

REHABILITATION OF TAMILS
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
TAMILS IN LONDON



S. Visahan

MSc Dissertation 1993

Dept. of Anthropology, University College of London

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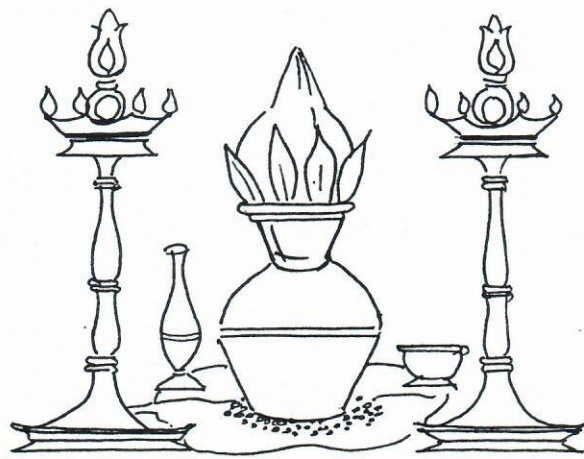


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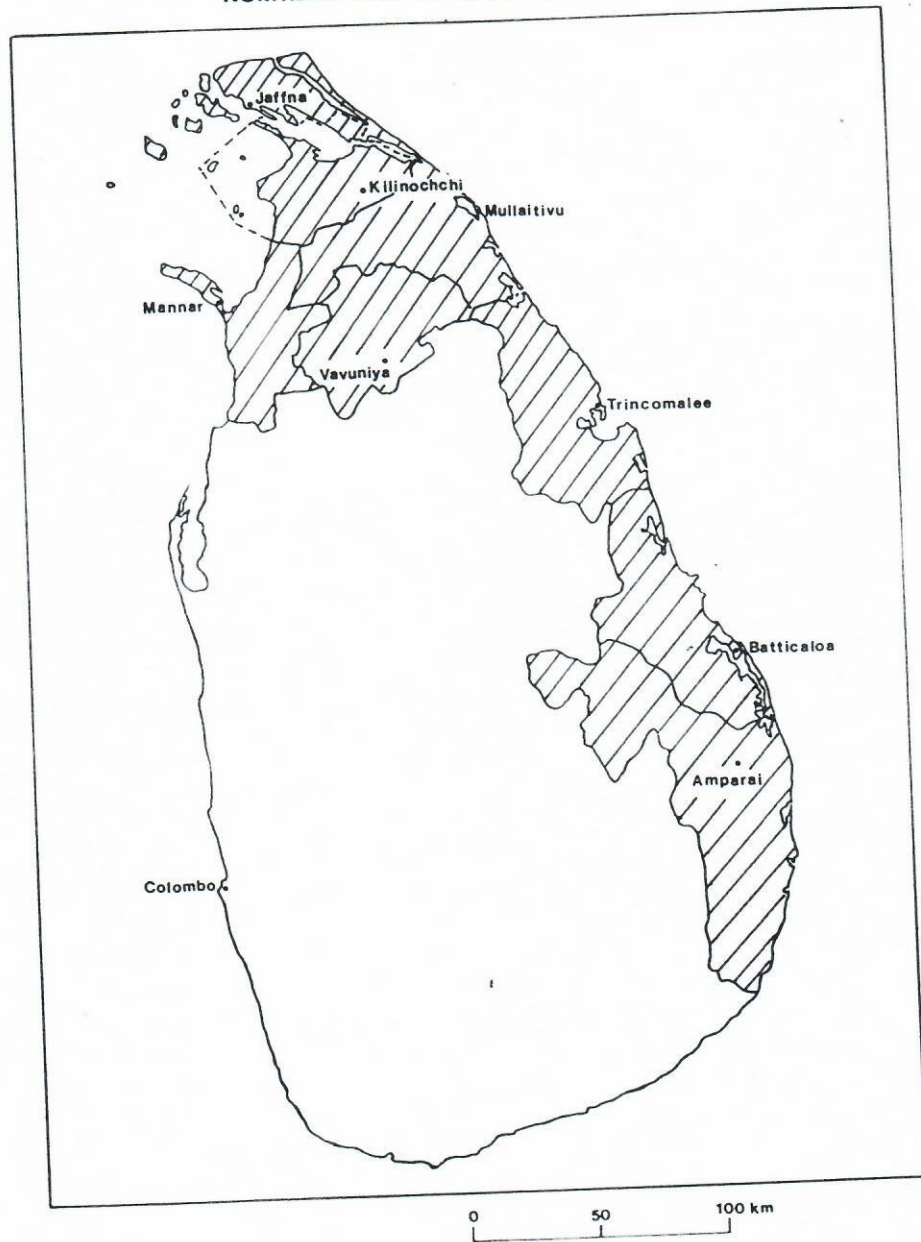
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 Distribution of Tamils in their Homeland

SRI LANKA

NORTHERN AND EASTERN PROVINCES



CHAPTER 1

1.0. INTRODUCTION

1.1. General

Among countries that emerged as nation-states from colonial dependence, the island of Sri Lanka (Formerly known as Ceylon) has had more than its share of scholarly attention. At various phases of its evolution after independence, the island nation has been able to epitomise within its small dimensions, historical processes that have been of universal relevance and general appeal. The process of peaceful decolonisation, the operation of a parliamentary democracy, a plantation economy that could not shed its colonial origins, ethnic chauvinism and hegemony, inter- ethnic conflict and dismantling of democracy and latterly ethnic relations, the rise of separatism and Tamil militancy threatening the unitary state - these have been profusely written on by social scientists with reference to Sri Lanka.

(S. Arasaratnam 1988, pp.126 -127.)

1.2. The Crisis

In recent times, several occurrences of massive violence have been unleashed by segments of the Sinhalese population against Tamils. These disturbing eruptions have taken place since the

achievement of independence by Sri Lanka in 1948. The worst of them took place in the years 1958, 1977, 1981 and 1983. This chain of violent outbursts against the Tamils is very much a phenomenon of the second half of the twentieth century, the worst occurrences exploding in rapid succession after 1977. (S.J. Tambiah 1986. p.13)

In July 1983, a week of anti-Tamil violence by the Sinhalese population throughout southern Sri Lanka killed an estimated 3,000 Tamils and over 18,000 Tamil homes were destroyed. By the beginning of August 125,000, internally displaced Tamils had fled to refugee camps, over 85,000 in Colombo, a third of the capital's population. By late August 50,000 had fled with government assistance to Tamil dominated areas and thousands were on the move (Malcolm Rogers 1992.P.1). The movement of displaced people to predominantly Tamil areas has consolidated the division of the island on ethnic lines (Sadruddin Aga Khan 1986. p.17). Following these incidents armed struggle took control of Tamil politics and for the first time young Tamils began to flee their country to neighbouring India and to the West seeking protection from indiscriminate killings, disappearances, arbitrary arrests, ill-treatment and torture (Fohan Cels. in Laila Mohan. 1990).

Although efforts have been made by scholars to study about the Tamil refugees and their displacement, hardly any attention has been focussed on their rehabilitation.

1.3. Motivation

The Western governments' policies towards Tamils have aroused considerable controversy in the media and have led to critical exchanges between governments, non-governmental agencies and UNHCR officials. The hitherto little-known struggle of the Tamils in Sri Lanka for an independent homeland and against discrimination by the Sinhalese majority came to the fore in

the European media as large number of Tamils sought protection in Western nations (Fohan Cels in Laila Monahan. 1990.p.197). The perception that many asylum-seekers are economic migrants in disguise has gained ground over the years. In Europe, the largest numbers of new applicants have come from countries such as Iran, Iraq, Sri Lanka, Ghana and Uganda. These are not the poorest countries in the world, but they are the scene of some of the most violent internal upheavals (Sadrudin Aga Khan.1986.p.42). The present work focuses on Tamil asylum-seekers who began arriving in the 1980s in the West, with special reference to London Tamils. This project was initiated as a result of the London-based Tamil Information Centre's (Herein -after TIC) concern for the plight of Tamil asylum seekers and issues and problems affecting their humanitarian needs. As one of TIC's researchers I was offered a bursary to undertake this project using anthropological methods to explore the above issues.

1.4. Anthropology and Refugees

The most widely quoted definition of a refugee is the legal language of the United Nations Convention on Refugees of 1951 and the Protocol of 1967. The 1967 Protocol defines a refugee as "[e]very person who, owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country."

(C.B.Keely. 1981. p.6.)

1.5. Refugees are Human phenomena

Refugees are among the most disquieting and unpalatable of human phenomena. Refugees signal displacement, homelessness, separation, abandonment, perdition, tragedy, despair, loss and grief; unknown - and yet intuitively known - human conditions in one of their most radical forms; humanity in its utmost fragility. At one and the same time, refugees evoke anxiety and compassion, fear and empathy, hate and love. Their fate is deplored and spurned in an entangled duplicity; they are perfect receptacles for pure passion. Circumscribed by a sphere which is seemingly inconceivable, immeasurable and uncontrollable, refugees represent a troubled encounter with the unexpected, the strangely familiar, the unformed, they are, to paraphrase a Freudian notion - the malaise of civilization. (Ann-Belinda Steen. 1993. p.1.) As Refugees are most desperate people in the world, anthropologists must pay attention to their problem. Applied anthropology is ultimately political and usually concerned with the interests of structurally subordinated groups. (M.G.Whisson. in Ralph Grillo. 1985. p.143).

1.6. Anthropologist's Obligations

Anthropologists are normally accused, they are demeaning to the peoples studied, they were linked to colonialism, they were helped and exploited, their studies have no practical relevance to the people of the countries where they have been engaged in field work. We may argue these are partial, outdated and ideologically motivated, but we must prove anthropology is not a dirty word, but the name of a genuine humanistic discipline, and we must maintain and develop it has such, even if others attempt to destroy and swallow it. (Andrew Strathern. p.182 in Ralph Grillo. 1985).

1.7. Methodology

This research is of a qualitative and applied type which hopefully will conclude with some suggestions as to how improvements can be made in the way the Tamil asylum - seekers' problems are approached.

1.8. Qualitative Data

The distinguishing feature of qualitative research is that it is indeed intended to expand knowledge (i.e. to identify universal principles that contribute to our understanding of how the world operates). Thus it is knowledge, as an end in itself, that motivates qualitative research (T.E. Hedrick. 1993.p.3).

Based on the following experiences as a participant/observant I have gathered qualitative data for my research. My dissertation for my B.A. Hons. degree was "Sinhalese Youths Insurrection of 1971", which I did in 1978. From that time I have developed a habit of documenting issues affecting Tamil youths. These collections were very helpful to develop background information about Tamil militancy. Furthermore I had the opportunity of attending seminars and meetings held on Tamil affairs, I consulted community groups and NGOs who work among Tamils, I worked in refugee camps for Tamils in Sri Lanka and India, I also work among Tamils in the U.K. as interpreter in their day to day official communication needs, I participated in the 1992 Home Office project on refugees resettlement, visited many libraries in London and collected information related to Tamils and surveyed important books, journals, articles, official

correspondance and reports relating to Tamils. Furthermore during my stay in Britain for the last three years I have continually participated in political functions, cultural and ritual activites of the Tamils. Based on this type of participation I have collected sufficient data for my research.

1.9. Applied Research

Though it is often hoped that qualitative research findings will eventually be helpful in solving particular problems, such problem-solving is not the immediate or driving goal of qualitative research. Applied research, in contrast strives to improve our understanding of a specific problem, with the intent of contributing to the solution of that problem. Applied research also may result in new knowledge, but often on a more limited basis defined by the nature of an immediate problem (T.E. Hedrick. 1993.p.3).

As the outcome of the qualitative research among the Tamils, I have gained adequate knowledge of the specific needs and the real problems faced by them. Based on these findings I have suggested appropriate solutions in the light of their real needs.

1.10. Planned publications :

- (a) My dissertation will be published by my sponsors the Tamil Information Centre, after review and updating.
- (b) Documentary (video) film.

CHAPTER 2

2.0. A SOCIO ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INTRODUCTION IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE:

2.1. Geographical Background

Sri Lanka, an island of 65,510 sq kms, 20 miles south-east of the sub-continent of India, with a population of over 17 million has been progressively devastated by ethnic conflict between its Sinhalese and Tamil populations since independence from Britain in 1948. The Sinhalese constituting 72% of the population are predominantly Buddhist and inhabit much of the south and west of the island. The Tamil community comprises 25% of the population, most of whom are Hindus and historically lay claim to the north and east of the country (Malcolm Rodgers. p.1. 1992).

2.2. Colonial Period

Sri Lanka, earlier known as Ceylon, consisted of three different kingdoms, two Sinhalese and one Tamil prior to the arrival of the colonial powers. In 1505, the Portuguese captured the lower regions consisting of the Tamil kingdom and the Sinhalese Kotte kingdom. The Sinhala Kandyan kingdom continued to be safe because of its location in the hill country. In 1656, the Dutch ousted the Portuguese and occupied the areas previously held by the Portuguese. In 1796, the

British captured the Dutch possessions of Ceylon and in 1815 took over the hill country Kandyan kingdom but continued to administer the different parts of Ceylon - the Tamil homeland, the lower maritime provinces and the hill country's former Kandyan kingdom - separately. In 1833 for administrative convenience all three regions were brought under one administration. (S.Visahan. P.1.1992).

2.3. Elitist Nation Consciousness

Nation consciousness was prevalent only among a limited section of the people. It was based on a concept of nationalism as secular and territorially based, claiming the exclusive loyalty of citizens to an entity called the nation-state which represented a geographical area, the home of the nation and thus included within it all its inhabitants. Such a concept was derived from Ceylon's recent connections with the West and in that form it was comprehensible to those who were familiar with modern European history and political thought. In the context of Ceylon, this was a category of people who are variously referred to as middle class, elite, English-educated, westernised - all of which terms convey the basic fact that they are a group of people who differ from the traditional social groups in that they are the product of the economic, social and intellectual influences that have emanated from Western colonial rule. (Arasaratnam pp 262-3 in Mason, Philip et Al. 1967). This elitist group broke up into communal groups during the early twentieth century forming the Tamil Maha Sabha for the Tamils and the Sinhala Maha Sabha for the Sinhalese. (A.J.Wilson 1966. P.666). The cause of this break up into communal groups was due to the ethno-centric attitudes of the majority Sinhalese elitist group which dominated the proceedings of the original elitist Tamil-Sinhala group.

2.4. Emergence of Independence Consciousness

Gandhian philosophy of non-violence and his nationalist sentiments found echoes in the whole of South-Asia not excluding Ceylon. Youths from both the Tamil and Sinhala communities in Ceylon were influenced by nationalist feelings. The Jaffna Youth Congress headed by Mr. Handy Perinpanayagam in the 30's was the first movement in Ceylon to seek full independence for Ceylon. Several Indian freedom movement leaders including Mahatma Gandhi visited Jaffna at the invitation of the Jaffna Youth Congress and addressed public meetings. In 1931 the Donoughmore Constitution was adopted in which for the first time there was no communal representation. The Jaffna Youth Congress called upon all the people of Ceylon to boycott the constitution by not participating in the general elections. The Sinhalese did not co-operate in this move and the opportunity was lost to forge communal unity (S.Sivanayagam. P.5.1978). Though the Jaffna Youth Congress had not succeeded in bringing about communal unity and also failed in its objective of full independence, yet it nurtured the Gandhian philosophy of non-violence which was to serve the Tamils later in their political agitations. The Jaffna Youth Congress was also engaged in such activities as fighting caste discrimination and pioneered other social reforms.

2.5. Origins of New Tamil Political Parties

The longest politically organised minority are the Ceylon Tamils. The first elected "educated Ceylonese" in the Legislative Council in 1912 was the Tamil, Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan. His brother Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam was the first president of the Ceylon National Congress. This acceptance by the majority community did not last beyond 1921 when the two

brothers left the congress and founded the Tamil Mahajana Sabha. At the very beginning of party formation in Ceylon there was immediately established a dichotomy between Sinhalese and Tamils which has continued for over fifty years. With the coming of universal suffrage in 1931, many Tamil leaders urged a boycott of the State Council elections and four seats were left vacant. In 1936 an all-Sinhalese Board of Ministers was formed. Finally, in 1944 the All Ceylon Tamil Congress was founded by G.G.Ponnambalam. Throughout this development Tamil politicians had fought for protected representation in the legislature. This reached its height with the agitation surrounding the Soulbury Commission for "fifty- fifty", the equal division of representation between the Sinhalese and the other communities. Tamil political leaders, drawn largely from the professional classes, continued to be legalistic and constitutional, a tendency undisturbed by the creation of the Federal Party as a splinter from the Tamil Congress in 1949.(Jupp, James; P.136.)

Wilson points out that it was the Federal Party which for the first time began to think of an economic future for the Ceylon Tamils, not in the public services or in the common exploitation by Sinhalese and Tamils of the economic resources of the entire country but in the preservation and development in isolation of a Tamil homeland. (A.J.Wilson JCWPS. P.117-118). The Tamil Federal Party found favour among the Tamils as the Tamil Congress found itself a helpless partner with the Sinhala majority governments which proceeded to adopt anti-Tamil measures like the Citizenship Act. The complete break of even the Tamil Congress with the government came with the passing of the Official Language Act in 1956 which made Sinhala the official language replacing English. The ascendancy of the Federal Party among the Tamils was established by this time. The Federal Party, sought to engage in non-violent forms of protest as it was faced with the intransigence of the government which broke a pact soon after it was entered into to solve the Tamil question.

2.6. Non-violent resistance

Between 1956 and 1961 various forms of non-violent agitation were carried on by the Federal Party after promises which were not fulfilled and another pact which was also broken by the government. One of the forms of agitation during this period was a protest march in 1957 by nearly 500,000 Tamils from various parts of the Tamil homeland which converged in Trincomalee. In 1960 the Federal Party called upon volunteers to set up a corps to engage in rival public services such as the posted service and to maintain mass participation of ordinary folk in sit-downs opposite government offices in the North and East brought about a halt to government administration (A.J.Wilson: JCWPS P.133-134).

Non-violent protests were met with military oppression and detention of leaders and activists under emergency powers. As non-violent protests met with continued violent oppression and the Tamil political parties had no further avenues open to them constitutionally, the leader of the Federal Party called upon all Tamil parties to unite under one banner. Consequently the Tamil United Front (TUF) was formed in 1972.

2.7. The Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF)

The Tamils found themselves further alienated when in 1972 a new constitution was promulgated which did away with the minority safeguards provided in the independence Soulbury constitution by the departing British colonial government. In addition the 1972 constitution gave constitutional status to the Sinhala language as the only official language and elevated Buddhism as the state

religion. The TULF high command went to South India and met the ruling party, the opposition, student unions and influential sections of the south Indian community and secured their support for the Tamil cause in Ceylon. (Amirthalingam. P.54 in Federal Party Silver Jubilee Vol.). As discrimination and violence against Tamils continued the TUF reconstituted itself in 1976 as the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) with the abowed aim of reconstituting the Tamil nation-state in the North-East of Sri Lanka.

2.8. Liberation From Caste Discrimination

From 1928 the Jaffna Youth Congress had agitated for the right of children of the depressed class for equal opportunites in education. Consequently a number of schools in the North opened their portals to such children. In the East, the Ramakrishna Hindu Mission had opened schools and had not practised any discrimination in admission. In 1941, the various depressed class associations united to form the Sirupanmai Thamilar Mahasabai (United Association) which campaigned for minority Tamil rights.(C.Bose P.32-38).

Though a united association had been formed no significant advances were made. In 1956 at their twelfth annual conference a resolution was passed condemning the discrimination practised against the people of the depressed class. Between 1956 and the 1960s the association was able to collectively meet government ministers and obtain concessions in respect of job oppourtunities and land allocations. This association also threatened action to gain free access to tea stalls and restaurants. From the very inception, the depressed caste associations leant heavily towards the Communist Party of Ceylon. When a split occured in the Communist Party in 1964, these

depressed caste associations too broke up into two camps supporting one or the other of the split Communist Party. In 1965 all these associations formed a united front to overcome their disabilities from discrimination. In mid 1967 this front conducted a forced tea stall entry campaign. The police had stood by idle. The campaign reached a crisis stage in 1968 in which a minority caste member died. In 1968-1969 it launched several temple entry campaigns to establish their rights as any other worshipper (Ravana.P.97-120). The success of the campaign to overcome the disabilities of lower castes was aided by the efforts of the Tamil youth Movement which urged the Tamil leaders to adopt a non-discriminatory policy towards the depressed castes. (Brian Pfaffenberger.P.93-95).

CHAPTER 3

3.0. A New Era

3.1. Formation Period of Tamil Youth Militancy

Tamils are generally a peace-loving and docile race, and consequently had been victims of violence since 1956 in a series of regular anti-Tamil riots condoned by the state. All avenues of constitutional and extra-constitutional non-violent agitations by the Tamils brought forth only harsh and oppressive military oppression under emergency powers. The frustrated Tamil youth deprived of equal opportunities in higher education and employment and harassed by police began in the mid 1970s forming separatist movements.

3.2. Idiological Foundations for Youth Militancy

Pfaffenberger calls attention to "the widespread fear among Ceylon Tamils that continued Sinhala domination will eventually eradicate not only the civil rights of Ceylon Tamils, but also their unique cultural tradition. (Brayan Pfaffenberger. P.145- 6.) Bruce Kapferer points out that "culture has assumed pride of place in the litany of nationalisms everywhere. Almost universally the culture that nationalists worship is those things defined as the founding myths and legends of the nation and the customs and traditions and language of the nation. These are integral to national sovereignty and are made sacred in the nation as the nation is made sacred in them. The

customs, language and traditions of the nation are often referred to as primordial, the root essence of nationalism and national identity, those that generate the feeling or sentiment of national unity and legitimate national independence.(Bruce Kapferer.P.1-5.)

3.3. Cultural Roots of Militant Ideology

Imbued with the fear of the elimination of their cultural identity and the eventual destruction of their Tamil homeland, the Tamil youth, especially those of the TULF Youth Fronts - the Thamil Illangnar Peravai (Tamil Youth League), Thamil Maanavar Peravai (Tamil Students League) and the Thamil Mahalir Peravai (Tamil Women's League) started engaging in non-violent agitations such as black flag demonstrations against visiting government ministers, schools boycott, burning the national flag and the constitution, marches and rallies, violating government regulations like using defaced stamps on letters to government officials. (Federal Party Silver Jubilee Souvenir.P). The only response by the government to such agitation was the introduction of military forces in Tamil areas and provocative and harsh measures by the state forces. The first Tamil individual who figured in violence against the police in furtherance of Tamil violent agitation was Ponnudurai Sivakumar. When Sivakumar was subsequently arrested by police in 1976, he bit into a vial of cyanide carried on his person. Sivakumar's suicide by taking cyanide was the first of a series of Tamil youths who were prepared to choose death without falling into the enemy's hands. His death earned for him posthumous fame as the first Tamil youth to die in the armed struggle. A statue of Sivakumar was erected in a public place and the commemoration ceremony was attended by TULF leaders and students. Schools were also closed on the commemoration day. The Federal party newspaper issued a special edition on 23 June

1976 devoted to Sivakumar's life. Sivakumar was compared to Murugan, the Hindu deity who vanquished the evil demon and songs in his praise were printed. Photographs showing Sivakumar's image juxtaposed with famed and divine persons were distributed by the Federal Party throughout homes, shops and institutions. (See the photos - Appendix 1). Sivakumar was immortalised and venerated and classed among Tamil heroes like the Tamil king Veera Pandiya Katta Pomman who gave his life in the fight against the invaders who usurped his territory. After the demise of S.J.V. Chelvanayakam, the leader of the Federal party, photographs were made in which Sivakumar is depicted standing alongside the late Federal Party leader symbolising the transition from non-violence of the Tamil movement towards violence in the cause of freedom. (See Appendix 2). Students, the general public from far and near began visiting the statue of Sivakumar so much so that it irked the police and the armed forces who destroyed the statue which was re-erected soon afterwards.

CHAPTER 4

4.0. Growing Armed Struggle:

The militant youth movement under the shadow of the TULF had some factions with skin-deep ideological differences. They were all involved in insular or localised militant action during the early 80's. In all 37 fragments of the emerging militant groups were identified. (See Appendix for details). However only 5 groups with a total membership of 15,000 were found active in the early 80's. These 5 major groups with their acronyms were - 1. Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) V.Pirabakaram as its leader. acronym: 2) Peoples Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam PLOT with Umamaheswaran as its leader 3) Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation TELO with Sri Sabaratnam as its leader. 4) Eelam Peoples Revolutionary Liberation Front EPRLF with Pathmanaba as its leader. 5) Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Student EROS with V.Balakumar as its leader.

The major objective of all the 5 groups was confronting the government security forces. (Roham P.136).

4.1. Indian contacts with Militants

A new presidential system somewhat like the French "Gaullist" model was introduced by a new constitution in 1978, after the landslide victory of the UNP in the 1977 general election (Tambiah 1986:38-39, Wilson 1979:235-242). This constitution conferred wide powers on the

president and gave him immunity from legal proceedings in both his private and official capacities while holding office. This was rendered possible in a series of amendments to the constitution passed in the following years. Among the repressive legislation enacted was the "Prevention of Terrorism Act" (P.T.A.) of 1979. More specifically, the P.T.A. was introduced by the Sri Lankan government following a number of individual acts of terrorism, including the killing 1978. Intended as a measure to proscribe and eliminate the Tamil guerilla groups (Hellmann-Rajanayagam 1986:66), the Act accords the authorities detention without trial for periods of three to eighteen months without charge or judicial review and without access to relatives and lawyers a period of encreased violence, and what has since repeatedly been described as " the brutal and indiscriminate procedure of the police and army who detained and sometimes tortured innocent young people on mere suspicion" (Hellmann- Rajanayagam 1986:66 in Ann-Belinda Steen. 1993.p.54.). This was coupled, on the other hand, with the boosting of the popularity of the militant groups among the Tamil population, and TULF's progressive loss of its hold on the Tamils and Tamil politics, resulting from the increasingly widespread perception that it could no longer protect its own people (Hellmann- Rajanayagam 1986:65-67 in Ann-Belinda Steen.1993.p.54.)

4.2. Wooing the people of Tamil Nadu

The 1977 riots which led to a large scale internal displacement of Tamils created an everlasting impression on the Tamil Nadu state with a population of six million Tamil speaking people. Feelings went high with every harassemnt of the Sri Lankan Tamils and the Indian government had to accept the concerns of the State government due to its reliance on it for its control at the

Centre. The Tamil Nadu factor and the Indian factor in Tamil militancy was a growing one due to the continuing harrassment of the Tamils by the Sri Lankan government.

4.3. Indian Response to Sri Lankan's changing Foreign Relations

The foreign policy followed by the Sri Lankan government during the early 80s ensured that Indian factor would be in place to secure Indian geo-political interests.

The advent of the Israelis through the Israeli interests section in Colombo, while the rest of the non-aligned countries had no Israeli connections was looked with disfavour by India. The closer co-operation with Pakistan and China was a potent threat. It had been the practise for the Sri Lankan security force personnel to undergo advanced training in India ever since independence. But the shift towards Pakistan and ever China for such favours antogonised India. The facilities given to the voice of America to operate a transmission facility within Sri Lanka was another sore point with India. The securing of the services of former SAS officers for training police Comondos further alievated India. With such an antogonistic posture on the part of Sri Lanka. India through its (Research & Analysis Wing) RAW the equivalent of CIA made contacts with Tamil militants to embarass Sri Lanka. Tamil militants who were engaged in isolated guerilla attacks and crude ambushes were given training by India in conventional warfare and weapons handling. With these combat readiness the militant Tamil groups succeeded in keeping government forces in a besieged state in the North-East.

4.4. India's Hidden Agenda and Tamil Militants

Indian's prime concern in its relations whether with Sri Lankan Government or Tamil militants was its own security. The foreign relations of Sri Lanka posed an external threat to India the ultimate objective of a Tamil Eelam State of the militants was a threat to India's internal security. Separatism in India had been regaining its head constantly. Separatist tendencies in Tamil Nadu had been prevalent and had been contained. A Tamil Eelam would have kindled this dormant separatism in Tamil Nadu and India was quite aware of this eventuality. Any support of assistance to the militants could only be upto assistance to the militants could only be upto a point short of a separate Tamil Eelam. One strategy adopted to achieve this was putting one militant group against another to keep all under its aegis. However this strategy misfired with the LTTE gaining control of the local situation at the cost of all the other groups (Rohan G. 1993 P.135).

4.5. Indian Intervention

The emergence of the LTTE as the dominant militant group saw them take de facto control in North East. This was totally not acceptable to both the Sri Lankan & Indian government. To check this development the Sri Lankan government imposed a 48 hour curfew and launched a massive deployment of troops in Vadamardchy, a northern coastal region in Jaffna district. This "Operation Liberation" which led to a massacre of over 600 Tamils civilians in Jaffna failed to maintain the momentum due to the urban guerrilla warfare adopted by the LTTE. The massacre and the economic blockade on the Tamils gave India the chance to press for a stop to both of them.

As a humanitarian relief mission, India proposed the despatch of food by seacraft which was refused by Sri Lanka. India took the unprecedented step of delivering food supplies through an air drop under an operation code-named "Poomalai" which means garland of flowers in Tamil. Following this coercive military manouvre Sri Lanka acceded to India's views on the ethnic conflict by signing the Indo-Lanka Peace Accord of 1987 which brought in the Indian Peace Keeping Force. The IPKF's attempt at disarming the LTTE going under ground to continue the guerilla warfare (Rohan G.1993. Chapter 6 & 7)

4.6. LTTE vs Indian Forces

As the aspirations of the Tamils formed no concern for the alien Indian forces their actions were to drive a wedge between them. This resulted in the killing of over 5.000 civilians, rape of 400 women and destruction to much of the infra structure. After two years of occupation the Indian forces were unceremoniously sent out by the Sri Lankan government proving the point that the LTTE was a group to be reckoned with.

4.7. Second Confrontation - LTTE vs Sri Lankan Forces

Failure of negotiations between teh LTTE and government begun prior to the Indian forces broke down in 1990 and open war recommenced. With the conflict continuing upto now extending even to conventional warfare these is a stalemate with the LTTE established as a leading guerilla force.

CHAPTER 5

5.0. INTERNATIONAL DISPLACEMENT OF TAMILS

5.1. Violence and Displacement

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), currently the refugee population in the world stands at 18.9 million. A vast number of people are also displaced internally due to domestic conflicts. In Sri Lanka Tamil displacement has continued since violence against the community began in 1956. Large number of Tamils were displaced in the violences of 1958, 1977 and 1981. Significantly, during these periods no Tamil fled to India or other foreign countries.

5.2. Displacement after 1983

However, the 1983 violence drastically changed this situation and Tamils began to flee to other countries. In the earlier violence displaced people took refuge in camps set up by the government and NGOs. A large number of people also fled to the Tamil North and East from Sinhalese-dominated southern areas.

The 1983 violence was so devastating that the Tamils were psychologically shattered and left the shores of Sri Lanka believing that they had no protection from the state. Around 120,000 people fled to India in 1983. However, only a few left for the Western and other countries. Significant number of Tamils began arriving in these countries in the latter half of 1984 and 1985 coinciding with massive military build-up in the Tamil North -East and the beginning

of military operations by the Sri Lankan armed forces in which the civilian population was severely affected.

5.3. Displacements after Indian Intervention

In 1987, when the LTTE and the Sri Lankan government held peace talks, Tamils in refugee camps in India were returned under a programme involving the UNHCR. Over a million people, 95% of them Tamils, were displaced in the North-East after fighting broke out again between government forces and LTTE in June 1990. Around 120,000 Tamils fled once again to India increasing the total number of Sri Lankan refugees in the southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu India to 220,000. Since 1983 around 400,000 Tamils have sought asylum in Europe and North America. (Mayan Vije. p14.1993). Another 100,000 Tamils have fled the North-East to take refuge with friends and relatives in Colombo and suburbs.

5.4. Changing Attitude in Refugee Situation

The refugee situation has remarkably changed attitudes among the Tamil community. The Sri Lankan Tamil society has been for many centuries strictly controlled by the caste system. Members of the higher caste, mainly the Jaffna Vellalar caste, regard the people of lower caste as inferior and had a polluting influence on the environs. A Vellala would not live or eat with a member of the lower caste. The caste barriers broke down in refugee camps where the label "refugee" is attached to everyone without caste difference. People of the higher caste have been compelled by refugee situations to live and eat with lower caste people, in several instances to totally depend on them for food and shelter.

(From my field notes)

5.5. Moving towards the West

Asylum seekers left Sri Lanka to countries in the West, mainly after the door began to shut in India, where increasingly the population and the government are becoming hostile due to pressures created by the refugee population. Refugees left their own country and sought (see appendix-3 for torture methods used by Sri Lankan government on Tamils) asylum in the developed world because life had become intolerably dangerous and insecure. But, in most instances they cannot prove as the UN Refugee Convention and Protocol require, that they have a well-founded fear of being persecuted, particularly since one has to prove both the objective and subjective elements in order to be eligible for refugee status. People in this position flee from unstable countries such as Uganda, Sri Lanka and El Salvador which are experiencing both civil conflict and economic recession. It has therefore been easy for politicians, civil servants and immigration authorities to dismiss them as economic migrants seeking a better standard of living. Unable to work in developed countries lawfully, they pose as refugees, it is claimed and submit what are described as "manifestly unfounded" applications for asylum (Refugees, Kahn 1986 pagepp. 38-39.). In Britain Tamils have often been described by government ministers and MPs as "economic migrants" and "bogus refugees".

5.6. New Restrictions on Tamils

Restrictions are being placed on Tamil refugees arriving in this country. In 1985, the British

government imposed visa restrictions on all Sri Lankans in order prevent the arrival of Tamil asylum-seekers. (Kahn 1986 page 39). The British government also introduced a law imposing fines on airlines bringing unsuccessful asylum applicants from the Third World. British law allows only a judicial review on a negative decision of the Minister on asylum applications and one has to go out of the country to file an appeal on the substantive issues of the case. In 1986 five Tamil refugees were deported from Britain. They had been arrested and tortured by the Indian Peace Keeping Force and the Sri Lankan Army. They successfully appealed against the decision of the Minister to deport them and the British government was forced to return them at its expense.

5.7. Tamils in Orbit

A large number of Tamil asylum seekers are stranded in countries in Asia, Africa and Europe, unable to enter the country of their destination.

Many of them have paid large amounts of money to agents for transport to the West. The agents often arrange for them to reach some other destination and then leave the refugees stranded.

CHAPTER 6

6.0: Tamils and Britain

6.1 British Influence Among Tamils

The Northern Province enjoyed an elevated status compared to the rest of the island in the sphere of literacy during the British rule. This was principally due to the success of proselytisation undertaken by the Portuguese and Dutch missionaries who utilised the vehicle of education in achieving their objectives. The response from the local population no doubt was a contributory factor. The adverse relationship of local resources to the population made the Tamils grab the opportunity with both hands. The role of christian priests as leading educators cannot be over emphasized. The natural outcome of this reception among the population was the overall higher educational standard that prevailed during and immediately after the British rule.

This educational prop ensured that the Tamils from the North could be apportioned opportunities in the middle rungs of the public service with English as the medium of communication in excess of the ratio relating to the population of the Sinhalese and Tamils. (W. Howard Wriggins - Page 231 - 232 - 1960)

In establishing the commercial economy based on the plantation sector the British administration helped the economic development in the Sinhalese areas surrounding the capital and the towns within the hill country plantations. With the absence of employment opportunities in the barren north the Tamils there took upon themselves the role of a subservient work force much to the liking of the British employers. Though accepting the British work ethics the Tamils did not fail to preserve their ethnic identity which was a stiking point with the Sinhalese. That British administrators favoured the Tamils because of their output is no secret as was evidenced by informants. (Interviewed several civil servants who served during the British rule). One significant point of interest is that

British administrators when transferred to another station in the east like Malaya tended to take with them their Tamil employees because of their diligence and loyalty. These Tamils too did not betray the trust placed in them by such acts as their unstinted support for the British war effort. This took the form of even naming a war plane funded by them being christened "The Jaffna". They really conscripted themselves as volunteers and were willing donors of blood during the second world war. (S. Sathiyaseelan 1980 - Page ?)

6.2 The Concept of British among Tamils

"*Avan Vellayan*" literally means that he is a white man. This notion still prevailing among Tamils denotes a man with qualities of being an educated, just, rich, courageous, punctual, polite and honest individual. These are the qualities that were found among the professionally trained British administrators who were respected by their Tamil employees. This concept of a Briton when projected on to their land of abode, Britain claimed equal respect from the Tamils. From the latter part of the 19th century some proceeded for further education to Britain to qualify as Barristers, Doctors and in such fields. On their return these individuals played a leading role as politicians and legislators and were held in the same esteem as the Britons although they were black. Their way of life was similar to the British and they were referred to as "that white man".

6.3 Tamil expatriates in Britain

All the Tamils who came to Britain for further education returned to Ceylon to be held in respect among their countrymen. This was in spite of the provision that any commonwealth citizen had the right to remain in Britain. The handful who stayed back did so due to their having British spouses. The 1958 communal riots in Ceylon led to a few Tamils utilising this right to remain here. The visa restrictions imposed following the outflow of Asians from Kenya and Uganda during 1962 made it difficult for the Tamils to enter Britain than hitherto experienced by them. The obstacles placed before the Tamils for pursuing their higher education within Sri Lanka resulted in more and more Tamils

entering Britain as students. On completion of 10 years in Britain these students were given the right to indefinite stay. A number of professional Tamils also chose to live and work in Britain following the restrictions imposed on employment by the Official Language Act 1956. This includes those who arrived after obtaining work permits. From the late 1960s to the 1980s the number of expatriate Tamils in Britain swelled to 20,000. The number would have been even higher had there been no increase in fees for foreign students. It was this expatriate community that helped to expose to the world the genocidal suppression of Tamils in Sri Lanka through campaigns, lobbies, protest marches and media means.

6.4 Tamil Asylum Seekers in Britain

Britain had a history of humanitarianism that welcomed those in difficulty, even in some cases setting up reception committees with government funds. This was however not applicable to the east European Jews fleeing Nazi persecution.

The attitude towards refugee influx both of the government and the public was determined by the need of the British economy. If in recession as during 1900-1914, 1918-1932 and 1960-1980, the attitude was hostile with tight entry controls. If an expanding economy with a need for labour input, the attitude changed with recruits made through visits abroad and almost zero controls. (Pankos Panayi - Page 109, in Edited, Vaghan Robinson 1993)

Britain is a signatory to the UN Convention on Refugees, yet the relationship between the Convention and the British Immigration law is far from clear cut. (Ann-Belinda Steen Page 109). The number of Tamils seeking political asylum in Britain stood at 18 in 1980 in spite of the UN Convention and Tamils being commonwealth citizens. The total number of such applications made from 1980 upto June 1993 stands at 18,230. (see Appendix-9 for Annual Statistics). This when compared to Tamil arrivals in other European states and Canada is negligible.

6.5 British Response to Tamil Asylum Seekers

By the year 1985 there came a change in British immigration policy primarily due to the influx of Tamils during this period. The search of the Tamils for political asylum was subordinated to the conception that they were another set of undesirable coloured immigrants (Robert Miles and Paula Cleary in edited Vangham Robinson Page 70). The policy towards Tamils who sought asylum in February 1987 had changed radically so much so that the Tamil asylum seekers were housed in the ferry "Earl William" in order to prevent their seeking asylum in Britain (Panikos Panayi - Page 108 in edited Vaghan Robinson). The Home Office has granted individuals and groups of asylum seekers exceptional or temporary leave to remain if they are not granted refugee status. This is an unclear status and quite ambiguous (Johan Cels - Page 195 in edited Gil Loescher). UNHCR has argued on several occasions that many Tamil asylum seekers are refugees under the Convention - especially young males between 18 and 30 years old - and that young male Tamils were considered to be targetted for persecution by government soldiers and opposition forces - so that grounds exist for recognising group persecution and that given the political situation in Sri Lanka, no Tamil should be returned to Sri Lanka after receiving a negative decision. (Johan Cels - ibid)

British policy towards Tamil asylum seekers has lacked justice. This was due to the intention not to rock the boat as far as the Sri Lankan government is concerned. British economic interests in Sri Lanka is behind this perception. Officers of the British SAS, though an organisation registered elsewhere had participated in Sri Lankan government's combat operations. Military expertise had been lent to perfect the manufacture of bombs to be dropped from planes. (Mayan Vije - Page 32,33, 1986). Such participation in inhuman practices had led to a partiality towards the government at the expense of the Tamils who have been subjected to torture and killing (See Appendix for methods of torture practised by Sri Lankan Security Forces). In pursuance of this partiality Convention status had been granted to only 129 persons from 1980 upto June 1993. This figure also includes Sri Lankan Sinhalese. Sri Lankan asylum cases have drawn public attention to the restrictive and racist nature of British Immigration laws, the roots of conflict in colonial policies of Britain and the contemporary relationship of the British government to the Sri Lankan conflict (Penel Waller page 206 in Ed. Vaughan

Robinson 1993). There is an increasing doubt about the "tolerant humanitarian" of Britain (Waller page 207).

6.6 Tamil Refugees in Britain

New arrivals have tended to be domiciled in the environs where expatriate Tamils had already been resident. The distribution pattern is around the boroughs of Newham, Waltham Forest, Merton, Lewisham, Wandsworth, Harrow, Brent, Ealing, Hounslow, Barnett, Redbridge, Bromley, Croydon and Kingston-upon-Thames. Some boroughs in central London have a density of less than 100 Tamils. (see appendix-10 for details). Due to the Tamil expatriates already having begun cultural and religious groups, the refugee Tamil community has been able to utilise these for their benefit. One hundred twenty seven shops serving traditional Tamil food are found in London. The school-going among the Tamils have found the educational system very beneficial. Out of 15 students who obtained 4 As in the GCE Advanced Level Examination in 1993, 9 were Tamils. Apart from the School-going group, Tamils in general and the elders in particular feel insecure and traumatised with the constant desire to return to Sri Lanka with dignity devoid of persecution. (From my field survey notes)

6.7 Problems of Tamils in Britain

Most Tamils with educational and employment backgrounds have found employment in Britain only in lower ranks. Many of them had spent large sums of money borrowed as loans to finance their flight from persecution. Due to their outstanding loans they accept low paid jobs working extra hours to compensate. The secondary de facto status of exceptional leave to remain which gives fewer rights and less legal security have left unmarried Tamils remaining single and the married without family reunion. Temporary admission, even less secure measure implies that a person may be removed from Britain at any time. The insecurity and the restrictions in family reunion have caused psychological disorders among a large number of Tamil asylum seekers. At least 62 people with such

disorders have been interviewed by the Tamil Refugee Action Group. Resettlement in an alien culture with a language barrier to surmount also creates a stress on these refugees. Separation from families removes cushioning of such a stress and contributes to mental health problems. Perhaps as recognition of this fact family reunion forms the cornerstone of Canadian Immigration Policy and the Canadian definition of family is culture bound focusing on husband , wife and dependent children. (Morton Beiser - in edited Vangham Robinson 1993, Page 217, 218). Separation from parents, relatives and from friends causes frustration among some young refugees leading them into violent behaviour. They often disrupt by violent methods, cultural and other events organized by Tamils.

Local experience being a pre requisite for employment leads to many refugees continuing to be on the dole. Inadequate housing accounts for the overcrowded accommodations availed by the refugees. Need assessment concerning Sri Lankan refugees is rather minimal which has resulted in their being at a disadvantage to improve their lot when compared to other refugee communities in Britain. Community groups to cater to the Sri Lankan refugees is also inadequate when compared to their total number. (From my field survey notes)

CHAPTER 7

7.0. The Sri Lankan Situation and Rehabilitation

7.1. Rehabilitation during Military Operations

Continuing conflict in Sri Lanka is making rehabilitation impossible and the prevalent atmosphere is causing disruption of relief operation by international and national aid agencies. Military operations are taking place in the North-East daily accompanied by arial bombing by the Sri Lankan airforce resulting in extensive damage to property, a large number of civilian deaths and further displacement. Combatants show little regard for civilians and often people are used as human shields. (See Appendix 4 for increasing militarization by Sri Lankan government).

7.2. Destruction of Infrastructures

The airforce has bombed and destroyed factories, houses temples and a number of schools.(See Apendix 5). The arrest of teachers, students and the destrucation of schools has had a devastating effect on education which the Tamils have held in high esteem. Because of displacement and living in refugee camps, many students are unable to attend school and the student population in the North-East is falling.

7.3. Unjustifiable Economic Blockade

The economic blockade, officially imposed by the Sri Lankan government in 1991, is causing tremendous suffering. The government has banned (Gazette Notification - Restriction of Transport of Articles; Emergency Regulation No.1 of 1991) 48 essential items into the Tamil areas including medicines, fuel, fertilizers and has imposed a restriction on food.(See Appendix 6 for banned goods). The lack of adequate food and medicine has led to various types of disease and malnutrition causing thousands of deaths. Agriculture has been affected without fertilizers and insecticides and the ban on fuel and the disruption of electricity supply has brought transport and industries to a standstill.

7.4. NGO's Dilemma

In the prevailing war situation, the most vulnerable section of the population, the refugees, suffer greatly. The food provided to them is inadequate and on many occasions they do not receive food. In August 1993, refugees in camps at Vepankulam and Asikulam in the Vavuniya District were not provided food for 24 days and number of them had to be taken to the hospital. The refugees in these camps had returned from India in July/August and UNHCR which is monitoring the repatriation programme had assured that the refugees could return to home areas in safety and dignity. Most of the returned refugees have been unable to return to home areas because of military operation and continue to live in camps.(See Appendix 7 for refugee camps run by Sri Lankan NGOs and 8 for camps run by foreign NGOs)

7.5. Proposed Safe Havens in Sri Lanka

Events show that the 'safety' assured by UNHCR, whose primary function is international protection of refugees under its mandate, is not in reality available to the refugees. A number of returned refugees have been arrested by armed forces, including many in the UNHCR - managed refugee camps in Pesalai on Mannar Island. Many of those arrested have "disappeared". Refugees have also been shot by security forces inside the UNHCR camp.

7.6. Arrests from Safe Havens in Sri Lanka

Asylum-seekers returned from western and other nations have also been arrested on arrival and the lack of monitoring at ports of arrival leads to disappearances. The UNHCR, in a statement in June 1992 invoked the concept of "safe areas", which has been proposed by the UN in other areas of conflict. UNHCR contends that Tamils could be returned from the West to Colombo and southern areas. However, events in Colombo and the south since this statement, show that these areas are unsafe for refugees. Thousands of Tamils have been arrested in these areas following the assassinations of political and military leaders. Many Tamils are held in prison under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and Emergency regulations for several months without charge of trial. Tamils entering Colombo are expected to register with the police. Despite these developments UNHCR has in June 1993 reiterated its position that Tamils will be safe in Colombo and southern areas.

7.7. Rehabilitation now not possible in Sri Lanka

The continuing conflict forms a matrix for further violence, deaths, destruction and the displacement of the people. Rehabilitation in these circumstances has become extremely difficult and unless the question of 'safety' is dealt with adequately, it will only help in further deterioration of the conflict. Safety can be ensured only when is peace achieved with justice and participation of the parties to the conflict. Therefore it would justifiable to say that that peace with justice is a pre-requisite for successful rehabilitation.

Conclusion

Rehabilitation of Tamil asylum-seekers in London

Older Tamil refugees feel strongly that they do not belong to this country and wish to return to Sri Lanka as soon as possible. The longer they live in Britain the more desperate they become. Restrictions on family reunion has affected a vast number of young Tamils psychologically and they long to be reunited with their families. In many cases spouses have been separated and children separated from parents. Others are unable to reunite with their would be partners. Because of the uneven age distribution in the community, many young Tamil refugees at marriageable age are unable to find partners. Where marriages are arranged, young people are unable to travel to Britain to be married.

If peace is achieved in Sri Lanka, I would confidently say from my interaction with the Tamil community, that people in these categories will return to Sri Lanka voluntarily as soon as it is possible to return. Meanwhile, rehabilitation should begin by the removal of all restrictions on family reunion. Where marriages are arranged, persons to be married should be allowed to enter Britain without undue delay.

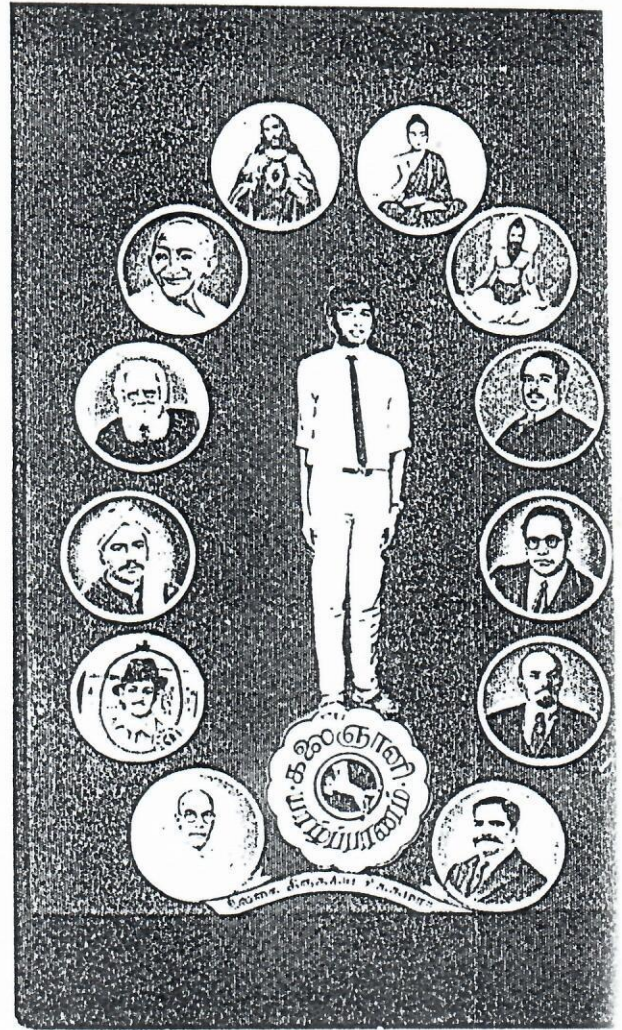
Lack of knowledge of English is a stumbling block for successful integration and availing oneself to employment opportunities. Training in English language is essential for many refugees. Refugees also need employment retraining for local experience and a placement service to cater to their special needs. These will remove a large number of refugees on the dole and enable them to contribute effectively to the society. A counselling service is also

essential for refugees, as many suffer from trauma and other psychological disorders resulting from being exposed to violence in Sri Lanka, loneliness, separation from families and stress created by the alien environment.

Adequate housing is necessary, as many refugees live in crowded insanitary conditions. Local housing authorities should pay special attention to refugee groups and improve housing. A need assessment relating to housing, health and educational needs of the refugees is also important. Involvement and encouragement of community groups will go a long way in giving confidence to refugees and encouraging them to avail themselves to the facilities provided.

When normalcy returns to Sri Lanka, students continuing studies in Britain should not be compelled to return. Many have had their education disrupted in Sri Lanka and they should be allowed to continue and complete their education to enable them to contribute to the development of the nation when they return.

In conclusion it must be emphasised, peace, if achieved in Sri Lanka, must be maintained by the UN and the international community, by however means, diplomatically, economically or militarily, so that Sri Lankans do not flee to Britain or any other foreign country again as refugees.





தாய்க்கு மட்டும் பிள்ளையல்லை
தரணிக்கே பிள்ளையவன்.

APPENDIX - 3

TORTURE METHODS OF THE SRI LANKAN SECURITY FORCES

Beating, mainly on buttocks, with plastic pipes filled with concrete.

Hanging by the feet over a chillie fire.

Hanging by the feet over a chillie fire with the head covered with a sac.

Pushing pins under finger nails and toe nails.

Burning with lighted cigarettes all parts of the body including the tongue.

Slitting the skin and packing with chillie powder.

Slitting the skin and pouring salt water.

Thrusting a live python into the mouth.

Forcing to carry corpses.

Inserting spikes into the body.

Applying chillie powder to sensitive parts of the body.

Beating with gun butts, iron rods and batons.

Hanging by the feet and beating.

Keeping in the nude, splashing with water and exposing to the cold.

Keeping without food for many days and giving salt water to drink.

Keeping without food for many days and giving rice mixed with small stones.

After assaulting severely and causing injury, pouring water on the ground and forcing to lie on it.

Hanging by the feet for many hours.

Keeping with handcuffs throughout the night.

Not allowing to sleep throughout the night by flashing powerful light on to the face.

Keeping in the nude for many days.

Forcing to kneel down on hot sand for many hours.

If detainee faints after severe assault, reviving him by pouring water and then begin assaulting again.

Forcing to sleep in a room where there are corpses.

SUSPENSION

Forcing to lie down on hot tin sheets.

Inserting thin needle - like wires into the urethra.

Inserting iron rods applied with chillie paste into the rectum.

Pulling out pubic hair with pliers.

Injecting chemicals of unknown composition.

Forcing to swim in sand in the nude.

Forcing to drink human blood.

Forcing to drink urine.

Forcing to drink water from the commode.

Sources: Report of Amnesty International: 06/07/83, ASA 37/03/84, 01/06/84, 09/01/85,
24/05/85.

Amnesty International Newsletter - October 1985.

Amnesty International Report 1985.

Sri Lanka - A Nation Dividing - Report by Robert Kilroy Silk MP and Roger Sims MP-
House of Commons.

Affidavits by victims.

APPENDIX - 4

MILITARY BALANCE OF SRI LANKA

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>A R M Y</u>		<u>N A V Y</u>		<u>A I R F O R C E</u>		<u>P O L I C E</u>		<u>P A R A M I L I T A R Y F O R C E S</u>		<u>T O T A L A R M E D F O R C E S</u>
	<u>R E G U L A R F O R C E</u>	<u>R E S E R V E F O R C E</u>	<u>R E G U L A R F O R C E</u>	<u>R E S E R V E F O R C E</u>	<u>R E G U L A R F O R C E</u>	<u>R E S E R V E F O R C E</u>	<u>R E G U L A R F O R C E</u>	<u>R E S E R V E F O R C E</u>	<u>N A T I O N A L A U X I L I A - R Y F O R C E</u>	<u>H O M E G U A R D S</u>	
1981	10,000	10,000	2,740	1,100	2,200	900	14,500	4,500	-	-	14,490
1982	10,000	10,500	2,740	500	2,100	900	17,600	6,000	-	-	14,840
1983	11,000	15,000	2,825	1,100	2,600	1,000	17,000	5,000	-	-	16,425
1984	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1985	11,000	14,000	2,960	582	2,600	1,000	14,500	5,000	-	Reported	16,560
1986	30,000	14,000	3,960	1,000	3,700	1,100	14,500	5,000	-	Reported	37,370
1987	30,000	14,000	3,960	1,000	3,700	1,100	28,000	5,000	-	Reported	37,660
1988	40,000	25,000 ^A	4,000	-	3,700	-	21,000 ^B	-	5,000 ^C	Reported	Some 48,000 ^D
1989	48,000	25,000 ^A	5,500	-	3,700	-	21,000 ^B	-	5,000 ^C	18,000	Some 48,000 ^D
1990	40,000	25,000 ^A	5,500	-	3,700	-	23,500 ^B	-	5,000 ^C	18,000	Some 47,000 ^D
1991	50,000	25,000 ^A	8,100	-	7,000	-	26,000 ^B	-	5,000 ^C	18,000	Some 65,100 ^D
1992	70,000	2,500	8,500	1,000	9,000	1,000	30,000	-	12,000	18,000	Some 85,000 ^D
1993	89,000	2,500	8,900	1,000	8,000	-	30,000	-	12,000	15,200	Some 105,900 ^D

A - Total Reserve Force

B - Plan to increase to 28,000 includes STF

C - Plan to increase to 10,000

D - Total of active regular forces only
excluding Para Military Forces.

Source: Military Balance
Volumes 1981 to 1993
The International Institute for Strategic Studies.

Compiled by: Tamil Information Centre, London.

Tamils Denied of Their Right to Learn

Education for Tamils in their homeland is a difficult and painful experience. Inability to find a political situation, the economic blockade of the government, military operations and aerial bombardment by Sri Lankan airforce have had a far reaching effect on education of Tamils.

In a survey conducted in the Vavuniya District by Jaffna University students, it was revealed that between November 1990 and June 1991, at least twelve Tamil schools were damaged and many buildings in the schools were completely destroyed by airforce bombing. A list of twelve school damaged in the Vavuniya District is as follows:-

No	Name of School	Type of Attack	Month of Attack
1.	Maha Vidyalayam, Omanthai	Bombed	May 1991
2.	Government Tamil Mixed School, Maatharpanikka Mahilankulam	Bombed	May 1991
3.	Government Tamil Mixed School, Sonthakkarankulam	Bombed	May 1991
4.	Government Tamil Mixed School, Koliyakulam	Bombed	May 1991
5.	Mahavidyalayam, Kanakaraayankulam	Bombed	Nov.1990
6.	Vinayagar Vidyalayam	Bombed	Nov.1990
7.	Government Tamil Mixed School, Peyaadikoolankulam	Bombed	Nov.1990
8.	Government Tamil Mixed School, Pampaimadu	Bombed	Nov.1990
9.	Government Tamil Mixed School, Thavasiaakulam	Bombed	Nov.1990
10.	Mahavidyalayam, Poovarasankulam	Bombed	June 1991
11.	Government Tamil Mixed School, Thampanai	Helicopter-Fire	June 1991
12.	Government Tamil Mixed School, Kurukkal Puthukkulam	Helicopter-Fire	June 1991

Military operations have resulted in large-scale displacement of people and as a result 29 other schools had to be shifted to other areas where they function under difficult conditions without proper buildings, furniture or equipment. Some 80% of the student population in many villages is without education as a result of the war, according to reports.

Reports further say that no electricity, no telecommunication, dangerous travelling due to indiscriminate bombing and shelling, lack of access to latest educational materials for students, inability to participate in educational conferences and seminars, inability to forge links with-out side educational institutions are all causing enormous damage to the education of the Tamils. Students say that they were allowed to take only 10-15 half-sheets of writing paper to Jaffna through Thandikulam army check-point. The cost of one sheet of writing paper is SLRs 1/50 in shops in Jaffna.

APPENDIX - 6

The following items are currently banned to the North:

- 1) Batteries
- 2) Surgical instruments
- 3) Medicines, cotton wool and bandages
- 4) Fertilizers containing nitrogen and urea
- 5) Modern electrical equipment
- 6) Chemicals
- 7) Camphor and other inflammable material
- 8) Petrol and diesel
- 9) Polythene and packing material
- 10) Plastic containers
- 11) Gold excluding private jewellery
- 12) Electronic toys
- 13) Remote control devices
- 14) Electric wire
- 15) Guns, ammunition and explosives
- 16) Toy guns
- 17) Uniforms similar to army uniforms
- 18) Binoculars, compasses, town maps and other war accessories
- 19) Road maps, pictures, shoes, black shirts and trousers,
 canvass shoes, small and large bags
- 20) Printing machines and other equipment used in printing
- 21) Roneo copier and photocopier
- 22) Barbed wire and nails
- 23) Candles
- 24) Iron and iron bars
- 25) wooden planks
- 26) Flannel sacs
- 27) Tools for repairing Roneo copiers
- 28) Wire cutting equipment
- 29) Aluminium
- 30) New motor cycles
- 31) Electric cookers
- 32) School bags
- 33) Cement
- 34) Printing paper
- 35) Typing sheets and other white sheets
- 36) Cycles
- 37) Tyres, spare parts for motor vehicles
- 38) Sanitary towels
- 39) Camphor liquid, brass polish, shoe polish
- 40) Soap
- 41) Umbrellas
- 42) Box of Matches.

REFUGEE RELIEF AND REHABILITATION BY SRI LANKAN
ORGANISATIONS

1. All Ceylon Union of Muslim League Youth Fronts
213, Main Street, Colombo 11
2. Batticaloa Relief and Rehabilitation Organisation
91 Lake Road, Batticaloa
3. Ceylon Moor Ladies Union
Balapokuna Road, Kirillapone, Colombo 6
4. Council of Hindu Organisations
9 Castle Lane, Colombo 4
5. Eastern Human and Economic Development
295 Dockyard Road, Trincomalee
6. Eastern Human Economic Development Centre
PO Box 45, Central Road, Batticaloa
7. Eastern Rehabilitation Organisation
Bishops House, Batticaloa
8. Eastern Socio-Economic Development Aid
5 Guanasuriyan Square, Batticaloa
9. Human Development Centre
St. Peters Church, Mullaitivu
10. Human Development Centre of the Diocese of Jaffna
Bishops House, Jaffna
11. International Assembly of Young Men's Muslim Association of Sri Lanka
22 Rosmead Place, Colombo 7
12. Kalmunai Builders Society
79 Pottuvil Road, Kalmunai
13. Kalmunai Muslim Rehabilitation Organisation
Saintha Maruthu, Kalmunai

14. Kilinochchi Development Refugee Organisation
Kilinochchi
15. Lanka Evangelical Alliance Development Service (LEADS)
25 Hospital Road, Dehavela
16. Lanka Jathika Sarvodaya Shramadana Sangamaya
98 Rawatawatte Road, Moratuwa
17. Mannar Association for Relief and Rehabilitation
Main Street, Mannar
18. Mannar Methodist Relief Organisation
Jeevanagar, Murunkan
19. Non-Violent Direct Action Group
Nunavil, Chavakachcheri
20. Northern Methodist Relief Organisation
Jaffna Road, Point Pedro
21. Refugee Rehabilitation Organisation Ltd.
118 Fourth Cross Street, Jaffna
22. Social Action and Development Board
Horowapatana Road, Vavuniya
23. Social Action Development Board
Jaffna College, Vaddukottai
24. Social and Economic Development Centre (SEDEC)
133 Kynsey Road, Colombo 8
26. Sri Lanka Red Cross Society
106 Dharmapala Mawatha, Colombo 7
25. Sri Lanka Social Service Organisation
41 Bharathi Lane, Batticaloa
26. Sri Ramakrishna Sarada Samithi
59 Vivekananda Road, Colombo 6
27. The National Council of the YMCA of Sri Lanka
143, St. Michael's Road, Colombo 3
28. Trincomalee District Development Foundation

40 Huskinson Street, Trincomalee

29. Trincomalee Women's Welfare Association
30. Vathiry Development Foundation
Vathiri, Alvai SPO
31. Young Men's Hindu Association
38 A Lake Road, Batticaloa
32. Young Men's Hindu Association
37 Thirugnanasampanthar Street, Trincomalee

APPENDIX - 8

REFUGEE REHABILITATION BY OVERSEAS NGOs

1. AUSTCARE
35/4 Pohengoda Road, Colombo 5
(86-90 Bay Street, Broadway, NSW, Australia)
2. CARE International Sri Lanka
Vilasitha Niwasa, Hovelock Road Colombo 6
3. FORUT
296, Baudhaloka Mawatha, Colombo 7
4. NORAD
43 Ward Place, Colombo 7
5. OXFAM
6 Carron Place, Off Saranankara Road, Dehewela
6. Save the Children Fund (UK)
10 Ward place, Colombo 7
7. UNICEF
5 Queens Road, Colombo 3
8. Medicins Sans Frontiers
7 Kynsey Terrace, Colombo 8
9. UNHCR
10. Redd Barna
54 Daidson Road, Colombo 4

APPENDIX - 9

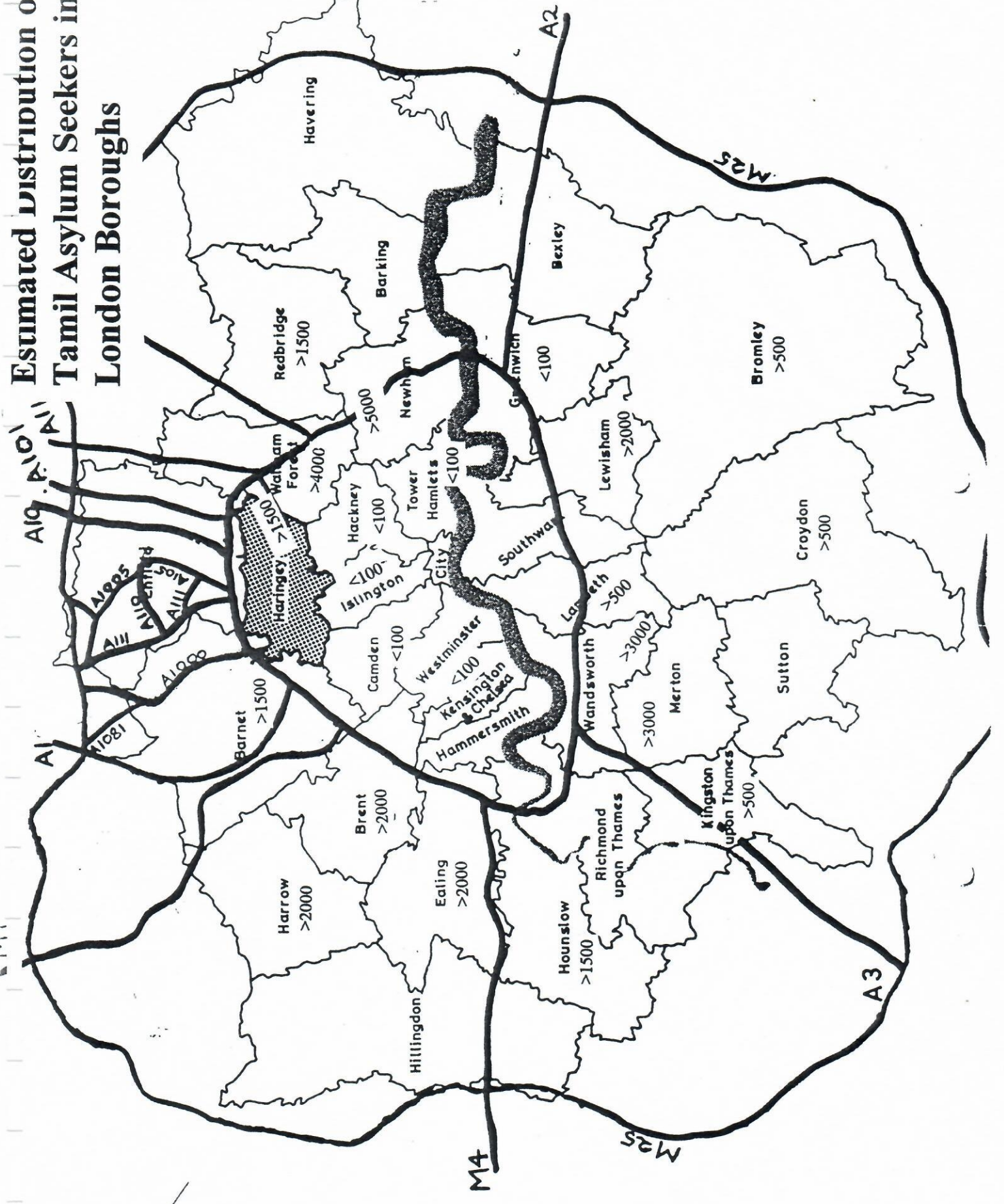
SRI LANKA ASYLUM SEEKERS IN BRITAIN

	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1989</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
APP	18	12	16	380	548	2306	1332	774	469	2005	3620	3750	2085	915 (upto June)	18230
CS	-	2	-	-	2	19	4	10	9	5	23	10	40	5 (upto June)	129
ELR	1	-	2	13	31	967	1913	963	304	975	562	705	4265	2365 (upto June)	13066
REJ	9	7	27	31	100	19	6	62	50	35	8	20	435	100 (upto June)	909
PEN	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	1411	NA	NA	4460	2875 (at 30 June)	2875

APP - Applications
 CS - Convention Status
 ELR - Exceptional Leave to Remain
 REJ - Rejections
 PEN - Pending
 NA - Not Available

Compiled by: Tamil Information Centre, London.

Estimated Distribution of Tamil Asylum Seekers in London Boroughs



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