

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Vol. 6 No. 31 22nd August 1987

ACCORD RUNS INTO SNAGS?

There are already disquieting signs that the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord has begun to run into snags.

Reports say that attempts are being made to expedite the settlement of Sinhalese on 2500 acres in Mullaitivu.

The Government is reportedly planning to settle Sinhalese in Mundhirikulam and the areas round Dollar and Kent Farm.

To implement this scheme a special project has been started in Welioya and a Sinhalese has been appointed Additional Government Agent.

The Mullaitivu Citizens Committee and high Government sources have confirmed these reports.

These sources say that more than 20 years ago Tamils were given lands in these areas on a long term lease basis. After Black July 1983 the Tamils settled here fled these areas and sought shelter elsewhere due to the military operations carried out by the State. Up to now these Tamil colonists have not been able to return to their settlements as the situation is still unsettled.

After the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord was signed, plans had been formulated to settle Sinhalese colonists in these areas.

Similarly in Suriyanaru close to Kokkuthoduvail, about

1500 acres which had been allotted to Tamils under a middle class scheme are being forcibly reallocated to Sinhalese settlers with the help of the Security Forces.

Again in the Kokkulai area 80 houses were allocated to Tamils more than 20 years ago. They were forced to flee the area abandoning their houses due to military activities. Now these houses are being forcibly taken over by Sinhalese colonists.

A special vesting order has been made to settle 250 Sinhalese families on 53 acres in Nayaru East and West where Tamils had been settled earlier.

The Citizens Committee says that Home Guards and

the Armed Forces are destroying the houses earlier occupied by Tamils in Kokkulai, Kokkuthoduvai and Karunnattukerni.

In Trincomalee the reports indicate that the Sri Lankan armed forces are continuing to harass the Tamil people.

The Trincomalee District Liberation Tiger representative has complained to the Commander of the Indian Peace Keeping Force in the district about this harassment. But apparently no action has been taken so far. These developments indicate that there is no room for complacency just because an Accord has been signed on paper.

What is India going to do about all this?

Indian Black Cats Arrive

'Black Cats', the Special Unit of the Indian Army will provide protection to the President, Prime Minister and other M.Ps.

More than a hundred of these specially trained soldiers have arrived in the country at the instance of the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

On the attempted assassination of President Jayewardene on 18th August, Lt. General Depinder Singh, Commander of Indian Peace Keeping Force, met Mr. J.

N. Dixit High Commissioner for India in Sri Lanka and General Cyril Ranatunge, G. O. C. of the three Services in Sri Lanka. Soon after he flew to New Delhi for consultations with the Indian Government. Thereafter it was decided to send the 'Black Cats' to Sri Lanka.

ARMY CHANGES AFOOT

Consequent to the assassination attempt on President Jayewardene on 18th August, many changes are afoot in the army.

Land Mines Ho!

The Indian Peace Keeping Force had its hands full unearthing 25,000 land mines buried by the Sri Lankan armed forces around their camps in the Vadammarachy area, with the assistance of experts brought from Colombo for that purpose.

According to these sources nearly 15,000 more are to be defused.

Nallur And The Antiquities Ordinance

The Jaffna Municipal Commissioner seems determined to go ahead with the scheme to shift the Jaffna Municipality Office complex to the new building coming up at Nallur.

He says that the authorities had given the necessary permission to go ahead with the plan. The old Municipal Office was sited in a central spot close to the Jaffna bus stand so that ratepayers had easy access to it.

It is true that the old building has been badly battered but is that any reason to shift it to a spot that is not so easily accessible to ratepayers? He himself admits that the old building on Main Street would be turned into the Jaffna Town Hall.

We would appeal to him to reconsider his decision.

There is another point which we would like to raise.

Nallur, the capital of Jaffna's Kings, is an archaeological preserve under the Antiquities Ordinance. Unfortunately the regulations were not strictly obeyed and King Sankilian's palace and other buildings have been turned into garages and what not!

In such a context it would be better to see that the Antiquities Ordinance is strictly observed and the historic landmarks at Nallur are preserved.

Nothing should be done to alter the historic character of the place.

In fact extra care should be taken to see that the historic monuments there are well preserved.

Will you reconsider your decision, Mr. Commissioner?

The South Simmers

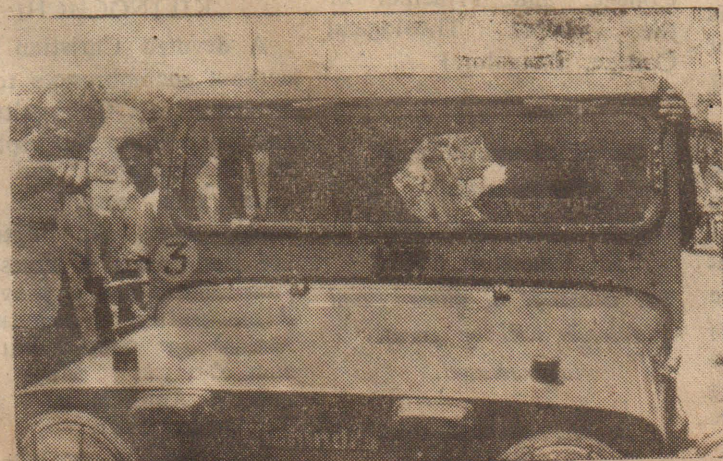
The South is simmering. The recent attack on Parliament is but one instance.

Reports from the South indicate that insurrectionist activity is becoming widespread. There is a serious danger that there is going to be a 1971 type situation but this time it might be much more explosive.

There is also another danger that these insurrectionists might carry out a 1983 type of attack on the Tamil population in the South.

The United National Party has only itself to blame for the growth once again of insurrection in the South.

All their policies made the rich richer and the poor poorer. Now the chickens seem likely to come home to roost.



A Indian Army Vehicle in Jaffna Town

ty has arisen to revamp the security set up in the country.

64 lakhs damage to Hospital

The damage to the Jaffna Teaching Hospital consequent to the shelling by the Security Forces is estimated around 64 lakhs.

New life to the N.R.T.B.

The Northern Region Transport Board has requested that 100 of the proposed buses to be sent to Sri Lanka from India be sent North. According to Mr. S. Kanagaratnam, the Officer-in-charge of the Northern Region more than 50 buses of the Board

are unroadworthy. Steps are being taken to repair them and press them into service. It is expected that the transport will return to normal once these plans are implemented. In the meantime a bus service from Colombo to Jaffna will commence today (22.8.87).

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

No. 118, 4th Cross Street,
P. O. Box 122
JAFFNA

Telegrams: SATVIEW

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GAMINI NAVARATNE

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PEACE A TANGIBLE REALITY

To many it is a shock and a surprise that a "Peace Accord" could be achieved within such a short spell of time. What has looked so distant and bleak has become so near and promising. There is still a discrepant note of hopes and doubts in the minds of many people. Hope, because an accord has opened the door to the restoration of normal life. Doubts because of when and how this treaty will effectively be implemented?

What can be the immediate signs of a peace-treaty?

(1.1) It is by restoring the war-torn land in its peaceful atmosphere. It means the withdrawal of the military presence from the civilian areas.

(1.2) The simultaneous surrender of all arms and ammunitions by the militants, which calls for much persuasion and on the other hand the restoration of law and order by the conventional machinery.

(1.3) Freeing of all the political detenus and their rehabilitation and reinstatement, if they had been employed.

(1.4) Granting of adequate compensation for lost lives and properties.

There are many more areas which cry for the resumption of normal life which need to be progressively worked out by the civil administration.

The next issue is :- What may be the actions which can be counter-productive to the restructuring of the peace-process?

(1.1) What is to be eschewed is the feeling of gain and loss. There are some from among the minority community who feel frustrated by the outcome of the long-dragged peace Accord. It is far below their expectations what has been conceded is far disproportionate to the untold sufferings and sacrifices endured so far.

On the other hand there are some from the majority community who feel infuriated over the deal which betrays the interest of the majority community in the North-Eastern provinces. Aren't these reactions clouded by the interplay of high emotions? Does the accord guarantee or hurt anyone's basic rights is a matter that calls

for a deeper study of the accord. What has been accorded may not fully satisfy the expectations of either of the community. As Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi remarked "The peace Accord is not the end of everything, it is only a beginning."

What can be the pragmatic approach to the Accord? It is to accept it with an open mind and to explore and exploit all its proposals to build up the shattered life. There is no need to give up the target of the envisaged freedom but there are many means to it and the present Accord is a gate way to it.

1.2) Another harmful attitude is one of blaming all the leaders past and present state of affairs, by their lack of foresightedness, political will, and their selfish and compromising attitudes and actions. It is also evident that the freedom movements had become targets of severe criticisms which circumstances did not permit a free expression. Blaming others, is an easy way of an escaping mechanism. It is a subtle manoeuvre to keep oneself uninvolved in the problem. It is one way of diffusing one's responsibility. He who does not involve himself in his capacity to solve the problem, only serves to contribute to the problem.

What is by-gone can remain a lesson for the future. It is futile to waste ones, time to sit in judgement of all the leadership instead of contributing his share to resolve the problem. How much of human resources are

drained off by levelling destructive criticism?

1.3 Another activity to be warded off is religious bigotry and racial chauvinism. Man in his insecurity and low self-esteem takes undue pride in the areas of race, religion, language and culture. What one possesses is his or her precious inheritance. Proving ones superiority in these areas has only served to hurt each other, divide each other. Can't we build up genuine respect for each other upholding unity and peace in a multi racial context? Religion (religare) in its original intent must bind man to God. It means liberation of man from ail enslavements and building up of brotherhood by the bonds of love. How is it that some religious personalities sow seeds of discrimination and disparity by denying the rights of other religiolingual communities!

1.4 Stimulating Grief SENTIMENTS :- A trail of five year long sufferings has paralysed many people. The loss of precious lives, properties earned with hard labour and sweat, is inestimable and irreversible. Many had become psychologically wrecks beyond the point of recovery, while others are caught up in bitter grief. All these persons need counsel and various other helps. What can be harmful is to trigger off these sentiments by constant reference to the gory incidents as a political clout. By brooding over the past people can be led into more and more depression and to live only in the mournful past. What is needed is strength to cope with stresses and vision
(Continued on page 11)

That Indian Presence In Trincomalee : How Effective?

A group of Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) under the aegis of the Indian Peace Keeping Force who set out to see for themselves the prevailing conditions in the Trincomalee District, came face with the muzzles of guns pointed at them by the Sri Lankan Security Forces there. This was the 'confrontation' the Indian Peace Keeping Force led by Lieutenant Abey Singh had at Dehiwatta in Trincomalee. It was only after the Indian Group had dismounted for their vehicle and used 'gentle persuasion' that the 'iron grip' of the army relented and 'downed' their arms.

It was revealed that the Tiger Group had to give an 'undertaking' that the trip was as their own risk and that the Indian Force would be absolved of 'blood on their hands' in the event of 'miscarriage' of the trip.

At the Press Conference it was stated that in accordance with the terms of the agreement it was imperative that the Tamil people who had been evicted from their homes should be permitted to, return to their homes unharmed and unmolested to resume their customary occupations such as farming, fishing and the like. But regrettably the Accord is be-

ing followed more in the breach than in its observance in Trincomalee and the adjoining areas so much so that the Tamil refugees were unable to get back to their own homesteads. On the other hand, Sinhala settlements were daily being planted with army and home-guard cover to frustrate the return of the Tamil refugees to their homes. The predicament of the refugees was most unfortunate but inscrutable because it was happening under the very nose of the 'Indian Peace Keeping Forces'.

It is estimated that there are about 64 army camps fanned out in key areas of Trincomalee District. How could the Tamil refugees return when the Damoclean of fear and anxiety is stretched out by Security Forces?

The Group which scoured the Trincomalee areas was led by Yogi with his Mutur aides-Sanjay and Ramesh, and aides Kapilan and Pathman of Thampaiakam, Kantalai and Pankulam.

This tragic situation prevailing in Trincomalee was spelt out at a Press Conference held by the Chief of the Political Wing of the

LTTE, Thelipan on 17th August.

The Trincomalee representatives ruefully stated that Trincomalee had been overlooked in the matter of relief supplies by the Indian Government. Actually the Trincomalee situation was much worse than in the North because in many areas of Trincomalee Tamils had fled into the jungles for fear their lives and were still there unable to return to the places of their livelihood. In this situation the Government is using the Muslims as pawns to drive a wedge between the Tamil-speaking Muslims. The 'villain of the piece' is one Salim who is trigger-happy with his AK. 47. He is wont to appear at places surrounded by his 'aides' to spread death and dismay among the Tamils. Salim is actually the 'instrument of death' wielded by another Muslim, Suresh Kasim.

It was revealed at the Conference that the Group had brought the plight of the Tamil refugees in Trincomalee to the notice of the Indian Peace Keeping Force. Time alone will tell how these problems confronting the Tamils in Trincomalee will be sorted out - "Everything in the hands of the Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi," said the Tigers.

S. R. Editor's R. R. Fund

Correction to List of Donors of 15th August, 1987.

Should read as "In Loving memory of
Mr. Sinnathamby Rajendram — Rs. 1,000.00"

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at 8.30 a.m., on Saturday
5th September, 1987.

The presence of alumni and friends will be greatly appreciated.

A. KADIRGAMAR
Principal.

Jaffna College,
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Wings Over Jaffna

The Indo-Sri Lanka accord was signed on Wednesday 29th July in an atmosphere of mounting anxiety. After nightfall Jaffna stood mesmerised to the drone of four-turbo-engined Indian Ilyushin & Antonov transports, as they began ferrying Indian troops and equipment into Jaffna. Jaffna had never seen anything like this before. Nor were its folk aware that there was an international airport at Palaly. Taut nerves loosened and children made it a game to count the number of flights. Young boys and girls shouting "Indian plane, Indian plane" followed them, running across fields, until the aircraft zoomed past, disappearing over the distant palmyrahs. Dogs which had shivered at the sound of Sri Lankan bombers, seemed to accept the Indian Ilyushin and Antonovs calmly.

These sounds charmed the fighting men too, as guns and cannon stood mute. Perhaps, they wondered at what they had been doing! Even before the ceasefire took effect, unarmed Sri Lankan soldiers walked out of their cantonments to exchange bonhomies and biscuits with their militant counterparts. They told the militants "do not think badly of us. We did what was done under orders! Now please surrender your weapons to the peace-keeping force without delay. Only then will we be allowed to go back to our families." A young man who went to inspect his abandoned home near the Kurumbasiddy army camp was asked by a Sri Lankan trooper, "are you a Tiger?" The man replied in the affirmative. Immediately, the trooper proceeded to shake his hand and pat him on the shoulder. Beneath the heat of battle and the cruelty, a subtle relationship had been developing between combatants on the field. The peace was undoubtedly popular with the Sinhalese troops, whatever their civilian compatriots in the south felt. These troopers regained that disarming charm which one has long associated with common Sinhalese people, when the coming of India helped to lift from their minds, the incubus of an oppressive Government policy and a sectarian ideology.

For many refugees the peace enabled them to go back to homes they thought they would never see again. For Tamils, especially for those outside Jaffna, it had long been clear that it was ultimately

India that can guarantee their security.

INDIA

For India the affair represents a diplomatic coup, whose effect is far from anything the US had achieved in the history of the Monroe doctrine. The latter has led to over a century of hostility and resentment amongst the US's neighbours. The Indian intervention was a need felt by both sides to the conflict and has a good chance of securing goodwill on both sides, depending on the future conduct of Indian forces. Some disquiet resulted when Indian helicopters landed on the sports-field belonging to the University of Jaffna and no reference was made to the University authorities. Up to now, In-

by

Rajan Hoole

dian conduct in Jaffna has been largely characterised by being very accommodating, even turning the biblical other cheek, in matters of symbolic importance, while giving nothing away in matters of substance. They willingly extended the deadline for the surrender of weapons, acceded to the request that Mr. Prabhakaran be returned to the exact spot from which he was removed to India, even providing a grand escort which agreed to fly the LTTE flag while passing through the territory of 'Tamil Eelam'. You may call it the Gandhian heritage.

The Americans and Israelis have been prevented from trying such approaches by a handicap in the form of inherent notions of national and racial superiority. The Sinhala Buddhist ideology prevented Sinhalese politicians from even beginning to think along these lines. By Sri Lankan Ministers insisting again and again on the Tamils accepting the national flag, the national anthem, and the sixth amendment, a good deal of political capital was squandered without achieving anything in substance. The only result was to harden Tamil positions and persuade foreigners that the Sinhalese were intractably unreasonable. If instead, an effort had been made to meet Tamil aspirations even symbolically, enough time could have been bought, to tackle the substantial issues in calmer times.

LEARNING FROM THE PAST

While Indian democracy has its achievements, it also

has its conspicuous failures. A felt need for greater autonomy to the regions is suppressed by a system of manipulative arrangements. This has resulted in a tendency for corruption and a certain potential instability. An avoidable problem has also been created in the Punjab. If there is any originality left in this country, we must think of arrangements for the future that draw from the best in human experience over the ages.

We can follow Germany in studying in detail the human lapses that led to several years of barbarity and misplaced human emotions on all sides and ensure that every school child is told these things, so that we do not descend to such levels

again. How are we to explain official terror in the form of the odious Special Task Force or the Pakistani trained black shirts, who as recently as July the 13th, marched southwards from Polikandy murdering about twenty people in their seventies, when there was absolutely no resistance to their movement? Those responsible have a good deal to answer for.

Amongst Tamils there is a good deal of confusion between human rights, and national rights. The concept of human rights without taking deep roots here, has tended to become a bludgeon to beat the Sinhalese with. Even amongst leading sections of society there has been little effort at consistency regarding the application of human rights. In a piece of grovelling opportunism, the editor of a Jaffna daily described as criminals in banner headlines, some unfortunate youth who were killed in an incident late in March. Nevertheless, this chameleon-like man of letters is flatteringly cultivated by the highest in the land. The TULF for its part must bear a heavy responsibility for diverting the public interest from improving the quality of democratic life, towards a witch-hunt of alleged traitors. The end result was a caricature of the original aspirations of democracy and self-respect. A healthy respect for human rights is not a western luxury, but is the basic condition of freedom.

LOOKING AHEAD

Many Tamils, especially those from the lower classes,

see the Tamil establishment as immovable, intrinsically corrupt, having surprising powers of survival and which will continue to hold others down. The militancy offered many of them the hope of coming into their own. For this reason many from the lower classes and from the Eastern province joined the militancy in large numbers. They too were the principal victims of Government action. Many of them died. Others were abandoned and languished in Jaffna under poor conditions. To them, the coming of Indian forces represents mixed relief. The old order is likely to remain. But they can at least go home, if only to collect the shattered remains of their former lives. An old lady who had greyed before her time told me, "everyone seems happy and relaxed at the arrival of Indian forces. But those who can think can take little comfort. We broke up into warring parties and came to this." A young man added, "we started somewhere else and had ended very differently. Power has slipped from the combatants into India's hands. There is little comfort in this for those who have lost their sons or their limbs. They are going to be ignored, while those more influential reap the benefits of peace."

It remains a duty the Tamils owe towards justice

How Dip All These Things Happen

Everybody knows how Vadamaradchy in the Jaffna District was destroyed but even in Vadamaradchy the worst affected areas were Valvetturai, Thondamannar, Uduppiddy and Nelliadi. The people in these four areas suffered most. Their houses were destroyed and belongings looted. So it is nothing but right that they should be helped.

The Indian Government was good enough to send food supplies to the affected people of Vadamaradchy. The question now is whether the affected people were able to get their share. To quote an example, a section of the people in Imayanan in Uduppiddy were denied these dry rations supplied by the Indian Government. Is it fair to deny this charity to a section of the people of a worst affected area? Are the members of the Indian Red Cross and local authorities aware of this fact? I believe that they are not aware of it. If they are aware of it, cer-

and their future well-being, to understand and sympathise with these sources of discontent, with a view towards doing what we can. While many in Jaffna are amazed at having got off lightly in comparison, rehabilitation of the affected poses the most potent challenge of the present. Mr. Orator Subramaniam said in expressing concern for the militant youth, "what are these young men going to do? All in all we owe them a debt of gratitude." On the same subject Fr. Jayaceelan told me, "now that the need for the militants is over, they will face serious problems of adjustment. At least 200 boys from Mannar and many other boys and girls from the outstations are going to be on the streets. They need our urgent help; spiritual consolation and guidance among them. It may turn out to be an act of visionary prudence to award leading positions of authority in the contemplated joint council for the North and East, to able and fair-minded persons from the East—be they Muslim, Tamil or Sinhalese.

To those amongst the Sinhalese of sober mind, there must be the very real anxiety that unless every effort is made towards reconciliation with Tamils, a Cyprus solution looms more than a possibility. Mr. Thandian, a gentleman of Karukampanai and a veteran of the EP's 1961 march to Trincomalee, reminded me of S.J.V Chelvanayakam's prophecy made in the early 50's: that Ceylon will join the Indian federation, not as one state, but as two states.

tainly, if they were aware that such a thing had happened, they would not have tolerated it.

How did such a thing happen? The local authorities who are in charge of distribution of these provisions had been misled by unscrupulous, self-helping individuals who have misled them by giving false and wrong information either to seek vengeance on certain

by R. Sivagurunathan

individuals or in some other cases for personal gains.

Will those authorities concerned instead of seeking the help of unscrupulous and self-seeking individuals to help them make an effort to distribute the provisions to all residents of the area, who, we know, were affected very badly both physically, mentally and economically as a result of the atrocities of the Security Forces and the local thieves.

AI REPORT ON SRI LANKA (MAY 1987) 4

(Continued from last issue)

I then lost consciousness. When I regained consciousness I was back in the room. I was kept in the room for nine days and released thereafter.

When I went back home my wounds became infected and I was unable to walk. I was then taken to the... Hospital..."

A report by a Medical Officer of the area, confirmed his condition. According to his report, written on 31st December 1985, the day after release:

"The above...was brought complaining of severe pain in back and unable to walk following an assault"

The medical report recorded healing abrasions and tenderness over the vertebrae.

BURNINGS WITH IRON RODS

STF personnel have also repeatedly been accused of burning suspects with heated iron rods, usually after first hanging the victims from their thumbs or hanging them upside down. A 23 year old man, arrested on 14th August 1986, described how he was arrested and taken to Kiran Camp, interrogated and burnt with heated iron rods on two occasions:

"I was then ordered to remove all my clothes. My two thumbs were brought behind me and tied together and a rope that was hanging from a beam was tied to the rope by which my thumbs were tied. Two persons lifted me while two others pulled the rope. When I was lifted about three feet above the ground those carrying me let go and I was dangling in mid air. Then they started assaulting me with clubs. The Officer seated at the desk kept on questioning me. This went on for about 20 minutes. I lost consciousness due to the unbearable pain. Then in a semi dazed state I felt them placing a red hot iron on my back. I screamed. Then they continued to question me and kept on assaulting me. After sometime I lost consciousness again."

On return to his cell he described how he was helped by others similarly tortured. He was then taken for further torture:

"I was in great pain and agony and was unable to get up. I was helped by others in the room - who were themselves injured by being beaten up.

I was in the room for about three days. I had lost

count of time. When I was slightly better two STF Personnel came and took me back for interrogation. I was told that if I admitted the truth of having helped the Terrorists I would not be assaulted. I denied that I had any connection. They ordered me to remove my clothes and my two legs were tied together and I was lifted upside down from the beam. Then one person stuffed a cloth into my mouth and a receptacle in which a fire was burning was brought in. There were some iron rods in the fire. The red hot iron rods were placed on the back of my chest and my buttock. I screamed with pain, but as cloth had been stuffed inside my mouth the sound could not be heard.

This victim also required hospital treatment. Another was a 23-year-old man arrested by STF personnel from Morakkoddanchenai on 1st August 1986 and taken the next day with five others to

plied with. Then I was taken to the...Camp and was carried in on a sack by some inmates.

He was released several days later, apparently without any evidence having been found against him and was told not to disclose anything about his torture: "On... 08.86 about 4.00 p.m. the big man told me that I was released and told me to be at the Hospital. He told me not to tell any one of the atrocities and I said 'Yes'".

Amnesty International has copies of the hospital records made two days after his release. The record reads: "Infected wounds over both legs. Burn injuries over both thighs; cellulitis.

In September, he was taken for further medical treatment in a larger hospital. According to the medical record of 3 September, he complained of pain all over the body. and according to the medical report of 4 September.

called and our hands untied and taken to the lagoon shore after being told to roll two huge tyres to the lagoon side. One huge tyre was put on the ground and we were all asked to sit on it, while some officers took the other huge tyre and put it on our heads where we were sandwiched between both the tyres. Then a can of petrol or diesel was brought and they threatened that they were going to burn us. Then we all shouted. Then they told us to go and look at an interesting object which they said was inside the trailer of a tractor. At their command we went, and we were frightened and revolted to see a naked corpse with gun shot injuries. They said that a similar fate awaited us if we did not confess to terrorist connection.

They then much against our will ordered us to carry the naked corpse to where the tyres were - near the lagoon shore... we were forced to

a "disappeared" person at various army camps in Eastern Sri Lanka were told there was no need for them to continue their search, as the "disappeared" person "had been shot" (See, for example. Case Nos: 343, 344, 349, 398, 452, 461, 464, 468 and 517 described in the Appendix to this report)

Others are alleged to have died as a result of torture during interrogation. One former detainee described how he was present when one detainee died as a result of injuries received under torture. The victim himself had been tortured by being hung by the thumbs, beaten and burnt with heated iron rods. He stated.

"After sometime I lost consciousness again. I was in a room with a number of others. They told me that two STF personnel had dragged me by my legs and had thrown me into the room



IRON RODS

HEAT THE BACK

the shore of the nearby lagoon. He says he was hung from a tree by the thumbs, beaten and burnt. He had to be taken to a local hospital and the medical records are consistent with the injuries he claims to have received under torture:

"... About 5.30 p.m. I was ordered to remove my sarong and then they insisted on my taking off my underpants also and told to raise my hands..."

The next stage was when I was asked to keep my hands behind my back and then my two thumbs were tied together. I was raised in mid air on a mango tree and I was hit all over my body. Then they heated an iron rod and burnt me all over the body including of my private parts. At that stage I fainted "

He described how several days later: "I was taken to the...Hospital. On seeing my injuries the Doctor stated that I was in a serious condition and that Saline had to be given. The STF Officers then told him that I was a big Terrorist leader and to put some medicine on the injuries and this was com-

"an attempted skin graft had failed."

DEATHS IN CUSTODY

The Amnesty International Report on "Disappearances" (Disappearances in Sri Lanka, ASA 37/08/86, pp 21-27) and the 1985 file on Torture described cases of persons killed after being taken away by the security forces. They were apparently shot after arrest, and their bodies were either left on the spot, or, as happened in many cases, were removed by the security forces and burnt. Only in a few cases in which the bodies of the victims were found are inquests known to have been held.

Amnesty International has continued to receive reports of extrajudicial killings by security forces of people in their custody. We quote here from accounts recently received of former detainees who were forced to burn the bodies of people apparently shot by STF personnel. One man described how, in early August 1986, he and about five other detainees were forced to do so by STF from the Morakkoddanchenai STF Camp:

"About 12 noon all of us numbering about 6 were

carry the corpse and place it on the tyres. One of us was asked to pour the fuel on it and then another of us was asked to light the matchbox. While the corpse was burning on these tyres doused with fuel, the officers tried to push us into these tyres and we again shouted."

Another, arrested in the same month by STF personnel from Santhiveli stated:

"That evening...and I were ordered to burn two dead bodies. One was the corpse of Jeyapal son of Rasapody and the other was a person from Kaluwankerney.

We were ordered to place the dead bodies on some tyres and a few pieces of wood were placed on the bodies. Petrol was poured on the corpses and we were ordered to set fire to it. Our hands were then tied behind us and we were then put into the truck..."

Amnesty International fears that a number of persons reported to have "disappeared" were shot after arrest and that their bodies were disposed of in the manner described above. In several cases, relatives searching for

I was in great pain and agony and was unable to get up. I was helped by others in the room - who were themselves injured by being beaten up.

...Two of those in the room had high fever due to their injuries. I was in the room for about 20 days. One of those who had injuries died during this period. His body was taken away. None of those injured received any treatment.."

Amnesty International has other similar accounts and fears that torture victims are among the over five hundred men and women now reported to have "disappeared" from Sri Lanka.

3. RECENT REPORTS OF 'DISAPPEARANCES'

The Appendix to this report describes 216 further cases of "disappearances" received by Amnesty International after the publication of its report "Disappearances" in Sri Lanka on 10th September 1986. That report described 272 cases of disappearances, of which AI has so far been able to clarify four cases (see Introduction). In November 1986, there

(Continued on page 10)

(Continued from last issue)

It was characteristic of Mr. Jayewardene's private style of functioning that he extended a special invitation to a non-political professor of Political Science in faraway Canada to help in the negotiation process. The special invitee was Professor A.J. Wilson of New Brunswick University who was of course a Sri Lankan, a Tamil, and the son-in-law of the widely respected Tamil leader S.J.V. Chelvanayakam Q.C., the founder of the Tamil United Liberation Front and for twenty five years earlier the propagator of a Federal solution for Sri Lanka. On 18th August the first of the meetings, later to get described as "amity talks" took place at the President's official residence. Those present, apart from the main actors, included: Minister of Trade Lalith Athulathmudali, Minister of Education and Youth Affairs Ranil Wickremasinghe, Minister of Transport M.H. Mohamed, Minister of Justice Nissanka Wijeratne, Minister of Rural Development S. Thondaman, and Dr. A.J. Wilson. The Jayewardene-TULF honeymoon had begun, and like

gues continued. Mr. Jayewardene had also other fish to fry, in the south. 1982 was the year of the Presidential election and the Referendum, Mr. Jayewardene who should have continued as President, under the Constitution for six years, until February 1984, ("shall hold office for a term of six years") thought that the time was just ripe to cut short his first term and ensure his second 6-year term thereafter. His only major opponent Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, remained effectively side-lined from direct political participation. Her party itself was in such a state of disarray that it would not be able to throw out a candidate to match Mr. Jayewardene. He proceeded to amend the Constitution for the purpose. With his rubber-stamp two-thirds majority in Parliament, the Third Amendment became law on 27 August.

MR. JAYEWARDENE AND THE JUDICIARY

The Fourth Amendment followed. Delighted at the prospect of extending its own life, the Sri Lankan Parliament did it without blushing on 4th November, 1982. The

changed the rules as he went along. The cost of the Referendum in terms of democracy was that nearly 1.5 million new voters, as at 1982, were denied their right to elect their representatives. Today in 1987, the total number of disenfranchised voters (mostly Sinhalese) could well have swelled to double that number. One cannot think of any other contemporary national leader who has used the democratic apparatus with such skill and single-minded irreverence as President Jayewardene has, in his relentless pursuit of power. But if in the pursuance of power he has stopped on his tracks by any resistance, he was ready to deal with it, irrespective of the means employed. The last bulwark to fall was the Judiciary.

The judiciary in Sri Lanka had long enjoyed an enviable reputation for its sturdy independence and courageous judgements. While even under Mrs. Bandaranaike's years of power, the Executive had often taken adversary positions in respect of the judiciary, and paved the way for devaluation of its authority, it was President Jayewardene, (the son of a judge),

together with some others, went to deliver a letter of Protest to the American Embassy in Colombo, where she was courteously received by a First Secretary who promised to forward it to the appropriate quarters. On their way back, some police officers took away their banners. Shortly after that, Mrs. Goonewardene heard that a press photographer who had taken pictures of this incident had been taken to the police station. She proceeded there to enquire after him, and soon after found herself under arrest, thrown to the floor, and kicked. She too complained to the Supreme Court under Article 126 about an infringement of her fundamental rights. In the event, it (the Court) found that the arrest was unlawful, and directed the Inspector-General of Police to conduct further inquiries, and to take appropriate action in accordance with the law. That judgement was delivered on 8 June 1983. On the following day, the Acting Inspector-General of Police announced the promotion of the Sub-Inspector who arrested her.

with the President, which I duly did.

"The President freely conceded that he had personally ordered the promotion of the two police officers, and the payment out of public funds of the damages and costs. This, he said, had been necessary to maintain police morale ..

(Sri Lanka: A Mounting Tragedy of Errors. Report of a Mission to Sri Lanka in January 1984 on behalf of the International Commission of Jurists and its British Section. Justice March 1984).

This then was the backdrop; this the man, with absolute untrammelled power in his hands in matters both big and small, who began his sixth year of role by leading the already battered island nation and its 15 million citizens into a new, bloodier phase of life and a state of civil war. The holocaust that occurred in that last week of July 1983 (interestingly the first week of Jayewardene's sixth year of rule) shocked the world and startled it into a new awareness of this comparatively little known island strung up on the map hidden by the vast land mass of India, and sometimes thought by Westerners to be a part of it. President Jayewardene's Sri Lanka suddenly began to dominate international headlines and Television screens. But only the victims the Tamils, knew the series of torments that preceded that black week of July.

An Indian reader writing in *The Hindu* (Sept. 3, 1983) made the following perceptive assessment:

"If terror has been 'State-sponsored' for the decimation of a section of the population and destruction of its property and means of livelihood where then are the affected to look for sympathy and redress? The position of the Tamils in Sri Lanka today seems to be as desperate and unenviable as that... the killing and the arson and the destruction and the looting were done with a high professional expertise and diabolical sophistication. Rioting mobs? Blood-thirsty thugs? Certainly, but led by cold-blooded arsonists and vandals who knew exactly what they were doing, what they had to do, or had been asked to do, it was deliberate, methodical and thorough and entirely one-sided. In a riot there is loss on both sides, though not necessarily to an equal degree. But during the recent holocaust in Sri Lanka, the Tamils were always at the receiving end, resulting in the slaughter of perhaps 2,000, the ejection of about 135,000 from their homes, and the destruction of

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all honeymoons did not last for long.

THE YEAR OF THE REFERENDUM

Referring to the year 1982, Nancy Murray has said: "1982 is, from a safe distance, regarded as a 'quiet' year, sandwiched between the ferocity of 1981 and 1983". (*Racism and the Authoritarian State*). This writer who was in no such safe distance — barely a mile from the then Army headquarters in Jaffna, and editing a paper, the SATURDAY REVIEW, hardly lovable by Army standards — thinks never-the-less that Nancy Murray was right. The level of mob and State violence had become relatively muted' with no let-up however armed Tamil militancy; which only goes to prove that even mob violence in Sri Lanka happens only when engineered or supported by State machinery. There were various reasons why in that year, State and mob violence had to remain muted. President Jayewardene kept dangling before the TULF leadership District Development Councils, mere skeletons, neither fleshed with authority nor clothed with finances, but yet hoping that the TULF will accept them and retain them in their cupboard. The monthly dialo-

guing party's freewheeling two-thirds majority were perpetuated until 4th August 1989, which otherwise under the pre-amended constitution would have ended on 4th August 1983. The democratic device of a Referendum, pressed into service for the first time in the country, in December 1982 (accompanied by electoral skulduggery and Governmental roughstuff) satisfied constitutional requirements. "The most gigantic farce to be enacted in this country since the introduction of universal franchise over fifty years ago", commented Professor W. A. Wiswa Warnapala of the University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka (*Recent Politics in Sri Lanka: The Presidential Election and the Referendum of 1982—Navrang, New Delhi, 1983*). The judiciary was there too, in full regalia, but since its role was merely to interpret the law and the constitution as it stood, there was very little it could do to help preserve the democratic spirit. Moreover, Governmental pressure was applied on judges, in more ways than one, to make them "behave".

It will be found that President Jayewardene took scrupulous care to play the political ball game according to the rules: except that he

who exhibited a cynical disregard towards the role of the judiciary. Although the following sequence of events was well known within the country, it hardly received adequate attention outside. We shall allow an eminent British jurist, Mr. Paul Sieghart to tell you the story:—

"During the campaign for the December 1982 referendum to extend the life of Parliament without a general election, a Superintendent of Police, Mr. P. Udugampola seized 20,000 pamphlets of 'Voice of the Clergy', opposing the referendum proposal. A Buddhist monk, the secretary of the organisation concerned, complained to the Supreme Court, under Article 126 of the Constitution, that this Act had infringed his fundamental right to freedom of speech and expression. On 8 February 1983, the Supreme Court held in his favour, and awarded 10,000 rupees damages against the Superintendent personally, together with costs. On 2 March 1983, the Government announced that the Superintendent would be promoted and that the State would pay the damages and costs.

"That history soon repeated itself. On 8 March 1983 International Women's Day, a Mrs. Vivienne Gooneward-

"Two days after that, two of the judges of the Supreme Court who had heard this case found their private houses surrounded by unruly mobs, shouting obscenities at them. (The third judge had in fact moved houses sometime before, but his former residence was similarly invested). It was a frightening experience, and no policemen was in sight. They tried to telephone the police, but found the lines mysteriously out of order.

"... Such events are hardly calculated to encourage the judiciary to remain independent, or to enhance public respect for its members, their judgements, or the Rule of Law, I therefore sought further information about them during my visit. The Additional Solicitor General told me that the promotion of police officers was the sole concern of the Inspector-General of Police and the Ministry of Defence, as were enquiries about alleged offenders and their apprehension, up to the point where reports and statements were presented to him with a view to formal prosecution. The Secretary to the Ministry of Defence told me that these were matters for the Minister, and not for him. The Minister for Internal Security suggested that I should raise them



property valued at Rs. 400 crores. And the insults and indignities heaped on the dying or scattering Tamils could only have emanated from a fanatic and senseless hatred and the insane desire for the near-total destruction of the Tamil power and presence in Sri Lanka. No, it was not an ethnic riot: it was a pogrom, an organised massacre of an ethnic minority by the power-wielding majority..."

What was the President doing while all these happened? If our words cannot carry enough credibility, we shall allow a Human Rights activist, a Sinhalese himself whose life was threatened in distant Australia as a result) to speak on this. Says Dr. Brian Senewiratne, MA, MBB Chir. (Cantab) MD FRCP (Lond), FRACP, as "a concerned human being" (The July 1983 Massacre: Unanswered Questions Dr. Brian Senewiratne, Consultant Physician, Princess Alexandra Hospital Brisbane, Australia):-

"One might wonder what the President was doing during this time. The impression one gets is that his main concern was safeguarding his position as President. With hundreds, if not thousands of Tamils killed and 100,000 in refugee camps, there was no sign of the national leader on the State run radio or television. His silence was deafening. When he did appear on television on the evening of Thursday 28th July a full four days after the outbreak of violence, his broadcast to the nation was pathetic and partisan. Not a word of sympathy or of regret to the thousands whose lives, livelihood and property had been destroyed due to a breakdown of law and order for which he was responsible. His main regret was that he had not proscribed the party that represented some 3 million Tamils an omission which he was now rectifying, thus removing the representation of the Tamil people in Parliament. This he was doing to "appease the natural desire and request of the Sinhala people..." If ever there was a tactless and unstatesmanlike address by any leader at a time of national crisis, this was it. Moderate Tamils to whom the author spoke, declared that the President's address was more devastating than anything that had happened in the previous four days. With that address to the nation Jayewardene abdicated his right to lead Tamil people in Sri Lanka: In an attempt to find some rational reason for this extraordinary address, the author sought as many opinions as was possible. The most charitable was that the President was

"forced" to read the statement by extremists, including an extremist Cabinet Minister, and that he had delayed it as long as was possible (hence the four day silence) refusing to read it. He finally read it purely for political and possibly, physical survival. For those who know the stranglehold Jayewardene has had on the political scene over the past seven years, this explanation is hardly plausible. The performances of the Cabinet Ministers who followed their President in nightly television appearances were no better. One senior Minister was concerned about the long queues and consequent hardship to the Sinhalese people rather than the fact that some 2,000 Tamils had been killed and 100,000 were in refugee camps. To say that the Tamils have lost confidence in Jayewardene and his Ministers would be an understatement.

"It would be too revolting and unprofitable to recount details of the acts of barbarism committed by Sinhalese mobs. All that the author a full blooded Sinhalese, can say is that for the first time, he has felt

light such as goats and cows, but the "war" was nowhere near getting won. "Jaffna is a city of fear," reported David Graves in the *Daily Telegraph, London* (July 2, 1984). The President meanwhile was getting more desperate. During May-June he visited no less than four world capitals. On May 19, he was, winging his way to Beijing, on June 16 he was in Washington, five days later in London and a few days later in Delhi. Russel Warren Howe reporting for the *Washington Post* said:

President Junius Jayewardene of Sri Lanka now on a two-day official visit here, is expected to plead with the United States to intervene in his country if India uses force to protect Sri Lanka's Tamil (Indian) minority from growing ethnic violence. Although the US ambassador in Sri Lanka, former Republican Gov. John Reed of Maine has told Mr. Jayewardene that there is no prospect of America sending in the Marines to help the Sri Lankan Government, the 78-year old President seems convinced that he can change Washington's mind, Western

Sri Lanka made its decision to hire mercenaries it asked Britain and the United States to set up an anti-terrorist assistance programme to be run by the CIA and M15. President Jayewardene has conceded that, because of pressure from large Tamil lobbies, London and Washington had turned down the request... The Mossad's help has proved "invaluable", according to a Sri Lankan security force Physical conditions in the Jaffna Peninsula are identical to those in the Gaza strip. Some of Jayewardene's advisors are worried about the consequences. One western intelligence official said. What happens when an SAS-directed hit team goes against the Tigers in Madras? It is just this kind of foolhardy behaviour that could lead to an Indian invasion...?

What happened in Delhi? *The Times, London* (July 3) in a report from its correspondent, said:

"Two days of rather prickly talks between President Jayewardene and Mrs. Indra Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister ended yesterday with the President marking off the proposals he is making on

Lanka's Northern province, a bloody tit for tat of ambush and attack, pitting Government forces against insurgents fighting for independence for the country's predominantly Hindu Tamil minority Roads lay deserted, banks and offices were shuttered, and shops opened for only a few hours each day. By the time a measure of calm had been restored last week, at least 150 people had lost their lives, including 25 Government troops—the worst bloodletting in Sri Lanka since July 1983. Said a Western diplomat in Colombo. This is the first sustained and significant challenge to the Government's authority in a year"

"The violence reached a climax early last week when troops rampaged in Mannar, about 50 miles southeast of Jaffna, in retaliation for a Tiger ambush in which ten military men were said to have died. By the time the soldiers destructive fury was spent, 123 shops had been burned, and five Mannar residents lay dead. A local army commander promised that those guilty would be punished and that "no Government would condone the army's running amuck". Said the officer. The soldiers were incited by the sight of the bodies of their dead comrades.

President Jayewardene might not have made any policy break-throughs in Beijing, Washington or London but he was certainly getting arms. Minister of State Anandatissa de Alwis told newspaper editors in Colombo on December 7 that part of the foreign military equipment had already arrived. The Government had ordered a significant military build-up, he said. In London, *Jane's Defence Weekly* reported that Sri Lanka will get five more Chinese naval craft by the end of the year. The deal was concluded during Mr. Jayewardene's Chinese visit. The Sri Lankan Navy was already known to have five Chinese "Shanghai-II" class fast attack craft besides two large patrol boats capable of offshore operations and 22 coastal patrol craft. On December 23, the Government announced in Colombo that armed forces will now use rockets, bombs and small-calibre artillery against "Tamil separatist guerrillas". On December 31 the Colombo Sinhala newspaper, the *Divaina*, quoting a Government spokesman said five friendly countries, both Western and socialist, have offered military aid to Sri Lanka, the aid to include fighter planes and ships. They are expected to reach the country in January, the paper said.

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ashamed to be a Sinhalese. It is not that one necessarily identifies oneself with the hooligan mobs, but there inevitably is a collective responsibility for the behaviour of one's countrymen—hooligan, barbaric or civilized. He who watches while a fellow human being has his limbs cut off, belly slit open, petrol poured in and burnt, is only marginally less guilty than he who does it. In the General Hospital, Colombo, desperately ill Tamil patients had their intravenous infusions disconnected and were thrown out of wards because they were Tamils. Tamil doctors had to take refuge in toilets to avoid assault....

Even before the disgraceful events of July 1983, as early as June 4, Government sources had begun to talk of war. The Colombo newspaper *Sun*, of that date quoted a Defence Ministry spokesman as saying that what the Army faced in Jaffna was a "war situation" and that the forces there had to be given the "freedom of the battlefield". That "freedom" was given by the tiring President by the beginning of 1984. Indisciplined soldiers ran amok, killed civilians on sight, sometimes any moving object in bad

diplomats in Colombo are reporting. At a briefing for State Department correspondents on Friday, senior US official stressed that there would be no security alliance between this country and Sri Lanka... Although US-Sri Lanka relations are relatively warm, Western diplomats here are more and more concerned about the often eccentric behaviour of the aging South Asian leader, who has proclaimed his country to be the fulcrum of a campaign to save the world through Buddhism....

In London, the *Sunday Times* (24 July 1984) published a despatch from Mary Anne Weaver in Colombo, which said:

Sri Lanka's President J.R. Jayewardene flies to London this week to seek Mrs. Thatcher's support for his war against the Tamil Tigers... The President has already made an agreement with the Israeli intelligence organisation, Mossad, and has hired a group of mercenaries, veterans of the SAS to set up an intelligence organisation and a paramilitary force to combat the guerrilla threat. The Britons arrived in Sri Lanka from the Sultanate of Oman, to begin a years training programme.. Before

the future devolution of power within Sri Lanka as none of her business. In the formal statement he made at the end of the talks, he said: "I reiterated to the Prime Minister my view that the political resolution of this matter is an internal matter of Sri Lanka, to be settled between the various Sri Lankan parties concerned". He added, "and she entirely agreed" Although Mr. Jayewardene told reporters that he would be happy to use the good offices of anybody towards solving what he called not the Tamil problem the Tamil disaster", he was adamant that the Indian view would not influence him..."

In the event that Mrs. Gandhi had smiled, as Mr. Jayewardene's back was turned, certainly no one saw it and no one reported it. The President might not have been full of beans on his homeward journey as when he set forth on his Washington-London-Delhi foray but his sense of bravado did at no time leave him. Back home he ordered another offensive on the Tamils. *Time* magazine said in its issue of 27-August (by Spencer Davidson. Reported by K.K. Sharma/Colombo):-

For two weeks the violence had spread through Sri



It was obvious during the last month in 1984 that the Government was getting confident that with this massive military assistance, it could go in for a military solution. A war psyche was being built in order to prepare the Sinhalese people to accept more sacrifices. They were being told through the columns of the racist State-controlled media that an invasion of Sri Lanka was being organised from India, thus proving how true was that hoary maxim by Dr. Samuel Johnson: "Patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel." As the year ended, on 31st December the top thumping Minister for National security was quoted as saying that for every man that the Tamil militants trained in any part of the world. "We will train a hundred persons."

The month of December 1984 was to prove decisive in many other ways. The Colombo All-Party Conference was reconvened for December 14, and the TULF delegation had arrived three days ahead. But it appeared doomed even at that point of time. US special envoy General Walters had just concluded two days of "intensive talks" on the military solution with President Jayewardene and Lalith Athulathmudali (Dec. 10, 11). On the 10th itself, the Government-owned *Daily News* announced that Gen. Walters was expected to discuss "a shopping list of military supplies necessary to meet the terrorist threat." The paper also reported that there was a strong possibility of "Britain providing helicopters and patrol boats to overcome the terrorist menace". The Round Table Conference met as scheduled on the 14th and President Jayewardene went through the motions. He proposed the amendment of the constitution for the setting up of Provincial Councils and a second chamber for resolving the "ethnic problem". The Buddhist clergy boycotted the talks, and on the following day when Mr. Amirthalingam was talking of "studying the President's proposals in depth," the Buddhist clergy warned the President not to rush the proposals until "terrorism was completely eliminated". On December 21, the All Party Conference ended abruptly. Delegates, including TULF leaders who had gone ready to discuss the proposals were told, if not in so many words, that there was nothing to discuss. On December 22, it was announced that the President's proposals had been rejected by all Sinhalese parties, including an influential section of the President's own party. On December 24, the President sacked his racist Minister of industries Cyril Mathew. It was like

bolting the stable door after the horse had fled. By year end, the mass psychosis had reached fever-pitch. The Colombo newspaper *The Island* in its Sunday issue of December 30 ran a lead news item under the headline: **LANKA PONDERES STEPS IF EELAMISTS DECLARE UDI.** The report said:

"The Sri Lanka Government is considering counter-measures in the event of Eelamist groups making a Unilateral Declaration of independence. Sources said that information had been received of such attempts being made by expatriate Tamil groups, abroad... According to intelligence sources, the Eelamist strategy is to proclaim a new state called Eelam on January 14, Thai Pongal Day... Sources also said that the assistance of the Pakistan Embassy had been sought in this respect. The Embassy was asked by the Foreign Ministry what action was taken by the Pakistan Government when Bangladesh was declared an independent sovereign state in the aftermath of the war..."

Came Thai Pongal Day, January 14, 1985 and there were no signs of any UDI,

injured, but the death toll could be more. *UNI* reports that Government had imposed a blanket ban on Indian journalists. Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Xue Qian arrives in Colombo.

February: Ten gun boats costing £1.3 million each to be acquired from Britain. Refugee influx into India, from Mannar villages. Colombo-bound Zaire Airways cargo plane with arms and ammunition bearing Portuguese markings makes distress landing at Trivandrum, but is allowed to proceed after refuelling on the personal intervention of Lalith Athulathmudali. Tamil militants blast approach road to Gurunagar army camp with movements of armed forces difficult. 32 Tamil men shot dead in cold blood, some in front of their wives and children, in the Mannar area, according to *London Times* report. Three British media people including Nicholas Coleridge arrested and jailed in Welikade prison (For a hilarious account of his experience, read Sri Lankan imprisonment/How I spied for Russia in Sri Lanka, Spectator London, 23 Feb. 1985). Liberation Tigers attack Kok-

Mrs. Thatcher in Colombo. At a banquet in her honour President, Jayewardene makes implicit request for stationing of British troops in Sri Lanka. Indian Government expresses astonishment. Violence between Muslims and Tamils in Eastern province. Athulathmudali describes as "rubbish" Minister Devanayagam's charge that STF 'commandos' had instigated the violence. Movements of busloads of thugs to the East, from Colombo reported. State-owned bank at Nikaweratiya, Sinhalese area, robbed of Rs. 60 lakhs. Sinhalese observer Dr. Frank Jayasinghe reports to President that police commandos were involved in Muslim violence against Tamils. 6500 out of total population of 8300 in Tamil village of Karaitivu become refugees.

May: Karainagar naval base, Gurunagar army camp and Jaffna Fort camp, all come under militant attack, TELO attack on army camp at Kokkavil near Murikandy. PTI correspondent in Colombo Krishan Anand arrested and detained in Welikade prison Army rampage on north coast: an orgy of killing, looting and raping.

was meeting reverses on two fronts - the military and the "demographic". On the military front, police stations in the north were getting dismantled, the Gurunagar army camp in Jaffna city was given up, and the Government was losing territory in both Jaffna and in the tourist belt north of Trincomalee. The successful frontal attack on the Kokkilai army camp by the Liberation Tigers showed that guerrilla warfare was entering a new phase - offensives against fortified positions. The North was gradually getting cut off, physically, from the rest of the country. Rail links between Colombo and Jaffna was getting snapped, and so they remain till this day Army mobility in Jaffna was getting curbed. Not a pretty picture from the Government point of view.

On the demographic front, the situation was even worse. State sponsored Sinhala colonisation in Tamil-dominated North-East had been a sore issue with the Tamils for well over a quarter century. Successive Sinhalese governments had apparently envisaged a demand for a separate homeland long before the Tamils did. The colonisation process served two purposes, one, to change the demographic composition in the North-East and reduce Tamil representation in Parliament two, to delink the contiguity of Tamil majority area between North and East. President Jayewardene thought of a third purpose - export the difficult lumpen elements in Sinhala society to where Tamils lived in a majority. It was demographic aggression with an extra dimension. A classic instance was Dollar Farm and Kent Farm in the north. Plantation Tamils who had fled mob fury during 1977 and 1981 had been settled in these areas on the initiative of Tamil humanitarian organisations like the Gandhiam and the Tamil Refugee Rehabilitation Organisation, with the help of Western aid giving bodies. On the plea that these had become "terrorist-infested" areas, Government troops launched search - and destroy missions and literally chased these helpless plantation Tamils from the areas, making them refugees on the run again. In their place were settled convicts with their families, an interesting experiment the Government claimed, of a liberal open prison system! It was also another way of relieving the congestion in Sri Lankan jails which were getting flooded with Tamil terrorist suspects! Army camps were also set up, in order to give protection to the "open prison" inmates and

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It was either that some panic merchants or arms dealers had sold Sri Lanka that story, or that the Government itself had spread the hysteria in order to gain international sympathy. But as it happened during Jayewardene's 10-year rule, with every passing year getting more dreadful than the previous one, 1985 proved no different. A quick run-through of major incidents of that year may reveal a pattern.

January: Coastal village of Mathagal in Jaffna shelled cannon fire from the sea. Reports of starvation. Two boat loads of Tamil refugees arrive at the Indian coast of Nagapattinam. Shocking army atrocities in Vankalai in Tamil district of Mannar. Under curfew, soon after midnight, a young Catholic parish priest, Fr. Mary Bastian is shot to death in the presbytery along with two others, and his body taken away. (Minister Lalith Athulathmudali claims that Fr. Bastian had escaped to India with Tamil separatists!) Tamil militants blow up Colombo-bound Yal Devi train carrying army personnel at Murikandy. A Government spokesman says in Colombo that 22 soldiers were killed and 25 others seriously

kilai army camp in Mullaitivu *Jane's Weekly* reports that Sri Lanka has purchased from Israel two twin-engined double aluminium hull "Dubar" coastal patrol craft, equipped to carry missiles. J.N. Dixit posted to Colombo.

March: Militants attack Kilinochchi police station. Refugee influx continues at Rameswaram Liberation Tigers attack Medawachchiya police station in Sinhalese district. Air Force helicopter damaged by militant fire, off Nagerkovil in north coast. Colombo rejects G. Parthasarathy as mediator. Indian Foreign Secretary Romesh Bhandari arrives in Colombo. New Delhi circles take note of concern in Tamilnadu over a possible shift in India's policy on the Sri Lankan Tamil question. President Jayewardene visits Pakistan.

April: Madras Customs seize large quantity of arms and ammunition at the harbour. A West Berlin reports says 1800 Tamils had sought asylum in the first 3 months of this year. All four active Liberation groups - LTTE, EROS, TELO and EPRLF agree to function as a united front. Liberation Tigers storm Jaffna police station.

Over 50 Tamils locked up inside Valvettiturai community centre building and blasted alive with bombs. Nearly 200 Tamil civilians believed killed. Five days later, over 150 Sinhalese civilians massacred at Anuradhapura sending shock waves in Sinhalese areas. On the following day, Sinhalese navy men attack Tamil passengers, including women and children with axes and clubs on the boat named "Kumudhini" off Nedunthivu, a Jaffna islet-48 killed. Mannar police station attacked. In Jaffna, Gurunagar army camp closes down! Government to purchase 9 British-built "Cougar" naval boats, and two British-built 46-seater Avros to transport troops. China to supply more patrol boats and T-56 assault rifles Pakistan to furnish AK-47 and M-16 rifles.

This, by end-May, was the lead-up to what might be termed as the beginning of the Bhandari-Thimpu chapter. But wasn't there more than one significant pointer during this 5-month period which explains why President Jayewardene had to pocket his pride and look up to Delhi for succour? There were several in fact. Government



their families. On December 1, 1984, Tamil militants launched a surprise attack on these Sinhalese "civilians," resulting in the death of at least 42 convict settlers and the fleeing from the area of several hundred others. The militants followed it up with an attack on two Sinhalese fishing settlements in Nayaru and Kokkilai. Members of these new settlements were migrant seasonal fishermen who had got on well with Tamil fishermen of the area for generations and had gone back to their homes in the south-west once the fishing season was over. They had now been settled permanently in these areas with Government aid, along with their families, and had become in course of time fishermen as well as army informers. Sinhala casualties as given by Government spokesman Dr. Wickrama Weerasoria on the morning of 2 December were 27 killed at Nayaru and 30 at Kokkilai. In the afternoon, the State-owned radio said 29 were killed at Nayaru and 30 at Kokkilai. But by the night Government had "drastically reduced the figures of those killed to only 11." *The Times, London* headlined the news by saying: SRI LANKA RIDDLE: CONFUSION ON DEATH TOLL. On 3 December Minister Athulathmudali admitted in Colombo that guns had been given to Sinhalese fishermen at these two places.

There was little doubt that this had stung the Government badly. On January 8, 1985, the Government removed its mask. It was announced that plans are finalised to settle 30,000 Sinhalese families in the North this year, with the ultimate aim of creating "parity" in the population of the two communities. Settlements would be created in Kilinochchi, Vavuniya, Mullaitivu and Mannar districts and extended to Jaffna peninsula next year. The new settlers would be given military training and provided arms. On January 18, the National Security Minister reiterated Government intention to settle the 30,000 Sinhalese families in the North "with total protection". On February 20, President Jayewardene, speaking on the Address to Parliament, made the ponderous statement: "The borders of Sri Lanka are Point Pedro and Devinuwara in the North and South Batticaloa and Colombo in the East and West. The terrorists are attempting to shoot their way into the heart of Sri Lanka to the borders of what they call the State of Eelam. If we do not occupy the Border, the Border will come to us. We intend to act before they succeed". Alas, the "terrorists" acted first. On 13 March the Li-

beration Tigers launched at 3 a.m. an attack on the Medawachiya police station and railway station. On 14 May occurred the awesome but daring massacre of Sinhalese civilians at Anuradhapura and the even more daring escape through territory dotted with army camps and police stations: the first act of undeniable terrorism in an area which was certainly beyond "the Eelam Border". President Jayewardene had in mind. The message was unspoken, but it was clear: "Mr. President, before you settle 30,000 Sinhalese families in our homeland, how capable are you in defending your own heartland?"

Within a week of the Anuradhapura massacre, while the armed forces were engaged in reprisal slaughters of Tamils, at Nedunthivu in the North and Kalmunai in the East, President Jayewardene set in motion a series of diplomatic moves. His Foreign Affairs adviser, Express baron Esmond Wickremasinghe was rushed to Delhi to meet the Indian Premier, on 16th May... On the 28th, Indian Foreign Secretary Romesh Bhandari flew to Colombo. On 1st June Mr. Jayewardene himself arrived in

Government delegation and the Tamil groups — TULF, LTTE, EROS, TELO, EPRLF and PLOT. A marked reluctance of the Tigers to make the journey to Thimphu was soon set right: an Indian journalist reported that they were being "frog-marched". In Jaffna, where the action really is, a massive protest was mounted against militants participation at Thimphu. People there thought it was an act of Himalayan folly.

Came July, and Thimphu which to most of the participants was as unknown a place as Timbuc too, was invested with special security and secret importance. India Today's Madras correspondent S.H. Venkatramani who at this time developed a sudden desire to sample the tourist attractions of this Himalayan capital was himself "frog-marched" from his hotel room to the helipad. The climate there was otherwise bracing, but the absence of LTTE leader Prabhakaran was noted with concern. On the other hand, the presence of the out-of-the-blue outspoken TELO spokesman Nadesan Satyendra was also noted with equal concern.

vided by the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi who is reported to have threatened the guerrillas with arrest and the closure of their bases in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu..."

The obstructions to any political settlement, beginning with the torpedoing of the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact of July 1957, had always come from the Sinhala side; to hope that Indian pressure on the guerrillas could force a decision was to miss the point altogether. In fact, a very powerful Sinhala lobby was already being built up demanding that Jayewardene abandon the Thimphu dialogue, led by influential members of the Buddhist clergy — the Mahanayake Thero of the Asgiriya Chapter, Ven. Madhihe Panasseha, Ven. Sobitha — and backed by Mrs. Bandaranaike herself. Indian policy perceptions were flawed, at that stage by an inadequate appreciation of this same point. What was called for, was not the exerting of pressure on the Tamil militants merely because the leadership was based on Indian soil and therefore vulnerable

and culminating in the pressures imposed on LTTE Prabhakaran at the Bangalore SAARC summit setting, had not only weakened the pathetic faith Tamils reposed on India, but had brought to no tangible returns to either solving the problem or in improving Indo-Sri Lanka relations. Indian hopes of achieving these two policy targets receded further. If as they say nothing succeeds like success, failures tend to bring in other complexities. Tamil disenchantment with India was becoming vocal in Jaffna, which had a long tradition of emotional dependence on India — the Indian polity as a whole, not just Tamilnadu, as incorrectly understood by North Indian opinion. "Mother India" was a phrase in common parlance long before the Dravida movement took roots in the south. A letter addressed to Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi in August 1983 from "Eelam Tamils" (smuggled from Jaffna to Colombo and sent in the diplomatic pouch of a friendly embassy) said:

...We have been nourished by Indian culture and bred on Indian thought. Four hundred and fifty years of western colonialism did nothing to shake us from that sense of belonging to India. The Himalayas and the Ganges and the Mahabharata and Ramayana are very real to us. During the days of the British Empire our sense of identity with India was near-complete, the narrow strip of ocean notwithstanding. The Indian freedom movement was one in which we felt we were direct participants. The honour of inviting Mahatma Gandhi to Ceylon for the first time in 1927 belonged to the Youth Congress of Jaffna. Our affection for the Nehru family was so close that it was not an unusual sight, in the thirties and forties to see portraits of Jawaharlal Nehru, Kamala Nehru and Motilal Nehru in village homes in Jaffna. When Gandhiji died, we grieved in a way as only Indians would. When India became free, we rejoiced in it as if it was our own freedom... (For full text — TAMIL INFORMATION magazine, 15th November 1984).

As was characteristic of the ten years of Jayewardene rule, with every passing year proving more disastrous than the previous one, the Tamils faced the worst in 1986. Constant massacres of Tamil civilians and intensified confrontations between Government forces and Tamil Tigers both of which had a mutual rebound effect; depopulation of whole Tamil villages particularly in the East; incessant induction of arms and men into Tamil-majority areas;

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Delhi. Did Indian policy on Sri Lanka, and on the Tamils, diverge sharply at this point of time? If so, how and why? That story might best be left to future researchers. But the fact was there was a rush of events from the second half of 1985 and into 1986, some of which seemed to be surreal, and packed into a drama that had elements of the Theatre of the Absurd. Whoever did the scripting, the play was certainly pieking up: a lot of toing and froing; diplomatic hustle and bustle. Quick-Fixing. Camaraderie was in the air between Colombo and Delhi.

THE THIMPHU PHASE & FALL-OUT

President Jayewardene announced a Ceasefire beginning June 18. But that had nothing to do with Delhi: he had an eye on Paris where the Sri Lanka Aid Consortium was meeting on the 20th. (It is customary for the Government to develop an insatiable thirst for peace every year around this time). The Tamil militants accepted the Ceasefire "in deference Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's wishes", said TULF leader Amirthingam in Madras. It was suddenly announced that the Bhutanese capital of Thimphu would be the venue for secret talks between the Sri Lankan

The mountain climate produced one notable result — the cross-grained Tamil groups arrived at a rare, refreshing unanimity to present a 4-point charter as a basis for negotiations: 1. Recognition of a separate Tamil national identity; 2. Respect for the integrity of the Tamil traditional homeland; 3. Recognition of the Tamil right to self-determination; 4. Citizenship rights to all Tamils who have made Sri Lanka their home. The President's brother Harry Jayewardene, a legal expert who led the Lankan delegation did not only reject the four points totally but questioned the credentials of the Tamil side in raising the fourth point. Although some hopes were raised in Colombo that Phase II of the Thimphu parleys scheduled for August 12 would result in an agreement, and President Jayewardene was himself quoted as saying: "Come what may, there will be peace in December", the situation on the ground, both political and military, could not have encouraged any compromise unless the President was prepared to risk his political future. Iqbal Athas in Colombo, in his despatch to *Sunday Times, London* (28th July) said:

"The dynamic for a settlement has largely been pro-

The answer did not lie in twisting President Jayewardene's arms either. If Indian policy makers thought that the aging President could be persuaded to offer, and implement, a reasonable political settlement in keeping with the bottom-line aspirations of the Tamil people, they should help Mr. Jayewardene to face, and overcome opposition on his own side of the ethnic fence. In other words, the pressures should be aimed directly at the Sinhala constituency. The recent parachuting of food and medicine in Jaffna, accompanied by the violation of Sri Lankan air space by Indian Mirages, was whatever some sections of Indian opinion think, a step in the right direction.

Viewed in this perspective the series of policy measures adopted by Delhi, beginning with the "frog-marching" of the Tigers to Thimphu, the deportation orders on LTTE theoretician and spokesman S.A. Balasingham, TELO spokesman at Thimphu Nadesan Satyendra and the well-known Tamil Human Rights activist S. C. Chandrasenan, followed by the Tamilnadu police swoops on militant offices executed with what seemed attempts at deliberate humiliation, in November 1986, the seizing of the Tiger communication apparatus,



as; bombing; strafing; shelling; in which neither temples nor churches, nor schools nor hospitals were spared—it was an unending trail of blood, terror, misery and human suffering. Even as the year began, a Colombo newspaper (Sun—3-1-86) noted that Sri Lanka's prisons were getting over-crowded, with 66,500 unconvicted remand prisoners adding to the congestion. Another Colombo report said that 3000 unemployed Sinhala youths between the ages of 18 and 22 have joined the Auxiliary Force, who after two weeks training will receive a monthly salary of Rs. 3,400/- plus a risk allowance of Rs. 65/- per every kilometre foot patrol! In Jaffna, the President of the Tamil Refugees Rehabilitation Organisation said that according to documents maintained of "recorded" deaths, approximately 6,000 Tamils had been killed between 1977 and end of 1985, out of which roughly 2,000 were heads of households on whom their families had depended.

In Colombo, President Jayewardene told Indian Journalist Kuldip Nayar: "I shall have a military solution to what I believe is a military problem. After doing so, I shall tackle the political side". In a despatch to the Times, London (January 27, 1986), Kuldip Nayar writes from Delhi.

"President Jayewardene of Sri Lanka pins little hope on negotiations between his Government and the Tamils but expects the Army to eliminate "violence" by the end of the year...

"President Jayewardene admitted indiscriminate killings of civilians" but saw no way out until the militant Tamils described by him as killers and murderers, stopped fighting...

"He was in buoyant and confident mood in sharp contrast to the figure of diffidence and worry a year ago when I last interviewed him. Asked what had happened to change his tone and tenor he said: 'I am winning the war'.

"I find Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi more accommodating than his mother. He must do in Sri Lanka what he did in Punjab and Assam".

"President Jayewardene said India had privately admitted the existence of training camps and some highly placed men have offered their apology to me". He refused to divulge their names in spite of repeated questioning.

"In addition to the increasing strength of his security forces, President Jayewardene also listed two other reasons for his confidence. Firstly, the level of Indian

involvement had dropped. Now the Centre was not generally helping the militants, although Tamil Nadu continued to do so...

"In any case, I have come to realise that only success matters. I do not care what New Delhi, London, or for that matter, any other country says", he said. How quickly and effectively I can exterminate the militants is the crux of the problem and I am on the point of achieving this".

There is no disputing the fact that from newspapermen's point of view, whether they catch him in moods of diffidence or confidence, the Sri Lankan President makes "good copy". But from the point of view of the suffering Tamils, they know him as a man who does not give away anything for nothing. The wily President has been gaining considerable amount of propaganda yardage by honouring visiting journalists with "special interviews". Looking back at the President's pontifications, at a distance of one and a half years, many things that he said

comalee, than at any time since 150 Sinhalese men, women and children were shot by the Tamil Tigers in Anuradhapura two years ago". He added: "The Government is left with an awkward question to answer. If all this brutality can be laid at the door of the Tamil Tigers - and perhaps it can - then does the Government's military writ run at all in the eastern areas around Trincomalee and Polonnaruwa?" And then came the bigger disaster, that same day as Rettie's report appeared, the Colombo bus station bomb. Victims: 150. All these naturally affected the Sinhalese people. Hate, fear, a sense of revulsion were feelings that were understandable. But they were, also in a state of daze; and bewilderment. Somewhere in the back of their minds was there a gnawing doubt that terrible as these developments were, there was more to it than what they saw? That more of it was all happening elsewhere - in the Tamil areas.

While Kuldip Nayar was talking to the President in the third week of January

to make a mass cremation. Three women chased away earlier hid themselves behind a bluff and watched the gruesome scene in terrified fear. Documented eye witness accounts of all these brutalities are available, with the names of practically all victims. Why were the Sinhalese people not told about these, some might ask? No, strangely enough, they were told. But what were they told? It makes fascinating fiction.

The Iruthayapuram frenzy of Jan. 19th got transformed into a heroic battle. "FIERCE BATTLE - MANY CASUALTIES" said the Sun headline of the 20th. "Two Policemen and nearly 50 terrorists lay dead in the wake of a 10-hour face-to-face confrontation between the security forces and Tamil separatists near Batticaloa town yesterday... The security forces then called in reinforcements and Air Force helicopters joined the battle. Amidst the raging battle there were conflicting accounts of the number of terrorists dead... Batticaloa Police confirmed the deaths of 30 terrorists, but the Defence Ministry in Co-

middle-class simpletons who write patriotic letters to the Editors of newspapers, - none of them have woken up to the fact that they are not fighting for their survival. No nation or people, whether they be Tamils or Sinhalese could be wiped away so easily, by internal or external forces. What they are all fighting for, is for the political survival of one man - President Jayewardene! That probably is his biggest achievement in 10 years of rule.

Recommended Reading

- Brian Senewiratne
The July 1983 Massacre : Unanswered Questions
- Brian Senewiratne
Human Rights Violations in Sri Lanka
- Brian Senewiratne
Sri Lanka: A Synopsis of the Racial Problem
- Brian Senewiratne
What the Tamils can do
- W.A. Wiswa Warnapala
Recent Politics in Sri Lanka
- L. Dias Hewagama
The Presidential Election and the Referendum of 1982
- L. Piyadasa
Sri Lanka: The Holocaust and After
- Rajiva Wijesinha
Current Crisis in Sri Lanka
- James Manor (Editor)
Sri Lanka in Change and Crisis. (Concluded)

SILVER JUBILARIAN -
M. Thambithurai



Mr. M. Thambithurai - General Secretary of the Jaffna Y. M. C. A. has completed 25 years of dedicated service to the Community. During the 25 years of service, he underwent several courses of studies in the field of Rural and Community Development in Bangalore, New Delhi, Philippines, Hongkong and Bangkok.

After the ethnic disturbances in 1983, Mr. Thambithurai was fully engaged in the rehabilitation of the refugees and the displaced people. He has put his heart and sole in the construction of shelters for the homeless refugees under the Rehabilitation Programme of the Jaffna Y. M. C. A. He is interested in the upliftment of the people and has also motivated them to identify their needs and to use their own resources to meet such needs without depending on other people by organising various employment oriented training programme.

He is a man of unassuming character and his work in the social service sphere is a lasting monument on the silver-studded path of community service.

10 Years Of JR's Rule

sound hollow. It matters little now. Arrogance of power and Journalism have after all one thing in common they are both ephemeral!

What was happening in the Tamil areas in Sri Lanka while Kuldip Nayar sat talking to President Jayewardene in Colombo? Everything what the world should have been told, but had little chance of knowing; and that includes the Sinhalese people who lived in their own world in the south, effectively brain-washed by the Colombo media, a media which started misinforming the people as part of a calculated Government policy but ended up by brain-washing itself. On Good Friday this year came the Trincomalee district massacre of 127 Sinhalese, including at least 60 Army, Navy, Air Force and Police personnel. A curfew was imposed, and the hunt for the estimated 50 gunmen began. Sri Lanka was stunned said Western media reports. 'Christians thronged churches and heard emotional sermons by the priests', said the Independent, London. On 20th April, 15 more were killed in the Sinhalese settlement of Jayanthipura. John Rettie wrote in the Guardian, London (21 April): "The Sri Lankan Government is looking more shaken today, following last Friday's massacre near Trin-

comalee, not one mention appears to have come up about the massacre of Tamil civilians on the Sunday of 19th at Iruthayapuram in the Batticaloa district. Why? Three Church workers including the Catechist were pulled out of the church of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, by STF commandos, sprayed with bullets, and in the course of a violent 2-hour spree 21 other Tamils were left dead wherever they happened to be. On the 25th, 11 helpless plantation Tamil refugees waiting for a train at Kilinochchi Railway Station men, women and children, were mowed down in a matter of minutes. On 10th February, black-uniformed "commandos" in Vavuniva waylaid a Tamil businessman in a Peugeot car, robbed him of Rs. 75 thousand cash and jewellery, locked him and his two companions in the car and set fire to both vehicle and occupants. On the 19th February nearly 100 farmers, farm labourers and some "gypsies" working in paddy farms in an isolated hamlet called Udumbankulam in the Amparai district were surrounded by members of the armed forces; they were hacked with their own reaping knives, kicked with boots, tied up in twos, and shot down finally and made into a vast human heap. Stacks of paddy, straw, and timber and cadjan pulled out from a nearby hut were used

lombo could only confirm the death of 21 terrorists... the Defence Ministry added that of the 21 terrorists who had died, 14 died of gunfire and seven committed suicide by taking cyanide capsules..." It merely showed what level of sophistication the Colombo media had achieved in myth-making. The Kilinochchi killing was explained thus: "A demented soldier went berserk and fired his personal weapon in a frenzy at the railway station killing ten persons including some women and children. The other soldiers immediately overpowered the demented soldier and took his weapon away..." "As for the Vavuniya car incident, the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation did not show much imagination. It said that in a clash between two terrorist groups three terrorists were shot dead and burnt inside the car? The Udumbankulam massacre turned out to be another gun battle between the heroic forces of Sri Lanka and the dirty terrorists, except the locale was changed from Udumbankulam in Amparai to Lahugala. "40 terrorists killed in hour-long battle in the Lahugala jungle" said the Colombo report.

Perhaps it was Marchiavelli himself who said that it is a fool who fights his own battle. The poor Sinhalese Youths who are sent to battle for some of them to come back home in polythene bags, the vast mass of ignorant Sinhalese who think that their Government is fighting for the survival of the Sinhalese nation, the

I am a regular reader of your weekly newspaper. On reading your report (August 1st-1987) on the G.M.O.A. Government Medical Officers Association strike issue I feel, as a student involved in the problem—I should place some facts before the learned public through your esteemed weekly. I am not attempting to argue on any point—but am placing pure facts, I believe. "in the multitude of words sin is plenty" (Proverbs—Bible)—so, would not do that mistake of arguing.

I. General

- a) Affiliation of Universities and common exams are not new in the field of higher education.
- b) There is still a shortage of doctors in Sri Lanka.
- c) Country needs the best brains - at all stages.
- d) NCMC is not the first private Medical College in Sri Lanka. First one was in Manipal.
- e) Present generation of Sri Lankans are new to the concept of paid education. It is an accepted norm with its blessings and evils in countries like India, UK, & USA etc.
- f) There is a possibility of unemployment for doctors in the future. No one can predict the time.
- g) On an over all view—this problem will affect only about

4000 doctors of this country at any point of time and not the majority of the people in the future.

II. Colombo Medical Faculty

- a) Is 117 yrs. old and enjoys a prestigious status above the other faculties.
- b) Admission policy to this faculty is determined by the Government, though often not accepted by all.
- c) Basic requirements to study here are the same as for Peradeniya, Galle & Jaffna faculties.
- d) A national property. Competition to occupy the seats allocated on merit basis is very high.
- e) Out of the 30% merit-all don't come to this faculty. Some of the best students prefer Galle, Jaffna & Peradeniya.
- f) There are allocations for foreign students and on compassionate grounds. This is a very small percentage.
- g) The graduates from this faculty should be given preference provided they maintain their academic superiority.

h) The first batch of students from Peradeniya were harassed by the students at Colombo - when they came to utilise the Health Ministry facility—namely the Neurosurgical Unit.

i) The Present Dean of the faculty and the President of

c) This is the first time they have launched on a strike action regarding this matter—though the problem is six years old.

d) Maintenance of standards in the teaching institutions is not the junction of

tion is—whether it is being strictly adhered to always or not?

e) We the students joined the College to become doctors - we did not have any malice.

d) The College did use some of the Government facilities - Eg. Hospital but never deprived the faculty students.

We too are God created human beings with our plans and hopes for a prosperous future.

e) Never, were we told by the University of Colombo that we would not be permitted to do the same exam.

f) Students have only one alternative - that is to fight for their survival through the court of law.

g) The authorities are prepared to negotiate for the future intake.

I will not venture to give my solutions to the problem. I believe the authorities know best. But my appeal to the people who have followed this debate closely from the time of inception of NCMC - is to decide for themselves the best viable alternative which will not hamper the future of any of the students involved in this problem.

GMOA - NCMC

the Teachers Union contested for the same post in the recently held elections.

j) The staff and Dean could have voiced their opinion, objections etc - through the Council or Senate long time back.

k) Is still opposing for a common MCQ paper in the finals to determine the merit list including the other 3 faculties of Medicine,

l) Was never friendly towards the NCMC—which is natural and understandable.

III GMOA

a) Is a trade union to fight for the rights of its members. Not a policy planning body.

b) Consists of responsible, respectable people in its membership. They are expected to foresee, assess problems and act without delay.

GMOA - but of the Ceylon Medical Council.

e) Never sought so vehemently for the recognition, and development of the Galle and Jaffna faculties.

f) Many of its members have family members studying at NCMC. Some failed to gain admission:

g) Hippocratic oath is not emphasised to its members ---the health and life of my patient will be my first consideration---

(Modern form adopted in Geneva in 1948)

IV NCMC

a) Formed because the laws permitted the establishment of such an institution.

b) There is a definite criteria for admission. Ques-

AI Report On Sri Lanka....

(Continued from page 4)

was an update to this report, which described another 31 cases (nos. 273-303). The additional 216 cases are described in the attached Appendix as Nos: 304 - 519. All these "disappearances" have been submitted to the President of Sri Lanka, Minister of National Security and the Inspector General of Police. The cases described in the Appendix were sent to these officials on 4 June 1987.

Nearly all cases in the Appendix concern reports from the Eastern province; 197 out of the 216 cases concern "disappearances" in the Batticaloa, Amparai and Trincomalee districts. People are reported to have "disappeared" from army camps, police stations and STF camps, in the area. The following have been specifically named in statements about "disappearances":

Kallady STF Camp
Kaluwanchikuddy STF Camp
Chavalakkadai STF Camp
Kondavedduwan STF Camp
Kiran STF Camp

Kumburumoolai STF Camp
Morakkoddanchenai STF Camp
Karadian Aru STF Camp
Sithandy STF Camp
"Disappearances" have also been reported from Fort Frederick Army Camp, Trincomalee, Welikande Army Camp, Pullumulai Army Camp and from camps at Periyathopur and Urani. The Batticaloa, Mutur and Eravur police stations have also been named in reports of "disappearances".

Only a few of the more recently reported "disappearances" concern the north. Those that are included are from the Jaffna, Mannar, and Mullaitivu districts, where people are reported to have "disappeared" after last having been seen in or being taken to Karainagar Naval Camp, Thallady Army Camp, Chilavathurai Army Camp, Vavuniya Army Camp, Kokkavil Army Camp and Gurunagar Camp,

Most of the victims of "disappearances" are young Tamil men, but a few are

elderly men (for example Case No. 412) and there are also four women (Case Nos. 432, 437, 438 and 443) and ten children, between three and 15 years of age, among the victims. All the women and children were reportedly taken away by a combined party of Home Guards and members of the security forces.

Nearly all the cases of "disappearances" described in the Appendix includes details of the steps taken by relatives to ascertain the whereabouts of the "disappeared" person. Many have reported a "disappearance" to the Coordinating Officer and the Government Agent of the area, to the Officer in Charge of STF or Army Camps in the area, and to the local police stations. Complaints have also frequently been made to the Committee to Monitor Cessation of Hostilities, which had frequently replied conveying information from the security forces denying that the "disappeared" person has been taken into custody. Other relatives have been told a person has

escaped" from custody (Case No. 448 and 479) or has been "released" (Case No. 413 and 463). In several cases the release is supposed to have happened on the very same day relatives last saw the "disappeared" person during a camp visit. However, those said to have been "released" or to have "escaped" have failed to return home, and no details of the place or time of the events have been given to substantiate official assertions. In other cases, officials apparently acknowledged the arrest of the "disappeared" persons—relatives being told the person would be released after interrogation - only later to say that he had never been arrested or to refuse to disclose his whereabouts (See, for example, Case Nos 320, 321, 359, 361, 374, 420). Some "disappeared" person are said to have been seen in custody (for example Case Nos 360, 324, 364, 366, 385, 458, 460, 477, 482, 511, 512, 513). The names of other "disappeared" persons have appeared on official lists of detainees (See, for example Case No 320).

There are several references to "disappeared" persons having been tortured (for exam-

ple, Case Nos 304, 319, 403, 430, 452, 516, 517).

In other cases, families have been told their relative "was shot" but the circumstances of the alleged shooting have not been clarified. Relatives have been chased away from a camp and told never to return again, and the "disappeared" or their bodies have never been found (See, for example, Case Nos 398, 417, 452, 468, 469, 480, 482, 513). There are also reference to secret killings of "disappeared" persons in custody (Case No. 517), the bodies apparently being burnt by army personnel (Case Nos. 514, 518 and 519).

In one case (408) a habeas corpus petition is reported to have been filed, but after four months no decision was known to have been taken by the Supreme Court in the case and the whereabouts of the "disappeared" man remained unclarified. (The reasons for the ineffectiveness of legal remedies such as habeas corpus petitions have been set out in detail in the Amnesty International report: "Disappearances" in Sri Lanka, p. 55-59).

There are sworn statements by relatives, neighbours or other witnesses to the arrest of 177 "disappeared" persons. 45 of them have been eye-witnesses to the arrest.

FOR THE RECORD

7.8.87 The Jaffna Traders' Association to Maj. General H. Singh, the commander of the Indian Peace keeping force through the Government Agent, Mr. M. Punchalingam that the damage suffered by the traders in Jaffna through the shelling from the Sri Lankan Army stationed at the Fort amounts to more Rs.250 million.

The militants have pointed out to the Indian Peace Keeping forces that in spite of the agreement between the Government of Sri Lanka and India, the Sri Lankan army is indulging in actions contrary to the accord both in the North and East. As such they should not be expected to surrender their arms. The Sri Lankan - Security personnel had killed two militants at Poonakary, attacked fishermen at Nainativu and refugees at Mullaitivu. In this context, how, they ask could they be ordered to give up their weapons?"

According to new reports a labour organisation under Minister Gamini Disanayake is engaged in a hurried settlement of Sinhalese peasants in Nuwara Eliya and Maskeliya areas.

8.8.87 The I.N.S. 'Nirthe-shak' an Indian hospital ship with 3 doctors, 15 nurses and 250 others under the command of Commander Thomas arrived at Kankasanturai harbour. On 8th August to cater to the medical requirements of the people in the North. The first person to be treated was Kunju a member of the LTTE. A 24 hour service is being maintained on the vessel and she is prepared to accept patients from any part of the Peninsula.

President Jayewardene in a statement to the BBC

correspondent affirmed that though a few in his party seem presently to be opposed to the Sri Lanka-India Accord, he was certain that it will be accepted by Parliament. His immediate concern was 'Sinhalese terrorism' which was rearing its ugly head in the South.

In an interview to the 'New York Times' on 8th August President Jayewardene has indicated that the Indian Peace keeping force presently in Sri Lanka will leave the country by the end of the year. However, the possibility of their stay being prolonged can also arise. For peace to return to Sri Lanka the Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi's assistance was required. He also accepted that the militants may not surrender their arms and equipment in their entirety.

9.8.87 291 detenus who were released from Boosa on 8th August returned to Jaffna. They were welcomed at K.K.S, by members of the peace keeping force. According to eye witnesses among them the 9 who had died at Boosa on 5th July were crushed to death by military vehicles.

Prime Minister R. Premadasa declared at a meeting held on 9th August at Mulleriyawe that no one should be alarmed at the Indo-Sri Lankan accord of 29th July. A peaceful solution to the ethnic problem is being achieved and the militants have agreed to lay down their

promotion of peace and unity not so much for discussions which sometimes engender ill-feelings among the rank and file.

B) Creating common meeting places such as parks, play grounds where people can break their isolation and ghettos to gather together and to build up relationships.

C) Collaboration in common welfare programmes. Many more activities can be envisaged for the promotion of a healthy multi-lingual communities.

The need for peace is not a matter for day dreaming or wishful thinking. It is an imperative. It is a precious commodity to be searched for and bought at a price. It is elusive and therefore it should be safeguarded at any cost. It is not only an invitation to but also a paramount duty of everyone to make Peace in Our Land A Tangible Reality.

—J. Thiruchelvam O.M.I.

arms. Reliable sources state that Prime Minister will table the Accord. in Parliament.

9.8.87: A complete Hartal was observed in the North and East to protest against the Sri Lanka's army's depredations' even after the signing of the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord. The Hartal was called by the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students (EROS) in protest against the killing of two of their colleagues by the Pooneryn Army Camp reportedly by the Sri Lankan armed forces. The Indian authorities claim they have investigated the incident and found no evidence to support the 'killing'.

Shops and commercial establishments remained closed and the roads and streets were denuded of people.

Sathasivam Krishnakumar affectionately known as 'Kittu' left by air for Tamil Nadu for treatment. Santhamani also of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and some others also accompanied him.

10.8.87: The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) have in a press release stated that while they are in the process of surrendering their arms in terms of the Accord of 29th July, the Sri Lankan army and the Home Guards are acting contrary to the terms of the Agreement. Further they are actively encouraging other groups inimical to them to harass some of their members.

As such they have to actively consider whether they should continue to give up their arms and equipment.

Meanwhile the leader of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation, Selvam, has declared in Tamil Nadu that news reports that they have surrendered their arms are not correct. He added that he would in the near future return to the Island to decide on this as well as other allied matters.

11.8.87 Mr. Balakumar, leader of the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students along with 30 of his 'comrades' returned to the North by an Indian air force plane. They were met at the airport by the members of the Peace keeping force and the local members of the EROS. According to All India Radio Mr. Balakumar will supervise the handing over of arms by his organisation.

From about 10 a.m. on the 10th till around 2 in the

afternoon scores of trucks and jeeps with trailer cannons and other equipments of the Indian Peace keeping force streamed into Jaffna town from Trincomalee. A few days earlier a large consignment of military hardware had been discharged from vessels at Trincomalee port. According to an Indian source a part of this equipment had been sent to the North.

12-8-87: Major Dilip Singh head of the 8th Battalion (Engineers) of the Indian Peace keeping force and his Deputy Mohinder Rao died as a result of a landmine explosion when they with 20 others were combing the Fort area for landmines around 9 a.m. on 12th August. The incident took place at a spot between the Jaffna Telecommunication Department and the Sivan Temple. Two others were seriously injured along with a militant of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam who was assisting in this operation-landmine.

Mr. Bernard Tillekeratne, Sri Lankan High Commissioner in New Delhi in an interview at New Delhi on 10th August stated that in spite of certain difficulties envisaged in the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lankan accord, he was convinced that the Sri Lankan Government would obviate the present problems in time. As far as the Government was concerned this Agreement is an auspicious beginning towards bringing the country to normalcy.

Eleven youths from Vadamarachchi who had been detained at the Palaly Army Camp were released in exchange for three police commandos taken captive by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) when the Pannai mini camp was stormed by them on 23rd March. Nine other soldiers who were also captured during the operation will be released only after the Tamil detenus at Boosa camp are released, according to a statement by the LTTE.

Rev. Fr. Aparanam Singarayar who was in remand since 1982 was released before the trial was completed before High Court Judge, Mr. T. Sundaralingam on a request made by the Attorney-General to the Prosecuting Counsel—an order of 'nolle prosequi'. As a consequence the trial judge discharged him.

According to Myliddy Citizens' Committee more than 50 houses have been razed to the ground as a consequence of the onslaught by the Security Forces. Churches, schools and commercial establishments were all extensively damaged.

14.8.87: Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike leader of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party has indicated to a special correspondent of a Tamil daily that her party would not completely do away with the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord. On the contrary when they come back to power they would hold talks with the Indian Government to modify certain clauses of the Agreement.

Lieutenant Pankaj Vickram (23), one of those seriously injured in the land mine explosion near the Telecommunication building on 12th August, succumbed to his injuries at the General Hospital, Jaffna. The fourth soldier a private who is still in hospital is not yet out of danger according to hospital sources.

15.8.87: The area around the Dr. Subramaniam Park and the former Public Library is a virtual jungle. The statues which were erected in the premises of the Jaffna Municipality have been demolished. One monument, however, remains unscarred by the ravages of time and the Security Forces on the grounds of the Public Library namely that of the Founder and the Former Rector of St. Patrick's College, Jaffna - the Very Rev. Fr. T.M.F. Long, O.M.I.

Two hundred and sixty youths who are being detained Magazine Prison at Welikade are in danger of their lives and limbs, as anything untoward could happen to them any time. Steps should be taken for their release forthwith. Rev. Fr. A. Singarayar who was himself released from custody made the statement in an interview to a Tamil Daily. He has also addressed a Memorandum to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to this effect.

He said that undesirables taken into custody during the recent disturbances in Colombo are being kept in close proximity to these youths and they could well take law into their own hands. During the 57 months he was in detention four attempts were made on his life, Fr Singarayar added.

The Jaffna General Hospital is facing an acute shortage of doctors, according to the Medical Superintendent, Dr. Nachchinarkinniar. As conditions in the Province are fast returning to normal, the number of patients seeking treatment at the Hospital have increased and they are finding it difficult to cope with the rush.

Peace A...

(Continued from page 2)

to steer through life with hope to meet the challenges of the present and the future.

1.5 What is needed in a multi-ethnic setting? Neither confrontation nor competition but cooperation and collaboration. Unfortunately even a peaceful co-existence has been rendered impossible in some areas. What is to be promoted is not only a peaceful co-existence but also climate for a healthy interaction. What must be respected beyond the phenomena of race, religion and language is the reality of man. If the core of man is identified and respected, then man becomes enlightened (Buddha) to accept each other. Do religions in our land orient man to this vision and unity? Living together can be fostered in many ways, some of which are :-

A) Regular multi religious prayer gatherings for the

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Hazards Of Peace

Mr. Kirthi Abeywickreme, District Minister, Matara succumbed to his injuries when grenades were thrown into a committee room in Parliament where the Government Parliamentary Group was meeting on 18th August, 1987.

The attack by unknown assailant or assailants was clearly aimed at assassinating President Jayewardene and members of the Cabinet.

The Ministers who were injured included Prime Minister R. Premadasa, Minister of National Security, Lalith Athulathmudali, Deputy Minister Percy Samaraweera, Plantations and Minister of of Public Administration, Montague Jayewickreme and Minister of Sports and Chief Whip, Mr. Vincent Perera. Montague Jayewickreme later suffered a heart attack.

The assassination attempt was immediately condemned

by world leaders among them the President and Prime Minister of India, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the President of Pakistan, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and the President of the Tamil United Liberation Front.

The statement made by the Indian High Commission in Colombo pointed out that this incident demonstrated again the perils of waging peace, as said by the President of India on 30th July.

President Jayewardene in a statement soon after the incident said that the Government will carry on its work to see that the terrorists do not succeed. "I seek the aid of all those interested in the Freedom, the Democracy the integrity and unity of the country to join hands with the Government and others who oppose the sinister methods," he concluded.



Top: Bazaar Area
Centre: K.K.S Road near the Jaffna Fort
Bottom: Damaged Telecommunication Centre

MIRJE WELCOMES

ACCORD

Text of a statement by Mirje

The Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality (MIRJE) welcomes the Accord entered into by the Governments of Sri Lanka and India in order to bring to an end the ethnic conflict that has ravaged this country during the past decade.

The total lack of trust and confidence between the Government on the one hand and the Tamil people and the militant organisations on the other has prevented any serious negotiation between them since 1985 and it was probably only an accord of this nature that could have brought the country out of this impasse.

The accord is in the nature of compromise and may

Then There Are Six

40 refugees returning from India were arrested at sea and brought to the Army Camp at Kankasanturai.

Col. Gunawardena stated that they would be handed over to the Government Agent, Jaffna. In this connection Mr. Gunarasa called over at the Camp on 20th and sought their release. 34 of them, — 29 males, 2 females and 3 children were handed over but the civil authorities have no information of the remaining 6.

Attention— As They Were!

Sri Lanka Security Forces who were withdrawn from their duties after the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord, returned five days later to their original positions and were reported to have harassed the employees at the Harbour at Kankasanturai. This 'harassment' has been brought to the notice of the Indian Peace Keeping Force.

Beaten up for Hoisting the 'Tiger' flag

Two youths who had refused to haul down the 'Tiger' flag from a post near a Hindu temple were beaten up by the police and kept in custody. On a complaint lodged by the people of the area, the Indian Peace Keeping Force arrived on the scene and were able to persuade the Police to release the young men.

that attempts to wreck the accord will inevitably lead to separation. Only the recognition of the multi-ethnic nature of our society and the creation of political structures in which the different ethnic groups can nurture their own collective identity can preserve the unity of Sri Lanka and lead hopefully to the eventual creation of an over-arching Sri Lanka identity.

They must also note that the failure of a society to resolve its own internal contradictions can be fatal to its continued independence.

Agreements to resolve the issue have had an unfortunate history in the past. MIRJE hopes and expects that this accord will not meet with the same fate. To that end, all parties to the conflict must implement this accord in good faith. MIRJE therefore calls upon the state, and the Tamil militant groups to implement the accord in this spirit, resolving many of the problems that are bound to arise in the course of implementation through negotiations and calls upon all citizens of Sri Lanka to assist in this process.

FOLLOW-UP ON ACCORD

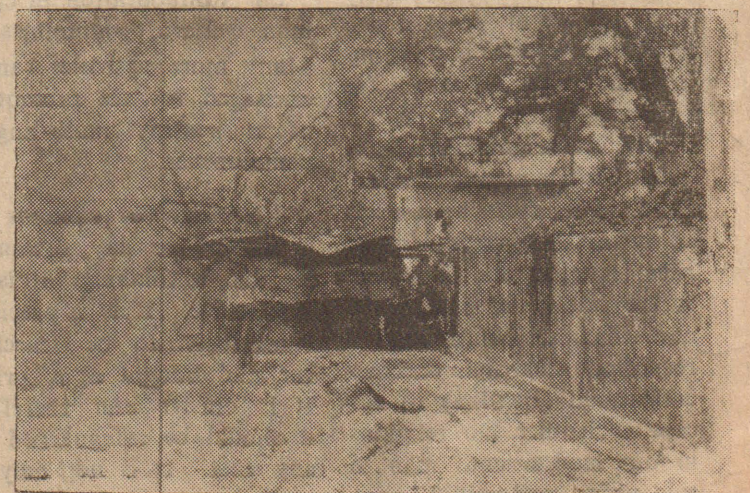
A five member team of Indian Government delegation is holding discussions with the Sri Lankan Government officials on the kind of powers that is to be given to the Provincial Council for the North and East.

The discussions will be about the powers of the Provincial Council, Land Settlement and Finance.

The Indo - Sri Lanka Agreement provides for these

consultations to resolve residual matters not finalised during the negotiations that led up to the Accord.

The Indian Team comprises Kuldeep Sahadev of the Ministry of External Affairs, S. Balakrishnan Constitutional Adviser and Additional Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, S.K. Shastri, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Finance, V.K. Jain, Joint Secretary Ministry of Home Affairs and V.S. Prakash.



A Tiger Sentry Point near Telecommunication Centre