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CONTENTS

Editorial	2
Sri Lanka's proposals for devolution.....	3
Draft framework for devolution...	4
Refugee influx	5
What is the Swedish government doing?.....	6,7
Why North and East should be merged	8
UK double standards	9
Operation Nilaveli	10
Open Letter from N.G.O to Athalathmudali.....	11
Cyril Mathew - Corruption exposed	12,13
Letter from US senator.....	14
We are hoping for the best - Thondaman	15
Letters to the Editor.....	16
Tamil Refugees	18
Classified advertisements.....	22

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AGREEMENT ON CEASEFIRE MONITORING

Broad agreement has been reached between the government of Sri Lanka and six Tamil groups on the terms of cessation of hostilities and setting up a Ceasefire Monitoring Committee (CMC). This has been achieved through Indian mediation in which Foreign Secretary, Romesh Bhandari played a major role. He and other Foreign Ministry officials together with Tamil Nadu's Electricity Minister, S. Ramachandran, had several rounds of talks with the Tamil groups, particularly the Eelam National Liberation Front comprising four Tamil militant organisations.

Following a series of meetings with the ENLF, TULF and PLOT, Romesh Bhandari had managed to persuade the reluctant Colombo government to agree to the expansion of the Ceasefire Monitoring Committee and to some other terms suggested by the ENLF. The previous unilateral announcement by the Sri Lankan government of a three-member panel to monitor the ceasefire had been rejected by the Tamil groups. The ENLF submitted its nominees numbering 20 for consideration by Colombo for inclusion in the monitoring panel.

The six Tamil groups had a 90-minute meeting with Indian high-ranking officials on October 10 during which they were told about Colombo agreeing to all their conditions.

Nine member team

Under the agreed terms, the CMC would consist of nine members, two of them from the list submitted by the ENLF, Mr R.K. Sivapalan, Chairman of Trincomalee District Citizens' Committee, and Prof. K. Sivathamby, President of Jaffna Citizens' Committee. There is provision to increase the CMC to 11 members and to co-opt additional members from Citizens' Committees. The Sri Lanka government has agreed that the members of the CMC would visit prisons and army camps to meet Tamil prisoners; that their findings be made public; that they will be provided with facilities and escorts to move around and in-

vestigate alleged violations of the ceasefire. Members of the public will have direct access to the members of the CMC.

The members of the CMC are Ex-Justice Rodrigo, Ex-Justice Abdul Cader, Godfrey Goonetilleke, M. Sivathanathan, Ex-Justice Deheragoda, Prof. Sivathamby, M.R.K. Sivapalan, J.W. Subasinghe and Ex-Judge Medhi Husain.

According to Indian sources, it would seem that Colombo had also agreed to disarm the so-called home-guards in the northern and eastern



Romesh Bhandari

provinces who had been engaged in the indiscriminate killing of Tamil civilians.

The government of India issued a statement in Delhi on October 10 giving details of the ceasefire accord. In the meantime, a press release from the Sri Lanka Information Department stated:

Decided to appoint

'On the basis of discussions held between Foreign Secretary of India, Mr Romesh Bhandari and the Sri Lankan government, the Sri Lanka government has decided to appoint a

PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 3

NO BASIS FOR SOLUTION

The proposals contained in the 'Draft Framework' submitted by Sri Lanka for consideration by Tamil groups do not provide an adequate basis for a lasting solution to the ethnic problem. Instead of devising ways and means of establishing institutional structures to deal with an ethnic conflict between two peoples whose basic differences arise from the fundamental fact that they speak two different languages and who, by and large, have inhabited clearly identifiable areas of the country, the authors seem to have displayed their predisposition to an exercise in administrative manipulation.

The vast differences in the Indian society would appear to have been managed with relative success by the creation of linguistic states within the framework of a single Indian state. The stubborn resistance on the part of Sinhala leaders to the creation of a Tamil linguistic region comprising the northern and eastern provinces where the overwhelming majority of the people, both Tamils and Muslims, speak the Tamil language, is reflected in the Draft Framework. The almost universal demand of the Tamil-speaking people for the merger of the two provinces into a single unit has been ignored and rejected.

While the proposals provide for the establishment of Provincial Councils, the right given to District Councils within the province to opt out of the Provincial Council would certainly have the effect of undermining the whole process of devolution on a provincial basis. How a uniform cohesive system of devolution on a provincial basis can develop with a degree of permanence and continuity when districts within the province are permitted to opt out at any time is hard to envisage.

The major source of apprehension of the Tamil speaking people is the deliberate policy and practice of suc-

cessive governments to colonise the northern and eastern provinces with Sinhalese under state-aided schemes. The proposals do not contain any mechanism to prevent the Tamil areas being gradually converted into Sinhala majority areas. The only way this could be prevented is to vest the power and function of land settlement upon the devolved authorities and to lay down criteria for selection of settlers in a manner so as not to adversely alter the demographic profile of the province. But the proposals fail to guarantee this.

The considerable overriding powers given to the centre in regard to recruitment, promotion, transfer and operational functions of the local police effectively undermine and render meaningless the proposal that internal law and order shall be a subject for the Provincial Council.

The Draft Framework does not make provision for decentralisation of administration of justice and for the creation of an appropriate judicial machinery having jurisdiction within the province.

The ethnic conflict and the violence directed at the Tamils commenced with the Sinhala Only Act which was enacted in total defiance of the opinion of the Tamil speaking people. They have never reconciled themselves to accepting Sinhala as the sole official language. Declaring Tamil as a national language in the 1978 Constitution has had no practical meaning. The Draft Framework does not make provision for dealing with the linguistic rights of the Tamil people. However, one of the preconditions for implementation of any agreement is that the Tamil people shall accept Sinhala as the sole official language, and clearly this cannot be acceptable to the Tamil speaking people.

The provision that 95,000 stateless Tamil plantation workers would be considered for the grant of citizenship totally

ignores the problem of approximately 400,000 'stateless' Tamils in the plantation areas.

The proposal for the creation of an authority for the 'port of Trincomalee and its environs for the purpose of its administration and economic development' without defining the land area that will fall within the jurisdiction of the authority constitutes an insidious attempt to remove Trincomalee and its surroundings from the provincial authority.

The President of Sri Lanka is too powerful and partisan a figure to be trusted with the considerable powers vested in him under the Draft Framework. He enjoys enormous executive powers in addition to being the Defence Minister, Head of the Armed Forces and leader of the ruling party. He is no constitutional figurehead like the Indian President or the Queen of Great Britain. In this context, the wide powers envisaged for him in the Draft Framework, for example the appointment of the Chief Executive of the Provincial Council at his discretion, making Provincial Council Members who are MPs to be accountable to him, his power to dissolve Provincial Councils, etc., will result in the Provincial Councils becoming easy targets for Presidential manipulations.

Most importantly, the extent of legislative and executive powers conferred upon the Provincial Councils are unduly restricted and the subjects and functions which fall within their competence is extremely limited. This is demonstrated more by the subjects and functions that have been reserved to fall within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Central Government (see page 3).

The conclusion is irresistible: that proposals of the Sri Lanka government do not provide a framework for genuine and meaningful devolution let alone a constitutional arrangement for the resolution of the ethnic conflict.

DEPORTATION REVOKED

Anton Balasingham of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) is back in India, after his deportation order had been revoked by the Indian authorities.

Balasingham, a British citizen, had been in India working with the LTTE for the last two years. Following the breakdown of the second round of talks at Thimpu in August this year, the Indian authorities deported him along with Mr S.C. Chandrahasan and N. Satyendra.

Proposed talks

The LTTE had made representations to the Indian government that the

presence of Balasingham in India was essential for it to participate in any proposed talks with the Sri Lankan government.

It is learnt that Balasingham arrived in New Delhi on October 8 to join talks between the Tamil groups and the Indian Foreign Secretary, Mr Romesh Bhandari.

Indian High Commission sources in Colombo said that the decision to revoke the deportation order against Balasingham and to grant him a visa to return to India was unavoidable and that it was taken to encourage the involvement of the various groups in the discussion on the substantive issues in the larger interests of furthering the peace process.

FROM PAGE ONE

Committee to monitor the cessation of hostilities which was unilaterally offered by the Government of Sri Lanka, on the 16th of September. The composition and terms of reference of the Committee would be the following:

New members

1. The Monitoring Committee will be expanded to include new members. Upon ENLF accepting the cessation of hostilities, some members from the list suggested by the ENLF to Mr Bhandari will be added on to the Committee.

2. The Monitoring Committee will be free to receive representations from the Citizens Committee and also/or co-opt any of their members, to continue their work.

3. The Monitoring Committee will have the power to investigate and report on any violation of the cessation of hostilities to the President directly. The Monitoring Committee will be free to determine its own procedures. The Monitoring Committee would be assured of all immunities for its functioning freely and impartially. The reports of the Monitoring Committee will be submitted to the President and will be available to the public.

4. They will be provided with necessary facilities and escorts to move around and investigate any alleged violations.

5. A telephone number will be available to the public to make complaints to them freely.

6. The Monitoring Committee in addition to its power of investigation will have the following additional powers.

To assist the authorities in the return of their original homes of the displaced

persons of all communities.

'Monitoring Committee will have access to prisons and detention camps where prisoners are kept. When the Committee consider it necessary, subject to normal rules governing visitors, to ascertain conditions in such camps.

'The membership of the Committee will be announced by the government of Sri Lanka on orders from the President after the consent of the persons invited have been received.'

With the accord on the ceasefire completed, it is now expected that serious considerations will be given to resuming talks on substantive issues. The Tamil groups are presently engaged in studying the 'Draft Framework' submitted by the Sri Lankan government.

Not acceptable

Clarifying its stand on the 'Draft Framework', an ENLF spokesman stated, 'Please note that we have not rejected the Working Paper as such. It is just that it does not fulfil the aspirations of the Tamil people. Therefore it is not acceptable to us in its present form.'

Velupillai Balakumaran of the EROS emphasised, 'We are a peace-loving people. If the government shows the willingness to solve the problem amicably, it will not find us lagging behind.'

K. Pathmanabha of the EPLFR said, 'We went to Thimpu and we have come to Delhi because we want peace, honour and dignity. We are not against India's efforts. Our faith in the Indian government has not diminished in any way. We just hope that these efforts will produce results.'

SRI LANKA'S PROPOSALS FOR DEVOLUTION

SUBJECTS AND FUNCTIONS EXCLUSIVELY RESERVED FOR CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Under the Draft Framework submitted by the Sri Lankan government for consideration by Tamil groups, the following subjects and functions shall be exclusively reserved for the Central Government:-

● *National policy on all subjects and functions*

● *Defence*
● *Internal security*

● *Law and Order and Prevention and Detection of Crime, subject to the extent that some of these powers will be devolved on Provisional Councils and District Councils.*

● *Foreign Affairs*
● *Posts and Telecommunications*

● *Justice in so far as it relates to the Judiciary and the Courts structure*

● *Finance in relation to National Revenue, Monetary Policy and External Resources*

● *Foreign Trade*
● *Ports and Harbours*

● *Aviation and Airports*
● *National transport*

● *Rivers and waterways*
● *Minerals and mines*

● *Broadcasting*
● *Television*

● *Immigration and Emigration and Citizenship*
● *Customs*

● *Elections - Presidential, Parliamentary, intermediate and grass root units*

● *Shipping and Navigation*
● *Territorial waters and economic zones*
● *Census and statistics*

● *Professional occupations and training*
● *All subjects and functions not otherwise specifically assigned.*

● *Inter Province/District Trade and Commerce*

● *State Lands and Foreshore subject to the extent that certain of these powers will be devolved on Provincial Councils/District Councils.*

● *National Archives*

SRI LANKA'S DRAFT FRAMEWORK FOR DEVOLUTION

The Sri Lanka Government's "Draft Framework of Terms of Award and Understanding" (hereinafter referred to as the Draft Framework) needs clarification on a number of questions in view of the constitutional problems that it gives rise to. Since it is only a Draft Framework, the parties to the negotiating process must come to an agreement or compromise on what we stated in the conclusion of our previous essay on constitutionalism, viz., they (the negotiating parties) have to agree on (a) the unit of demarcation (b) the powers to be devolved (c) the procedure for any future alteration of such devolved powers and (d) the institutions for accountability and the provision of the necessary finances. The Finance Commission must be a representative and elective body, not one whose appointments to it are at the disposal of the government in the form of patronage. Some of these points have been met in the Draft Framework but not in a manner that can ensure a lasting peace with honour.

The question of legislative responsibility is an important one that needs resolution. Section 4 (a) of the 1978 Constitution states: "the legislative power of the People shall be exercised by Parliament, consisting of elected representatives of the People and by the People at a Referendum."

Section 5 of the Draft Framework provides for a bill for the amendment of the Constitution to enable the creation of Provincial Councils and the Devolution of Powers on them to be enacted by Parliament by two-third majority. Thereafter Parliament will pass an act directly conferring on the Provincial Councils the requisite legislative powers. Such powers shall not be revoked or altered in any manner except by an act of Parliament passed by a two-thirds majority after consultation with the Provincial Council or Councils concerned. The provisions for devolution of powers (not mere decentralisation or deconcentration of powers) and for their alteration and modification meet with the points raised in (b) and (c) of our opening paragraph.

However the question of land policy and land settlement is left wide open — in fact so open as not to preclude the resumption of hostilities. A way out of the dilemma is to adopt the formula agreed to under the Dudley Senanayake-Chelvanayakam Pact of 1965

Professor A. Jeyaratnam Wilson

— preference being given first for the people of the area, district and province; thereafter priority for the overcrowded population in the Hill Country Tamil plantation districts.

The clash of provincial and central legislative powers needs looking into. If Parliament is to divest itself of certain powers, then it can be said that Parliament ceases to be the supreme legislature of the land. There is however one saving provision. Parliament grants these powers from the supremacy that it exercises. Can this be interpreted as meaning that Parliament remains supreme? It can be

surely be subject to the whims and fancies of Parliament or of a President. Those chief executives and executive members who hold membership of Parliament will be treated differently in that they can render an account on their own to Parliament. For a chief executive and members of his executive committees to be responsible to the President and not to Parliament will make mere public servants of them. Such a provision cannot certainly be reconciled within the framework of regional autonomy.

The way out of the problem is to create a second chamber in which all provincial executive committee members are members of the second chamber. They will then be accountable to one of the houses of Parliament. There

SOME CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTIONS

argued that there is a convenient division of legislative labour. In a federal constitution the units enjoy coordinate powers with the centre and the central legislature cannot at any time at its will and pleasure, tamper with these powers. In the Draft Framework, Parliament is at liberty to withdraw or alter the devolved powers and therefore maintains its supremacy.

Division of powers?

There is a lack of a clear-cut distinction on the question of ministerial responsibility. Section 10 (c) of the Draft Framework states:

The Chief Executive and members of the Executive Committee need not be members of Parliament. If they are *not* members of Parliament, they will not be accountable, in or to Parliament. However in that event, they will be responsible to the President in respect of matters for which the President would be responsible to Parliament, and to the Provincial Council in respect of all other matters.

This is the first time we learn of a division of powers between Presidents and provincial executives. It is true that the government is seeking to get round an embarrassing constitutional obstacle. But in the process a constitutional tangle is being created. Firstly two classes of Chief Executives and executive members are envisaged — those who are MPs and those who are not. Secondly we are left guessing as to what are those "matters for which the President would be responsible to Parliament". Who will draw the line of distinction? And that distinction can

is also in this provision the thin end of the wedge of dyarchy which was once inscribed in the Government of India Act of 1919 despite opposition from the Indian National Congress. But the lines of distinction were spelled out in the 1919 Act. The Draft Framework besides creating two classes of provincial executives does not tell us the areas in which the President is accountable to Parliament and the areas in which the provincial executive is responsible to the provincial council. And members of provincial executives who are members of Parliament are accountable to Parliament, not to the President.

Classes of councils

Again the Draft Framework provides for classes of councils. There are to be District Development Councils and Provincial Councils. The decision to amalgamate is to be made by the members of the District Development Councils — those which are functioning and those which are activated after an election. The proposal for a referendum has been abandoned. Obviously it is easier to bring to bear the apparatus of the state patronage system on members of a council than on an electorate. That is why the U.S. Constitution was amended to provide for the direct election of senators to the U.S. Congress than through the legislatures of states. Furthermore the Draft Framework does not state whether a District Development Council can withdraw from a Provincial Council at any time of its volition. If they can join

a provincial council the converse proposition of withdrawal at any time can be presumed to apply. In addition to all of this, there is an absence of agreement on point (a) of our opening paragraph - the unit of demarcation.

Section 17(1) contains a provision for a National Minorities Commission. A problem of this type could be better dealt with by a second chamber or a properly constituted National Integration Council, elective, not at the patronage of the government.

Section 17(3) refers to a Tamil Office or Ministry. The time has come for two separate Ministries — a Ministry of Tamil Affairs and a Ministry of Muslim Affairs — to be created.

The question of control of local bodies is left in the dark. There is no clear statement on whether the two tier layer of local bodies will be in the control of the Minister of Local Government in Colombo or in the sole charge of the Provincial Council. If it is the former, local bodies could undermine the effective functioning of provincial councils. This however can be negotiated upon with the Sri Lankan government.

Supreme Court

Lastly there is the question of a Supreme Court. The relationship between the two communities have been too soured for a judicial verdict to be awarded on a case with political implications. There should be provision for the Court to be constituted with a Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim component. Decisions affecting the minority communities must have the assent of a fraction of the judges representing the minority communities. Members of the court especially from the minority groups must have their appointments ratified by the second chamber.

An observation on the workings of proportional representation which do not come within the terms of reference of the Draft Framework might help in resolving the question of representation in the legislature might be seriously considered. The Sinhala Buddhist Problem has been that the island's Sinhala electorate has been diluted by the presence of Sri Lanka Tamils inclusive of Hill Country Tamils and of Muslims in their constituencies. A way out will be to compile three all-island registers, one for the Sinhalese, one for the Tamils and one for the Muslims. On the basis of numbers, each community can be assigned its due proportion of seats. This will not be a reversion to communal representation. The major political parties could have candidates contesting in these all-island electorates. All that is sought is that we do not have skewed Parliaments where the Sinhalese in terms of

REFUGEE INFLUX

The irony was inescapable. Even as the Indian Government immersed itself in frenetic diplomatic activity to break the continuing stalemate between the Sri Lankan leadership and Tamil students, the narrow neck of the Palk Straits was once again alive with swarms of Tamil refugees seeking safer sanctuary on Indian shores. For the second time in six months, the coast of Rameswaram on the south-eastern tip of Tamil Nadu witnessed the tragically familiar sight of hundreds of families abandoning their homes in eastern and north-western Sri Lanka and braving the crossing in an assortment of boats to escape renewed atrocities by Sri Lankan security forces.

Most of the new refugees are from Mannar district on the north-western coast of Sri Lanka, particularly the fishing village of Vangali. Says Rajiv Walia, collector of Ramanathapuram district: "The refugees have been arriving at the rate of nearly 200 on practically every alternate day." This marks the second major influx of Tamil refugees, the first being in February-March this year when tens of thousands of them crossed over. Currently, over 20,000 Sri Lankan refugees are subsisting on the Indian Government's fortnightly cash doles, while the rest are managing with the help of their friends.

Fully fledged refugee camp

The Mandappam camp for Sri Lankan Tamils is now a full-fledged refugee camp with the capacity to house 5,500 people and 2,500 more will be accommodated when semi-permanent shelters now under construction are completed. But the spill over is causing major problems for the state government with many of them being housed in schools and colleges or in cyclone shelters and other public buildings. With the new additions still arriving, the problem is certain to snowball even further. Nor is there any certainty about how long the refugees will stay. Says Justin, a refugee from Mannar who has been at Mandappam for the last six months: "We are not prepared to return to our homes till we are convinced that our lives will be absolutely safe."

That, despite India's best efforts, may be a long time in the making. The latest influx, already threatening to

assume massive proportions, is made up of people who saw it as a choice between survival in a refugee camp in an alien country or certain death at the hands of the Sri Lankan security forces. Sobbed Gloria, an old widow who crossed over last fortnight in a motorised fishing boat: "My two sons and myself were somehow making ends meet. Then, on August 6, the Sri Lankan army, without any provocation whatsoever, mercilessly shot dead my youngest son. My elder son crossed over to Tamil Nadu earlier because we had both decided to leave in fear of our lives. I don't know where he is now and I also don't know what is in store for all of us now."

Similar tales

Other refugees relate similar tales of Sri Lankan soldiers prowling around their villages and shooting Tamils indiscriminately. "It became impossible to move out of our houses. We are not safe even in our own homes. The Sri Lankan soldiers could come at any time, loot our property, rape our women and kill our menfolk. How long could we live in such a situation?", queries Sivamala, 24, wife of a Vangali fisherman who crossed over last fortnight. Adds L.C. Lambert, an assistant government agent at Chettikulam: "The Sri Lankan Government has hatched a plan to drive all Tamils out of the island. I don't know if we will ever be able to go back."

The exodus was, however, triggered off by a bizarre incident in which a helicopter of the Sri Lankan army suddenly appeared over Vangali and after circling the town two soldiers leant down and started firing indiscriminately. Though nobody was killed, the resultant panic spread like wildfire. The exodus was also aided by the gruesome horror stories related by detenus in military camps released after the first round of talks in Thimpu. Most of them have also crossed over, shaken and terrified after their ordeals.

The Indian Government, however, is taking no chances of the refugee influx affecting their mediation efforts. The refugees have been quarantined and visitors are restricted to those with special passes. But obviously, the credibility of the Sri Lankan security forces is going to be a crucial element in the negotiations for an acceptable settlement, as those miserably huddled together at Rameswaram will willingly testify.

S.H.Venkatramani in Rameswaram
(Courtesy of India Today, 30.9.85)

their numbers are entitled to approximately 70-75 per cent of the seats but end up with around 80 per cent of the seats, five-sixths majorities and the like.

SRI LANKA — THE ROLE OF SWEDISH

Dr.A.Sandanam

The Government in Sri Lanka wishes the outside world to believe that a conflict is raging in the country between two ethnic groups - the Sinhalese and the Tamils - and that the state itself is not involved in the struggle.

A process of genocide of the Tamil minority is in fact what is under way and this is staged by a government composed mainly of Sinhalese nationalist Buddhists whose ideology has features in common with National Socialism. They often describe themselves as "Aryans" and consider that they are superior to other ethnic groups from the Indian sub-continent.

There is unfortunately evidence indicating that the Swedish Government has accepted the Colombo Government's version of the conflict in Sri Lanka. Without concern Sweden now pursues its financial assistance (approx. 250 million Swedish Crowns a year) and refuses to criticise the Lankan Government's racialism. In other instances Sweden has been in the forefront in regard to its racial policy, such as in the case of South Africa.

Step towards Buddhist national racism

The Buddhist-Sinhalese agitation commenced during the first half of the 20th century. Abuse of the Tamils occurred during the years 1936-39 but the second world war temporarily put a stop to this.

One year after independence (1949) however, the first Buddhist-Sinhalese Government deprived the estate Tamils of their citizenship in the state of Ceylon although the majority of them were born in the land to which their forefathers had been brought from South India by British estate owners. By manipulating the constitution over a million Tamils became stateless overnight and subsequent governments pursued a policy which aimed at extraditing as many Tamils as possible from Sri Lanka. Different methods were used, of which the Siri-ma-Shastri agreement of 1964 beat every record. According to this the Indian Government was (reluctantly) prevailed upon to accept 600,000 of these displaced persons. The remainder, according to the agreement, were to obtain Ceylonese nationality. It transpired that the Ceylonese Government had other plans.

Over a period of fifteen years some 150,000 of the remaining estate Tamils obtained citizenship — the minimum number required to maintain the pro-

duction of tea on a minimum wage and under Sinhalese domination. When the time set in the agreement ran out in 1981, there still remained several hundred thousand stateless persons in Sri Lanka whose position became gruesome. By means of organised acts of terror in the years 1958, 1965, 1977, 1981 and 1983 the Sinhalese have forced many of these Tamils to seek refuge in the north of Sri Lanka and in south India. To this day there are more than 100,000 refugees in India — mainly in Tamil Nadu. Atrocities such as murder, arson, rape, ill-treatment and larceny are still being resorted to now mainly in the north and east of Sri Lanka by organised gangs while police remain aloof and the government remains acquiescent.

Why "The Tigers"?

Even before independence the Tamils were expecting a solution to the Tamil question — i.e. common civil

ance of the Tamils (during the years 1945-85) the Government nevertheless dishonoured its pledges to the latter.

Anti-racial riots, which reached their peak in July 1983, were on the other hand encouraged resulting in arson, the rape of young girls, burning in public of men, women and children in mass murders of Tamil patients in a hospital and of Tamil prisoners in the state prison in Colombo. Some of these incidents were witnessed by foreigners who were able to give accounts to the international mass media.

Backbone of economy

Paradoxically enough, it was the so-called "Indian" Tamils who suffered the most although the tea plantation workers constitute the backbone of the country's economy being its main source of revenue. Furthermore the "Indian" Tamils have never

WHAT IS THE SWEDISH GOVT. DOING?

In a letter to the writer of the article Prime Minister Olaf Palme stated that the Swedish Government had emphasised Sweden's humanitarian engagements in international connections as well as in its contacts with the Lankan Government. Furthermore Olaf Palme expressed how concerned he is at the prevailing situation in Sri Lanka and grave doubt in regard to the Lankan Government's ability to arrive at a peaceful solution of the acute racial conflict in the near future.

At the United Nations Commission for Human Rights in Geneva, Sweden has pointed out that certain countries - amongst others Sri Lanka - were de-

nying their citizens their inherent privileges while endeavouring to justify their aggression against the people by claiming it to be in the interests of internal security. The Swedish Government affirms that it cannot accept arguments to the effect that there should exist overriding national interests of that nature. On the other hand one believes that by promoting human rights one contributes towards the eventual development of the community. Violations of the human rights promote insecurity within the state as well as between states thereby threatening to destabilise international connections.

rights for all Ceylonese. Each party in the government had, before taking office, promised to respect this claim, but their assurances proved to be of little value. The Sinhalese language was given priority in educational as well as in official matters. Priorities were introduced at several training establishments and Tamils were disfavoured when posts in the Government fell vacant. When the Mahaveli irrigation project was initiated the Tamil peasants were driven off the lands. New projects financed by foreign aid were confined to predominantly Sinhalese districts as a result of which the northern and eastern areas remained largely underdeveloped. Although different Sinhalese parties were voted into office with the assist-

claimed autonomy for any part of Sri Lanka.

Unemployment

Unemployment amongst the educated Tamils has been on the increase since independence. Those who suffer most are in the younger age group in which many are highly educated but unable to find employment due to virtually no new projects having been started in the Tamil areas. Desperate youngsters as well as men who were unable to support their families joined forces to fight for their cause and for their future. The Government responded by dispatching the Sinhalese dominated army to occupy Tamil areas and to liquidate the revolution-

AID IN STATE TERROR AGAINST TAMILS

ists. (Ironically enough this army of "Aryans" is being trained by the Israeli Mossad). A militant guerrilla force had emerged to become a reality for the Government. Without resistance the Tamil minority will be exterminated. What alternative does one have to being destroyed? One fights for self preservation and justice in one's own country.

Swedish aid for armaments?

The Lankan economy is kept alive by foreign aid and by occasional boosts in the demand for tea — the produce of the Tamil labourer. There has also been a catastrophic decline in tourism (SIDA rapport 3/84, SVD of 18/4 and 20/4-84 and India Today 15/3-85). Those nations who have come to realise the racist government's aims have either abandoned or reduced their aid to Sri Lanka.

The Swedish Government has refrained from any form of assistance to the northern and eastern regions which are predominantly occupied by Tamils. Several nations, such as Norway and Holland have laid down conditions for implementing aid agreements already in force. The conditions have been that the Sinhalese Government should respect the human rights of the Tamils and their territorial integrity.

A substantial sum

Sweden gives 2,500 million Swedish Crowns to Sri Lanka for the Kotmale Hydroelectric project. This represents a substantial sum in regard to the Swedish aid programme. For the years 1984-86 alone a sum of 550 million Crowns was allocated.

The hydroelectric scheme which was recently inaugurated may prove to be a financial flop. The cost of production for electricity is likely to be 60-65 ore per KWh. By means of a subsidy from Sweden the country will however be able to make a saving on its foreign assets by reducing its imports of fuel. Any savings would to a great extent be diverted to purchase armaments for the Jayawardene regime and there can be little doubt that such weapons will be used against the Tamils as Sri Lanka is not exposed to aggression from abroad. Both SIDA and the Swedish Foreign Office claim to be supporting rural development in the Matara region of Sri Lanka in order to help the Tamils. Before the 1983 pogrom however only 2.8 per cent

of the population were classified as Tamils. Today it is probably less than one per cent. Is this distribution of foreign aid acceptable to the Swedish taxpayers?

What does Olof Palme and the Swedish Government, which has for many years been championing the cause for human rights have to say? Not one word is said about the officially sanctioned murders of Tamils in Sri Lanka! Has Palme a guilty conscience as he keeps quiet or does he and his government favour the financial interests of Swedish companies in preference to human suffering in this instance? Sweden retains 70-80 per cent of her foreign aid in the form of goods and services supplied (vide the Kotmale project) and thereby provides employment to hundreds of Swedes.

(Official) Acceptance of terror against Tamils

The Sri Lanka ambassador to Sweden has according to reliable sources expressed regret and disgust regarding the loss of life of so many innocent Tamils during the massacre in July 1983. An official acknowledgement of the Buddhist-Sinhalese atrocities would be a first step towards reconciliation and of putting an end to the genocide of Tamils which is daily taking place.

It is accordingly regrettable that the Swedish authorities including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have such scant knowledge of conditions in Sri Lanka or that they lack sufficient courage to venture a protest against what is happening in Sri Lanka. (Refer to the periodical 'Sydasien' for September 1983). The Foreign Office has a great responsibility in this case as it should be well informed. Sweden's action vis-a-vis countries in the Third World has also to some extent a bearing on how other West European countries may act.

No responsibility

The Cabinet member of the Foreign Office - Pierre Schori - has announced that "We regard the violence in Sri Lanka as being between the two major racial groups and consider that the Government in Colombo bears no responsibility for the happenings". This is a monstrous utterance inasmuch as Sri Lanka's Government(s) have so obviously been responsible for the violence as well as having had controlling influence on those factors which have led up to the present State of Emergency.

An appeal to the Swedish government, SIDA & Swedish industry

The Tamil population in the whole of Sri Lanka is living in a state of great fear. Those who lived in the south have been bereaved of their homes and possessions. Many have lost their relatives who have been murdered both in the north and south of the island. They have also in many cases lost their plots of land and their livelihood. No Tamil may for instance uphold a post at Radio Sri Lanka from which employment they have been given leave of absence sine die. Tamils have also been manoeuvred out of the Telecommunication Department, the Air Services and of other public employments. They are furthermore debarred from high ranking posts in government and community services.

Under the emergency regulations Tamil citizens are sent to prison on suspicion of being associated with the Tiger movement and are often subjected to torture and deprived hearing in court. Tamil civilians are furthermore shot by the security forces and the bodies done away with without the death being registered or the assassin being called upon to account for the murder. Such military or police assassinations are often promoted. Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists have repeatedly protested but the Buddhist-Sinhalese government takes no action.

Tears of blood

Gautama Buddha would shed tears of blood if he had been alive today. The Lankan government commits through its Sinhalese dominated army atrocities against the Tamil minority which are diametrically opposite to what Buddha expects from a true follower. Civilian Sinhalese and released Sinhalese convicts known as "Goons" are equipped with guns for executing Tamils in the rural areas. Does not the government have any responsibility for what happens? Has not the Lankan government by these acts already in practice divided the country? Whom do you support Olof Palme and what have you to say? Let us know where the Swedish government stands in relation to J.R. Jayawardene's policy. Ask him where his five star democracy is to be found! It is high time when one considers the trust and confidence which exists in the close relationship which we claim to have with Sri Lanka.

WHY THE TAMILS WANT NORTH-EAST MERGER

At this time when serious efforts are being made to work out a solution to the Sri Lankan crisis acceptable to the major ethnic groups, we find that two factors have emerged as possessing a crucially decisive impact on the character of the peace talks and the acceptability of the political outcome of these talks to the bulk of the Tamil population of Sri Lanka.

Those are:

(I) Constitutionally unambiguous and effective assurance that the Tamil people could continue to live in those territories that have been their traditional homelands without any fear regarding

(a) their life and property and

(b) the continuity of the demographic pattern of those areas; that is without fear of extinction

and (II) the assurance the agreed solution and the structures that are to be created for its implementation could provide to the youth in relation to

(a) their safety and security and

(b) their education and employment; without these assurances it would not be possible to demonstrate to them the advantages of ethnic unity within a united Sri Lanka.

It is important to show how these two factors have become crucial in the Sri Lankan Tamilian perception.

First, let us take the first problem.

Socio-cultural personality

The territory claimed as traditionally Tamil areas constitute the northern and the eastern parts of the country. It does not include any other part, even though there are Sri Lankan Tamils living in some other parts in great numbers. The North and the East are not just geographical entities; they do have a socio-cultural personality of their own.

It is also true that there had been a demand put forward by some political parties since 1948 that these areas should constitute the Tamilian units of the Sri Lankan polity, whether federal or regional, but it should be understood clearly that the present Tamilian demand for physical safety and political security is not an empty verbal continuity of the earlier demand, but a terminal demand embodying within itself the quantitative and qualitative changes that have taken place within this country since 1977.

In the pre-seventies, this demand, it should be accepted as a fact of political history, was not supported by all the Tamils. But the ethnic violences of 1977, 1978, 1981, 1982, and 1983 and the military operations in the North and the East since 1981 have made the

demand for the safety of the Tamil regions the only hope of the demographic continuity of the Tamils within Sri Lanka. It is not more the demand of a political party; it is the determination of the entire ethnic group. Why has the concept of 'The traditional Tamil homelands' assumed such significance?

The history of the ethnic violence from the sixties shows that the various attacks by the Sinhalese on the Tamils have been not something like the Hindu-Muslim clashes of India, where two ethnic groups living side by side erupt into periodic violence and then cool off and continue to live together. But here ethnic violence meant depriving the Tamils of their economic and social position in that area and driving them away from that areas so that the Tamils could not resume the life they were used to earlier. Tamil shops were closed, Tamil families had to leave. The argument behind all those mofussil provincial violences has been that the Tamils should not be in any advantageous position in the traditional Sinhalese areas. Thus there had been a dislocation of Tamils from the Sinhalese areas.

Prohibited area

The final blow was in July 1983 in Colombo. July 1983 proved that even in Colombo, where almost 50 per cent of its population are Tamil-speaking, Tamils were not safe. It showed that the capital city, now the key to the benefits of the open economy, was made a prohibited areas for the Tamils.

The position now is that no Tamil is safe outside the Tamil areas. They cannot go back to those areas to resume their lives; the only exception being the middle level state employees. And events since 1983 have shown they are often held as hostages whenever violence erupts in Tamil areas.

The Sri Lankan Tamil man is safe only in the North and the East.

This applies also to the Tamils of Indian origin, the bulk of whom are plantation labourers in the central region of the country. Wherever there had been ethnic attacks on them they had to get into the North and the East for their safety.

Thus it is the North and the East that provides the physical safety for the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

The most alarming factor in forcing the Tamils back to their areas has been that, while this was going on at provincial levels instigated by local vested interests, the bureaucracy at

the centre, with and sometimes even without political approval, had been active in changing the demographic pattern of certain areas in the North and the East. At first there were unobtrusive settlement expansions, sometimes they were revivals of Buddhist places of worship, and later they became outright demographic intrusions planted from above. It was by this process of demographic change, that Amparai was lost to the Muslims and Trincomalee is being taken away from the Tamils and Mannar is threatened.

And sometimes the administrative fiat was invoked to re-demarcate areas as of local administration by which traditional Tamil areas were brought under Sinhala officialdom overnight.

Thus while on the one hand the Tamils are pushed out of Sinhala areas, the Tamil areas themselves are Sinhalese.

It is in such a context of political and administrative hostility which draws its sustenance from the anti-Tamil bureaucracy that the Tamils today demand salvation. They want to be assured that they could live in their own areas.

The police and the military excesses, sporadic earlier, and since 1982 a permanent behavioural pattern of the armed forces, have made it impossible for the Tamil people to stay in their own homes. The government has not been able to deny military excesses. These military excesses constitute in the perception of the Tamils, the Sinhala oppression of the Tamils.

Life and property

The question therefore would be what does it mean to a Tamil to be a Sri Lankan if his life and property are not safe. Any wavering on the part of the government to ensure the safety and security within their own areas is taken by the Tamil people as the indiscreet expression of the hidden aim to ultimately annihilate them. Fidelity to a country or a constitution, or a person can come only out of confidence in it or him. It is this lack of confidence that makes thousands of Tamils flee from Sri Lanka to India and European countries.

And that confidence in Sri Lanka can never be built up without providing the Tamils with adequate safeguard to live as Tamils.

This explains the demand that the Tamil areas should constitute ONE UNIT within the Sri Lanka polity. The future of Sri Lanka depends not on

NIGERIAN TAMILS QUESTION U.K. DOUBLE STANDARDS

The following is a text of a letter dated 15 July 1985 sent by Mr N. Seevaratnam, Secretary of the Federation of Tamil Associations in Nigeria, to the British Prime Minister.

'I am addressing this letter to you on behalf of my Association. The world press recently reported the British government's concern over the charge of human rights violations levelled against the Ugandan government by the Amnesty International. Mr Malcolm Rifkind, the British Minister of State in the Foreign Office, was reported to have asked the Ugandan

government to respond to allegations contained in the recent Amnesty International report that the country's army was torturing large numbers of civilians. The Minister added that Britain's high level of aid to Kampala was designed to 'assist Uganda to restore its economy and ensure full respect of human rights.'

Track record

This piece of news understandably caused us more than ordinary surprise. Admittedly, it is very refreshing that your Minister spoke critically against human rights violations. There is no doubt President Milton Obote would have got the message via the veiled threat that economic aid is linked to respect for human rights and such aid will be cut off if they are violated. We are very pleased about the stand of your government over the violation of human rights in Uganda, but, Madam Prime Minister, what is your track record in respect of Sri Lanka which you visited very recently? The Sri Lankan government had been indicted with the worst record of human rights violations by not only Amnesty International but other human rights organisations like the International Commission of Jurists.

Fully aware

We are sure the Prime Minister and the British government are fully aware of the atrocities perpetrated daily by the Sri Lankan Armed Forces against innocent Tamil civilians including schoolchildren deliberately dubbed as terrorists. Such incidents are too numerous to enumerate. During the holocaust of 1983 more than 1,000 Tamils died at the hands of Sinhalese thugs including 53 prison detainees in Welikade prison. The armed forces (in the case of the prison slaughter, the prison staff) actively assisted the hoodlums in the carnage of defenceless Tamils fleeing for their lives. Since then more than 2,000 Tamils have died, 90,000 have gone over to India as refugees and 50,000 have fled to England, Germany, France, Holland, etc. This is not to speak of property worth millions destroyed. Despite all these atrocities perpetrated not by a dictatorial government but by a government which claims to enjoy 'five star' democracy, your government, erstwhile champion of human rights and democracy every-

where, had remained mute up to now.

Your government did not react towards Sri Lanka the way you reacted toward Uganda, despite what happened and what is happening today in Sri Lanka is a lot worse than Uganda. During your recent visit to Sri Lanka you even seem to have patted the President and Sri Lankan government on the back by condemning 'terrorism' and 'terrorists' in your usual style. Apparently, you found yourself in the same boat as President Jayewardene with your own terrorist problem of Northern Ireland in mind. However, to be fair by you, the comparison ends here. In Northern Ireland, the British armed forces do not kill innocent men, women and children. (On the other hand, a young British soldier who killed an Irish youth thinking he was a terrorist, was jailed by a British court.) Your government does not arm the majority Protestants to settle predominantly Catholic areas in Northern Ireland. Nor do you unleash English hoodlums and the armed forces against Irishmen living in London or Birmingham.

Government is guilty

Again, you don't round up youths, throw them inside army camps, torture them and ultimately finish them off on the plea they tried to escape. Even the worst and diehard enemy of the British government will not accuse you of any of these crimes. But, Madam Prime Minister, the Sri Lankan government is guilty of all these and more crimes. Yet, when asked if Britain's future aid programme would be influenced by Sri Lanka's human rights record you were reported to have said your country would *continue to give aid to the Island* ('Hindu International', 20.4.85). We ask and we are entitled to ask what is your government explanation for the blatant double standards in respect of Sri Lanka and Uganda? What is the difference between President Jayewardene of Sri Lanka and President Milton Obote of Uganda? (At least to the credit of the Ugandan government the problem there is purely political and not ethnic). Well you may think you are displaying British diplomacy at its best. As far as we Tamils are concerned it is British hypocrisy at its worst. There is, however, still time to make amends. If you do so, the spilling of innocent Tamil blood will be reduced.'

FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

demographic unification but on ethnic unity.

It should be remembered always that a common Sri Lankan identity cannot be fostered without accepting the specificities of the groups that constitute Sri Lanka. The acceptable of principle of traditional homelands and of the need to protect the rights of the minorities of each of the regions is crucial to the concept of Sri Lankan unity.

On the question of the acceptability of the political outcome to the Tamil youth, one need not labour the point too far. The composition of the Thimpu teams shows that without the youth agreeing, no solution is possible. Our purpose here would be served adequately if we point out to just one fact, namely, the reason why the Tamil youth had taken up separatism as their political aim and violence as a means to that end. It was because they underwent experiences in the field of education and employment that they were not being treated equally as citizens of Sri Lanka. The ensuing military oppression demonstrated this further and swelled their ranks. It is important to convince them that they will not suffer the same fate any more.

Instil confidence

Any attempt at a political solution to the Sri Lankan Tamil question should instil confidence into the Tamil youth and that they would have nothing to lose by their Sri Lankan citizenship. If the government of Sri Lanka could decide to talk to them, then it is also its duty to convince them.

It is not our duty to spell how these are going to be done but it is our responsibility to emphasis that these are the things to be done.

OPERATION NILAVELI: WAR ON REFUGEES

Having just finished interviews with displaced Tamils from Trincomalee district who are now at refugee-centres in Jaffa and Mullaitivu my mind is haunted with many horrendous stories of brutality and hatred on the part of the security forces which has not been a totally unfamiliar experience, as far as the Tamils are concerned.

The attacks on Tamil villages in the Trincomalee district were started well before the cease-fire and continued after the cease-fire. Pankulam was the first village to be attacked. From April this year a series of attacks and 'intimidations' has been going on in Tamil villages with devastating effect. These Israeli-type actions demolished Thirukkadaloor, Salli, Kumpurupitty, Pallathoddam, Veeranagar, Pankulam, Sambaltheeva, Thuvrankadu, Kanniya, Kuchchaveli and Triyay. The government was so intent on wrecking the traditional homelands of the Tamil speaking people and their homogeneity.

The Tamil people from these villages were driven out by security forces and the home guards - a euphemism for UNP's goon squads.

On 12th September, the security forces and home guards rounded up Thuvrankadu in a search operation. This left 20 people including women and children dead. A young nurse from Tirukkadaloor had the opportunity of treating these people from this area. They included about 25 people both women and children. Within days 2 of them died.

The tragedy struck Thirukkadaloor too and the nurse along with village people fled Trincomalee and now they are refugees in a camp at Mullaitivu.

At Pankulam, 22 Tamils were killed by guards and that resulted in a mass exodus from that area.

"We are living at Pallathoddam for generations. On the 13th morning we heard gun shots, while a helicopter flew overhead. About 20 of us vanished into the jungles and helplessly watched a neighbour of ours, Sellathurai, who was put to the sword by the home guards. We somehow managed to escape but 3 unfortunate youths among us were caught. We walked through the jungle for 3 days without meals and reached Nilaveli. When Nilaveli was attacked by the security forces, we came to Mullaitivu by boats and now we are landless, hapless and helpless!" So said a middle-aged man.

An old man from Veeranagar said that he had seen 3 of his family members burnt alive by security forces on the 4th morning when Veeranagar was attacked. He along with 10 other fami-

by a Special Correspondent

lies took refuge at St Anthony's Church, Nilaveli.

The Tamil people who fled from the troubled areas felt that Nilaveli was a relatively safe place.

By the beginning of September several thousands were herded at Nilaveli and were temporarily accommodated in churches and hotels which were virtually jam-packed.

It is said that Operation Nilaveli was the reprisal for the attack on Srimapura, a Sinhalese area in Trincomalee by a certain group of Tamil guerillas. Well before this said attack, it is reported that the government had removed women and children from Sinhalese areas. Most of the able youths had been provided with arms.

If the cease-fire in its real sense is in operation, naturally the Tamil guerillas will be very much in control of the Northern Province and several areas of the Eastern Province. Nilaveli also could have been one such area. If the government calls all such areas as the 'base areas' of 'militants' territories, virtually the north and most parts of the East are under the control of the guerrillas, from the inception of the cease-fire.

It is pertinent to recall here what the present army Commander, who was then the Brigadier of Jaffna told a foreign newsman that their effective control ended at the confines of the camps.

The bridge that linked Nilaveli and the mainland at Sampaltheevu, was earlier blown up by the guerrillas. This left Nilaveli disconnected. Nilaveli could only be reached by the other way that goes through Kanniya. Fearing landmines and ambushes the Security Forces did not make any attempt to go to Nilaveli where hundreds of Tamils had taken refuge. Most of the refugees came to Nilaveli either through jungles or by sea.

The security forces are reported to have reached Nilaveli through jungles. On the way they accidentally met with an encounter with the Tamil guerrillas, it is reported. The encounter did not last long.

On 16 September, 'D-day' had started - it was 'Operation Nilaveli' according to Government sponsored 'Daily News' of 18th September. "This operation described as the biggest in recent times was aimed at a camp in Nilaveli. 46 terrorists were dead, 84 surrendered in a 12-hour offensive". It is true and more true that as far as the

security forces were concerned that it was the biggest offensive yet because 12 armoured cars, 6 tanks, 2 helicopters and gun boats took part.

The details of the "operation" is best seen through the eyes of a refugee now at Mullaitivu. "We came to Nilaveli, as refugees from Veeranagar after the attack there and we were temporarily housed at the premises of St Anthony's church, my husband, myself and 3 children along with 10 other families. At about 5.30 a.m. on 16th September we heard gun shots and immediately after, several soldiers rushed into the church premises. We ran in panic only to find that the whole area had been cordoned off. Later, all of us were 'arrested' by the security forces and herded inside the church. They asked my husband whether he could pluck some king coconuts but as he could not climb, Thurainayagam (35) came forward and plucked some king coconuts for them. We were kept inside the church till about 7.30 p.m. without food or drink. In the meantime some of our youngsters were taken away. The security forces left us about 7.30 p.m. and we decided to leave the church and vanish into the nearby Kochchithoddam. Thereafter, we reached the sea-shore through the jungles."

"On the way we saw about 40 brutally slain bodies of women, youths and children. Among them I could identify the body of Thurainayagam who plucked king coconuts at their bidding to quench their thirst. On the sea-shore I saw a burnt plastic boat with 3 partially burnt bodies."

An old man who was in the Pilot Hotel refugee camp narrated this story: "On 16th morning I saw several soldiers approaching the hotel. They surrounded the hotel and divided us into groups, as girls, boys and old men ran helter skelter. They killed my neighbour, Subramaniam's son right in front of me. I saw 3 middle-age persons from the refugee camp burnt alive. They took away all the males between the ages of 15 and 40."

Finally, the 12-hour offensive, left several hotels including Pilot, Rainbow and Varatharajah hotels and several hundred houses in ashes. At the moment we are unable to estimate the actual number of people killed. But from the reports and interviews we had, the number could be well over 150.

The government's statement:

"The *Hindustan Times*, *Statesman* and *Patriot* of 18th September have carried reports to the effect that during the recent operations carried out at Nilaveli in the Trincomalee district, the

OPEN LETTER

Palais des Nations
22 August, 1985

Rt. Honourable Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali
Minister of National Security
Republic of Sri Lanka
c/o Consulate General of Sri Lanka
56 rue de Moillebeau
1211 Geneva 19

Dear Minister,

Your presence in Geneva during the current session of the United Nations Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities provides a welcome opportunity to convey to you our concern and apprehension over the persistent violations in Sri Lanka.

Reports of international human rights organizations, many of which have been able to visit Sri Lanka have detailed serious and persistent violations of human rights in recent years. In spite of their positive and concrete recommendations made to them to remedy these violations, we are deeply concerned that such violations continue unabated.

Extrajudicial killings, particularly of innocent civilians, carried out by the security forces in apparent retaliation for attacks against them have occurred and have now become an all too familiar pattern as evidenced by the latest incident on 17 August in Vavuniya in which, according to on-the-spot reports by foreign journalists, more than 200 Tamil civilians have been killed.

We note that, to date, not a single soldier or policeman has been charged with or prosecuted for such grave crimes as murder and arson. We recognise the government's assertions that it has "dismissed with dishonour" some soldiers in some instances of deliberate killing and arson. However, this action does not seem to have had any deterrent effect upon the conduct of the security forces and certainly is disproportionate to the seriousness of the crimes. We are of the view that failure to institute judicial enquiries and to punish those responsible is not only a gross dereliction of the government's obligation to protect all citizens but would also appear to have given the security forces confidence and encouragement to continue to commit atrocities against unarmed, defenceless and non-combatant civilians and their property. Such reprisals and attacks on civilians can never be justified whatever the provocation.

We would respectfully request that you demonstrate your government's stated resolve to put an end to such atrocities by instituting immediately an independent, impartial judicial investigation into the recent massacre at Vavuniya, and prosecuting to the full extent of the law those responsible for earlier killings, and publishing the

results of any departmental enquiries so far conducted.

Given the undisciplined conduct of the regular security forces, we are deeply disturbed by your government's proposals, as widely reported in the Sri Lankan press, to vest executive authority over local security forces in individual MPs, thus destroying the democratic principles of separation of powers of which Sri Lanka has been justifiably proud. Your Government's proposed legislation (Sun, 6 June 1985) concerning so-called "disruptive activity" would also seem to exceed any possible legitimate security requirements. We respectfully request the assurance of your government that these proposals be withdrawn.

The government of Sri Lanka has repeatedly assured the Sub-Commission and the Commission on Human Rights of its desire to restore communal harmony and end human rights violations. Nevertheless, the tragic situation in Sri Lanka has steadily deteriorated.

Violence against civilians from whatever side of the current conflict must be condemned. All of the undersigned Non-Governmental Organisations hope for the success of the talks in Thimpu between the government and the representatives of the Tamil community. However, the protection of fundamental human rights, in particular the right to life, cannot await final resolution of the current political conflict. We would invite you, as Minister of National Security responsible for the conduct of the security forces, to inform the Sub-Commission of the specific steps you are taking to ensure that the violations of human rights by members of the security forces ceases.

Yours faithfully,
Signed:

**Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights
Centre Europe - Tiers Monde
Disabled People's International
Human Rights Advocates
International Human Rights Law Group
International Law Association
International League for the Rights and Liberation of People
International Movement for Fraternal Union Among Races and Peoples
International Student Movement, UN
Pax Chrisiti International
Pax Romana - International Catholic Movement for Intellectual and Cultural Affairs
World Student Christian Federation
World University Service International
International Emergency Committee on Sri Lanka
c.c. to: Members of the Sub-Commission
Press**

security forces 100 women and children who were refugees and took away about 40 youths and killed them after interrogation and some among them were girls who were allegedly raped before being killed.

The government categorically denies these charges and wishes to state that the operation carried out recently was against terrorists who were in Nilaveli."

Well! Was Mr Krishnapillai (54) who was shot inside the Nilaveli public

library along with 6 others, a terrorist? The servile media-men in Colombo and the insensate authorities in power may not know the answer simply because of the fact that Tamils are synonymous with 'refugees', 'terrorists' or 'Kottiyas'. We are not sure whether such parlance entered the playing fields too!

By courtesy of "SATURDAY REVIEW" 28.9.85

"HOMEGUARDS" KILL 15 TAMILS WATCHING VIDEO FILM

Fifteen Tamils were shot dead and 10 injured when men reported to be Sinhala "homeguards" entered a house at Kalvetu in Sri Lanka's eastern Amparai district and opened fire on a group of people watching a video film on the night of September 20.

CYRIL MATHEW — CORRUPTION EXPOSED

Mr. Cyril Mathew, Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs until December 1984 and long standing political lieutenant of President Jayawardene, was the self-proclaimed paragon of virtue championing the cause of the Sinhala race and the Buddhist religion. He led a relentless campaign against the Tamils characterising them as the 'arch enemy of the Sinhalese'. He was the President of the Federation of Buddhist Associations in State Corporations and also, until his removal recently, the President of the UNP-sponsored Jathika Sevaka Sangamaya (JSS), a trade union embracing both state and private sector employees in Sri Lanka. The thug-squads and bicycle chain battalions of the JSS were always at his disposal. They went about breaking up opposition meetings, attacking trade unionists, strikers and pickets and even judges homes were not spared. The ruthlessness of this paramilitary private army was much in evidence during the July 1983 anti-Tamil violence.

Mr. Mathew wanted to 'restore Buddhism to its pristine glory' in Sri Lanka by rebuilding and restoring all Buddhist temples in the northern and eastern provinces which he alleged had been destroyed or gone into disuse and colonise the areas around them with Sinhala-Buddhists.

Although many feared and even hated him, very few would have ever suspected him being associated with criminal offences such as fraud, corruption, misappropriation and diverting of state funds to enlarge the fortunes of his family by abusing his position as a Cabinet Minister. That is precisely

what the Sri Lankan Minister of Finance, Mr. Ronnie de Mel, and acting Minister Mr. G.V. Punchinilame accused Mr. Cyril Mathew of committing, in Parliament on 8 August 1985.

Mr. Ronnie de Mel charged that at least three private companies owned by members of Mr. Mathew's family deliberately and continuously misappropriated funds which rightfully belonged to the state. The entire history of these companies was a saga of financial skullduggery of the basest type. One family company, SEP Ltd., and its directors were guilty of criminal breach of trust of the funds of the Sri Lanka Tobacco Industries Corporation of which Mr. Mathew as Minister was in charge. He accused that shares belonging to the JSS and the SEP Drivers' Welfare Society were transferred fraudulently to the Mathew family firm of Niroma Ltd. This company in 1984 became a major recipient of security contracts worth Rs.4.5 million awarded by State Corporations under the control of the Ministry of Industries. The transfer of Rs.1.5 million to Niroma Ltd. was in order to place that money out of the reach of the SLTIC, said Mr. Ronnie de Mel. The Mathew family companies had failed to file even one audited statement of accounts with the Registrar of Companies as required by the Companies Act, he added.

Mr. G.V. Punchinilame, MP, stated that Mr. Cyril Mathew, as Minister of Industries, could do anything and corruption originated in his Ministry itself.

THE KELANIYA FOUNDATION

- The Kelaniya Foundation (KF) was registered on 30 November 1983 with five main objects which were basically for the welfare of people residing within the Kelaniya electorate of which the former Cabinet Minister, Mr. Cyril Mathew, is the Member of Parliament.
- The subscribers, all from the Mathew family, to the Memorandum of Association are: C. Cyril Mathew, Nanda Mathew, Mrs. Manel Pedris, Mrs. Indira Mathew, Mrs. D.F.F. Pedris, Gamini Lokuge and Gamini Marapone.
- Although KF was registered on 30.11.83, it commenced operating a petrol station at Peliagoda in March 1983, and thereby became a dealer on behalf of the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation (CPC) of which Cyril Mathew was Minister in charge. It would seem that this dealership was established without the necessary authority from the Board of Directors of the CPC. KF was appointed as authorised dealer only in January 1984 according to a CPC Board paper No.6306(K1).
- In the absence of registration of KF

between March 1983 and December 1983, the contract of dealership between the CPC and the KF would be deemed to have been between the CPC on the one hand and the individual members of the Foundation, two of them being Members of Parliament and one of whom was Cyril Mathew, Minister of Industries in charge of the CPC.

- The operations of a petrol station were outside the objects of the KF and therefore ultra vires and illegal.
- KF also functioned as a contractor for the supply of labour required by the Station Corporations under Cyril Mathew as Minister of Industries.
- KF was also the recipient of benefits of the utilisation of government

funds invested by the Sri Lanka Tobacco Industries Corporation (SLTIC) in the form of Bank guarantees for Rs.200,000 provided by SEP Ltd when KF commenced business at Peliagoda. This occurred before KF was registered and therefore the beneficiaries were members of the Foundation as individuals of the Mathew family including the Minister.

- KF also obtained under false pretences a donation of 5 bowser loads of diesel valued at Rs.347,509 from the CPC, one of whose Directors was also a Director of KF.
- A cheque issued to the State Corporation by the KF for a sum of Rs.495,748 was dishonoured.

MATHEW WANTED CONTRACT AWARDED TO SNAM

The trial in which Dr. K.K.G.L. Wijesekera, the former Chairman of the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation is facing a charge of Criminal defamation against Mr. Cyril Mathew, the former minister of Industries, is in its closing stages. Dr. Wijesekera, who is presently in the

USA is being tried in absentia. The former Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Industries, Mr. V.L. Wirasinka, who was forced to resign by Cyril Mathew on 15 August 1979 was called as a defence witness.

The Ceylon Petroleum Corporation had called for tenders in 1979 for the

Hydro Cracker Project. Many international firms including SNAM and LITUIN submitted tenders.

Mr. Wirasinha who was also the Tender Board Chairman before his forced resignation, said in evidence that after long deliberation, the Board decided to award the contract to LITUIN which had submitted the lowest tender. The then Minister of Industries, Mr. Cyril Mathew, had attempted to influence the Board to award the contract to SNAM. Mr. Panditharatne, the former Chairman of the ruling United National Party, had told Mr. Wirasinha on the phone before the meeting of the Tender Board: 'Your Chief wanted the tender to go to SNAM.' By 'Chief' he meant Mr. Mathew.

After the decision of the Tender Board to award the contract to LITUIN, Mr. Mathew called Mr. Wirasinha and demanded his resignation because the Minister was clearly angry over the decision not to grant the contract to SNAM. The reasons given by the Minister for asking for his resignation was just a pretence, Mr. Wirasinha said.

President told

Mr. Wirasinha subsequently met President Jayewardene and explained the circumstances surrounding his forced resignation. He also told the President of the request made by Mr. Panditharatne on behalf of the Minister. The President quashed the whole tender and assured Mr. Wirasinha that on no account was he going to allow the awarding of the tender to SNAM. The President also had told Mr. Wirasinha, 'A bribe had been offered to me for the party. Therefore I have decided to quash the tender.' Mr. Wirasinha who had served in many senior positions under 22 Ministers, was appointed a full-time member of the Public Service Commission in October 1979 and subsequently the first Chairman of the Education Service Commission. These appointments were made by the President on his own initiative.

Sacked by President

Mr. Wirasinha functioned as Chairman of the Education Service Commission until 15.2.81 when he was asked to resign. A lady teacher from Royal College, who had been in 'favoured stations' for 18 years, was transferred to another school. Representations had been made to the President on her behalf to obtain the cancellation of the transfer. President Jayewardene wanted this transfer cancelled but Mr. Wirasinha was not prepared to accede to the President's request as this would have entailed a

deviation from the criteria laid down for transfer of teachers.

The Secretary to the President, Mr. Manidiwela, telephoned Mr. Wirasinha and told him that if the transfer of the teacher concerned was not cancelled, the President wanted Mr. Wira-

sinha to submit his resignation from the Education Service Commission. Mr. Wirasinha refused to resign and asked for reasons to be given in writing. Subsequently, Mr. Wirasinha was dismissed on the orders of the President.

S.E.P. Ltd. & NIROMA Ltd.

● As Minister in charge, Mr. Cyril Mathew Mathew without Cabinet approval

directed the Sir Lanka Tobacco Industries Corporation (SLTIC) to purchase trishaws from a commercial company called Hebtulabhoy and Co Ltd. at a cost of Rs.15 million. The trishaws were taken over and paid for on the same day, 19 January 1980.

● The Self Employment Project Ltd. (SEP Ltd), a private company owned by members of Mr. Cyril Mathew, as incorporated with the primary object of taking over the management of the trishaws which had been purchased by the SLTIC, a fully government owned Corporation entirely financed with taxpayers money.

● The relationship of the SEP Ltd. to the SLTIC was as Managing Agents for the trishaws owned by the latter. The Cabinet was never informed that a private company was being entrusted with the management of the trishaws bought with government money.

● The total paid-up capital of SEP Ltd. at the time it took over the management of the trishaw business was only Rs.20. According to the arrangement between the two organisations, SEP Ltd. was the beneficiary of the use of nearly Rs.15 million worth of state property and was allowed to appropriate 50 per cent of the profits from the use of this property.

● Although there was provision for SEP Ltd. to furnish audited statements of accounts to the SLTIC, not a single statement was ever submitted by the SEP Ltd. to the SLTIC.

● The agreement between the SLTIC and SEP Ltd. specifically provided that 50 per cent of the latter's profits should be paid to the SLTIC, but not a single cent had been paid although the Chairman of the SLTIC had requested payment in writing.

● According to records available at the Register of Companies, in November 1981 the total number of shares which had been issued by the SEP Ltd. was 5,000 the par value of each share being Rs.10. Of these 5000 shares, 1000 were ostensibly held by the Jathika Sevaka Sangamaya (JSS), a trade union federation under the control of the ruling United National Party, and the President of which was Mr. Cyril Mathew. Another 1000 shares were

held in the name of SEP Drivers Welfare Society.

● There is no record of any shares in the SEP Ltd. being purchased or paid for by the JSS or the SEP Drivers Welfare Society.

● Between 1981 and 1983, the SEP Ltd. made large profits and accumulated large cash balances. The real value of the shares would have therefore risen far above their original par value of Rs.10 per share.

● In March 1983, the 2000 shares in the SEP Ltd. ostensibly belonging to the JSS and the SEP Drivers Welfare Society were transferred to the Mathew family firm of Niroma Ltd. However, there is no record in the books of the JSS of any payment having been received for these shares. In any event, it would be deemed improper for the JSS, of which Mr. Mathew was President, to transfer shares in a very profitable company to Niroma Ltd., a firm owned and controlled primarily by members of Mr. Mathew's own family.

● What is more intriguing is that on 30 March 1983, barely 3 weeks after these valuable shares were transferred by the JSS and the SEP Drivers Welfare Society to Niroma Ltd., SEP Ltd. made a large bonus issue of shares for each existing share. This enabled Niroma Ltd. to receive a huge bonanza of 1,800 bonus shares at the expense of the JSS and SEP Drivers Welfare Fund set up using the profits of SEP Ltd. As Trustee, Niroma Ltd. would become the sole beneficial owners of the entirety of the Trust Fund, income and assets since the Trust is illegal for uncertainty.

● Niroma Ltd. which had no expertise construction matters was also contracted to erect an office building by SEP Ltd.

● Provincial Security Services (PVT) Ltd. is a subsidiary company wholly owned by SEP Ltd. The PSS (Pvt) Ltd. provided security services for all the state Corporations under the Ministry of Industries. The major portion of the income of PSS (Pvt) Ltd. accrued to the Mathew family firm of Niroma Ltd. In the year 1984, by successfully manipulating this scheme, Niroma Ltd. became the major recipient of security contracts worth Rs.4.5 million

awarded by State Corporations under the Ministry of Industries. ●—Under the agreement between the SLTIC and SEP Ltd., the latter undertook to repay to the former the initial cost of the trishaws amounting to Rs.15 million on or before 7 March 1983. But to date this has not been done.

●—SEP Ltd. has defrauded the state by failing to pay a single cent in income tax on the large profits it had made.

●—Monies which rightly belonged to the state were placed in fixed deposits in various banks and in a Trust which was completely controlled by members of Cyril Mathew family.

NIROMA LTD

●—Niroma Ltd. was incorporated on 14 May 1980. The original subscribers to the

Memorandum of Association were: A.R.Mathew, C.Nanda Mathew, Sarath Mathew, C.Indrajith Mathew and K.Ganeshalingam. With the single exception of the last named who was more or less an employee of the firm, all others were members of Mr.Cyril

Mathew's close family. Subsequently, Elara Wickremasinghe and Gamini Marapone also joined the Company.

●—When Niroma Ltd. commenced business, each of the original subscribers was allotted one share of Rs.10. Thus Niroma Ltd. started operations with an issued capital of only Rs.50. Now it has an issued capital of

Rs.300,000 of which Rs.280,000 was obtained by way of a 1400 per cent issue of bonus shares in September 1983.

●—An investment of Rs.14.5 million by the SLTIC in SEP Ltd. now benefits the Mathew family firm of Niroma Ltd. which owns and controls 75 percent of the shareholding of SEP Ltd.

MATHEW THROWS IN THE TOWEL

An incident occurred in the District Court of Colombo on 11 September 1985 which brought to an abrupt end the last-ditch battle Mr.Cyril Mathew was waging to retain his position the Jathika Sevaka Sangamaya (JSS). He had been its unchallenged boss from 1978 until his fall from grace when he was unceremoniously sacked from the Cabinet last December by President Jayewardene.

Mr. Mathew had instituted action and obtained an injunction on 25 February this year from the Colombo District Court restraining JSS General Secretary Mr.Srinial de Mel from taking steps to expel him from the post of President of the JSS.

When the case came up for hearing on 11 September, Counsel appearing on behalf of Mr. Mathew moved to withdraw the case. The Counsel for the JSS Secretary moved that the case be dismissed. The case was dismissed accordingly and the attempt on the part of Mr. Mathew to regain his position in the JSS was thus abandoned.

Political circles in Colombo speculate a connection between the serious allegations of corruption made against Mr.Mathew in Parliament on 8 August this year and his decision to throw in the towel in his struggle to regain control of the JSS.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

September 20, 1985

Honourable J.R. Jayewardene
President
Sri Lanka
Colombo, Sri Lanka

Dear Mr. President:

As you know, I wrote to you in May to express my concern over the escalating violence between the Sinhalese and Tamil peoples of Sri Lanka. I write again to convey my concern over the turmoil that has continued to plague your country despite the existence of a cease-fire agreement.

In particular, I was troubled by a story appearing in the 'Boston Globe' on September 16, that reported that your government "has declared war on Tamil rebels fighting for a separate state in Sri Lanka." The story was based upon your recent statement at a meeting of the United National Party.

As I stated in my earlier letter, I am a strong believer in a free, independent, united and democratic Sri Lanka, I would like to believe that the Sinhalese and Tamil people can resolve their differences through discussion and compromise. In that connection, I would ask that you permit an observer group, perhaps under the

auspices of the International Red Cross, to enter Sri Lanka and monitor compliance with the cease-fire, which I understand you have extended. The pressure of such a disinterested international group could help guarantee that both sides adhere to the terms of the cease-fire. Such a group, if successful, could also prevent the need for stronger measures to restore peace. However, an outside peace-keeping force (as distinguished from an observer group) must be contemplated seriously if the violence cannot otherwise be brought under control.

I realize there is indiscriminate violence perpetrated by both sides in this dispute. As long as the violence continues, the prospects for constructive negotiations will be nil. Therefore, I think it would also be a very positive sign if you were to instruct your nation's security forces to exercise restraint and discipline in dealing with the Tamil population in your country.

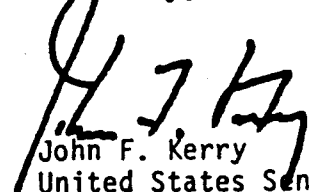
On another matter, I was disturbed by a report in the 'New York Times' for September 16 that your government might restrict the freedom of the press in Sri Lanka. Such a step it

seems to me, would only add to underlying tensions and increase the likelihood of further violent incidents. Problems will not go away simply because no one is writing about them.

I have taken an interest in your country's problems because of my position on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and because of the sizable Sri Lankan population in my state of Massachusetts. I do see signs of hope for peace and justice in Sri Lanka. It was encouraging that both sides did agree to a cease-fire and came to the bargaining table. Furthermore, I have appreciated the efforts of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to facilitate peace. I continue to believe that a satisfactory resolution of Sri Lanka's problems is possible if good faith efforts are made by both sides.

Thank you very much for listening to my concerns.

Sincerely,


John F. Kerry
United States Senator

WE ARE HOPING FOR THE BEST

Question: What is your assessment of the present situation in Sri Lanka - the massacre of Tamils in Vavuniya and Trincomalee, Thimpu talks getting adjourned, two former TULF MPs being shot dead, etc ...

Thondaman: After the ceasefire, there was relief though there was accusation on both sides (of ceasefire violations). But unfortunately, of late at Trincomalee, things have taken a bad turn. Actually, the trouble started with (the) July 1984 holocaust and also the problem of settlers in Trincomalee, Vavuniya and other areas.

Now that a settlement is being worked out, some interested persons who were responsible for the 1983 holocaust may be responsible for these troubles because their objective of the 1983 holocaust should be lost sight of.

Q: Does it mean they are preventing a settlement?

A: They like to see the results of (the) 1983 holocaust. Their objective may be missed. They organised the holocaust on a purpose and now, when a settlement is taking place, their objective must be advanced. Perhaps that may be the reason. This is only my guess.

Q: You have been given a copy of the working paper here and you have also discussed it with Chief Minister M.G. Ramachandran and Electricity Minister S. Ramachandran. How does it compare with the CWC proposals tabled in the All-Party Conference of 1984, which the militants say contain the conceptual elements of their four cardinal principles and would like to discuss it if placed for consideration in the peace talks? Are the draft proposals a refinement or a limitation on the CWC proposals?

A: I had a look at the working paper but I had no chance to compare it with the CWC proposals. This has been worked out between the Indian Government and the Sri Lankan Government. This is not a final document but only a working paper, on which basis, to find ways and means (of solving the ethnic issue) ... Whatever point you can introduce in it or stretch it, is possible. It depends on the persons who are going to sit at the table and negotiate.

Q: After the Thimpu Phase II was adjourned, there was speculation that your CWC proposals might be tabled through a third party when the peace talks resumed. The Tamil groups were also willing to discuss them.

A: It would satisfy the other Tamil groups. I am directly involved in the statelessness (of Indian Tamils).

Q: The working paper says that the Sri Lankan Government proposes to

grant citizenship to 95,000 people when all persons of Indian origin who have allied for Indian citizenship have been granted such citizenship and are repatriated. What is your comment?

Natural Increase

A: Ninety-five thousand means nothing. I don't think it covers the real problem. Under the Sirimavo-Shastri agreement of 1964, the Indian Government agreed to take up to 600,000 people and there will be a natural increase. Then, only 505,000 applied to India. Therefore there is a gap of 95,000 between the commitment of India and the applications made. The Indian Government also said: 'We cannot give citizenship (to those) who do not ask for it.'

Therefore, Mr Jayewardene, two or three years back, accepted that 95,000 and its natural increase will be the concern of the Sri Lanka Government. After the final 505,000, only 400,000 and its natural increase have been repatriated to India. So, there is a balance of 100,000 - all the ships (the ferry services) are closed - (which) have not been processed. Their applications are still unprocessed. I will agree for them to come to India.

Q: What are you going to do about stateless people?

A: The Indian Government and the Sri Lankan Government, in 1964, agreed to end statelessness. In all, (there are) about four lakhs of stateless persons today, who should be granted citizenship.

Already, the President has agreed with me and the Indian Government to grant citizenship. It is only a question of implementation. So, it is not correct to say 95,000 but 400,000 (who should be given citizenship). We are not talking in terms of numbers. We should find ways and means of ending the statelessness. That should be the objective, not merely numbers.

Q: Would you press for a representative of the CWC being included in the Sri Lankan Government delegation to the peace talks just as the Sri Lanka Muslims pressed for the inclusion of a Muslim in the Government delegation?

Optimism

A: I am confident I will sort out my problem outside the conference. (With) my relationship with the Government and the President, I am confident, at that level. I can sort it out as most of the matters have been agreed to informally by us. So, it is only formally making it into an agreement.

Thondaman

Q: To go back to the working paper, how does it compare with the CWC proposals?

A: I am told some of the elements have been taken from the CWC paper. They have specified something. Unspecified things may be included in the future talks.

Q: Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike of the Sri Lankan Freedom Party and the Buddhist Maha Sangha say there should be a referendum on any peace agreement between the Tamil organisations and the Sri Lankan Government.

A: For political purpose, the National Front (consisting of the SLFP, some Buddhist organisations and political parties) ... they will oppose. Sirimavo Bandaranaike's civil rights were removed. They did not like it but the Government did it. The Israeli (interest) section ... many people opposed it. But the Government said 'accept or kick out'. The elected Government will have to do things; when they do, it is in the national interest. It is possible there will be opposition from the SLFP and the Buddhist Maha Sangha; everybody will try (to oppose).

Q: Will the Tamil militants be amenable to a peace agreement?

A: You are in Madras. So, you will be able to assess their attitude (better) than myself. I am just on a visit.

Q: How is the relationship between the Indian Tamils and the Jaffna Tamils? Is it a close relationship?

A: It is like asking what is the difference between the Tamilians of Tamil Nadu and the Tamilians living in Bombay. The language is common but they live in two different places. Just like Tamilians of Tamil Nadu and Tamilians of Bombay, we have that sort of relationship.

Q: What do you think of the Muslim equation in the ethnic issue?

Powerful Minority

A: The Muslims are a powerful minority. They are powerful supporters of the Government. Therefore, the Government will not do anything that will affect their interests.

Q: There are reports that the plantation Tamils are also joining the militants as there have been random arrests of them. Again, it is said there may be violence against the plantation Tamils in the near future ...

A: About 200,000 people have already migrated to North and East when there was shortage of food during the SLFP days.

PROTEST BY MOTHERS' FRONT

The Mothers' Front recently staged a protest march starting from the Central Bus Stand, Jaffna, and ending up at the Jaffna University Campus, where the marchers joined in the sympathy fast by undergraduates and others in support of the political de-

tenuis on a death fast in Welikade.

Here is the text of an appeal issued by the Joint Secretaries of the Mothers' Front:

In recent months, many hundreds of innocent youths have been arrested and taken into prisons and army

camps as "terrorists" without any charges brought against them. Among those who were taken in are women and children as well. Since the beginning of last year, the arresting of innocent civilians by the army as "ter-

PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 22

the estate areas. They thought that North and East were the safest places. They were without any assistance, on their own. They have encroached on Government land and they have settled themselves at a lot of expense. Perhaps, after 1982-83, the Government, got into a notion ... some of those Ministers and other Sinhala politicians thought these 200,000 people settled in Tamil areas have been deliberately planted by the Tamil leadership and did everything possible not to regularise their encroachments while the Government's policy is to regularise such encroachments all over the country.

These 200,000 people are now undergoing great difficulty and suffering; they have been uprooted from their settlements. Some of them live in jungles and some of them are herded into refugee camps.

Stray cases

There may be stray cases of plantation Tamils getting recruited by the militants but not in substance.

They (the Government) were trying to arrest a lot of plantation youths. Immediately, the CWC took a strong line, protested and the Government put an end to the arrests. Here and there, there were a few arrests and they were released.

The Government has agreed to regularise the encroachments of 200,000 people but now the whole place is disturbed.

Q: Do you expect an agreement to be reached between the Tamil organisations and the Sri Lankan Government?

A: We are all hoping for the best. Our hopes may be one thing; what is happening may be something else. □
T.S.S.

HOUSES DEMOLISHED

Five houses in the vicinity of Valvetfurai Army camp were blasted by the Security Forces one day between 9th and 11th September. Three school boys Gnanaguru Aravindan (14), Thangarajah (20), and Nathan (19) were reportedly "missing" while passing the Valvetfurai Police Station. Later, their belongings, including their bicycles, were found in a well close to the Police Station.

A MOTHER'S AGONY FOR MISSING SON

My son T.X.Thevamanoharan (32) a qualified Metallurgical Engineer who is employed in U.K. came to Sri Lanka in the last week of January this year to see me. As he is my last son, I asked him to stay with me for some time.

On Tuesday the 21st of May he left home on a bicycle to attend religious services at St Anthony's Church, Urany but he did not come home.

I got an eye-witness account of what happened. According to this, my son was seen cycling along Keerimalai-Kankesanthurai road. He was stopped by the army personnel who were on duty at the entrance of the Harbour View Hotel army camp. My son got down from his bicycle and produced a letter which he had in his shirt pocket. I believe that it was the identity letter which he had obtained from the Superintendent of Police, Colombo when he arrived from U.K. as he did not possess the identity card. At that time the army personnel slapped him. An army officer who was inside the camp had ordered that my son be taken inside the camp. As my son had walked inside the camp the army personnel who was on the road had got my son's bicycle and rode inside the camp.

I obtained a letter from G.A.Jaffna and with my other children and brother I went to the Kankesanthurai Camp and asked for my son and whether he is alive, but the army chief had been arrested by then. I wept bitterly and told him that my son is employed in U.K. and that he was not involved in local politics as he was permitted to stay in U.K. for an indefinite period. As the army officers were flatly denying that no such arrest were made, on their advice I went to the Palaly camp. The army authorities at Palaly told me to go to Gurunagar Camp. When I went to Gurunagar Camp they told me to go to Kankesanthurai Camp. The army authorities refused to accept even the GA's letter.

As all my efforts to find whether my son is alive ended in failure I sent an appeal to His Excellency the President of Sri Lanka asking him as to whether my son is alive, mentioning eye-witness account of the arrest. I received an acknowledgement from his Secretary that the letter had been referred to

the Ministry of Defence for necessary action but so far I have not received any reply.

I sold all my properties to educate my son who was very brilliant in studies. He had his early education at St Henry's College, Ilavalai and later at St Patrick's College, Jaffna. He went to UK and gained admission to Leicestershire University and obtained an Honours Degree in Engineering, specialising in Metallurgy. He earned the distinction as the first Sri Lankan to obtain an Honours Degree in Metallurgy.

I am a heart patient. I am unable to explain the mental agony that I am undergoing for the last four months. If my son had been killed by the army they should at least inform me.

Mrs. S.T. Thiruchelvam

Ilavalai

WILL IT HAPPEN IN SRI LANKA?

Dear Editor,

The number of Tamils arbitrarily killed since July 1977 in Sri Lanka during racial pogroms and "military operations" runs into thousands. Several thousands of homes and businesses belonging to Tamils have been set ablaze. Tamil women have been gang raped by security personnel. Thousands of Tamils have been detained under the notorious Terrorism Act. Several have died in custody. Many more have "disappeared" after being arrested. Torture of detainees has been systematic and widespread.

Yet, not a single person has been charged with or prosecuted for these crimes against humanity.

The return of civilian government in Argentina has resulted in the arrest of the members of former Junta which seized power in 1976 and inaugurated a reign of terror. Today they are facing a trial on countless number of charges of murder, illegal detention, kidnapping for ransom, torture, larceny, abduction of minors, falsification of public documents, usurpation of private property, forced servitude, concealment of crime etc.

Will Sri Lanka ever witness such a trial of its present rulers and its military minions for their crimes?

V.A. XAVIER

Colombo

303 HOUSES BURNT

It is rarely that it is possible to obtain authentic accounts of events in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

There usually are wide disparities in the statements made by the militant groups and Government spokesmen.

By a rare stroke of luck, we received a copy of a report submitted to the Government Agent of Batticaloa by the Assistant Government Agent of Eravurpattu on certain incidents in his area.

We publish it in full for the edification of all concerned.

Due to an explosion of a land mine on 23.8.85 at Mawadivembu in the A.G.A. Division of Eravur Pattu, the houses in the vicinity of Mawadivembu, Sittandy and Vantharumoolai have been burnt by unknown persons. The details of houses damaged are as follows:

(1) Mawadivembu	— 208
(2) Sittandy	— 17
(3) Vantharumoolai	— 12
	<u>273</u>

Sixty-seven (67) families have been accommodated in the Kaluwankerny G.T.M.S. as refugees.

Three persons from Mawadivembu are reported to be missing and one reported dead.

I shall be thankful if you can kindly step in and help the refugees in whatever possible ways.

Yours faithfully,

Sgd.: A.G.A. Eravur Pattu
Chenkalady
24.8.85

Copy to: G.A. Batticaloa f.i. and n.a.
P.S.: In addition - K.P. Division (Koralai Pattu A.G.A.'s Division):

Morakoddanchenai	— 17
Santhively	— 32
Kiran	— 17
	<u>66</u>

Total: 303

(Courtesy SATURDAY REVIEW)

A CALCULATED MOVE

Nine grama sevaka divisions from Madura Oya, in System-C of the Accelerated Mahaweli Scheme, are to be annexed with the Amparai District.

This well calculated move by the Government is to instantly increase the Sinhalese population in the Amparai District by 93,000.

Muslims in Kalmunai, Akkaraipattu and Sammanthurai have expressed their concern regarding this development.

THE FIRST TWO HINDU TEMPLES IN AUSTRALIA

The complex consisting of the first two Hindu temples in Australia, built in the traditional Hindu style of architecture, was opened to the public for worship on the 30th June 1985. Mahakumbhabhishekam ceremonies were performed on this historic occasion to the Lord Vigneshwara temple and the Lord Venkateswara temple, by a team of three priests, who arrived from India. They brought with them the holy waters from five sacred rivers in the Indian sub-continent. About two thousand devotees attended this function in bright beautiful winter weather. This ceremony marked the culmination of the project undertaken by Sri Venkateswara Temple Association, Sydney, that was formed in 1978. The ground breaking ceremony was held on the 11th September 1983, when the Panchasilas were brought from Madras, after being sanctified by lengthy poojas and installed at a corner of the Garbhalayam.

The temples are located at Helensburgh in the state of New South Wales, Australia, in a picturesque site that fulfills all the requirements stipulated in the Silpa Sastras. They are built in the Dravidian style of architecture of the Pandya period of the 9th century A.D. The small but beautiful shrine dedicated to Lord Vigneshwara is located near the entrance to the site, so that all visitors could first worship and receive His blessings.

The temple is designed according to the Saiva concept of worship. In the Garbhalayam is installed the Vighraha of Lord Ganesha, which arrived in Australia nearly six years ago and was kept and worshipped at the Meditation Centre at the University of New South Wales. On the Vimanam, a statue of Lord Vigneshwara and a panel sculpture depicting Lord Shiva, Parvati Devi, Lord Ganesha and Lord Karthigeya decorate the front facade. The statues of Lord Shiva, Lord Vishnu, and Lord Brahma are installed on the other three sides.

All the shrines

From this shrine a concrete footpath leads to the Venkateswara temple. In this complex there are a Mahamandapam and shrines for Lord Venkateswara, Padmavati, Adnal and Garudan. In addition, there are Sannathis (semi-closed shrines) for Lord Rama and Lord Krishna. All the shrines have beautiful ornamental domes.

A signboard at the entrance to the temple complex proclaims the message that people of all faiths are welcome.

The members of the Sri Venkateswara Temple Association have to be congratulated on what they have achieved so far. The whole project stands as testimony to what a small community can achieve in a short time, through dedication, cooperation and hard work. A master plan has been prepared for future development of the site. This will not be possible without the help and cooperation of a large number of devotees. It is hoped that many more will join the Association and contribute generously towards the upkeep of the temple. It is also hoped that every Hindu in Australia will, at sometime or other, visit the temple.

Bank loan

The Association has a bank loan of one hundred thirty-five thousand Australian Dollars in Australia and six hundred thousand Rupees in India to service. Hence the Association hopes for generous financial assistance from old and new members. All donations and correspondence should be sent to the Secretary, Sri Venkateswara Temple Association, P.O. Box 59, Ramsgate, N.S.W. 2217.

NORWEGIAN TAMILS FEDERATE

Expatriate Tamils in Norway who have organised themselves on a county basis, have now formed an apex organisation to coordinate and consolidate their activities.

The apex organisation is called Federation of Tamils in Norway and its main aim is to publicise the plight of the Tamils and the events taking place in Sri Lanka.

The Federation comprises the following: Far North Norway (in the arctics), Mid Norway, West Norway, Rogaland, Far South Norway and East Norway, Bergen (in West Norway) functions as the Head Office.

The Federation is keen to contact expatriate Lankan Tamils living all over the world to form an international umbrella organisation for purposes of coordination. Already some organisations have been contacted.

Interested organisations and individuals should contact Mr. K. Mylvaganam, Coordinator, Federation of Tamils in Norway, Vestre Sikthauger 7, 5033 Fyllingsdalen, Norway.

WHAT OTHERS SAY

TAMIL REFUGEES

The words "genocide" and "exodus" stick in the throat when you think of the "Island of Paradise", and the religion of the compassionate Buddha. A well-nurtured myth of the tolerant East comes up in a nauseous rush; are those not "gentle" Hindus and Buddhists who do not commit massacres in the name of race and religion?

According to a Tamil archaeologist who takes the long view, the Sinhala-Tamil conflict is neither linguistic, or religious, nor racial in origin. The Sinhala and Tamil languages are about as different from each other as are say, Telugu and Tamil (although some scholars say Sinhala resembles the north Indian languages: it could be argued that Telugu, for that matter, has many Sanskrit words, and so does Tamil). The scripts of both Sinhala and Tamil sprang, however, from the same "vattezhuthu" characters of all Dravidian languages. The often animistic Buddhism of the Sinhalese, and the Saiva Hinduism of the majority of the Tamils are not antagonistic, either in their philosophy or in their practice. Both communities have a very similar caste hierarchy, similar customs, even similar culinary practices. As for racial differences, they are impossible to detect after the mingling that has taken place between the original Sinhalese and the original Tamils over the centuries. The origin of the two communities is itself a grey area and, according to the Sinhalese archaeologist and anthropologist Deraniyagala, both are descendents of the same proto-historic people...

Articulate and thoughtful

As one Tamil refugee, representative of an articulate and thoughtful Sri Lankan Tamil middle class puts it. "The whole trouble was the jealousy in the upper classes, which filtered down." He echoes the thesis of Kumari Jayawardene, noted Sinhala economist and historian: The struggle between two elite groups, the educated Tamils and the educated Sinhalese, during the period of colonial development has in the past four decades expanded into a much larger ethnic conflict, with the dominant Sinhala ruling class attempting to marginalise and, apparently, physically eject from their homelands, and from the island, the entire Tamil minority.

To do this, they have used every memory and myth which would reinforce Sinhala chauvinism and Buddhist revivalism, rejecting what another

Sinhala historian, Senake Bandaranayaka, calls the consciousness of cultural unities that have been established over the centuries. The result has been virtual civil war, and the threatened break-up of a multi-ethnic society.

The fleeing Tamils have naturally made their way to India, specifically to Tamil Nadu.

The rampaging Sri Lankan army, which has been ferreting out not only the militants, their supporters and sympathisers, but even boys who might grow up into future "Tigers", has emptied whole villages of the Tamil population. The Tamils hide in jungle darkness, sometimes for days, before they climb into the motorised boats at Talaimannar to make the two-to-four hour crossing at dead of night, avoiding the surveillance of the Sri Lankan navy. Fortunately, the navy boats do not generally operate in these shallow waters, and they do manage to land at Rameshwaram. So many have left Sri Lanka that it seems not unreasonable to suppose that the Sri Lankan authorities, far from preventing them from leaving, actually want to expel as many Tamils as possible. Surveillance, then, is mostly to intercept militants who might escape to India, and perhaps generally to harass these people.

In the circumstances, they are hardly able to carry any belongings with them. Although they have so far managed to make a decent living from their fishing boats and farms, they are not the kind who have large savings tucked away and are, in every sense, at the present time, destitute, in immediate need of food, clothing and shelter...

Yet the prevailing attitude towards the Sri Lankan refugees is one of sympathy and support, not only from Tamil Nadu politicians and journalists who vie with one another in expressing their anguish and from the bureaucracy which is tackling the situation with common sense and goodwill, but from practically every section of the population. Kottivakkam is an example: the fishermen of this village near the Kelambakkam camp, took up a collection to help pay the cash doles for the refugees. They insist that no political party, refugee organisation, nor any of the cadres of the Tamil militants had anything to do with this gesture of "fishermen like ourselves", and "fellow Tamils".

These Tamils from across the sea inspire a certain respect among the people of this state because of their

relative cultural and political maturity. They make no bombastic claims about the superiority of the Tamil culture above any other. Nor do they raise any cries of vengeance, against the Sinhalese majority.

Culturally

"We are not nationalist maniacs," says one intellectual. "We know how close culturally we are to the Sinhalese. Our fates are linked, even if Eelam becomes a reality." "Our quarrel is not with the appaavi Sinhala makkal - the innocent Sinhala people - but only with the army and the government," says the refugee woman Deivanayaki. "It is they who kill, abduct, torture, and rape, they who slyly plant 'bo' saplings and Buddhist shrines to 'legitimise' the usurpation of Tamil lands." Many refugees, of all classes and sections of Tamils and from all over the country, readily come forward with instances of Sinhalese who helped and shielded them despite the atmosphere of general distrust. A fish-seller tells of a Sinhala army contractor, a one-time neighbour of his, who saved him from being lined up with others and shot as a "terrorist".

Mahalakshmi, a Colombo resident, describes how 12 ordinary Sinhalese from the July 1983 mob, bringing them provisions for many days until the trouble had subsided.

Even the Tamil militants themselves are free from revanchist jargon, and Eelam, both for themselves and for the refugees, seems to be less of a dream of "Tamil glory" than a promise and a hope of dignity and security. Not a tinge of the Dravida ideology which has so coloured the political life in Tamil Nadu can be detected in their actions or statements. Instead, there is an assurance about the value of their roots, there, on the island - and a determination not to be severed from them.

(Indian Express Magazine, 15.9.85)

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

The Kodikadal beach between the Kothandaramaswamy temple and Dhanushkodi in the pilgrim island of Rameswaram presents a nightmarish scene. Often bullet-ridden bodies are washed ashore reminding people of what fate awaits those who get caught in the surveillance zone in the Palk Straits set up by the Sri Lankan navy.

Recently the body of 28-year old Bala of Pesalai, a fishing village in

Mannar district of Sri Lanka, his hands and legs tied in iron chains, was washed ashore.

Only a few days earlier Bala, hale and hearty, arrived on the Indian shores with his aged father and mother and found refuge in the Mandapam camp. Restless at the thought of how his three married sisters left behind in Sri Lanka were faring, Bala took a country boat to return to Pesalai to ferry them across to safety. As ill-luck would have it, the tiny boat could not get past the surveillance zone. He was riddled with bullets. All he wanted was to rescue the remaining members of his family from the land of their forefathers which had become unlivable for the Tamils, the single largest minority in Sri Lanka...

The tales of woe of the refugees who managed to escape the atrocities committed by the Sri Lankan security forces are blood-chilling. Young girls gang raped by soldiers were told that "only lions of Sri Lanka would be born to you now and not Liberation tigers of Tamil Eelam". The Tamil youths struggling for a separate State of Eelam in Sri Lanka are called Liberation Tigers.

Most of the refugees are from Pesalai, Mannar, Talai-mannar, Oilankuam, Adamban, Vattakandal, Mungal, Kilupatti, Vannalakalu and Vengali. A few of them came from Jaffna, Batticaloa and Trincomalee. Since the villages were cut off from other areas, they had to trek through forests before reaching Mannar to take a boat to Rameswaram.

As the peace talks to find a political solution to the Tamil problem drag on in Thimpu, the refugees spend their days not knowing what the morrow holds for them. If conditions favourable for their existence with human dignity and honour are created the refugees would return to Sri Lanka as early as possible to start life afresh. They pin their hopes on India.

(Surya, India, September 1985)

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The Bharata Natya arangetram of Vamini, daughter of Mr and Mrs N. Vamadevan of Sterry Drive, Thame Ditton, Surrey took place on 12 October 85 at Merton Civic Hall, London SW19 before a packed audience who were highly impressed by her graceful and effortless movements and her command of the Nritha. Her snake charmer's dance was the highlight of the evening. She was presented by her Guru Rathika Rajan of the London Narthana Alaya.

Shenika was presented by the famous Dhananjayans of Bharta Kalanjali, Madras at her Bharathanatya Arangetram on 13 October 85 at St Johns, Smith Square, London SW1. Shenika is the daughter of John and Gunawathy Shakespeare (a talented dancer during her time and teacher of dancing now) of Mollison Way, Edgware, Middlesex. An appreciative audience of friends and well wishers had an enjoyable evening.

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DIARY OF INCIDENTS IN TAMIL AREAS

JAFFNA

24.09.85: A Hartal was observed in Jaffna condemning the atrocities of the security forces in the Eastern Province.

04.10.85: A Hartal was observed in Jaffna in protest of the kidnappings taking place in the district.

06.10.85: People crossing the Panna causeway were body-searched by the forces. This was a consequence of intensifying the patrolling of Jaffna and other Tamil areas at the instance of Major General Nalin Seneviratne.

07.10.85: At least 3 security personnel were killed and a few others injured in a bizarre incident involving the Valvettithurai and Thondamanaru army camps. When troops from one camp were approaching the other in a minibus they had hijacked, the latter opened fire on the minibus mistaking it for a vehicle of Tamil militants.

KILINCHCHI

24.09.85: The Kilinochchi police station was attacked by Tamil militants causing considerable damage. Although 13 security personnel are reported to have been killed, the actual death toll is believed to be far higher.

In retaliation at least 5 civilians were arrested in the Kilinochchi market.

02.10.85: Security personnel took 18 civilians to Odduchuddan, tied them to trees and shot them dead. Two of the victims had just returned from Saudi Arabia for a holiday.

06.10.85: 1 Tamil civilian was killed by the security forces in Kilinochchi. A large number of Tamil civilians were arrested from the Kilinochchi area and taken to Booza and other army camps.

MANNAR

19.09.85: At Pampaimadu, the Pillayar temple and four shops were destroyed by the security forces.

23.09.85: At Poovarasankulam, the security forces arrested 42 Tamils attempting to flee to India and took them to the Thiruketheesvaram camp.

06.10.85: At Vidathaltivu, 2 Tamil civilians were shot dead by the army.

08.10.85: At Uyilaukulam in Mannar, 4 security personnel were killed in a landmine explosion.

08.10.85: In Mannar a bus-load of Tamil passengers were goaded by the army into the camp at Thallady. Nothing has been heard of their fate since then.

In Mannar district there are over 3,000 refugees in camps at Pesalai, Madhu and Thirukenheeswaram.

MULLAITIVU

05.10.85: In Vavuniya, buses and other vehicles carrying Tamil passengers were attacked by armed Sinhalese people.

13.09.85: The Vavuniya police station was attacked by Tamil militants.

In retaliation, 26 shops were burnt and 8 others looted by the security forces.

01.10.85: In Vavuniya, Sinhalese civilians attacked 7 Tamil passengers with knives and robbed them of their valuables.

TRINCOMALEE

23.09.85: In Trinco the sanctuary of the Murugan temple was desecrated by the forces/home guards and the golden platter on which the Lingam (phallic symbol of Lord Siva) was placed was among the valuables looted.

26.09.85: In Trincomalee, 2 army officers were injured when Tamil militants opened fire on their truck.

28.09.85: In Trincomalee, over 600 others were arrested by the security forces in a large scale combing out operation and 50 were detained.

01.10.85: At Sambaltivu 4 Tamil civilians were killed by the security forces and over 60 Tamil civilians including 2 Hindu priests were arrested at Sambaltivu and Salli.

04.10.85: In Trincomalee, 3 people were taken into custody including Mr Pakiyathurai, a brother of ex-MP Thangathurai.

07.10.85: In the Seruwila electorate a police station and the quarters were attacked by Tamil militants, and more than 5 policemen were killed.

Due to atrocities by security forces/home guards, there is a continuous exodus of Tamils from Nilaveli; they have been going on foot to Batticaloa and to the north. Many have fled by boat to India and to Jaffna. Several Tamil children from Nilaveli were loaded into trucks by the security forces and taken away; their whereabouts are not known.

About 20 children have died of diarrhoea at the refugee camp. Some of the refugees who attempted to return to their homes were prevented by the security forces/home guards. Some of those arrested were taken to army camps including Booza.

At Upuveli in Trincomalee, the security forces who were searching for a Catholic priest engaged in refugee work fired at the seminary. They took into custody another priest and 2 students, and released them after lengthy interrogation.

BATTICALOA

20.09.85: At Sinnawathai 10 Tamil civilians were killed and 13 others were injured by police commandos, including women and children, while they were watching television.

23.09.85: At Palankuda 2 Tamil youths were shot dead by police commandos.

24.09.85: At Kalladi, 1 Tamil civilian was killed and 2 houses were set on fire by police commandos.

26.09.85: At Poonachimunai 2 sub-inspectors of police and another person were killed in a landmine explosion. In retaliation, police commandos killed 7 Tamil civilians at Aarapathai and at Navatkudah they burnt 49 houses, the market and 6 shops.

02.10.85: In Batticaloa 1 Tamil youth named Sinnathamby Mahendran was shot dead by security forces.

05.10.85: At Murakkottanchenai one police commando was killed and 7 others were injured when grenades were thrown on their truck by Tamil militants.

In retaliation 12 Tamil civilians were shot dead and several houses and shops were burnt by police commandos.

06.10.85: At Mankerni, 2 young pregnant women were taken away by the security forces during a midnight house to house search operation and were raped before being released in the morning.

08.10.85: At Kalladi, 1 Tamil youth was killed by the security forces.

Ex-MP Majeeth, a Muslim, has warned the Tamils and Muslims to beware of forces trying to drive a wedge between the two communities. More than 2000 arrests were made in Batticaloa during the last three weeks, of whom over 800 are still in detention. Many have been taken to the army camps in Minneria and Booza. Those arrested have been subjected to torture. Nearly all those arrested from border areas have not been released. It is believed that there is an attempt to drive away the Tamils from their (Tamil) villages in the border areas. Many army camps have been opened in Batticaloa district and a large number of troops and arms have been transported there. MOSSAD personnel are also present in the district. British mercenaries are believed to be directly involved in helicopter attacks on Tamil villages. In Batticaloa there is a growing fear that the forces are preparing for a major massacre of Tamil civilians.

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AMPARAI

21.09.85: Vehicles of Tamils entering Amparai have been turned back by police, they warned the Tamils not to enter Amparai.

01.10.85: At Pothuvil, the police station was attacked and at least 5 policemen were killed.

During the first week of October, Muslim farmers in a village close to the Ingurana sugar factory were chased away from their place by police commandos, armed home guards and their fields were destroyed with bulldozers. (Courtesy of Tamil Information Centre)



FROM PAGE 16

rorists" has been on the increase.

Many of those who were taken in have been in the prison for over 18 months, brutally tortured without any reason and have not been afforded the basic facilities of prisoners in custody. Even the inhuman "Prevention of Terrorism Act" demands that they should not be detained without trial for over 18 months. All those who are concerned about justice and human rights should condemn the detention without trial of more than a thousand innocent civilians. We appeal to all of you to support our just demands:

●Release all information about the persons held under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. ●Stop all forms of torture on them. ●Give them the basic facilities and treat them like political prisoners.

OBITUARY



Mr D. J. THAMOTHERAM: The death of Mr D. J. Thamotheram has created a void in the literary scene in Sri Lanka. He tried to analyse the inner urges of men, piercing pretence to expose reality, and was well

known for his felicitous grace in writing. His numerous poems, articles and letters are a testimony to his literary ability and disinterested, public spirit.

DJ was born in 1924 and had his early education at Hartley College, Point Pedro. He served in several State Corporations in Sri Lanka and finally held the post of Manager in the National Paper Corporation.



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DJ has gone, but his polished diction, his honesty and integrity are the high water marks of a brilliant personality, who has left his impress on the sands of time. May his soul rest in peace.

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