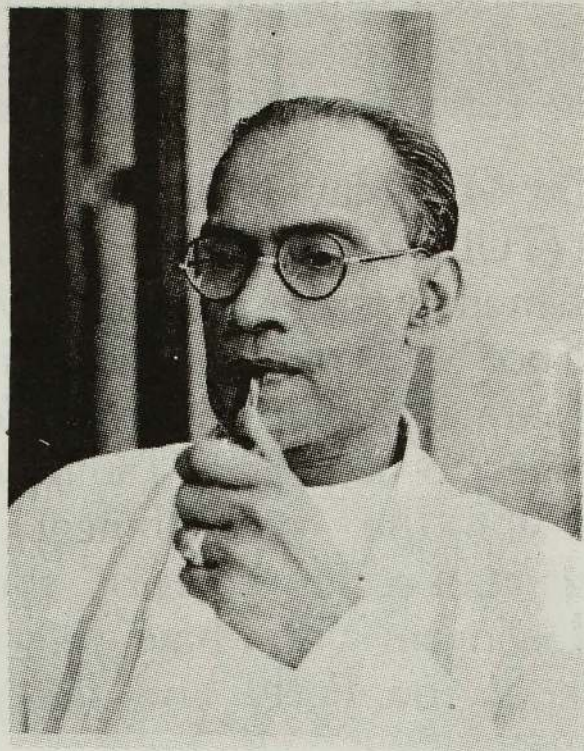
### Federal Party & Jatika Vimukhti Party banned

### Curfew FROM 6 P.M. TO 6 A.M. THROUGHOUT COUNTRY

### Govt & Navy called out

On 9th April 1958 however Buddhist monks surrounded Bandaranaike's residence and demanded that he come out and promise in writing to abrogate the pact. He did this. In May 1958 there was an Island-wide bloodbath in which the Sinhalese and Tamils killed each other. Tarzie Vittachchi in his 'Emergency '58 - the Story of the Ceylon Race Riots'<sup>11</sup> asks rather nostalgically "What had happenend to Ceylon, that tranquil beautiful and profitable island which had always been regarded in the West as a Model among newly independent countries?" In 1959 Bandaranaike was assassinated by a Buddhist Monk. The Ven Buddharakkita Thero of the Kelaniya Raja Maha Vihara the Leader of the Eksath Bhikku Peramuna was convicted of conspiracy to assassinate him.

11 Andre Deutsch 1958.



Prime Minister S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike

In 1966 when the other major party, the United National Party (UNP) was back in power with Mr. Dudley Senanayake as Prime Minister, there was another bout of communal violence. Mr. Senanayake also came to an agreement with the major Tamil Party and actually appointed a Minister from that Party namely Mr. Thiruchelvam to be his Minister of Local Government. The Agreement was to set up District Councils devolving major powers to the districts. This agreement too had to be torn up under pressure from the Sinhalese masses and the monks.

In the early Seventies Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike's SLFP Government introduced a system of "standardization" of marks and district quotas for entry to Universities which brought down the percentage of Tamil entries to the Science faculties from

48.3% in 1969 to 14.2% in 1975. Professor C.R. de Silva says this “led to great frustration and disappointment among the Tamil youth in Jaffna... who used pressure on the Tamil leadership to opt for a separate State”.<sup>12</sup>

On 14th May 1976 the, Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) the major Tamil Political Party at the time proclaimed at their sessions in Vadukkoddai that they would not be satisfied with anything less than a separate Tamil state comprising the Northern and Eastern Provinces to be called “Tamil Eelam”. The resolution called for the establishment of an “independent sovereign, secular socialist state of Tamil Eelam”. Amirthalingam who I have referred to earlier was the leader of the Party and the prime mover of this resolution.

Amirthalingam and his supporters however continued to carry on their campaign through Parliamentary means in fact winning a substantial number of seats in Parliament in 1977. Amirthalingam became Leader of the Opposition in Parliament in Colombo.

The younger elements (called “the boys”) had decided that there was no other means to achieve Eelam than violence and terrorism. Cyril Mathew a Sinhala Nationalist Leader thought they had the tacit approval of the elders in his book “who is the real Tiger?” The fact that their TULF tried to Nominate Kuttimani a terrorist leader to a vacant seat in parliament lent credence to this view.

On 27th July 1975, Alfred Duraippa Mayor of Jaffna, a moderate and a supporter of Bandaranaike was assassinated in a Jaffna Kovil.

So began 12 years of collections of finances, both in Sri Lanka and in the major capitals of the world, purchasing of arms, training in guerilla warfare and a well orchestrated propaganda campaign about “abuses

# කමිදු කොටියා?



as seen by Cyril Mathew

தமிழர் விடுதலைப் புலிகள்

1979-10-11



Map of proposed Eelam

TULF Leader Amirthalingam

of human rights of the Tamils,” and oppression by “the Sinhalese Government”

These terrorists were themselves split into various groups. The liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) lead by Velupillai Prabhakaran, 33 years, admirer of Subhas Chandra Bose and later a Clint Eastwood fan (as told to “Time Magazine”) his Deputy Mahendrarajah alias Mahaththaya and Anton Balasingham as the “think tank”; Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO) led by Sabaratnam; the Eelam People’s Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) led by K Pathmanadan; the People’s Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) whose leader was Uma Maheswaran, a Surveyor; and the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students (EROS).

They set up their various Headquarters quite openly in Madras, the capital city of Tamilnadu in India and continued their operations there without any interference by any Government authority. They established contacts with either of 2 wings of the DMK (Dravida Munethra Kazahagam) led by Chief Minister of Tamilnadu M.G. Ramachandran, Sri Lankan born film star politician, and K. Karunanidhi, former Chief Minister. Rivalries were such that in May 1982 Prabhakaran and Maheswaran had a shootout at Pandy Bazaar in Madras.



*LTTE leader Prabhakaran and Chief Minister M.G. Ramachandran of Tamil Nadu (left)*

PLOTE also claimed they received training from the PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine) led by Dr. George Habash, Dobson and Payne in their "Never Ending War - Terrorism in the Eighties" say: "The Israelis confirmed this claim when they captured documents in Beirut listing Tamils who had been trained by the PFLP".<sup>13</sup>

At the same time, the Indian Central Government had become alarmed about Colombo's perceived "tilt" towards the West after President Jayewardene's victory in 1977. Singapore was spoken of as 'Model' and ASEAN membership sought.





*Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike and Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi*



*Prime Minister R. Premadasa and Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew*

Thomas A Marks, a former US military intelligence analyst says: "Most alarming to the Indians was their conviction that Jayewardene planned to grant American military forces base rights at Trincomalee, the largest natural port on Sri Lanka's east coast. Apparently to gain better intelligence on developments concerning Trincomalee, Indira Gandhi agreed to a plan by RAW (Research and Analysis Wing) to establish links with a number of the then small Tamil guerilla groups operating in the Sri Lanka north".<sup>14</sup>

Interrogations of captured insurgents showed involvement in a programme of training Tamil guerillas in sabotage and intelligence gathering (See Appendix A).

<sup>14</sup> In a paper presented at the 2nd bi-annual convention of American Federation of Sri Lankan Associations in Los Angeles published in the Island of 28th June 1987.

An interesting sideline was revealed in an article "Sex for Secrets" where Salamat Ali reported that K .... U..... a .... year old Deputy Inspector General of Policy seconded to RAW to head operations with Sri Lanka Tamils in Madras was passing information to the Americans in return for sex and the Americans in turn were passing it on to Sri Lanka. <sup>15</sup>

In 1983, at a public meeting of the Committee on the Indian Ocean held in New Delhi on "US naval base in the Indian Ocean at Diego Garcia, Trincomalee and Gwadar - Karachi", ex-Foreign Secretary T.N. Kaul (who had in 1962 as Indian Deputy High Commissioner in London defended Indian action on Goa with me at a Oxford Union Debate) said "The Sri Lanka High Commissioner telephoned me and assured me there was no American base in Trincomalee and Sri Lanka would never give a base to any foreign power. This is very reassuring." Such were Indian fears.



Rohana Wijeweera, the leader of the People's Liberation Front or the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) which had led the youth insurrection in 1971 in an underground pamphlet in the eighties "what is the solution for Eelam?" sees a further division of India and the creation of small states as a vital aspect of American

15 The Far Eastern Economic Review, 15th November '87.



PUBLIC LIBRARY  
JAFNA

strategy in the Indian Ocean region (Indian being perceived as pro-soviet) He accuses America of supporting separatist movements in Assam and in Punjab, and of an attempt to establish a separate state in South India by bringing together the states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu. According to Wijeweera Eastern Province of Sri Lanka, were to be assimilated to this Tamil State in South India.<sup>16</sup>

16. Quoted in "the Changing attitude towards the Tamil problem withing the JVP" by Gamini Samaranayake in Facets of Ethnicity in Sri Lanka ed. Charles Abeysekera and Newton Gunasinghe; Social Scientists Association 1987.



In early 1983 there was an escalation of the activities of Tamil terrorists particularly in the Northern Province. Many soldiers of the Sri Lanka army were killed, several by landmines. Tamils who would not cooperate with the terrorists were hung on lamp posts. The Yal Devi, the train from Colombo to the Northern Province was entirely set on fire. Then on 21st July 1983, 14 young Sinhalese soldiers were killed by a landmine and their bodies were brought to Colombo there was a major backlash against the Tamil community in general. Sinhalese mobs roamed the streets of Colombo and other cities setting fire to Tamil houses and business establishments. The security forces did not enforce the curfew very strictly. Over 100,000 Tamils sought refuge in Tamilnadu, getting India even more involved with the Sri Lankan problem.



3

BLOWING  
HOT,  
BLOWING  
COLD

India now offered her “good offices” to bring about a settlement. Indira Gandhi sent her Foreign Minister, Narasingham Rao to set this in motion. President Jayewardene accepted the good offices and embarked for nearly 4 years on a series of talks and negotiations in Colombo, New Delhi and in Thimpu Bhutan, where some of the terrorists were also represented. (President Jayewardene sent his brother leading lawyer H. W. Jayewardene for the Thimpu talks with the terrorists). But no settlement was in sight. When I met Narasingham Rao in New Delhi he stressed “your leaders should come to Delhi more often.”

In the meantime the Sri Lanka Government was beefing up its military strength. Defence expenditure went up from Rs. 550 million in 1980 (US\$ 18m.) to Rs. 3500 million in 1987 (US\$ 115 m)<sup>1</sup>.

There was a turn by Sri Lanka for assistance towards US, UK, China and Pakistan and even Israel. Although assistance was not always readily forthcoming President Jayewardene met President Reagan at the White House in 1984. When I called on Vice President



*President J.R. Jayawardene with US defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger in Colombo, 1984.*

Bush at the White House in 1981 during a 45 minutes discussion he expressed his admiration for the model democracy in Sri Lanka. The Chinese Foreign Minister told me in Peking "We will fight shoulder to shoulder with you". Caspar Weinberger US Defence Secretary met President Jayawardene in Colombo. An Israeli Interests Section opened in Colombo Indian fears increased.

On an official visit to Czechoslovakia in 1984, I told their leaders that India was running the risk of making Sri Lanka drift away from the Non-Aligned Group. In Delhi, Mr. R. Venkataraman, the Indian Defence Minister; although a Tamil told a public meeting in Madras that those who were crying for an Indian invasion of Sri Lanka were indulging in "foolish talk" and would only drive Sri Lanka away from India. The Tamil extremists in Tamilnadu replied that his tongue should be cut. (He was later to become President of India at a crucial time in July 1987).

In late 1984, Indira Gandhi was ironically assassinated by Sikh terrorists fighting for a separate state in India. Rajiv Gandhi, son of Indira Gandhi, a Cambridge educated airline pilot succeeded to the Prime Ministership of India.

Some difference began to appear. Rajiv Gandhi took a fresh look at the Indian involvement in Sri Lanka and with the growth of SAARC — South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation — a communication line between him and President Jayawardene began to develop.





Puran Appu vs  
Genghis Khan

by courtesy Sun

During the famous Alam Khan affair in, May 1985 when the Indian Minister of State for External Affairs had made some provocative statements in the Indian Parliament, I told our Parliament and went on National Television to say that India should be careful not to become the “Big Bully”

of the region. In fact during the Alam Khan Affair referred to above we decided to boycott a Ministerial Meeting of SAARC in Bhutan. I told Parliament that India should follow the example of Indonesia’s dealings with the smaller neighbours in ASEAN. It was only after a personal telephone call from Gandhi to Jayewardene that representation was made at a low level at the meeting in Bhutan.

Rajiv Gandhi told Dr. Ralph Buultjens in 1985: “We are interested in one United Sri Lanka with any form of government that the people of Sri Lanka want. We don’t want any disintegration or break up of Sri Lanka”<sup>3</sup>

In an interview with Salamat Ali in the Far Eastern Economic Review, President Jayewardene said: “Until recently, India’s attitude towards us was totally partisan and for that reason we never minced words in saying what we thought of India. In our Parliament India was called a bully I shall not be bullied. But I am satisfied that there is a change now. Rajiv Gandhi understands his neighbour’s point of view and the basic problem. He is trying to overcome this problem.”<sup>4</sup>

1985 — 86 was nevertheless a period of “blowing hot and blowing cold”.

1. Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure of Govt. of Sri Lanka
2. Hansard 7th May 1985 Col 108.
3. Dr. Ralph Buultjens “Windows on India”; Express Books New York 1987, P. 246
4. Far Eastern Economic Review 7th, June 1985.

In March 1986 the Indian Foreign Minister Bhagat made some provocative statements in the Indian Parliament which brought many of the Sri Lanka Government Ministers also to breaking point. Mr. Gamani Jayasuriya, Minister of Agriculture, openly attacked Gandhi. Then the following ensued:<sup>5</sup>

**Mr. Tyrone Fernando —**

Finally Sir, I wish to say this. Whatever Mr. Bhagat may have said we found the statement of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister quite constructive. He spoke after Mr. Bhagat.

**Mr. Anura Bandaranaike —** (Leader of the Opposition)

Hon Minister, may I ask a simple question. The Hon Minister of Food and Co-operatives (Mr. Gamani Jayasuriya) in the course of his speech to a question asked by the Hon. Member for Kalawana definitely stated in this House that he believes that the Prime Minister of India was behind this statement.

**Mr. Tyrone Fernando—**

That is what he believes.

**Mr. Anura Bandaranaike**

What does the Government believe?

**Mr. Tyrone Fernando**

What I have just said, that we found the statement of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister, to be constructive.

**Mr. Anura Bandaranaike**

You do not believe he was behind it?

**Mr. Tyrone Fernando**

He has very good relations with our President and our dialogue will continue.

By mid 1986 however the concept of Provincial Councils (first broached in the B-C Pact of 1957) had emerged as a solution, (See Appendix B 1 — address by

5 Hansard 4th March, 1986 Col. 376

President Jayewardene to Political Parties' Conference on 25.6.86 and B-2 19.12.86 proposals). But the question of the "merger" of the Northern and Eastern Province was a sticky point.

On the ground, a "Civil War" continued. Beau Grosscup, International Relations Expert and World News Editor says in his "Explosion of Terrorism": "The five main guerilla groups of the Tiger Movement, possessing an armed strength of more than twenty five hundred fighters managed to forestall the Government's brutal (sic) military campaign to stamp out the Tamil terrorist movement by fighting the army to a draw"<sup>6</sup>.

Amnesty International in its "Disappearances in Sri Lanka" (1987) says: "Armed Tamil Groups have been responsible for attacks on army camps and police stations and for killing hundreds of members of the security forces. In the North, members of the security forces killed dozens of unarmed civilians in reprisal, sometimes in their homes. Since late 1984 armed Tamil groups have also been held responsible for the killing of hundreds of unarmed Sinhalese civilians. The first such incident occurred in November, 1984 and resulted in the death of 65 Sinhalese ex-convicts and members of their families who had just been settled by the Government in two former Tamil refugee camps in Kent and Dollar Farms, situated in the Vavuniya and Mullaitivu districts in the Northern Central Province. This was followed by the first reports of large-scale "disappearances" of Tamils. Subsequently, in mid-May 1985, 146 Sinhalese civilians were shot dead at Anuradhapura, in the Northern Central Province, allegedly by armed Tamil Groups.<sup>7</sup> This incident was also followed by reports of "disappearances" and extrajudicial killings of Tamils by members of the security forces."

6 New Horizon Press NJ 1987. p. 286.

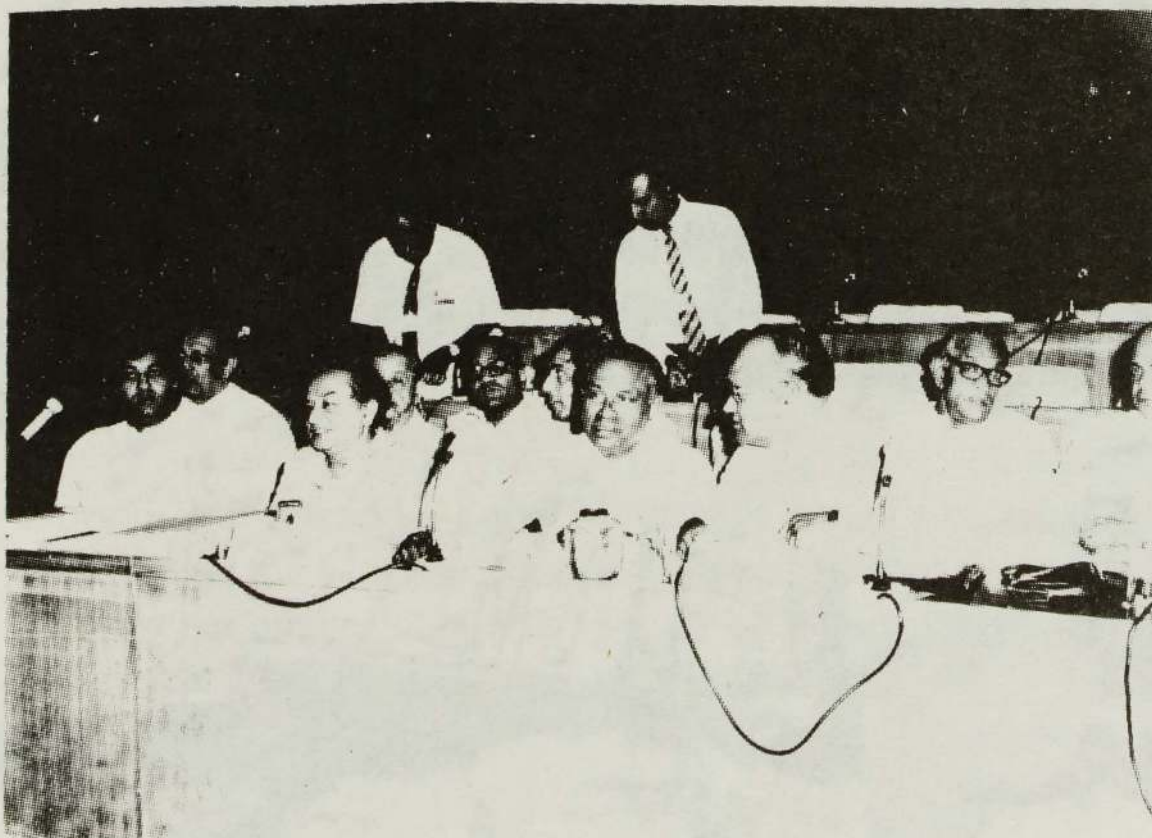
7 On 14th May 1985 there was an attack near the Bo-tree in Anuradhapura. The Sapling was brought to Sri Lanka from India with the introduction of Buddhism in the 3rd century B.C. Anuradhapura was also the site of the celebrated duel between Sinhalese King Dutugemunu and Tamil King Elara in 161 B.C. resulting in the latter's death.

It continues: "During 1986 Tamil groups intensified armed action, extending their attacks to unarmed Sinhalese civilians in the South. During a series of bomb attacks in May 1986, in or near Colombo, at least 52 civilians, mainly Sinhalese, were killed; armed Tamil groups acknowledge responsibility for some of these attacks. Also in May, 32 Sinhalese villagers, including at least 10 children were killed in the Eastern Province, most of them in the village of Siripura. Twenty-two people mainly Sinhalese, were killed when bombs reportedly planted by armed Tamil groups exploded on buses near Trincomalee on 11 June 1986. On 22 and 24 July around 60 civilians, again mostly Sinhalese, were killed in two attacks on buses. Reports in the international press attributed responsibility for many of these attacks to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. It has been reported that some of these attacks were carried out in reprisal for the extra-judicial killings of unarmed Tamil civilians by the security forces, which were widely reported throughout these months."



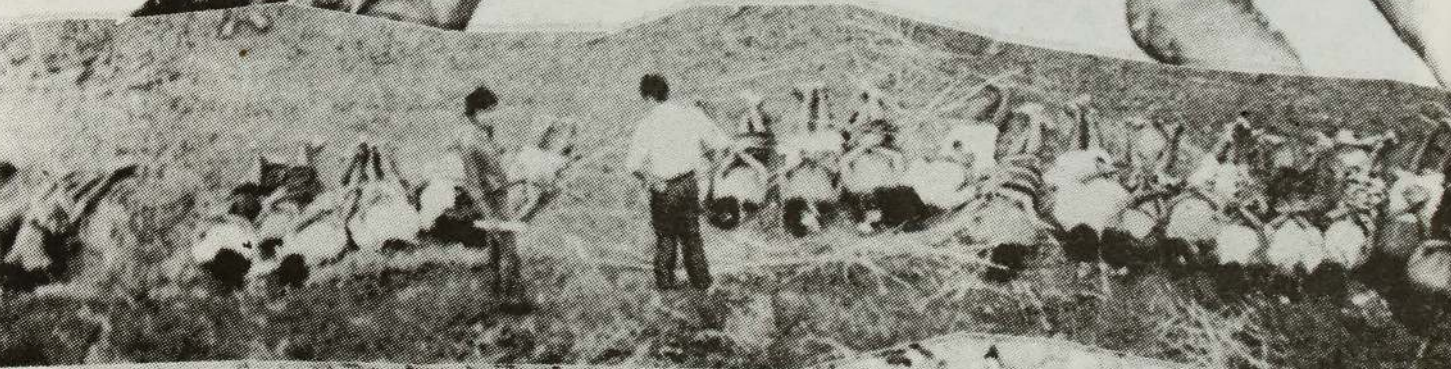
*National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali with Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in New Delhi, 1985.*

Amnesty International further says "Armed Tamil groups have also captured and killed dozens of Tamils alleged to be informers as well as several Tamil officials and politicians. Several Sinhalese have also been reportedly abducted and killed by armed Tamil groups; in a recent incident four men and five women were reportedly killed by armed members of a Tamil group after being abducted on 18 May 1986. Amnesty International has received increasingly frequent reports of extra-judicial killings by the security forces of non-combatant members of the Tamil community in reprisal for acts of violence by armed Tamil groups. These killings, which have totalled several hundred since mid-1983, and which have become a pattern in Sri Lanka, have been documented by Amnesty International in a series of reports."



*All-Parties' Conference in Colombo 1985.*

*Lands Minister Gamini Disanaike, Foreign Minister, A.C.S. Hameed Rural Industrial Minister S. Thondaman, TULF leaders A Amirthalingam and S. Sivasithamparam.*



Foreigners were involved only in 2 incidents. In May 1986 a bomb planted on an Air Lanka Flight to the Maldives killed 3 British tourists (and 14 others).

In May 1985 an American couple Stanley and Mary Allen working in Jaffna were kidnapped. 3 British MPs Betty Boothroyd, James Hill and Michael Morris in their "Some Impressions of Sri Lanka" say "A group of Sri Lankan terrorists seeking secession through the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF), which had had been known to be based in Madras for some time past, claimed responsibility from Madras for the abduction of these Americans. Subsequently, the EPRLF again announced publicly that, in deference to the appeals of the Indian Prime Minister and the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, they had ordered the release of the captives. Moreover, a Senior Tamil Nadu Police official was reported in the Madras press as stating that the Indian/Tamil Nadu authorities had indeed arranged for the leaders of that group in Madras to make contact with their colleagues in the Jaffna Peninsula to effect the release". But G.K. Reddy of the "Hindu" maintained: "It is quite possible that the kidnapping incident has been staged by some agent provocateur on the eve of US Vice President Bush's visit to Delhi to malign India by branding the Tamil Nadu Government as the real breeding ground for Tamil terrorism in the Jaffna District".<sup>9</sup>

During this period Land Minister, Gamini Dissanayake who is also the Cricket Board Chairman saw the visiting Indian cricket team soundly beaten by Sri Lanka in the Test match series. It was a peaceful tour.

8 Published by A.M. International. p.9

9 In the Illustrated weekly of India quoted by Prime Minister Premadasa in Parliament 24.5.85. (Hansard col. 205.)

# 4 THE WORLD WAR OF PROPAGANDA

New York Conference to discuss International

## WANTED



J. JEYAWARDANA



K. PREMADASA



SRI SIVASUBRAMANIAM



T. S. SIVASUBRAMANIAM



SRI SIVASUBRAMANIAM

## FOR THE MURDER OF

- 1. K. ISAJOTHIRANAM
- 2. S. SEIVARANAM
- 3. R. BALENDRAN
- 4. S. RAJESWARAN
- 5. S. PARAMESWARAN
- 6. S. SUBASHI
- 7. A. INDRARAJAH
- 8. NINE OTHER TAMILS
- 9. HUNDREDS OF TAMILS

- TORTURED AND BRUTALLY MURDERED
- TORTURED TO DEATH
- DRUGGED TO DEATH
- TORTURED TO DEATH
- SHOT DEAD
- TORTURED TO DEATH
- TORTURED TO DEATH
- TORTURED TO DEATH
- TORTURED TO DEATH



77

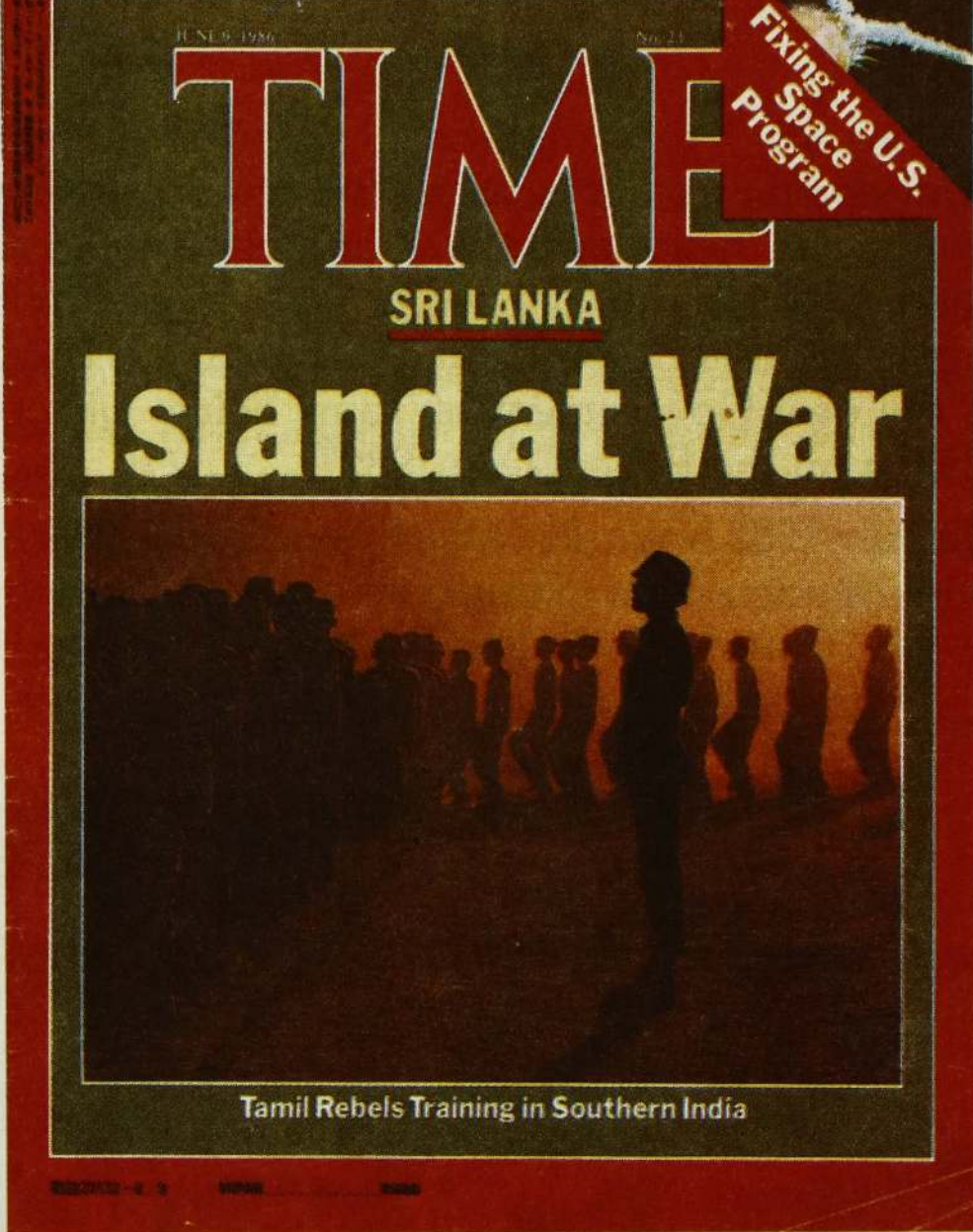
## INTERNATIONAL TAMIL CONFERENCE

on June 30th, July 1st & 2nd

Place: HOLIDAY INN NANDET, NEW YORK

Organized by THE TAMILS OF INDIA AND CANADA





The Tamil separatist cause was backed by a well orchestrated propaganda machine throughout the world, a world normally sympathetic to a “Minority Cause”.

Eelam Groups lobbied Members of Parliament and other legislators in support of their cause in various world capitals. The fact that many expatriates (totalling around 100,000 ) had the vote in those countries gave them political clout. They got resolutions passed and question asked in Parliaments about “human rights abuses” in Sri Lanka. One of their early “successes” was the proclamation by the US State of Massachusettes in 1979 to declare an “Eelam Tamils Day” to take cognizance of “an oppressed minority in Sri Lanka” and a resolution in 1981 urging the US President and Congress to support the “Tamil quest for self determination.”

Developing contacts with media representatives and writing to newspapers was another arm of their operations. Much publicity was given to a resolution in 1980 by the Tamil Co-ordinating Committee in London that “the new Government of Tamil Eelam will come into being on the Pongal Day 1982”.

In July 1982 a World Tamil Eelam Convention was held in Nanuet, New York. Delegations came from USA, UK, Canada, India and Sri Lanka.



A Tamil Eelam Liberation Council was set up at the Convention comprising of delegates from various countries.

Professor Blaustein a participant at the Convention was employed as a Consultant. He outlined a strategy to canvass international bodies dealing with Human Rights. They began making representations to the UN, Amnesty International, International Court of Justice, World Council of Churches and Human Rights Groups.

On 5th September 1983, the Sub Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities meeting in Geneva adopted the following resolution.

*“Deeply concerned* about the recent communal violence in Sri Lanka, which cost severe loss of lives and property,

*Recalling* that Sri Lanka has ratified both the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights,

*Recognizing* that the Government of Sri Lanka has sought to reduce ethnic tension and to foster national harmony,

*Noting with concern* that despite this the relationship between the ethnic communities seems to have deteriorated,

1. *Requests* the Secretary-General to invite the Government of Sri Lanka to submit information on the recent communal violence in Sri Lanka, including its efforts to investigate the incidents and to promote national harmony, and to submit any information received from the Government of Sri Lanka to the Commission on Human Rights at its fortieth session;
2. *Recommends* to the Commission on Human Rights that it should examine the situation in Sri Lanka in the light of all available information.”

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JAFANA

These moves were followed by a stream of “refugees” seeking asylum in Western Capitals. Many of them however had found an instrument to seek seemingly better pastures.

Economic-Sabotage was another weapon. Representations were made to the World Bank and US Aid representatives to “stop aid to Sri Lanka”.

In West Europe there was a campaign to dissuade tourists from visiting Sri Lanka. For example demonstrations were held in the Sri Lanka Pavilions at Tourist Fairs.



*UN buildings in Geneva where Human Rights Commission sits.*

There was a limited resort to violence also to attract publicity for the cause. For example in 1981 the Sri Lanka High Commission in London front office was set on fire. During an official visit to New Zealand masked Tamils shouting slogans blocked my car covered by National TV. Masks? Otherwise their relatives in Colombo would be “persecuted” by me, they said.

Collection of finances was carried out on a world wide scale — both voluntary and involuntary donations were accepted. No accounts are available.

In a signed letter to “all our Tamil brothers working in the Holiday Inn” in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia dated 8.6.86, contributions are asked soon as “our Tamil Army is in need of sophisticated weapons... to send bomb laden trucks with suicide bombers into Sinhalese areas and kill as many Sinhalese as possible. Our supporter His Excellency Mr. M. G. Ramachandran of Tamil Nadu will provide the funds to purchase the required explosives, and old cars and pick ups would be provided by the Liberation Organisers in Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Jaffna and Vavuniya... Any Tamil traitors who oppose our policy will be shot... I hope in view of the above, all Tamils working in the Holiday Inn will give their support to our struggle. All contributions to be sent to Mr. .... at the Hotel Meridien in Jeddah.”

Collection of finance for terrorism was also linked to the international narcotics trade. Nearly 2000 “narco-terrorists” had been apprehended in Western Europe, according to the Colombo Narcotics Bureau.<sup>1</sup>

The extent to which the propaganda War had spread can be judged by this interview on Australian TV with John Howard Opposition Leader on 15th September, 1985.

Interviewer — “Can you name some countries where the level of racial discrimination is the same as South Africa?”

Howard — “I think if you were a Tamil living in Sri Lanka at the moment, you would feel as put upon as many people in South Africa.”<sup>2</sup>

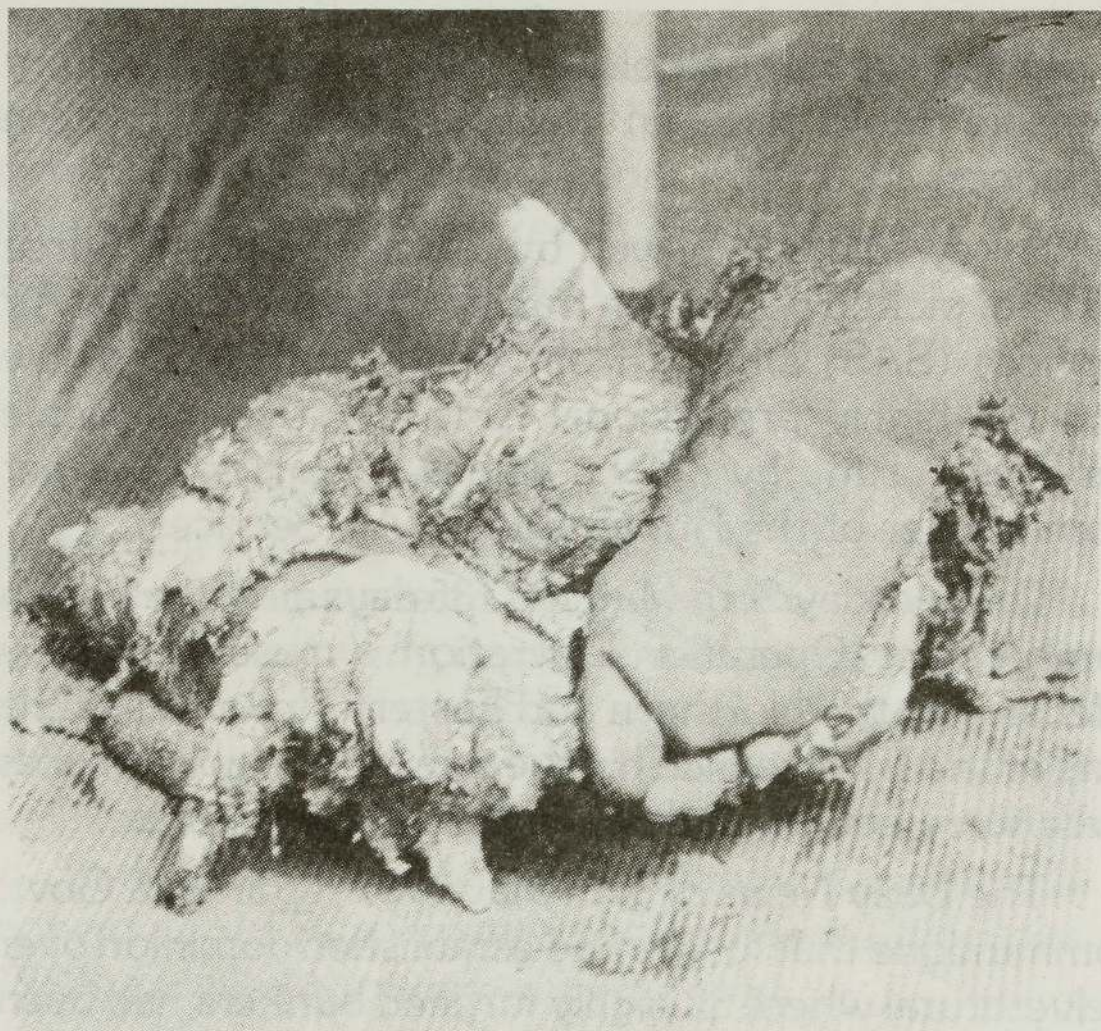
The World War of Eelam propaganda was dramatically ended by the catalysis of events during the 100 days in 1987.

\*1. Ceylon Daily News 14th December 1987.

2. In a reference to the past and present racial discrimination in many Western Countries President Jayewardene once replied a group of British M.P's who had written to advise him: “Physician heal thyself”.

# 5

## TURN OF THE TIDE



The real turning point came with the terrorist massacre of innocents at the Pettah Central Bus Station, on Tuesday 21st April 1987 — the beginning of the 100 days. The whole world was shocked. The Government responded immediately with a promise to the people that they would go on an all out military offensive in the Jaffna peninsula. If not for this promise, Sinhalese mobs may have again taken to communal violence against the innocent Tamils in Colombo as they did in 1983.

In May 1987, special Envoys of the President were sent to various countries to brief them that although we would embark on military action we had not closed the doors to a political settlement. I myself having as Acting Foreign Minister briefed all the Missions in Colombo, went as the President's Special Envoy to several countries in Eastern and Western Europe. I found the world opinion which had been very sympathetic to the minority Tamils had suddenly shifted after the Pettah bomb incident.





“Operation Liberation” was masterminded by the President with the assistance of the Minister of National Security, former Oxford Union President, Lalith Athulathmudali, It was executed by General Cyril Ranatunga, Joint Operations Commander and General Sepala Attigalle, Secretary Ministry of Defence.

A senior officer said: “The morale is very high. The men leading the advance forces are very keen on clearing the landmines and booby traps to ensure a safe passage for the following troops.. the terrorists are said to be boxed in and their radio signals are frantic and puzzling.” Brigadier Vijaya Wimalratne and Captain Denzil Kobbekaduwa (a nephew of Hector Kobbekaduwa who had been President Jayewardene’s principal opponent as SLFP candidate at the Presidential Elections in 1982) excelled themselves in the field.

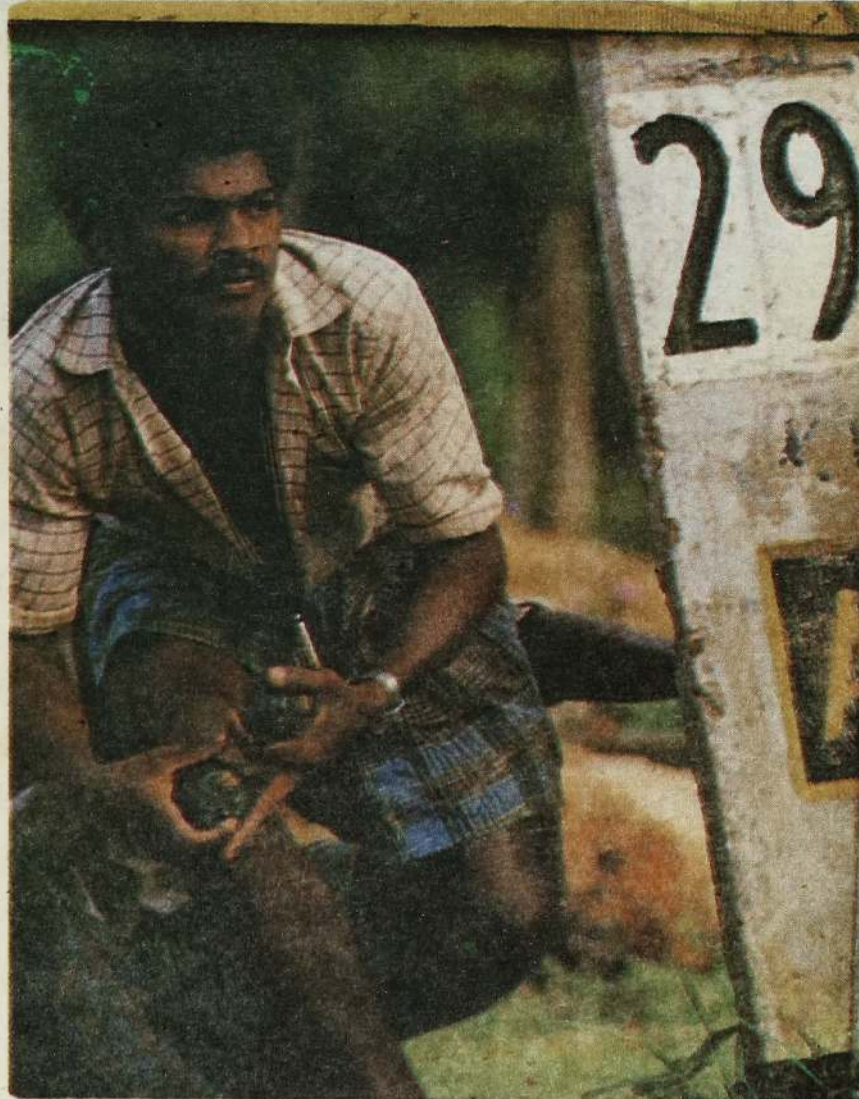


*National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali with soldiers*





Joint Operation Commander Cyril Ranatunga



In a forceful speech at the opening of the 32 storey Bank of Ceylon Headquarters in Colombo on 27th May, the President said: "This is a fight to a finish. Either we win or they win".

On Sunday 31st May, Point Pedro the last stronghold of the terrorists in the Vadamarachchi area fell. Phase 1 of Operation Liberation had ended. Many terrorists committed suicide by swallowing the cyanide carried in capsules tied round their necks.

What now remained was the taking of Jaffna. Jaffna city is a heavily populated city, the fourth largest in the Island. A strike on Jaffna would however mean the massacre of not only 2000 terrorists but also of a large number of 100,000 innocent residents of the city with whom they were mingling.

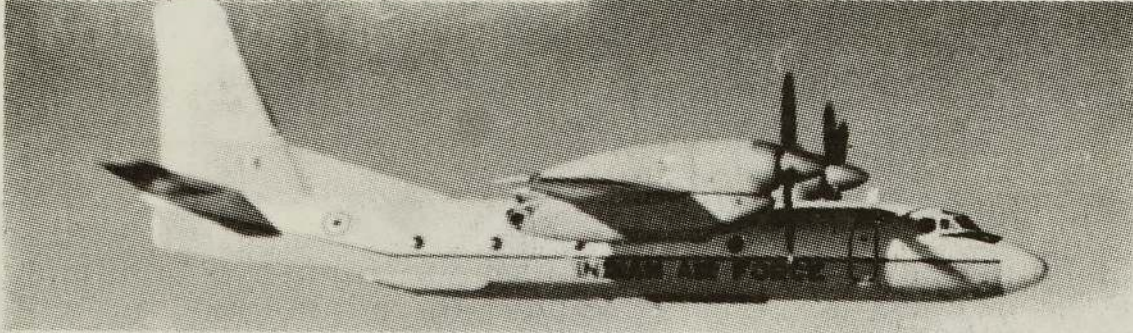


*Indian Foreign Ministry, New Delhi*

By now the mood in Tamil Nadu was one of great anger and hostility at what was called the "genocide" of their 'bretheren' in the North. In one of the first books to come out on these events, Rohan Gunaratne of the Institute of Fundamental Studies of Sri Lanka says what had arisen was "an impression among the South Indian and Sri Lankan Tamils that they could no longer rely on the LTTE commitment to the Tamils. Strengthened by the fact that Delhi had information that Prabhakaran had left Vadamarachchi the evening before the attack." There was increased pressure on Rajiv Gandhi to invade Sri Lanka. His

1. War & Peace in Sri Lanka 1987 P. 8.

Foreign Minister N. D. Tiwari condemned the action of the Sri Lanka security forces and said it signified the increased influence of external forces inimical to security stability and peace in the region<sup>2</sup>. In fact sections of the Indian military were moved to Tamilnadu in early June.



*Indian Antonov plane*

On Thursday, 4th, June 1987 at 4.40 p.m. exactly 44 days after the Pettah bomb blast, Sri Lanka experienced another invasion from the North in its long history. No soldiers landed. But escorted by 8 Mig-jet fighters, several Antonov Aircraft of the Indian Government violated Sri Lanka airspace and dropped parcels of food by parachute in various parts of the Northern Province. Bernard Tilekeratne Sri Lanka's High Commissioner in New Delhi was summoned to the Foreign office and told of the operation an hour earlier. (The day before a naval flotilla carrying the parcels had turned back on being challenged).<sup>3</sup> Rajiv Gandhi called it "a message". Foreign Minister A.C.S. Hameed called it a "naked violation of our sovereignty". The ruling UNP publication said:<sup>4</sup> Gandhi had "conferred on himself the badge of disgrace... Big Bully of South Asia". Prime Minister Premadasa called on the whole world to condemn this act. The world however remained silent. Next day 5th June, at a dinner given by the Cuban Ambassador in my honour, the Indian High Commissioner J. N. Dixit told me in his characteristic way "Well Sir..... if your offensive goes on you can expect more droppings".

Ceylon Daily News 28.5.87

"Brinjal bombing" was what Ernest Corea former Sri Lanka Ambassador in the USA called the operation. Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.  
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

The Journal 12.6.87

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There was a stalemate. The Sri Lankan military machine had shown its might but also learnt of its strategic and political limitations. The Tamil terrorists had also learnt of their own limitations. India too only risked droppings of food, not soldiers.



*Demonstrators outside Indian Embassy, Colombo.*

**6**

# GRASPING INDIA'S HAND



*Pandit Nehru (extreme left) and author (extreme right) from group photograph at Oxford 1961.*

I had met Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in 1961 when I was an undergraduate of Oxford University and I was President of the Oxford Majlis, the Asian Society. Pandit Nehru had come to address us and ironically he was thankful for the support that Sri Lanka had given for the Indian takeover of Goa in 1960. Sri Lanka had been the most vociferous supporter of India at the UN on the issue of India taking over militarily the Portuguese colonial enclave on the Indian mainland. I myself had defended the Indian action at the Oxford Union debate when the Guest Speaker was T. N. Kaul, Deputy High Commissioner in London, later Foreign Secretary.

In early July, 1987 I recalled to President Jayewardene saying of Pandit Nehru: "If your enemy extends a hand, however dishonestly, you grab it. If there is good faith, you have responded. If not, then at least you have one of his hands immobilised". Towards the middle of July, Nehru's grandson Rajiv Gandhi did just that. He extended his hand to President Jayewardene. In President Jayewardene's words: "Rajiv sent me a message that he was willing to enter into some discussion with me and that Sri Lanka



and the Indian Governments should come to some agreement. All the previous emissaries were mediators to try and bring us and the terrorists together. But this was the first time India suggested that we should come to an agreement.” He further said that when Gandhi made this gesture he “intuitively grasped it”<sup>1</sup>. In an interview to Hamlyn of the London Times in October 1987. President Jayewardene referred to the quotation referred to above and said: “If he was my enemy I would clasp my enemy’s hand and keep him with me”. Indeed, there are no permanent friends or permanent enemies in international relations.



*Prime Minister R. Premadasa with Buddhist monks*

Prime Minister Premadasa had left the Island on 9th July on a visit to Japan and the UK in connection with the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless. Indian Ambassador Dixit became a roving Ambassador Extraordinary shuttling between New Delhi and Colombo. On the Indian side the other principal figure was Cambridge educated Natwar Singh, Minister of State for External Affairs. Apart from President Jayewardene, Dixit briefed Cabinet Ministers in Colombo. Minister of National Security, Lalith Athulathmudali and Minister of Foreign Affairs, A.C.S. Hameed who had been the

1. Interviews with London Times & New York Times.

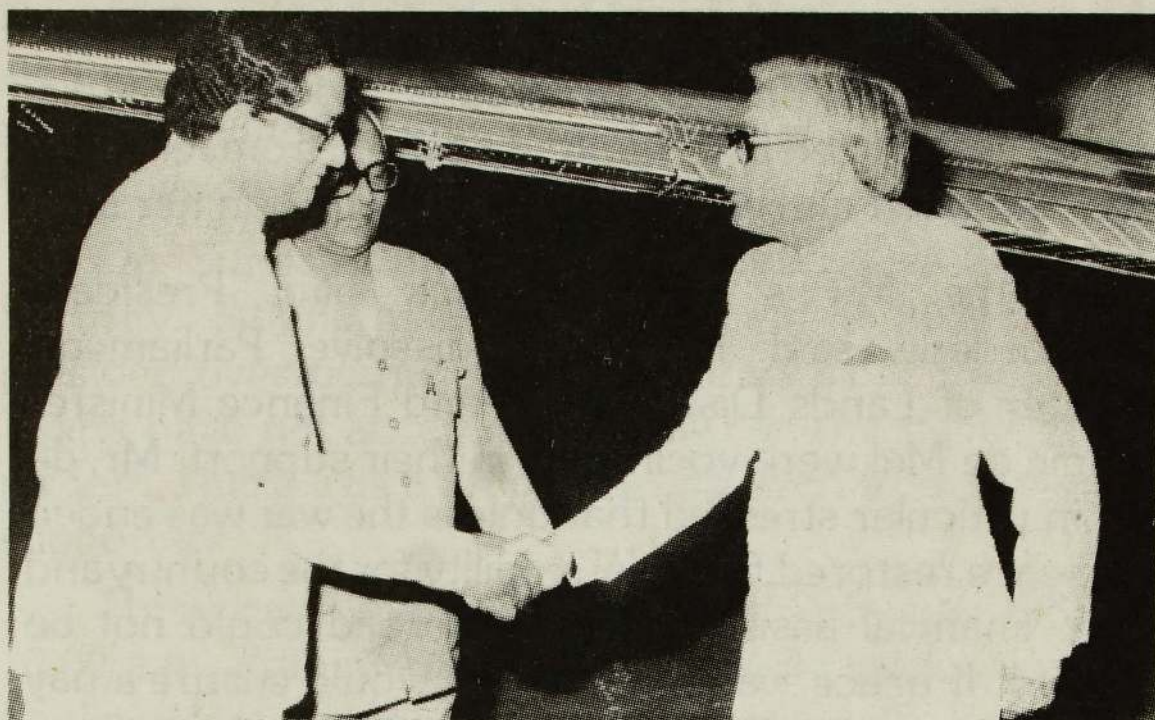


*Lands Minister and Cricket Board Chairman Gamini Dissanaike — cricketing diplomacy.*

principal assistants to President Jayewardene in the earlier negotiations was joined by Minister of Lands and Mahaweli Development, Gamini Dissanayake who took a prominent role in the current negotiations. It was Dissanayake who is also the Sri Lanka Cricket Board Chairman together with K. P. Salve the Indian Cricket Board Chairman and M. Ram, Associate Editor of Hindu, friends of Gandhi, who started the new ball rolling.

On 17th July, both President Jayewardene and Dissanayake came to address a mass rally in my electorate Moratuwa, (20 km. South of Colombo) but had to leave early to meet Dixit who was leaving for New Delhi that night with a near final draft of an agreement. Things were moving very fast.

On Thursday, 23rd July 1987 at 5.00 p.m. exactly 49 days after the Indian airdrop, I was summoned to an emergency meeting of Government MP's. President Jayewardene announced to Government Members of Parliament that a breakthrough had come. He called it a "watershed" in our history. He said Gandhi would arrive in Colombo within a few days to sign an agreement with him by which the terrorists



*Indian Minister of State for External Affairs Natwar Singh, Indian High Commissioner in Sri Lanka J.N. Dixit and author at Katunayake Airport.*

would be disarmed. Terrorists would not be allowed facilities in India. One Sri Lankan state and one flag would be accepted and Provincial Councils would be set up with a temporary merger of the Northern and Eastern Provinces. This merger could be ended by a simple majority at a referendum to be held in the Eastern Province only (where the Tamils form a minority of 45%).

There would be no concession of a 'Tamil homeland'. But there would be a recognition that the Northern and Eastern Provinces "have been areas of historical habitation of Sri Lankan Tamil speaking people, who have at all times hitherto lived together in this territory with other ethnic groups." (Prabakharan was to complain later: "We are not recognised as a nation of people. Tamils are described as one of the ethnic groups. It ignores the fact that we constitute a separate nationality"<sup>2</sup>).

Both India and Sri Lanka would undertake not to let each others territories be used against the other. Sri Lanka would not resort to military arrangements with other powers which could threaten India with

2. Interview in Sunday Times, 16th August 1987. Digitized by Anupam Foundation.  
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

particular reference to the Port of Trincomalee. Indeed this would not be necessary now since India herself guaranteed Sri Lanka's security from terrorists who had been earlier allowed to operate on her soil.

If the M.P.'s did not back him, President Jayewardene said he would dissolve Parliament. Minister of Lands Dissanayake and Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel were vociferous in their support. Mr. de Mel in particular stressed that unless the war was ended and peace restored, financial stability for the country and other financial assistance from abroad could not be assured. If peace was restored, he would ensure a pay rise for the public servants, more jobs and more money for development. He recalled Opposition Leader Anura Bandaranaike's statement that if the United National Party failed to solve this problem, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party would do so within 10 days of their coming into power by getting Gandhi down to Colombo.

On the other hand Mr. Gamini Jayasuriya, Minister of Agriculture had serious reservations. He opposed the settlement saying he was very suspicious of India.

Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, Minister of National Security explained the provisions to the MP's but remained non-committal. Later in Parliament he quoted the New York Times with approval: "The sudden success of the Sri Lanka Army forced India's hand".<sup>3</sup>

Prime Minister Premadasa interviewed by Japanese Television said he had not been informed of these proposals but he was confident that any settlement would be within the framework of the unitary constitution. On Saturday 25 July evening Prime Minister Premadasa returned to the Island.

On Saturday, 25 July, morning, President Jayewardene had announced his move at a Executive

3, Hansard 21st January 1988 col. 238 quoting New York Times 13. 12. 1987.

Committee meeting of the United National Party and also at a mass rally at Panadura, the same evening, saying he would sign the Agreement with Gandhi "whoever opposed it".

On Sunday 26th however, Minister of National Security Athulathmudali addressing a mass rally presided over by me in my electorate said "I hear the Tigers have not accepted, so how can the signing take place?" There was a lot of cheering, even from our own supporters.

Three days later on Wednesday 29th July 1987 at 10.00 a.m. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi set foot on Sri Lanka soil to sign a historic accord with President Jayewardene. He had removed Tiwari and taken over the post of Foreign Minister himself Prabakharan, the LTTE (Tiger) leader said he had been unwillingly forced by India to comply. "I cannot bear the ban put on a struggle which has cost so many lives", he later told a public meeting in Jaffna in August.<sup>4</sup>

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4. Divaina August 6th 1987

7

ACCORD  
AND  
DISCORD

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On Wednesday 29th July 1987 bright sunshine greeted Rajiv Gandhi in Colombo But it was a day of both accord and discord

The leader of the Opposition Anura Bandaranaike and his mother, former Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike, had set in motion the day before a mass protest campaign supported by the Buddhist monks against what they called a "sell-out" of the Sinhalese people. Monks of the "Protect the Motherland Movement" (Mavubima Surakime Vyaparaya) led by Ven. Maduluvave Sobhitha Thero of Naga Vihare, Sri Jayawardanapura Kotte, and the Patriotic People's Movement, or the Deshapremi Janatha Vyaparaya (DJV) believed to be associated with the People's Liberation Front (JVP), the 'leftist' group which had caused an insurrection in 1971<sup>1</sup>. also joined. The protest turned into violence. Sinhala mobs (sparing innocent Tamils this time), smashed up Government buildings, buses, food stores telephone posts. Nearly 50,000 people were trying to storm into Colombo from all directions despite the declaration of an all day curfew.

1. The JVP was proscribed under the Emergency Regulations during the 1983 disturbances. Its Leader Rohana Wijeweera contested the 1982 Presidential Elections and came third polling 273,428 votes after President Jayewardene (3,450,811 votes) and Kobbekaduwa of the SLFP (2,548,438 votes). Dr. Colvin R de Silva of LSSP obtained 58,531 votes.



*Leader of the Opposition Anura Bandaranaike protesting against the Accord*

Leader of the Opposition Anura Bandaranaike in a booklet on the Accord said that the defence and foreign policy of Sri Lanka was to be subjugated to that of India.<sup>2</sup>

The DJV in a pamphlet said there were thousands of potential Veera Puran Appus and Kep petipolas and they could not be all killed. The Ven. Madihe Pannasiha Maha Nayake Thero of the Amarapura Sect said, "The public feel that the President has trampled upon Sinhalese interests and pushed the accord through without prior intimation."<sup>3</sup>

The Traditional Marxists Parties, the Equal Society Party (LSSP) and the Communist Party and the SLMP (Sri Lanka People's Party) a group which brokeaway

2. J.R.—Rajiv Agreement published by Sampath Printing Organization, 1987; P. 25

3. Interview with *India Today* 15th September 1987 P. 128





SPECIAL COLLECTION





*SLMP leader Vijaya Kumaranatunge and PLOTE leader Uma Maheswaran in Madras 1986.*

from the SLFP in 1984 led by Vijaya Kumaranatunga film star supported the peace moves. Vijaya who had married Mrs. Bandaranaike's daughter Chandrika had been the first Sinhala leader to have direct discussions with the terrorist leaders in Jaffna and in Madras and had through the media succeeded in humanising the terrorists' image in the eyes of the Sinhalese. Gamini Fonseka the MGR of the Sinhala screen and a associate of Prime Minister Premadasa also came out in support of the accord

When Gandhi arrived at 10.30 a.m. on 29th July opposite President's House in Colombo, the whole ceremony was broadcast to the nation. Prime Minister Premadasa was not there. He said later it was to protest against the Indian airdrop. Minister Lalith Athulathmudali was not there either. Apart from De Mel and Dissanayake, 3 prominent Ministers who were there Justice Minister and former Diyawadane Nilame of the Dalada Maligawa (Temple of the Tooth) Dr Nissanka Wijeratne) Education Minister Ranil Wickramasinghe and Health Minister Dr. Ranjith Atapattu representing a strong JVP constituency in the deep South. When it was announced that I had arrived the mobs rampaging in my constituency Moratuwa, made a target of the Tyrone Fernando Stadium. Some cried that I had "betrayed" my ancestor the great Sinhala hero Veera Puran Appu



*President J.R. Jayewardene and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi signing Indo-Lanka Accord.*

At 3.37 p.m. the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord for Peace and Normalcy was signed. (Text of the Accord — See Appendix C) At a reception to Gandhi held soon thereafter President Jayewardene in his speech in an obvious reference to the airdrop said “I will forgive what India has done but I will not forget it”.

Next to me at the reception sat Tamilnadu Food Minister Panrutti Ramachandran (no relation of MGR) the Architect of the Indian “airdrop” who turned out to be a man one could have a dialogue with.

That very evening President Jayewardene addressed the nation on Television for the first time on the Accord.

It was 12 years since terrorism was born in Sri Lanka. Nearly 6000 died during this period. It was only one hundred days after the Pettah bomb blast. The one hundred days had seen a catalysis of events which had resulted in a change in the face of politics in Sri Lanka and the Indian Ocean region.

President Jayewardene was asked by the London Times and New York Times: "Do you accept India as the great power of the region?" He replied "When we were invaded by the Cholas we went to the Cheras for help. When we were attacked by the Cheras, we went to the Pandyas. But now India is one unit. That is the big difference. India is now the most powerful nation in the Indian Ocean Sri Lanka must have that in mind in conducting its foreign policy, I am a practical man."

What of the US reaction? To everybody's surprise President Ronald Reagan sent his congratulation within six hours of signing the Accord, the Soviet Union only 48 hours later. George Shultz, Secretary of State called the Accord "an unusual response to a unique set of circumstances" at a luncheon to SAARC Foreign Ministers in New York. Indeed the Bombay Observer of 11th October 1987 speculated: "It now appears that Rajiv Gandhi agreed to sign the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord thanks to considerable pressure from the United States. He was apparently told by Washington that a coup was imminent in Sri Lanka by those aspiring for the final solution to the Tamil problem in the Island which really meant the extermination of the Tamils. A decisive say for New Delhi on the Port of Trincomalee which had been a source of anxiety for quite some time was dangled as the bait."

Perceptive journalist Mervyn de Silva brought to the attention of Sri Lanka observers Bhabani Sen Gupta's analysis that the Western world which had earlier acknowledged the status of India as the regional power of South Asia had now given it a role.<sup>4</sup>

And the Soviets? 'Pravda', the Soviet newspaper, in an article welcoming the Accord on 5th August 1987 said: "Intrigues have long been rigged overseas in order to set Sri Lanka against India and then acting in accordance with a well known scenario, to 'defend' the

4. India's role in Lanka: pluses and minues - published in Lanka Guardian of 15th November 1987

Island from the 'threat from the North'. The Pentagon has long striven to have its bases and strong points on the island to pursue its 'strategic goals' in the Indian Ocean". The First Soviet Ambassador in Sri Lanka Yakovlev thought "A splitaway dwarfish state on the territory of Sri Lanka could easily become a puppet of a strong power that could easily lay its hands on the port of Trincomalee."<sup>5</sup>

In "Arms Control in Asia"<sup>6</sup> American Professor Douglas Stuart concludes that particularly after Mikhail Gorbachev took over in the Soviet Union both the US and the Soviets are "pursuing bilateral confidence building in Asia and encouraging initiatives by key Asian actors aimed at regional risk reduction".

Indeed Reagan and Gorbachev have met at 4 Summits in 3 years compared to 12 similar summits in 40 years! Indian Chinese relations too were "thawing".

Both super powers had it seems encouraged and acclaimed the Indo-Lanka Accord of July 1987.

Nevertheless a powerful right wing American lobby remained dissatisfied. The policy analyst of the Heritage Foundation of Washington warned updating a memorandum "the US stake in Sri Lanka" that developments "could threaten US interests if it forces Sri Lanka to concede Indian hegemony in South Asia..... the US should take steps immediately to insure that India's gains in Sri Lanka do not come at the expense of US interests."

In August 1974 a group of young professionals comprising the Intelligence Research and Evaluation Unit of the UNP of which I was Joint-Convenor in their

5. Article quoted "Hindu of 14th November 1987.

6. ed Gerald Segal, Macmillan Press 1987. P. 167

7. In the "Backgrounder" No. 49 of 14th August 1987

document “A New Horizon” had advocated “Special relationship” with India.<sup>10</sup>

Soon after the Indo-Lanka Accord of 1987. Professor Howard Wriggins gave credit to President Jayewardene for turning India from being a part of the problem to being a part of the solution.

The President had been helped by Prime Minister Premadasa who had been the first to publicly expose Indian involvement and who later paid tribute to the President’s skill and diplomacy.... in turning the protectors of terrorism to being hunters of terrorism.<sup>11</sup> National Security Minister Athulathmudali and the armed forces’ military success had also contributed. Finally Minister Gamini Dissanayake’s cricketing diplomacy was crucial.

The “Big Bully” had indeed been turned into a “Big Brother” A Good Friend was what it would turn out to be hopefully.

Starting with the bomb explosion in Colombo’s Pettah Bus Stand on 21st April 1987 and ending with the signing of the Indo-Lanka Accord on 29th July — 100 days in 1987 had changed the face of politics in the Indian Ocean.

10. among others, the Mahaveli scheme and the Free Trade Zone.

11 Sun of 19th October 1987.

8

# END OF A JOURNEY OF TORMENT



*IPKF in action*

“Devoted to one’s own obligations, each man obtains perfection” it has been said in the Bhagavad Gita.

Rajiv Gandhi had said on Sri Lanka Television after the Accord “We shall carry out all our obligations”. 6000 Indians landed on Sri Lankan soil soon after the Accord not as invaders but on the invitation of President Jayewardene to disarm the terrorists of the Northern and Eastern Provinces. The “Indian Peace Keeping Force” (IPKF) were to carry out “Operation Pavan” (named after the Wind God Pavan father of Hanuman) under the supervision of Indian Army Chief of Staff Krishnaswamy Sunderji originally from Tamil Nadu and Lt. Gen. Depinder Singh, Chief of India’s Southern Army Command

The Sinhalese passions were fast cooling. When President Jayewardene walked into a meeting of his M.P.s on 18th August, he received a standing ovation.





*Assault on Rajiv Gandhi by sailor*

Both Gandhi and Jayewardene had however put their lives at risk from extremists. The very day after the Accord was signed, a Sri Lanka sailor raised and brought down his rifle butt on Gandhi during his departure ceremony. But Gandhi ducked and was unhurt.<sup>1</sup> On 18th August a Sinhalese hand which came out from a door just behind me hurled a hand grenade at President Jayewardene in Parliament but he was unhurt. The DJV in a pamphlet "why we bombed you" claimed responsibility.

The timetable envisaged in the Accord could not be kept either. Gandhi sent more Indian soldiers — nearly 50,000 to disarm by force some LTTE Tigers led by V. Prabhakaran who went back on their promises and decided to make a fight of it. By June 1988 over 500 Indian Soldiers had died in the fighting.

1. At his Court Martial 19 year old Lance Corporal Vijitha Rohana said that he thought that with the peace accord Prabhakaran would become the chief of the North and East of Sri Lanka and he would have to honour him also in the same way as Rajiv Gandhi (Ceylon Daily News) 14th November 1987.

Indian Minister of State for External Affairs Natwar Singh revealed in parliament later (on April 6, 1988) that “In order to help LTTE make the difficult transition from military to peaceful democratic politics it was agreed to extend some interim financial relief to LTTE on the understanding that such relief would only cover the period till the rehabilitation of its cadres... one instalment was made available to LTTE... Unfortunately Sri Prabhakaram went back on his assurances and commitment”.

S. Thondaman the leader of the Plantation Tamils said that the plantation Tamil Youth should learn a lesson from Prabhakaran. His “haste impatience and over ambition spoilt everything”<sup>2</sup>

President Jayewardene however went ahead with his obligations — the Provincial Council Legislation.

The Supreme Court by a divided verdict of 5-4 held that the Provincial Councils legislation did not require a referendum but could be made effective by a 2/3rd majority of Parliament.<sup>3</sup> (for extracts of judgements — see Appendix D).



*Tigers handing arms to General Sepala Attygalle in Jaffna.*

2. Island — 16th October, 1987

3. The Justices who said a referendum was not required were Chief-Justice S. Sharvananda, & Justices Colin-Thome, P. Ranasinghe, E. A. D. Athukola & H. D. Tambiah. The Justices who said a referendum was required were R. S. Wanasundera, I. H. de Alwis, O. S. M. Seneviratne & H. A. G. de Silva.



*Stock of Tiger arms and ammunition*

Notwithstanding death threats to MPs by Sinhala extremists, Parliament on 12th November 1987, passed the relevant legislation by a 2/3rd majority — 138 voting for and 11 against. Apart from Sinhala, Tamil was also made an Official Language, and English was declared to be a link language (a departure from the terms of the Accord which were to make it also an official language) Gamini Jayasuriya Agriculture Minister resigned (for salient points of Provincial Council Legislation— See Appendix E).<sup>4</sup>

4. The legislation embodied in the 13th Amendment to the Constitution was brought into operation by President Jayewardene on 26th January 1988 by Order published Government Gazette Extraordinary 491/10 of 3rd February 1988.

A Convention on Suppression of Terrorism in the region was adopted by the SAARC Heads of Government in November, 1987 at Kathmandu. They declared they were “aware of the danger posed by the spread of terrorism and its harmful effect on peace and co-operation, friendship and good neighbourly relations and which could jeopardise the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States.”

In December 1987 the 42nd Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations urged all States” to fulfil their obligations under international law and take effective and resolute measures for the speedy and final elimination of international terrorism, and to that end to:

- a) Prevent the preparation and organization in their respective territories for the commission within or outside their territories of terrorist acts and subversive acts directed against other States and their citizens;
- b) Ensure the apprehension, prosecution or extradition of perpetrators of terrorists acts;
- c) Endeavour to conclude special agreements to this effect on a bilateral, regional and multilateral basis;
- d) Co-operate with one another in exchanging relevant information concerning the prevention and combatting of terrorism;
- e) Harmonize their domestic legislation with the existing international conventions on this subject to which they are parties.



*JVP leader Rohana Wijeweera at May Day Rally 1982.*

On 23rd December 1987 Harsha Abeywardena, UNP Chairman was assassinated.

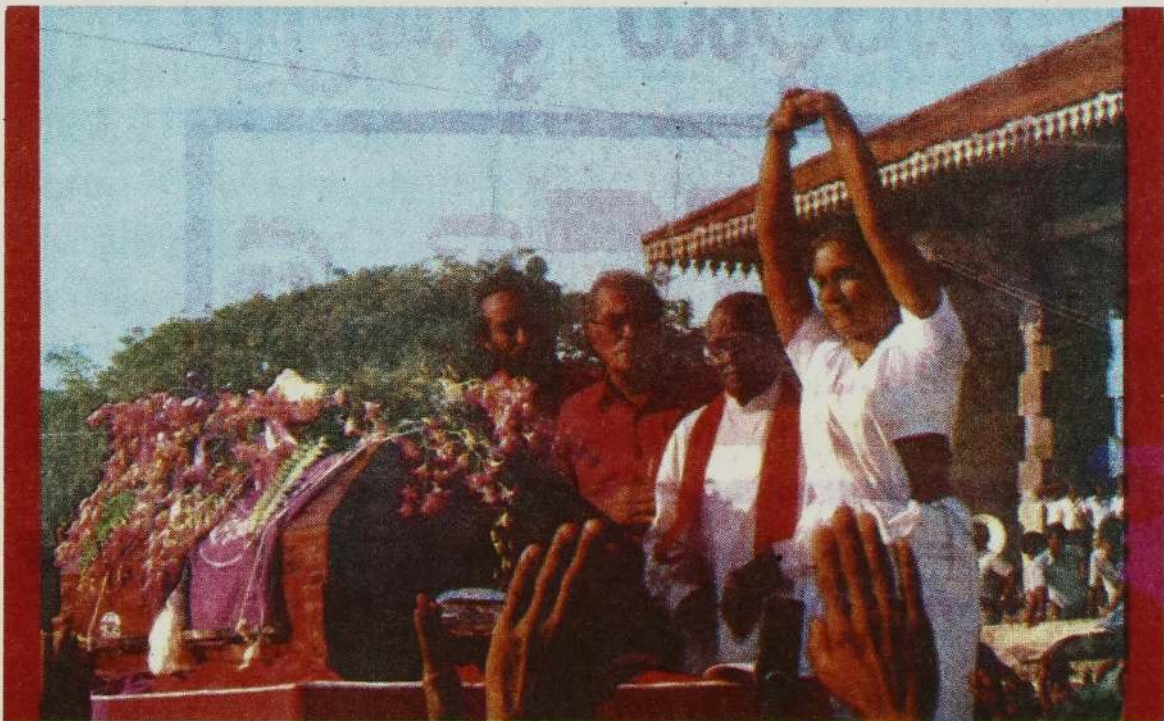
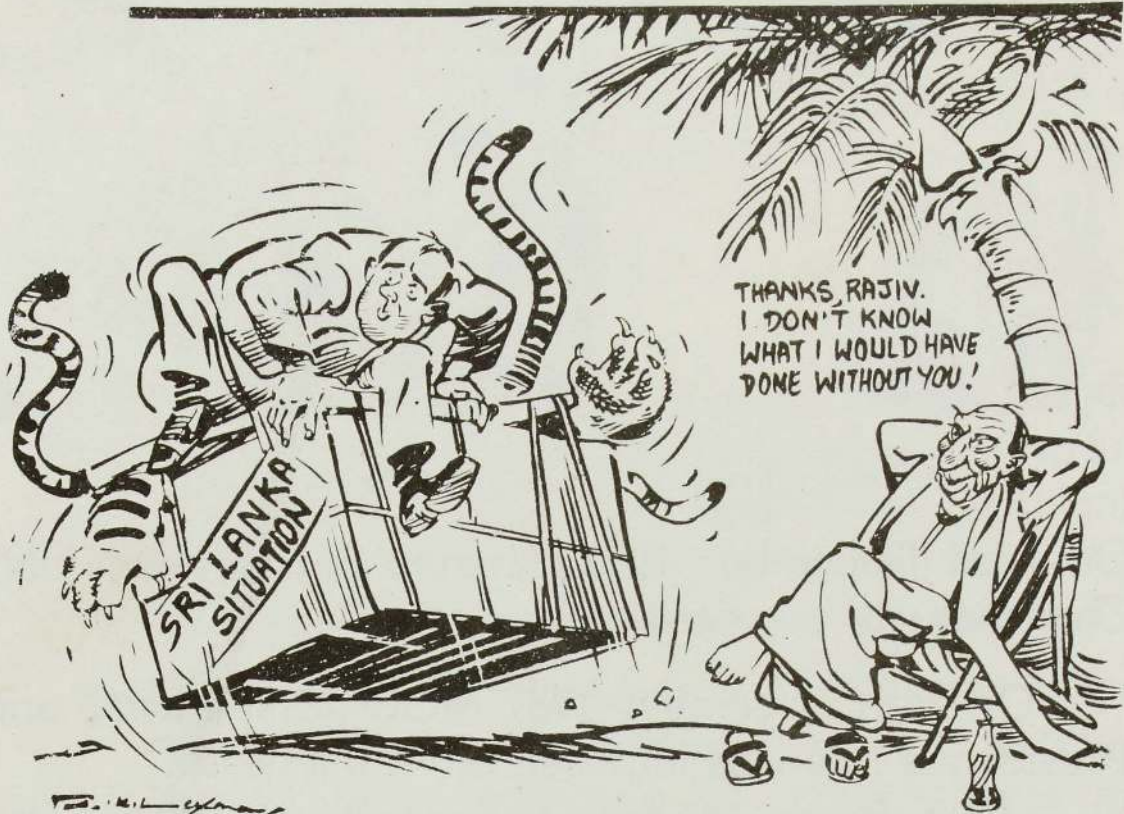
On 24th December 1987 MGR passed away and President's rule was imposed on Tamil Nadu.

1988 Began with India acquiring its first nuclear powered Submarine the "Chakra".

On 16th February 1988 VijayaKumaranatunge, the film star leader of the SLMP which had supported the Accord was assassinated. The DJV claimed responsibility. However, this consolidated the formation on the day of his funeral 5 days later, of a new United Socialist Alliance (USA) of the SLMP, LSSP and CP with co-operation of the Tamil PLOTE and EPRLF all backing the Accord and led by Vijaya's widow, Chandrika, the daughter of late SWRD and Mrs Sirmavo Bandaranaike!

On the 20th February 1988 LTTE Leader Prabhakaran still resisting wrote to his new "Godfather" Karunanidhi DMK leader in Madras: I am writing... from the jaws of death.

In April and June 1988 Elections to 7 Provincial Councils were held. All were won by the UNP but the USA gave it a close run in certain areas. The SLFP boycotted them.



USA born with Chandrika Kumaranatunga raising hands.

In May 1988 the proscription of the JVP was lifted. But leader Rohana Wijeweera remained in hiding.

In June 1988 V.P. Singh the emerging Opposition Leader in India campaigning in the Allahabad by-election raved: "One day this Government rains food over Sri Lanka, the next day bullets".

The same month the IPKF started a phased pull out of its troops. The TULF leaders returned home from a long sojourn in Tamilnadu to prepare for elections in a united Sri Lanka.

On 1st July 1988, All India Radio announced that the LTTE in Madras (through leader Kittu) had confirmed their acceptance of the Indo—Sri Lanka Accord and their willingness to lay down arms and contest elections. But Prabahkaran apparently encircled by the IPKF in the North was silent.

Elections to the Provincial Councils in the North and East were due with the complete restoration of normalcy hopefully around August/September 1988.

Significantly both Rohana Wijeweera and Velupillai Prabahkaran belong to minority Caste of their respective Sihhala and Tamil Communities (see note at Appendix F)

On 29th July 1987, 100 days after the Pettah bomb blast, Rajiv Gandhi after signing the Indo-Lanka Accord said on Sri Lanka Television "An Agreement is not the conclusion of a journey but a new beginning."

For Sri Lanka however it was hopefully the end of a Journey of Torment.<sup>6</sup>

6 Nostradamus the French prophet had written (Quatrain IX. 66) in the 16th Century — There will be peace unity and change.

For estates offices that lowly and high.

To prepare a journey torment is the first fruit

wars will cease by legal process and debates.

# APPENDICES



## Appendix A

### Some Information

#### Nature of Training

Training had been conducted for both groups, on the following aspects:-

a) **Training in Handling of Weaponry**

The D... Group had undergone firing practices on a Range, close to an Airport, a few kilometres from Delhi town. This Group had been equipped with 9 mm pistols, AK 47 rifles and Indian SMGG.

The T... Group had undergone dry practices only, in weaponry.

b) **Training in the Manufacture of Explosives**

Both Groups had been trained in the art of manufacture of parcel bombs and booby traps.

c) **Training in Radio Communications**

The D group had followed two lectures regarding the use of Radio Communications equipment. They had been assured that, in course of time, they would be provided with Transmitters, which could help them to contact Madras, in Morse Code.

d) **Nature of Intelligence to be collected**

The trainees had been instructed to observe military camps in the North and the East in Sri Lanka, and assess the strength of such camps and movement of troops. In order to help them assess the strength of troops in a particular camp, they had been instructed to observe the extent of provisions bought from shops, which would give them an indication of the approximate strength.

They had also been instructed how to identify ranks of officers, and towards this end, had been made familiar with various badges of ranks. They had also been instructed to report on the nature and strength of vehicles in such camps. /

They had also been given instructions that they should observe the Trincomalee Harbour, in order to identify the types of ships which arrive there, or, are berthed there. Whilst D Group were given theoretical instructions regarding the manner in which various ships could be identified, the T Group, subsequent to the training in Delhi, had been sent to Bombay to observe the Bombay Harbour, for a period of five days.

In the course of theoretical instructions given in Delhi, both groups have been made familiar with the manner of identification of the following types of ships:-

- |                    |                     |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| — Destroyers       | — Torpedo Boats     |
| — Cruisers         | — Aircraft Carriers |
| — Minesweepers     | — Submarines        |
| — Gun Boats        | — Cargo Ships       |
| — Missile Cruisers | — Passenger Ships   |
| — Missile Boats    | — Oil Tankers       |

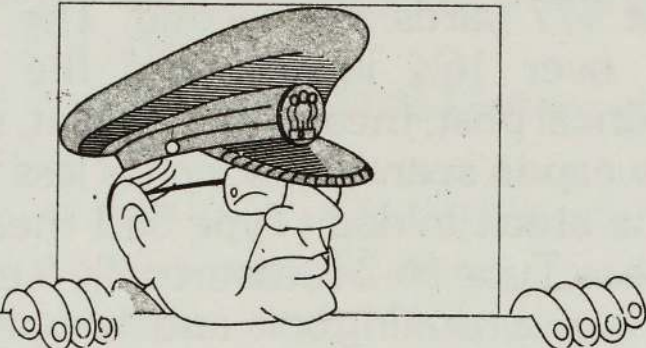
They had also been instructed how to identify a ship, by the flag flown.











In order to ensure that the trainees would get about the task of collection of intelligence discreetly, they had been advised to maintain good relations with the public

in the area where they operate, desist from extravagance, and cultivate informants.

They had been made aware of the formula required to produce ink for Secret Writing, and given instructions that such writing should be on the reverse of a letter written in ordinary ink. They had also been given instructions about the manner of conducting surveillance and counter-surveillance.

## THE TERRORIST ARSENAL



WEAPONS	MAKE	RANGE / POWER	AMMUNITION	* NO. OF WEAPONS WITH TERRORISTS IN PUNJAB	* NO. OF WEAPONS RECOVERED BY THE POLICE	AVAILABILITY
AK-47 ASSAULT RIFLES 	CHINESE (duplicate also available)	300 metres effectively. Can fire up to 800 metres.	303 TYPE WITH BETTER CHARGE	200	70-80	Purchased from Afghan rebels and supplied through Pakistani smugglers.
THOMSON SUB-MACHINE GUNS 	US / WESTERN	50 metre effectively	9 m.m.	ABOVE 1,000	12	Mainly smuggled from Pakistan through Punjab, Rajasthan and Gujarat borders.
STEN GUNS 	US / WESTERN	50 metres	9 m.m.	ABOVE 1,200	200	do
SELF LOADING RIFLES 	INDIAN / WESTERN	800 metres	IMPROVED VERSION OF 303	ABOVE 48	12	Snatched from defence, BSF personnel. Also acquired illegally from ordinance factory.
LIGHT MACHINE GUNS 	INDIAN / WESTERN	1 k.m.	303	ABOVE 10	2	From ordinance factory. Also smuggled from Pakistan.
SPRINGFIELD / ENFIELD RIFLES 	INDIAN / ENGLISH	300 metre effectively. Can fire up to 1 k.m.	303	15 (not in effective use)	25	Snatched from Punjab police, GRP & CRPF. Also available with local arms dealers.
IMPROVED VERSION OF ENFIELD RIFLES 	INDIAN / ENGLISH	150 metres	303	200	100	Smuggled from Pakistan and also countrymade.
.38 PISTOL / REVOLVERS 	INDIAN / WESTERN	20-25 metres (rapid fire with pistol)	.38 BULLETS	ABOVE 400	150	Smugglers, snatched from licence holders and service personnel.
.455 REVOLVERS 	INDIAN / WESTERN	25-40 metres	.455 BULLETS	ABOVE 500	150	Smugglers, service personnel.
H.E. HAND GRENADES 	CHINESE / INDIAN	10 metres diameter	NIL	ABOVE 100	50	From ordinance factory and countrymade variety also available.

\* Approximate numbers

Jane's 960 paged illustrated handbook on Infantry Weapons (Jane's publishing Co., Ltd. UK/USA) indicates that the T-56 was in production during 1985-86, manufactured by the state factories in China. Apart from it being supplied to some South Asian countries — which includes Sri Lanka — it is mainly used by the Chinese forces.

The effective range of the T-56 is about 325 yards, and the rate of fire (cyclic) is 600 rounds per minute. This rate works out to stunning 10 round per second.

The T-56 weighs a little less than 8½ lb., and it has a muzzle velocity of 777 yards per second. The barrel length is a little over 16¼ inches, and the sights (foresighted) cylindrical post; (nearsight) tangent, notch. The length of the weapon spans a few inches less than a yard. However, the stock folded (Type 56-1 measures about 2 feet whereas Type 56-2 measures 2¼ feet. The method of locking is on a rotating bolt, and the operation is gas selective fire. This gun takes a cartridge of 7.62 mm × 39 and can fire in single shots or in automatic mode.

Apart from the T-56, contemporary weapons of similar performance have been manufactured by various countries. The Finish M-60 and M-62, East Germany's MPIK and MPIKS. North Korea and Hungary's Type — 58, the Polish PMK, the M-70 and M-70A from Romania and Yugoslavia and finally the renowned Russian AK-47 Assault Rifle 7.62 mm of Kalashnikov design are some of them.

The AK-47 has been the standard weapon of the Soviet Army, the Navy and the ground troops of the Air Force since 1957. It is also used by almost all Warsaw Pact countries, and, as at 1986, over an estimated 20 odd million pieces have been issued. Almost all communist inspired and nationalist guerrilla movements have had recourse to this weapon. The AK-47 is manufactured in the USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia, East Germany, China and in North Korea. The specifications of this weapon are almost the same as that of the Chinese T-56. The modern version of the AK-47 is the 7.62 mm AKM assault rifle produced in 1959.

## Appendix B

### *Extracts from the Address by His Excellency the President to the Political Parties' Conference on Wednesday, 25th June, 1986*

The proposals of the Sri Lanka Government have to be examined within the framework of the undermentioned principles to which the Sri Lanka Government subscribes:

- (i) maintenance of the unity, integrity and sovereignty of Sri Lanka;
- (ii) the maintenance of the Unitary character of the Sri Lanka Constitution;
- (iii) the principle of devolution of powers upon the Provincial Councils within the framework of the Constitution of Sri Lanka as proposed to be amended.

Provincial Councils were proposed in the proposals emanating from the talks in 1983 between the Government and G. P. Parathasathi, the representative of the Indian Government of the late Shrimathi Indira Gandhi and the All Party Conference of 1984 as well as the Thimpu Talks and the Delhi Accord.

A Bill for the amendment of the Constitution to enable the creation of Provincial Councils and devolution of powers on them shall be enacted by Parliament by a two-third majority. Thereafter, Parliament will pass an Act, directly conferring on the Provincial Councils the requisite legislative powers. Such powers shall not be revoked or altered in any manner except by an Act of Parliament passed by a two thirds majority after consultation with the Provincial Council or Councils concerned.

The constitutional amendment contemplated in paragraph 5 shall be of such a nature as would not require its approval at a referendum.

The powers to be devolved on a Provincial Council will be specified in the Act referred to above.

Subject to the provisions of the Constitution as amended, Provincial Councils will have powers to enact legislation on subjects specified in the Act of Parliament, which will be operative within the Province.

The Governor of a Province appointed by the President shall appoint as a Chief Minister of a Provincial Council one of the members who in his opinion is most likely to command the confidence of the Council. The Chief Minister will be entitled to choose the Board of Ministers from among the members of the Provincial Council.

The members of the Board will be appointed by the Governor on the recommendation of the Chief Minister.

Executive Power (including all matters in respect of which Provincial Councils have power to enact legislation) shall be delegated to the Governor, and shall be exercised by him either directly, or through officers subordinate to him.

In order to allay the apprehensions of any community the Government is prepared to consider the following additional suggestions:

- (i) Suitable institutional arrangements to provide for the provincial councils in the Island to consult with each other and act in co-ordination on matters of mutual interest and concern.
- (ii) Suitable legal and institutional arrangements to ensure that the ethnic groups in each Province participate in the Government of the Province;
- (iii) Establishment of units to give to the ethnic groups a large measure of self-government under the control of the Provincial Government.

Subjects broadly corresponding to the proposals contained in Annexe 1 to the Draft Framework of Accord and Understanding of 30.8.85 (attached) and the entries in List II and List III of the Seventh Schedule of the Indian Constitution shall be devolved upon the Provincial Councils.

## **Appendix B 2.**

### **Proposals that Emerged on December 19, 1986**

President J. R. Jayewardene and the two (2) Indian Ministers discussed further ideas in continuation of the discussions held in the past. At the end of the discussions the following proposals emerged:-

- (i) The present territory comprising the Eastern province minus the Ampara Electoral District may constitute the new Eastern province.
- (ii) A Provincial Council will be established for the new Eastern province.
- (iii) The institutional linkages between the Northern province and the Eastern province discussed earlier will be further refined in order to make it more acceptable to the parties concerned.
- (iv) The Sri Lanka Government will be willing to consider a proposal for a second stage of constitutional development providing for the Northern province and the new Eastern province coming together subject to modalities being agreed upon for ascertaining the wishes of the people comprised in the Northern province and the Eastern province separately.
- (v) The Sri Lanka Government is willing to consider the creation of an office of Vice President to be appointed by the President for a specified term.

## Appendix C

### Indo-Lanka Accord of July 29, 1987

The President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, His Excellency Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, and the Prime Minister of the Republic of India, His Excellency Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, having met at Colombo on July 29, 1987.

Attaching utmost importance to nurturing, intensifying and strengthening the traditional friendship of Sri Lanka and India and acknowledging the imperative need of resolving the ethnic problem of Sri Lanka, and the consequent violence, and for the safety well-being and prosperity of people belonging to all communities in Sri Lanka.

Have this day entered into the following Agreement to fulfil this objective.

In this context,

- 1.1 desiring to preserve the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka;
- 1.2 acknowledging that Sri Lanka is a multi-ethnic and a multi-lingual plural society consisting, inter alia, of Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims (Moors) and Burghers;
- 1.3 recognising that each ethnic group has a distinct cultural and linguistic identity which has to be carefully nurtured;
- 1.4 also recognising that the Northern and the Eastern Provinces have been areas of historical habitation of Sri Lankan Tamil speaking peoples, who have at all times hitherto lived together in this territory with other ethnic groups;
- 1.5 conscious of the necessity of strengthening the forces contributing to the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka and preserving its character as a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-religious plural society, in which all citizens



can live in equality safety and harmony, and prosper and fulfil their aspirations.

2. Resolve that:

2.1 Since the Government of Sri Lanka proposes to permit adjoining Provinces to join to form one administrative unit and also by a referendum to separate as may be permitted to the Northern and Eastern Provinces as outlined below:

2.2 During the period, which shall be considered an interim period. (i.e. from the date of the elections to the Provincial Council, as specified in para 2.8 to the date of the referendum as specified in para 2.3) the Northern and Eastern Provinces as now constituted, will form one administrative unit, having one elected Provincial Council. Such a unit will have one Governor, one Chief Minister and one Board of Ministers.

2.3 There will be a referendum on or before 31st December 1988 to enable the people of the Eastern Province to decide whether;

(a) The Eastern Province should remain linked with the Northern Province as one administrative unit, and continue to be governed together with the Northern Provinces specified in para 2.2 or

(b) The Eastern Province should constitute a separate administrative unit having its own distinct Provincial Council with a separate Governor, Chief Minister and Board of Ministers.

The President may, at his discretion, decide to postpone such a referendum.

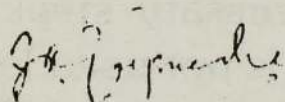
2.4 All persons who have been displaced due to ethnic violence, or other reasons, will have the right to vote in such a referendum. Necessary conditions to enable them to return to areas from where they were displaced will be created.

- 2.5 The referendum, when held, will be monitored by a committee headed by the Chief Justice; a member appointed by the President, Nominated by the Government of Sri Lanka, and member appointed by the President, nominated by the representatives of the Tamil speaking people of the Eastern Province.
- 2.6 A simple majority will be sufficient to determine the result of the referendum.
- 2.7 Meetings and other forms of propaganda, permissible within the laws of the country will be allowed before the referendum.
- 2.8 Elections to Provincial Councils will be held within the next three months and in any event before 31st December 1987. Indian observers will be invited to elections to the Provincial Council of the North and East.
- 2.9 The Emergency will be lifted in the Eastern and Northern Provinces by August 15, 1987. A cessation of hostilities will come into effect all over the Island within 48 hours of the signing of this Agreement. All arms presently held by militant groups will be surrendered in accordance with an agreed procedure to authorities to be designated by the Government of Sri Lanka. Consequent to the cessation of hostilities and the surrender of arms by militant groups the Army and other security personnel will be confined to barracks in camps as on 25 May 1987. The process of surrendering of arms and the confining of security personnel moving back to barracks shall be completed within 72 hours of the cessation of hostilities coming into effect.
- 2.10 The Government of Sri Lanka will utilise for the purpose of law enforcement and maintenance of security in the Northern and Eastern Provinces the same organisations and mechanisms of Government as are used in the rest of the country.

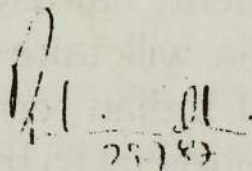
- 2.11 The President of Sri Lanka will grant a general amnesty to political and other prisoners now held in custody under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and other Emergency laws, and to combatants as well as to those persons accused, charged and/or convicted under these laws. The Government of Sri Lanka will make special efforts to rehabilitate militant youth with a view to bringing them back into the mainstream of national life.
- 2.12 The Government of Sri Lanka will accept and abide by the above provisions and expect all others to do likewise.
- 2.13 If the framework for the resolutions is accepted, the Government of Sri Lanka will implement the relevant proposals forthwith.
- 2.14 The Government of India will underwrite and guarantee the resolutions, and co-operate in the implementation of these proposals.
- 2.15 These proposals are conditional to an acceptance of the proposals negotiated from 4.5.1986 to 19.12.1986. Residual matters not finalised during the above negotiations shall be resolved between India and Sri Lanka within a period of six weeks of signing this Agreement. These proposals are also conditional to the Government of India co-operating directly with the Government of Sri Lanka in their implementation.
- 2.16 These proposals are also conditional to the Government of India taking the following actions if any militant groups operating in Sri Lanka do not accept this framework of proposals for a settlement, namely,
- (a) India will take all necessary steps to ensure that Indian territory is not used for activities prejudicial to the unity integrity and security of Sri Lanka.
  - (b) The Indian Navy/Coast Guard will co-operate

with the Sri Lanka Navy in preventing Tamil militant activities from affecting Sri Lanka.

- (c) In the event that the Government of Sri Lanka requests the Government of India to afford military assistance to implement these proposals the Government of India will co-operate by giving to the Government of Sri Lanka such military assistance as and when requested.
- (d) The Government of India will expedite repatriation from Sri Lanka of Indian citizens to India who are resident here, concurrently with the repatriation of Sri Lankan refugees from Tamil Nadu.
- (e) The Governments of Sri Lanka and India will co-operate in ensuring the physical security and safety of all communities inhabiting the Northern and Eastern Provinces.
- 2.17 The Government of Sri Lanka shall ensure free, full and fair participation of voters from all communities in the Northern and Eastern Provinces in electoral processes envisaged in this Agreement. The Government of India will extend full co-operation to the Government of Sri Lanka in this regard.
- 2.18 The official language of Sri Lanka shall be Sinhala. Tamil and English will also be official languages.
3. This Agreement and the annexure there to shall come into force upon signature.



Junius Richard Jayewardene  
President of the  
Democratic Socialist  
Republic of Sri Lanka



Rajiv Gandhi  
Prime Minister of the  
Republic of India

## ANNEXURE TO THE AGREEMENT

His Excellency the President of Sri Lanka and the Prime Minister of India agree that the referendum mentioned in paragraph and its sub-paragraphs of the Agreement will be observed by a representative of the Election Commission of India to be invited by His Excellency the President of Sri Lanka.

Similarly, both Heads of Government agree that the elections to the Provincial Council mentioned in paragraph 2.8 of the Agreement will be observed by a representative of the Government of India to be invited by the President of Sri Lanka.

His Excellency the President of Sri Lanka agrees that the Home Guards would be disbanded and all para military personnel will be withdrawn from the Eastern and Northern Provinces with a view to creating conditions conducive to fair elections to the Council.

The President, in his discretion, shall absorb such para-military forces, which came into being due to ethnic violence, into the regular security forces of Sri Lanka.

The President of Sri Lanka and the Prime Minister of India agree that the Tamil militants shall surrender their arms to authorities agreed upon to be designated by the President of Sri Lanka. The surrender shall take place in the presence of one senior representative each of the Sri Lanka Red Cross and the Indian Red Cross.

The President of Sri Lanka and the Prime Minister of India agree that a joint Indo-Sri Lankan observer group consisting of qualified representatives of the Government of Sri Lanka and the Government of India would monitor the cessation of hostilities from 31 July, 1987.

The President of Sri Lanka and the Prime Minister of India also agree that in terms of paragraph 2.14 and paragraph 2.16 (c) of the Agreement, an Indian Peace Keeping contingent may be invited by the President of Sri Lanka to guarantee and enforce the cessation of hostilities, if so required.

FROM PRESIDENT JAYEWARDENE

July 29, 1987

Excellency,

Please refer to your letter dated the 29th of July 1987, which reads as follows:

“Excellency,

Conscious of the friendship between our two countries stretching over two millenia and more, and recognizing the importance of nurturing this traditional friendship, it is imperative that both Sri Lanka and India reaffirm the decision not to allow our respective territories to be used for activities prejudicial to each other's unity, territorial integrity and security.

2. In this spirit, you had, during the course of our discussions, agreed to meet some of India's concerns as follows:-

- (i) Your Excellency and myself will reach an early understanding about the relevance and employment of foreign military and intelligence personnel with a view to ensuring that such presences will not prejudice Indo-Sri Lanka relations.

- (ii) Trincomalee or any other ports in Sri Lanka will not be made available for military use by any country in a manner prejudicial to India's interests.
  - (iii) The work of restoring and operating the Trincomalee Oil tank farm will be undertaken as a joint venture between India and Sri Lanka.
  - (iv) Sri Lanka's agreements with foreign broadcasting organisations will be reviewed to ensure that any facilities set up by them in Sri Lanka are used solely as public broadcasting facilities and not for any military or intelligence purposes.
3. In the same spirit, India will:
- (i) deport all Sri Lankan citizens who are found to be engaging in terrorist activities or advocating separatism or secessionism.
  - (ii) provide training facilities and military supplies for Sri Lankan security forces.
4. India and Sri Lanka have agreed to set up a joint consultative mechanism to continuously review matters of common concern in the light of the objectives stated in para 1 and specifically to monitor the implementation of other matters contained in this letter.
5. Kindly confirm, Excellency, that the above correctly sets out the agreement reached between us.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Yours sincerely  
Sgd/(Rajiv Gandhi)

This is to confirm that the above correctly sets out the understanding reached between us.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

**J. R. Jayewardene**  
President

## Appendix D

### Extracts from Supreme Court Determinations Chief Justice Sharvananda (Majority Judgement)

Article 2 states that the Republic of Sri Lanka is a unitary State.

It was submitted that clause 4 of the 13th Amendment Bill which contains Chapter XVII seeks to establish a constitutional structure which is Federal or quasi-Federal and hence that clause is inconsistent with Article 2.

The term “unitary” in Article 2 is used in contradistinction to the term “Federal” which means an association of semi-autonomous units with a distribution of sovereign powers between the units and the centre.

In a Unitary State the national government is legally supreme over all other levels. The essence of a Unitary State is that the sovereignty is undivided — in other words, that the powers of the central government are unrestricted. The two essential qualities of a Unitary State are (1) the supremacy of the central Parliament and (2) the absence of subsidiary sovereign bodies. It does not mean the absence of a subsidiary law-making body, but it does mean that they may exist and can be abolished at the discretion of the central authority.

On the other hand, in a Federal State the field of government is divided between the Federal and State governments which are not subordinate one to another, but are co-ordinate and independent within the spheres allotted to them. The existence of co-ordinate authorities independent of each other is the gist of the federal principle. The Federal government is sovereign in some matters and the State governments are sovereign in others. Each within its own spheres exercises its powers without control from the other and neither is subordinate to the other, It is this feature which



distinguishes a Federal from a unitary Constitution; in the latter sovereignty rests only with the Central Government.

The question that arises is whether the 13th Amendment Bill under consideration creates institutions of government which are supreme, independent and not subordinate within their defined spheres. Application of this test demonstrates that both in respect of the exercise of its legislative powers and in respect of exercise of executive powers no exclusive or independent power is vested in the Provincial Councils. The Parliament and President have ultimate control over them and remain supreme.

In regard to legislative power, although there is a sphere of competence defined by the two Bills both in respect of matters set out in the provincial list and in respect of matters set out in the concurrent list within which a Provincial Council can enact statutes this legislative competence is not exclusive in character and is subordinate to that of central Parliament which in terms of Article 154 (2) and 154G (3) can, by following the procedure set out therein, override the Provincial Councils. Article 154G conserves the sovereignty of Parliament in the legislative field. Parliament can amend or repeal the provisions in the Bill relating to the legislative authority of the Provincial Councils. The Provincial Council is dependent for its continued existence and validity and for its legislative competence in respect of matters in the Provincial list and in the concurrent list on Parliament.

It was submitted by the Petitioners that Articles 154G(2) and (3) restrict the legislative powers of Parliament, in respect of matters in the Provincial Council list and the concurrent list. In our view Articles 154G(2) and (3) do not limit the sovereign power of Parliament. They only impose procedural restraints. No abridgment of legislative sovereignty is involved when rules prescribe as to how legislative authority can be

exercised. Rules which prescribe the manner and form for the exercise of legislative power by Parliament do not impinge on or derogate from the sovereignty of Parliament.

Thus Parliament can in the exercise of its powers conferred on it by the Constitution over-ride the Provincial Council. This shows that no question of legislative competition can arise in the scheme contained in the Bills.

With respect to executive powers an examination of the relevant provisions of the Bill underscores the fact that in exercising their executive power, the Provincial Councils are subject to the control of the centre and are not sovereign bodies.

The 13th amendment provides for Provincial Councils having certain legislative power in respect of matters enumerated in the Provincial Council list and concurrent list, lists I and III in Ninth Schedule. We have on an examination of the relevant provisions of the 13th Amendment Bill, set out our reasons for taking the view that the Provincial Councils do not exercise sovereign legislative power and are only subsidiary bodies, exercising limited legislative power, subordinate to that of Parliament. Parliament has not thereby abdicated or in any manner alienated its legislative power.

It was contended by the Petitioners that even that small measure of subsidiary legislative power vested in the Provincial Councils is forbidden by Article 76(1) of the Constitution. It was stressed that the article prohibits Parliament setting up any authority with any legislative power. However, Article 76(3) provides that:-

“It shall not be a contravention of the provision of paragraph (1) of this article for Parliament to make any law containing any provision empowering any person or body to make subordinate legislation for prescribed purposes”.

Hence delegated legislation is legal and permitted and does not involve any abandonment or abdication of legislative power in favour of any newly created legislative authority. No new legislative body armed with general legislative authority is created when a new body is empowered to make subordinate legislation. Since the contemplated Provincial Councils in our view do not perform any sovereign legislative function but are only empowered to enact legislation, subordinate in character, Parliament in creating them is not establishing another legislative body rival to it in any respect. Parliament can pass legislation in the prescribed form and manner superseding the Provincial Council legislation or even repealing the provisions creating them.

The 13th Amendment Bill defines those areas of activity where decisions affect primarily persons living in the province. It does not devolve powers over activities which affect people elsewhere or the wellbeing of Sri Lanka generally. The powers that are conferred on the Provincial Councils are not at the expense of the benefits which flow from political and economic unity of Sri Lanka.

In our view, the provisions of the Bill ensure that devolution does not damage the basic unity of Sri Lanka. The scale and character of the devolved responsibilities will enable the People of the several provinces to participate in the national life and government.

### **O. S. M. Seneviratne J (Minority Judgment)**

The learned counsel who supported the Thirteenth Amendment submitted that the legislative power given to the Provincial Council was covered by Article 76(3) of the Constitution, which is as follows:- "It shall not be a contravention of the provisions of paragraph 1(1) of this Article for Parliament to make any law containing any provision empowering any person or body to make

subordinate legislation for prescribed purposes, including the power — (a) (b)” that is, the learned counsel related the legislation by the Provincial Council to the category of subordinate legislation on the ground that it was the legislation made by a body created by the Parliament and under the powers conferred by the Parliament.

Whether any provision of law will erode the constitutional concept of the Unitary State of Sri Lanka must also be considered in the political background in which both the 1972 Constitution and the present 1978 Constitution have been made. Article 2 of the 1972 Constitution lays down — “The Republic of Sri Lanka is a Unitary State”. There is the identical Article 2 in the present Constitution (1978). The only reason that can be adduced for incorporating this provision in the Constitution must be that both Constitutions have been drafted at a time when there was a demand for a Federal State of Sri Lanka or a separate state for the North and East. In fact the 1978 Constitution has been drafted after the famous or what may even be called infamous Vaddukoddai Resolution which called for a separate state for the North and East.

I am of the view that a construction advocated by learned President’s Counsel Mr. Choksy cannot be placed on the phrase subordinate legislation in Article 76(3) of the Constitution. The term “subordinate legislation” has an accepted meaning in Constitutional Law. The Constitution of Sri Lanka of 1972 had a similar provision.

45(3) (a) — “The National State Assembly may by law confer the power of making subordinate legislation for prescribed purposes on any person or body,

(b) — whenever any provision of an existing written law confers the power of making subordinate legislation for prescribed purposes on any person or body such power shall be deemed to have been

conferred by a law of the National State Assembly”.



Judges

8th of 9 judges who made judgement on the 13th Amendment (from left to right) Justice H.A.G. de Silva, L.H. de Alwis, E.A.D. Attukorale, R.S. Wanasundera, Chief Justice S. Sharvananda, Justices P. Ranasinghe, H.D. Thambiah & O.S.M. Seneviratne. Justice P. Colin Thome is not in the picture.

A comparison of the above Articles 3(a) and (b) with Article 76(3) of the present Constitution shows that the 1972 Constitution Article is clear and explicit on the face of the Article as to what is “subordinate legislation”.

The term “subordinate legislation” is a term of Constitutional Law which is understood in a certain sense. Two authorities on English Constitutional Law Wade and Phillips in their well known text — Constitutional and Administration-law state as follows:

“the term statute law covers both Acts of Parliament and delegated legislation or as it is sometimes called subordinate legislation is made in the form of statutory instruments”. Chapter 33, Delegated Legislation, Page 564.

The learned authors further state as follows:

“delegated legislation is an inevitable feature of the modern State for the following reasons:—

(1) pressure upon Parliamentary time, (2) technicality of subject matter, (3) the need for flexibility, (4) the state of emergency,  
Chapter 33, Pages 566-567.”

The Administration of Justice Bill of 1973 came up for consideration before the Constitutional Court under the Constitution of 1972. His Excellency the President J. R. Jayewardene, then as Leader of the United National Party gave notice to the Speaker that several provisions of the Administration of Justice Bill are inconsistent with the Constitution of 1972. The Constitutional Court consisting of three judges of the Supreme Court met to determine these objections, and Mr. H. W. Jayewardene QC, with Mr. Mark Fernando and several other counsel appeared for Mr. J. R. Jayewardene in support of the objection. Objection has been taken that under clause 47 of the Bill the Minister was given power to legislate which was contrary to the clause in the Bill which said that the "National State Assembly may not abdicate, delegate, or in any manner alienate its legislative power."

The Constitutional Court ruled as follows:-

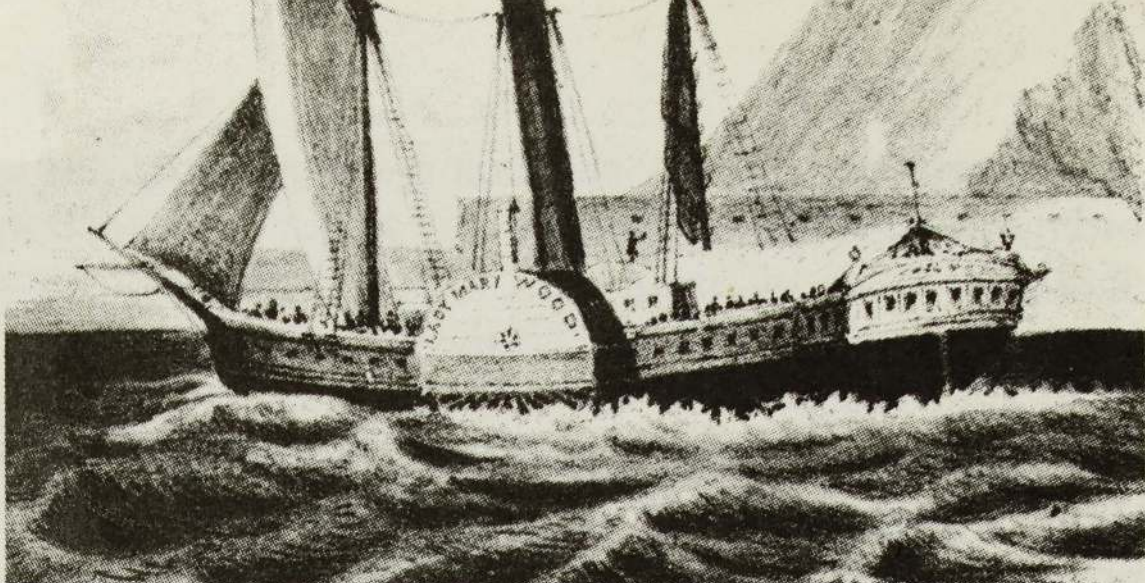
"We are of the view that clause 47(1) empowers the Minister to make Regulations to carry out the purposes set out in that clause, This, we say is subordinate legislation as contemplated in section 45 of the Constitution. Besides as we pointed out, this regulation must come under clause 61 before the National State Assembly for approval. If the National State Assembly does not approve the regulation, it can reject it thereby asserting its supremacy. As we understand the words "subordinate legislation", it means all legislation other than that which is passed by the National State Assembly under the law making powers in Chapter 9 of the Constitution. We are also fortified by the view expressed in Halsbury's Laws of England, Volume 36, Page 476, paragraph 723, which states as follows:—

"Subordinate legislation is legislation made by a person or body other than the sovereign in Parliament by virtue of powers conferred either by statute or by legislation which is itself made under statutory powers."

Therefore, this is “subordinate legislation” as is ordinarily understood and as contemplated in section 45(3) of the Constitution”. (Decisions of the Constitutional Court of Sri Lanka - Volume 1973, page 57 at 70).

Article 45(3) (a) and (E) of the Constitution of 1972 almost corresponds to Articles 76(3) (a), (b) & (c) of the present Constitution. The then Constitutional Court has determined the meaning of the phrase “subordinate legislation” in Article 45(3) of the Constitution of 1972. On the Rules of interpretation this Court has to hold that the phrase “Subordinate legislation” used in Article 76(3) of our Constitution must bear the same meaning.

As the Thirteenth Amendment Chapter 17(a) has been drafted on the lines of the relevant Chapters of the Constitution of India, it is relevant to pose this question: Can the legislation passed by the Legislative Councils of the States in India be called “subordinate legislation”? I do not agree with the submissions that the legislation by the Provincial Councils should be classed as subordinate legislation in terms of Articles 76(3) of the Constitution.



*Steamer Lady Mary Wood in which Indian Troops were brought by the British in 1848 to Trincomalee Harbour to quell Puran Appu's rebellion.*

## Appendix E

### Salient Points from Provincial Councils Legislation

#### Extracts from 13th Amendment to Constitution

**Article 18** Tamil shall also be an official language. English shall be the link language

#### Article 154(A) (1)

Subject to the provisions of the Constitution, a Provincial Council shall be established for every Province specified in the Eighth Schedule with effect from such date or dates as the President may appoint by Order published in the Gazette. Different dates may be appointed in respect of different Provinces.

(2) Every Provincial Council established under paragraph (1) shall be constituted upon the election of the members of such Council in accordance with the law relating to Provincial Council elections.

**154 B (1)** — There shall be a Governor for each Province for which a Provincial Council has been established in accordance with Article 154 A.

(2) The Governor shall be appointed by the President by warrant under his hand, and shall hold office, in accordance with Article 4(b), during the pleasure of the President.



**(8)** (a) The Governor may, from time to time, summon the Provincial Council to meet at such time and place as he thinks fit, but two months shall not intervene between the last sitting in one session and the date appointed for the first sitting in the next session.

(b) The Governor may, from time to time, prorogue the Provincial Council.

(c) The Governor may dissolve the Provincial Council.

(d) The Governor shall exercise his powers under this paragraph in accordance with the advice of the Chief Minister, so long as the Board of Ministers commands, in the opinion of the Governor, the support of the majority of the Provincial Council.

**154 C.** Executive power extending to the matters with respect to which a Provincial Council has power to make statutes shall be exercised by the Governor of the province for which that Provincial Council is established, either directly or through Ministers of the Board of Ministers, or through officers subordinate to him, in accordance with Article 154F.

**154 D (1)** A Provincial Council shall consist of such number of members as may be determined by or under law, having regard to the area and population of the Province for which that Provincial Council is established.

**154 E** A Provincial Council shall, unless sooner dissolved, continue for a period of five years from the date appointed for its first meeting and the expiration of the said period of five years shall operate as a dissolution of the Council.

**154 F (1)** There shall be a Board of Ministers with the Chief Minister as the head and not more than four other Ministers to aid and advise the Governor of a Province in the exercise of his functions. The Governor shall, in the exercise of his functions, act in accordance

with such advice, except in so far as he is by or under the Constitution required to exercise his functions or any of them in his discretion.

(4) The Governor shall appointed as Chief Minister, the member of the Provincial Council constituted for that Province who, in his opinion, is best able to command the support of a majority of the members of that Council:

Provided that where more than one-half of the members elected to a Provincial Council are members of one political party, the Governor shall appoint the leader of that political party in the Council, as Chief Minister.

(5) The Governor shall, on the advice of the Chief Minister, appoint from among the members of the Provincial Council constituted for that Province, the other Ministers.

(6) The Board of Ministers shall be collectively responsible and answerable to the Provincial Council.

**154 G (1)** Every Provincial Council may, subject to the provisions of the Constitution, make statutes applicable to the Province for which it is established, with respect to any matter set put in List I of the Ninth Schedule (hereinafter referred to as "the Provincial Council List")

(2) No Bill for the amendment or repeal of the provisions of this Chapter or the Ninth Schedule shall become law unless such Bill has been referred by the President, after its publication in the Gazette and before it is placed on the Order Paper of Parliament, to every Provincial Council for the expression of its views thereon, within such period as may be specified in the reference, and —

(a) Where every such Council agrees to the amendment or repeal, such Bill is passed by a majority of the Members of Parliament present and voting; or

(b) Where one or more Councils do not agree to the amendment or repeal such Bill is passed by the special majority required by Article 82.

(3) No Bill in respect of any matter set out in the Provincial Council List shall become law unless such Bill has been referred by the President, after its publication in the Gazette and before it is placed on the Order Paper of Parliament, to every Provincial Council for the expression of its views thereon, within such period as may be specified in the reference, and —

(a) where every such Council agrees to the passing of the Bill, such Bill is passed by a majority of the Members of Parliament present and voting: or

(b) where one or more Councils do not agree to the passing of the Bill, such Bill is passed by the Special majority required by Article 82:

Provided that where on such reference, some but not all the Provincial Councils agree to the passing of a Bill, such Bill shall become law applicable only to the Provinces for which the Provincial Councils agreeing to the Bill have been established, upon such Bill being passed by a majority of the Members of Parliament present and voting.

(4) Where one or more Provincial Councils request Parliament, by resolution, to make law on any matter set out in the Provincial Council List, Parliament may make law on that matter, applicable only to the Provinces for which those Provincial Councils are established, by a majority of Members of Parliament present and voting.

(5) (a) Parliament may make laws with respect to any matter set out in List III of the Ninth Schedule (hereinafter referred to as "the Concurrent List") after such consultation with all Provincial Councils as Parliament may consider appropriate in the circumstances of each case.

(b) Every Provincial Council may, subject to the

provisions of the Constitution, make statutes applicable to the Province for which it is established, with respect to any matter on the Concurrent List, after such consultation with Parliament as it may consider appropriate in the circumstances of each case.

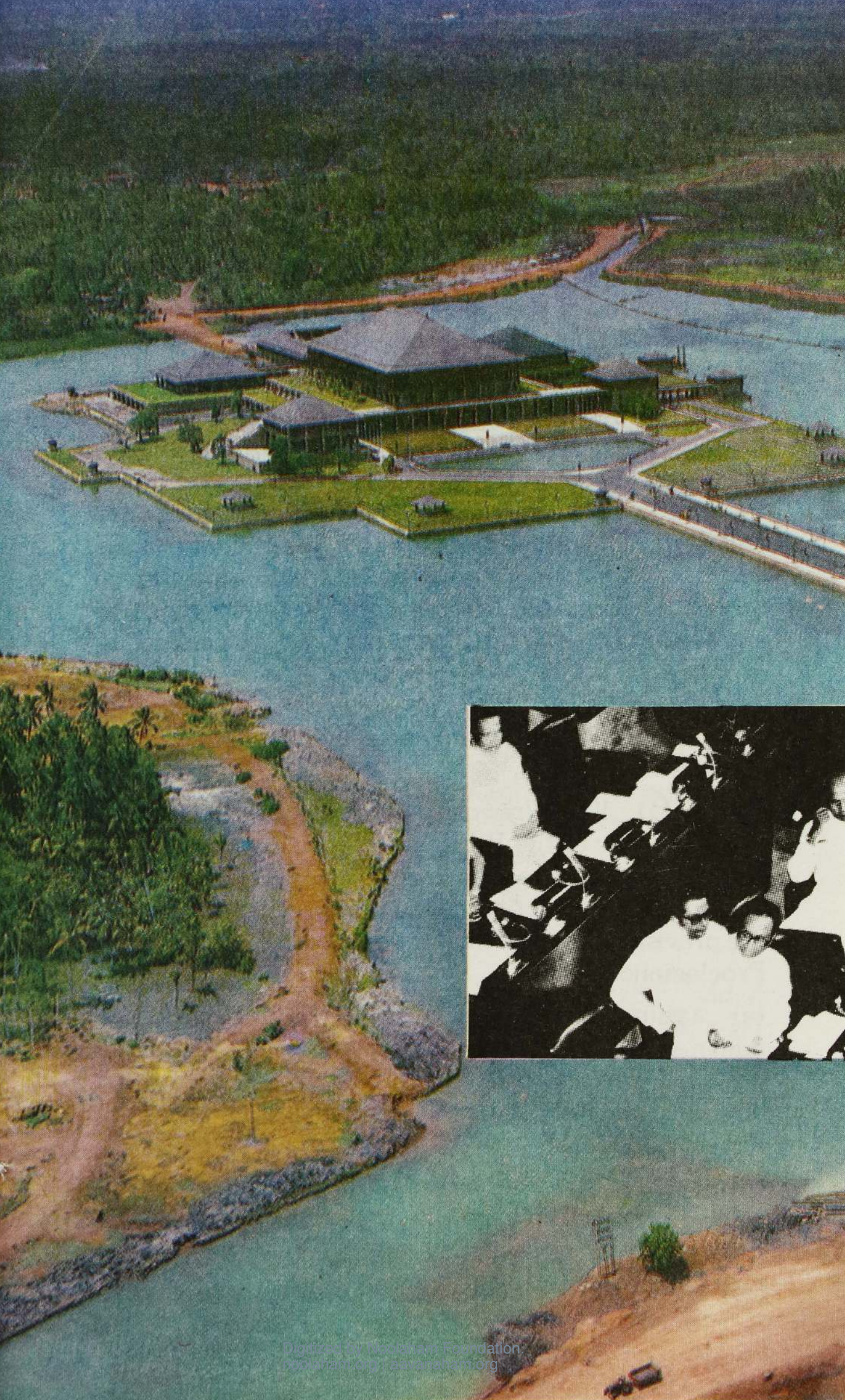
**(7)** A Provincial Council shall have no power to make statues on any matter set out in List II of the Ninth Schedule (hereinafter referred to as "the Reserved List")

**10** Nothing in this Article shall be read or contrued as derogating from the powers conferred on Parliament by the Constitution to make laws, in accordance with the Provisions of the Constitution (inclusive of this Chapter), with respect to any matter, for the whole of Sri Lanka or any part thereof.

**154 H (2)** Every statute made by a Provincial Council shall be presented to the Governor for his assent, forthwith upon the making thereof, and the Governor shall either assent to the statute or he may as soon as possible after the statue is presented to him for assent return it to the Provincial Council together with a message requesting the Council to reconsider the statute or any specified provision thereof and in particular, requesting it to consider the desirability of introducing such amendments as may be recommended in the message.

**(3)** Where a statute is returned to a Provincial Council by the Governor under paragraph (2), the Provincial Council shall reconsider the statute having regard to the Governor's message and may pass such statute with or without amendment and present it to the Governor for his assent.

**(4)** Upon presentation of a statute to the Governor under paragraph (3), the Governor may assent to the statute or reserve it for reference by the President to the Supreme Court, within one month of the passing of the statute for the second time, for a determination that it is



not inconsistent with the provisions of the Constitution. Where upon such reference, the Supreme Court determines that the statute is consistent with the provisions of the constitution, the Governor shall, on receipt by him of the Court's determination, assent to the statute. Where upon such reference, the Supreme Court determines that the statute is inconsistent with the provisions of the Constitution, the Governor shall withhold assent to the statute.

**154 J (1)** Upon the making of a Proclamation under the Public Security Ordinance or the law for the time being in force relating to public security, bringing the provisions of such Ordinance or law into operation on the ground that the maintenance of essential supplies and services is threatened or that the security of Sri Lanka is threatened by war or external aggression or armed rebellion, the President may give directions to any Governor as to the manner in which the executive power exercisable by the Governor is to be exercised. The directions so given shall be in relation to the grounds specified in such Proclamation for the making thereof.

**154 L (1)** If the President, on receipt of a report from the Governor of the Province or otherwise is satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the administration of the Province cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, the President may by Proclamation —

(a) assume to himself all or any of the functions of the administration of the Province and all or any of the powers vested in, or exercisable by, the Governor or any body or authority in the Province other than the Provincial Council:

(b) declare that the powers of the Provincial Council shall be exercisable by, or under the authority of, Parliament;

(c) make such incidental and consequential provisions

as appear to the President to be necessary or desirable for giving effect to the objects of the Proclamation:

Provided that nothing in this paragraph shall authorize the President to assume to himself any of the powers vested in, or exercisable, by any Court.

**154 M (1)** Where by a Proclamation issued under paragraph (1) of Article 154L, it has been declared that the powers of the Provincial Council shall be exercisable by, or under the authority, of Parliament, it shall be competent—

(a) for Parliament to confer on the President the power of the Provincial Council to make statutes and to authorize the President to delegate, subject to such conditions as he may think fit to impose, the power so conferred, on any other authority specified by him in that behalf;

(b) for the President to authorize, when Parliament is not in session, expenditure from the Provincial Fund of the Province pending sanction of such expenditure by Parliament.

**(2)** A statute made by Parliament or the President or other authority referred to in sub-paragraph (a) of paragraph (1), during the continuance in force of a Proclamation issued under paragraph (1) of Article 154L, shall continue in force until amended or repealed by the Provincial Council.

The following Schedules are hereby added immediately after the Seventh Schedule, and shall have effect as the Eighth and Ninth Schedules respectively of the Constitution:—

### **Eighth Schedule**

Provinces	Eastern
Western	Southern
North Western	North Central
Uva	Northern
Sabaragamuwa	<b>Ninth Schedule</b>

List I  
(Provincial Council List)

**1. Police and Public order** - Public order and the exercise of police powers, to the extent set out in Appendix I, within the Province, but not including National Defence, National Security and the use of any armed forces or any other forces under the control of the Government of Sri Lanka in aid of the civil power, and not including the city of Colombo, Sri Jayewardenepura Kotte, and their environs the limits of which shall be specified by the President by Order published in the Gazette.

**2. Planning** - Implementation of provincial economic plans.

**3. Education and Educational Services** — Education to the extent set out in Appendix III.

**4. Local Government** -

**4.1 Local authorities for the purpose of local government and village administration, such as Municipal Councils, Urban Councils and Pradeshiya Sabhas, except that, the constitution, form and structure of local authorities shall be determined by law;**

**4.2 Supervision of the administration of local authorities established by law, including the power of dissolution (subject to such quasi-judicial inquires into the ground for dissolution, and legal remedies in respect thereof, as may be provided by law, and subject to provisions relating to audit as may be provided by law);**

**5. Provincial Housing and Construction**



**6. Roads and bridges** and ferries thereon within the Province, other than —

- (a) national highways;
- (b) bridges and ferries on national highways.

**7. Social Service and Rehabilitation**

**8. Regulation of road passenger carriage services and the carriage of goods by motor vehicles within the Province and the provisions of inter-provincial road transport services**

**9. Agriculture and Agrarian Services**

**10. Rural Development**

**11. Health —**

**12.' Indigenous Medicine**

**16. Food supply and distribution within the Province**

**17. Co-operatives**

**18. Land** — Land, that is to say, rights in or over land, land tenure transfer and alienation of land, land use, land settlement and land improvement, to the extent set out in Appendix II.

**19. Irrigation** - Planning, designing, implementation, supervision and maintenance of all irrigation works, other than irrigation schemes relating to rivers running through more than one Province or inter provincial irrigation and land development schemes.

**21.** Subject to the formulation and implementation of National Policy in regard to development and Planning, the power to promote, establish and engage in agricultural, industrial, commercial and trading enterprises and other **income-generating projects**, within the Province without prejudice to the power of the government and public corporations to have such enterprises and projects. (This would include the promotion of scientific and industrial research within the Province and the preparation, co-ordination and the implementation of industrial development plans for the Province).

**26** Regulation of Mines & Mineral Development to extent permitted by Parliament, within Province.

**34.** Development conservation and management of sites and facilities in the Province for the generation and promotion of electrical energy (other than hydro-electric power and power generated to feed the national grid).

**35.** The borrowing of money to the extent permitted by or under any law made by Parliament;

**36.1** Turnover taxes on wholesale and retail sales within such limits and subject to such exemptions as may be prescribed by law made by Parliament;

**36.2** Betting taxes, and taxes on prize competitions and lotteries, other than National Lotteries and lotteries organized by the Government of Sri Lanka;

**36.3** Licence taxes, arrack, toddy rents, tapping licence fees, and liquor licence fees;

**36.4** Motor vehicle licence fees within such limits and subject to such exemptions as may be prescribed by law made by Parliament;

**36.5** Dealership licence taxes on drugs and other chemicals;

**36.6** Stamp duties on transfer of properties, such as lands and motor cars;

**36.7** Tole collections;

**36.8** Fines imposed by courts

**36.9** Fees charged under the Medical Ordinance;

**36.10** Fees charged under the Motor Traffic Act;

**36.11** Department fees in respect of any of the matters specified in this List;

**36.12** Fees under the Fauna and Flora Protection Ordinance;

**36.13** Fees on lands alienated under the Land Development Ordinance and Crown Lands Ordinance;

**36.14** Court fees, including stamp fees on documents produced in court;

**36.15** Regulatory charges under the Weights and Measures Ordinance;

**36.16** Land revenue, including the assessment and collection of revenue, and survey and maintenance of land records for revenue purposes;

**36.17** Taxes on lands and buildings, including the property of the State to the extent permitted by law made by Parliament;

**36.18** Taxes on mineral rights within such limits and subject to such exemptions as may be prescribed by law made by Parliament;

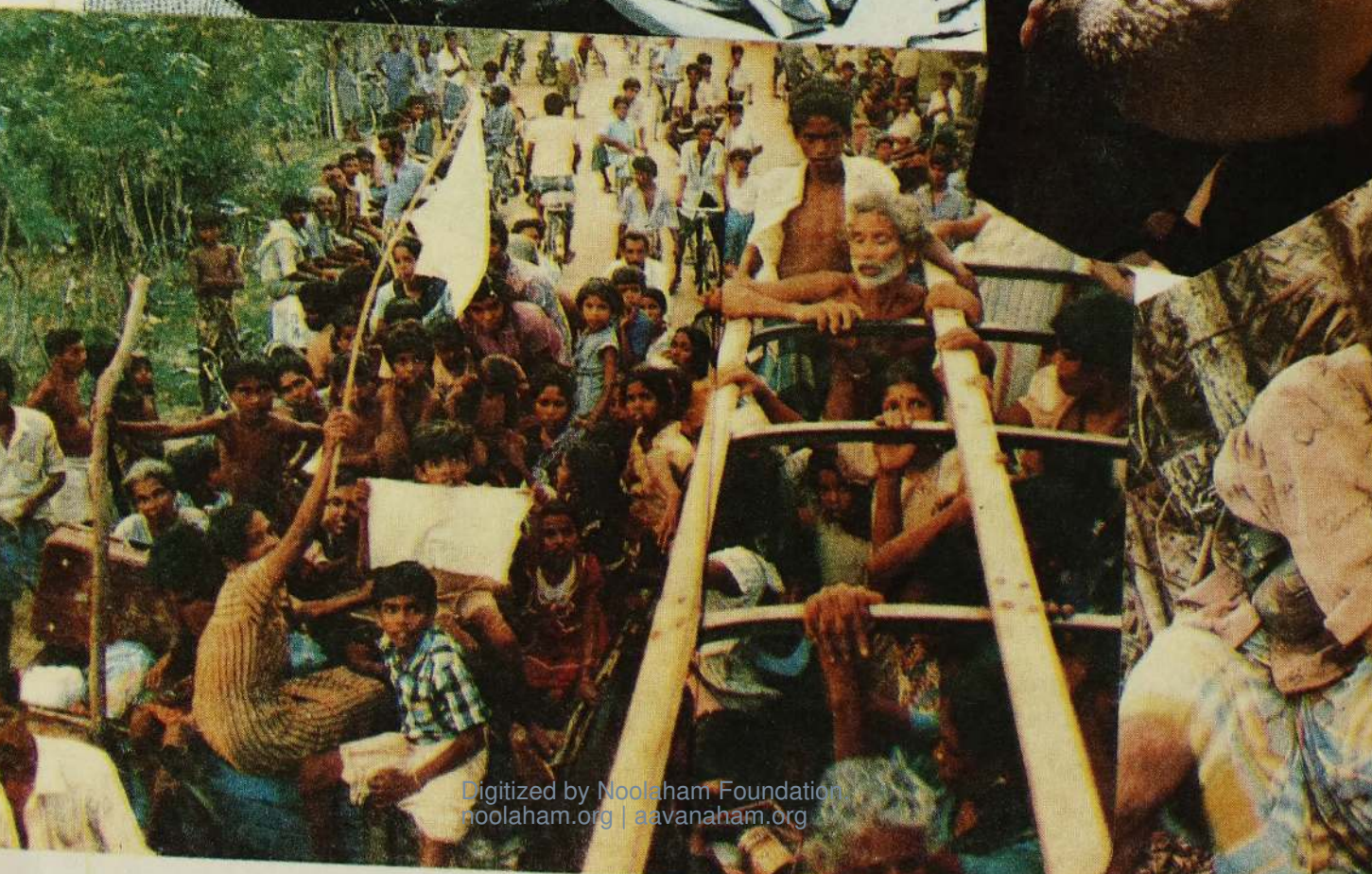
**36.19** Licensing fees on the possession, transport, purchase and sale of intoxicating liquors;

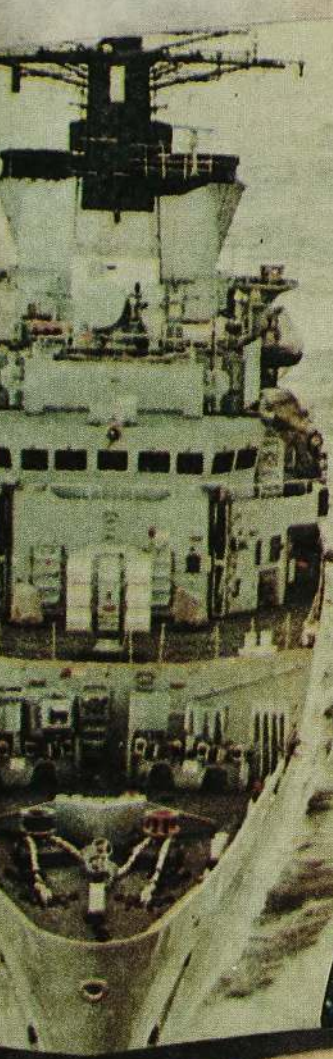
**36.20** Other taxation within the Province in order to raise revenue for provincial purposes to the extent permitted by or under any law made by Parliament.

**37.** Protection of environment within the Province to the extent permitted by or under any law made by Parliament.



*H.W. Jayawardene with High Commissioner Dixit at Thimpu Bhutan for Conference where Tamil terrorists also took part, 1985.*





## 13

## APPENDIX I

## Law and Order

2. The I.G.P. shall be the head of the Sri Lanka Police Force. The Sri Lanka Police Force shall be divided into —

- (a) the National Division (including Special Units); and
- (b) a Provincial Division for each Province.

2.1 The National Division shall consist of the I.G.P., D.I.G.G., S.S.P.P., A.S.P.P and other ranks recruited at the national level. 2.2

A Provincial Division shall consist of the D.I.G., S.S.P.P., S.P.P and A.S.P.P., all seconded from the National Division and Provincial Assistant Superintendents of Police, Chief Inspectors, Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors, Sergeants and Constables recruited in the Province. Members of the Provincial Division shall be eligible for promotion to the National Division.

7. The cadres of Police Officers of all ranks of the National Division shall be fixed by the Government of Sri Lanka. The cadre of officers and other ranks of each Provincial Division shall be fixed by the Provincial Administration with the approval of the President, having regard to —

- (a) the area of the Province;
- (b) population of the Province; and
- (c) such other criteria, as may be agreed to or prescribed.

These Principles shall be uniformly applied to all Provincial Divisions.

- 7.1 The cadres of the Provincial Divisions shall be fixed on ascertained principles such as population, area, number of Police Stations involved and other relevant considerations. These principles shall be applied to all Provincial Divisions without distinction.
- 7.2 The salary scales and perquisites of office enjoyed by the various ranks in the National and Provincial Divisions shall be determined by the Government of Sri Lanka after consultation with the Chief Ministers of the Provinces. The salary scales and perquisites of office as enjoyed by members of the Provincial Divisions shall apply uniformly to all Provincial Divisions.
- 11 All Police Officers serving in units of the National Division and Provincial Divisions in any Province shall function under the direction and control of the D.I.G. of such Province.
- 11.1 The D.I.G. of the Province shall be responsible to and under the control of the Chief Minister thereof in respect of the maintenance of public order in the province and the exercise of police powers in the Province as set out in this Schedule.
- 12.2 Where the Chief Minister seeks the assistance of the National Division to preserve public order within a province, the I.G.P. shall deploy such personnel of the National Division as are necessary for the purpose, and place them under the control of the D.I.G. of the Province.
- 12.3 Where a State of Emergency is declared in the Province, the I.G.P. may deploy such units of the National Division as he deems necessary in any Province for the restoration and Maintenance of public order within such Province.
- 12.4 Any offence which may ordinarily be investigated by a provincial Division may be investigated by the

C.I.D. or any other unit of the National Division.—

- (a) where the Chief Minister requests, that such investigation be undertaken by the C.I.D. or any other unit of the National Division; and
- (b) where the I.G.P. is of opinion that an investigation of such offence by the C.I.D. or any other unit of the National Division is necessary, in the public interest, and directs, after consultation with the Chief Minister, and the approval of the Attorney-General, that such offence be investigated by the C.I.D. or any other unit of the National Division.

## APPENDIX II

### Land and Land Settlement

State land shall continue to vest in the Republic and may be disposed of in accordance with Article 33(d) and written law governing the matter.

Subject as aforesaid, land shall be a Provincial Council Subject, subject to the following special provisions:—

1. State land -

1:1 State Land required for the purposes of the Government in a Province, in respect of a reserved or concurrent subject may be utilised by the Government in accordance with the laws governing the matter. The Government shall consult that relevant Provincial Council with regard to the utilisation of such land in respect of such subject.

1:2 Government shall make available to every Provincial Council State land within the province required by such Council for a Provincial Council subject. The Provincial Council shall administer, control and utilise such State land, in accordance with the laws and statutes governing the matter.



- 1:3 Alienation or disposition of the State land within a Province to any citizen or to any organization shall be by the President, on the advice of the relevant Provincial Council, in accordance with the laws governing the matter.
2. Inter-Provincial Irrigation and Land Development Projects.
- 2:1 Such projects would comprise irrigation and land development schemes—
- (a) within the Province initiated by the State and which utilize water from rivers flowing through more than one Province; a Provincial Council however, may also initiate irrigation and land development schemes within its province utilizing water from such rivers;
  - (b) within the Province which utilize water through diversions from water systems from outside the Province; and
  - (c) all schemes where the command area falls within two or more Provinces such as the Mahaweli Development Project.
- 2:2 These projects will be the responsibility of the Government of Sri Lanka.
- 2:3 The principles and criteria regarding the size of holdings of agricultural and homestead lands arising of these projects will be determined by the Government of Sri Lanka in consultation with the Provincial Councils.
- 2:4 The selection of allottees for such lands will be determined by the Government of Sri Lanka having regard to better selection criteria including degree of landlessness, income level, size of family and agricultural background of the applicants. The actual application of these principles, selection of allottees and other incidental matters connected thereto will be within the powers of the Provincial Councils.

- 2:5 The distribution of all allotments of such land in such projects will be on the basis of national ethnic ratio. In the distribution of allotments according to such ratios, priority will be given to persons who are displaced by the project, landless of the District in which the project is situated and thereafter the landless of the Province.
- 2:6 Where the members of any community do not, or are unable to take their entitlements of allotments from any such project, they would be entitled to receive an equivalent number of allotments in another inter-provincial irrigation or Land Development Scheme. This unused quota should be utilized within a given time-frame.
- 2:7 The distribution of allotments in such projects on the basis of the aforesaid principles would be done as far as possible so as not to disturb very significantly the demographic pattern of the Province and in accordance with the principle of ensuring community cohesiveness in human settlements.
- 2:8 The administration and management of such projects will be done by the Government of Sri Lanka.



*Lands Minister Gamini Dissanaike with Indian Defence Minister K.C. Pant in New Delhi 1988*

**List II**  
**(Reserved List)**

**National Policy on all Subjects and Functions.**

**Defence and National Security:** — Internal Security; Law and order and prevention and detection of crime except to the extent specified in item 1 of List I.

This would include —

- (a) Defence of Sri Lanka and every part thereof including preparation for defence and all such acts as may be conducive in times of war to its prosecution and after its termination, to effective demobilisation;
- (b) Naval, military and air forces; any other armed forces of the Government of Sri Lanka;
- (c) Deployment of any armed force of the Government of Sri Lanka or any other force subject to the control of the Government of Sri Lanka or any contingent or unit thereof in any Province in aid of the civil power; powers, jurisdiction, privileges and liabilities of the members of such forces while on such deployment;
- (d) Delimitation of cantonment areas, local self-government in such areas, the constitution and powers within such areas of cantonment authorities and the regulation of house accommodation (including the control of rents) in such areas;
- (e) Naval, military and air force works;
- (f) Arms, firearms, ammunition and explosives;
- (g) Atomic energy and mineral resources necessary for its production;
- (h) Industries declared by parliament by law to be necessary for the purpose of defence or for the prosecution of war;

- (i) Criminal Investigation Department;
- (j) Preventive detention for reasons connected with Defence, Foreign Affairs, or the security of Sri Lanka, persons subjected to such detention; and
- (k) Extension of the powers and jurisdiction of members of a police force belonging to any Province to any area outside that Province, but not so as to enable the police of one Province to exercise powers and jurisdiction in any area outside the Province without the consent of the Provincial Council in which such area is situated; extension of the powers and jurisdiction of members of a police force belonging to any Province to railway areas outside that Province..

## **Foreign Affairs**

**Post and Telecommunications, Broadcasting, Television, Justice in so far as it relates to the judiciary and the courts structure**

**Finance in relation to national revenue, monetary policy and external resources; customs.**

This would include —

- (a) Public debt of the Government of Sri Lanka;
- (b) Currency, coinage and legal tender; foreign exchange;
- (c) Foreign loans;
- (d) Central Bank;
- (e) National Savings Bank;
- (f) Lotteries organised by the Government of Sri Lanka or a Provincial Council;
- (g) Banking;
- (h) Bills of exchange, cheques, promissory notes and other like instruments;

- (i) Insurance;
- (j) Stock exchanges and future markets
- (k) Audit of the accounts of the Government of Sri Lanka and of the Provinces;
- (l) Taxes on income, capital and wealth of individuals, companies and corporations;
- (m) Customs duties, including import and export duties, and excise duties;
- (n) Turnover taxes and stamp duties, except to the extent specified in List I;
- (o) Any other tax or fee not specified in List I

## **Foreign Trade; Inter-Province Trade and Commerce**

## **Foreign Trade; Inter-Province Trade and Commerce**

### **Ports and Harbours**

### **Aviation and Airports**

### **National Transport**

**Rivers and Waterways: Shipping and Navigation; Maritime zones including Historical Waters, Territorial Waters, Exclusive Economic zone and Continental Shelf and Internal waters; State Lands Foreshore, Except to the Extent specified in Item 18 of List I.**

### **Minerals and Mines**

### **Immigration and Emigration and Citizenship**

### **Elections Including Presidential, Parliamentary, Provincial Councils and Local Authorities**

### **Census and Statistics**

### **Professional Occupations and Training**

### **National Archives; Archaeological Activities and Sites and Antiquities declared by or under any law made by parliament to be of National Importance**

## All Subjects and Functions not Specified in List I or List III

### EXTRACTS FROM PROVINCIAL COUNCILS ACT NO. 42 OF 1987

**Section 3 (c)** No person be qualified to be elected as a member of a Provincial Council or sit and vote as a member of such Council if he is a Member of Parliament

**(b)** The President shall not make a Proclamation declaring that the Provisions of subsection (1) (a) shall apply to the Northern and Eastern Provinces unless he is satisfied that arms, ammunition, weapons, explosives and other military equipment, which on 29th July, 1987, were held or under the control of terrorist militant or other groups having as their objective the establishment of a separate State, have been surrendered to the Government of Sri Lanka or to authorities designated by it, and that there has been a cessation of hostilities and other acts of violence by such groups in the said Provinces.

**2 (a)** Where a Proclamation is made under the provisions of subsection (1) (a), the President shall by Order published in the Gazette, require a poll, to be held in each of the specified Provinces, and fix a date or dates, not later than 31st day of December, 1988, for such poll, to enable to the electors of each such specified Province to decide whether —

- (i) such Province should remain linked with the other specified Province or Provinces as one administrative unit, and continue to be administered together with such Province or Provinces; or
- (ii) such Province should constitute a separate administrative unit, having its own distinct

Provincial Council, with a separate Governor, Chief Minister and Board of Ministers.

(b) The President may, from time to time, at his discretion, by subsequent Orders published in the Gazette, postpone the date or dates of such poll.

(3) Where at the poll held in each of such specified Provinces, the decision of the electors in each such Province is that such Province should remain linked with the other specified Province or Provinces, such specified Provinces shall continue to form one administrative unit, having one elected Provincial Council, one Governor, one Chief Minister and one Board Ministers, and the provision of any written law relating to Provincial Councils shall be construed as if the specified Provinces were one Province:

Provided that if at such a poll in the Eastern Province, the decision of the electors of such Province is that such Province should remain linked with the Northern Province, a poll shall not be required in the Northern Province, and accordingly such Provinces shall form one administrative unit having one elected Provincial Council, one Governor, one Chief Minister and one Board of Ministers.

## **Section 22**

Foreign aid negotiated by the Government for a Project or Scheme in a Province, shall be allocated by the Government to such a project or scheme.

## **Section 32 (1)**

Subject to the provisions of any other law the appointment, transfer, dismissal and disciplinary control of officers of the provincial public service of each Province is hereby vested in the Governor of that Province.



*Sinhala Refugees in Eastern Province*

### **Section 32 (2)**

The Governor of a Province may from time to time, delegate his powers of appointment, transfer, dismissal and disciplinary control of officers of the provincial public service to the Provincial Public Service Commission of that Province.

### **Extracts from Provincial Councils Election Law No. 2 of 1988**

**Section 3 (2)** — Every administrative district in a province shall for the purpose of elections to the Provincial Council established for that province, constitute an electoral area.

**Section 3 (3)** — The number of members to be elected,



from each administrative district of a province to the Provincial Council established for that province shall be determined by the Commissioner on the following basis:-





- (a) one member for every 40,000 residents in that administrative district. For the purpose of making a determination under this paragraph, the total number of persons who, according to the last general census, were for the time being resident in that administrative district shall be ascertained to the nearest 40,000 and
- (b) one member for every 1000 square kilometre of area in that administrative district. For the purpose of making a determination under this paragraph, the area of that administrative district shall be calculated to the nearest 1000 square kilo metres.



**Section 37.(1) (a)** The President may by Proclamation declare that the Provisions of this subsection shall apply to any two or three adjoining Provinces specified in such Proclamation (hereinafter referred to as “the specified Provinces”), and thereupon such Provinces shall form one administrative unit, having one elected Provincial Council, one Governor, one Chief Minister and one Board of Ministers, for the period commencing from the date of the first election to such Provincial Council and ending on the date of the poll referred to in subsection (2) of this section, or if there is more than one date fixed for such poll, the last of such dates.



Appendix 'F' *Anti-IPKF slogans at Colombo University.*

### A Note on Caste in Sri Lankan Politics

Dr. Janice Jiggins has called caste in Sri Lankan society very important but rarely spoken of openly.<sup>1</sup>

Professor Kingsly de Silva in his "History of Sri Lanka"<sup>2</sup> states: "the Hindu revivalist movement (of the 19th century) strengthened orthodoxy and did little to soften the rigours of the caste system among the Tamils. The latter had much less flexibility than the Sinhalese counterpart, because caste distinctions among the Tamils had as their basis the religious sanction of the Hindu religion, which made them all the more rigid as a result. The consequence was that the hierarchical dominance of the vellalas (the Tamil counterpart of the goyigama), who also held a commanding numerical superiority over other Tamil castes, was never effectively challenged by those other castes.<sup>3</sup> As it turned out, the vellala proved to be the main beneficiary of the new opportunities opened up by the British. The vellalas used the sanctions of Saivite orthodoxy to maintain their caste privileges at the expense of those in the lower rungs of the caste hierarchy. Untouchability, which was almost non-existent among the Sinhalese, was and still is very much a problem in Hindu society in Jaffna. Temple entry was forbidden to some castes, the most conspicuous act of religious discrimination in Hindu society."

With regard to the Sinhalese Dr. de Silva states: “the non-goyigama elite, increasingly self-assured and affluent, were not inclined to accept the claims of the goyigama elite - ‘the first — class’ goyigamas, as they called themselves — to superiority in caste status over others. The most aggressive critics and the most formidable challengers of the goyigama establishment were the karavas.”

Dr. Michael Roberts in his “Caste conflict and Elite Formation — the rise of a Karava Elite in Sri Lanka 1500 — 1931” writes that the Karavas are the “descendants of the Kurus of the Mahabharata and warrior people of Kshatriya stock. Their royal lineage is said to be attested in the royal insignia in the flags and other emblems that have been used in their funeral and wedding ceremonies for several centuries, a practice sanctioned by the Sinhalese Kings.”<sup>4</sup> Further Dr. Roberts states that “the spiralism in the social mobility of the Karava elite during the British period is only too evident in the manner in which the growing wealth of the Karava not only compounded itself, but also bolstered these ramparts with another attribute and determinant of status: Western education... The wedge marginality of the Karava carried transformative power. It contributed substantially towards the economic achievements of a Karava elite. And as these gains underlined the lack of congruence between the socio-political status and the wealth of this elite, the transformative potential of Karava wedge marginality crystallised itself yet further. Besides their open and violent attacks on the alleged caste superiority of the Goyigama caste, perhaps the most significant of the transformative actions undertaken by the Karava elite were their efforts to reform the headman system during the twentieth century and their leadership in the constitutional reform movement in the 1900s” (to which must be added their philanthropy as exemplified by that of the de Soysas).

About more recent times Dr. Roberts says<sup>5</sup> that “The gradual extension of franchise qualifications in the 1920s and the Donoughmore Commission’s decision to

grant universal adult franchise (effective in 1931) must have upset the calculations of the Karava elite. Numbers in politics favoured the Goyigama... However, the Karava Buddhists found channels of expression in the 1950s which enabled them to participate in the overturn of the United National Party, then the goyigama party par excellence,<sup>6</sup> and to take on important leadership roles... During the economic depression of the 1960s the frustration of their ambitions induced several of them to join hands with youth from many other castes, including such castes as the Batgama and Wahumpura, in a radical nativist movement — that of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna — in which young Karava men provided a significant leadership component.”<sup>7</sup>



*Central Province Governor, Chief Minister and Ministers (including Tamil & Muslim representatives).*

1. Caste and family in the politics of the Sinhalese - Cambridge University Press 1979 p. 7.
2. Oxford University Press 1981, p. 353, 324.
3. The TULF leadership is vellala; LTTE leader Prabhakaran is not.....
4. Veera Puran Appu alias Fransisco Fernando the leader of the 1848 Rebellion against the British, a Karava adopted as his flag the royal "Irahanda Kodiya" (Sun and Moon flag) and was "proclaimed" king.
5. Cambridge University Press 1982; p. 291-3.
6. The UNP broke with tradition and appointed non-Goyigama R. Premadasa as its Deputy Leader in 1977.
7. Rohana Wijeweera was prominent among them.

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# Daily Mail

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1987

20p

Protest strip — bogus refugees are taken off plane

## NAKED FURY AT AIRPORT



A lone policeman stands among the angry Tamils at the airport last night

A GROUP of Tamils being expelled from Britain staged a strip protest at Heathrow last night.

A dozen men took off their clothes on the tarmac, in freezing temperatures, and refused to board their plane.

Amid scuffles and shouting the men and the

By **GRAHAM DUFFILL** and **JOHN DICKIE**

rest of the 57 political asylum seekers from Bangladesh.

They continued to protest loudly and after complaints from other passengers the pilot refused to take off. The protesters were given back their clothes and removed from the plane, leaving behind women and children whom the pilot agreed to fly. But even they did not go — as the plane prepared to leave, news reached the airport that a High Court judge had granted an

order preventing the whole group's deportation before next Monday.

Embarrassed Home Office officials said: 'We are in a difficult situation. We do not know what to do.'

The group was represented at the hearing and only heard of the order as the plane was preparing to take off for the second time.

It is expected that the Home Office will apply for the injunction to be lifted today and seek a hearing.

A spokesman admitted that if the Tamils had

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*Nearly 2200 years later 12 million Sinhala were in 'confrontation' with 2 million Tamils in Sri Lanka and 50 million Tamils in India only 35 km. away across the Palk Straits of the Indian Ocean. Their weapons were AK-47s T-56s and SMGs.*

*100 days in 1987 suddenly catalysed events transforming India from being part of an ancient problem to being part of the solution, firmly committed against separatism and terrorism in Sri Lanka. This is the human drama of those 100 days.*

