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SRI LANKA - BARBARISM BACK WITH VENGEANCE

THE JULY MASSACRE AND AFTER

Sri Lanka has witnessed many anti-Tamil pogroms in the past - 1956, 1958, 1961, 1977 and 1981. The 1983 pogrom has surpassed all the previous ones in its scale, intensity, viciousness and above all by its sheer barbarism. Marauding gangs of Sinhala racist hoodlums, actively encouraged by cheering sections of the country's security forces, have been engaged in a genocidal campaign of carnage, arson, plunder and rape against the Tamil-speaking people. Following the virtual genocide in Jaffna and the eastern district of Trincomalee, where army personnel went on the rampage, ransacking and burning Tamil homes and gunning down innocent Tamils, Colombo, Kandy, Nuwara Eliya and Nawalapitiya looked like war-ravaged cities with thousands of Tamil homes and business establishments reduced to cinders. While the soldiers just stood by, watching the burning and looting of shops and houses even in the capital city of Colombo, truck-loads of troops passing through were seen actively encouraging the racist hoodlums. Eye-witness accounts and photographs taken by returning tourists demonstrate the barbarous depths to which the racist sections of Sinhala society have sunk. They describe how Tamil motorists were dragged out of their vehicles and hacked to pieces while others were drenched with petrol and set alight in full view of the security forces. Corpses and burnt-out vehicles were seen strewn in the streets and by-roads in Colombo and other parts of the country. Instances where the blood of Tamil victims was drunk by the attackers in a gruesome display of "victory", and where the thugs partook in a feast of sharing among themselves the roasted bodies of Tamils have been reported, raising the obviously sickening question whether, after 2500 years of the practice of Buddhism, cannibalism has returned with a vengeance! Although the government has admitted to the killing of over 400 Tamils in the latest wave of violence since July 25th, all the reports indicate that thousands have been killed. Many bodies

still remain undiscovered in the burnt-out buildings. By virtue of the powers given to the security forces under Emergency Regulations, numerous dead bodies would probably have been disposed of without any reference to next-of-kin, relatives or friends.

The responsibility of the government for the calculated and cold-blooded murder of 58 persons held in detention in the Welikade (Colombo) jail is undeniable. It is no accident that all the persons killed were Tamils. It is also not an accident that they were young and youthful except for the Gandhian leader, Dr. S. Rajasundaram, who was in his forties. It did not matter to the killers that the substantial majority of those murdered were either awaiting trial or held on suspicion under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. The government's version that they were killed by fellow Sinhala prisoners is as amusing as it is naive. Based on very reliable authority, we assert that they were murdered in their cells by military personnel in civilian dress with the help of prison officers. We challenge the government of Sri Lanka to permit a team from an impartial international body such as the International Commission of Jurists or Amnesty International to investigate the circumstances surrounding the murder of these persons.

Without indulging in its futile attempt to find scapegoats in the form of invisible "foreign powers" and local left parties like the Nava Sama Samaja Party, Communist Party and the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), the government must look within its own ranks - nay, within the Cabinet itself - for those responsible for masterminding and carrying out this cowardly campaign of death and destruction against the Tamils. If the government is really serious in its desire to discover the culprits, let it answer the following questions:

* In spite of the prevailing strict censorship, who was responsible for repeatedly broadcasting information about the killing of the 13 army men on

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JULY 24, 25, 26, & 27

ANTI-TAMIL POGROM 1983

From our special Colombo correspondent)

It is difficult to say when this report will reach the outside world. The government has imposed a curfew from 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. tomorrow (i.e. 26.7.83).

And tomorrow has been declared a public holiday and possibly no postal services may operate.

BACKGROUND

Whole of July there have been problems in Trincomalee in the Eastern province. There have been attacks on Tamil-speaking people by Sinhala thugs egged on by the UNP and tolerated by the police and the Army. The Army in particular has suffered a number of casualties in the North including Vavuniya and they have been bitter about the restraints placed on them by the Government. Some 100 soldiers had deserted because the Officers had not permitted them to make indiscriminate retaliatory attacks on Tamil-speaking people in the North.

The Government has had a very bad response from aid donors; IMF had insisted that the Government must devalue again and put right the yawning gap in the balance of payments. The 1982 current account balance of payments deficit ran to some \$490 million and was attributed to sluggish exports and a rise in imports. Total outstanding external debt in January 1983 stood at \$1700 million. It was not possible for the Government to impose import controls because that would undermine their whole economic policy and their political line. After much huffing and puffing the Government devalued the Rupee again on 17th July. Immediately some prices went up and a whole set of others are poised for price rises - fuel, transport, fares, food, etc.

The Government seeks to divert the attention of the people from these problems by talking about the 'terrorist' menace.

Announces that they would take decisive steps to stamp out terrorism whatever other parties may say or do in relation to the 'All-Party Conference' called by the Government to discuss the 'terrorist' menace. All the opposition parties, including Mrs Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party, and the Tamil United Liberation Front refuse to participate in the Conference (a) because it is only about Terrorism and does not resolve the problems in the North and (b) according to the interview Mr. J.R. Jayawardene had given to the London Daily 'Telegraph' he would take all steps necessary whatever other parties may do in relation to the Conference. In an interview to 'Rivirasa' Mrs Bandaranaike of the SLFP stated that Mr. Jayawardene wanted to obtain the approval (rubber stamp) for the actions the



Not a scrapyard but the debris of a car, a cycle and other property set ablaze by vengeful Sri Lankan soldiers in Jaffna.

By kind courtesy of Indian Express, 2.8.83

Government wanted to implement. The Tamil United Liberation Front decides to boycott the Parliament or more precisely not to participate in it. All the major newspapers have various stories about 'terrorists' and the clamour for Eelam. First meeting

ALL-PARTY FLOP

First meeting of the 'All-Party' meeting is a flop. Only the UNP and Ceylon Workers Congress (both Government parties) attend. Further meeting postponed to 27.7.83. and the Government promises to enlarge the scope of the All-Party Conference. SLFP still refuses to participate because the Government is 'merely trying to use the SLFP to further their ends'. Students resist UNP thugs in the Peradeniya Campus. Mass movement of students stages protests and calls for the withdrawal of suspension notices on students barred by the Vice Chancellor, etc. After a week of struggle and the taking of a hostage (Head of the Science Faculty) by the students, the University authorities give in and sign an agreement with students. But on the following day the Government states that it will not honour it because it was obtained under duress. But the students disprove the claims of the University and offer written documents in evidence to the Newspapers and the Government imposes a Press censorship on the 19th July. Two days later the censorship is extended to cover all 'terrorist' incidents in the North.

COLOMBO BURNS

On the 24th, Sunday, news trickled into Colombo about a big death toll amongst Army personnel in the North as a result of 'terrorist' attacks. Armed youths in the North had set off a remote controlled bomb whilst an army convoy was passing and then shot practically every soldier who alighted from the vehicles. According to the figures released by the Government 13 persons were dead including the lieutenant who commanded the unit and two others were seriously injured. Unconfirmed reports say that the two injured soldiers had also died. On 24th July Sunday night preparations began. Several persons boarded public and private buses and began to make racist remarks designed to provoke and whip up racial hatred. Meanwhile Government had made arrangements to bury the dead soldiers - it appears without giving relatives an opportunity to take the dead bodies to their homes. The burials were to take place at Borella (Kanatte Cemetery). Some mishap had occurred and the burials did not take place. The result was that the people (5000 approximately) who had been waiting to use the whole incident to launch a racial pogrom went ahead with their plans despite the fact that the dead bodies did not arrive at Borella. On Sunday night shops belonging to Tamil traders were burnt and some people were beaten and killed. The troubles spread quickly. The police and the army egged them on. And by Monday morning attacks had spread to Narahenpita, Nugegoda, Kotte, Maradana, Pettah, Fort, Wellawatte, Mount Lavinia, Moratuwa, Ja-

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ela, Wattala, etc. Many criminal types took the opportunity to loot. But on this occasion the attacks were more political - many attackers did not take any loot: they set fire to shops and their contents and even tried to prevent people from taking the loot. But in many places there were people who were only after the loot.

JULY 25

On Monday 25th July, morning I witnessed several incidents. Sea Street shops had been closed and in adjoining streets many Tamil shops were being broken into and goods looted and then shops were set on fire. The people were in a different mood from the 1977 and 1981 attacks. Even the bystanders were approving the attacks stating that the 'Tigers' (reference to armed groups in the Tamil-speaking North) should be taught a lesson. Amongst them were soldiers and policemen. In some instances Muslim shops and even Sinhala shops were broken into but these were rare. As I passed the YMBA building in Fort I saw the Ambal Cafe (Tamil Restaurant) being burnt. Flames rose into the sky and soon smoke began to envelop the whole area. Since this cafe was in the Bristol building the flames would have affected a large part of this building, if not all of it. Later unconfirmed reports said that the whole building had been burnt down. Many other shops, offices and buildings were burnt; amongst them was the Indian Commercial Bank, probably because in the days prior to this newspapers had been making great play about Indian intervention in Sri Lankan affairs. As I walked towards the Lake House building and then to the Government Clerical Service Union Headquarters (near the Lake House Book Shop) I saw a new stage in the pogrom - groups of thugs were stopping vehicles and beating up Tamil people; they were setting fire to cars and robbing them of all their possessions. And the soldiers in Army trucks who passed the place were waving at the thugs encouraging them and the thugs were shouting 'victory' (Jayawewa) to the soldiers. Only the police made an attempt to save one or two people. When they left the place, the trouble began anew.

RACIAL HYSTERIA

I went up to the GCSU and spoke to some office-bearers and several others who were there. People were streaming into the streets and offices had been closed. The Government had meanwhile imposed a curfew to begin at 2 p.m. and closed all schools and Government offices. But there were no buses - most of them were being taken to bus depots. Some private buses operated but they were crowded. We discussed what could be done. We were too few - about 6 or 7, against 100 or so thugs and the fact that most bystanders supported these thugs meant that we



A Sri Lankan soldier stands beside the body of a victim on a road in Colombo.

By kind courtesy of International Herald Tribune, 5.8.83

could not effectively counter them. By 12.30 p.m., massive fires were burning everywhere and the whole of Colombo was engulfed in a thick cloud of dark smoke. I met many who had come from different parts of the City and all of them said the same story - looting, burning and harassment of Tamils. Some killed; and worse still, people in general had become affected by racial hysteria. It was pretty sickening. I felt very depressed because I felt I was powerless to do anything. However, I realised that there was no point in being depressed. I came back to Colombo Fort and the streets were now crowded with people who were trying to somehow get home before the 2 p.m. curfew. I walked up to the Modera bus stand and there were no buses. I decided to walk towards Modera with many others who were doing the same thing. On the way I saw looters carrying their loot - bales of textiles, bottles of brandy, whisky and beer, rice and sugar, etc., and they were forcibly stopping lorries and compelling them to take them. Everywhere it was the same; houses being looted and burnt, cars overturned and burnt. One area where there was no sign of any troubles was Kochchikade - Jampettah Street. Here there is a very large concentration of Tamils and they also have a tradition of being very violent. This was the only area which was quiet.

As I came to the Alutmawatha Road people were gathering outside their houses. Others - mainly groups of youths - were running in search of their next targets of attack.

AFTER CURFEW

Curfew made little difference at all to the activities of the thugs largely because the army encouraged these men of violence.

The fires continued and even small houses were attacked; their belongings looted or taken out and set on fire. These activities went on until about 11 p.m. before the police came around and asked people to get inside their houses and that too very gently. Earlier the army encouraged the mobs and even assisted them and the police turned a blind eye - mobs were moving about with offensive weapons. Although the Government announced on the radio that looters will be shot and that punishment for looting was death, the mobs did not take much notice of it because they knew that neither the police nor the army was taking any action. In order to justify these dastardly acts, some now began to make stories about the houses that they looted - stories were made up to say that they had found boxes of bullets and ammunition inside these houses or that the army had captured two 'Tiger' leaders. When they were closely questioned they were stories they had heard second or third-hand.

The time is now 9 a.m. on Tuesday 27th. Just now I have seen a big warehouse, factory and a house burning in Alutmawatha Road. Although last night the Government declared that there would be a curfew all day, today (27th) people are roaming round the streets. The situation may turn much worse. Although the Government itself seems to have engineered this situation they may not be able to control matters if these developments continue. People are now saying that the Government did not act decisively and therefore the people took things into their own hands. We are far too few to have a massive effect on the people. Although we explain things to people and show the futility of these actions, we can reach only

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23rd July, and the funeral arrangements at Kanatte cemetery on the evening of the 24th?

* Who assembled the crowd of over 5000 at Kanatte and incited them to disrupt the funeral arrangements?

* How the racist hoodlums came to have possession of complete lists of industries, shops and other business establishments?

* Did the Ministry of Industries supply these lists?

* Who provided the transport for the hoodlums to facilitate their movement from place to place to carry out their mission of death and destruction?

* How did the gangs of thugs come into possession of lists of Tamil homes from the Rating Registers held by local authorities?

* How many members of Parliament of the ruling UNP and members of the yellow-robed fraternity make their services freely available to the gangs of arsonists and looters?

* Why were the police prevented from taking any action against the hoodlums for the first six hours on 25th July?

* Why did the army personnel just stand by watching the burning and looting and, in fact, cheering the hoodlums?

* Who were the people who forced the President, under threat of being over-thrown, to appear on Television on 28th July and make the speech banning the TULF, confessing to his mistake for not having taken action before and expressing his readiness to respond to the "clamour" of the Sinhalese people?

* Were any of the cabinet ministers or army personnel involved in applying pressure upon the President, and if so who?

* Who created the situation in which the President had to consider changing his "Palace Guards"?

While the government ponders over these questions at its leisure, the Tamil-speaking people have other serious questions to consider—questions relating to their continued survival as a nation. Over 250,000 have been rendered homeless. They have overnight become refugees in the land of their birth. They, along with other Tamils who fear for their safety, are on their way to the north and east of the country, their traditional homeland. Many of their kith and kin have been killed or seriously injured. They have lost all their worldly possessions. They have become paupers overnight. They have been violated, humiliated and terrorised beyond endurance. Having lived and toiled in the South for decades, the majority of them have no lands or homes to go to in the north or east, but at least they go there in the belief and hope that they can live in relative security. Once they are there, the *de facto* partition of the country would be complete.

The pros and cons of banning the TULF and other "separatist" groups would be of interest only to those constitutional pundits who still believe that the struggle of the Tamil-speaking people for freedom can be confined to the negotiating table. Only congenital morons believe that

complex political questions involving fundamental inalienable rights of people may be resolved by constitutional amendments imposing bans and proscriptions. The IRA was banned in Ireland decades ago. Has it disappeared? It makes its presence felt with every explosion that reverberates not only in Ireland, but throughout the United Kingdom. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam were banned in 1979. Even as the flames arising from the burning buildings in Colombo and other places were reaching the sky, even as the makeshift refugee camps were being filled by thousands and thousands of displaced Tamils, and even as the "victorious" Sinhala racist hoodlums were roaming the streets to the accompaniment of the cheers and encouragement of the Sri Lankan army, the very mention of the word "Tigers" (as meaning all the Tamil groups engaged in the political struggle for freedom) would seem to have a reverberating effect everywhere.

The United Nations Charter recognises the right of self-determination to nations and that right includes the right of secession. The Tamil-speaking people consider themselves as a nation and they are resolved irrevocably to maintain their identity as a Tamil nation. There can be no compromise on that commitment. J. R. Jayawardene and his ruling clique may entertain the illusion that proscriptions and bans rushed through a Sinhala-dominated parliament will weaken the resolve and commitment of the Tamil-speaking people. Ban or no ban, the struggle for freedom from oppression will continue unabated and with renewed vigour.

"PLEASE STOP MASSACRE OF INNOCENT TAMILS"

"Please stop massacre of innocent Tamils in their own homeland by hoodlums with of forces connivance" said Mr. A. Amirthalingam, leader of the Tamil United Liberation Front in a telegram sent to President J.R. Jayawardene concerning the violence to which the people of Trincomalee were subjected recently. In another telegram, he called for the immediate release of Dr. S.A. Tharmalingam and Mr. Kovai Mahesan of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Front. The text of the telegram regarding the violence in Trincomalee read:

"Just returned after personally studying situation in Trincomalee. Reports of violence by both sides absolutely incorrect. Over 16 people killed - all Tamils. About 40 people hospitalised with serious injuries of whom over 35 are Tamils. Over 150 houses burnt of which 95 per cent are Tamil owned. Not one Sinhalese among a thousand de-housed refugees.

Service conduct searches in Tamil areas followed by thugs attacking Tamil people and setting fire to houses. In spite of heavy loss of fire and property of Tamils, very few Sinhalese arrested. 80 per cent of arrested are Tamils. Sinhalese offenders immediately or thereafter released.

"Police and Services personnel definitely partisan. Tamils can defend themselves if forces are withdrawn. Forces prevent self-defence by Tamils and provide opportunities for attacks by hoodlums. Tamil officers sent to Trincomalee totally inadequate. Please send sufficient senior and lower-rank Tamil officers to inspire confidence among Tamils. Please stop massacre of innocent Tamils in their own homeland by hoodlums with connivance of forces."

In the second telegram, Mr. Amirthalingam has said that the arrest of Dr. Tharmalingam and Kovai Mahesan is totally unjustified and requests the President to order their immediate release.

MASSACRE OF THE TAMILS

SRI LANKAN RULERS DAMNED IN THE EYES OF THE WORLD

David Selbourne

The horror of what has befallen the Tamils in the last weeks has echoed across the world. But it is the whole tormented state of Sri Lanka which has been wounded in consequence, and will continue to be wounded, the Sinhalese included.

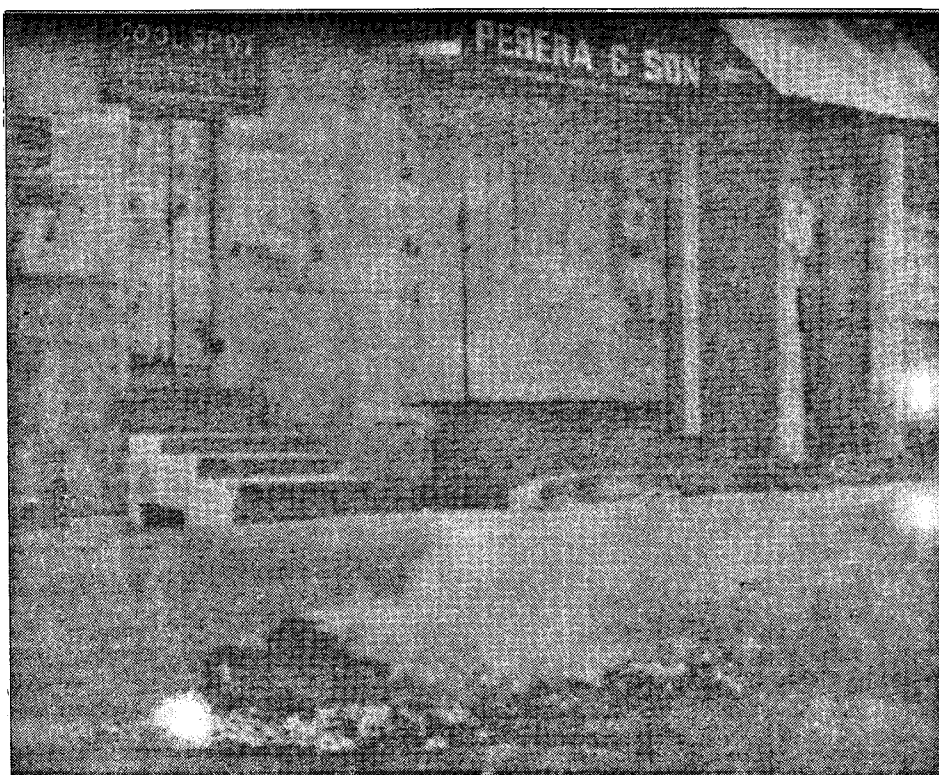
The Tamil community was cold-bloodedly scourged and looted as a collective punishment for the latest Jaffna ambush, by the Sri Lankan State's agents of destruction: the police, the army, plain clothes security forces, private hirelings, provocateurs, and the street thugs, acting together. Indeed, what the world has discovered, and it is overdue, is what the Tamils have known for a long time - that little distinction can be made in today's Sri Lanka between the forces of order and murder.

And so, it is always, when legitimacy collapses in a polity and a riot takes over, as it has done yet again in Sri Lanka. But, this time, world opinion has at last reacted in full to the lot of the Tamil population, something which will greatly harm the status outside Sri Lanka of the cynical Sinhalese politicians who now misgovern the country.

LIARS

For, even if the foreign press has hitherto been resistant to the plight of the Tamil people, coverage of the recent events has been huge throughout the world, and not only in those countries with special links with Sri Lanka. So that lying Sri Lankan politicians - and most of them are liars - will now have to reckon with an aroused international public opinion, which reaches down to the humblest man in the street who reads a newspaper or has access to a radio or television. In Italy, for example, where I was staying during the massacres, after my own expulsion from Sri Lanka, radio and press coverage of the attack on the Tamil people was substantial and continuous; the reputation of Sri Lanka and its present Government will not recover, wherever the facts are known.

This is a great victory for the truth, even if at a bitter human cost for this unmasking to be achieved. But though no number of deaths can ever be weighed in the balance against such considerations, it means at least that Tamil suffering and tribulation have not gone unrequited. In addition, the politicians and soldiers who organised the attacks on the Tamil community - and then declared the Tamils' main political organisations illegal - have, paradoxically, made their own rule over Sri Lanka illegitimate. For every state has a legal and moral obligation to protect the lives and liberties of all its citizens; if it cannot, or does not



Smouldering hate: the body of a murdered Tamil burns in Colombo.

By kind courtesy of Sunday Times, 31.7.83

choose to do so, then the state and its legitimacy for those citizens ceases to exist. The mere **demand** in itself for a greater degree of political self-determination by a section of the citizenry can never justify the withdrawal from them of the ordinary protections of the law and constitution; **particularly when the overwhelming majority of these citizens have not taken up arms, and do not intend to take up arms, against that State.**

NO OBLIGATION TO OBEY

Yet this is precisely what has happened to the Tamils of Sri Lanka, as the world has seen. In consequence, it can be argued that they in turn can have little political obligation and commitment to the Sri Lankan State, when it has so little obligation and commitment to them. President Jayawardene himself told the **Daily Telegraph (July 11, 1983)** openly that he had no interest in, or concern for, the lives of the people of Jaffna; so what obligation do they have to obey the laws of Sri Lanka? The answer, in law, is none.

In addition, to make not only Tamil organisation but Tamil aspiration illegal, and to punish with loss of civic rights, possessions and profession those who merely say they are in favour of a Tamil State has several effects. First, it guarantees the development of the separatist movement and puts

a premium on violence. Second, it brings the Sinhalese rulers of Sri Lanka (with their 'plots', 'foreign hands', red scares and the rest of the standard nonsense) into justified ridicule and disrepute. And, third, it ensures a convulsion in not only Tamil politics but also in Sinhalese politics.

President Jayawardene, whose days in any case are numbered - as the increasingly vicious succession struggle now under way also indicates - is himself going to have to pay the price of this year of catastrophic political blunders for Sinhalese interests. After all, to help destroy an economy is one thing; but to help destroy the polity too, and its chances of survival as a stable state is another. Jayawardene, never serious about negotiation with the Tamils (as I gathered quickly from my conversation with him in 1982), is succeeding in both. It is a considerable achievement for which the more far-sighted Sinhalese politicians and soldiers waiting in the wings will not forgive him, to have intimidated the Supreme Court, savaged the Parliamentary system, wrecked large sectors of the economy and shed the blood of thousands in the name of the nation. States, particularly those already unstable and economically under great pressure, do not easily repair their institutions from damage as great as this.

Neither will the Tamils, I should think,

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FRANCIS WHEEN CIVIL WAR IN SRI LANKA?

During the last outbreak of serious communal violence in Sri Lanka, in 1981, I met a 74-year-old Tamil doctor standing in the blackened ruins of his house on Main Street, Jaffna. It had been fire-bombed by Sinhalese police officers a few nights earlier. The doctor told me that he had lived in the Sinhalese-dominated town of Kandy until 1977, but then his house there had been burnt down. "I had a good practice in Kandy," he said, "but I moved here because it was the only place where I felt safe, where I could be among other Tamil people. Now my house here has been burnt down, so it seems I'm not even

safe in Jaffna. Where can I go now? It is a question which more and more Tamils have been asking.

Some have answered it by emigrating, most commonly to Britain, West Germany or the United States. Those who have stayed, however, have come to believe that there is only one way to protect themselves from the increasingly frequent Sinhalese attacks: the creation of a separate Tamil state - referred to as Eelam - in the traditional Tamil areas in the north and east of the island.

To the outsider, such a suggestion may seem wildly impractical - and ill-omened, if one reflects on the success rate of other partitioned islands, such as Cyprus or Ireland. But the Tamils argue that this is an unfair comparison. Elsewhere, they say, partition has created artificial edifices with no cultural or historical foundations; Tamil Eelam, on the other hand, would be a recreation of the Tamil Kingdoms that existed in pre-colonial days.

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forget or forgive the violence against them in these last weeks. But of all the crimes of July, the most wicked single event - though it is invidious to particularise in such a sea of murder - must be the killing of Dr. Rajasundaram, the Secretary of the Gandhiyam movement.

I was proud to regard him as a friend, and will never forget him. For a believer in non-violence and the relief of the needy to be beaten to death in his cell by convicts, assisted by the security forces, is the reward in today's Sri Lanka, so it seems, for a man who deserved the world's greatest honours for his prodigious effort of rehabilitation and resettlement of the Tamil plantation refugees. The Sinhalese state claimed that he, like the noble Catholic priests whom I saw brought to trial in Colombo, was secretly in league with the 'Tigers'; but so, too, are million of other Tamils, inside and outside Sri Lanka.

DR. RAJASUNDARAM, THE TIRELESS FIGHTER

Rather, he deserves to be remembered as a great and tireless fighter for the most downtrodden of the world's workers; a man of energy and dedication whose achievements dwarf those of his persecutors. After all, there is nothing positive for which Sri Lankan history will remember President Jayawardene, or Cyril Matthew or the warders of Welikade. But for men like Rajasundaram there will always be a memorial, always honour; the honour of being remembered with respect and affection by those whom he aided.

But what was done to Dr. Rajasundaram, and the other Tamil leaders, murdered by the State's agents while in their custody, as well as the attempt to destroy all

effective representation of legitimate Tamil interests, is destined to rebound on the Sinhalese. Indeed, it already has. Their crippled State - for it is their State and, now, no-one else's - has been drastically weakened politically and diplomatically; economically already deeply mortgaged to the World Bank, as President Jayawardene himself admitted to me in 1982, it has now suffered further devastation. And as Tamil refugees head once more towards the North, the problems for the Sri Lankan State apparatus of a *de facto* partition under the shambles and brutality of military rule must begin to deepen. Major General Tissa Weeratunge told me himself last year in Colombo that the Sri Lankan army was not winning the battle with the Tamil 'Tigers'; now, after mutiny and riot, the army will be even less capable of controlling the growing militancy of Tamil youth, who could now never surrender their demands for self-determination.

The omens are ripe for a future of continuing revenge and reprisal. But those who presently rule Sri Lanka have been damned in the eyes of the world - and in the eyes of increasing numbers of Sinhalese also - and that, at least, is a step forward. Some day, since there can be no victory by either side over the other by violence, serious political negotiation will begin; for the first time in post-Independence Sri Lanka. It will not be presided over by any of today's leaders, Sinhalese or Tamil. Events have overtaken them. But, tragically, many more lives will be lost, and many years pass, before Sri Lanka's Sinhalese and Tamils co-exist once more - as they did before colonialism destroyed the political ecology of the island - under the political settlement which divides real power, as in the end it must be divided, between the two nations of Sri Lanka.

If one remains unconvinced, the Tamils produce their clincher: 'What is the alternative?'

It is difficult to think of one. Ever since Ceylon became independent in 1948, the Tamils have been a persecuted minority. Their language and culture have been downgraded; they have been discriminated against in employment and education; and they have been subjected to violent physical attack. Genocide is a word that must be used with care; but how else is one to describe the impulse which guided the Sinhalese lynch-mobs this week?

Alarming numbers of Sinhalese now wish to see the Tamils driven off the face of Sri Lanka, and are more than willing to carry out the task themselves.

The Sri Lankan government must take its share of the blame for this. In recent years, President Jayawardene has from time to time tried to sound conciliatory, admitting that some Tamil complaints might be justified. However, his action - or lack of it - has belied these soothing words, and in a television broadcast this week, he said that since the Tamils had so annoyed the majority community by advocating partition, he and his government had decided to calm things by making it illegal to urge the separation. The government, when presented with evidence that the army or the police have committed atrocities against defenceless Tamils, has usually reacted with a shrug of the shoulders. Sometimes, indeed, police misconduct has actually been rewarded. In two separate cases recently, the Supreme Court found that police officers had acted illegally; in both cases, the officers concerned were promoted soon after the judgement. The security forces have interpreted this as a licence to do as they please with impunity, and President Jayawardene has not seemed eager to disabuse them. Early last month he introduced a regulation which allows the police to cremate or bury dead bodies, if they think it "necessary", without any inquest or post mortem taking place. Under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, which has been used almost exclusively against Tamils, suspects can be held without trial for up to 18 months. Three weeks ago Amnesty International published a report which suggested that Tamils detained under the Act had been tortured, both in army camps and by the police. President Jayawardene dismissed the allegations as soon as the report appeared, denouncing Amnesty as "communists". This reaction was consistent with his normal approach to the bearers of bad tidings. One month ago he ordered the closure of two leading Tamil newspapers, *Suthanthiran* and the *Saturday Review*, which had printed accounts of attacks on Tamils in Trincomalee. At the same time he confirmed that in future all candidates

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TAMIL NADU MOURNS - PROTEST MARCHES AND FASTS CONTINUE

The southern state of India witnessed the most sustained and continuous campaign of protests, processions and fasts since July 25 when the news of the latest attempt at genocide of Tamils in Sri Lanka broke out there. Even capital cities like Bombay, Calcutta and New Delhi witnessed several protest demonstrations.

Over 15 Tamilians in Tamil Nadu committed selfimmolation - drenching in petrol and setting themselves alight - in a spirit of offering the maximum sacrifice on behalf of the atrocities committed against the Tamil of Sri Lanka.

On August 2, Tamil Nadu and parts of other southern states came to a virtual halt when the State government, with the full support of the central government observed a BANDH (Hartal). The Bandh was the result of a unanimous call by all political parties both from the government and opposition.

With the Central government, in an unprecedented step, also joined the bandh authorising the closure of the central government offices and institutions, the normal life of the country came to a grinding halt. Public and private transport and communication systems came to a standstill from 0600 hours for 14 hours, the duration of the hartal. The State government declared August 2 a public and bank holiday

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for Parliament would have to swear in an affidavit that they would not support the Tamils' demand for a separate state. All this was done in the name of "eliminating terrorism" - a reference to the Tamil Tigers, who have been held responsible for attacks on troops and police. It is a queer sort of logic which holds that the best way of eliminating Tamil terrorism is to ban all Tamil political parties and proscribe the main Tamil newspapers. But President Jayawardene, like many of his compatriots, seems to use the words "terrorist" and "Tamil" as if they were interchangeable these days. He told an interviewer this month: "I am not worried about the opinion of the Jaffna people now. Now we can't think of them; not about their lives or of their opinion of us."

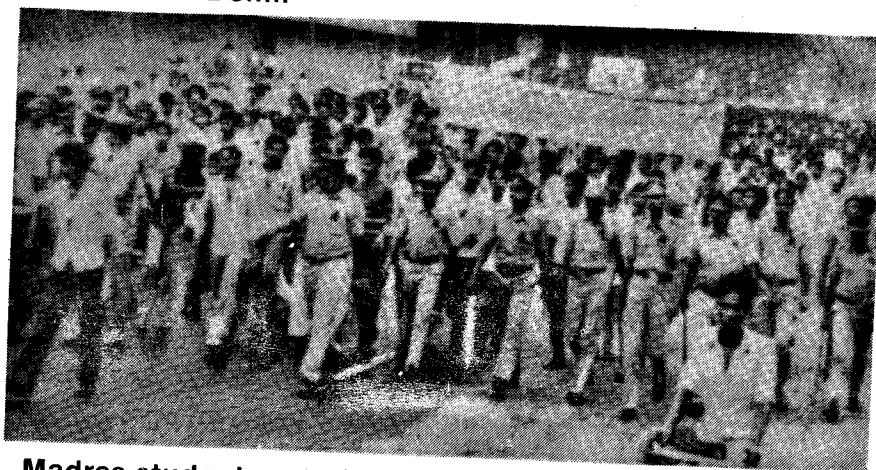
Given this hardening of attitude, it is hard to see how Sri Lanka's drift into civil war can be stopped. The government is determined that the Tamils' demand for Eelam must be silenced; yet each bout of communal violence merely strengthens the Tamil conviction that a separate state is the only solution.

The author is on the staff of New Statesman.

(By kind courtesy of THE TIMES 30.7.83)



MPs demonstrating in front of the Sri Lankan High Commission in Delhi.



Madras students marching in protest against genocide of Tamils in Sri Lanka. Note the black ribbons on the lapels of police officers who also joined in the march.

enabling the closure of all banks, factories both in the private and public sectors, business firms and educational institutions, the stock exchange and all other markets. All cinemas and places of entertainment remained shut. The Bandh day was characterised by protest marches, meeting and fasts everywhere. The participants and non-participants alike wore black bands in a display of solidarity and mourning with the Tamils of Sri Lanka. Even police officers joined the marches wearing black bands. The marchers carried placards denouncing the Lankan government and calling "Jayawardene, Don't Kill Our Tamil Brothers and Sisters". They carried effigies of Jayawardene and burned them.

Hundreds of these effigies were burnt in front of Sri Lanka High Commission. Thousands of people, including school children and women joined in protest fasts for the whole day. Students, lecturers and professors from the Madras Medical College paraded the

streets of the city with hundreds of human skulls held aloft on bamboo sticks to condemn the genocide in Sri Lanka. The bandh was a total success in that it showed that the 50 million Tamilians in Tamil Nadu were in absolute support and solidarity with the Tamils in Sri Lanka. The Chief Minister, Mr. M.G. Ramachandran, said that the country had not witnessed such total participation since the days of the Indian freedom struggle.

Mr. T. Visventhiran, who had just returned from Madras after escaping from the troubles in Colombo, said that the whole of Tamil Nadu is plastered with posters and slogans - trains, buses, private and public buildings, bridges, lorries condemning the genocide and declaring support for the Tamils of Sri Lanka. He added that the support and response from Tamil Nadu, its people and all political parties were absolutely total and beyond anyone's expectation and comprehension - it is simply solid.

MASSACRE OF TAMILS IN JAIL

The most dastardly and inhuman episode in the course of the latest attack upon the Tamil people of Sri Lanka took place on July 25 and 26 - the cold-blooded butchering of over 60 Tamils held in the Welikade jail at Colombo. That they were murdered in their own cells within the walls of the high security prison with the active participation of prison officers has been confirmed by Mark Tully of the BBC. According to other Tamil prisoners who survived the attack a crowd of four hundred including Sinhalese prisoners, jailers and some other unidentified men in civilian dress broke into the section where the Tamil prisoners were held. The jailers unlocked the cell doors and the Tamil prisoners were attacked with knives, crowbars, axes and bars with sharp points. Most of the prisoners were clubbed or hacked to death. Kuttimani, who had requested that his eyes be given to someone so that least someone else could see an independent Tamil Eelam was taunted with these words by the attackers who stabbed him in the eyes.

The army men on duty did precious little to prevent the massacre. Two of the prisoners who were badly injured later bled to death. The official who attended the post-mortem confirmed that there was a stab wound above one of Kuttimani's eyes. His skull had been crushed and the neck cut several times. Two of the bodies had been stabbed two hours after death. An official who attended the post mortem confirmed this story.

The other surviving Tamil detenus including two catholic priests and one wounded Methodist Minister, the Nithiananthans and Dr. S.A. Tharmalingam have been transferred to the Batticaloa Jail in the Tamil dominated east coast. Reliable reports state that they were also beaten-up in course of their transfer. It is also learnt that some of them who suffer from heart ailment have been deprived of vital drugs thus endangering their lives. They have not been allowed any visits for the last several days. Even the Chaplain is not allowed to see them.

TAMILS MURDERED IN WELIKADA PRISON, COLOMBO ON 25.7.83

1. Kuttimani / Yogachandran
2. N. Thangathurai
3. Nadesathasan
4. Jegan
5. Alias Sivarasa
6. Sivan - Anpalagan
7. A. Balasubramaniam
8. Surash Kumar
9. Arunthavarajah
10. Thanapalasingham
11. Arafat
12. P. Mahendran
13. K. Thillainathan
14. S. Kularajasekaram
15. K. Uthaya Kumar
16. Sivakumar. S
17. A. Rajan
18. S. Balachandran
19. Yogachandran Killi
20. S. Subramaniam
21. Mylvaganam - Sinniah
22. G. Mylvaganam
23. Ch. Sivanantharajah
24. T. Kandiah
25. S. Sathiyaseelan
26. Kathiravelpillai
27. Easvaranathan
28. K. Nagarajah
29. Gunapalan Ganeshalingam
30. Anpalagan Sunduran
31. Ramalingam Balachandran

32. K. Thavarajasingham
33. K. Krishnakumar
34. R. Yoganathan
35. A. Uthayakumar
36. G. Amirthalingam
37. V. Chandrakumar
38. Sittampalam Chandrakulam
39. Navaratnam Sivapatham (Master)

TAMILS MURDERED IN WELIKADA PRISON, COLOMBO, ON 27.7.83

1. Muthukumar SRIKUMAR
2. Amirthanayagam PHILIP
3. Kulasingam KUMAR
4. Selachami KUMAR
5. Kandasamy SARVESWARAN
6. A. MARIANPILLAI
7. Sivapathan NEETHIRAJAH
8. Devanayagam PASKARAN
9. Ponnaiya THURAIRAJAH alias
THANKATHURAI
10. Gnanamuthu
NAVERATNASINGHAM
11. Kandiah RAJENDRAN alias
ROBERT
12. Dr Somasunderam
RAJASUNDERAM
13. Somasunderan MANORANJAN
14. Arumugam SEYAN alias APPU
15. Thamotheampillai
JAGEMOGANANDAN
16. Sinnathambi SIVASUBRAMANIAM
17. Sellay RAJERATNAM
18. Kumarasamy GANESHALINGAM
19. Ponnampalam DEVAKUMAR

Tamils shot by soldiers, says leader

The Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) has alleged that nearly 40 people - students, university lecturers and housewives - were shot by army personnel in the streets and in their homes in the Jaffna area of Sri Lanka during communal violence.

The statement signed by Mr. Appapillai Amirthalingam, secretary-general of TULF, on August 2, was not circulated in Sri Lanka because of censorship. The *Times of India* carried that statement on its front page. TULF says 35 Tamils were massacred in jail. In Trincomalee, "mutinous" members of the Navy and Army, with the assistance of Sinhalese, destroyed and burnt down almost 200 Tamil houses and shops. A Hindu temple was damaged.

"Army personnel actively encouraged arson and looting of business establishments and homes in Colombo and took absolutely no action to apprehend or prevent the criminal elements involved in these activities. In many instances army personnel participated in the looting of shops.

"We strongly believe that the violence could have been contained if the Government had taken prompt action to deal with the rioters and looters. The Government, through inaction, indifference and arrogant failure to mobilize international assistance, expressed its complete contempt for life and property of Tamil people."

TULF said it has "no confidence in the ability of the Government" to maintain or rehabilitate Tamil refugees and has urged the Government to hand over the job to the Red Cross and the United Nations.

LIBERATION ACTIVISTS LET ON BAIL

MADRAS, JULY 28.

Mr. Justice S. Natarajan today granted bail to Mukhundan. Sivanewaran and Jotheeswaran of the Sri Lanka Liberation Tiger Movement on their executing a bond each for, Rs. 2,000 with two sureties for a like sum. The Judge asked them to report to the Inspector. Crime Branch, C.I.D. Madras. every Tuesday. The Judge said the prosecution had now expressed no apprehension that the accused would escape. The accused are facing trial for the shootout incidents in Madras and Gummudipoondi last year.

"it is a national issue," INDIAN P.M.

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi assured an all-party delegation from Tamil Nadu, which met her today to discuss the Sri Lanka situation, that the entire country

Contd. on page 9

By kind courtesy of The Guardian.



● Victims of the violence at Jaffna on July 24, shot down, witnesses say, by rampaging soldiers

Eyes 'gouged out' in Sri Lankan gaol

From David Beresford
in Colombo

THE Badulla massacre of civilians is the only one, apart from Jaffna, of which the Guardian has an account from a witness. But there are reports of at least one other, similar massacre in the town of Nuwaraeliya, near Badulla, in which 13 people are said to have been killed. Troops were again allegedly involved.

While accounts of these 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 guerrilla leaders were killed.

The two men, Sellarasa "Kutimani" Yogachandiran, leader of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation and a political writer and Ganesanathan Jeganathan 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.

Secondhand reports from 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 Kutimani's tongue was cut out by an attacker who drank the blood and cried: "I have drunk the blood of a Tiger."

The two men were among 35 killed in the Welikada gaol on July 25. Another 17 were killed in the gaol two days later and the Guardian has obtained a first hand account of part of the fighting in this incident, including the circumstances in which Sri Lanka's Gandhian leader, Dr Rajasunderam, died.

Dr Rajasunderam was one of nine men, including two Catholic priests and a Methodist minister, who were moved out of their cells immediately after the July 25 killings — to make way for

survivors moved into their cells on security grounds — into a padlocked hall, upstairs in the same block.

The nine, convinced that further attacks were coming, made repeated representations to the prison authorities on July 26 for better security measures. Assurances were given that they would be protected, but nothing was done.

At 2.30 pm on July 27, hearing screaming and whistling outside, one of the priests looked out of a high window and saw prisoners breaking in from a neighbouring compound, wielding axes, iron bars, pieces of firewood, and sticks. There was no sign of prison guards.

The mob, which was later found to have killed 16 prisoners in the downstairs cells, ran up to the hall and began breaking the padlock.

Dr Rajasunderam then went to the door and cried out: "Why are you trying to kill us? What have we done to you?"

At that moment, the door burst open and Dr Rajasunderam was hit on the side of the neck by a length of iron.

Blood was seen to spurt several feet.

"At that juncture, we thought we should defend ourselves," one of the prisoners related. "We broke the two tables in the hall and took the legs to defend ourselves."

"We kept them at bay. They threw bricks at us. We threw them back. Pieces of firewood and an iron bar were thrown at us. We used it to defend ourselves. It went on for about half an hour. They shouted: 'You are the priests, we must kill you.'"

The killing was eventually ended by the army, who moved in with teargas.

An inquest has been opened into the Welikada massacres, but the above details did not emerge. Prison warders claim that keys to the cells were stolen from them.

Lawyers for the prisoners, who have accused the warders of having participated, claim that they were not given the opportunity to bring evidence despite representation to the Government.

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shared the concern and anguish of the Tamil Nadu people over the tragic happenings in the Island.

She told the 16-member delegation led by the Chief Minister, Mr. M.G. Ramachandran that the Centre was dealing with this as a national issue affecting the whole country,

not merely as a problem concerning Tamil Nadu alone.

The Prime Minister said that as a symbol of the Centre's sympathy and solidarity with Tamil Nadu, all Central Government offices also will be closed on Tuesday, August 2, during the one-day bandh in the State. This is the first time ever that the Central

Government is officially participating in a bandh called by a State Government, since it is aimed at focussing national attention on a sad event that transcends party politics and parochial considerations.

SRI LANKA SLAUGHTER

THE BRUTAL MASSACRE OF TAMILS in Sri Lanka has crossed all limits of tolerance, Jayawardene and his Yahoos should be thankful to God and Mrs. Gandhi that India is sending passenger ships to help them shift displaced Tamilians under threat of execution in Colombo to Jaffna, while providing them with food and relief. Any other country of our size and power - say Reagan's America, or even Thatcher's England - would, under much less provocation, have rushed gunboats to the little island with an ultimatum to its government to either halt the genocide or face punitive action.

OUR anguish is fuelled by the fact that the most brutal - and obviously well organised - massacres took place within the confines of a prison located in the capital city. A prison is by definition a highest security establishment; this is particularly so of the Welikada prison which, even by official terminology of the Lankan government, is a "maximum security" establishment. YET, NOT ONE BUT TWO GRUESOME MASSACRES OCCUR WITHIN ITS WALL IN THE SPACE OF A WEEK!

WE, therefore, assert that what happened could never have happened without the active connivance of the prison authorities whose role, it would seem, was to provide "maximum security" to the murderers as they went about their mindless mayhem! Add to this the fact that Welikada, being a "maximum security" establishment, is directly controlled by the highest authorities, and what have you? THE PLAIN FACT IS THAT JAYAWARDENE'S GOVERNMENT STANDS STAINED WITH INNOCENT TAMIL BLOOD

COLOMBO may deny connivance, but there is no way it can feign ignorance. Even the farcical probe into the first prison incident had little option but to return a verdict of premeditated murder. To add insult to the genocidal crime, Jayawardene has proceeded to take action - NOT AGAINST THE VILLAINS BUT AGAINST THEIR VICTIMS! By banning the organisations of the Tamils, he has clearly held that unfortunate community responsible for getting itself butchered. Ironically, the over hundred Tamils so brutally annihilated in Welikada gaol were being held there as "terrorists".

It appears the Lanka President shares his American counterpart's definition of that term, as applying to all who fight for their democratic rights against an unjust, decrepit and decaying order. Even the leader of the Gandhian movement, Dr. Rajasundaram, who was slain in the second slaughter, was being held as a "terrorist" at Welikada!

that what is not published did not happen; and has proceeded to prove this fact in action by censoring all news reports and preventing the transmission of any radio-photos of the massacre of more than a thousand Tamilians from the island "THOU SHALT KILL BUT NOT TELL", he commands the media, in the delusion that he may be thus shielded from enraged world opinion.

TO his eternal shame, instead of condemning the atrocities without reservations, as any civilized head of state would have done, Jayawardene has sought to justify them. According to him, the Sinhalese were only "reacting" to the atrocities of the Tamil "terrorists" over the last eight years! Does this justify the proscribing of a Gandhian movement and the murder of its leaders? Does it explain why the scene of the worst massacres was a prison where presumably are interned, elements who cannot be said to represent the general public, unless Jayawardene would like to insult his countrymen by holding no difference between the law-abiding Lankan and the Welikada "criminals"? Does it explain why the senseless terror that now grips Sri Lanka came so swift on the heels of his own provocative verbal onslaught against the Tamils?

AS a final insult to this friendly country, Jayawardene denied Foreign Minister Narasimha Rao permission to visit the refugee camps or interact with the victims, confirming the fact that THE BESTIAL FURY THAT BEGAN AS ANTI-TAMIL, HAS TODAY BECOME ANTI-INDIAN.

THUS far, the Indian Government has acted with commendable restraint and Narasimha Rao with his customary coolness. But let the Yahoos not push their luck too far lest outraged public sentiment push a reluctant government into action.

JAYAWARDENE's simultaneous on slaughter against the domestic Left as well as the Soviet Union and Socialist countries leaves one in no doubt as to whom the turmoil benefits. Jayawardene now echoes. His Master's Voice at home. The scheme fits delightfully into Reagan's global crusade against all Left and progressive forces.

THE present hostility towards Indian in his fief, coming atop naked attempts at destabilisation in Punjab and the North-East, reveals a clear pattern in current US strategy here: a hate campaign against this country to undermine its leadership of the non-aligned movement while also destabilising it internally.

R.K. KARANJIA

(By kind courtesy of BLITZ, 6.8.83)

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THUGS TAKE OVER IN SRI LANKA

JUNIUS JAYAWARDENE claims to be the Executive President of all Sri Lanka, that is the ruler of both Tamils and Sinhalese, but after his failure to condemn the cowardly violence that has claimed hundreds of Tamil lives and left thousands of others maimed and homeless, and his belated speech in which he virtually endorsed the brutal hooliganism of his kith and kin, he places himself on the same level as Prime Minister Botha of South Africa.

Botha, too, is the partisan ruler of a section of the population, the whites. Jayawardene must now be regarded not as the leader of the Sri Lanka people, but as the new Fuehrer of the Sinhalese nation.

The normally garrulous Jayawardene and his equally voluble Prime Minister, Premadasa, who generally hold forth at great length on a vast number of subjects from non-alignment to tackling poverty at home, were conspicuous by their silence as thousands of bloodthirsty and revenge-seeking Sinhalese, obviously taking their cue, from the military and political establishment, went on the rampage, murdering, burning, looting and raping a defenceless and numerically inferior Tamil population. The first priority of the Sri Lankan government should have been an outspoken condemnation of the violence and an appeal for calm. A responsible government would have ordered its security forces to take firm measures to end the bloodshed even if this meant using force against the ring-leaders.

The security forces, however, did go into the Tamil areas but it seems that their orders were not to control the Sinhalese mobs but to incite them against the Tamils. Some reports say that the security forces did a thorough mopping up operation in the few areas that had escaped the attention of the mobs. They, too picked off innocent and unarmed Tamil civilians adding further to the dreadful toll.

When the violence spread to other areas, where similar mobs suitably encouraged, went on their murdering and raping sprees, sections of the Sinhalese navy joined in the mayhem. We now learn that the off-ending sailors are under 'open arrest', a euphemism for being let off.

After almost five days of silence, Jayawardene went on the air to give further encouragement to the demented kith and kin. It will be comforting to say that only an irresponsible section of the Sinhalese people played the role of executioners of the Tamil people, but the fact that not a single priestly, government or military voice raised against the killers, suggests that there was an official conspiracy to punish the entire Tamil people for the humiliations suffered by the

Contd. on page 11

LIKE all tinpot tyrants, this one believes

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Sri Lankan security forces in their attempts to destroy Tamil freedom fighters.

For many months now Sri Lankan authorities instead of negotiating with the Tamils who say they are discriminated on the same pattern as are the Africans of South Africa and the Arabs of Israel, have set out to wipe out the freedom fighters. But the well trained and highly disciplined urban and rural guerillas of Eelam movement outwitted the security forces, inflicting a number of casualties on them. The Sri Lankan security forces of which a meagre six per cent are believed to be Tamils, suffered their biggest defeat when at the beginning of last week it was announced that the guerrillas had killed 15 of their troops.

Whatever the rights and wrongs of the communal divisions in Sri Lanka, it is to the credit of the Tamil guerillas that they did not engage in cowardly attacks on defenceless Sinhalese. Apart from those they considered collaborators, and these were mainly Tamils, the guerilla concentrated on the army that had been sent to liquidate them.

The slaughter of the Tamils reflects a growing frustration on the part of the Sinhalese rulers who still do not want to acknowledge that division in their society cannot be solved by violence but by negotiation.

(By kind courtesy of ASIAN TIMES, 5.8.83)

An Island divided?

To judge by the tone of the interviews he has given in the past few days, President Jayawardene of Sri Lanka believes that he has succeeded in averting a revolution and nipping a Communist plot in the bud. To the rest of the world the ugly racial confrontation which by official admission cost more than 300 lives looked rather more like a law and order problem that got out of hand. We earnestly hope that we are justified in using the past tense here, and that majority Sinhalese violence against the Tamil minority in the north and east of the island has petered out, as the latest reports suggest. But even if the explosion of hatred has dissipated itself the underlying problem is probably even further from a solution than it was before Tamil terrorists murdered 13 soldiers on July 23, the incident which set it all off. Unless the President and the Sinhalese majority act quickly now to restore the confidence of the broad mass of Tamils in the central government, the terrorist elements among them may feel encouraged to exact "revenge" - and may gain a wider sympathy among aggrieved Tamils. Ambushing and killing soldiers is not to be condoned; but the breakdown in mili-

tary discipline which ensued, leading to indiscriminate killing by troops, and the speed and precision with which Sinhalese troublemakers joined in the murder and arson are, if anything, even more inexcusable. While it is in the nature of states and government to oppose any partitionist tendency for fear of losing some of their power, Tamil separatism is only likely to be encouraged by the repressive measures taken during the emergency. The main separatist party has been outlawed, and anyone who supports partition faces the loss of his civic rights and even his job. Now Mr Jayawardene's government has announced that the State will take over all damaged property, including housing and industrial premises, in the interest of rapid reconstruction, an extraordinary measure hardly calculated to win over dispossessed Tamils, no matter how earnest the promise that the measure is strictly temporary. A government reconstruction programme is very much to be desired, but wholesale nationalisation of

Tamil property seems an eccentric and gratuitously dangerous way of going about going about it. There is no God-given law that an island shall support just a single state, as examples round the world, both happy and unhappy, demonstrate: Borneo, New Guinea, Dominica, Tierra del Fuego, Ireland. If the island of Sri Lanka is to remain a single, democratic state, the rights of its minorities will have to be restored and entrenched, as Mr Jayawardene showed every positive sign of recognising before the violence provoked him into a potentially disastrous U-turn. India, which has a Tamil State of its own, understandably showed great concern over the Sinhalese excesses but acted with commendable moderation. If Sri Lanka is not to become the Cyprus of the Indian Ocean one day, with India playing the part of Turkey, Mr Jayawardene and the Sinhalese should make it the priority now to be generous to the Tamils.

(Guardian Editorial, 9.8.83 By kind courtesy of GURDIAN)

HOLOCAUST IN SRI LANKA

It is amazing, (or is it?), how often the West's friends in the Third World turn out to be goons and killers. To El Salvador and Guatemala be added Jayawardene's Sri Lanka.

Jayawardene's assumption of power was hailed as a blow for democracy and free enterprise, but the free enterprise most evident during his term of office has been the mayhem and mass murder of the minority Tamil community accompanied by raucous anti-Indian cries from his hoodlum followers. The draconian laws against the press and trade unions have been passed over in near silence by the news media of the "free world", since it is one of their minions who is the perpetrator of such deeds.

Almost two years ago, the looting and destruction of the world's greatest Tamil library in Jaffna was carried out with the connivance of the Sri Lankan police and army, an act of vandalism worthy of Genghis Khan, Timur, Nadir Shah, and other monsters of history. It was the climax to a policy of continuous oppression of the Tamils by the Sri Lankan government and its instruments. The torture and murder of Tamil political prisoners have been documented by Amnesty International, and now comes the slaughter of 37 - Tamil prisoners in a Colombo gaol in addition to the hundreds killed on the streets.

The Indian Government has been taken to task for making a mild protest at the repression in Jaffna by Ceylon Daily News, one of Jayawardene's thuggish allies in the domestic media. The home of Indian

diplomats in Colombo have been attacked. Barbarism of this nature though deplorable is hardly surprising as it has been manifesting itself for a long time now.

What is astonishing is the attack on India by the Glasgow Herald of July 27. It has accused New Delhi of interference, a charge of characteristic stupidity. When the staff of the paper savour their next cup of Ceylon tea they might do worse than to recall that the beverage comes to them, as it has done to generations of Scots and other Britons, by courtesy of thousands of Tamil labourers, who were taken to the island by the British to work on the tea plantations and have been disenfranchised by a succession of governments in Colombo.

These unfortunate people are either being shipped back to Southern India, an operation commended by the neo-Nazi National Front as a model for future action of their own should they ever come to power, while those that remain eke out a miserable existence, uncertain of their fate. Must they be massacred like the Armenians in the early years of this century by the West's favourite people, the Turks, and are the Tamils of India expected to look the other way?

If India is to be criticised it is for being too accommodating with pipsqueak regimes in its neighbourhood who have made anti-India xenophobia a living. It is time they were made aware of the consequences of their wickedness and folly.

(By kind courtesy of NEW LIFE 29.7.83)

PROTEST MASS DEMONSTRATIONS



**IN SOLIDARITY WITH
TAMILS OF SRI LANKA**

PUBLIC MEETING

**ON AUGUST 25, 7 P.M.
AT CONFERENCE HALL
LONDON SE1.**

*TO CONDEMN STATE SPONSORED
GENOCIDE*

*° TO DEMAND AN INTERNATIONAL
INQUIRY INTO THE RECENT
HOLOCAUST*

*° TO DEMAND SECURITY FOR THE
TAMILS.*

**ASIAN COLLECTIVE OF
EASTHAM.**

CONTACT: DIPAK BASU
PHONE: 01 552 2248

TONY BANKS, MP, KEN
LIVINGSTONE, MIKE BANDA AND
SPEAKERS FROM TAMIL
ORGANISATIONS

Two major demonstrations were held in London, one on July 27 and the other on Saturday July 30 in protest against the racial violence unleashed against the Tamils of Sri Lanka.

The demonstration on the 27th was attended by over 1000 Tamils and others and was preceded by a picket outside the Sri Lankan High Commission in London. The demonstrators marched to the Indian, High Commission in London and handed

over a petition.

The July 30th demonstration attended by over 7000 placard carrying and slogan-shouting people, who had arrived from all parts of Great Britain, was the biggest ever staged in London by an ethnic group. The demonstration which was about 10 deep took about 45 minutes to pass a point commenced from Hyde Park and wended its way through Piccadilly Circus, Strand, Whitehall and Westminster Bridge and



REPORT FROM COLOMBO - JULY 25

ANTI-TAMIL POGROM 1983

The entire population is supposed to be confined to their homes. Since 2 p.m. yesterday (25/7) till 5 a.m. tomorrow (27/7) a curfew is in operation. Armed forces are on the streets. The whole country is in a tense atmosphere. Winds of racism have demolished buildings and houses big and small. Arson and looting have become the order of the day. I can still see through the window of my home, smoke reaching up to the sky. I hear now they are attacking the Hindu Temple along the beach by the sea. Sinhala 'patriots' have performed 'heroic' deeds over the past two days. Two of us planned to go to Jaffna yesterday. I went to the Fort Railway Station around 10 a.m. to buy tickets. When the bus drove into Fort, I saw large crowds of people running all over Fort. The traffic was in disorder. I got off the bus at the YMBA Fort (Young Mens Buddhist Association) and witnessed the 'scenario'. A group of people were attacking Ambal Cafe (a Tamil Cafe) with stones. Some were breaking the doors with iron rods and there were armed Police looking on. The attacks in Colombo started in Borella (by the cemetery) - where Sinhala soldiers killed in the North were to be buried. I was an eye witness to many attacks in Fort, Pettah, Main Street, Olcott Mawatha, Malwatte Road and Bankshall Street (the bazaar area with shops owned mainly by the Tamil community). I was furious; certain things I could not bear to look on. I think I was the only person who did not sympathise with these dastardly acts by Sinhala 'heroes'. Large numbers of people watching these atrocities gave them their passive support. Some people even joined the attackers. Others said - I heard, because I was walking and listening to what people were saying - "If the Government cannot solve this problem, let the people solve it". Some men were shouting racist slogans such as - "Defend the Sinhala race". It was a mood of mass hysteria. I am trying to express the mood of the people congregated along the overhead bridge outside the Fort railway station and along Olcott Mawatha by the rows of Tamil shops. Some of the attackers were looting goods. Others were grabbing the goods from looters piled them on the streets and set them on fire. Soldiers in mufti also actively participated or rather initiated the attacks. Kandiah's fire works shop in Pettah at the turn to Malwatte Road was broken open and crackers were lit on the streets in celebration of the 'heroic' deeds. I felt I was in a funeral house but I was the only mourner while the others were merry making. There were many armed units cordoning off the crowds from the racist attackers! They didn't do anything else.



A couple dramatically surveys the skeletal remains of their home destroyed by Sri Lanka soldiers last week.

By kind courtesy of Times of India

Soldiers passing in vans, lorries and jeeps were cheered by the crowds! And they were waving with smiles on their faces! Ambal Cafe was set on fire and the fire spread to the whole of Bristol building. Victoria building was set on fire. Fort and Pettah were a red hot blaze.

The commercial centre of Sri Lanka was being incinerated. The fire brigades arrived but they were turned away by both the armed personnel and the attackers. Maharaja Organisation (a large Tamil business establishment) and Ranjanas were broken into and smashed. Tamil shops along Main Street were demolished and textiles looted. Some of the loot was being put into taxis and taken away. The police were mere onlookers! saw a man holding a Sinhala National flag being carried on the shoulders of a group of persons and Buddhist monks too were encouraging them. One English speaking man, well dressed and carrying a brief case caught a looter taking away some textiles and told him in Sinhala: "shame on you! don't loot put it in the fire, burn it!" and he put some items into the fire. I saw a Tamil burnt to death and left lying on the road and one other on the road by the Pettah Central Bus Stand hacked to death. Another a few yards away from him was dying. Two cars and a van were burnt before my eyes. All this happened between 10.30 a.m. and 1.30 p.m. on the 25th July in Fort and Pettah and curfew was imposed only from 2.00 p.m. As there was no transport, I began walking home from Fort. On my way I saw houses in Kotahena and Hettiyawatte in flames. Thugs were stopping looters on the streets

and demanding a share of the loot and only then allowed them to proceed. Men, women, young and old, everybody was carrying at least a packet of biscuits to their homes.

WORSE THAN 1958, 1977 & 1981

Similar attacks have taken place in Mutwal, Mattakkuliya, Wattala, Ja-ela, Kandy, Wellawatte, Ratmalana and in areas all over the country. This time I am sure the racial violence against the Tamils has escalated and spread to a much greater and more severe extent than in 1958 with obvious support from the Government and the active incitement of the armed forces and is even worse than the riots of 1977 or 1981. Only a few days ago oil prices were raised. Sinhala Mudalalis (Petty traders and black marketeers) will have a field day. The Police and the Army have the authority to shoot looters after a warning but they don't shoot the looters. They use their bullets to open gates and doors of Tamil shops and homes that cannot be opened by sticks or iron rods.

You would probably have heard on world news that about 37 Tamil prisoners (all held under the PTA) had been killed in the Welikada maximum security prison. Other prisoners (Sinhala) are alleged to have attacked them! Nonsense. All this has been planned. Among the dead are Kuttimany, Jegan Yogachandran, Balachandran, Casinathan, Coomaraswamy, Subramaniam and others. The prison Magistrate is to hold an inquiry! Over the radio every half hour it is announced that at several places looters have been shot.

Contd. on page 16

Survivor describes

(By kind courtesy of
THE GUARDIAN,

From David Beresford
in Colombo

Sri Lanka massacre

NEW EVIDENCE that the security forces were involved in the massacre of civilians is beginning to emerge in Sri Lanka.

The Guardian has obtained a first-hand account of a massacre in the southern town of Badulla in which the army and police, were allegedly involved in the murder of 14 people, according to a survivor.

Details are also emerging of the killings in Welikada prison, Colombo, in which 52 prisoners died — which suggests that they might have been carried out with the connivance of prison staff.

An account of how a group of inmates, including three clergymen, fought a pitched battle for their lives has been given by survivors.

These accounts follow details of alleged army massacres in the northern peninsula of Jaffna — including the murder of six school-boys at a bus stop — reported by the Guardian on Monday. They raise questions about the responsibility of senior security force officers and members of the Government.

Last weekend President Jayawardene was questioned during a recorded interview about the basis of evidence gathered in Jaffna by the Guardian. He claimed that the army withheld information about the massacres from him for nearly two weeks.

But the leader of the Opposition, Mr A. Amirthalingam, who lives outside Jaffna, has claimed that he telephoned the President the day after the massacres took place, Monday July 25, to inform him. "He said 'We'll look into it and do what is necessary to stop it,'" Mr Amirthalingam reported.

At least two other prominent figures in Jaffna are believed to have made similar representations to the presidential office the same day. The President says that no inquiries have been held into the Jaffna killings because he was informed too late.

The Jaffna massacres have been blamed on troops going berserk after the murder of 13 colleagues by Tamil terrorists in the area the previous night. But the latest incident to be reported took place 200 miles to the south.

The survivors' account was given by Mrs Silvamany Ganesan, aged 36, a mother of three children who belonged to one of two Tamil families attacked. She gave her story through an inter-

preter and broke down as she completed it.

Mrs Ganesan said that she was a weaving teacher, married to a used-car salesman, living with her family at Muthieyangana Road, Badulla, a well-to-do street which included three Tamil homes.

At about 10 am on Wednesday, July 27, a crowd gathered outside a bus depot 100 yards away, attacking passing vehicles. She said that her family telephoned the police to evacuate them, but they did not come.

The crowd then began to attack the home of a neighbour, Mr Ramanathan—well-known locally as a camphor dealer—trying to break down his gate. Mr Ramanathan, who had a shotgun, fired a single round into the air through a window to try to frighten them away.

The army then arrived, according to Mrs Ganesan, and took up positions behind the crowd which began to attack the gate again. Mr Ramanathan fired at them without appearing to hit anyone.

Mrs Ganesan said that a son of Mr Ramanathan, aged about 15, climbed on to the roof of their house carrying an umbrella—it was raining—and was shot by a soldier from the street and fell to the ground.

She fled to her aunt's house nearby with her children, hiding with them in the bathroom. She heard firing outside and then an explosion. They ran out of the bathroom to find that the house was on fire. They were running away when they were stopped by a Tamil soldier.

She was led with her children down a lane at the back of this house to the main road. She said she saw pools of blood in the lane.

On the main road in front of Mr Ramanathan's house, there was a pile of bodies, including those of her husband, brother-in-law, father-in-law, and her sister-in-law's husband. They all appeared to have gunshot wounds and she and her children—two daughters aged nine and seven, and a son of five—were able to see her husband's intestines falling out and his head staved in.

Also among the bodies were a tenant from her aunt's house and his three-year-old daughter, the tenant's brother-in-law, and a visitor to the aunt's home, Mr Ramanathan and his four sons, aged between 15 and 22.

Mrs Ganesan said she was told that her crippled and bedridden father-in-law had been shot in bed in a Sinhalese house where he was

taken before the attack began. The owners tried to claim that he was a servant. Her other relatives were shot in the lane, all by soldiers, she said. The Ramanathan menfolk had been hacked and beaten to death by the crowd, she said.

While they were standing by the corpses, Mrs Ramanathan was ordered by troops to go into her house and bring out "the other Tigers (Tamil terrorists operating in the north) and guns," said Mrs Ganesan. After she protested that all the men from the house were on the pile her 16-year-old daughter was sent in, coming out to say that there was nobody there.

Diesel fuel was then poured over three lorries, a van, and a motorcycle parked around the house. A brand was lighted and handed to Mrs Ramanathan's daughter, who was made to set her home and the vehicles on fire. The bodies were then thrown onto the flames.

Soldiers started to push the women and children towards the fire, but were stopped by one of the policemen who, Mrs Ganesan said, were in the crowd. The women and children were then driven to a police station, their names taken, then released.

BOOK REVIEW

SRI LANKA: TAMILS & THE NATIONAL QUESTION

Author of *DEPENDENT CAPITALISM IN CRISIS - Sri SRI LANKAN ECONOMY 1948-1980*, Satchi Ponnambalam is shortly bringing out his second book entitled "Sri Lanka: Tamils and the National Question"

The author was kind enough to permit us a peep at the manuscript before it went to the publishers - Zed Press, Vikas Publishing and Lawrence Hill, Connecticut, USA. The manuscript runs to 350 typed pages with six Chapters under the following heads:

1. Introduction
2. National-Ethnic Structure and Early History
3. The Colonial Rule and Sinhalese-Tamil Responses
4. Sinhalese-Buddhist Ethnocentrism and Tamil Subjugation

5. Heightening Conflict and Tamil Liberation Struggle
6. Conclusion.

He interprets the National Question, its historical conjuncture and causality, grounded on materialist historical analysis, in terms of the bourgeois state and the strategy of the upper class Sinhalese rulers to divert the class struggle common to both the Sinhalese and the Tamil oppressed people. He traces the conflict as having been generated by the chauvinist ruling upper class politicians, devoid of the necessary social base, to justify the ruling power in their hands, and because of the class society and the dependent capitalist neo-colonial economy moving into deepening crisis as a result of the pursuit of reactionary economic policies

adopted for the benefit of the ruling class. It is shown that the ethnic conflict has not arisen dialectically through any social dynamic, and it had escalated by repression and state terrorism to counter Tamil opposition and resistance, and Tamil separatist nationalism has become a popular liberation struggle that it cannot be contained by repression. In the result, neither the class question nor the National Question is capable of solution by the ruling class and both will break through the seams, one after the other, leading to national liberation of the Tamils, and the Sinhalese oppressed class seizing state power.

Mr. Satchi Ponnambalam is presently functioning as Magistrate in Belize City, Belize, Central America.

DEMONSTRATIONS BY MPs IN DELHI

NEW DELHI, JULY 28.

Three separate demonstrations were staged outside the Sri Lanka High Commission here today by the Congress (1) the AIADMK and the DMK to protest against atrocities on Tamilians by the Sinhalese.

About 10 AIADMK Members of Parliament led by Mrs. Satyavani Muthu, were the first to reach the High Commission shouting "Don't kill Tamilians" and "long live MGR". A four member deputation later met the Deputy High Commissioner and presented to him a memorandum signed by all the 13 AIADMK MPs demanding a halt to the rampage against Tamilians and adequate compensation to the victims. The High Commissioner Mr. Bernard Tilakaratna was away. The Deputy High Commissioner told the deputation that the Sri Lanka Government was doing its best to restore normality and he would convey their feelings to Colombo.

Just as the AIADMK demonstrators dispersed about 500 Congress (1) workers led by the party MPs and local councillors chanting "Jayawardene hai-hai, Indira Gandhi Zindabad" and carrying placards saying "Accord citizenship to Tamilians in Sri Lanka" marched to High Commission. About 50 MPs including Mr. G.K. Moopanar, Mr. Jagdish Tytler, Mr. Chandulal Chandrakar and some Delhi Metropolitan Councillors later went inside the High Commission and protested against the atrocities being perpetrated on Tamilians in Sri Lanka.

T. NADU WANTS ISSUE TO BE TAKEN TO U.N.

The Tamil Nadu Cabinet, which met today, expressed shock and distress over the insecurity of life and property of Tamils in Sri Lanka. It urged the Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi to find a solution to the problem through the United Nations. In a resolution, the meeting said it was the U.N.'s responsibility to ensure absolute protection to the minorities of any country, and as an

Contd. from page 14

Here in Colombo the army wagons, tanks and jeeps just pass by while arson and looting is carried out freely. Now they announce over the radio that refugee centres have been set up! The volunteer corps have been called up. All leave of Government employees has been cancelled. Medical and food supplies too have been cancelled. In this regard the situation today in the country is similar to that of April '71. I will be going to Kandy and will try to go to Jaffna and will report then.

Tilak

(Our Special Correspondent)

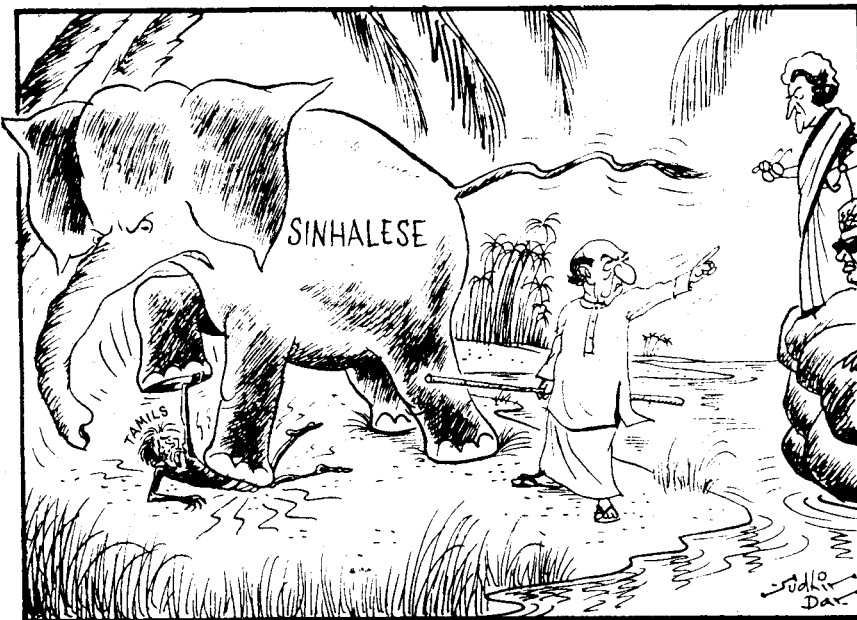
important member of the world body. India should take proper action to find a just solution to the problem.

The Cabinet expressed anguish over the plight of the innocent Tamils in Sri Lanka who had been deprived of their basic rights and were made targets of frenzied attacks and killings on the streets. It noted that the report about the murder of Tamil youths including Kutimani, Jagan, Thangathurai and Guhan, inside the prison, was horrifying. It expressed sympathy for those who had lost not property but their kith and kin. As a mark of respect to those killed in the various incidents, the Ministers stood in silence for two minutes.

On the morning of July 26, when they were about to leave for the studios, they were told not to stir out of their house lest they be attacked by extremists. Thereafter, their hosts, the Broadcasting Corporation officials, took the troupe to a place of safety.

They had no time to collect their belongings, and later they came to know that a band of hooligans had stormed the house they had stayed in which belonged to a Tamilian, and taken away whatever they could lay their hands on. Among the valuables lost were suitcases containing all their clothes.

Thanks to the efforts of the SLRBC officials,



"None of your business!!!"

By kind courtesy of Hindustan Times, 4.8.83

ONLY THE VIOLIN WAS SAVED

MADRAS, JULY 29.

After three days of "total confinement" in a five - star hotel in Colombo, a Carnatic music troupe is back in Madras - almost on the verge of collapse.

"All our belongings were looted, we remained shut in our room, without a dress to change. We have lost even our chappals, and landed on our soil barefoot," said A. Kanyakumari, the young violinist who accompanied M. L. Vasanthakumari, the famed singer, during her coast-to-coast performance on the island.

The troupe arrived in Madras today by a special flight from Colombo. MLV later left for Rishi Valley where she teaches music. The mridangist in the troupe was Tirivarur Bakthavatsalam.

"I always carry my violin with me and so it is safe; all other instruments, including the mridangam, are lost," Kanyakumari sadly remarked.

The troupe gave five recitals in different parts of Sri Lanka and also completed its recording schedule with the Sri Lanka Radio Broadcasting Corporation (SLRBC).

the troupe got accommodation in a five star hotel immediately thereafter. The hosts made arrangements for their safe return by today's flight.

INDIA SHOCKED BY EVENTS

MADRAS, JULY 31.

News of the killings of Tamils in Sri Lanka sent a wave of shock throughout India in general and Tamil Nadu in particular. All leaders of political parties condemned the attacks and demanded immediate action by India to put an end to the killings.

College students in Madras and other important cities in Tamil Nadu abstained from their classes and took out processions condemning the mass killing of Tamils. Various Bar associations also adopted similar steps.

Thousands of organisations in Tamil Nadu organised meeting and demonstrations to protest against the carnage.

In most parts of India leaders of various parties also expressed their shock and demanded action by the Government of India.



"TAMIL PROBLEM" PRESENTED TO THE POPE

His Holiness the Pope personally received documents in the Vatican in relation to the denial and suppression of human rights of the nearly 3 million TAMILS of Sri Lanka. This took place on 13 July 1983. He also received documents regarding the arrest, detention and torture of the Catholic Priests Father Singarayer and Father Sinnarasa, Dr. Rajasunderam, S.A. David and others including hundreds of Tamil youth - all under the Prevention of Terrorism Act which continues to be in force in Sri Lanka with more and more powers to the State's Police and Army.

It was during a special audience granted to Krishna Vaikunthavasan, Convenor of the Tamil Co-

ordinating Committee, London, that the documents were given. The Report published by the International Commission of Jurists (Geneva) on the Ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka and the latest report by Amnesty International on the Tamil problem were among the documents. Vaikunthavasan appealed to the Pope to intervene and persuade the authorities to stop the torture and killing and restore the free exercise of rights guaranteed by the UN Charter.

The Pope listened patiently, it is reported, indicating that he knew what was going on and then passed on the documents to his Secretary for necessary action.

Subsequently Vaikunthavasan met with their Secretary to His Holiness who assured him that everything possible would be done by the Vatican.

Mr. K. Vaikuntharasan in conversation with the Pope.

CPI CONDEMNS LANKA BAN ORDER

NEW DELHI, AUG 1.

The Community Party of Indian, today condemned the ban imposed by the Sri Lanka Government on the Communist Party of Sri Lanka and other left organisations in that country.

A statement by the National Council Security of the CPI, Mr. N. J. Krishnan, said that the policies of the Jayawardene regime in Sri Lanka had led to the present situation there. "Far from trying to defuse and normalise the situation, to bring communal peace, to give relief to the affected Tamil people and take steps to find a political solution to the just demands that they have been raising all these years, the Jayawardene Government is now seeking to capitalise on the present situation to clamp down on the left parties and on the entire democratic opposition," the statement said.

The CPI demanded the lifting of the ban on the leftist parties, release of arrested leaders and restoration of democratic rights. "The struggle of the Tamil people of Sri Lanka for their just right today merges with the struggle of the entire people of that country in defence of democracy.

We regret that this month's issue of Tamil Times has been delayed. Almost at the time when we had completed the material for our July issue, news broke out about the attacks upon the Tamil people, and therefore we had to withdraw the composed material from the printer and start afresh. We trust our readers will understand the delay.

TAMIL TIMES - AN APPEAL

° *Subscribers and readers of TAMIL TIMES are well aware of the problems of the Tamil speaking people of Sri Lanka, particularly after the recent wave of violence that swept the country like a tornado.*

° *The SATURDAY REVIEW and SUTHANTHIRAN, the papers we have heavily relied upon for information have been banned by the government. Today, there is no other paper to highlight the plight of the Tamils and speak on their behalf except for the Tamil Times.*

° *The Sri Lankan state-controlled press is biased and anti-Tamil in its coverage of news and information.*

° *In this context, the regular and, if finances permit, more frequent publication of TAMIL TIMES is of crucial importance. For this purpose, more suitable arrangements in regard to printing, news gathering, circulation and editorial work have to be made.*

THIS MEANS ADDITIONAL MONEY WILL BE REQUIRED.

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TAMIL REFUGEES

AN APPEAL FOR RELIEF

The recent attacks, unprecedented in scale, directed against the Tamils throughout Sri Lanka have, according to the latest official sources, left over 100,000 people in refugee camps. Unofficial sources estimate the number of people rendered homeless and destitute at a much higher figure.

There is an urgent need to provide immediate relief by way of food, clothing and medical supplies. But more important, is the long-term need to rehabilitate the victims of these attacks, who have been dispossessed of all their belongings and means of livelihood. This task will require massive funding and those of us, expatriate Tamils, have particular moral obligation to make a meaningful contribution towards this task.

To demonstrate the solidarity of expatriate Tamils, at a time of grave crisis to the community at home, this appeal is jointly launched by two organisations both of which are registered charities in the UK. This appeal is not merely to the expatriate Tamils but to the public at large, to donate generously to assist us in the enormous tasks of relief and rehabilitation.

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C. Kathiresan
President
Standing Committee of Tamil
Speaking People (SCOT)

Contd. from page 3

a few sensible people. We can only hope that things will die down and humanity and sense will return. But that is anybody's guess. What will happen today, tonight, and tomorrow? One thing is clear, very few Tamils would stay in the South after this. There will be another mass exodus. I will try to send further reports as soon as possible.

JULY 27

I have sent you a report of the Pogrom which started here on 24th night. The report I sent was for 25th and 26th. I want to add more items to bring it up-to-date. After the curfew hours (the Government imposed a curfew on Monday 25th at 4 p.m. and it was in force throughout 26th. On the 27th again it is on from 4 p.m. to 5 a.m.) the attacks on Tamil shops and offices continued. Cyntex, Kundanmals, Hidramani's, and many other factories have been set alight. Thereafter the goon squads went from house to house destroying the belongings of the Tamils. The curfew was not enforced; in fact, the army gave full assistance to these criminals - they even threatened police not to harass these goons. Now the Government has lost control of the situation, to some extent. Yesterday they announced that 35 persons held under the Prevention of Terrorism Act had been killed by other prisoners at the Welikada jail. I think this is a total fabrication. It is obvious that the Government got them killed. In any event, without the active co-operation of the jail guards it is difficult to see how they could have been killed. Amongst those killed are Kuttimani, Jegan, Thangathurai and Mohan. It is obvious that they had selected the ones to be killed - thus the catholic priests, the Nithyananthans, etc., were not amongst those killed.

KANDY

Today I am in Kandy; I came here to see whether the situation is better than in Colombo. In fact it is worse. Whilst the situation in Colombo is getting a little better, the situation in Kandy is still very dangerous. Right now (10 p.m.) there is a threat that thugs would come to attack. I am staying here tonight because I could not go back to Colombo before the curfew (4 p.m.). Thugs are roaming round the streets burning houses and attacking cars and lorries, belonging to Tamils. They stop buses and look for Tamils and beat them up, and in the worst cases kill them. It appears that the whole business is engineered by some section of the Government supported by the army. JR is unable to control the situation. The Army is actively supporting the goons with petrol, etc. Many of the attacks have taken place during curfew hours. It is difficult to say at this stage what would happen in the next few days. The possibility of things getting

CONFERENCE TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION STOP GENOCIDE OF THE TAMIL PEOPLE IN SRI LANKA

Over 500 dead (more than 2,000 according to Indian newspaper Madras Hindu) 100,000 refugees in Colombo (Sri Lanka's capital)

175,000 refugees in other areas of the South

Losses, including property damage, estimated at US\$ 300 million

Over 150,000 jobless

Sources: various European aid agencies and Tamil Information Centre, London.

Since 22 July a well-organized and well-coordinated massacre of the Tamil minority in SRI LANKA has been unleashed by the Sinhala majority with the support and active participation of the armed forces. Innocent Tamils have been massacred on the streets in all parts of Sri Lanka, particularly in the predominantly Tamil northern province of Jaffna and Trincomalee and in the predominantly Sinhala areas in the South, including Colombo and other major cities. Tamil homes and shops have been looted and burnt. Since communication from the North has been cut off there is no information on the situation in these areas and the extent of the damage.

The government of President J.R. Jayawardene is guilty of:

1. not acting quickly and effectively to stop atrocities and prevent widespread violence from occurring in the country. Even government officials have now admitted that the security forces have been involved;
2. permitting the army rampage in Jaffna on 22 July killing more than 150 Tamils;
3. providing security forces with unlimited powers, through the Prevention of Terrorism Act (1979) and Emergency Regulation 15A both of which violate international commitments made by Sri Lanka in ratifying the international Covenant on Civil and Political Rights;

(a) THE PREVENTION OF TERRORISM ACT: The PTA suspends important legal safeguards guaranteed in the 1978 Constitution and recognized in the Inter-

worse and even a putsch occurring cannot be ruled out.

Try and see whether you can influence some trade unionists to take a strong stand. I think the atrocities committed in the last period should move some people. The BBC and the Australian service have given largely accurate reports. There is, of course, a rumour to the effect that the armed Tamil groups decided to attack the army because soldiers had raped three girls and two of them had committed suicide. I cannot confirm this story.

27.7.83

U.C.

national Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Its provisions have allowed the perpetration of serious human rights violations - detention without trial for up to 18 months, severe penalties for relatively trivial offences, severe restrictions on bail, evidence inadmissible under Sri Lankan Law in ordinary criminal cases - even those obtained through torture, and detention without access to lawyer or family. Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists and the World Council of Churches have denounced these provisions.

(b) Emergency Regulation 15A (3 June 1983) allows security forces to bury or cremate the bodies of dead people if they deem it necessary without anyone else being present and without inquest procedures. Such procedures have facilitated the deliberate and extrajudicial execution of suspects by security forces giving rise to the gravest human rights violations.

4. failing to prevent the massacre of 54 Tamil political prisoners in the Welikada maximum security prison in Colombo;

5. failing to provide sufficient protection to Indian diplomats and prevent attacks on the Indian High Commission and the homes of diplomatic personnel and other Indian nationals;

6. creating a fascist dictatorship by banning three of the left wing opposition parties in the country and jailing several opposition leaders;

7. preventing international humanitarian organizations from providing assistance to Tamil refugees.

WE APPEAL TO THE SECOND WORLD CONFERENCE TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION to denounce vigorously these atrocities and human rights violations and to take immediate and adequate measures to assure the safety of the Tamil people in the island. We appeal that the following measures be taken:

1. establish immediately an international tribunal to investigate into the atrocities;
2. assure the security of the estimated 275,000 Tamil refugees;
3. help provide immediate humanitarian assistance to all refugees;
4. assure UN supervision of all relief and security activities;
5. denounce and demand the immediate withdrawal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act and Emergency Regulation 15A.

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BAN ON TAMIL PARTIES

"JUSTICE OF THE LYNCH MOB"

The sixth amendment to the Constitution of Sri Lanka banning all political organisations which recognise the right of the Tamil people to a separate state or which advocate a separate state for the Tamils was passed on August 2nd. The effect of this amendment is that all existing Tamil parties stand banned. This ban may even cover some left parties which presently recognise the right of self-determination for the Tamils. That the amendment was rushed through Parliament in a one-day sitting whilst there was an unprecedented and widespread wave of anti-Tamil violence, under emergency conditions and during curfew hours with MPs representing the Tamil-speaking people keeping away from parliament for fear of their physical safety, reveals the tyrannical and authoritarian character of those in authority in Sri Lanka. The fact that the amendment was carried by 150 votes to none reflects the true image of Sinhala domination of the country.

Cabinet Minister, Mr. Thondamani, refused, in July 1981, to vote in favour of the no-confidence motion against the Leader of the Opposition and TULF leader, Mr. A. Amirthalingam, stating that the letter had the right to make the speeches he made which were the subject of the no-confidence motion. But on this occasion, Mr. Thondaman along with Mr. K.W. Devanayagam and Mr. C. Rajadurai, would appear to have voted in favour of the amendment. It is doubtful if these gentlemen had any choice in the matter. But what is certain is that the UNP lynch mob, both inside and outside parliament, would not have allowed these gentlemen to reach their homes alive had they voted against the amendment.

The penalties for any infringement of the newly enacted law include not only deprivation of civic rights and therefore disenfranchisement for life, but also loss of one's right to lead a normal life by practising his/her profession. The properties of such persons also would be liable to confiscation. In his broadcast on TV on 28th July, speaking about the amendment, J.R. Jayawardene said, "We will also see that those who belong to these parties or those who advocate separation of the country, lose their civic rights and cannot hold office, cannot practise professions and cannot join movements or organisations in this country".

The amendment also would appear to have extra-territorial jurisdiction in that anyone living abroad who engages in 'separatist' politics would also be liable to

the same penalties as one who lives within Sri Lanka.

The fact that such a draconian law affecting the basic fundamental rights of the Tamil people, including elementary rights like practising their professions and owning their own homes, was enacted in the middle of the worst-ever tragedy that struck the Tamils, reveals the callous and inhuman disregard the Sinhala-dominated government has for the views and feelings of the Tamil people.

Not unexpectedly, Mr. A. Amirthalingam,

the TULF leader has denounced the whole exercise as embodying "the justice of the lynch mob". In a statement dated August 2, the TULF leader declared, "This amendment embodies the justice of the lynch mob where you further punish and humiliate the victim and not the criminal; the oppressed and not the oppressor. We wish to reiterate that none of these measures can stifle our voice or our will to resist oppression". The statement added, "In view of the sixth amendment, it is clear the TULF constituted in 1976 can no longer operate legally".

GOVT. OBSTRUCTS RELIEF WORK

RED CROSS MEN EXPELLED

The massive effort needed to relieve the sufferings of over 100,000 displaced Tamils who are in refugee camps and other Tamils who are daily fleeing from their homes for fear of recurrence of racial violence is being thwarted by the Lankan government at every stage. The response of the international relief agencies like the World Council of Churches, Christian Aid, International Red Cross and Oxfam has been prompt and generous. But the government's reaction is one of obstruction and inhuman cussedness.

While the government appeals to the world for aid, it seems to want all the aid to go into its own coffers. The Relief Agencies are only too aware of previous instances of misapplication of relief supplies which, without reaching those in need, found their way into the black market. The relief agencies would want their teams of workers to go into the country to assess the extent of the need and the type of assistance needed in various parts of the country. This assessment is basic and absolutely essential if the relief work is to

be properly and adequately handled.

On the eve of the arrival in Sri Lanka of a large shipment of emergency Red Cross supplies, the government has ordered the expulsion of two regional delegates from the International Committee of the Red Cross to leave the country. The only reason for their expulsion is that the two delegates, Jean Michel Monod and Nicholas de Rougemont, had asked permission to carry out a survey of displaced persons throughout the country. They wanted to report to Geneva on the most immediate needs of the population and visit prisons where the detainees are held to assess the conditions in which they are kept.

The government, which wants to cover up the enormity and extent of the atrocities committed against the Tamil people and the true facts of the massacre of Tamils in Welikade and Jaffna prisons, promptly ordered their expulsion, without having any humanitarian regard or concern for the sufferings of the displaced and homeless Tamil people.

LEFT PARTIES BANNED

The Sri Lankan government in its desperate but despicable attempt to cover up the role played by its own MPs, Ministers and its rank and file in organising and executing the latest genocide against the Tamil people, has banned three left parties - Nava Sama Samaja Party led by Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara, the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) led by Mr. Rohana Wijeweera and the Communist Party of Sri Lanka (Moscow Wing). Many of the leading members of these parties have already been detained under Emergency Regulations. The government, which initially blamed an unnamed 'foreign power' of involvement in the disturbances, has now openly admitted that it did not have any evidence to back up its allegation. In an interview with Mark Tully of the BBC, President J.R. Jayawardene confessed that the government had no "hard evidence" of any foreign involvement.

The charge that the left parties organised the racial attacks is generally treated as a

joke within Sri Lanka where people know that, besides the Tamil political parties, the left wing parties including the ones that have been banned, are the only ones that have been at least sympathetic to the problems of the Tamils. Only two months ago the President himself accused Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara, during the recent by-elections, of being a traitor to the Sinhalese because he advocated the right of self-determination for the Tamils. It is generally believed that the attempt by the government to accuse the left parties is designed for consumption in the West from whom the government hopes to obtain the aid needed to restore the economy which has been put back by at least 10 years according to government ministers.

Although many of the left leaders of these parties have been arrested, it is reported that Mr. Wijeweera and Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara have gone into hiding.