



# The Reason of Sri Lanka

T.D.S.A.DISSANAYAKA

An in-depth account of the  
racial riots of 1983.



# THE AGONY OF SRI LANKA

by

T. D. S. A. Dissanayaka

An in-depth account of the racial riots of 1983.

**Respectfully dedicated to the memory of**

**Mr. Rajendra (“Raju”) Coomaraswamy**

**to whom I owe so much**



**This book represents the views of the author in his capacity as a citizen of Sri Lanka. It must be emphasised that such views are not necessarily those of his employer, the Government of Sri Lanka.**

All royalties from this book will be used to set up

“The C. C. Dissanayaka Memorial Fund”

to enhance communal amity at Royal College, Colombo. The Fund is designed to actively encourage the present generation of Royalists, growing up in the midst of communal strife, to be above communal prejudices, in keeping with the time-honoured traditions of their Alma Mater.

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The author researched and wrote this book in the short space of sixty nine days in August, September and October of 1983. We printed and published it in thirty two days in November and December of 1983. In the meantime the book was serialized in the "Sunday Island" and read by over 250,000 people. We are now endeavouring to publish an expanded and improved version in 1984.

Books written by the same author

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## Chapter 1.

### THE BACKGROUND

With the cessation of hostilities in World War II it appeared that the end of the colonial Empires was in the offing. France read wrong the writings on the wall and prolonged her agony in Indo-China through a costly war. The Netherlands knew no better and waged a senseless war to recover the former Dutch East Indies which had become the Republic of Indonesia, through the process of Unilateral Declaration of Independence. In direct contrast the British, who hitherto took pride in that the Sun never set on their Empire, made a virtue out of necessity and decided to grant Independence to India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon, as Sri Lanka was then called.

Independence came to India and Pakistan after partition, a process which was both painful and bloody. Burma was ridden with secessionist movements and was in the throes of a civil war. Sri Lanka however was blissful. Not a shot fired in anger, not a freedom fighter in jail and the religious and communal harmony perfect.

Nothing was more deceptive than the religious and communal harmony that prevailed in Sri Lanka on the advent of Independence in 1948. That stable equilibrium was manoeuvred by the British and acclaimed by minorities and British alike.

According to the Census of 1946 the breakdown of the population of Sri Lanka on communal and religious bases was as follows:

	%		%
Sinhala	69.4	Buddhist	64.5
Sri Lanka Tamils	11.0	Hindus	19.8
Indian Tamils	11.7	Christians	9.1
Moors	6.4	Islamic	6.6
Burghers	0.6		
Malays	0.3		
Others	0.6		

Divide and rule was part and parcel of the British policy throughout their Empire. In Sri Lanka the British deliberately gave weightage to the minorities to off set the influence of the majority. This was amply reflected in the representation in the Legislative Council, even after the Manning reforms were incorporated in 1924. Those elected were on the following basis:

<i>Seats</i>	<i>Community</i>
14	— For Sinhala speaking areas
7	— For Tamil speaking areas
3	— For Europeans elected by their community
2	— For Burghers elected by their community
1	— For Ceylon Tamils elected by their community

This weightage in favour of the minorities ceased to exist in the political arena after 1931, when universal franchise was introduced. However the weightage continued unabated in the then prestigious Government service. In 1947, the last year of the British Administration, according to the Civil List of that year, a typical ethnic break down in the executive grades was as follows:

	<i>Sinhala</i>	<i>Tamil</i>	<i>Burgher</i>
Permanent Secretaries	4	2	4
Ceylon Civil Service	52	21	11
Police	13	4	12
Medical Service	142	69	37
Inland Revenue	13	14	5
Irrigation Department	11	24	4
Public Works Department	34	29	6
Ceylon Government Railways	6	8	8

As experience has shown in Asia, Africa and Latin America, Independence necessarily entails rapid changes either by evolution or revolution. In Sri Lanka one of the inevitable changes was finding a new equilibrium in the relationship between the majority community, the Sinhala Buddhists who accounted for 64.5% of the population, and the ethnic and religious minorities, disparate elements who accounted for the balance 35.5%

In 1948 the majority community had a grievance in that they had been equated with the minorities by the British.

In 1948 perhaps the wisest of all minorities were the Muslims, Except in the Districts of Batticaloa, Mannar, Puttalam and Trincomalee where they account for 42.3, 35.5, 32.3 and 31.3 per cent respectively of the population. They were a small community living either in the midst of Sinhala or Tamil people. A cardinal rule with them was not to antagonize the majority community. As such they had hardly any adjustment to make in the quest of a new equilibrium.

In 1948 the Burgher population was 43,000 and by and large they were proud of their European heritage. Their sense of values was European rather than Asian and many Burghers had an ill-concealed disdain for all that was indigenous to Sri Lanka. However they had the wisdom to realise that they could not sustain such values after the departure of the British and hence sought fresh pastures abroad, principally in Australia. A minority amongst the Burghers preferred the way of life in Sri Lanka. They chose to be assimilated, came into the mainstream of life and continue to live happily in the land of their birth.

In 1948 the Christians were indeed a powerful and affluent minority. Exhibiting a mixture of arrogance and ignorance they perceived that their privileged position was determined by God rather than by the British. For instance the Church of England, to which my family has belonged for several generations, numbered 49,000 people but their influence was staggering. To quote and example Justice E. W. Jayewardene, the father of President J. R. Jayewardene, Sir Solomon Dias Bandaranaike, the father of Prime Minister S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and Mrs. Alice Kotalawela the mother of Prime Minister Sir John Kotalawela, were all members of the Church of England, now called the Church of Ceylon. The Christians, both the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, were acutely conscious that they had almost a monopoly of the prestige schools and also easy access to Government service and the mercantile sector. Above all they looked upon Buddhism in the same supercilious way the British did. Had this attitude continued a bloody conflict between the Christians and Buddhists was inevitable.



Mercifully the leadership of the Church, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, was enlightened. Some Bishops could see one generation ahead some even further, beyond the twentieth century. Reforms long overdue were instituted. Christianity was made to look, not the religion of the conqueror but of a section of the indigenous population. Services were held in an atmosphere compatible with the indigenous culture, whereas earlier it was consonant with the British Empire or some Holy Roman Empire. Above all the highest respect was shown to Buddhism, the religion of nearly two-thirds of the population of Sri Lanka.

All these far reaching changes were achieved within one generation. Today it is common knowledge that to every non-routine ceremony in a Christian Church, Roman Catholic or Protestant, the Buddhist clergy are invited as honoured guests. By the same token to every non-routine ceremony in the Buddhist temples, the Christian clergy are invited as honoured guests. In the national context the Christians freely admit that the Buddhist majority should have its way; by the same token the Buddhists freely admit that the Christian minority should have its say. The cordiality, friendship and mutual respect is indeed heart warming. The Christians have truly found a new equilibrium within the context of Sri Lanka.

In direct contrast the Tamils, for one reason or another, have taken up unrealistic positions. In 1946 when the Soulbury Commission was appointed to determine modalities for a smooth transition of the nation from a Crown colony to Dominion status, the Tamil Congress under Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam Q.C. came with the 50 — 50 proposal. It was for the Sinhala people and all minorities to be represented equally in Parliament. Thus the 50 — 50 proposal envisaged a situation analogous to the representation in the defunct Legislative Council. Absurd though the proposal be, it revealed an attitude of a community refusing to accept political reality. Not surprisingly the 50 — 50 proposal was rejected by the Soulbury Commission.

The General Election of 1947 was held under the Soulbury Constitution. The United National Party and its allies won comfortably. The architect of Independence, Prime Minister D. S. Senanayake, with characteristic wisdom had several representatives of the minorities in his Cabinet. That included two Tamils.

Though the Prime Minister had a comfortable majority in Parliament, to strengthen national unity he persuaded the Tamil Congress to join the Government. Accordingly, Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam was appointed Minister for Industries and Fisheries. The Kankasanturai Cement factory, the Paranthan Chemical factory, the Valachchenai Paper factory, the fisheries harbours in Kankasanturai and Batticaloa still bear testimony to the benefits that accrued to the Tamil community as a result of the Tamil Congress joining the Government as opposed to languishing in the Opposition.

However Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam Q.C., an influential member of the Tamil Congress had misgivings of the new relationship between his party and the Government. An eminent lawyer and the Member of Parliament for Kankasanturai he defected to the Opposition when the Prime Minister presented the Ceylon Citizenship Act of 1948 which disenfranchised the Indian Tamils. Another MP and one Senator from the Tamil Congress defected with Mr. Chelvanayakam and they formed the Federal Party.

At the General Election of 1952, Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake who had succeeded his late father, was swept into power by a landslide victory. In the Tamil speaking areas the UNP and its ally the Tamil Congress trounced the Federal Party and even Mr. Chelvanayakam lost his seat. The verdict of the people was indeed clear.

Whereas in most former colonies the nationalist movement was in the vanguard of the struggle for Independence, somehow in Sri Lanka nationalism gathered momentum only after Independence. In the Sinhala speaking areas the resurgent nationalism was reflected not in the UNP led by Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake and later by Prime Minister Sir John Kotalawela but in the Sri Lanka Freedom Party led by Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, Leader of the Opposition. The SLFP, set up in 1951 after Mr. Bandaranaike had defected from the UNP, fared disastrously in the emotionally charged General Election of 1952, held a few months after the death of Prime Minister D. S. Senanayake. Even the proposal of Mr. Bandaranaike to replace English as the official language with Sinhala and Tamil did not have a significant impact. He won only a paltry 9 seats as against 54 of the UNP. In 1953 India made Hindi, which is spoken by less



than 40% of her people, the official language but replacing English progressively over a period of 20 years. In 1954, Mr. Bandaranaike contended that in Sri Lanka over 75% spoke Sinhala and offered to make Sinhala only the official language, replacing English. To make the package politically potent he offered to make the transition in 24 hours.

The platform "Sinhala only in 24 hours" had a devastating impact in the Sinhala speaking areas. At first the UNP watched in silence, then in embarrassment. When the tide was too great the UNP, which had hitherto advocated parity of status for Sinhala and Tamil, also opted for Sinhala only. At that juncture all Tamils also opted for Sinhala only. At that juncture all Tamil Ministers resigned, accusing the UNP of having betrayed their trust.

At the General Election of 1956, for complex reasons outside the scope of this book, the UNP was trounced and Prime Minister S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike was swept into power. In the Tamil speaking areas the Federal Party registered a landslide of even greater magnitude.

The Official Language Act of 1956, whereby Sinhala replaced English as the official language, was enacted shortly thereafter with support from both the SLFP and the UNP. That was a watershed in the relationship between the Sinhala and Tamil people. The polarisation of forces on a communal basis was complete. Rioting broke out in the districts of Trincomalee, Batticaloa and Amparai which have mixed populations of Sinhala and Tamil people. Over one hundred people were killed. In Colombo which has a similar mixed population, there was much tension but mercifully no eruptions.

The Official Language Act of 1956 left a deep scar on the Tamil community who interpreted it as their being relegated to second class citizens. It created a pervading sense of insecurity especially as the Government was propelled into office by strong Sinhala-Buddhist sentiments. However in his wisdom Prime Minister S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike began negotiations immediately with the Federal Party, to seek an honourable settlement of the Tamil problem.

To pressure the Government, the Federal Party held *hartals* (stoppage of work) and *satyagraha* (civil disobedience cam-



paings) in Jaffna, Trincomalee and Batticaloa. Black flags, pickets and stalling of Government machinery was the order of the day. All these measures of passive resistance were in accordance with the modalities used so successfully by Mahatma Gandhi against the British Empire.

When no solution was forthcoming in their dialogue with the Prime Minister, the Federal Party increased their pressure. The *satyagraha* campaign which has crippled Jaffna, Trincomalee and Batticaloa was to be extended to cover the entirety of the Northern and Eastern Province. That, in turn, invoked historical enmities between the Sinhala and Tamil people who had periodically fought wars for nearly twenty centuries prior to the advent of the European conquerors four centuries ago.

Prime Minister S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam both abhorred violence and to avoid a communal clash that seemed imminent, they signed a truce. The Bandaranaike — Chelvanayakam Pact, as the truce was called, covered the reasonable use of Tamil, the Regional Councils and the policy of giving preference to the population of the locality in colonisation schemes, thus to obviate Sinhala people from inundating colonisation schemes in the Tamil speaking areas. (Vide Appendix I).

In 1957, the Bandaranaike — Chelvanayakam Pact staved off the imminent racial conflict. It also deflected the storm into the political arena. The UNP which had suffered a humiliating defeat in 1956 opposed the Bandaranaike — Chelvanayakam Pact fiercely. The architect of the rehabilitation of the UNP, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, organised a protest march from Colombo to Kandy but was forcibly stopped at Imbulgoda about ten miles from Colombo. Mr. Dudley Senanayake, who had returned to politics in 1957 from premature retirement and was recently appointed President of the UNP, campaigned vigorously at the national level against the Pact. The ultra nationalist elements such as the Jathika Vimukthi Peramuna also contributed to the embarrassment of the Prime Minister. Above all the *Sangha* (Buddhist priests) who had spearheaded the crusade against the UNP at the General Election of 1956 was vehemently in opposition and was a critical factor, and finally when they performed *satyagraha* outside the residence of the Prime Minister in April 1958, he tore up the Pact unilaterally. In defiance the Federal

Party advanced to May 1958 their annual sessions to be held in Vavuniya later that year.

Not far from Vavuniya, a few months earlier there was considerable tension in the Padaviya irrigation project. The Government acting in accordance with the Bandaranaike — Chelvanayakam Pact had attempted to settle some 400 Tamil families from Trincomalee who had been displaced when the British vacated their Naval base. Trincomalee is about 50 miles from Padaviya which is in the heart of the Sinhala speaking area. This was a symbolic act calculated to appease the Tamils. It was fiercely opposed by the Sinhala colonists in Padaviya. That opposition was not without the use of force.

In May 1958 as train loads of Federal Party supporters from Batticaloa traveled to Vavuniya they were attacked at Polonnaruwa by Sinhala colonists from the Minneriya irrigation project. The Tamil population in Batticaloa retaliated against the Sinhala population in nearby Eravur. Thus erupted the racial riots of 1958 which were fought with savage fury throughout the nation. Both the Sinhala and Tamil people indulged freely in arson, murder and rape. There were gross violations of human rights by both communities. Particularly revolting were a few incidents where Sinhala mobs had set on fire alive some Tamil victims.

The violence was contained in three days due to the impartiality and firmness displayed by the Armed Forces and the Police. They enforced law and order rigidly and without any hesitation opened fire on mobs of their own ethnic group. To quote one example the Superintendent of Police of the North Central Province, Mr. Bertram Weerasinghe, and the Head Quarters Inspector the Anuradhapura Police Station, Mr. Daya Ranasinghe, were awarded the coveted Ceylon Police Medal for Gallantry. They opened fire on hordes of Sinhala mobs from Padaviya travelling to Anuradhapura in convoys of bulldozers, tractors and trucks, armed to the teeth with dynamite and home made bombs and bent on murdering Tamils. Their citations are given in Appendix II.

The estimated death toll in the riots of 1958 was of the order of 1,000. When calm was restored the Government enacted the Reasonable Use of Tamil Act which had been delayed for one reason or another for over an year.



During the S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike Administration not only was the Official Language Act of 1956 enacted and implemented but all manner of discriminations were directed at the Tamil people. Many public servants were deprived of their promotions and many more were discriminated against in the process of recruitment. In the Sirima Bandaranaike Administration which followed, such discrimination was even more pronounced. This resulted in the Tamil community suffering from an acute sense of insecurity and made to feel unwanted in the land of their birth.

Political repercussions stemming from the considerations were inevitable and the Federal Party stepped up their civil disobedience campaigns. In 1961, they even printed their own postage stamps to court arrest. For the first time since Independence, an Army detachment was stationed in Jaffna on a permanent basis.

The human reaction to the naked discrimination directed against the Tamil people was indeed tragic from the viewpoint of Sri Lanka. For generations the Tamil community had produced excellent professionals in many fields. Many now sought greener pastures abroad and those who left for countries in the West never came back.

In December 1964 following the defeat of the Government on the Throne Speech by 74 votes to 73, Prime Minister Sirima Bandaranaike called for a General Election early in 1965. The results were as follows:

United National Party	66
Sri Lanka Freedom Party	41
Federal Party	14
Lanka Sama Samaja Party	10
Sri Lanka Freedom Socialist Party	5
Communist Party	4
Tamil Congress	3
Mahajana Eksath Peramuna	1
Jatika Vimukthi Peramuna	1
Independents	6
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	151
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The electoral allies of the UNP were the Sri Lanka Freedom Socialist Party, Mahajana Eksath Peramuna and the Jatika Vimukthi Peramuna. As such their sum total was 73 seats with the possibility of a few Independents being inveigled. The Federal Party which was defiant in its attitude to the Sirima Bandaranaike Administration would therefore be a valuable ally to the UNP in its objective of forming a stable Government. Even before the General Election there was considerable dialogue between the two Party leaders. The day after the election results were announced, the Dudley Senanayake—Chelvanayakam Pact was signed. It was very similar to the Bandaranaike — Chelvanayakam Pact and covered the following fields:

1. Legislative enactments under the Reasonable Use of Tamil Act of 1958.
2. No discrimination against Tamils in the Public Service and those seeking admission to the Public Service.
3. Colonisation policy in the Tamil speaking areas.
4. Creation of District Councils.

The full text of the Dudley Senanayake — Chelvanayakam Pact is included in this book as Appendix III.

The following day Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake was sworn in. Senator M. Thiruchelvam Q.C. of the Federal Party was appointed Minister for Local Government and Housing.

Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake quickly sought to eliminate discrimination against Tamils and other minorities. (The Christians had also been discriminated against by the S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike Administration and the Sirima Bandaranaike Administration). The Prime Minister was successful and earned the respect of the nation for his statesmanship. In January 1966 when Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake was due to present a Bill in Parliament enacting legislation under the Reasonable Use of Tamil Act of 1958, the SLFP under Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, Leader of the Opposition, arranged a protest march from the Vihara Maha Devi Park to the Parliament. The procession got out of control and when the Police opened fire a member of the *Sangha* fell dead near "Temple Trees," the official residence of the Prime Minister. Mercifully that episode



did not escalate and the Bill was duly passed without the Government being further embarrassed. Thereafter the Federal Party which, for the past ten years had observed Independence Day as a day of mourning, celebrated February 4th 1966 in a befitting manner. There was rejoicing in Jaffna, Trincomalee and Batticaloa.

Though national unity was at a level unprecedentedly high in the post 1956 era, the Prime Minister found it difficult to obtain support from the rank and file of the UNP for the creation of District Councils as enunciated in the Dudley Senanayake-Chelvanayakam Pact. The District Councils were a diluted version of the Regional Councils stipulated in the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact. The Prime Minister tried in vain for over two years to persuade the rank and file of his own party but in the face of considerable opposition offered the Federal Party that he resign as he was unable to fulfil the Dudley Senanayake-Chelvanayakam Pact. The Prime Minister was much liked and even trusted by the Federal Party. Not wanting to embarrass him, the Federal Party left the Government and instead functioned as an independent entity in the Opposition, sometimes voting with the Government.

At the General Election of 1970 the SLFP and its Marxist allies the LSSP and CP were swept into power by a landslide, winning 117 out of 151 seats. Prime Minister Sirima Bandaranaike, unlike during her first administration, was very well disposed towards the minorities. In fact her Cabinet included a Tamil, Senator C. Kumarasuriar, a party intellectual.

However the Prime Minister chose to ignore the Federal Party, looking upon it as some radical element far removed from the mainstream of politics in Sri Lanka. In turn the Federal Party became recalcitrant and stepped up their civil disobedience campaigns. When Parliament was called upon to draw up the first Republican Constitution, the Federal Party wanted a clause included to provide for Federalism. When it was rejected the Federal Party boycotted further participation in drafting the Constitution.

The first Republican Constitution was promulgated in May 1972. The new Constitution had no provision to protect

minorities such as section 29 of the Soulbury Constitution the relevant portions of which are given below:

" No such law shall;

- (a) prohibit or restrict the free exercise of any religion;
- (b) make persons of any community or religion liable to disabilities or restrictions to which persons of other communities or religions are not made liable; or
- (c) confer on persons of any community or religion any privilege or advantage which is not conferred on persons of other communities or religions;"

A factor which tends to keep the Sri Lanka Tamil community away from the mainstream of politics of the nation is the concentration of their numbers in the Jaffna district as reflected in the following statistics:

<i>Census</i>	<i>Population of Sri Lankan Tamils</i>	<i>Population of Sri Lankan Tamils in Jaffna District</i>	<i>Percentage of Tamils in the population of Jaffna District</i>
1946	737,731	409,070	95.7
1953	884,010	469,715	95.1
1961	1,163,235	581,830	95.2
1971	1,423,981	665,857	94.3
1981	1,871,535	792,246	94.6

Thus any problem or solution applicable to the Jaffna district is made to appear as one that will apply to the Sri Lanka Tamils throughout the nation. Resurgent Tamil nationalism requires that all decisions pertaining to the Jaffna district be taken by the Tamil people themselves, not by the Government of Sri Lanka which is constituted predominantly by Sinhala people, who are at best aliens in the Jaffna district. Such nationalism may run counter to Tamil interests as a whole, because one-third of the Sri Lankan Tamils live amongst the Sinhala people. The relevant extract of the Census of 1983 is given on page 13.



District	Sinhala	Sri Lanka Tamil	Indian Tamil	Sri Lanka Moor	Burgher	Malay	Others
Colombo	1,322,658	165,952	21,504	140,461	18,997	20,041	8,709
Kalutara	722,075	8,601	33,510	61,706	330	712	255
Kandy	844,325	55,675	104,840	112,052	2,402	2,648	4,354
Malate	285,514	20,936	24,034	25,836	250	514	307
Nuwara Eliya	187,280	70,471	247,131	14,668	602	1,113	954
Galle	763,928	5,093	11,069	216	188	158	2,219
Mtara	609,367	3,918	13,931	16,457	254	61	243
Hambantota	412,965	1,553	308	4,732	63	4,380	101
Jaffna	4,615	792,246	20,001	13,757	350	46	97
Mannar	8,710	54,106	14,072	28,464	41	23	1,524
Vavuniya	15,876	54,541	18,592	6,640	21	21	203
Batticaloa	10,646	234,348	3,868	79,317	2,300	49	371
Ampara	146,371	78,315	1,410	161,481	643	179	387
Trincomalee	86,341	86,743	6,767	74,403	1,211	735	590
Kurunegala	1,128,548	13,438	6,427	61,342	605	1,201	1,194
Puttiam	407,453	33,218	2,964	47,959	444	882	424
Anuradhapura	536,899	7,113	785	41,833	280	266	646
Polonnaruwa	238,803	5,875	205	17,091	57	132	590
Badulla	440,245	36,585	135,795	26,808	641	1,300	1,519
Moneragala	259,023	5,322	9,164	5,322	80	152	590
Ratnapura	674,657	17,979	88,429	13,531	450	410	1,012
Kegalle	588,675	14,095	43,879	34,832	164	251	515
Gampaha	1,280,942	45,807	5,732	38,607	7,742	8,077	2,583
Mullativ	3,948	58,904	10,766	3,777	93	17	07
Sri Lanka	10,985,666	1,871,535	825,233	1,056,972	38,236	43,378	28,981

On the basis of this geographical distribution of Tamils it would be prudent for the Sri Lankan Tamils in Jaffna not to provoke the Sinhala people in whose midst a third of their own people live as a small minority. Herein lies the vulnerability of the Tamil community as amply reflected in periodic racial riots.

The grievances of the Tamil people are genuine but to blame the Sinhala people for all of it, is totally unrealistic. For instance the Northern Province is the least fertile and has the least amount of rainfall amongst all the Provinces in Sri Lanka. Since independence the major irrigation projects Gal Oya, Walawe and Mahaweli, which have eased the unemployment position, are in areas far removed from the North. This has been determined not on the basis of discrimination by the Sinhala people but due to discrimination by nature, in that the entirety of the Northern Province has no rivers.

Industrialisation may therefore be the answer for development in the Jaffna district, where the density of population is high, the people are industrious and agriculture cannot conceivably support the entire population. However, even the Tamil entrepreneurs such as Mr. S. K. Gnanam, Mr. K. Gunaratnam and the Maharajah Organisation prefer to have their factories in and around Colombo.

One of the biggest problems in Sri Lanka since Independence has been the generation of employment. The free education system now produces over 100,000 school leavers annually and if they are not gainfully employed, a situation with revolutionary potential is created. When the educated and unemployed Sinhala youth staged an insurrection in 1971, at the cost of over 18,000 lives, everybody identified the root cause which was difficult to miss. However when the Jaffna youth, who are still further handicapped with the Official Language Act of 1958, cannot find employment according to many Tamils in Jaffna and elsewhere, it is because of discrimination by the Sinhala people. As a natural concomitant to such thinking, the intransigence of the Federal Party was stepped up.

In turn there were more civil disobedience campaigns, more black flags, more hatred towards the Sinhala people and in more recent times more press, publicity (engineered by Tamil expatriates) whining about racial discrimination in Sri Lanka.

If an honest assessment is made of the tangible achievements of the Federal Party in the period 1956–1972 they would be as follows:

1. Landslide victories in the North in all General Elections.
2. Ability to produce *hartals*, *satyagrahas* with unfailing regularity and success.
3. Ensuring legislation for the reasonable use of Tamil in the North and East.
4. Ensuring that discrimination against Tamils is kept at a minimum level.

For the major political party in the Tamil speaking areas this is indeed a dismal record of achievement over a period of two decades. Moreover the basic aim of the Federal Party is to set up a Federal form of Government in the North and the East. Prime Minister S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike gave serious consideration to the Regional Councils, a diluted version of Federalism. Yet he could not convince the SLFP to agree to it. More recently Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake hoped to implement the District Councils, a diluted version of the Regional Councils but he could not persuade the UNP to accept the proposal.

To any rational observer of events in Sri Lanka in the post — 1956 era, it was more than obvious that the Federal Party conceivably cannot achieve its principal objective of a Federal form of Government. The logical alternative then would be to have more realistic objectives such as ensuring Tamil people to take decisions that pertain to the Jaffna District in particular. Tragically for the Sri Lankan Tamils, the Federal Party became not flexible but more intransigent than ever.

The Federal Party heralded the first Republican Constitution in Jaffna with customary black flags, *hartals* and *satyagraha* coupled with one new feature, implied violence. At the protest meeting held in Jaffna on May 22nd 1972, the day Sri Lanka became a Republic, Mr. A. Amirthalingam (FP–Vaddukoddai) and General Secretary of the Federal Party said,



- “ There will be a day for the Tamils to use arms.
- Therefore it is very necessary for us to have friendly relations with certain organizations in friendly countries.”

At the same meeting Kasi Anandan, a prominent youth leaguer said,

“ The six Tamil MP's who voted for the new Constitution will not die by illness or accident, but will meet their death in some other way.”

He was taken into custody a few weeks later.

The Tamil United Front (TUF) a consortium of Tamil interests dominated by the Federal Party was set up to safeguard the Tamil interests as a whole. The Ceylon Workers' Congress which caters for the Indian community joined the TUF to agitate for their demands in the plantation areas. The Tamil Congress was sharply divided on whether or not to join the TUF. This stemmed from the long standing clash of personalities between the two giants in the Tamil political arena Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam who founded the Tamil Congress in 1934 and Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam who founded the Federal Party in 1948.

The youth were even more radical in their actions. On June 4th 1972, Ponnadurai Sathyaseelan and other TUF youth leaguers attempted to murder Mr. V. Kumarakulasingham, VC Chairman, Nallur, and a supporter of the Government. A few days later Sathyaseelan and some other TUF youth leaguers attempted to murder Mr. A. Thiagarajah (TC-Nallur), a Member of Parliament who had voted for the new Constitution. Poor marksmanship saved the lives of both victims.

Following the arrest of the suspects and their interrogation, one locally made gun and 14 rounds of 22mm ammunition were recovered from the home of an accomplice in Kodikamam, 23 rounds of ammunition of different calibres were removed from a house in Vismamadu and 25 rounds of ammunition were found buried in the garden of another TUF youth leaguer Ganeshratnam.

On January 10th 1973 when the Minister for Post and Telecommunication Mr. C. Kumarasuriar visited Jaffna routinely, there was an attempt to assassinate him. The plan was to dynamite his car when travelling over a culvert in Mankulam. The explosive however did not detonate.

On March 31st 1973 a Navy patrol boat intercepted a smuggler's launch. It had 20,000 detonators consigned to Yogachandran alias Kuttimani a well-known smuggler and a rabid TUF supporter. To avoid arrest, Kuttimani fled to India and took up residence in Madras.

On Republic Day, May 22nd, in 1973 the TUF organised a *hartal*. Besides observing it as a day of mourning, 49 buses were attacked, 6 were burnt and an attempt was made to derail a train.

Besides the violence which was by now a disconcerting feature in the activities of the TUF, another disturbing feature was their treatment of the Police. Even from public platforms the Police was referred to as "Police dogs" and "an Army of Occupation" by Mr. Amirthalingam and other TUF MP's. On several occasions Police vehicles were attacked and above all there was a wall of silence whenever the Police went on their routine investigations. Hardly anybody dared to give evidence about the militant youth for fear of reprisals.

It is indeed interesting to examine what happened to those who dared to. V. Nadarajah who ran a petrol station in Urumpirai told the Superintendent of Police Northern Province "I am not afraid of these youngsters. It is a disgrace for the Tamil people to allow violence like this." There were two attempts on his life. First he was stabbed and later he narrowly escaped death when bombs were thrown into his petrol station. A year later he was killed in a similar attack with explosives.

When several of their youth leaguers were arrested TUF MP's vilified the Police from public platforms, while militant youth leaguers from the same platforms threatened the Police with death. A few months later the jeep of Mr. S. K. Chandrasekera, Assistant Superintendent of Police Jaffna, was attacked with bombs and he was shot at with a revolver by Ponnadurai Sivakumaran, a TUF youth leaguer.

On June 4th 1974 the Kopay Police received information that the People's Bank in that town would be attacked and



possibly robbed. A Police party arrested the suspects and when they attempted to arrest their leader Ponnadurai Sivakumaran who had fled, Sivakumaran took poison which was hidden in his clothing, and committed suicide. He was accorded a funeral befitting a hero by the TUF. All shops in the Jaffna peninsula were closed and pamphlets were distributed calling for a day of mourning. Just before the body was removed from his parental home for cremation, several TUF youth leaguers cut their fingers and placed *pottus* of blood on the forehead of the deceased while taking the oath,

“In the name of Sivakumaran, in the name of his soul and body, we undertake to continue the struggle to gain Independence for the Tamil people. We shall not rest or retreat till then.”

The funeral was attended by 15,000 people and was presided over by Mr. Amirthalingam. Shortly thereafter, there was another attempt on the life of Mr. Chandrasekera.

As the months rolled by, the violence escalated and several youth were taken into custody. The leadership of the TUF publicly vilified the Police, often calling for *hartals* and *satyagraha* to protest against Police excesses. However, they never commented on the lawlessness of the youth, which had lately become a part and parcel of life in the Jaffna peninsula. These considerations will be treated in depth in the next chapter, ‘The Tiger Movement.’

Ever since the formation of the TUF, its leadership was peeved about the manner in which it was treated by the Sirima Bandaranaike Administration. When Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam (TUF-Kankasanturai) resigned his seat in May, 1972 as a token protest, for one reason or another the Government did not hold a by-election for three years. After Mr. Chelvanayakam returned to Parliament the Sirima Bandaranaike Administration did not even bother to answer correspondence from the TUF which was seeking fresh negotiations.

The Tamil people in general and the Jaffna Tamils in particular are conservative by nature. Radicalism may appeal to their youth but not them. According to the sober elements amongst the Sri Lanka Tamils living in the North and in the



East, since 1956 they sought an honourable settlement to their problems with the Sinhala people. Their only success was to preclude the colonization of Tamil areas with Sinhala peasants. The other sensitive issues of language, education and employment remained unsolved. The possibility of redress for their grievances receded still further with the entrenched clauses of the Soulbury Commission to protect minorities being left out in the new Republican Constitution. The new policy of standardisation applicable to admission to Universities, exacerbated issues still further. With no viable solution to pressing problems and with the dissent of the Tamils being treated by the Government as a voice in the wilderness, more and more of the sober elements were in favour of secession.

Secession is rarely achieved without violence. In such an unfortunate eventuality a third of the Sri Lanka Tamils living in the midst of the Sinhala people would face dire consequences. The city of Colombo alone has a Tamil population bigger than the entire Northern Province, barring the Jaffna district. However the Tamils in Colombo offered no resistance to the increasing clamour in Jaffna for secession.

These considerations resulted in the TUF adopting the following resolution at their annual sessions held at Vaddukodai on May 14th 1976:

"We are hereby committed to the restoration and reconstitution of the free, sovereign, secular socialist State of Tamil Eelam based on the right of self-determination inherent to every nation. This has become inevitable to safeguard the very existence of the Tamil people in Sri Lanka."

This resolution was another watershed in the deteriorating relationship between the Sinhala and Tamil communities. A Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) was set up with the Federal Party and the Tamil Congress burying the hatchet, to advance the cause of Tamil Eelam. The Ceylon Workers' Congress was not interested in separatism and hence did not join the TULF. According to Mr. Amirthalingam, Secretary-General of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), the State of Tamil Eelam will include the Northern and Eastern Provinces and part of the Puttalam District that is Tamil speaking. The secession

will be achieved either by peaceful means or by direct action or by struggle.

At the time the TULF was formed the Sinhala speaking people had their own acute problems. As explained in detail in Chapter V of my last book "J. R. Jayewardene of Sri Lanka" a political crisis of rare magnitude was brewing. Prime Minister Sirima Bandaranaike, who was elected for a five year term in 1970 under the Soulbury Constitution, had her term extended to seven years with the promulgation of the first Republican Constitution. This was achieved unilaterally and through the device of the two-thirds majority in Parliament. In 1976 it appeared that the Prime Minister was attempting another unilateral extension using the same technique. This was resolutely opposed by the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene. The increasing popularity of the UNP in general and of Mr. J. R. Jayewardene in particular was such, that any further postponement of the General Election scheduled for 1977 may well have plunged the nation into a civil war. Against the background of these tensions, the birth of the TULF and their proposal for a State of Eelam was all but ignored by the ruling SLFP and the rival UNP.

At the General Election of 1977, analysed in depth in Chapter VI of "J. R. Jayewardene of Sri Lanka," the verdict of the nation stunned the victor and vanquished alike. The UNP had won 141 seats in a Parliament of 168 as against 8 of the SLFP. In the North the TULF won by a landslide of the same magnitude

In the North the TULF polled 68.5% of the votes, a percentage higher than the UNP polled in any Province in the Sinhala speaking areas, and won all 14 seats, often by staggering majorities. In direct contrast the TULF polled only 33.0 percent of the votes in the Eastern Province and won only 4 of the 12 seats. (Vide Appendix IV)

From every platform the leadership of the TULF campaigned in the North and the East claiming that since the dawn of history the Sinhala and Tamil people had two separate kingdoms in the island of Sri Lanka, that the island had always been two separate nations till the advent of the European conquerors who unified them. Then they emphasised that the time had now come for the Sinhala and Tamil people to live as two separate



nations again. This was the central theme of the TULF campaign. The verdict of the Tamil speaking people in the East, was rejecting the call for secession. By the same token in the North it was a massive vote for secession.

The campaign of the TULF in the North was lively. It had refined defiance as expressed by the urbane candidate for Jaffna, Mr. A. Yogeswaran, a British-trained lawyer who spoke thus:

"We cannot help it, if there is chaos" we foresee recurring communal disturbances, defiance of the Sinhala Government, chaos, jails filled with Tamils and near anarchy in the North and the East because we will make it impossible for the Sinhala Government to rule us."

By the same token it had vituperations from the callow youth who vent their spleens from public platforms with utterances such as:

"We will swim in the blood of the Sinhala people "

"We will wear shoes made out of the skins of the Sinhala people."

"We will kill the Sinhala people and drink their blood."

"We will walk over the dead bodies of Sinhala people to form our Tamil Eelam".

These statements did reach the ears of Sinhala speaking people and to compound the problem, the irresponsible utterances were unfortunately attributed not to the callow youth but to Mrs. A. Amirthalingam. Suffice it is to state that she is too refined a lady and too mature a person to speak in this derogatory manner. Regrettably the rumour persisted in 1977 and still persists in 1983.

Prime Minister J. R. Jayewardene in his wisdom showed much respect, both in private and in public, to the new Leader of the Opposition, Mr. A. Amirthalingam. Nevertheless the leadership of the TULF was talking in Colombo in the same vein as they had in Jaffna. Their battle cry was secession, which is anathema to the Sinhala people. Their claim that the Sinhala

and Tamil people constituted two separate nations within the island of Sri Lanka from the dawn of history till the advent of the European conquerors, is sacrilegious to the Sinhala people. There was also a whispering campaign attributing to Mrs. A. Amirthalingam irresponsible utterances which she had never made. Even before Prime Minister J. R. Jayewardene could use his moderating influence, on August 17th 1977 some Tamils travelling in train No. 70, the Jaffna-Colombo express, were set upon at the Anuradhapura Station around 1.30 a.m. A few minutes later train No. 69, the Colombo-Jaffna express, reached Anuradhapura. Not only were Tamil passengers attacked, some were even raped. Thus erupted the racial riots of 1977 which took a toll of 128 lives. 30 Sinhala people and 98 Tamils, mostly Indian Tamils, were killed. The high casualty rate amongst the Indian community was a result of the Ceylon Workers' Congress having joined the TUF, the precursor to the TULF.

Prime Minister J. R. Jayewardene had obtained a massive mandate from the people to usher in a just and free society. He emphasised that his concept of justice and freedom will be extended to friend and foe alike. Accordingly on August 18th, 1977 Prime Minister J. R. Jayewardene addressed the Parliament as follows:

“ Mr. Speaker, I do not think this is an occasion to quarrel or an occasion to be flippant. Innocent lives have been lost, public property damaged and there have been cases of arson and violence not only in the Jaffna peninsula but also in various parts of the Island. What we have to consider is not even the cause of what happened, but how we are to stop this conflagration immediately and effectively. We have taken the first action that we could. We have declared a curfew in the whole of the North Central Province commencing from 4 p.m. today; a similar curfew has been declared in the Kurunegala District and in the Matale District as well as in the town of Panadura. We have called out the Military and asked both the Military and the Police to arrest any people who break the law and who are found in possession of stolen property. Anything else that is necessary within the limits of our jurisdiction and law will be done immediately and effectively.



"The reason for this conflict I do not know, but, to find it out the Government has decided to appoint a Commission of Inquiry immediately. An impartial person is to be appointed who, I think, if he agrees,<sup>x</sup> will have the confidence of everybody in this House. How this began, why it spread, was there some sinister force behind the conflagration spreading, whether difficulties are being created in the way of fulfilling our programme of work, whether the Police should be transferred immediately or not, are some of the questions receiving our attention. After hearing in more detail the report of the Deputy Minister of Defence as well as the Police officials and the Minister of Cultural Affairs who went to Anuradhapura and Jaffna and returned this morning, certainly, such action as necessary will be taken pending the Commission of Inquiry and its report.

"I think it is well that the Honourable Leader of the Opposition raised this question in this House today, because I believe that the Parliament of Sri Lanka should be kept informed of every matter which is of public interest, and I intend to give a full account of events as they have been presented to me. The Honourable Leader of the Opposition has related what he knows. I shall now tell the House and the country the reports I have received. I feel we must take the people of Sri Lanka into our confidence. The vast majority of our people do not approve of what has happened. There are a few miscreants who take advantage of any inflammable situation to loot, kill and commit other acts of violence. That seems to be a tendency that has been growing in this country in recent times, and I think unless we effectively stop that it will be difficult for us to progress in any way.

"When acts of this nature are committed it does not matter who committed the acts. Whether such an act is committed by a Sinhala or a Tamil or by a member of the UNP or the TULF or the SLFP is irrelevant. Suitable action will be taken against any person, whoever he be, who breaks the laws of the land. (*Prolonged applause*). I feel that the vast majority of the people of this country, of all races and religions, are innocent people who like to lead peaceful lives.

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\*Retired Chief Justice M. C. Sansoni accepted the invitation to head the the Commission of Inquiry.

" So as soon as I read about these incidents I did send high-ranking officials and my Deputy Minister of Defence, in whom I have the greatest confidence, and later a Minister of State to make an on-the-spot inquiry and report to me. I think as soon as the situation quietens down, which I hope will not be long, we will take the steps that I said we intend to take.

" I thought I should give you an account of what is happening. As I said, in Panadura a curfew was been declared. In Jaffna no curfew has been declared because the Honourable Leader of the Opposition said it will be wise if a curfew is not declared and now Jaffna I understand is quiet. The hospital strike has been settled. However C.T.B. buses are still not running. Attempts are being made to open the shops. The strike in the Kachcheri continues. By and large, Jaffna is quieter than many of the other places I referred to.

"In Matale a Tamil liquor shop and a Tamil boutique has been looted. In Dambulla the situation is still not satisfactory. In Anuradhapura about 100 Tamil houses have been looted in the town area and three Tamils have been killed. Three boutiques have been burnt at Kekirawa and ten boutiques at Nochchiyagama. Twelve buses transported to Vavuniya about 400 Tamil officers and their families; they were given refugee in the Kachcheri. In Kurunegala a Tamil hostel has been attacked. In Galigamuwa eleven Tamil shops have been burnt.

" This is the latest information up to 4 o'clock today but I do not think anything will happen after the curfew. I will give an account of what has happened up to date.

" Fourteen persons have been killed so far. Of them, eight are Tamils and six are Sinhala. Three Tamils succumbed to their injuries in the Police firing in Jaffna on the 16th. One Tamil died of head injuries in the Anuradhapura Hospital on the 17th. Four Tamils were found dead at Puliyankulam.

" One Sinhala person has been shot a dead in Anuradhapura. Three Sinhala people have been killed in Migellawa near Galigamuwa in the Kurunegala District when a Tamil



engineer opened fire on a mob in self-defence. Two Sinhala persons were shot dead in the Matale District when a Tamil boutique keeper fired on them in self-defence.

"In the Vavuniya and Trincomalee Districts there have been no incidents, except that in Trincomalee a bomb had been thrown at the Buddhist Pilgrims' Rest last night.

"In Anuradhapura in addition to what I said, twelve shops have been burnt and forty shops looted. Two rice mills, one theatre and two cars have been burnt. Five hundred Tamil officers who were in the Kachcheri have now been sent to Vavuniya. The Railway Station has been attacked. The hospital has been attacked and the House Officers' quarters have been looted.

"At Kahatagasdigiliya one mill has been attacked and two cigar boutiques burnt. At Rambawewa a lorry has been attacked and the driver seriously injured, and two jeeps were taken away. At Tambuttegama, the Irrigation Department Camp has been attacked. The Police opened fire and casualties are not known.

"In the Matale District, five Tamil boutiques have been burnt at Galewela. The situation there is under control. Three Tamil boutiques have been burnt in Dambula; the houses of the Executive Engineer and the Works Engineer have been attacked. The R.V.D.B. workers in Dambuluoya have been responsible; the situation is being watched and the Superintendent of Police, Kandy has sent more reinforcements to Dambulla.

"In the Kurunegala District in addition to what I said, five Tamil shops and one Muslim shop have been looted on the 17th. At Narammala three Tamil shops have been looted. Police opened fire at Narammala injuring two looters and two more looters have been arrested. At Kuliyapitiya five Tamil boutiques have been looted. At Maho eighteen Tamil shops and three Muslim shops have been burnt and the Police has opened fire. At Galigamuwa a Tamil cinema has been burnt. At Gokeralla two cars have been waylaid. At Polgahawela

three Tamil shops and one estate line room have been looted. In the Polonnaruwa District one Tamil boutique has been looted at Kaduruwela.

“ At Dehiwela one Tamil boutique has been attacked by six persons; one of them has been arrested. At Peliyagoda one Tamil shop has been set on fire. At Mingama seven Tamil shops have been looted. At Panadura seventeen Tamil shops have been looted.

“ So, that is not in any way a happy story for me to unfold. We should all be sad that innocent people are being killed and their property looted. You see from this account that outside Jaffna all the shops and all the persons injured have been Tamil people. There is, I think, the case of one Muslim but all others have been Tamils. I do not know who is doing this. They may be individuals who are arrested and they will be dealt with according to the law. (*Applause*) But whether there is a plan behind it I do not know, I cannot say, and the Commission of Inquiry may be able to help us. But it is obvious that there are people who, one may call, criminal-minded people, who take advantage of a situation like this; they feel that if they attack Tamil boutiques they will not be in trouble with the people around them and they will take advantage of that circumstance to loot Tamil shops and boutiques. The suggestion made by the Honourable Leader of the Opposition to have a Commission of Inquiry is a good one because the tale he told us needs inquiry outside the ranks of the normal Government Service.

“ I would like to impress upon the Honourable Leader of the Opposition that I am not going to deal now with their demand or agitation for a separate State. We are one nation, and this Government is elected to govern the whole Island. (*Prolonged applause*) You yourself want me not to shirk my responsibility for the portion which you think is part of the Tamil Eelam. I do not intend to, because to my mind all citizens of this country, to whatever race they may belong, whatever religion they may profess, are citizens which this Government has been elected to protect. (*Prolonged applause*) I intend to do that, without casting any aspersions on any political views they may hold. However, if I may advise the



Honourable Leader of the Opposition and his colleagues, please be careful in your words when you use them in the Sinhala areas. I understand that speeches were made in Colombo which under the normal law would be considered sedition and inflammatory. (*Shame. Shame*)

"The vast majority of people in this country have not got the restraint and the reserve that Members of Parliament, particularly those in the front ranks, have been used to. They become restive when they hear such remarks as that a separate State is to be formed; that Trincomalee is to be the capital of that State; that Napoleon had said that Trincomalee was the key to the Indian Ocean; and therefore Trincomalee is going to be the capital of the State of Eelam.

"Whatever it is, when statements of that type are made and the newspapers carry them throughout the Island, and when you say that you are not violent but that violence may be used in time to come, what do you think the other people in Sri Lanka will do? How will they react? If you want to fight let there be a fight; If you want peace, let there be peace.' (*Prolonged applause*) That is what they will say. It is not what I am saying.

"I am not saying that you caused what happened in Jaffna, you are completely innocent of it. When Sinhala boutiques were attacked, when Government property was attacked, every railway train brings people from there to the South and they spread the stories. All that caused the death of innocent Tamil people which should never happen. I am very sorry that it should have happened.

"Please be careful of the words you use. You are responsible people. Certain words can inflame people of other races and what has happened can happen in a greater degree if such words are used by responsible leaders.

"Firstly, let us be careful in the words we use.

"Secondly, the Government will immediately appoint a Commission of Inquiry. We want to do that. This Commission will inquire into all incidents that have occurred, ascertain

how they arose, how they were handled by the authorities, and recommend what should be done to prevent a recurrence of such incidents in the future.

“Thirdly, whatever steps the Government can take to stop this breach of the peace—if necessary by enforcing more legislations, will be taken.

“Fourthly, I do call upon all Members of this Assembly belonging to all parties, when you go back to your electorates, please try to keep the peace and protect the Tamil people. I have already asked all UNP branches in Colombo West\* to go round and see that the Tamil people are protected. There are a large number of Tamil people in Colombo, do not forget. They have no intention of going back although you want them to go back. I am going to do my best to keep them here because they are our friends and some of them our relations I want them to be here.”

Indeed Prime Minister J. R. Jayewardene wanted to be a statesman and not a mere politician. Against that background he wrote into the second Republican Constitution, which was evolved in 1977 and was effective as of February 4th, 1978, clauses to protect minorities, to elevate Tamil to the status of a national language, to make it the language of administration and of the judiciary in the Tamil speaking areas and to abolish the classification of citizens by descent or registration because it made the Indian Tamils feel that they were second class citizens.

President J. R. Jayewardene, as he became with the second Republican Constitution, then began negotiations with the TULF on a substitute for the Regional Councils which Prime Minister S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike could not enact and District Councils which Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake could not enact. After two years of deliberations the District Development Councils Act of 1980 was duly passed in the Parliament.

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\*Prime Minister J. R. Jayewardene was the MP for Colombo West.

## Chapter II.

### THE TIGER MOVEMENT

On May 22nd 1972 when Sri Lanka became a Republic the militant Tamil youth rose in defiance against the new Constitution, causing convulsions in the Jaffna District. One year earlier the militant Sinhala youth rose in defiance against the Government and their insurrection shook the nation to its very foundation.

The militant youth, both Sinhala and Tamil, were educated being beneficiaries of the free education system and were unemployed, being victims of a stagnant economy. To the Sinhala militant youth the panacea for the evil was a Marxist State even more radical than that envisaged by the well established Marxist parties in Sri Lanka. To the militant Tamil youth the panacea was a State of Tamil Eelam. In their radicalism the youth, both Sinhala and Tamil, chose modalities outside the framework of democracy. They both claimed that within such a framework it was impossible for them to obtain any redress let alone salvation.

The militant youth in the Jaffna district were raised in an environment of continuous conflict with the Government. Since 1956 the boycott of schools, the picketing of Government offices, hoisting black flags and performing *satyagraha* was a way of life for them. It happened year in year out except during the three years 1965-68 when the Federal Party was a component of the Dudley Senanayake Administration. For generations the Jaffna youth was docile, however since 1956 they became progressively defiant. As the possibility of redress for grievances receded still further, in recent years the opinion in the Tamil community gradually gravitated towards secession. In their radicalism the militant youth clamoured for secession with recourse to terrorism.



One of the first terrorists to be taken into custody was Ponnadurai Sathyaseelan, President of the Unemployed Graduates' Union. He was arrested on February 23rd, 1973 by Sub-Inspector A. E. Perampalam of the CID.

Sathyaseelan confessed to a conspiracy to assassinate the Minister of Post and Telecommunications, Mr. C. Kumaraswami, around the time Sri Lanka became a Republic. He and Mavi Senathirajah, President of the TUF Youth League, had met at the cycle repair shop of Amerasingham with three other conspirators. They decided to manufacture hand bombs in the privacy of the Kondalady Vairavar Temple and subsequently to attack the visiting Minister with them. Somehow the Temple authorities got wind of this and tipped off the Police but Sathyaseelan and others had already fled.

Thereafter Mavi Senathirajah decided to tamper with high tension electric towers with a view to plunging the entire Jaffna peninsula into total darkness on Republic Day. He, Sathyaseelan and Kasi Anandan accordingly approached Jeyam a former employee of the Ceylon Electricity Board with a view to forcibly collapsing the high tension electric towers at Murungandy. On May 21st 1972 they together with Vellupillai Subramaniam alias Maniam, went by car to Mankulam junction walked two miles to Murungandy and removed the nuts and bolts in several towers. Somehow they did not collapse immediately but did so a few days later thus having the desired effect on Jaffna. Maniam was eventually arrested by Inspector T. I. Bastianpillai of the CID.

About that time Sathyaseelan decided that Mr. V. Kumarakulasingham VC Chairman, Nallur, and a supporter of the Government should be exterminated. The task was assigned to Sivarajah, Sabaratnam and Thanpalasingham, all TUF youth leaguers. Sivarajah and Sabaratnam hijacked a taxi in Tinnevely and when the taxi driver S. Ulaganathan, resisted they shot him dead and put his body into the luggage compartment. Then they proceeded to Nallur, entered the home of Mr. Kumarakulasingham and shot him at point blank range. Thereafter the taxi with the body of its former driver was consigned to the flames. Later it transpired that Mr. Kumarakulasingham survived the attempt on his life.



On September 17th 1972 Velupillai Prabhakaran led a bomb attack at a carnival held at the Duraipappah Stadium. It was an attempt to assassinate Mayor Alfred Duraipappah of Jaffna a staunch supporter of the Sirima Bandaranaike Administration. The following month Prabhakaran unsuccessfully led a raid on a commercial establishment in Stanley Road, Jaffna.

Then Sathyaseelan decided to murder Mr. A. Thiyagarajah. Senathirajah provided him with two .38 revolvers and ammunition. Sathyaseelan, Jeevarajah, Niranjan and Boopathy Balavedivetkaran had some target practice in the Visvamadu forest before leaving for Colombo. The plan was for Boopathy and Jeevarajah to enter the home of Mr. Thiyagarajah and for the latter to shoot him dead at point blank range. The plan worked but the shooting at point blank range was not fatal due to poor marksmanship. Following their return to Jaffna they were all arrested by Inspector Bastianpillai and Sub-Inspector Perampalam. Shortly thereafter the cycle shop of Amerasingham was raided and several packets containing chemicals to manufacture explosives were removed.

The TUF protested from public platforms at what they called 'the arbitrary arrests of youth' and called Inspector Bastianpillai and Sub-Inspector Perampalam traitors. From the same platform the youth leaguers threatened these two Police Officers with death. A few months later at the annual sessions of the Federal Party held at Mallakam, Mr. Amirthalingam exhorted the Tamil youth to rise up against the Government. He said that all he could offer them immediately were assaults by the Police, threats by the Army, jail, torture and even death but eventually the birth of the State of Tamil Eelam.

By 1974, 41 TUF youth leaguers were detained at Welikade Jail under Emergency regulations. However violence erupted again when Prime Minister Sirima Bandaranaike was due to visit Jaffna on October 5th of that year. For nearly a month the TUF campaigned to boycott the visit. Just before the Prime Minister arrived the Tamil New Tigers, a militant group within the TUF Youth League led by Vellupillai Prabhakaran, Pathmanathan and Chetti Thanabalasingham systematically unleashed violence. Hand bombs were lobbed into the Jeep of the Kanke-

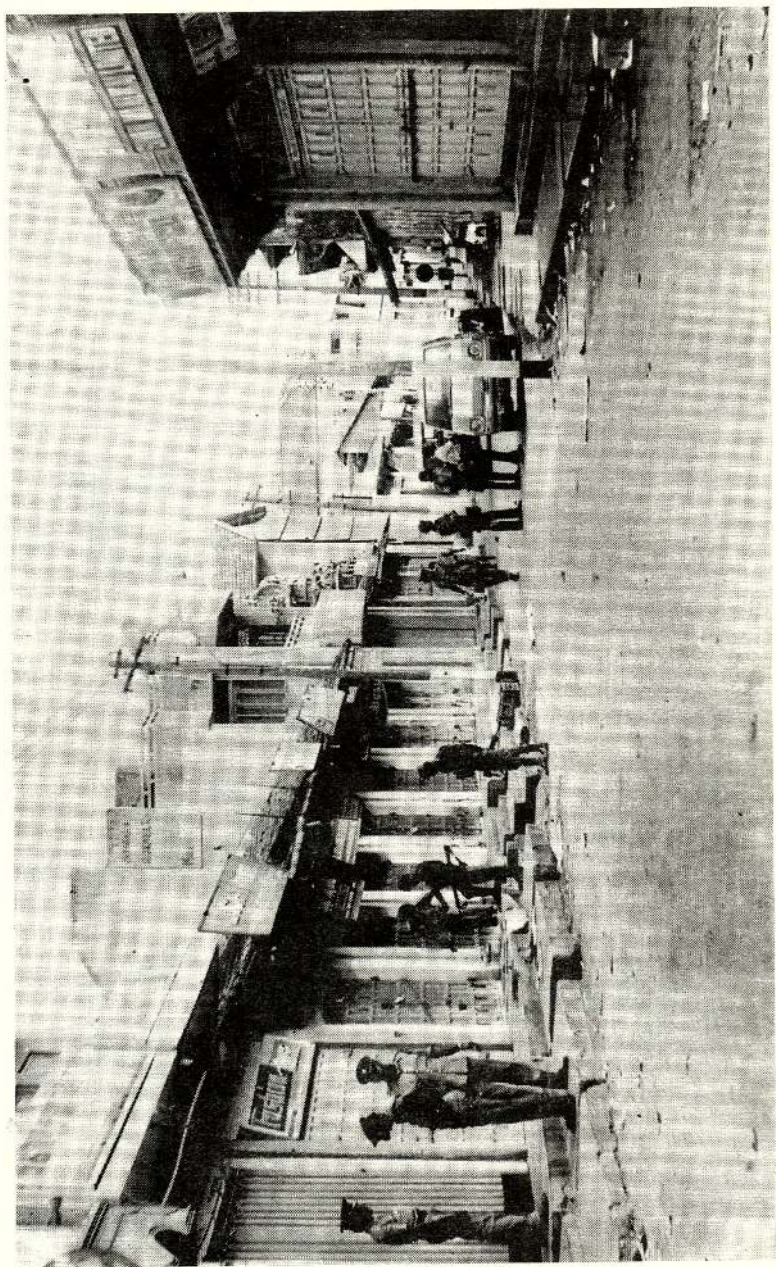
santurai Police Station. Dynamite was ignited in the home of Mr. V. Ponnambalam a member of the Communist Party and the interpreter of the Prime Minister during her forthcoming visit. Dynamite was ignited and thrown into the Chenkathanai Railway Station causing extensive damage, in an attempt to assassinate Mayor Alfred Duraiappah. Bombs were exploded in the Grand Bazar, Jaffna, causing more panic than damage and CTB buses set on fire with impunity. Shortly after the return of the Prime Minister to Colombo, explosives were detonated in the office of the Deputy High Commissioner for Sri Lanka in Madras and the Maha Bodhi Headquarters in Madras. Among those who were convicted was a youth leaguer Raju Kandeepan, son of Mr. A. Amirthalingam. In rapid succession dangerous chemicals were stolen from the laboratory of Urumpirai Hindu College and Rs. 91,000 stolen from the Multi Purpose Co-operative Society of Tellippalai, in raids led by Prabhakaran.

On January 3rd 1975 several TUF youth leaguers including Ponnadurai Sathyaseelan detained in Colombo under Emergency regulations were released to appease the TUF before the by-election at Kankesanturai. They returned to Jaffna by train and a crowd of several thousands led by Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam and Mr. A. Amirthalingam gave them a heroes' welcome at the Railway Station. An even bigger reception awaited Mavi Senathirajah, the President of the TUF Youth League when he returned to Jaffna in like manner.

Ever since the youth leaguers were released from detention in January 1975, brazen disregard for the law became a way of life in the Jaffna district with robberies of Banks and Co-operative establishments being rampant. With Sathyaseelan deciding to emigrate and Senathirajah turning out to be a moderate, the Tamil New Tigers became the dominant element in the quest of a separate State of Tamil Eelam. The other radical elements joined the Tamil New Tigers in May 1975 to form the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). After some in-fighting which resulted in Pathmanathan being killed by Chetti Thanabalingham, Prabhakaran who subsequently killed Chetti Thanabalingham emerged as the leader of the Tiger Movement.

The Tiger Movement began their activities with military training in the Vavuniya district in the farms of the Tamil Refugee and Rehabilitation Organisation (Those farms in due course





A typical scene in Jaffna after a Tiger attack





Tigers being brought to Court for trial

came under the management of the Gandhian Movement). Though fanatics and callow youth, they themselves realized their limitations in being unable to shoot accurately even at point blank range.

The training had just commenced when Prabhakaran decided to exterminate Mayor Alfred Duraiappah who was a thorn in the flesh of the radical elements. Only July 27th 1975 when the Mayor customarily visited the Krishna Kovil in Pon-nalai he was assassinated. The assailants then overpowered the Mayor's chauffeur and fled in his car.

This episode gave much publicity to the Tiger Movement in general and Prabhakaran in particular. In turn the Tiger Movement launched a poster campaign to threaten Tamils who support the Government.

After completing their basic training, the Tiger Movement turned their attention to the robbing of banks, their principal source of financing, and attacking the Police, the principal threat to their existence. In March 1976 in a daring raid the People's Bank at Puttur was robbed of Rs. 668,000 in cash and jewellery. In rapid succession followed raids on the Multi Purpose Co-operative Societies in Puloly and Madagal. The haul in the former was Rs. 350,000 and in the latter, chemicals sufficient to manufacture 30,000 hand bombs.

A Police team consisting, amongst others, of Inspector Pathmanathan, Constable Karunanidhi and two Constables bearing the same name of Shanmuganathan were detailed to investigate into the robbery at Puloly. Of them PC Karunanidhi was also having a significant role in the Duraiappah murder case. PC Karunanidhi was shot dead in Mavadipuram on February 14th 1977. The two PC's by the name of Shanmuganathan were shot dead at Inuvil on May 18th 1977. Inspector Pathmanathan narrowly missed death when explosives were thrown at his car and had blown off two doors. An attempt was also made on the life of Inspector Kumaru, Personal Assistant to the Superintendent of Police, Jaffna, who was handling many confidential matters pertaining to these investigations.



With more and more Tigers being trained in Vavuniya, they became even more daring. Early in 1978 Uma Maheswaran and a few of his associates visited the home of Mr. K. Kanagaratnam (TULF — Pottuvil) in Kollupitiya, shortly after the MP had crossed over to the UNP. They shot at him at point blank range. In brutal manner a shot was fired into his head when he was lying on the ground writhing in pain and bleeding profusely from a bullet wound in his chest. Miraculously the MP did not die. By another miracle the assailants got away by taxi while people in the neighbourhood rushed to the scene. On hearing the sound of gunfire followed by the wailing of a woman.

Inspector Bastianpillai and Sub-Inspector Perampalan who were investigating into the attempted murder of Mr. Kanagaratnam, were tipped off to the effect that Uma Maheswaran was hiding in a farm in Murunkan, not far from the Roman Catholic shrine at Madhu. According to this confidential information, the farm was in the middle of the jungle which is not unusual in the Vavuniya district.

On April 7th 1978 without their knowledge Inspector Bastianpillai, Sub-Inspector Perampalam and Sergeant Balasingham walked into a trap. In Murunkan as they came near a watch tower of the Tiger Movement perched high in the trees and well concealed by the foliage, Uma Maheswaran and other terrorists opened fire killing Inspector Bastianpillai and Sergeant Balasingham and injuring Sub-Inspector Perampalam. The body of Inspector Bastianpillai was then mutilated savagely. Sub-Inspector Perampalam while escaping, fell into a well and was shot dead by Chelvanayagam alias Sellakili a notorious terrorist. Thereafter the terrorists killed the chauffeur of the Police vehicle and set it on fire having removed the radio equipment.

On September 7th 1978 some Tigers travelled on the Air Ceylon flight from Kankasanturai to Ratmalana. On board they fixed a time bomb to detonate approximately half an hour after the aircraft landed at Ratmalana. The aircraft was due to be ferried across to the hangar at the Katunayake International Airport from Ratmalana and the plan was to create a spectacular explosion over the city of Colombo and chaos on the ground with the falling debris. Providence however stalled this wicked plan. The crew decided to delay their departure and when the explosion took place and completely gutted the aircraft, it was still on the parking apron.



In May 1978 the Tigers finally shot and killed Inspector Pathmanathan at his residence. In June Inspector Kumaru, who had just retired from the Police, was shot dead in broad daylight at the Velvettiturai Bazaar. Four days later Mr. A. Arulampalam, former MP for Nallur, was shot at but escaped without injury. In July there were four daring robberies, two from CTB buses, one from a van when a travelling salesman was robbed of Rs. 15,000 at gun point and the fourth when Rs. 10,000 was robbed at gun point from the Thinnaveli Post Office. In September a CTB bus was hijacked and set on fire; then followed a robbery of school teachers' salaries in Point Pedro. Shortly thereafter a taxi was hijacked the driver put into the luggage compartment and the vehicle used to rob the Manager of the Kopay Multi Purpose Co-operative Society of Rs. 30,000. On December 5th, 1978 the Tigers carried out their biggest raid hitherto in the Jaffna peninsula. They raided the People's Bank at Nallur and robbed over Rs. 1,120,000 in cash. Police Constables Kingsley Perera and Satchithanadan who were on guard duty were shot dead and another Policeman injured in the exchange of fire. In March 1979 the Tigers waylaid a bus at Killinochi and robbed mail bags containing Rs. 20,000.

While the Rule of Law was thus negated, it was indeed, significant that the leadership of the TULF said absolutely nothing. No sympathy whatsoever was extended to the families of the dead Policemen and nobody of consequence from the TULF attended their funerals. Equally disturbing was that none of these murders, attempted murders or serious crimes were solved. No culprits were apprehended as little or no evidence was forthcoming.

Of the few informants, S. A. Emmanuel of Chankanai, Thaadi Thangarajah of Kondavil and A. Krishnagopal of Velvettiturai were shot dead by the Tigers. T. Poopalasingham of Chunnakam and A. Sivarajah of Thondamannar gave vital information pertaining to the Avro incident and the Nallur bank robbery respectively. They were the next victims of the execution squads.

Early in 1979 the Tigers shot and killed PC Gnanasambandan of the CID who was investigating into the Avro incident. PC Sivanesan who was investigating into the murder of In-

spector Kumaru, and Inspector Guruswamy who gave evidence against the Tiger Movement before the Sansoni Commission. A few months later S. Swarnarajah and his wife who were due to leave for the Middle East were killed in Thondamannar as suspected informants of the Army.

Friend and foe alike agree that President Jayewardene is by nature cautious and takes a long time to arrive at a policy decision, because he painstakingly weighs the pros and the cons. Since his assumption of office as Head of Government, first as Prime Minister and later as President, his carefully thought of strategy was to evolve an honourable political solution to the Tamil problem within the framework of a unitary State. This would entail weaning the TULF away from separatism. That was no easy task especially after the TULF had polled over 67% of the votes in the Northern Province and had won all 14 seats in that Province. Necessarily a solution would take time and already negotiations for the District Development Councils were taking an inordinately long time.

However it was impossible for President Jayewardene to be patient any more with the Tiger Movement, whether it be an organisation within or without the TULF. He therefore hand picked Brigadier T. I. Weeratunge, Chief of Staff of the Army, and sent him to Jaffna with the following mandate:

"It will be your duty to eliminate, in accordance with the laws of this land, the menace of terrorism in all its forms from the Island and more specifically from the Jaffna District. I will place at your disposal all resources of the State. I earnestly request all law abiding citizens to give their co-operation to you. This task has to be performed by you and completed before 31st December 1979."

Brigadier Weeratunge had a good reputation as a field commander. Born in 1930 and educated at Royal College, he was trained at the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst and commissioned as a Second Lieutenant in the Ceylon Light Infantry in 1951. Subsequently transferred to the Gemunu Watch another Infantry regiment, he commanded it from 1969—1970, served in Jaffna from 1972 to 1976 as Commander, Task Force Illicit Immigration (TAFII) and was promoted to the rank of Brigadier in 1978. In 1979 his appointment as Commander



of Security Forces in the North carried powers which have hitherto never been given to a Military Officer of his rank or even higher rank. He superseded all civilian officials in the North including the Government Agent himself. Besides, the newly enacted Prevention of Terrorism Act with wide powers of search, arrest and detention, immeasurably increased the authority of the Army and Police.

For reasons of security it would not be prudent for the strategy adopted by the Brigadier to be disclosed in this book. In a few months it was more than evident, that the strategy worked. There were no more murders by the Tigers and even the incidents caused by them decreased sharply and then were obviated altogether. In 1980 the situation was just as stable and Brigadier Weeratunge reverted to his substantive post at Army Headquarters in Colombo. Thereafter the complex apparatus of the Security Force Headquarters in Jaffna was whittled down and later dismantled altogether.

In the meantime the Tiger Movement went into hiding or took refuge in Tamil Nadu in India. They were not foolhardy as to have taken on a fully armed brigade. They recognised their limitations in being trained in Vavuniya and hence sought training facilities abroad. Besides, they had their own problems.

The Marxist leanings of Uma Maheswaran who was trained by a Marxist-oriented guerilla organization in Lebanon and his subsequent weakness for women annoyed the abstemious Prabhakaran. These considerations resulted in Uma Maheswaran breaking away from the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and forming the Peoples Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE). Thereafter 16 of his associates left for training in Lebanon. The training was arranged by a London based Marxist and Eelam supporter, Eliathamby Ratnasabapathy.

In the meantime another component of the Tiger Movement, the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO) led by Thangadurai and Kuttimani was based in Madras. Both were well known smugglers and with their knowledge of the underworld of the Tamil Nadu they arranged for training facilities there. In a clever manouvre they recruited retired instructors in the Indian Army who were Tamils. Well knowing that their



pensions were small, they paid them handsomely and simultaneously aroused Tamil sentiments in them.

In this manner, 46 Tigers including Thangadurai, Kuttimani, Jegan and "Oberoi" Thevan from the TELO, Prabhakaran, Charles Anthony alias Seelan, and Chelvanayagam alias Sellakili from the LTTE were trained in guerilla warfare in Tamil Nadu. It must be emphasised that this training was done surreptitiously and without the knowledge of the Government of India and the Government of the State of Tamil Nadu.

About this time Eliathamby Ratnasabapathy was instrumental in forming the Marxist—oriented Eelam Revolutionary Organization of Students (EROS) which established offices in London, Madras and finally in Jaffna. Others formed the General Union of Eelam Students (GUES) which also established offices in London, Madras and Jaffna.

The Tiger Movement showed their newly acquired professional skill with two daring robberies in January 1981. The LTTE under Prabhakaran and TELO under Thangadurai teamed to rob a pawn broker in Kurumbachitty of nearly Rs. 1,000,000. A few days later in another combined operation the LTTE and TELO raided the People's Bank at Neerveli and robbed it of over Rs. 8,000,000. It was hitherto the biggest bank robbery in the history of Sri Lanka and resulted amongst other things in the Board of Directors of the People's Bank tendering their resignation.

The first victim of the professionally trained terrorists of the PLOTE led by Uma Maheswaran was R. Balasundaram a UNP stalwart from Kilinochchi. He was shot dead towards the end of 1980. The PLOTE was quiet till May 1981 when the election campaign for the District Development Councils had gathered momentum. On May 25th the leading UNP candidate, Mr. A. Thiagarajah, former Tamil Congress MP for Vaddukkodai, was shot dead with a view to disrupting the DDC elections. On May 31st, the day before the election, the PLOTE shot and killed two Police Constables who were on patrol at Nachimakovilady. It incensed the Police contingents brought in from other districts for election duty as such violence was altogether strange to them. They went on the rampage and

amongst other things set on fire the splendid Public Library in Jaffna. The PLOTE thus achieved their objective of disrupting the DDC elections. In July 1981 Sunderam, the deputy of Uma Maheswaran led a daring raid on the Annakottai Police Station, in the quest of arms and ammunition. The raid was successful and casualties included two Policemen dead and two more injured. In rapid succession followed a raid on the Watakachchi farm to rob a jeep.

In October 1981 Brigadier Weeratunge was promoted Major General and assumed duties as Commander of the Army. That week the LTTE ambushed an Army jeep on the Kankesanturai Road near Jaffna and killed two soldiers. They were the first Servicemen to be killed by the Tigers. The following week the PLOTE carried out a lightening raid on the People's Bank at Kilinochchi when the Armed Forces and Police were deployed in the Anuradhapura area, which Queen Elizabeth was visiting. The loot was a staggering Rs. 40 million.

Thus Tiger activity in 1981 surpassed its peak performance of 1978 and 1979. To the Army and the Police two aspects were obvious. The Tigers were professionally trained terrorists and were short of arms, hence they took away even superannuated shotguns during their raid on the Annakottai Police Station.

Mercifully the Tiger Movement also had its serious set backs in 1981. In October a routine Navy patrol swooped on a launch about to leave from the Manalkadu beach. On the beach were three well known smugglers Thangadurai, Kuttimani and Jegan, the entire leadership of TELO. following their arrest 24 of their professionally trained terrorists were arrested. Kuttimani was charged with the murder of Police Constable Sivanesan at Valvetiuturai in 1979.

The trial attracted much publicity and when the death sentence was passed Kuttimani attempted to play the role of a martyr. Addressing the Court from the dock he said "After I am hanged I wish to donate my eyes, so that though my body is dead at least my eyes will see the birth of the new State of Tamil Eelam for which I have sacrificed my life." Perhaps this was a propaganda effort inspired by his TULF lawyers. In real life Kuttimani was anything but a hero. When arrested he



attempted to commit suicide on Manalkadu beach. In jail he squealed resulting in many of his associates being arrested. Besides he was convicted on his own confession.

The TELO bereft of leadership and professionally trained terrorists for all intents and purposes ceased operations. However they indulged in intensive propaganda, to give a halo of martyrdom to Kuttimani who incidentally was not executed but had his sentence commuted to imprisonment for life. Late in 1982 a feeble effort was made to resuscitate the TELO. Two murders were attempted. Both were amateurish attempts reminiscent of the pre-1976 era.

Thus ended the role of the most ruthless of all Tigers. The TELO had a hallmark, to kill the victims with a bullet in the head at close range. They had struck terror in the Jaffna peninsula and were merciless on Police informants. They were responsible for the deaths of Emmanuel, Thadi Thangarajah, Krishnagopal, Swarnarajah and his wife. They were just as severe on the Police having murdered Inspectors Pathmanathan, Kumaru and Guruswamy and Constables Gnanasambandan and Sivasesan.

In November 1981 the Army systematically arrested 12 hard terrorists of the PLOTE. In February 1982 a Navy patrol boat arrested Anton Ampalagam a key figure in the PLOTE. Ampalagam squealed and it resulted in many of those who had taken part in the raid on the Annakottai Police Station, Wattakachchi farm and Kilinochchi Bank robbery, being arrested. About that time the Army opened fire and killed Karthan and the LTTE executed Sunderam, who ranked second only to Uma Maheswaran in the hierarchy of the PLOTE. As the hostility between the LTTE and the PLOTE increased Uma Maheswaran fled to India and took with him his surviving lieutenants Somasundaram Satheswaran alias Kannan and Thuraiarajah Sivanesarayan alias Kakka.

Of the terrorist groups within the Tiger Movement, the PLOTE had the highest casualties. The survivors were restricted to periodic forays with amateurism of the pre-1976 vintage. However their destructive nature was reflected in 1982 when they killed a soldier at Kurikatuwam Ferry, a Policemen in Vaddukodai, an informant at Chulipuram,



robbed the Victoria College, Chulipuram, and attacked three examination centres. At Kokuvil they were truly embarrassed publicly when a lone Police recruit guarding a G.C.E. (Ordinary Level) examination centre opened fire causing the terrorists to flee.

With the fluctuation of time the PLOTE became more and more subdued and confined their activity to the Vavuniya district which was the power base of Uma Maheswaran. Operating from the farms of the Gandhian Movement they carried out a series of robberies of weapons in that district resulting in Army patrols being strengthened.

In direct contrast the LTTE, the parent body of the Tiger Movement and the one favoured most by the TULF, was gaining in strength. On the one hand their principal rival PLOTE was reduced to shambles on the other their leadership and the professionally trained cadres were intact.

The leadership of the LTTE consisted of Prabhakaran, Charles Anthony alias Seelan and Chelvanayagam alias Sellakili in that order. They had over 20 terrorists trained in India and an armoury of 4 machine guns, 12 rifles, 21 repeater shot guns, 3 shot guns and 2 revolvers.

In March 1982 Prabhakaran left for India to exterminate his sworn enemy Uma Maheswaran. They exchanged fire in Pondi Bazaar Madras resulting in Uma Maheswaran, Kannan and Kakka of the PLOTE and Prabhakaran and Ragawan of the LTTE being arrested by the Tamil Nadu Police. It was indeed significant that Mr. A. Yogeswaran (TULF-Jaffna) and Mr. Chelvanayakam Chandrahasan, son of the late leader of the TULF, both lawyers by profession, rushed to Madras to defend them. They interceded with the Government of Tamil Nadu requesting that the arrested terrorists not be extradited to Sri Lanka.

In view of these developments the LTTE was subdued for a few months. They became operational again in July 1982 when they ambushed and killed a Police patrol at Nelliaddy. Then they stepped up their activity with an attempt to blow up a Navy convoy at the Ponnalai causeway. That exercise was strategically timed for the visit of President Jayewardene to Jaffna, during the campaign of the Presidential election of 1982.

While the Tiger Movement thus gathered momentum within Sri Lanka, another vicious movement gathered momentum abroad. It was the vilification of Sri Lanka by overseas Tamils carried out via the mass media and via the grapevine.

Since the 1958 racial riots there was an exodus of Tamil professionals. As the years rolled by they became respected citizens in foreign countries. Abroad they enjoyed a standard of living they could not dream of in Sri Lanka but in their hearts there was a love-hate relationship with Sri Lanka. On the one hand they hankered for the land of their birth, on the other they looked upon themselves as having been driven out of the land of their birth. In practice they had left of their own volition due to acute problems of insecurity.

When Jaffna became restless with the adoption of the first Republican Constitution in 1972 and the mood changed from the clamour for federalism to secession, the overseas Tamils launched their publicity campaign to discredit Sri Lanka. Simultaneously they began to finance Tamil organisations in Sri Lanka.

Initially the propaganda directed by the overseas Tamils was on grounds of racial discrimination. The charge was indeed valid during the S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike Administration and the Sirima Bandaranaike Administration of 1960-65. However during the Dudley Senanayake Administration of 1965-70 it was obviated almost altogether. The position was nearly as good after Prime Minister Sirima Bandaranaike was returned to power in 1970. However the overseas Tamils were oblivious to recent changes in Sri Lanka and became obstiporous.

A cursory glance at the Census of 1971 would reveal that 72.6% of all Sri Lankans were Sinhala and 11.2% were Sri Lanka Tamils. However the breakdown in the professions were as follows:

	<i>Sinhala</i>	<i>Tamil</i>
Doctors	2469	1961
Engineers	716	475
Lawyers	2815	1121
Accountants	305	360

The corresponding figures in the Sri Lanka Administrative Services were:

<i>Sinhala</i>	<i>Tamil</i>
842	183

In the Department of Post and Telecommunications:

	<i>Sinhala</i>	<i>Tamil</i>
Staff Officers	104	61
Clerical Grades	753	182

In the Ceylon Government Railways:

	<i>Sinhala</i>	<i>Tamil</i>
Staff Officers	366	191
Clerical Grade	752	172

In the Accountants Service:

	<i>Sinhala</i>	<i>Tamil</i>
Staff grades	175	178

Thus there was hardly any evidence of discrimination. However the strong objection of the overseas Tamils, and the Sri Lanka Tamils in the Island, was valid about the standardisation of marks at the University Entrance Examination.

In 1970 the Sirima Bandaranaike Administration brought in a system of weightage of marks whereby students, be they Sinhala, Tamil or otherwise, from the districts that were underdeveloped were given preferential treatment in admission to Universities. For instance students from the Mullaitivu District, which is Tamil speaking, or the Monaragala district which is Sinhala speaking, needed fewer marks than those in the Jaffna or Colombo districts to gain admission to any University. This system proved both workable and acceptable. Then in 1972 standardization of marks was introduced to the Sinhala and Tamil media which resulted in blatant discrimination against the Tamil students. In 1977 Prime Minister J. R. Jayewardene scrapped this system because it was unjust as reflected in the statistics given overleaf.



### *Faculties of Medicine*

	1975/76	1976/77	1977/78	1978/79*	1979/80
Sinhala	78.9%	65.8%	68.1%	57.0%	60.0%
Tamil	17.4%	30.4%	27.8%	42.5%	36.6%

### *Faculties of Engineering*

	1975/76	1976/77	1977/78	1978/79*	1979/80
Sinhala	83.4%	75.0%	79.5%	60.1%	66.1%
Tamil	14.2%	23.6%	19.1%	37.9%	29.6%

Following the adoption of the Vaddukkodai resolution in 1976 the strategy of the overseas Tamils was to damage the good name of Sri Lanka through a three pronged attack directed politically, economically and at the human rights record. To achieve this, Eelam lobbies were set up in every Western capital and in every major city in the West which had a Tamil population.

Following his magnificent victory in 1977 when Prime Minister J. R. Jayewardene, as he then was, made a strenuous effort to maximise foreign aid for the many development projects he had in mind, the Eelam lobby stepped up its campaign of vilification. In the aftermath of the racial riots of 1977, in the first month of the J. R. Jayewardene Administration, they disseminated horror stories to blacken the image of the new Government. Suffice it is to state that the foreign aid received by the J. R. Jayewardene Administration is unprecedented since Independence and is currently the highest amongst the Third World nations on a per capita basis. By the same token the campaign of vilification had no impact on foreign investments in Sri Lanka. From next to nothing it increased to Rs. 314 million in 1978 to Rs. 1,748 million in 1979 to Rs. 3,413 million in 1980. Tourism likewise made a steady growth from 103,204 visitors in 1975 to 153,665 in 1977 and 321,780 in 1980.

On the other hand the Eelam lobby was successful in damaging the reputation of Sri Lanka in the sensitive field of human rights, with the skillful manipulation of the media.

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\*The redress was effective in the academic year 1978/79 and thereafter

Whenever the Police and the Army cracked down on the Tiger Movement there was a wave of horror stories about Sri Lanka. In direct contrast when the Tigers killed Policemen or Servicemen, altogether 37 have been killed since 1977, there was not a word in the foreign media.

Such lopsided publicity did have the desired effect from the viewpoint of the Eelam lobbies and several Non-Governmental Organisations began to finance Tamil organisations. For instance the Gandhiyan Movement whose farms in the Vavuniya district were used to train terrorists, received generous assistance from NOVIB (Netherlands), Christian Aid (UK), Bread for the World (Federal Republic of Germany) amongst others. Such overseas benefactors were supporting this Movement, quite oblivious to their nefarious activities. They naively believed that the Gandhiyan Movement stood for the principles of Mahatma Gandhi, the Apostie of Non-Violence, and were engaged in a programme of village settlement schemes, pre-school projects and distribution of milk food.

For instance NOVIB donated a Jeep, 4 vans, salaries for 100 employees, 350 tons of milk food and gave a grant of Rs. 150,000/- to develop the farms at Palamoddai and Kallaru. Quite clearly their motivation was altruistic.

However that did not appear to be the motivation of Dr. S. Rajasunderam, General-Secretary of the Gandhiyan Movement who wrote to various Eelam lobbies abroad as follows:

"Israel is the showpiece of Western ideals in the Middle East. Eelam can be showpiece of the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi in the Indian Ocean. In terms of local and Indian politics this developments is most appropriate."

In 1981, the Gandhiyan Movement received Rs. 55,000 from Christian Aid and in 1982 the contribution was increased to Rs. 453,000. Bread for the World donated Rs. 1,650,000 in 1981 and Rs. 2,279,000 in 1982. With such financing the Gandhiyan Movement which began in 1976 in Vavuniya spread its activities to the Batticaloa and Trincomalee districts. In the meantime Era Vasudevan, a manager of a Gandhiyan farm, became the leader of the TELO group of Tigers in Batticaloa



and Sandadiya, the Rehabilitation Officer of the Gandhayan Movement, became a key figure in the PLOTE of Uma Maheswaran. Besides in 1981 Mr. S. A. David, President of the Gandhayan Movement, and Dr. S. Rajasunderam, made at strenuous effort to bring about a rapprochement between Uma Maheswaran and Prabhakaran.

In the meantime every now and then Eelam lobbyists abroad staged a publicity stunt geared to attract the attention of the media. Perhaps the most successful of them was the gimmick of Mr. Krishna Vaikunthavasan, a London-based lawyer and Eelam supporter. In October 1978 he impersonated Foreign Minister A. C. S. Hameed to address the UN General Assembly for a few minutes. Embarrassed security guards hustled him away from the rostrum after he had spoken a few sentences. However from the viewpoint of the media it was a sensational story at the expense of Sri Lanka.

In May 1979 an even more vicious publicity stunt, geared exclusively to the media, was carried out successfully in Massachusetts in the USA. The Tamil Eelam Association of America is based in Sommerville, Massachusetts. Sommerville is a small and a politically inconsequential city of 84,000 people including 300 Sri Lanka Tamils. Somehow they inveigled Mayor Eugene C. Bruce of Sommerville to unilaterally declare Trincomalee as the twin city of Sommerville, as a protest against harassment of Tamils in Sri Lanka. They also manoeuvred Mrs. Marie Howe, the Representative of Sommerville in the State Legislature of Massachusetts, to table a lengthy resolution in that Assembly denouncing the manner in which Tamils are treated in Sri Lanka (Vide Appendix V).

Mrs. Howe was well aware that such a resolution was not binding on the State Legislature of Massachusetts. Moreover by tradition such resolutions are never debated but merely adopted as a courtesy to the Representative who tabled it. Thus this resolution was "adopted." In another publicity stunt, Governor Edward J. King of Massachusetts, who was anything but familiar with Sri Lanka, was inveigled into declaring May 22nd as Tamil Eelam Day in that State.

The Department of State of the Government of that United States looked upon these developments not without amusement. Formal announcements were made disowning any



responsibility on the part of the Government of the United States in these antics. However from the viewpoint of publicity, Sri Lanka had yet another set back.

By 1980 the Eelam lobbies had taken stock of their performance. Quite obviously they had little or no impact on the inflow of foreign aid and foreign tourists that poured into Sri Lanka or foreign investments which had come in on a scale hitherto unprecedented in Sri Lanka. However the Eelam lobbies did strike a chord of response on human rights issues. The Prevention of Terrorism Act was in particular made to appear as some draconian legislation under which the Army and Police had the licence to go on the rampage and which they gladly did.

By 1980 expatriate earnings had overtaken rubber as the second largest source of foreign exchange. It was in vogue for young people of all communities to go abroad for a few years and to remit their savings to Sri Lanka. Such employment was readily available in the Middle East where over 80,000 Sri Lankans worked but increasingly difficult in the Western countries which accounted for another 100,000 including immigrants who had opted to renounce their citizenship of Sri Lanka. These difficulties stemmed from rigid visa regulations which are now part and parcel of Government regulations even in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the USA, countries which have been created through immigration from abroad. However based on Western concepts of liberalism all Western nations deliberately leave open a loophole in their rigid immigration laws, for political refugees.

Some ingenious Tamils living abroad exploited this loophole to maximum advantage to blacken the image of Sri Lanka and simultaneously to help their relatives and friends. Such persons travelled on pre-paid tickets or were recruited through employment agencies in Jaffna and on arrival at their destinations applied to be "political refugees." Newspaper publicity and support from human rights organisations were drummed up to bolster the application. Whether the applicants were successful or not the publicity was detrimental to the good name of Sri Lanka.

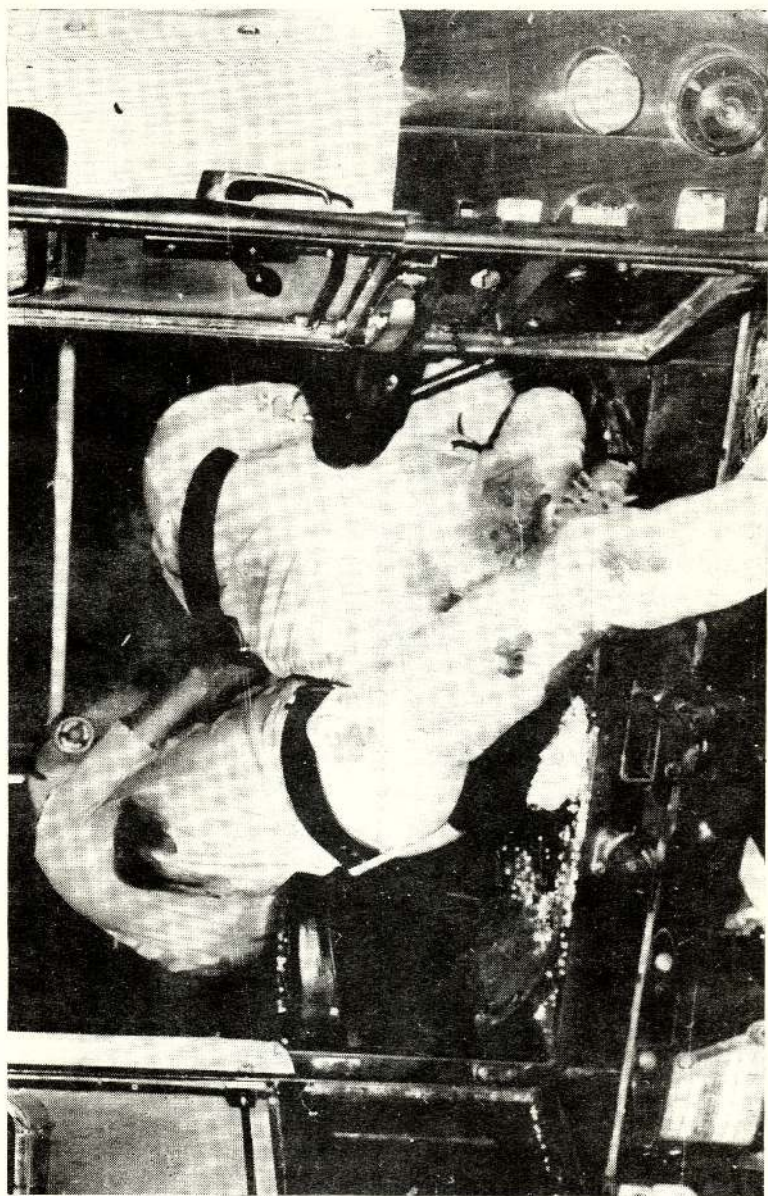
When the applicant was not successful the matter was referred to Court, again with much press publicity, and if still unsuccessful to the High Court and eventually to the Supreme Court. During this time consuming process of a few years the "political refugee" was as a rule allowed to work and thereby achieved his objective of earning some money abroad.

This technique reached unprecedented proportions in July 1981 when nearly 400 Sri Lanka Tamils who had left Colombo by Aeroflot flights to Moscow and then to East Berlin turned up in West Berlin seeking "refugee status." An ingenious employment agency had spotted a loophole in the immigration regulations in the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) which is liberal in granting refugee status to defectors from the German Democratic Republic (East Germany). The authorities are particularly liberal in interpreting this regulation in West Berlin and hence the sudden appearance of 400 "political refugees" not from East Germany but from northern Sri Lanka. Amidst much publicity, which tended to exaggerate out of all proportion the racial problem in Sri Lanka, the "political refugees" were sent back to the land of their birth in two chartered flights.

In mid-1981 racial tension mounted with the escalation of violence by the Tiger Movement. In June when Prime Minister R. Premadasa visited London for the opening of the Sri Lanka Exhibition, to celebrate fifty years of adult franchise, there were ugly scenes created by Eelam supporters. There were similar ugly scenes later in June when President J. R. Jayewardene visited London for the Royal Wedding. In July there was the fiasco of "political refugees" in West Berlin, an episode which offended Sinhala sensibilities. With the President, Prime Minister and the nation thus insulted abroad any volatile incident at home was sufficient to spark off another racial riot. Finally the eruption took place on July 30th 1981.

During the raid on the Annakottai Police Station two Constables were killed, one was a Muslim and the other a Sinhala. Following the funeral of PC 13534 Jayaratne Banda in Kurunegala there was rioting in that town. The violence spread quickly to the Western and Southern Provinces and to Sabaragamuwa. In the midst of sporadic acts of violence, for the first time in the history of communal riots in Sri Lanka, there





Victims of a Tiger attack on the Police





Major. General T. I. Weeratunge V. S. V. Commander of the Army. He has served in Jaffna with distinction as a Colonel and as a Brigadier. This photograph was taken at the height of anti-terrorist operations in 1979

was inspired and organised violence. It first erupted in Sabaragamuwa, in Ratnapura, Kahawatte and Balangoda, then in Negombo and Panadura.

Bus loads of trained saboteurs appeared suddenly from nowhere. They were armed with jerry cans containing petrol. They set fire to Tamil commercial establishments and quickly disappeared into nowhere.

Following the racial riots of 1981 the reaction of President J. R. Jayewardene was not that of a politician but of a statesman. Even in public he took a conciliatory attitude towards the Tamils. The President was particularly severe on anybody in the UNP who adopted, in public, a hostile attitude towards the Tamils. Dr. Neville Fernando (UNP-Panadura) was first cautioned, then warned and finally expelled from the UNP for his public statements hostile to the Tamils. This resulted in militant Sinhala elements being critical of the President, but he brushed them aside. Even the militant *Sangha* (Buddhist priests) were brushed aside.

On his own volition President J. R. Jayewardene initiated a private dialogue between the Government and the TULF to work out an honourable settlement to the Tamil problem. At these periodic discussions the Government was represented by the President, the Prime Minister, the leaders of the Tamil community in the Cabinet, the Hon. K. W. Devanayagam, Minister for Home Affairs and the Hon. S. Thondaman, Minister for Rural Industrial Development, the leaders of the Muslim community in the Cabinet, the Hon. M. H. Mohamed, Minister of Transport, and the Hon. A. C. S. Hameed, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and representatives of the younger generation in the Cabinet, the Hon. Gamini Dissanaike, Minister for Mahaweli Development, and the Hon. Ranil Wickremasinghe Minister for Youth Affairs, Employment and Education and the Hon. Lalith Athulathmudali, Minister for Trade and Shipping. The TULF was represented by Mr. A. Amirthalingam, Leader of the Opposition, Mr. M. Sivasithamparam, President of the TULF, all senior TULF Members of Parliament, Professor Jeyaratnam Wilson son-in-law of the late Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, and Dr. Neelan Thiruchelvam, a party intellectual and son of the late Mr. M. Thiruchelvam who was a Cabinet Minister in the last Dudley Senanayake Administration.



The deliberations were carried out without any publicity whatsoever in an atmosphere of cordiality, with the President reiterating his desire to appease the Tamils within the framework of a unitary form of Government.

A donation of Rs. 1,000,000 from the President's Fund, the largest donation ever made from that Fund, was given to rehabilitate the Public Library in Jaffna. The Government paid compensation whenever people were killed or property damaged in the racial riots of 1981. The scope of activity of the two new Universities in Jaffna and Batticaloa, where the medium of instruction is Tamil, were enlarged and substantial grants made from the exchequer.

The TULF was not ungrateful for these acts of statesmanship which incidentally were lost on the Eelam propagandists abroad. However the TULF was increasingly critical of the slow progress in implementing the District Development Councils Act of 1980. In terms of section 17 of this Act, the functions of the District Development Councils (DDC) include development in the following fields:

Agrarian Services	Health Services
Agriculture	Housing
Animal Husbandry	Irrigation Projects which are
Co-operative Development	not of a inter-district nature.
Cultural Affairs	Land use
Employment	Land settlement
Fisheries	Rural Development
Food	Small and medium-scale
	industries

The TULF repeatedly protested that the funds earmarked for the DDC were woefully inadequate to implement these plans. Besides the TULF wanted the District Minister to be elected by the DDC and not appointed by the President as stipulated in the Constitution. The negotiations on these matters were painfully slow and frustrating.

In the meantime President J. R. Jayewardene sought re-election and the Tiger Movement was again on the warpath. On October 20th 1982 the President was re-elected by a



comfortable majority. On October 27th the LTTE led by Seelan, in the absence of Prabhakaran, carried out a commando style raid.

The Chavakachcheri Police Station is on the Jaffna-Colombo road. It is an upstairs building with the Charge Room and the desk of the Officer-in-Charge downstairs, the singlemen barrack upstairs and in the out-house.

On numerous reconnaissance missions the Tigers had observed the location of the armoury, the strong box (which contains the ammunition and the machine guns), and the nature of its locks.

Just before the break of dawn on October 27th 1982 a hijacked minibus silently approached the out-house of the Police Station. A few Tigers took up positions to seal off the road while about fifteen Tigers carrying Sub-Machine Guns (SMG), Self-Loading Rifles (SLR), carbines and rifles approached the Police Station in combat formation. A Police sentry noticed some unusual activity and before he realised what happened there was a hail of bullets and he was injured. Another sentry opened fire and was promptly killed by SMG fire.

With military precision the Tigers stormed into the building under cover of SMG and SLR fire. The main force captured the Charge Room while a support force went upstairs. In the Charge Room the Tigers shot at anybody who got in their way. Two Policemen were thus killed. A Police suspect who went berserk in the lockup was silenced for ever. Then with explosives, the armoury and strong box were opened. The arms and ammunition were systematically whisked into the minibus which had reversed into the Police compound.

In the meantime, the support force which was upstairs to stall the Policemen there, opened fire and injured two Constables. One of them was shot through his hand and to save his life leapt out of the balcony. In the process he broke a leg. Two Constables escaped unhurt by hiding in the toilet. However one courageous Policeman, Constable Weerakoon, grabbed a repeater shot gun and opened fire thrice, wounding two terrorists.

A Tiger rescue squad immediately evacuated their wounded which included Seelan who was shot in the knee while directing operations in the Charge Room. Sellakili who took over command then ordered a strategic withdrawal before all the ammunition was loaded into the minibus. Thereupon the Tigers clambered into the vehicle which sped away.

A detailed inquiry into this raid revealed that PC Kandiah who was in the Charge Room died in the brave performance of duty. However the Policemen in the out-house had acted in a cowardly manner. They were armed and the minibus which was used by the Tigers was initially parked just outside the out-house. Yet not one Policemen there opened fire in defence when their Station was under siege.

With the Presidential election over, the Government stepped up its campaign against terrorism by taking into custody not only terrorists but also those who aided and abetted terrorism. Accordingly the Rev. Phillip Singarasa and the Rev. A. S. Singarayar, two Roman Catholic priests, were arrested. Allegedly they had helped to deposit part of the loot from the Nallur and Neerveli Bank robberies with finance companies and in fixed deposit accounts. Likewise, Dr. M. Nithiyananthan, a lecturer at the University of Jaffna, and his wife Nirmala, who allegedly gave shelter to Seelan after he was seriously injured during the raid at Chavakachcheri, were arrested. Early in 1983 the leaders of the Gandhiyan Movement, Mr. S. A. David and Dr. S. Rajasunderam, were arrested. Indictments were filed against them in the High Court and the subject is now *sub-judice*.

Against this background, the TULF publicly revealed its attitude towards the Tiger Movement. The dreaded terrorist Kuttimani, who was in the Death Row of Welikade Prison duly convicted of murder, was nominated as the TULF Member of Parliament for Vaddukoddai

## **Chapter III.**

### **THE GATHERING STORM**

In March 1983 the Commissioner of Elections announced by Gazette notification that the Local Government elections for the entire island and 18 by-elections for Parliamentary seats would be held on May 18th. Thus a mini-General Election was scheduled for May 18th 1983 and the campaigning was brisk.

In the Jaffna district power was wielded by the TULF and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) led by Prabhakaran. The TULF was enthusiastic about the election whereas the Tigers were opposed to it. Thus the atmosphere was charged with the Tigers threatening the TULF, the UNP and the Tamil Congress.

On the morning of April 29th Mr. K. V. Ratnasingham the principal UNP candidate for the Urban Council of Point Pedro, was watching Television at the residence of a friend. Sri Lanka was playing a Test Match against Australia at the Asgiriya cricket ground and when play was adjourned for lunch, he left for his home for lunch. While walking on the main road he was ambushed opposite the Point Pedro Rest House by several youth on cycles. They fired two shots into his head killing him instantaneously. They left behind a death sentence issued by the LTTE and cycled away without any undue haste.

Two hours later Mr. S. J. Muttiah, the principal UNP candidate for the Chavakachcheri Urban Council, had some youthful visitors at his home. They came on cycles, fired several shots into his head, left behind a death sentence issued by the LTTE and cycled away.



Around 5 p.m. that day the van belonging to the principal UNP candidate for the Velvettiturai Urban Council was stopped near the town by some youth. Thinking the candidate was in the van they fired into it and killed Mr. V. Rajaratnam, the body guard of a UNP statward in the Jaffna District.

As the shock waves traversed through the Jaffna peninsula all UNP candidates announced their withdrawal. The Tamil Congress also withdraw their candidates. Thus only the TULF candidates were left in the fray.

Leaflets issued by the Tiger Movement stressed the need to boycott the elections to embarrass the Government. Further the leaflets claimed that the TULF was a failure and achieved nothing through the District Development Councils in which the TULF had placed much faith, in order to obtain redress for the Tamil community. The leaflets, which were issued in the name of Prabhakaran, further threatened all Tamils who were supporting the Government. This was emphasized in a separate set of leaflets sent to Tamil Policemen in the Jaffna district.

Despite these threats the TULF continued its campaign in the Jaffna district and wherever they fielded candidates. From every public platform Mr. A. Amirthalingam said that he was proud of the acts of heroism and defiance of the youth who were fighting to set up the State of Tamil Eelam. However he appealed to the "boys," as the Tigers are affectionately referred to in Jaffna, to act with foresight in their struggle. He drew a parallel to the IRA which regularly contested elections in Northern Ireland and mentioned that a MP in the British Parliament from the IRA had fasted to death in prison to attract worldwide attention for their struggle. Mr. Amirthalingam stressed on the importance of elections in the struggle for freedom. This infuriated the Tigers who disrupted a meeting of Mr. Amirthalingam in Jaffna on May 8th by shooting in the air and setting his car on fire. That resulted in many TULF candidates withdrawing from the election.

The Tigers then stepped up their campaign against the election by placing parcel bombs strategically in the Jaffna peninsula. The bomb placed before the headquarters of the General Union of Eelam Students (GUES) at 62 Clock Tower

Road, Jaffna, criticised that organisation for its recent mis-handling of events in the peninsula. Another bomb was placed before the offices of the "Saturday Review" the strident English newspaper which advocated the cause of the TULF at the forthcoming election. It carried a threat for misleading the general public. Another bomb placed near the office of "Sutantiran" carried a tirade against Uma Maheswaran.

On May 18th the Tigers experimented with their new home-made grenades. Seven explosions were heard in Jaffna, Chavakachcheri, Point Pedro and Velvettiturai where the election was conducted. The message was loud and clear. Polling was reduced to almost nothing throughout the day.

Anticipating violence the Army and Police arranged elaborate security precautions. Every polling booth had on the outside a guard of 5 soldiers carrying T-56 Chinese assault rifles and 5 armed Constables, on the inside. Besides every hour the polling booths were visited by mobile patrols of the Army and Police.

Around 4.15 p.m. an Army patrol had visited the polling booth at Sivaprakas Maha Vidyalaya at Kanderamadam which was guarded by 5 soldiers from the Raja Rifles and 5 armed Police Constables. Shortly thereafter Private Somasiri reported to Corporal Warakapitiya that he had observed some suspicious movements not far from the polling booth. The Corporal had hardly instructed Private Somasiri and Private Bandara to keep the area under surveillance, when suddenly Seelan launched a grenade and machine gun attack from behind a parapet wall.

When the attack was launched the security personnel had no pre-determined defence worked out. Corporal Jayawardene guarding the front entrance was shot dead while trying to seek cover, Private Aluvihare who was with him took cover in the polling booth. Private Somasiri got into the toilet and opened fire with his T-56 assault rifle. Corporal Warakapitiya and Private Bandara took cover behind the toilet and opened fire. Constables Abbas and Tilekaratne ran out of the polling booth and took up positions behind the toilet. Constable Thavarajah hid in the nearby Kovil.



Seelan then directed their fire on the toilet whereupon Corporal Warakapitiya and Constable Abbas escaped from the rear compound with the injured, Private Bandara, Constable Tilēkeratne and Constable Premadasa. However Private Somasiri with commendable courage ran out of the toilet, took command of the polling booth and repulsed the attack with the assistance of Private Aluvihare and Constable Ranbanda. In the meantime Sellakili crept up to the dead body of Corporal Jayawardene and removed his T-56 assault rifle and two magazines. With that accomplished Seelan suddenly called off their attack.

The Tigers suffered no losses but the Security Forces had many casualties besides many displayed cowardice. Hitherto the general public in Jaffna looked upon the Security Forces either through fear or passively. Now their attitude was that of unconcealed disdain. They were of the opinion that the Security Forces were no match for the Tigers whose military skill was admired. Besides the Raja Rata Rifles went on the rampage on the night of May 18th further reinforcing the impression that the soldiers were good only in the attack of defenceless civilians.

The Army promptly withdrew the Raja Rata Rifles to their base in Anuradhapura. After a preliminary inquiry 6 soldiers were dismissed from the Army for their role in the rampage. In retaliation 90 soldiers deserted the regiment. They were promptly dismissed and 6 officers who were in sympathy with the deserters had their commissions withdrawn.

In the meantime the PLOTE of Uma Maheswaran had observed that a jeep from the Sri Lanka Air Force base at Vavuniya drove down daily to town to obtain their provisions. On June 1st the vehicle left with Leading Aircraftsman Perera at the wheel, Leading Aircraftsman Kulasiri in the front seat. Aircraftsmen Ratnasiri, Ranjan and Gunsekera in the rear seats.

In Vavuniya town L/AC Kulasiri got down to make the purchases. Two youth then appeared from nowhere and shot at the airmen in the rear seat. A/C Ratnasiri leapt out of the jeep and returned the fire injuring a terrorist named Ramanathan. More terrorists entered the fray and in the exchange of fire A/C Ranjan was injured. Then L/AC Perera who was in the



driver's seat and without weapons crept into the rear compartment to pick up the T-56 assault rifle of A/C Ranjan. Just then a hand grenade was lobbed into the jeep by the terrorist leader Sithamparanathan.

The explosion ripped open the jeep and also the abdomens of L/AC Perera and A/C Gunasekera. It was a fearful sight to see their entrails scattered all over the jeep. Incidentally the foreign press which of late took upon itself the task of defending human rights in Sri Lanka did not say one word about the right to life of these young airmen, the sight of whose mutilated bodies could make even strong men weep in public.

L/AC Perera and A/C Gunasekera were buried with full Air Force honours in their respective home towns of Minuwangoda and Kandy. Following the funerals, rioting broke out in 40 towns with the Kurunegala and Trincomalee districts being badly affected.

In Vavuniya rioting broke out on June 1st itself. Besides Sinhala people who account for about a quarter of the population of that town tipped off the Police resulting in Ramanathan and Sithamparanathan being arrested in a few hours after a shoot out at Kovilkulam.

With the Vavuniya incident the racial tensions escalated rapidly. In the Trincomalee district the Sinhala population was of the opinion that the Tamils would evict them forcibly to create the State of Tamil Eelam. Hence they took a pre-emptive strike and the Tamils retaliated. The Sinhala people had the tacit support of some sections of the Armed Forces, the Tamils had the open support of the TULF. There was a wave of violence from June 11th to 15th and a second wave commencing June 26th. The tension was so great that Rear Admiral Asoka De Silva, the Commander of the Navy, was posted to Trincomalee with wide powers similar to those given to Brigadier Weeratunga in 1979. Rear Admiral De Silva, who was educated at Royal College and trained at the Britannica Royal Naval College at Dartmouth, had an excellent reputation as a Naval Officer throughout his distinguished career. He contained the violence within a few days.

The tension throughout the country was further accentuated by student unrest. In mid-May there was a Sinhala Tamil clash amongst the students at the University of Peradeniya. It resulted in many Tamil engineering students leaving for Jaffna and Batticaloa, whereupon the Universities of Jaffna and Batticaloa went on strike. By early June half the Tamil students who left the campus had returned and on the night of June 6th there was a fracas in the James Peiris Hall. Two Sinhala students, W. A. D. T. Wickramasinghe and A. Ekanayake, assaulted two Tamil students, K. Dayaparan and, A. Suvendran. Following a disciplinary inquiry Wickramasinghe and Ekanayake were suspended, resulting in Sinhala students boycotting lectures. The boycott escalated into a strike which in turn fuelled the racial tension within the campus. The strike in Peradeniya evoked sympathy strikes in the Universities in and around Colombo.

In this charged atmosphere the Tamil Eelam Liberation Front (TELF) led by Dr. S. Dharmalingam and Mr. Kovi Maheswaran called for a *hartal* on July 1st in protest against the harassment of Tamils in the Trincomalee area. Since its inception in 1981 as an alternative to the TULF, the TELF was ineffective. However this *hartal* was a complete success besides most children kept away from school. In addition the TELA, an off-shoot of the TELO led by "Oberoi" Thevan-set on fire the "Yal Devi", the Colombo-Jaffna express train, at Kondavil. They also set fire to CTB buses at Annakottai and Puttur. Dr. S. A. Dharmalingam and Mr. Kovai Mahesan were arrested the following day under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. The TELA then issued an ultimatum that unless these two prisoners are released by dusk on July 4th they will retaliate. The ultimatum issued in the form of posters was ignored, whereupon on July 5th around noon 15 youth armed with revolvers and knives entered the office of the Divisional Superintendent of Mails in Jaffna and caused extensive damage to Government property. On the following day similar damage was done to the Post Office in Thinneveli and the day after to the office of the Assistant Government Agent in Tinneveli,

Shortly after midnight on July 5th a commando squad of the LTTE led by Seelan dressed in Army uniform and carrying machine guns walked into the house of Thambiah Ramanathan on Wanigasingham Road, Thavadi North, Kokuvil. Having



woken him they said they were from the Army Camp at Gurnagar and they wanted to borrow his Delica Van because their jeep had broken down at the Thavadi junction. Obliging Ramanathan took out his vehicle 34 Sri 791 into the main road and handed over the switch keys.

By 2.30 the a.m. Delica Van with Seelan, Sellakili and others on board arrived at the quarry office of the Kankesanturai Cement factory. At gun point the security guards and a time keeper were tied up. The Tigers then ambushed the storekeeper and at gun point took his keys away. When they left five minutes later they took with them the following items:

- 5 Plunger type exploders
- 1 Pneumatic drill
- 2 Avometers
- 200 metres of cable wire
- Miscellaneous equipment

By 4.30 a.m. the van was returned to Ramanathan who was politely thanked for the use of his vehicle.

Thereafter with unfailing regularity the Tiger Movement consisting of the LTTE of Prabhakaran, the PLOTE of Uma Maheswaran, its off shoots in the Batticaloa district, and the TELA, led by "Oberoi" Theven, systematically unleashed violence. In sequence the incidents were as follows:

- July 9th — Damage to Suthumalai Sub-Post Office in Manipay
  - Damage to Inuvil Sub-Post Office in Chunnakam
  - Damage to Sanguveli Sub-Post Office, Chulipuram
  - Burning of CTB bus at Kalmunai
- July 10th — Damage to Irrigation Office at Velanai, Kayts
  - Burning of CTB bus at Mullaitivu



July 11th — Damage to Anti-Malaria Campaign Jeep at Mannar

— Damage to Police Jeep at Trincomalee

— Damage of AGA's Office in Jaffna

— Burning of CTB bus at Batticaloa

July 12th — Burning of Fisheries Corporation van in Kalmunai

July 14th — Burning of Fisheries Corporation van in Jaffna

— Damage to Pannakam Sub-Post Office, Kankasanturai

— Damage to Sittankerny Sub-Post Office

— Theft of chemicals from Kanagaratnam Maha Vidyalaya

— Damage to Sub-Post Office at Periyapattam, Kankasanturai.

On July 15th Brigadier J. G. Balthazar, Commander of the Security Forces in the North, who had bided his time launched his counter offensive. He had information that Seelan, the most wanted terrorist next to Prabhakaran, was operating from a house in Meesalai near Chavakacheri. The Sandhurst trained Brigadier who had served in the Congo with the UN Forces, worked out a complex operation which cannot be revealed here for reasons of security. That evening the Army ambushed and killed Seelan and another terrorist.

This was indeed a grievous blow to the Tiger Movement. During the past two years Seelan had a leading role in the robbery from the pawn broker in Kurumbachitty and the People's Bank at Neerveli. He organised the killing of the first soldiers to die in Jaffna peninsula, just a week after General Weeratunge took command of the Army. He executed Sunderam his opposite member in the PLOTE led Uma Maheswaran. He led the attack on the Chavakachcheri Police Station, the polling booth at Kandaramadam and the Cement Factory in Kankasanturai. He was responsible for the murder of UNP candidates and the disruption of the Local Government elec-

tions in the Jaffna peninsula just two months earlier. No terrorist, not even Uma Maheswaran or Prabhakaran, had a record of banditry comparable with Seelan.

His usefulness was such that when he was injured in the raid at Chavakachcheri and was surreptitiously sent to India for treatment, the LTTE was subdued till he returned to the island. Now he was dead. The five pellet marks on his left knee cap, received during the raid in Chavakachcheri, bore testimony to his identity. Further testimony was the obituary announced by the LTTE through the medium of posters. They swore vengeance on the Army.

On his part Brigadier Balthazar stepped up the campaign to ambush Sellakili. In his assessment the TELO had, for all intents and purposes, been silenced; only a splinter group TELA led by "Oberoi" Thevan was operational. With Uma Maheswaran seeking refuge in India, Sunderam killed by Seelan, Karthan killed by the Army and twenty six under arrest, the PLOTE was effective only around their base in Vavuniya and in Batticaloa, where an affiliate group was operational. However the LTTE was fully operational, the only casualties being Prabhakaran who was arrested in Madras and Seelan killed a few days ago. Thus Sellakili was now the prime target.

In the recent past Sellakili had assisted Seelan in the raids on the Chavakachcheri Police Station, on the polling booth at Kandaramadam and on the Kankesanturai Cement Factory. Some years earlier Sellakili had a leading role in the raid on the People's Bank in Tinneveli and Puttur, the murder of Inspector Bastianpillai and his staff and of P. C. Karunanidhi, the first Policeman to die at the hands of the Tigers.

The escalation of violence by the Tiger Movement and the TELF was to pressure the TULF into resigning their seats in Parliament by August 4th 1983. When the current Parliament first sat on August 5th 1977, after the General Election of 1977, in terms of the Constitution it would automatically dissolve at the end of six years if not dissolved earlier. President J. R. Jayewardene was re-elected for a second term on October

20th 1982. Instead of having a General Election he called for a Referendum seeking extension of the Parliament for another six years. The people voted as follows:

Yes	3,142,223
No	2,065,983

Thus the lifetime of the Parliament was extended for 6 years commencing August 5th 1983.

The Tamil speaking areas, especially the Jaffna district, voted heavily against the Referendum as reflected below:

#### **Jaffna District**

Yes	25,315
No	265,534

#### **Batticaloa District**

Yes	47,482
No	72,971

#### **Trincomalee District**

Yes	39,429
No	51,909

#### **Wanni (Vavuniya, Mullaitivu, Mannar Districts)**

Yes	25,986
No	48,968

The Tiger Movement and the TELF was of the opinion that the TULF should resign their seats in Parliament at the end of the six years. This brought about a head on confrontation between the moderates and the radicals in the quest of the State of Tamil Eelam. The final decision was to be taken at the forthcoming annual Convention of the TULF.

The General Council of the TULF met at the residence of its President, Mr. M. Sivasithamparam (TULF—Nallur) on June 18th and adopted the following resolution.

- (a) To request the Government to find a political solution to the Tamil problem by recognizing the right of self-determination.



- (b) The TULF to continue its struggle to establish a State of Tamil Eelam through non-violent means.
- (c) The TULF condemns the action of militant youth who have been a threat to duly elected members of local bodies.
- (d) The TULF condemns the atrocities caused by the Raja Rata Rifles in Kanderamadam on July 18th.
- (e) The TULF requests the Government to withdraw troops from the North and to revoke the Prevention of Terrorism Act.
- (f) The TULF will hold their annual Convention in Mannar on July 23rd and 24th.

Against the background of this resolution the Parliamentary group of the TULF met at the residence of Mr. A. Amirthalingam in Colombo on June 27th. There it transpired that Mr. V. N. Navaratnam (TULF — Chavakachcheri) was adamant on resigning his seat on the following premises:

- (a) He was elected by the people of Chavakachcheri in 1977 for a period of six years.
- (b) The people of Chavakachcheri voted overwhelmingly against the Referendum to extend the lifetime of the Parliament by another six years.

Mr. Navaratnam who was a MP continuously since 1956 further stated he would re-contest Chavakachcheri

In 1981 Mr. A. Yogeswaram (TULF — Jaffna) was of the opinion that the TULF should contest the DDC election in June 1981 in the teeth of opposition from the Tiger Movement. Now He claimed that in two years the DDC has achieved absolutely nothing and was a farce, because the Government had not provided adequate funds. He said that the assessment of the Tiger Movement was vindicated and he was personally in favour of resigning his seat and boycotting the ensuing by-election.

During the many crises in July 1983 the new Marxist parties in the Sinhala areas, the JVP led by Mr. Rohana Wijeweera and the NSSP led by Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara, revealed their hand. Both parties had received a severe drubbing in the recent exercise of the franchise. At the Presidential election held on October 20th 1982. Mr. Wijeweera received an ignominious 3% of the votes and Mr. Nanayakkara 1% as against 53% by President J.R. Jayewardene and 39% by his principal rival, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa of the SLFP. At the Local Government elections of May 18th 1983 the JVP could not gain representation in any Municipal Council or Urban Council in the entire Island. The NSSP fared even worse and Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara could not win the Eheliyagoda seat in the Parliamentary by-election despite support from many parties.

Indeed it was transparently clear that the JVP and the NSSP were heading in the same direction as the Trotskyite LSSP and the Communist Party, namely total eclipse and eventual extinction.

The JVP and the NSSP however have previously displayed a marked predilection for violence. In 1971 they were responsible for the insurrection which cost over 18,000 lives. With conventional methods of achieving power beyond their reach, their predilection for violence was once again evident.

At a public meeting held at the New Hall on July 6th Dr. Wickramabahu Karunaratne, the Secretary of the NSSP, and till recently a Lecturer in the Faculty of Engineering at the University of Peradeniya said,

"The youth in the Tamil and Sinhala areas should join together in overthrowing this . . . (expletive deleted) Government of . . . (expletive deleted) J. R. Jayewardene."

Mr. Rohana Wijeweera who spoke next echoed the same sentiments. At another meeting Dr. Karunaratne protested on behalf of the NSSP on the arrest of Mr. S. A. David and Dr. S.





Brigadier J. G. Ballthazar at his headquarters in Gurunagar





Rear Admiral Asoka de Silva V. S. V. the Commander of the Navy  
The Admiral handled the crisis admirably

Rajasundaram, the leaders of the Gandhian Movement. Thus the NSSP became the first party in the Sinhala speaking areas to show sympathy for the Tiger Movement.

During the student unrest at the University of Peradeniya Mr. Wijeweera and Dr. Karunaratne attempted to make political capital in fomenting anti-Government sentiments. That surprised nobody. What surprised everybody at Peradeniya was the solicitous attitude Mr. Wijeweera and Dr. Karunaratne took towards the Tamil students.

The clamour for a State of Tamil Eelam evoked no positive response whatsoever in the Sinhala speaking areas except from the JVP and the NSSP. However across the Palk Strait the reaction was very different. It evoked emotion and generated support.

A. K. Shajahn of Maduri attempted self-immolation within the premises of the Office of the Deputy High Commissioner for Sri Lanka in Madras. He poured kerosene over himself and set himself ablaze but a sentry was able to douse the flames and rush him to hospital. Immigration officials at Meenamabakam Airport, acting of their own disuaded Indian nationals from travelling to Sri Lanka for duty-free shopping, on the premise it was unsafe to visit Colombo.

On the initiative of Mr. M. Karunanidhi, President of the DMK, Leader of Opposition and former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, an all party conference was summoned for June 19th in Madras. It was attended by all parties except the ruling Anna DMK. The conference decided to agitate for Tigers being given asylum in Tamil Nadu and to call for a public meeting in July 2nd, at Chennai, Madras.

The protest meeting at Chennai was sponsored by the DMK, the Dravida Kalakam led by Mr. V. R. Veeramani, the Kamraj National Congress led by Mr. P. Nedumaran the Muslim League led by Mr. Abdul Lathiff and the several Marxist parties. It was attended by over 10,000 people. The gathering was addressed by Mr. Karunanidhi, Mr. Veeramani, Mr. Nedumaran and Mr. Abdul Lathiff, amongst others. They all stressed solidarity with the Tamils in Sri Lanka and expressed admiration for the militant youth whom they claimed were



forced to take up arms. Mr. Karunanidhi further stated that unless Prime Minister Indira Gandhi took action soon to give some redress to the Tamils in Sri Lanka, the DMK will be compelled to create a situation that will force her hand.

At first the ruling Anna DMK led by Chief Minister M. G. Ramachandran took a cautious stand. However they were soon compelled to take a stand against the Government of Sri Lanka, to prevent the Opposition from stealing a march over them in the State elections scheduled for early 1984. Thus the entire spectrum of political opinion in Tamil Nadu was orchestrated against the Government of Sri Lanka. To achieve this state of public awareness the following course of action was taken:

1. The mass media gave wide coverage to events in Sri Lanka with recourse to a mixture of truths, half-truths and untruths. The mass media was particularly severe on the Armed Forces and Police who were stationed in the Tamil speaking areas.
2. Over 150 organisations submitted protests to the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu.
3. The DMK launched a campaign for the collection of two million signatures for a memorandum seeking UN Forces to be stationed in Sri Lanka, on the same lines as in Cyprus.
4. Politicians from all political parties in Tamil Nadu spoke emotionally in the State Assembly about the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was scheduled to visit Tamil Nadu on July 20th to open a nuclear plant at Kalpakkam. In view of the tension in Tamil Nadu, caused by events in Sri Lanka, on July 18th the Government of India indicated to the Government of Sri Lanka, through diplomatic channels, its concern for the safety of Indian citizens in Sri Lanka. By the same token the Government of India assured the Government of Sri Lanka that it had no intention of interfering in the domestic affairs of Sri Lanka.



When messages such as this are communicated through diplomatic channels, professional etiquette demands that it be treated as strictly confidential. Over and above the requirements of etiquette this message was of a sensitive nature and it was handled accordingly by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Colombo. As such it was acutely embarrassing to those of us who handled this communication both in Colombo and New Delhi, when somehow the media in Colombo got wind of it and insulted the Government of India for interfering in the affairs of Sri Lanka. Such news items were re-produced in the media in India thereby creating unpleasantness and further tension in Tamil Nadu.

About this time the Government of Sri Lanka was hauled over the coals by the news media in the entire Western world. The influential Amnesty International released their report on Sri Lanka and it was a tirade against the Government on the violations of Human Rights.

The report of Amnesty International claimed that political suspects in Sri Lanka have been held incommunicado under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and tortured both in Army camps and Police Stations. Amnesty International claimed that in some cases detainees have been kept in solitary confinement for more than eight months after arrest and that torture included hanging victims upside down with hooks, beating them with metal bars and driving needles under the toe-nails and finger-nails.

In one of several specific allegations it stated that on April 10th 1963 K. Navaratnarajah, a terrorist from Trincomalee, died in custody at the Army Camp at Gurunagar after being held incommunicado for two weeks. At the autopsy 25 external injuries and 10 internal injuries were found on his body and the coroner had passed strictures accordingly.

In one of several less specific allegations, it was stated that at the Army Camp at Elephant Pass suspects were kept chained to iron grills for as long as six months. That at several Army Camps suspects were made to crawl on broken glass and had chillie powder inserted into various sensitive organs.

Amnesty International which in the past was critical of successive Governments of Sri Lanka especially for the manner in which the accused in the 1962 *coup d'etat* were treated and the insurgents were handled in 1971. They were now hyper-critical of the manner in which the current Government was handling those who were arrested for agitating for a separate State of Tamil Eelam. The Prevention of Terrorism Act in particular was assailed. (Vide Appendix VI)

The Government issued a rebuttal which was published by every daily newspaper in Colombo. It was however ignored by the media abroad..

The findings of Amnesty International was drummed up by Eelam lobbies around the world. Noisy demonstrations complete with extensive media coverage were held in London, Paris, Toronto, Boston and Sydney. In the State Assembly of Massachusetts, Mrs. Marie Howe tabled a resolution on the alleged violation of Human Rights in Sri Lanka. The Eelam lobbies gave that resolution wide publicity, craftily making it appear that it represented international support for their cause.

With the communal problem quite obviously worsening, President J. R. Jayewardene summoned a Round Table Conference on the terrorist problem and sent invitations to all parties represented in the Parliament. The Conference was scheduled for July 20th and for one reason or another all parties in the Opposition, namely the TULF, SLFP, MEP and the Communist Party declined. The invitation was accepted only by the ruling UNP and its ally the Ceylon Workers' Congress which accounts for one Member of Parliament.

The TULF in declining the invitation stated that terrorism was only one of their problems. They claimed that they had many other pressing problems. Accordingly the President issued another invitation for a Round Table Conference to discuss the following issues:

1. Full implementation of the District Development Councils Act of 1980.
2. Full implementation of Tamil as a national language, in accordance with the Constitution of 1978.



3. Employment.
4. Education.
5. Terrorism.
6. Prevention of Terrorism Act.
7. Use of the Armed Forces.
8. Land Policy.

The Conference was due to be held at a convenient date as early as practicable.

As a crucial week-end of July 23rd — 24th approached it was increasingly clear that the TULF would decide at the annual Convention that their Members of Parliament resign their seats. In fact on July 21st, when they last assembled in Parliament, Mr. V. N. Navaratnam (TULF — Chavakachcheri) delivered an emotional farewell address and the Leader of the Opposition exchanged words with the Prime Minister on the futility of a Round Table Conference.

Despite the intense political activity in Mannar on Saturday 23rd July, Jaffna was quiet that day. It was in fact just another day at the Army Camp at Gurunagar. That evening Brigadier J. G. Balthazar and his staff routinely had dinner in the Officers' Mess while the other ranks had their dinner in their quarters. They then watched Television, their only recreation in the evenings. Later in the evening Brigadier Balthazar excused himself and left for his office with his Duty Officer, Major F. C. J. De Silva. He also left word for his Intelligence Officers to join him. In the privacy of his office he directed Major De Silva to activate the commandos and the special troops who were to lay in ambush for Sellakili that night. The Intelligence Officers were detailed to brief the detachment which would leave Gurunagar at 0001 hours (one minute after midnight) that night. This was a carefully laid out plan which cannot be revealed here for reasons of security. H-hour was 0100 hours and target area was not far from Kondavil. The code name for the patrol was Four Four Charlie.

Patrol Four Four Bravo was scheduled to leave Gurunagar (code name Four Four) at 2200 hours. It was a routine patrol



from the C Company of the First Battalion of the Sri Lanka Light Infantry based at Madagal about 20 miles away. The patrol arrived at 2147 hours. It consisted of a detachment of 15 soldiers led by Second Lieutenant A. P. N. C. De S Wass Gunawardene. The instructions of the Brigadier were that the patrol should be back in Madagal before 2359 hours (mid-night) if necessary shortening the prescribed route:

Gurunagar — Jaffna — Naga Vihara — Nallur — Kopay — Urumpirai — Kondavil — Kokuvil — Jaffna — Kaliyan-kadu — Madagal.

2nd/Lt Gunawardene received the instructions from Major De Silva who further emphasised that the patrol must be in Madagal Camp by midnight. Four Four Bravo left Gurunagar at 2206 hours and was in radio contact every five minutes. All reports indicated that Jaffna was quiet.

In the meantime Sellakili who had sworn to avenge the death of Seelan had made a careful study of the Army patrols. He had observed that the maximum intensity of such patrols was between 2200—0200 hours, that every night they covered the main roads Palali — Jaffna, Kankasanturai — Jaffna, Point Pedro — Jaffna while covering other roads, and that the convoys travelled about 75 — 100 yards apart.

On the night of July 23rd he deployed a platoon of about 25 terrorists in battle dress at Tinneveli on the Palali — Jaffna road, at a point where the road was dug up to instal new telecommunication equipment. Near one such excavation four mines were placed. The plunger stolen from the Kankasanturai Cement Factory was placed on the balcony of a nearby house. The wiring was then connected. Machine gun nests were placed near the exploder and across the road. The machine guns (SMG) were once the property of the Chavakachcheri Police Station.

The main force, consisting of the "killer squad" and the "cut off party" was located 75 — 100 yards behind and on both sides of the road. Sellakili himself was there. Everybody was armed with SMG and repeater shot guns, also from Chavakachcheri, the T — 56 Chinese assault rifle from the raid on the polling booth in Kandermadam and a SLR of

Indian manufacture. Besides the "Killer squad" had with them an arsenal of home-made hand grenades.

At 2328 hours the radio at Gurunagar cackled, "Four Four Bravo for Four Four. We are now leaving Urumpirai junction. Absolutely nothing to report. The town is very quiet."

The Army convoy consisted of a Jeep bearing number AY 4889 and a Tata Benz half truck, 26 Sri 3193. In the Jeep was 2nd/Lt. Waas Gunawardene sitting next to the driver Private N. A. S. Manatunge. In the rear seat were Lance Corporal G. D. Perera and Privates S. S. Amarasinghe, S. P. G. Rajatillake, K. P. Karunaratne. The 2nd/Lt had a SMG and the others SLRs (Self Loading Rifles). All except the driver carried a hand grenade. In the half truck was Sergeant S. I. Thelakaratne in the front seat with Corporal G. R. Perera at the wheel and Private A. J. R. Fernando between them. In the rear were Corporal R. A. U. Perera, Lance Corporal Sumathipala, Privates M. B. Sunil and D. N. A. D. Manapitiya all seated, Privates G. Robert and A. J. Wijesiri standing in the look-out position.

Within five minutes of leaving Urumpirai the Jeep was slowing down near Tinneveli because of the obstruction on the road due to the installation of telecommunication equipment. As it was passing the excavation on the road, the exploder set off the mines. There was a thunderous explosion, followed by a hail of machine gun fire on the Jeep and a still bigger barrage on the half-truck.

Despite the concussion due to the explosion and injury sustained by machine gun fire 2nd/Lt Waas Gunawardene leapt out of his Jeep and pulled out his hand grenade. Before he could lob it he was mowed down by machine gun fire. The driver Pte Manatunge was injured by machine gun fire. He staggered out of the vehicle and was killed. The explosion had injured Pte Karunaratne, Pte Rajatillake and Pte Manatunge. They somehow scrambled out of the vehicle and attacked the enemy with hand grenades before being killed. L/Cpl C. D. Perera was probably not injured. He stormed out of the Jeep with



his SLR blazing and pursued the enemy. His dead body was found quite some distance from the Jeep.

On seeing the explosions around the Jeep, Cpl G. R. Perera who was driving the half truck applied brakes sharply. It resulted in Pte Robert and Pte Wijesiri in the look-out position following on top of the others. The vehicle came in for heavy fire from both the "killer squad" and the "cut off party" thus taking fire from four sides. It killed Cpl. Perera in the driver's seat Ptes Robert, Sunil and Wijesiri in the rear compartment and all but killed Pte Manapitiya. Sgt. Thelakaratne and Pte Fernando who were both injured scrambled out of their seat, took cover from the vehicle and opened fire on the enemy. Pte. Fernando was soon killed while Sgt. Thilakaratne kept on firing till a home-made grenade blew off one hand and all but blew off one foot.

Cpl. R. A. U. Perera and L/Cpl Sumathipala kept on firing and the latter in addition lobbed his grenade. In his dying moments Pte Manapitiya gave his grenade to the L/Cpl Sumathipala who changed their magazines and kept on the pressure on the enemy. At one stage they alighted from the vehicle and kept on firing at the enemy in two different directions thus pinning them down.

In the meantime, the radio operator at Gurunagar was constantly calling,

"Four Four for Four Four Bravo can you hear me?"

"Four Four for Four Four Bravo can you hear me?"

At 2340 hours a message was sent to Brigadier Balthazar that radio contact with the patrol was lost and that a sentry had heard gunfire and explosions in the distance. The Brigadier who was still in civilian dress rushed into the radio room. Having checked on the information he alerted the Army camps in Palali, Madagal, Thondamanar and Velvettiturai. The Brigadier then cancelled the ambush prepared for Four Four Charlie due to leave at 0001 hours and instead sent them in search of the missing patrol, Four Four Bravo.

At 0009 hours the radio at Gurunagar cackled,  
"Four Four Charlie for Four Four



## PATROL FOUR FOUR BRAVO

*'Theirs was not to reason why,  
Theirs was but to do and die'*

1. The late 2nd/Lt. A.P.N.C. de S Wass Gunawardena S.L.L.I.
2. The late Sgt. S.I. Thelakaratne
3. Cpl. R.A.U. Perera
4. The late Cpl. G. R. Perera
5. L/Cpl. I. H. Sumathipala
6. The late L/Cpl. G. D. Perera
7. The late Private D.N.A.D. Manapitiya
8. The late Private M.B. Sunil
9. The late Private A.J. Wijesiri
10. The late Private K.P. Karunaratne
11. The late Private S.P.G. Rajatillake
12. The late Private S.S. Amerasinghe
13. The late Private G. Robert
14. The late Private N.A.S. Manatunge
15. The late Private A.J.R. Fernando



1.



2.



3.



4.



5.



6.



7.



8.



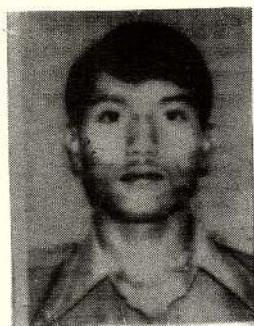
9.



10.



11.



12.



13.



14.



15.



Have located Four Four Bravo.  
Both vehicles destroyed. All dead  
repeat both vehicles destroyed. All dead  
Location . . ."

About that time Cpl R. A. U. Perera (subsequently given a battlefield promotion) telephoned from the Kondavil CTB Depot. Having fired till his ammunition was almost exhausted he ingeniously retreated. In view of injuries in both legs he had removed his boots, made tourniquets with the boot laces and had run to safety. He gave the exact location of L/Cpl Sumathipala (subsequently given a battlefield promotion), who likewise had fired till his ammunitiog was almost expended, and thereafter had retreated and was lying injured.

Brigadier Balthazar and his staff rushed to the scene. On arrival they found Sgd. Thelakaratne still alive but bleeing profusely from the loss of a hand and one foot dangling from its skin. He was rushed to hospital but died on admission.. L/Cpl. Sumathipala was also rushed to hospital but was pronounced out of danger. Cpl. Perera was then despatched to hospital. Thereafter the dead were removed.

Thus ended patrol Four Four Bravo of July 23rd, 1983 a day which will surely go down into the annals of history of the Sri Lanka Army. The Army can indeed be proud of this patrol which fought so bravely against fearful odds and had inflicted many casualties on the enemy and had even killed Sellakili. Of those who made the supreme scarcifice for Sri Lanka the nation could proudly say,

"They shall not grow old,  
As we that are left grown old  
Age shall not weary them,  
Nor the years condemn  
At the setting of the sun  
And in the morning,  
We shall remember them,"

## **Chapter IV.**

### **THE OUTBURST**

AS the word got around about the ambush at Tinneveli it invoked anger in the Sinhala people and fear in the Tamil people. The General Cemetery in Colombo, where the dead soldiers were to be buried with Military honours, was the epicentre of one storm on Sunday 24th July. Jaffna was the epicentre of another storm, for that morning the Sri Lanka Light Infantry had gone on the rampage to avenge the 13 deaths.

Earlier in the day there was much controversy as to what type of funeral should be accorded to the dead soldiers. Major General T. I. Weeratunge, the Army Commander, who had arrived in Jaffna that morning, and the entire Army contingent in Jaffna were opposed to the funeral being held there. That left two options open. The first was to hand over the dead to the next-of-kin for funerals in the respective hometowns and thereby risk 13 separate riots. The second was to bury the dead in Colombo under Emergency Regulations and to face the consequences in the city. During the communal riots of 1958, 1977 and 1981 Colombo was amongst the last places to be effected. It was not affected at all in the communal riot of 1956 or in the insurrection of 1971. On that basis it was decided, at the highest levels, to have the funeral at the General Cemetery in Colombo with Military honours. The next-of-kin were duly informed.

The Army drew up a detailed plan for the military funeral which was to be attended by the President, the Prime Minister and the Cabinet. By 3 p.m. Brigadier Kenneth Pereira, Director Logistics at Army Headquarters, who was in charge of funeral arrangements had added the final touches. An Air Force aircraft would bring the dead bodies to Ratmalana Airport. Thereafter



A.F. Raymonds the well known undertaker, would prepare the bodies for burial and seal and coffins because many of the bodies were mutilated. The cortege would then be brought to the funeral parlour of A. F. Raymonds and then be taken to the General Cemetery for burial at 5. p.m. The *Paansakula* ceremony (final Buddhist rites) was to be performed by Buddhist priests from a nearby temple. Brigadier Pereira had pleaded with the Buddhist priests to avoid any inflammatory utterances in their sermon and on second thoughts he decided to omit the sermon altogether. Brigadier George Thevanayagam who was in charge of military ceremonies had arranged for funeral parties, from several regiments. The Army band was to be in attendance and the last post was to be sounded by buglers from the Sri Lanka Light Infantry.

By 3 p. m. the Deputy Inspector-General of Police Metropolitan Range, Mr. Edward Gunawardene, took over command of the Police arrangements at the cemetery. With characteristic skill he left nothing to chance and kept in readiness a riot squad from the Borella Police Station.

By 5. p.m. there were no signs of the dead bodies. This caused the weeping relatives and their Members of Parliament to plead that the bodies be handed over to them. They all claimed that their grief was compounded by the fact that they were denied their obligations of arranging the funeral in a manner compatible with time-honoured family tradition. As their clamour increased the crowd also increased. It included over 3,000 slum dwellers from adjoining Wanathamulla.

By this time the dead bodies, clothed in new uniforms and wrapped in polythene bags had barely reached the Army Camp at Palali, 20 miles from Jaffna. Procedural problems at the Jaffna mortuary and inadequacy on the part of undertakers in Jaffna had caused the incordinate delay. After an emotional farewell from troops stationed at Palali the funeral flight, an Air Force Avro, took off from the Palali Air Force Base, at 6.05 p.m.

In the meantime the helicopter bringing General Weeratunge to Colombo returned to the Gurunagar Army Camp on a Presidential directive. The President wanted the General to spend the night in Jaffna in view of a rampage by the troops

that morning which had caused many deaths. As punishment 29 soldiers were summarily dismissed from the Army.

By 7.20 p.m. when the Avro arrived at Ratmalana the crowd at the cemetery had increased to over 8,000. Besides the crowd had taken up the cry of the next-of-kin to hand over the dead bodies. As the crowd became more restive they began to fill the graves with sand to forcibly prevent a burial. It was followed by a hail of stones and vituperations. They then broke the equipment to be used at the funeral and hurled it at the Police. The projectiles descended on many senior officers, amongst others on Mr. A. C. A. Gaffoor, Senior Superintendent of the Police. The 300 pound giant almost fell into a half closed grave. After he regained his balance he took out his revolver and fired a few shots in the air. That failed to quieten the crowd. When the crowd became restive again there was another stream of obscenities and a hail of stones and Police Sergeant Welikala was seriously injured. At that point the riot squad was called upon to fire tear gas. A baton charge followed. Thereafter the Police withdrew and the Army handled the crowd control operation.

By 8.30 p.m. the cortege had left Ratmalana Airport for the cemetery under a heavy Army and Police escort. In view of the upheaval in the cemetery Brigadier Pereira, who had earlier amended the programme for the funeral, radioed directing the cortege be diverted to Army Headquarters. Then the Minister of Internal Security Mr. T. B. Werapitiya, (UNP-Patha Dumbura) and a retired Deputy Inspector-General of Police, and General Sepala Attygalle, a former Army Commander and now Secretary Ministry of Defence, left for 66, Ward Place, the residence of the President situated less than a mile away. On hearing their report the President cancelled the Military funeral and decided to hand over the dead to the next-of-kin at Army Headquarters. The decision was duly conveyed by Brigadier Pereira over the public address system at the cemetery around 10 p.m., whereupon the weeping relatives left quietly and the restive crowd left in an unruly state.

Anticipating further trouble Mr. Edward Gunawardene rushed the riot squad from the cemetery to seal off the Ward Place — Kynsey Road junction near the residence of the President. The crowd that dispersed along D. S. Senanayake



Mawatha marched up to Borella junction, less than half a mile away and smashed up Nagalingam Stores, a leading Tamil establishment. It triggered off a chain reaction around Borella junction which is the intersection of five main roads, D. S. Senanayaka Mawatha, Baseline Road, Cotta Road, Ward Place and Maradana Road. The rampaging mob, which suddenly mushroomed to about 10,000 set on fire any Tamil building. It included the Borella flats where some Sinhala people lived. The next targets were leading Tamil houses in the neighbourhood. The home of Mr. J. A. Selvaratnam retired Superintendent of Police C.I.D. on Kurruppu Road, the home of the leading surgeon Dr. A. S. Thavarasa off Cotta Road, were set on fire. Air Force troops from the nearby Guwan Pura were rushed in to assist the Police. Their presence saved the home of Air Commodore C. E. Puvimanasinghe in Rodney Place, from a similar fate.

The much respected Inspector-General of Police, Mr. Rudra Rajasinghem, himself a Tamil, was directing Police operations at Borella. Meanwhile the Police repeatedly fired tear gas shells. The intensity of the firing was so rapid that the effects of the tear gas was felt by the sentries at the residence of the President a quarter mile away. After exhausting their stocks of tear gas shells, the Police opened fire in the air with rifles. That finally caused the mob to disperse. They did so in the direction of Dematagoda, Maradana and Narahenpita. Soon those areas were smouldering. So was Thimbirigasaya which is adjoining Narahenpita and Grandpass which is adjoining Maradana.

The Fire Brigade had arrived in Borella but in the height of the drought the water pressure in the hydrants was insufficient. Thus Borella was aflame for hours and the Borella Police Station had become a virtual refugee camp.

President J. R. Jayewardene summoned a meeting of the Security Council for 9.30 a.m. that morning. The Security Council consists of the President, the Minister of Internal Security, the Secretary to the President, the Secretary of Defence, the Service Commanders and the Inspector-General of Police. While this meeting was still in session at the President's House, the official residence of the Head of State, barely 100 yards away the Ambal Cafe, a Tamil establishment in

the Bristol building was aflame. The fire quickly engulfed the entire building. Soon Sarathas, a leading Tamil clotheir on York Street just 100 yards away suffered the same fate. In rapid succession Tamil shops down Baillie Street right in front of the President's House were set on fire. By the time the Security Council adjourned their meeting and the President enforced a curfew in Colombo, every Tamil establishment in the Fort shopping area was aflame. The rioting apread to Olcott Mawatha, opposite the Fort Railway Station. Ananda Bhawan, a thosai boutique, Rajeswari Stores, an oilmen store and Ajantha Hotel, all Tamil establishments were set on fire.

By 10 a.m. the slums of Colombo in Wanathamulla, Slave Island, Maradana, Narahenpita, Hateyawatte, Kirillapone, Canal Bank, Grandpass, Modera, Kotehena and Mutuwal erupted with savage fury. Slum dwellers armed with crow bars, kitchen knives roamed the streets inflicting death and destruction on Tamils.

On the previous night Wellawatte and Dehiwela, which contain the largest concentration of Tamils in Colombo, was unharmed. Now the mob from Canal Bank roamed these areas setting fire to Tamil homes and destroying Tamil shops. Looting followed.

Mobs from Slave Island and Maradana stormed into the Fort and at the Bo Tree Junction turned into Gas Works Street and Forth Cross Street which had a preponderence of Tamil establishments. They caused extensive destruction till Inspector Gererad Ignatius opened fire and contained the mob. Earlier another mob had entered the Main Street and reduced the Tamil shops there to shambles, till Inspector Ignatius opened fire and brought the situation under control. He was subsequently been promoted to rank of Assisatnt Superintendent of Police.

The slums in Grandpass and Kotahena erupted about the same time and Mr. R. C. N. Gunesinghe, Assistant Superintendent of Police, himself opened fire at Panchikawatte and Armour Street. Kotahena was particularly badly affected and the Police opened fire again in Armour Street, also in Bonjean Street and Pickering Road and baton charged in Lukmanjee Square.



Meanwhile slums in the centre of the city, Narahenpita, Hateyawatte and Kirillapone erupted and the violence spread to the middle class residential areas of Anderson Flats, Elvitigala Flats, Torrington Flats, and Thimbirigasyaya. Later the violence spread to Sulaiman Terrace, Bullers Road and Gregory's Road in the exclusive residential area of Cinnamon Gardens. By now the Canal Bank abutting another exclusive residential area of Park Road erupted. Around 12 noon distress signals were received at Police Headquarters and in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the home of Mr. R. M. Abhyankar, Deputy High Commissioner of India, was attacked. The Inspector-General of Police and I rushed there separately. The Vienna Convention clearly spells out the protection given to foreign diplomats. While the IGP handled the security aspects I handled the diplomatic aspects. Mercifully it was not the home of Mr. Abhyankar but that of his neighbours which were attacked. Another house on Park Road that was attacked was that of Ambassador C. Gunasingham, till recently High Commissioner for Sri Lanka in Singapore, and now a senior official in the Presidential Secretariat.

By now the entire city of Colombo was aflame. The suburbs of Ratmalana, on the south, Kadawatte and Kelaniya in the north and Nugeogda, on the west had also been attacked by rampaging mobs. Particularly revolting in the outburst of violence in Kadawatte was the fate that befell a passenger who was fleeing from Colombo in an ambulance. At the Kiribathgoda Junction the mob stopped the ambulance and he pretended to be a Muslim. Once the mob established his identity as a Tamil, he was burnt alive.

The curfew declared by the President was to be effective from 6 p.m. in Colombo. It was advanced to 4 p.m. and later to 2 p.m. In view of the violence in Kelaniya, Kadawatte and later in Negambo the curfew was extended to the Gampaha district. As the violence spread to Kalutara town the Kalutara district was also subject to the curfew. The mob at Kalutara was particularly fierce. When the well known TKVS Stores was attacked, the owner fled upstairs to seek refuge but as the fire spread he jumped out of a window. A man of much wealth and with many enemies, he was got hold of physically by the mob and unceremoniously tossed into the inferno.

The rioting hitherto was by leaderless mobs. In the afternoon the violence took a different turn. There was organised violence by gangs which were quite obviously trained and who operated with military precision. Their targets were the economic bases of the Tamils in Colombo and their homes.

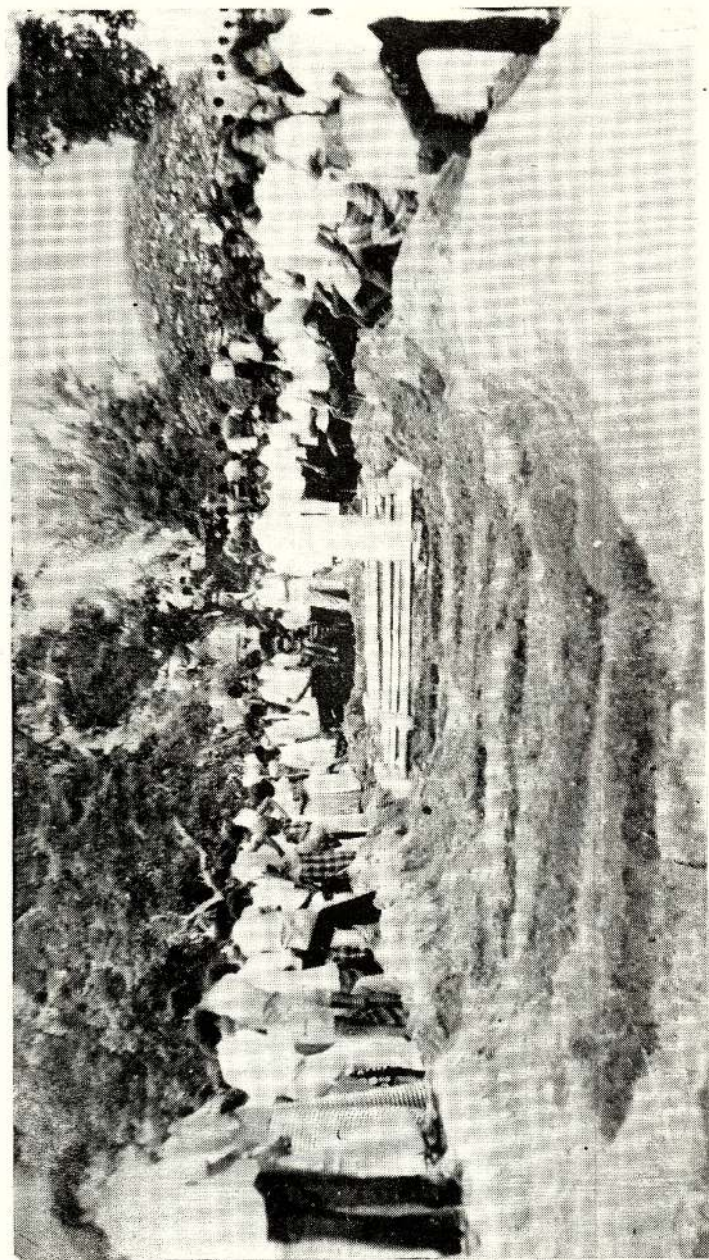
The organised violence first erupted around 12 noon at Ratmalana, which has the largest concentration of factories in Sri Lanka. Mobs attacked Jetro Garments and Tata Garments situated on Galle Road. Both factories were completely gutted. They then attacked Tamil houses in the Soysa Flats. The housing estate has nearly 500 flats of which 92 are occupied by Tamils. Of them 81 were systematically broken into, household effects tossed out of the windows and then set on fire. The mob was armed with electoral lists used at the 1382 Presidential election, which are available to any citizen on the payment of a small fee.

Mr. W. A. Samarawickrema, Senior Superintendent of Police, Mount Lavinia opened fire and there were casualties but the mob continued their rampage. Moving down Galle Road the mob turned into Borupana Ferry Road, on the landside, and Maligawa Road on the seaside. The Ponds factory, the S-Ion pipe factory, Reeves Garments, Hydro Garments, Hyluck Garments and AGM Garments were consigned to the flames. The next targets were Manhattan Garments and Poly Pack on Kandewela Road. Further afield on Attidiya Road the mob showed its state of preparedness by leaving alone the Indian factories such as Kundanmalls, Oxford, and Bakson Garments. In direct contrast they set fire to the Tamil owned Berec factory and Mascons Asbestos plant. In this manner the organised violence accounted for 17 factories in Ratmalana and by evening the trained squads wound up their activity by setting on fire Tilly's Beach Hotel in Mount Lavinia after it was evacuated by occupants and staff.

In the meantime a train from Galle made an unscheduled stop at Attidiya Road in Ratmalana. The communication cord was pulled again when the train was abreast of Brighton Hotel in Wellawatte.

At each point trained squads were discharged. Shortly thereafter they demonstrated remarkable skill in destroying





The scene at the General Cemetery Colombo at 4 p.m. on Sunday 24th July. The crowd increased tenfold in the next two hours (By courtesy of the "Island")



A typical scene in the Colombo District on the night of Monday  
25th July



homes. They smashed up windows whenever they were closed, thus ensuring ventilation, they then broke the roof and from the roof top poured in petrol followed by a lighted taper.

Tamil homes were thus systematically consigned to the flames. Such homes were identified with pin point accuracy using electoral lists. In attacking shops the trained squads responded to three commands in Sinhala.

1. Kada (break)
2. Adha (haul)
3. Gini (set fire)

During this process there was no looting whatsoever.

Wellawatte and Dehiwala were exposed to mob fury in the morning. The second wave of violence was of considerably larger magnitude. In Ratnakara Road, Dehiwala, there were 53 houses, with 26 Sinhala houses and 27 Tamil houses. The Sinhala houses were unharmed. 27 Tamil households lived in 24 houses owned by Tamils and 3 owned by Sinhala people. The 24 Tamil houses were set on fire. The other 3 households had their moveable property thrown on to the road and then set on fire so as to prevent the houses being damaged.

After sometime the entire Galle Road from Bambalapitiya to Ratmalana looked as if it was a part of a war-torn country. One of the tragic features that day was the role of the Army. They were of passive deportment and merely looked on nonchalantly. Likewise in the Pettah, Maradana and Kotahena the Army merely looked on while fresh violence erupted.

The Tamil owned Maharaja Organisation is the largest commercial establishment in Sri Lanka next to the Upali Group. They lost six factories in Ratmalana, including Ponds, S-lon and Berec. By evening their Head Office in Bankshall Street and their new subsidiary Hettiaratchi Brothers, which still bore its Sinhala name, were set on fire. Barring the Maharaja Organisation the largest Tamil commercial establishments in Sri Lanka were St. Anthony Hardware Stores, K. G. Industries and Easwaran Brothers. They were also situated in Grandpass. They were all consigned to the flames.

In view of the upheaval in the city, at the Welikade Jail, the prisoners were confined to their quarters that afternoon. Within the Jail the maximum security is in the Chapel Section which is a three storey building accommodating 850 prisoners. The terrorists incarcerated there consisted of 35 prisoners, 6 convicted and 29 awaiting trial. They were all on the ground floor.

Shortly after 2 p.m. a large group of prisoners from the upper floors rushed down, overpowered the guards, removed their keys and locked the Chapel Section from inside. These prisoners were armed with makeshift iron rods which they had ripped off from the railings on their floor. What followed is perhaps best described in the findings of Mr. K. C. Wijewardene, Chief Magistrate, Colombo, who presided at the inquest.

" On the evidence recorded by me, it is quite clear that on July 25th 1983 there had been a general unrest in the upper floors of the Chapel Section which had ended up in a riot. These prisoners had stormed into cells B3 and D3 on the ground floor. Violence had erupted, resulting in the death of 35 prisoners. There is no evidence, to identify any suspect, from amongst the prisoners who had so stormed into the wings. There is evidence that some prisoners had attempted to curb the violence by assisting the authorities. None of the Prisons officers or the Army Officers summoned to the scene thereafter could have done anything under the circumstances to prevent that attack. They have all been completely overpowered. None of those prisoners, who were eye witnesses to the incident have volunteered to give evidence before me today. The two who have testified are not eye witnesses and have admitted that they had seen nothing. I have perused the post mortem reports of the 35 deceased prisoners tendered before me and I hold that all deaths are cases of homicide, resulting from a riot in the prison. I therefore direct the Officer-in-Charge of the Borella Police Station to conduct further investigations and . . . "

Among those who were killed that day were Kuttimani, Thangadorai and Jegan. All of them were convicted of murder, sentenced to death and subsequently had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment. The autopsy verdicts of all



deceased indicated that they were killed by blows with blunt weapons on the head and that none of the bodies were mutilated.

Another distressing feature that day, in terms of the Vienna Convention, was the damage suffered by the staff of the High Commission of India. The clerical staff of this Mission lives in Wellawatte and many of them have Tamil names or Tamil sounding names. Their homes were subject to mob fury when the slums in the Canal Bank area erupted that morning. The High Commission evacuated these families to Hotel Taprobane. Later when the homes of the diplomatic staff were threatened they were evacuated to the Hotel Oberoi.

That evening when the new First Secretary Mr. M. J. Abrahams was returning home with his clerk Mr. K. V. Iyer, his car was set upon by hoodlums at Bambalapitiya and the vehicle set on fire. Mr. Iyer was hospitalized while Mr. Abrahams received out patient treatment.

The fire in Baillie Street near the President's House was still raging in the evening and some of the staff in the High Commission in the adjoining building feared that the Mission itself may be gutted. The Fire Brigade was taxed well beyond their resources but priority was given to the blaze in Baillie Street upon a request by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Once the fire was doused I visited the staff of the High Commission, first those in hospital, then those in hotels and then my wife joined me in calling on those who were still in their homes. Even in the face of adversity they were truly gracious. There was no recrimination on their part. In my knowledge of diplomacy they were truly worthy representatives of a great nation. The Government of Sri Lanka on its part was quick to fulfil its obligations under the Vienna Convention. Security arrangements were accorded the highest priority and compensation amounting to Rs. 1,267,000 was paid as early as practicable.

The violence which erupted on Monday 25th July was principally in the Western Province with Colombo and its suburbs being particularly badly affected. According to Police Headquarters, the violence in the rest of the Island that day was as indicated overleaf:

<i>District</i>	<i>Murders</i>	<i>Arson</i>	<i>Looting</i>	<i>Mischief</i>
Galle	—	35	2	—
Kegalle	—	17	—	1
Trincomalee	—	21	—	—
Vavuniya	—	14	2	—

On Tuesday 26th July Colombo was still smouldering. Kandy which had been remarkably quiet the previous day suddenly erupted in the afternoon. Around 2.45 p.m. the Delta Pharmacy on Peradeniya Road was ablaze. Shortly thereafter another Tamil shop near the Laksala building was set on fire. The violence spread to Castle Street and Colombo Street and was brought under control by the Police. However one hour later a marauding mob armed with petrol cans and Molotov cocktails suddenly appeared. In rapid succession Tamil shops in Colombo Street, Trincomalee Street, Kings Street and Castle Street were subject to their fury. It was a miracle that only one Tamil was killed. Having thus ravaged Kandy the mob travelled to Gampola which suffered a similar fate. That evening a curfew was imposed in the Kandy district.

That night the persistent rumour in Trincomalee was that the Karianagar Naval Base near Jaffna had been captured by the Tigers and that the Naga Vihare, the Buddhist shrine in Jaffna, had been destroyed by the Tamils. These rumours incensed the Navy and over 80 sailors broke barracks and went on the rampage. They stormed through Dockyard Road, causing much damage there as well as in Main Street, Central Road, North Coast Road and on Thirugnasambandan Road where they even attacked the Sivan Kovil. They accounted for 170 acts of arson before returning to their barracks. The Tamil population retaliated killing 2 Sinhala people, one outside the Sivan Kovil and the other in Ambuvalipuram.

Rear Admiral Asoka De Silva arrived by air in Trincomalee on the morning of July 27th. With his typical sagacity he brought the situation under control. Thereafter with characteristic firmness he hounded out of the Navy 81 sailors who had gone on the rampage. For all interests and purposes they were dishonourably discharged.



On Wednesday 27th July Trincomalee was relatively quiet except for the murder of a Tamil nurse and her domestic at Weliverikulam. Kandy was still smouldering and violence had spread from Gampola to Nawalapitiya and was contained in Hatton due to the skill of Mr. G. Ariyasena, Assistant Superintendent of Police. However violence erupted in Badulla which had hitherto been quiet.

Around 10.30 a.m. a motor cycle belonging to a Tamil was set on fire in front of the clock tower. The Police quickly brought the fire under control and Badulla remained calm though there was a sudden influx of strangers into the Bazaar area. Shortly after 12 noon organized mobs went goods their tasks with military precision. One lot broke into shops, another hauled the goods on to the road, the third set the goods on fire. There was no looting whatsoever. Thus Bazaar Street was aflame. Mr. R. C. Dias, Assistant Superintendent of Police, Badulla, opened fire. He observed that the dead and injured were moved away with professional skill while the organized mobs continued with their destruction. Thereafter the rioting spread from the shopping area to the residential area. The homes of many Tamils including those of the much respected lawyer, Mr. S. Nadarajah and the much respected surgeon Dr. C. Sivagnam were set on fire.

In view of the escalation of violence Mr. P. Mahendran, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, requested the Army Training Centre in Diyatalawa for troops. By the time the troops arrived Yogan, a Tamil businessman who was a well-known Tiger sympathiser, had opened fire from his home resulting in two Police Constables being injured. The Army returned the fire. There were many casualties due to the firing as well as by lynching by an irate mob. Sellasamy Nadar, another Tiger sympathiser and his household met with a similar fate.

Those who organized the violence in Badulla were seen leaving for Hali-Elā, Bandarawela and Welimada in buses and vans in which they had arrived and other vehicles which they had commandeered in Badulla. By evening those towns were ablaze. By nightfall rioting had erupted in Lunugala. One of the casualties there was a Roman Catholic nun who was shot and subsequently succumbed to her injuries. Incidentally she belonged to the Sinhala race.

In Colombo the relative clam on Wednesday 27th July was shattered by two major outbursts of violence. At the Fort Railway Station the Jaffna Express was leaving that morning several hours behind schedule. Just as the train was pulling out from platform No. 1 the Railway Security found a package of cartridges on the train. The train was stopped and troops were called in for the search. The Jaffna Express stops en-route at many large Sinhala towns such as Kurunegala and Anuradhapura, hence the passengers were both Sinhala and Tamil people. During the search one Tamil passenger attempted to run away. He was mistaken for a Tiger and set upon by angry Sinhala passengers and killed. Then the Sinhala passengers attacked Tamil passengers, on the pretext they were Tigers. Altogether 11 Tamils were consigned to the flames on the rail track itself. Some were dead, others were still alive when the incineration began.

Following the prison riot on Monday 25th July, all the terrorists incarcerated in the Welikade Jail were removed from the Chapel Section and accommodated in the Youthful Offenders Building. That evening when the hard core prisoners in the Chapel Section went for dinner they overpowered their guards, rushed to the Firewood Chopping Section armed themselves with axes and firewood and then attacked the terrorists in the Youthful Offenders Building. The prison authorities sounded the alarm and the Army was brought into quell the riot in the Youthful Offenders Building. At the Magisterial inquiry which followed the verdict given by Mr. M. C. Wijewardene was as follows:

"On evidence led before me and on the report of the post-mortems it is clear to me that the deaths of 18 prisoners who were awaiting trial for offences under the Prevention of Terrorism Act have been caused by other prisoners who had broken out of the Chapel Section in one vast unruly mob and had headed for the Youthful Offenders Building. It is also clear, on the basis of the evidence led, that whilst some of those prisoners who had so broken out of the Chapel Section, appeared to have acted with the object of causing bodily injury to the prisoners housed in the Youthful Offenders Building there had been several other prisoners, amongst them, who appear to have broken out with the sole object of staging a mass scale jail break.



None of the witnesses, including witness S. Perumal Yogarajah, a victim of the attack who had survived, and who has given an eye witness account of the death of two of the deceased prisoners, are in a position to identify any of the prisoners forming the mob, who had attacked the deceased, and injured some of the prisoners.

It is also clear, that the Prisons officers and Army personnel, who had been summoned from their points of duties outside the Prison gates, had done all in their power to quell the riot, and prevent harm to fellow prisoners and a mass-scale jail break. But the very magnitude of the mob and the swiftness of the attack had rendered their efforts futile as far as the deceased prisoners are concerned.

Both the Army personnel, and the Prisons officers, had found that the intended mass-scale jail break had hindered the full utilization of their forces in coming to the rescue of the deceased and injured prisoners.

However the prompt and efficient steps taken by the special standby unit of the Army, serving under witness Major Sunil Peiris, had effectively prevented the Jail break referred to. They helped to quell the mob which might otherwise have even caused the death of other prisoners in the Building of Youthful Offenders who have fortunately survived. The action of this officer and those working under him deserve special commendation.

I find that the death of all 18 prisoners have been caused as a result of a riot in the prison. . . ."

On Thursday 28th July Badulla was still smouldering and the rioting had spread from Lunugala to Passara. Fresh violence had erupted in Nuwara Eliya and Chilaw and had been brought under control by the Police. However Colombo, Kandy and Trincomalee were calm. The curfew imposed on an all island basis from 2 p.m. to 5 a.m. commencing the previous day was effective, by and large, and it appeared that the nation would return to normalcy by the following week.

That afternoon a recording was made of a televised broadcast to the nation by President J. R. Jayewardene. The

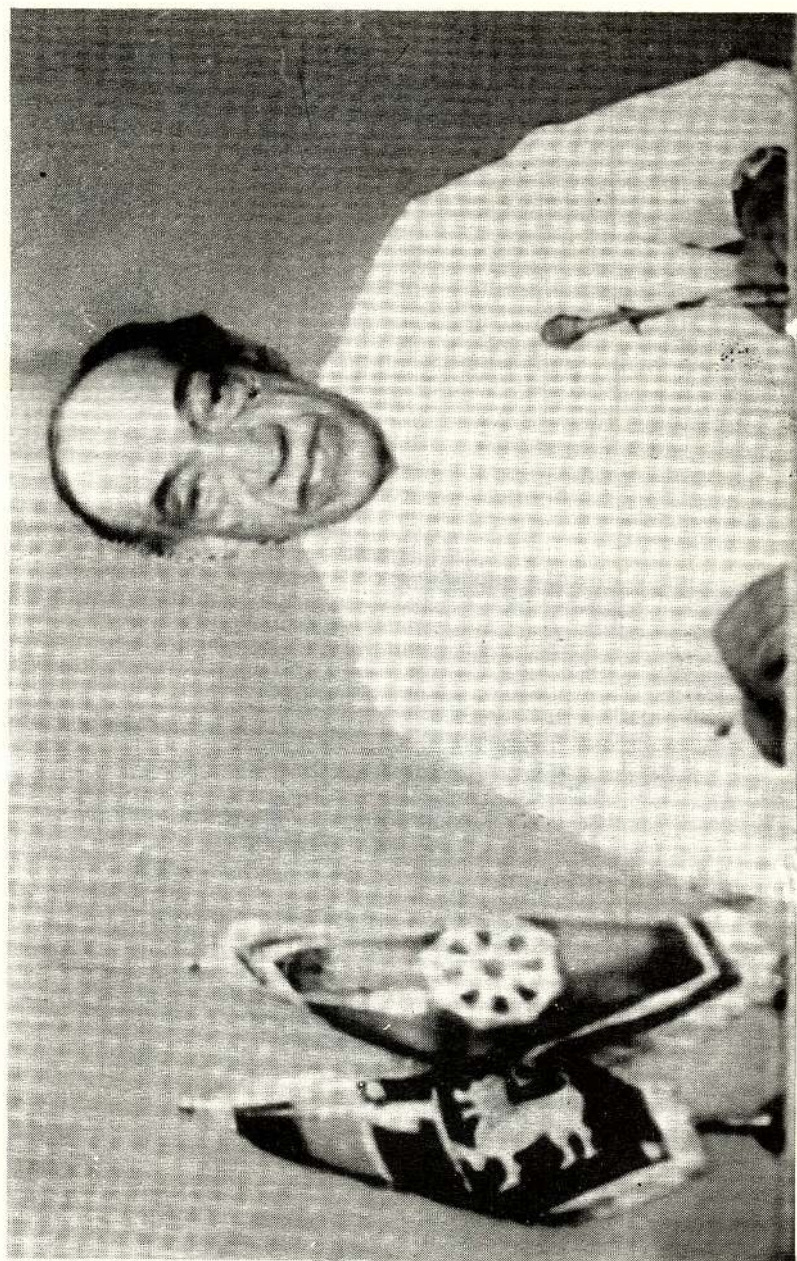
telecast was made at prime time. The President looked both sad and weary as he addressed the nation thus:

"It is with deep regret and sorrow that I address you today. When I see the destruction around me, the spate of violence that has arisen, it is very, very distressing. This violence has been aimed particularly against the Tamil people, and it has been caused by the deep ill-feeling and the suspicion that has grown between the Sinhala and the Tamil people for several years. When there is distrust, when there are grievances, it is easy to lead people to violence, and we feel that there is an attempt to lead this violence for the purpose of destroying the political and economic progress that this Government has been able to ensure for our people.

It was from 1956 that this suspicion between the Sinhala and the Tamil people first began. In 1976 for the first time a movement for the separation of our beloved motherland, the separation of a united Lanka into two nations, was also accepted. The Sinhala people will never agree to the division of a country which has been a united nation for 2,500 years.

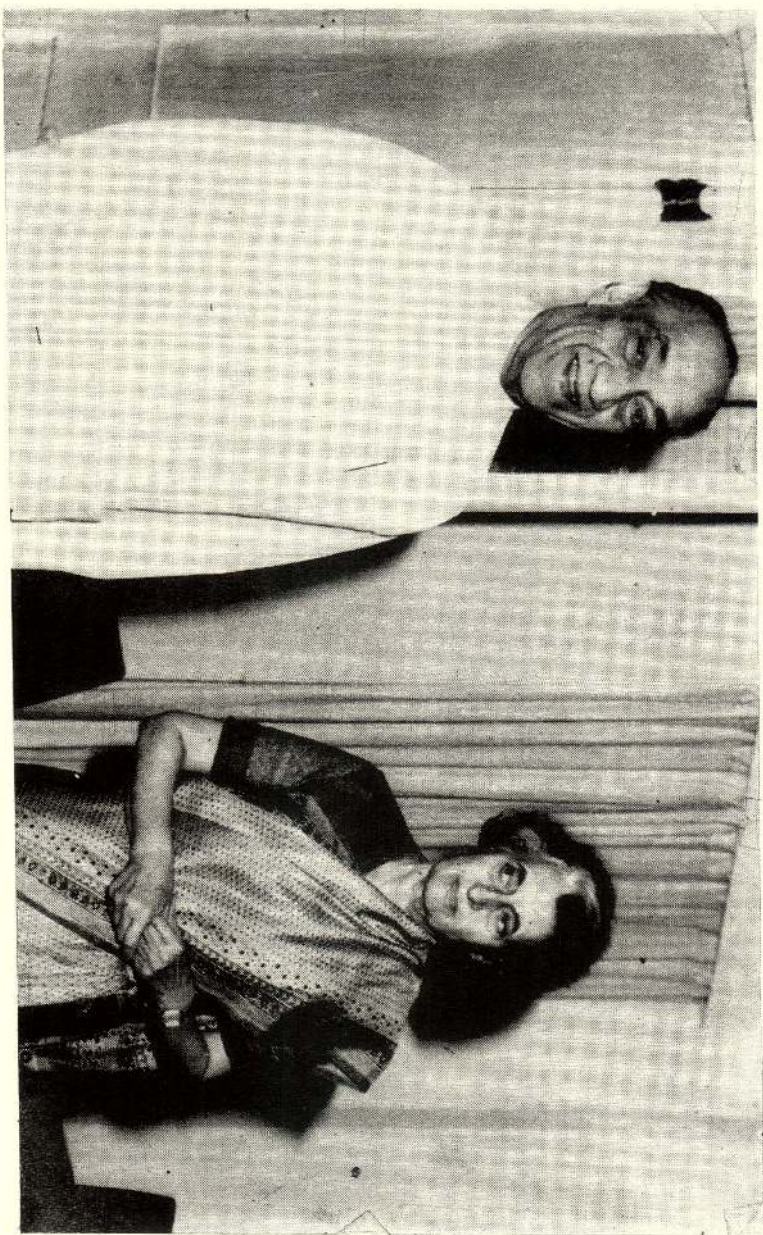
At first, this movement for separation was non-violent. But since 1976 it became violent. Violence increased and innocent people were murdered. Members of the Armed Services and the Police, politicians who did not agree with the movement for violence, whether they were Sinhala or Tamil, were assassinated. It has grown to such large proportions that not a few but hundreds have been killed during this movement. Because of this violence by the terrorists, the Sinhala people themselves have reacted. I feel that the movement for separation should have been banned long, long ago. I have also been a member of the Governments which are responsible for not banning it. I thought that in the All-Party Conference which I summoned a few days ago, which we were unable to hold, firstly, because all the parties did not accept my invitation, and secondly because of the violence and the curfew around us, I thought that at that conference I should say that we intend to implement the 1977 manifesto of the United National Party, which sought to solve some of the political problems, that arose, and once we did that, we would also ask the consensus of opinion to make the division of the country illegal.





President J. R. Jayewardene addressing the nation on Television on  
Thursday 28th July





**President J. R. Jayewardene with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.**  
The President was generous in this praise of India in general and Mrs. Gandhi in particular



Unfortunately, we could not hold that conference. But the Government has now decided that the time has come to accede to the clamour and the national request of the Sinhala people that we do not allow the movement for division to grow any more.

The Cabinet, therefore, this morning decided that we should bring legislation, firstly, to prevent people from entering the Legislature if they belonged to a Party that seeks to divide the nation. Secondly, the legislation will make Parties that seek to divide the nation illegal or proscribe them. And once they are proscribed, the Members cannot sit in the Legislature. We will also see that those who belong to this Party or those who advocate the separation of the country lose their civic rights and cannot hold office, cannot practise profession, cannot join movements or organisations in this country.

"We are very sorry that this step should be taken. But I cannot see, and my Government cannot see, any other way by which we can appease the natural desire and request of the Sinhala people to prevent the country being divided and to see that those who speak for division are not able to do so legally."

That afternoon Prime Minister Indira Gandhi telephoned President J. R. Jayewardene, and spoke of the repercussions in India caused by events in Sri Lanka. She inquired whether the President would receive Foreign Minister Narasimha Rao as her Special Envoy. The President readily agreed and six hours later a Boeing 737 of the Indian Air Force arrived at Katunayake International Airport. Foreign Minister Narasimha Rao was greeted warmly on arrival by Foreign Minister A. C. S. Hameed. The Indian delegation even left for the President's House where they stayed as personal guests of President J. R. Jayewardene.

On Friday 29th July Foreign Minister Narasimha Rao had breakfast and a long discussion with the President at 66, Ward Place. There was another round of talks that morning with Foreign Minister A. C. S. Hameed at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The rioting had hitherto caused much death and destruction and had also caused untold hardship to Tamils. Over one third of all Tamils in Colombo were displaced from their homes and were in Care and Welfare Centres, euphemisms

for Refugee Camps. Such Centres were set up by the Government to give temporary relief to over 64,000 Tamils in Colombo, who were accommodated as follows:

Ratmalana Air port	4,500
Hindu College, Bambalapitiya	14,000
St. Peter's College, Bambalapitiya	1,400
Sirima Bandaranaike Maha Vidyalaya,	
Cinnaman Gardens	2,300
Thurstan College, Kollupitiya	4,000
Mahanama College, Kollupitiya	12,600
Isipathana Maha Vidyalaya, Havelock Town	4,300
Kotahena Complex	11,000
St. Benedict's College           )	
St. Lucia's College            )	
Good Shepard Convent          )	
Kotahena Madyama Maha Vidyalaya	6,000
Sivan Kovil, Kotahena	1,100
Gintupitiya, Kotahena	1,750
Anula Vidyalaya, Nugegoda	1,300

While a few thousand Sinhala people had behaved like barbarians and had committed terrible atrocities such as burying alive Tamils, many thousands of Sinhala people helped at the Care and Welfare Centres on a voluntary basis and many thousands of Sinhala homes gave shelter to Tamils. These splendid actions clearly demonstrated that so many Sinhala people look upon Tamils as their friends.

Ironically even the dregs of life who behaved like babarians did not forsake their friends. The Sinhala hard-core prisoners who slaughtered terrorists in the Welikade Jail did not harm any hard-core Tamil prisoners. The Sinhala slum dwellers did not harm any Tamils from the same slum.

With Friday 29th July being the third consecutive quiet day in Colombo, many Tamils were visiting their relatives and friends at the Care and Welfare Centres or doing their shopping. Such crowds were particularly large outside the Care and Welfare Centre at the Ratmalana Airport and in the Pettah.

In the Pettah vendors had brisk sales as life in the city was fast returning to normal. Around 10.30 a.m. that calm was shattered by gunfire. On Gas Works Street two Sinhala youths collapsed with gun shot wounds. While Inspector U. H. Shelton who was on duty there rushed them to hospital, a crowd of



5,000 gathered and many pointed towards the Adam Ali Building from where they claimed the gunfire had emanated. The restive crowd then began to shout that the Tigers had opened fire. When the Army and Navy noticed some movement in that building situated at 136, Fourth Cross Street, facing Gas Works Street, they opened fire with their SMGs and SLRs.

The Adam Ali Building stood in splendid isolation as almost every other building on Fourth Cross Street had been set on fire on Monday 25th July. This building had been spared by the mobs as it was owned by the Borah Community. Now the building was surrounded by Saladin Armoured Cars, encircled by the Army, Navy and Police while a lone helicopter sprayed it with machine gun fire.

Mr. R. C. N. Gunasinghe, Assistant Superintendent of Police spoke over his loud hailer in Tamil, English and Sinhala, in that order and asked all Tamils in the building to surrender or else the Saladin Armoured Cars would open fire. Two innocuous and thoroughly frightened Tamils who looked incapable of violence then emerged. They were arrested. Thereafter the Commandos fired one burst from their T-56 assault rifles. In the absence of a response they stormed into the building together with the Police. A meticulous search was made. There were no weapons and no ammunition. All they found were 25 Borah men, women and children frightened to death. The only Tamil in the building was a domestic servant hiding behind the overhead water tank. Through fear he had temporarily lost his faculties of speech.

In the meantime rabble rousers spread the word from the Pettah to the Fort then to Slave Island, Liptons Circus and Borella on the one hand and from the Pettah to Maradana, Kotahena, Grandpass on the other, that the Army and Tigers were locked in mortal combat. The story spread like wildfire and frightened city workers fled for life. Those who owned cars drove at break neck speed on both sides of the road as well as on the pavements. Others clambered on any type of vehicles, cars, buses, lorries, vans and trishaws. Some even travelled in luggage compartment of cars. While office workers behaved in this pitiable manner the slums of Colombo erupted again. Slum dwellers came out armed with axes, crow bars, iron rods and kitchen knives. Their children came out with bricks and stones. They all came out with fire in their eyes to kill the Tigers.

That day there were six tigers in Colombo. They were all in the Dehiwela Zoo.

After sometime the slum dwellers waiting for the Tigers ran out of patience. They then stopped the vehicles fleeing from Colombo to search for Tamils. Tamil vehicles were set ablaze and even defenceless Tamils were promptly attacked.

Near the Dehiwela bridge, Mr. Lionel Karunasena, Assistant Superintendent of Police and a former Asian Games athlete, opened fire with his SMG when the Canal Bank slum dwellers set upon fleeing Tamils. About the same time for the same reason, Mr. Lal Ratnaika, Assistant Superintendent of Police, opened fire at the Canal Bridge near the Wellawatte Spinning & Weaving Mills. He later ordered a baton charge at Thimbirigasyaya. When the Narahenpita slums erupted Mr. Ratnaika opened fire again at the Mahawatte Junction.

A shortwhile later Mr. A. C. A. Gaffoor, Senior Superintendent of Police and genial giant who had earlier that day saved 5 Tamils from a certain death, opened fire at Kirula Road. That was when he saw a mob setting a Tamil on fire, alive. The poor victim grappled with the flames before he succumbed to his burns.

In the Pettah Mr. Henry Silva, Superintendent of Police opened fire when looters attacked Dam Street and Sea Street. In the meantime on Attidiya Road, Tamils, who were fleeing from Ratmalana were trapped. By the time a Police patrol led by Headquarters Inspector T. J. Miskin, who had displayed considerable gallantry on Monday that week, arrived, 11 Tamils were burnt alive. One of the first abandoned vehicles he looked into was a butcher's van which happened to travel on Attidiya Road on its way to the Mount Lavinia beef stall. On board were 2 Tamils and 3 Muslims. They were all butchered.

That day Kandy was quiet and Foreign Minister Narasimha Rao who arrived by helicopter was able to see for himself the damage in that city. Trincomalee and Badulla were also quiet but organized violence erupted in Nuwara Eliya. About the time the Muslims had adjourned for their Jumma prayers, Ganesan Stores and Sivalingam Stores the largest Tamil establishments in Nuwara Eliya were attacked and set on fire. It triggered off a chain reaction which engulfed the Bazaar Street and Lawson Road.

There were also sporadic acts of violence in the Kegalle and Matara districts which were the areas of heavy fighting



during the JVP insurrection of 1971. In the Kegalle district the violence spread from Dehiowita to Deraniyagala and was finally contained by the Police at Avissawella. In the Matara district Deniyaya and Morawake were badly affected. There was also fresh violence in Chilaw.

That evening the Government had information that the panic was generated by the JVP and its allies. The word was quietly passed within the Army. The soldiers promptly flexed their muscles. The time for apathy and nonchalance was over. The Army had fought pitched battles with the JVP during the insurrection of 1971. Those memories still lingered.

With the Army backing the Police to the hilt, the curfew was rigidly enforced even though it was extended continuously over the weekend, from 2 p.m. on Friday till 5 a.m. on the following Monday. Except for the violence in Nuwara Eliya which spilt over to Kandapola and Hawa Eliya with renewed fury and the organized violence in Matale where the bazaar area and the residential area occupied by Tamils was flattened, the nation in general and Colombo in particular was quiet on Saturday 30th July. That night the JVP, NSSP, and the Communist Party were proscribed for alleged complicity in the riots. By Monday 1st August the law and the order position was almost normal. The violence unleashed throughout the Island following the ambush is tabulated below.

<i>District</i>	<i>Deaths</i>	<i>Arson</i>	<i>Looting</i>	<i>Mischief</i>
Badulla	52	838	630	378
Chilaw	2	161	20	22
Colombo	227	2720	1712	2165
Gampaha	7	216	58	53
Jaffna	70	4	13	1
Matale	3	1131	838	112
Matara	4	220	31	119
Kalutara	6	115	70	97
Kandy	31	1065	132	274
Kegalle	24	490	195	167
Nuwara Eliya	22	194	29	184
Vavuniya	4	23	7	16
Trincomalee	17	643	22	65
Other Districts	2	257	78	16
<b>Total</b>	<b>471</b>	<b>8077</b>	<b>3835</b>	<b>3769</b>

With the law and order situation well under control the biggest problem facing the J. R. Jayewardene Administration was the supply of food and essential goods. It was handled admirably by the Hon. Lalith Athulathmudali (UNP — Ratmalana), the Minister for Trade and Shipping. A brilliant product of Royal College, Oxford and Harvard he was assisted by Mr. Bradman Weerakoon and Mr. Dharmasiri Pieris, two senior civil servants of exceptional ability. There were no shortages whatsoever except for cigarettes. Apparently during the riot, the retail outlets for cigarettes had gone up in smoke.

The visit of Foreign Minister Narasimha Rao to Sri Lanka on Friday 29th July helped to give the Government of India a clear picture of what happened in Sri Lanka. It was obvious to the visiting dignitary, that President J. R. Jayewardene was striving to bring the situation under control as quickly as possible and to prevent the massacre of innocent Tamils. By the same token it was obvious that passions had been roused to dangerous levels. In fact during this visit information was received from Paris that communal violence had erupted within the Sri Lanka community in that city. After several days of tension a Sinhala student was got hold of by some Tamils and was thrown out of a sixth floor apartment. He died. When that violence in Paris subsided, the toll was 3 Sri Lankans dead, 13 in hospital and 39 in Police custody.

After the return of her Foreign Minister to New Delhi, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi made a statement in the Lok Sabha about the unfortunate events in Sri Lanka. She emphasised that the Government of India stood for the territorial integrity of Sri Lanka and for non-interference in the domestic affairs of Sri Lanka. She alluded to the traditional friendship between the two nations and the deep concern of both the Government and the people of India in the tragedy that had befallen Sri Lanka. She appealed in particular to the people of Tamil Nadu for restraint, as their passions had been roused due to the plight of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi added that she had offered President J. R. Jayewardene whatever assistance Sri Lanka need in the present crisis and that his request was for assistance of a humanitarian nature.

Accordingly in the next few days chartered civilian aircraft from India brought in supplies of medicines and dry rations for



the refugees. Chartered civilian ships were made available for the transport of refugees from Colombo to Jaffna.

India was the first of several friendly nations to offer her hand of friendship to Sri Lanka in her hour of need. President J. R. Jayewardene was generous in his praise of the Government of India in general and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in particular.

However, the reaction in Tamil Nadu was very different. The leader of the DMK, Mr. M. Karunanidhi, a former Chief Minister and now Leader of the Opposition, was strident in his attacks on Sri Lanka. He echoed the sentiments of Tamil radicals in Sri Lanka. Dr. S. Janarathanan, who resigned his post of Chief Whip in the Tamil Nadu Government to protest over events in Sri Lanka called upon the Government of India to militarily intervene in Sri Lanka. When that request was ignored he called for a black flag demonstration when the Minister of Defence Mr. P. Venkataraman next arrived in Madras. Political opinion in Tamil Nadu ranging from the sublime to the ludicrous and the mass media was orchestrated against Sri Lanka. A hartal (stoppage of work) was observed on August 2nd. All parties including the ruling Anna DMK led by Chief Minister M. G. Ramachandran participated. Thousands of protest meetings were held throughout the length and breadth of Tamil Nadu by a cross section of political parties.

As passions were further roused in Tamil Nadu, Dr. Janarathanan resigned his membership of the Anna DMK and set up an office of the TULF at his residence. Mr. Karunanidhi resigned his seat in the State Legislature as a mark of protest. To internationalize the cause of the Sri Lanka Tamils, he organized a campaign to collect two million signatures for a petition to be placed before the UN. The petition sought UN intervention and UN Peace Keeping Forces to be stationed in Sri Lanka in a manner similar to the presence of such troops in Cyprus. Mr. P. Nedumaran, leader of the Gandhi Kamraj National Congress, organised a sacrificial foot march from Madurai to Rameswaram and to sail across the Palk Street by boat in a token protest. The protest terminated on the beach at Rameswaram when the Indian Navy made its presence felt.

The ruling Anna DMK was restrained and did nothing to embarrass the Government of India. However the political climate in Tamil Nadu being openly hostile to Sri Lanka, the Anna DMK in one way or another echoed popular sentiments. As a dignified protest all Ministers in the Tamil Nadu Govern-

ment wore black shirts for one month. One of them Mr. S. Ramachandran was a member of the Indian delegation to the current UN General Assembly. Surprisingly the Government of India allowed him to bring domestic affairs of Sri Lanka before the UN. Ambassador I. B. Fonseka, Permanent Representative of Sri Lanka to the UN, was devastating in rebuttal.

When the racial riots broke out, the international press corps suddenly descended upon Colombo. They were an assortment of amateurs, nincompoops and professionals. I handled the few professionals, who were given interviews with the President, and taken to Jaffna in Air Force helicopters at the height of the crisis; besides, all courtesies were extended to them. To the best of my knowledge none of them misreported the unfortunate events in Sri Lanka. In fact many of them have given me invaluable assistance in writing this book.

As for the others the less said the better. They were only interested in increasing the circulation of their newspapers with horror stories from Sri Lanka.

For instance the "London Guardian" reported as follows on July 27th:

#### EYES GOUGED OUT IN SRI LANKA GAOL (From David Beresford in Colombo)

While accounts of massacres are circulating widely among Sri Lanka's Tamil population, it is the massacres in the Welikada gaol which are attracting the most attention. There is particular interest in circumstances in which two alleged guerilla leaders were killed.

The two men, Sellarasa "Kuttimani" Yogachandran leader of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation and a political writer and Ganeshanthan Jegenathan had been sentenced to death last year for the murder of a Policeman. In speeches from the dock, the two men announced that they would donate their eyes in the hope that they would be grafted on to Tamils who would see the birth of Eelam, the Independent state for which they were fighting.

Reports from the Batticaloa gaol, where the survivors of the Welikada massacre are now being kept, say that the two men were forced to kneel and their eyes gouged out with iron bars before they were killed. One version has it that Kuttimani's tongue was cut out by an attacker who drank the blood and cried: "I have drunk the blood of a Tiger."



The verdict at the autopsy was that Kuttimani had extensive injuries on his skull which was battered by a blunt weapon. According to the verdict of the Coroner, which is a public document, there were no other injuries of significance.

Another bizzare report emanating from Colombo at the height of the Press censorship, was on the United Press International wire service of August 2nd. The despatch read as follows:

Colombo (Stewart Slavin reporting)

"With calm returning to burned-out streets in Sri Lanka after a week of ethnic violence that left at least 239 people dead, the Government cracked down on Marxist parties and published reports that it feared an attack from neighbouring India.

Government sources said fears of foreign intervention following the violence between the majority Buddhist Sinhalese and minority Hindu Tamils prompted a request for pledges of military assistance from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Britain and the United States.

They said Pakistan and Bangladesh had responded positively while the US and British Embassies were awaiting instructions from their Governments."

I noticed that Mr. Slavin was particularly naive about politics in South East Asia, though he was South Asia Manager of the United Press International. He was wondering around Colombo sporting a baseball cap and in fact I first mistook him for a baseball correspondent. When I telephoned him to inquire whether he had sent this blasphemous despatch, he swore he had not. I then sent him with my compliments, the relevant portion of the UPI tape complete with his name, and ensured that he was deported on the first available aircraft.

When he arrived in Bombay he gave an interview to the Probe Magazine. Referring to the Tiger scare on Friday 29th July he said, :

"Jayewardene came over the TV and radio and spoke in English and Sinhala. The following day there were another series of riots in which 52 people died. My sources revealed that his speech could have in fact triggered off the riots. In fact . . .".

Such was the coverage of events in Sri Lanka by several of the foreign correspondents.

The insidious propaganda of the Eelam lobby was even more blasphemous. The LTTE led by Prabhakaran had made it public that the ambush at Tinneveli on July 23rd was their massive reprisal for the killing of Seelan on July 15th. Yet Mr. Ratnam Nithiananthan, a virulent London-based Eelam propagandist, came on a BBC Television programme on July 25th and said,

"According to reliable information received by me, the Army raped three girls at the Tinneveli Teacher Training College last week. They took them in an Army lorry and . . . . The ambush was to teach the Army a lesson for desecrating Tamil womanhood."

The Eelam supporters throughout the world drummed up this rape story. It is still believed by Tamils in all parts of the world except in the Jaffna district. There it was dismissed as arrant nonsense.

The Eelam propaganda was designed to whip up hatred against Sri Lanka. It was done without any sense of proportion. For instance Miss. Tamara Kunanayakam, a Geneva based Eelam propagandist who works part time for the World Council of Churches, sent the following telex to the Assembly of the World Council of Church held in Vancouver, Canada on July 29th.

"For Vancouver Assembly from Tamara Kunanayakam in agreement with Nico Keulemans. Please transmit immediately.

Just received news that Velvettiturai town has been razed and all inhabitants killed.

.....  
Navy has killed 1,000 in Trincomalee  
.....

.....  
Two refugee camps in Colombo have been attacked  
.....

.....  
Food supplies to Jaffna are being blocked by the Army  
.....

Our sources of information are UNDP, Colombo, NORAD Colombo and Tamil Information Centre, London."

This communication was a talking point at the Assembly in Vancouver till the leadership of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches in Sri Lanka enlightened them.



From the view point of news there was very little to report about Sri Lanka in August, except that the nation fast returned to normal and the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution outlawing separatist movements (Vide Appendix VII) was duly passed in the Parliament. However abroad, the propaganda against Sri Lanka continued unabated both in the media and on the grapevine. It was indeed distressing to observe the extent to which the nation was vilified and insulted. Some balanced account of the tragedy that befell Sri Lanka had to be written. Many told me it was a duty I owed my country. I thank them for the confidence they reposed in me.

## EPILOGUE

In Sri Lanka, the annals of history record that periodic clashes between the Sinhala and Tamil people are as old as history itself. A problem which has bedevilled the nation for twenty five centuries cannot conceivably be solved in twenty five years. However it must be brought within manageable proportions, with no further loss of time and with no further loss of honour.

The Sinhala people, though proud of their heritage, have yet to learn that those who commit atrocities on the Tamil people harm their own people even more than they harm their victims. Indeed the Sinhala people stood condemned before the eyes of the world and before the conscience of mankind for the recent atrocities. In our long history of ethnic conflict rarely have so few, harmed so many, so much.

The Tamil people, no less proud of their heritage, have yet to learn that communal harmony can be achieved not merely by the majority not discriminating against the minority, but also by the minority not provoking the majority. In happier times their provocations through communalism knew no bounds. In these unhappy times their provocations through terrorism and vilification know no bounds.

The Sinhala people have yet to understand that by subjecting the Tamils who live in their midst to murder, rape and pillage thus driving them away, they strengthen not weaken the clamour for secession. The Sinhala troops have yet to realise that by rampaging, they strengthen not weaken the hand of the enemy.

The Tamil people have yet to understand that their privileged position prior to Independence stemmed from the insidious colonial policy of divide and rule. The Tamil people have yet to realise that restoring the balance is not perpetrating



injustice on them, but removing the injustice done to the Sinhala people during the period of colonial servitude.

Communal discord, the bane of Sri Lanka in contemporary times, is a political problem. The Sinhala people have yet to know that there is no military solution to a political problem. Terrorism however is a military problem. The Tamil people have yet to know that there is no political solution to a military problem.

In this agony of Sri Lanka, may we all learn from our folly. May we never forget that hatred ceases not by hatred. May we begin anew to seek a unity in diversity.

The End

22, De Fonseka Place,  
Colombo — 5.  
October 29th 1983.

## APPENDICES

- Appendix I* — Bandaranaike–Chelvanayakam Pact
- Appendix II* — Recommendations for Ceylon Police Medal for Gallantry
- Appendix III* — Dudley Senanayake–Chelvanayakam Pact
- Appendix IV* — Election results in 1977 applicable to the Northern and the Eastern Provinces
- Appendix V* — Massachusetts resolution
- Appendix VI* — Amnesty report



## Appendix 1.

### **THE BANDARANAIKE — CHELVANAYAKAM PACT**

The following are the two joint statements issued by the Prime Minister and representatives of the Federal Party on July 26th 1957.

Statement on the general principals of the Agreement between the Prime Minister and the Federal Party.

"Representatives of the Federal Party have had a series of discussions with the Prime Minister in an effort to resolve the differences of opinion that had been growing and creating tension.

"At an early stage of these conversations it became evident that it was not possible for the Prime Minister to accede to some of the demands of the Federal Party.

"The Prime Minister stated that from the point of view of the Government he was not in a position to discuss the setting up of a federal constitution or regional autonomy or any step which would abrogate the Official Language Act. The question then arose whether it was possible to explore the possibility of an adjustment without the Federal Party abandoning or surrendering any of its fundamental principles and objectives.

"At this stage the Prime Minister suggested an examination of the Government's draft Regional Councils Bill to see whether provision could be made under it to meet reasonably some of the matters in this regard which the Federal Party had in view.

"The agreements so reached are embodied in a separate document.

"Regarding the language issue the Federal Party reiterated its stand for parity, but in view of the position of the Prime

Minister in this matter they came to an agreement by way of an adjustment. They pointed out that it was important for them that there should be a recognition of Tamil as a national language and that the administrative work in the Northern and Eastern Provinces should be done in Tamil.

"The Prime Minister stated that as mentioned by him earlier it was not possible for him to take any step which would abrogate the Official Language Act.

### **Use of Tamil**

"After discussions it was agreed that recognition of Tamil as the language of a national minority of Ceylon, and that four points mentioned by the Prime Minister should include provision that, *without infringing on the position of the Official Language Act, the language of administration in the Northern and Eastern provinces should be Tamil and that any necessary provision be made for the non-Tamil speaking minorities in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.*

"Regarding the question of Ceylon citizenship for people of Indian descent and revision of the Citizenship Act, the representatives of the Federal Party put forward their views to the Prime Minister and pressed for an early settlement.

"The Prime Minister indicated that this problem would receive early consideration.

"In view of these conclusions the Federal Party stated that they were withdrawing their proposed satyagraha."

### **Regional Councils**

"(A) Regional areas to be defined in the Bill itself by embodying them in a schedule thereto.

"(B) That the Northern Province is to form one Regional area whilst the Eastern Province is to be divided into two or more regional areas.

"(C) Provision is to be made in the Bill to enable two or more regions to amalgamate even beyond provincial limits; and for one region to divide itself subject to ratification by Parliament. Further provision is to be made in the Bill for two or more regions to collaborate for specific purposes of common interest.



### **Direct Elections**

" (D) Provision is to be made for direct election of regional councillors. Provision is to be made for a delimitation Commission or Commissions for carving out electorates. The question of M.P's representing districts falling within regional areas to be eligible to function as chairmen is to be considered. The question of Government Agents being Regional Commissioners is to be considered. The question of supervisory functions over larger towns, strategic towns and municipalities is to be looked into.

### **Special Powers**

" (E) Parliament is to delegate powers and to specify them in the Act. It was agreed that Regional Councils should have powers over specified subjects including agriculture, co-operatives, lands and land development, colonization, education, health, industries and fisheries, housing and social services, electricity, water schemes and roads. Requisite definition of powers will be made in the Bill.

### **Colonisation Schemes**

" (F) It was agreed that in the matter of colonisation schemes the powers of the Regional Councils should include the power to select allottees to whom lands within their area of authority shall be alienated and also power to select personnel to be employed for work on such schemes. The position regarding the area at present administered by the Gal Oya Board in this matter requires consideration.

### **Taxation Borrowing**

" (G) The powers in regard to the Regional Councils vested in the Minister of Local Government in the draft Bill to be revised with a view to vesting control in Parliament wherever necessary.

" (H) The Central Government will provide block grants to the Regional Councils. The principles on which the grants will be computed will be gone into. The Regional Councils shall have powers of taxation and borrowing."

## Appendix II.

### **THE AWARD OF CEYLON POLICE MEDAL FOR GALLANTRY**

On the 30th May, 1958, at about 4 p.m., Inspector D. D. S. Ranasinghe and six men encountered a motorized unit of about 600 thugs armed to the teeth on the Kebitigollewa Road at Mahadivulwewa. His jeep was fired upon and his party was attacked by shot gun fire and sand bottles. Taking cover behind his jeep, Inspector Ranasinghe and his men held this entire mob at bay with rifle fire.

The motorized elements of the mob consisted of 8 Land Development vehicles, 2 Euclids from the Padaviya Scheme, a water bowzer, a vehicle with petrol and another vehicle with explosives. An examination of these vehicles revealed huge amounts of dynamite in 4 gallon tins, hand grenades and Moltov cocktails by the hundreds, guns, swords and deadly weapons. These vehicles were manned by about 500 to 600 land Development labourers. I personally examined these explosives and weapons. Never in my career had the Police come across such a vast quantity of death-dealing explosives.

In the capture of this armed convoy, 11 men were killed by fire in a Police cum military action, whilst 26 others were injured. 393 rioters were taken into custody whilst about 200 escaped.

The plan of this convoy, as revealed by some of the prisoners who were taken into custody, was as follows:

They were to attack Anuradhapura by dark when they would be received by supporters in the town who were ready to cut the power lines. Having destroyed the Police Station they were next to destroy the Tamil refugees in the protective camp at the Kachcheri. There were over 3,000 Tamil refugees at the time in Anuradhapura. After a blood bath at Anuradhapura,



they were next to proceed with added strength to Matale where, after similar orgies, they were finally to attack Kandy.

By this heroic action in combating this army of thugs, Inspector Ranasinghe has prevented the destruction of hundreds of lives and saved Anuradhapura from a blood bath. It is a miracle that this Police party is alive today. Without doubt the achievement of this Inspector can be recorded as the bravest incident of preventive action ever recorded in the history of the Ceylon Police Service.

It is therefore my bounden duty to recommend, in the strongest possible terms, that Inspector D. D. S. Ranasinghe be awarded the Ceylon Police Medal for Gallantry and he be promoted to Gazetted rank on the basis of an exceptional measure.

C. C. Dissanayaka

*Deputy Inspector-General of Police (Range I)*

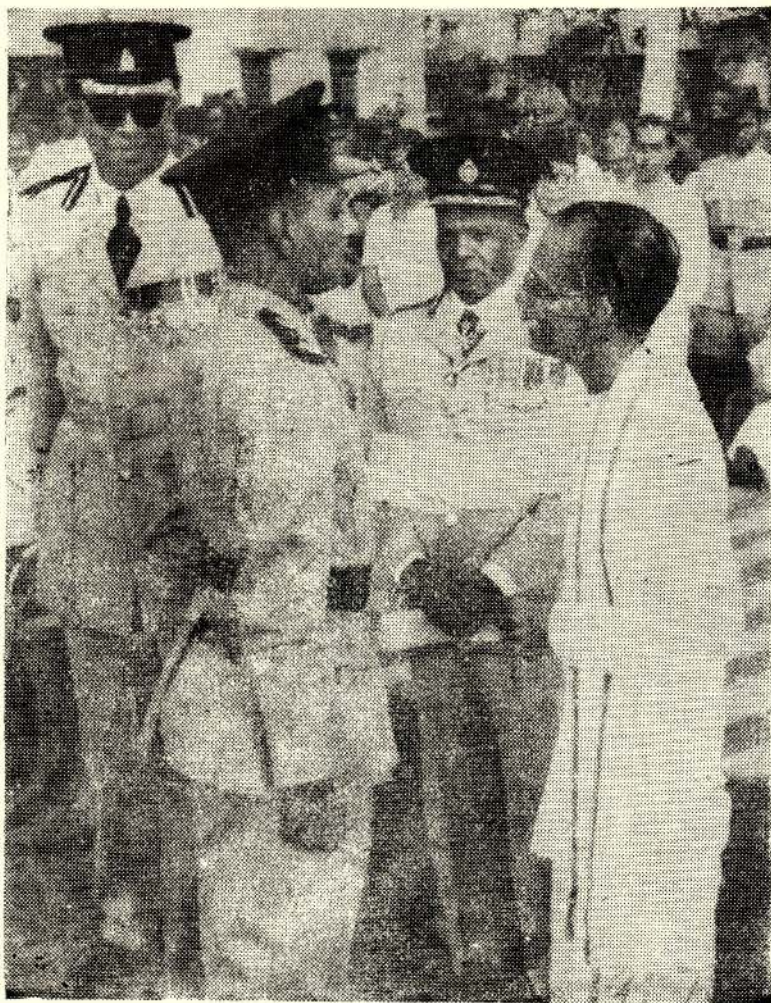
Police Headquarters

Colombo,

June 24th, 1958.

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During the recent communal disturbances Mr. B. Weerasinghe, Assistant Superintendent of Police North-Central Province, had to carry out the extremely difficult and trying responsibility of suppressing violence and thuggery which broke out in the North-Central Province on an unprecedented scale. In Polonnaruwa, Giritale and Hingurakgoda a critically tense situation unleashed itself into frenzied violence which had never been experienced before in this country, and conditions in these places on the morning of the 26th May, 1958, have been assessed as being infinitely worse than what occurred at Gal Oya in 1956, Hordes of thugs and rioters, armed with shot guns, grenades, explosives, swords, katties and other dangerous weapons poured as if from nowhere into the streets bent on murder, rioting and looting. Hopelessly outnumbered and out-weaponed, this officer did not satisfy himself with merely guarding this Police Station and his own skin, which admittedly he might have done with some justification. He decided in the circumstances that his first obligation was to protect the persons who were being murdered and assaulted, and carried the fight right through Kaduruwela Bazaar, dispersing mobs all along the road. At 9.30 a.m. at Hospital Junction his vehicle was shot at, and



Prime Minister S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike pinning the Ceylon Police Medal for Gallantry on Inspector Daya Ranasinghe. On the extreme left is Mr. C. C. Dissanayaka, Senior Deputy Inspector-General of Police.



the first police shooting occurred when he and Inspector Carolis fired at a man levelling his shot gun at them. Subsequently Mr. Weerasinghe and his men were attacked on numerous occasions. By noon a fair measure of control was gained by the Police, but conditions worsened again when a mass attack was made on the Polonnaruwa Police Station. Mr. Weerasinghe averted this attack by personally ordering fire on the rioters. Four were killed and two were injured. By evening the Police, with the invaluable assistance of two military units which arrived in the nick of time—were on top of the situation. Resistance, which was met at Giritale, Minneriya and Hingurakgoda, was overcome but without recourse to firing. In all these operations Mr. Weerasinghe was in personal command. By the 29th May Polonnaruwa and Hingurakgoda were peaceful again.

On his return to Anuradhapura at 2 p.m. on 30th May, 1958, Mr. Weerasinghe received information of a large motorized unit of thugs on the rampage at Medawachchiya. He immediately set out with a military unit under the command of Major McHeyzer. He was just in time to prevent the wiping out of a small Police party under Inspector D. D. S. Ranasinghe, who were holding them at bay.

Mr. Weerasinghe had worked from 23rd May to the 1st of June ceaselessly day and night, leading his men personally throughout the length and breadth of the North-Central Province. He has narrowly escaped death on several occasions. He was in the forefront of the riots at Kaduruwela, Minneriya, Mahadivulwewa in time to rescue a very gallant Inspector and his six men from certain death. By his leadership, initiative and hard work, he has set a splendid example to his men who responded magnificently to true leadership. He has shown outstanding courage and devotion to duty. This officer has created a record for gallantry and devotion to duty of which the entire Service is justly proud.

Mr. Weerasinghe is one of the finest of officers ever to serve under me. It is my bounden duty to recommend in the strongest possible terms that he be awarded the Ceylon Police Medal for Gallantry.

C. C. Dissanayaka

*Deputy Inspector-General of Police. (Range I)*

Police Headquarters  
Colombo 1,  
June 24th 1958.

## **THE DUDLEY SENANAYAKE-CHELVANAYAKAM PACT**

Mr. Dudley Senanayake and Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam met on the March 24th 1965 and discussed matters relating to some problems over which the Tamil-speaking people were concerned, and Mr. Senanayake agreed that action on the following lines would be taken by him to ensure a stable Government.

1. Action will be taken early under the Tamil Language Special Provisions Act to make provision of the Tamil Language of administration and of record in the Northern and Eastern Provinces;

Mr. Senanayake also explained that it was the policy of his Party that a Tamil-speaking person should be entitled to transact business in Tamil throughout the Island.

2. Mr. Senanayake stated that it was the policy of his Party to amend the Language of the Courts Act to provide for legal proceedings in the Northern and Eastern Provinces to be conducted and recorded in Tamil.

3. Action will be taken to establish District Councils in Ceylon, vested with powers over subjects to be mutually agreed upon between the two leaders. It was agreed, however that the Government should have power under the law to give directions to such Councils in the national interest.

4. The Land Development Ordinance will be amended to provide that all citizens of Ceylon be entitled to the allotment of land under the Ordinance. Mr. Senanayake further agreed that in the granting of land under colonisation schemes the following priorities be observed in the Northern and Eastern Provinces;

- (a) Land in the Northern and Eastern Provinces should in the first instance be granted to landless persons in the District;
- (b) Secondly to Tamil speaking persons resident in the Northern and Eastern Provinces, and;
- (c) Thirdly to other citizens in Ceylon, preference being given to Tamil citizens in the rest of the Island.

**Dudley Senanayake**  
March 24th 1965.

**S. J. V. Chelvanayakam**



## Appendix IV

### Results of the General Election of 1977 applicable to the Northern Province:

#### KAYTS

Mr. K. P Ratnam	(TULF)	17,640
Mr. V Navaratnam	(Ind.)	8673
Mr. M. Amirthalingam	(UNP)	661
Mr. V Duraiswamy	(Ind.)	279
Mr. T Paranirupasingham	(Ind.)	185
Mr. K Kanagaratnam	(LSSP)	103

#### VADDUKODDAI

Mr. T. Thirunavakarasu	(TULF)	23,384
Mr. A. Thiagarajah	(IND)	5,176
Mr. V. Rattai	(Ind.)	3,187
Mr. V. Rajasundaram	(Ind.)	837
Mr. Ratnasingham	(UNP)	450
Mr. V. Tharumalingam	(Ind.)	150
Mr. M. Ambalavanar	(Ind.)	107

#### KANKESANTURAI

Mr. A. Amirthalingam	(TULF)	31,155
Mr. S. Sritharan	(Ind.)	5,322

#### MANIPAY

Mr. V. Dharmalingam	(TULF)	27,550
Mr. R. S. Aloysious	(UNP)	3,300
Mr. C. P. V. M. K. Muthaliar	(Ind.)	1,065
Mr. K. N. Ratnavel	(Ind.)	887

#### KOPAY

Mr. S. Kathiravelupillai	(TULF)	25,840
Mr. V. Nadarajah	(LSSP)	3,487
Mr. S. Jeganathan	(UNP)	2,699
Mr. V. T. Jayadevan	(Ind.)	1,444

#### UDUPIDDY

Mr. T. Rasalingam	(TULF)	18,768
Mr. R. R. Dharmaratnam	(Ind.)	4,021
Mr. C. Motilal Nehru	(Ind.)	2,798
Mr. S. S. Sundaram	(Ind.)	1,478
Mr. K. C. Mahathevan	(Ind.)	1,188
Mr. K. Pillainar	(Ind.)	517
Mr. M. Thuraiarajah	(Ind.)	437

Mr. K. Kanagarasa	(Ind.)	251
Mr. M. Gnanachandran	(Ind.)	125

#### POINT PEDRO

Mr. K. Thuraiatnam	(TULF)	12,989
Mr. N. Nadarajah	(Ind.)	6,419
Mr. M. P. Veeravagu	(Ind.)	3,065
Mr. K. T. Rajasingham	(Ind.)	614
Mr. K. S. Muttucomarasamy	(Ind.)	204

#### CHAVAKACHCHERI

Mr. V. M. Navaratnam	(TULF)	20,028
Mr. V. Kumaraswamy	(Ind.)	10,810
Mr. S. P. Mylvaganam	(Ind.)	419
Mr. K. A. Jerome	(Ind.)	289
Mr. S. Nadarajah	(Ind.)	111

#### NALLUR

Mr. M. Sivasithamparam	(TULF)	29,858
Mr. K. Ramanathan	(Ind.)	1,721
Mr. C. Arulampalam	(SLFP)	1,042
Mr. R. R. Thangarajah	(Ind.)	667
Mr. S. Subramaniam	(Ind.)	104

#### JAFFNA

Mr. V. Yogeswaran	(TULF)	16,251
Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam	(Ind.)	6,960
Mr. A. L. Abraham	(Ind.)	4,349
Mr. C. X. Martyn	(Ind.)	900
Mr. A. Tharmalinkam	(Ind.)	77
Mr. A. G. Rajasooriar	(Ind.)	164

#### KILINOCHCHI

Mr. V. Anandasamgery	(TULF)	15,607
Mr. C. Kumarasuriar	(SLFP)	4,008
Mr. N. Kanagasuriar	(UNP)	1,497
Mr. I. Gnanasangary	(Ind.)	76
Mr. S. Ganesu	(Ind.)	72

#### MANNAR

Mr. P. S. Soosaithasan	(TULF)	15,141
Mr. M. S. A. Raheem	(UNP)	12,929
Mr. S. S. J. Mark	(Ind.)	663
Mr. H. S. Dawood	(SLFP)	478
Mr. Kanthasamy	(Ind.)	141



**MULLAITIVU**

Mr. X. M. Sellathambu	(TULF)	10,261
Mr. P. Sandirasekary	(Ind.)	7,632
Mr. R. Vickinarasa	(Ind.)	977
Mr. V. Santhirasean	(JVP)	736

**VAVUNIYA**

Mr. T. Sivasithamparam	(TULF)	13,821
Mr. K. T. Pulendran	(UNP)	9,444
Mr. U. Subasinghe	(Ind.)	151

Result in the General Election of 1977 applicable to the Eastern Province

**SERUWILA**

Mr. H. D. L. Leelaratne	(UNP)	14,928
Mr. P. Udagama	(SLFP)	10,587
Mr. P. Hettihewa	(LSSP)	392
Mr. V. Perera	(MEP)	52

**TRINCOMALEE**

Mr. R. Sampanthan	(TULF)	15,144
Mr. V. R. Navaratnarasa	(UNP)	11,823
Mr. S. Thevarasa	(SLFP)	1,674
Mr. G. Warnasuriya	(Ind.)	565
Mr. E. J. A. P. Babysinghe	(JVP)	54

**MUTUR**

Mr. M. F. H. Haharroof	(UNP)	12,530
Mr. A. L. A. Majeed	(SLFP)	7,800
Mr. S. M. Makeen	(TULF)	7,520

**KALKUDAH**

Mr. K. W. Devanayagam	(UNP)	13,140
Mr. S. Sampanthamoorthy	(TULF)	12,595
Mr. A. H. M. Markar	(SLFP)	3,507

**BATTICALOA-2 MEMBER CONSTITUENCY**

Mr. C. Rajadurai	(TULF)	26,648
Mr. M. L. Ahamed Fareeth	(UNP)	25,345
Mr. Kasi Ananthan	(TULF)	22,443
Mr. B. Mahamud	(SLFP)	21,275
Mr. P. R. Selvanayagam	(Ind.)	11,797
Mr. V. Vettivel	(Ind.)	383

<b>PADDIRUPPU</b>		
Mr. P. Ganeshalingam	(TULF)	15,877
Mr. S. Sivagurunathan	(LSSP)	5,633
Mr. S. Thambirajah	(SLFP)	5,590
Mr. P. Ranasingham	(UNP)	5,189
 <b>AMPARAI</b>		
Mr. P. Dayaratne	(UNP)	24,581
Mr. S. Senarath	(SLFP)	16,009
Mr. A. S. de Silva	(LSSP)	945
 <b>SAMMANTHURAI</b>		
Mr. M. A. A. Majeed	(UNP)	13,642
Mr. H. L. M. Hassim	(TULF)	8,615
Mr. A. Jabar	(SLFP)	2,605
 <b>KALMUNAI</b>		
Mr. A. R. Mansoor	(UNP)	12,636
Mr. A. M. Samsudeen	(TULF)	7,093
Mr. A. M. Cassim	(SLFP)	5,922
Mr. T. Muthukrishnan	(Ind.)	253
 <b>POTTUVIL — 2 MEMBER CONSTITUENCY</b>		
Mr. A. M. Jalaldeen	(UNP)	30,315
Mr. M. Canagaratnam	(TULF)	23,990
Mr. M. M. Musthapha	(SLFP)	22,378
Mr. N. Dharmalingam	(Ind.)	7,644
Mr. S. A. Maulana	(Ind.)	2,902
Mr. P. M. S. Jananayake	(Ind.)	1,458
Mr. S. L. A. Sathar	(C.P.)	272

Percentages of votes received by the TULF.

#### **NORTHERN PROVINCE**

Jaffna District	71.81%
Mannar District	51.44%
Vavuniya District	58.82%
Mullativu District	52.16%

#### **EASTERN PROVINCE**

Trincomalee District	27.18%
Batticaloa District	32.14%
Amparai District	20.25%



## Appendix V.

### **Masachusetts House of Representatives urges the President and the Congress of the United States to take up the cause of the Tamils of Sri Lanka**

#### **Resolution adopted on May 9th 1979**

*Whereas*, The Tamils of Eelam, who number three million Hindus, Christians and Moslems and occupy eight thousand square miles, live as an oppressed minority in Sri Lanka where the majority is composed of ten million Sinhalese, most of whom are Buddhists, and

*Whereas*, From ancient times two nations, the Sinhalese and Tamils possessed distinct languages, religions, cultures and clearly demarcated geographic territories until the British, who were characteristically oblivious to the differences between these two separate nations, imposed one rule for the purpose of colonial administrative unification; and

*Whereas*, As was to be expected in 1948 when the British left the Island and two unwilling nations were consequently left under a unitary governmental structure, the majority Sinhalese faction subverted democratic principles to become the new masters of the Tamil-speaking people; and

*Whereas*, One million Tamils on the tea and rubber plantations, who prior to independence had enjoyed rights similar to those possessed by other Ceylonese, were disenfranchised and made stateless; and

*Whereas*, In 1956 the Government passed the Official Language Act which made the Sinhalese dialect the only official language throughout the Island, thereby causing severe hardships to several thousand Tamil public servants and migration to foreign lands, and effectively excluding otherwise qualified Tamils from the public service; and

*Whereas,* Although the plantation Tamils were the descendants of Indians who were brought to Ceylon more than one hundred years ago by the seemingly ubiquitous British planters, and as such were mostly native Sri Lankans who possessed no relationship with the India from which their ancestors hailed, in 1964 the Government inhumanely and callously determined to repatriate compulsorily these Tamils, ordering them to depart the land of their birth; and

*Whereas,* In 1975 foreign-owned estates were nationalised, compelling scores of evicted Tamil workers to become beggars; and

*Whereas,* Nationalising schools in 1960-61, the Government directed its discriminatory policies against non-Buddhist education as well as the Tamils, for most of the educational institutions in Tamil areas were owned by the Roman Catholic Church and the missionaries of sundry Protestant denominations; and

*Whereas,* Many Tamil medium schools in Sinhalese majority districts were closed and reopened as Sinhalese institutions, thereby forcing Tamils to study in the Sinhalese medium; and

*Whereas,* In 1971 a system of standardization of grades was introduced by the Government to provide preferential treatment for Sinhalese students and to exclude Tamil medium scholars, a prejudicial scheme which was deliberately concocted to deny merit as the criterion for university admissions; and

*Whereas,* A new constitution, which reiterated that foremost place should be accorded to the Buddhist religion and the Sinhalese language, was unilaterally adopted without any co-operation or consultation with the majority of the Tamil representatives in Parliament; and

*Whereas,* The Tamil people were again not party to the Constitution of 1978, which replaced its predecessor of 1972; therefore be it

*Resolved,* That the Massachusetts House of Representatives hereby urges the President and the Congress of the United



States to protest and to utilize the considerable influence and power of their offices to rectify the gross injustices which have been inhumanly inflicted on the Tamils of Sri Lanka; and be it further

*Resolved*, That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States, to the presiding officers of each branch of Congress, to the members thereof from the Commonwealth, to the Secretary of State, to the Director of the World Bank and to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

## Appendix VI

Aminesty International  
Press Release of 6 July 1983

### **Political Detainees denied basic rights in Sri Lanka Amnesty International says**

Political suspects in Sri Lanka have been held incommunicado under the country's Prevention of Terrorism Act and tortured both in army camps and by the police, Amnesty International said today.

In some cases detainees have been kept in solitary confinement for more than eight months after arrest. Torture is said to include hanging victims upside down from hooks, beating them with metal bars and driving needles under the toenails and finger-nails.

Evidence of these and other abuses was collected by an Amnesty International delegation that visited Sri Lanka from 31 January to 9 February 1982. Publishing its report of the mission, the human rights organization said it was still receiving information that detainees were ill-treated, relatives denied information as to their whereabouts and lawyers hindered in meeting them.

On 10 April this year a young farmer from Trincomalee K. Navaratnarajah, died in custody after being held without charge for two weeks. Twenty five internal wounds and ten internal injuries were found on his body during the post-mortem examination.

The Amnesty International mission, led by senior New York attorney Orville Schell, took testimony from 24 people who had witnessed or been victims of human rights violations linked to security operations carried out in the wake of robberies and killings attributed to extremists seeking an independent state for Sri Lanka's Tamil population.



Of the individual cases examined by the mission, in at least six the detainees are still being held without trial more than two years later. Since then, arrests have continued, but since details are rarely published and the families are not informed, no exact figure can be given for those now in custody. At least 65 people are estimated to be in detention now.

Former detainees, released without charge, told the Amnesty International delegates they had been kept for as long as six months chained to an iron grill at Elephant Pass Army Camp. One said he had been handcuffed and kept lying on the floor for five months.

At another camp soldiers are said to have forced a detainee to crawl on broken glass, then stuffed hot chilli powder up his nostrils with a nail. Needles were driven under his finger-nails and into his arm. After 10 days a captain told him: "We took you in custody on suspicion. Now we find you are innocent. So you can go."

The mission also investigated the death of Tamils apparently shot or beaten to death by security forces in June 1981 following the shooting of two police officers. Two young Tamils rounded up at the time said they were taken to lonely spots, one of them near Jaffna burial ground, shot by a police inspector and left for dead. Both survived, but one is now physically handicapped. The government has taken no action in any of these cases.

Noting that violence has frequently accompanied demands for a separate Tamil state, Amnesty International points out that the torture or killing of individuals by anyone, including opposition groups, can never be accepted. For their part, governments also must safeguard human rights particularly when faced with problems of national security, it says.

The report makes 12 detailed recommendations which, it says, would bring the treatment of detainees into line with Sri Lanka's constitutional human rights guarantees and United Nations standards. These include: informing detainees of the grounds for arrest; disclosing the place of detention to relatives and allowing immediate and regular access to lawyers; estab-

ishing independent machinery to investigate torture complaints, with published findings and proceedings against those held responsible; restoring the normal rules of evidence in all cases so that statements made solely to the police are inadmissible in court.

The report recommends reviewing all measures designed to curb torture, extending the current one-month time limit for formal complaints and increasing the number of courts that can hear them.

Despite previous assurances, the Amnesty International delegates were informed during their mission that they would not be able to see any officials. After sending its 72-page report to President J. R. Jayawardene on 7 February 1983, Amnesty International again sought talks with the government and repeated its offer to publish their comments. On 6 April the organization was told that "It will not be possible for him (the President) or a representative of the government to discuss the report with you."







Ambassador T.D.S.A. Dissanayaka was born in 1938 and educated at Royal College, the University of Ceylon and Harvard University. A dedicated diplomat he reached the rank of Ambassador at the age of 39 years. He is currently a senior official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Colombo.

In-depth knowledge and elegant style, two attributes which have distinguished his career as a diplomat, have also been reflected in his books. "Dudley Senanayake of Sri Lanka" written in 1973 and "J.R. Jayewardene of Sri Lanka" written in 1977 were best-sellers, besides being accepted as standard works both in Sri Lanka and abroad.