

TAMIL TIMES

ISSN 0266-4488

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION

UK/India/Sri Lanka.....£9.00

All other countries.....£15/US\$24

Published monthly by

TAMIL TIMES LTD

P.O. BOX 304

London W13 9QN

United Kingdom

CONTENTS

Editorials.....2

Tamil fears confirmed3

Sri Lanka responsible –
Swedish Cabinet Secretary 3

A dangerous and
ominous law4

Jayawardene meets Peres 4

File on Torture.....5

Plan for Tamil Ethnocide8

Fourth Birthday.....10

An Exercise in Distortion 14

Criminal Elements16

Mothers anguish16

Manufactured Tyranny.....17

Operation Murugapuri17

Letters to the Editor18

Classified advertisements... 19

Views expressed by contributors are not
necessarily those of the editor or the
publishers.

The publishers assume no responsibility
for return of unsolicited manuscripts,
photographs and artwork.

Printed By Clarendon Printers Ltd,
Beaconsfield, Buckinghamshire.

SOUTH AFRICAN TYPE SRI LANKAN "PASS LAWS"

THE SRI LANKAN government is to introduce South African type 'Pass Laws' shortly. These laws, referred to as 'Identification Pass Regulations' to be promulgated under emergency powers by President Jayawardene will mainly apply to Tamils and Tamil speaking Muslims who predominantly live in the island's northern and eastern provinces.

The Regulations will provide for the demarcation of the northern, eastern and parts of the north central province into Zones and the issuing of Identification Passes by Government Agents to permanent settlers and villagers. According to a report in the Sri Lankan English daily, 'The Island', of 11 November, the Regulations have already been prepared and would become operative from the first week of December this year.

Under these Regulations, any person occupying or found in the named Zones without the required Identification Passes would be considered 'unauthorised persons' and taken into custody and detained.

Once the specified areas have been demarcated by the Ministry of Defence, no person can enter or remain in those Zones without previously obtaining a pass from the Government Agent. Such passes would be required for anyone from outside the Zoned areas to enter any one of the Zones or for anyone from one Zone wishing to enter another Zone. In other words, the entire northern, eastern and parts of the north central provinces will become 'Prohibited Zones' in the same way as the Jaffna district and the coastal areas were declared 'Prohibited Zones' in November 1984.

Tamil political sources claim that these restrictive measures are intended to assist the government's programme of driving the Tamils out of the areas where they have traditionally lived by refusing to issue them with 'Passes' and treating them as being in unauthorised occupation. Secondly, the system is designed to enable

the issuing of passes to any number of Sinhalese so that they may enter and remain in the traditional Tamil areas with the stamp of official authorisation.

The need for requiring the people living in the north and east to obtain identification passes is questionable in the context of the fact that all Sri Lankans are issued with and are required to have in their possession, and produce when required to do so their National Identity Cards.



On the occasion of the fourth birthday of TAMIL TIMES, one of the main subjects of conversation and comment was the distribution of counterfeit copies of 'Tamil Times' by Sri Lankan missions abroad. Mr. Harry Greenway, Conservative MP, is seen holding aloft a copy of the fake 'Tamil Times' and the genuine one. He told the audience that they should not be worried about this clumsy effort for 'the best form of flattery was imitation' and this was in fact what the government was doing.

(See also pages 12, 13 and 24)

**Tamil
TIMES**

Vol. V No. 1
November 1985

DOWNRIGHT HYPOCRISY

IT IS downright hypocrisy on the part of President Jayawardene to deny that there is an ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka as he did at the recently held Commonwealth Conference and later during his interview with the BBC. To depict it as a struggle to create a Marxist state in the whole of Sri Lanka represents a dishonest attempt to attract money from Western powers to prop up Sri Lanka's collapsing economy and finance the war machine which he is building up to attack and suppress the Tamil people.

While the President and his special envoys make regular and frequent pilgrimages to New Delhi with the ostensible purpose of seeking a political settlement to the ethnic conflict, and when there is supposed to be a 'ceasefire' between the government and the Tamil militant groups, the President's declaration in his BBC interview that he was going to wipe out the Tamil militants within a year only confirms the widely held suspicions as to the genuineness of his government's commitment to a negotiated political solution. On the contrary, the allocation of Rs.5.8 billion in the 1986 budget for the procurement of arms provides further confirmation of his government's continued commitment to a military solution.

The military build-up by the government is accompanied by the security forces mounting frequent search and destroy missions against Tamil militants during which hundreds are rounded-up and detained. The latest rampage by the armed forces in Batticaloa (page 24) where a number of Tamil civilians were indiscriminately shot dead and scores of residential properties set alight demonstrates that the so-called ceasefire has had absolutely no effect upon the conduct of the security forces.

Great expectations were created with the announcement of the appointment of the Ceasefire Monitoring Committee. It was hoped

that it would induce a peaceful atmosphere to facilitate a political solution. It was also expected that with its appointment, the security forces would abstain from engaging in

their familiar method of uncontrolled and indisciplined behaviour. Today it would seem that the Committee has been rendered helpless and totally ineffective.

ETHNOCIDE & PASS LAWS

IN THIS issue (page 8), we focus attention to the diabolical plan of ethnocide of Tamils which the government of Sri Lanka is actively pursuing.

The government has made no secret of its intention to deny the claim of the Tamil people that the northern and eastern provinces constitute their traditional homeland. Devious and subtle ways of creating Sinhala enclaves in these provinces in the past have now given way to forcible evacuation of the Tamil people and aggressive and open colonisation of Tamil areas by armed Sinhalese brought from outside.

While President Jayawardene takes

offence at Sri Lanka being compared to the South African racist regime in the matter of discrimination and oppression of the Tamil people, his government has now announced the promulgation of South African type pass laws to be applicable to the Tamil speaking people of the north and east of the island (see page 1). Apartheid in South Africa is showing signs of crumbling in the context of an upsurge of black militancy. However, the Sri Lankan state gripped by the institutionalised ideology of Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinism is entrenching and extending the practices of apartheid.

UGLY AND SELF-DEFEATING

IT IS not proposed to repeat the views and sentiments expressed by the Mothers' Front of Jaffna and the Standing Committee of Tamils (see page 16) which we unreservedly endorse.

The subject of the despicable conduct of a minority of unruly and criminal elements masquerading under the cloak of liberation has to be confronted head-on by the genuine Tamil militant groups. There should be no procrastination or lame excuses.

The Tamil people have undergone enormous hardship and suffering under the weight of national oppression and the violent atrocities committed by the Sri Lankan regime and its security forces. In the face of massive retaliation by the security forces, the Tamil people have supported and protected those whom they believed are engaged in the struggle for freedom from oppression.

The actions of some criminal gangs within the Tamil community have provided the government with the much needed ammunition to malign the just struggle of the Tamil people.

Besides the moral and human rights issues involved what is at stake is the credibility of the Tamil people and their struggle on the international arena. Those groups and individuals who claim to lead the Tamil people to national liberation should recognise their responsibility in bringing about a measure of control and discipline among their followers. If there are dissident groups which feel left out of the scene, steps should be taken to bring them within the fold.

We hope we are expressing the views of the vast mass of the Tamil people and others sympathetic to their cause when we say that prompt and effective action should be taken to eliminate this ugly and self-defeating development.

TAMIL FEARS CONFIRMED - TULF Leader

THE LATEST reports from Trincomalee district of aerial and gunship attacks on unarmed Tamil civilians indicate that the Tamil people's "worst fears" that the Sri Lanka Government is only interested in an escalation of its military action have come true, according to Mr. A. Amirthalingam, the TULF's Secretary-General.

If the Government of India wanted any meaning to the ceasefire which it had brought about, it would take steps to see that the spate of firing from the air on Tamil civilians stopped immediately, Mr. Amirthalingam said in an interview. "These latest violations need to be openly condemned by India", he noted.

Mr. Amirthalingam ascribed the Sri Lanka Government's coming to the negotiating table to two factors - the action of the militants and India's role. "These were the only two factors which forced it to realise that it had to settle the matter," he reasoned, "but now, the ceasefire has brought the action of the militants to a halt, and the only pressure left is India's role - India has a moral duty to intensify its own efforts to compel the Sri Lanka Government to come to a reasonable settlement."

If both the factors compelling the Sri Lanka Government to negotiate were ruled out, "the Tamil people will be exposed to the genocidal attacks of the Sri Lanka armed forces and will be helpless in the face of these," Mr. Amirthalingam said.

"India should apply greater pressure on the Sri Lanka Government and not merely act as a conduit", Mr. Amirthalingam remarked. While the Tamil people were satisfied that there was no change in India's policy since Indira Gandhi's time, some of the statements of the Indian Government might give a wrong impression to the Sri Lankan Government that India's attitude had changed. Something must be done to remove that

impression, Mr. Amirthalingam said.

Arguing that a discussion of the substantive issues relating to devolution of powers to the Tamil people should go hand-in-hand with attempts to make the ceasefire effective, Mr. Amirthalingam said it was important to keep the dialogue with the Indian Government going. The TULF's basic stand was that if there were not constant consultations with the Indian Government, the Tamil groups might find themselves forced to reject a settlement based on India's efforts.

Mr. Amirthalingam said that it was unfortunate that the ENLF had taken the stand that it would not spell out an alternative framework of proposals. "Since the ENLF has refused to give any alternative proposals, the present thinking of the Indian Government appears to be on the lines of preparing a set of proposals to present to the Sri Lanka Government. It now realises that the working paper is not an acceptable basis."

Mr. Amirthalingam said that the TULF had conveyed its views on the proposals but it was still "not very happy" for it would have preferred all the Tamil groups to sit together and to indicate the minimum basis. "The shortcoming on the Tamil side is that we are not able to present a united stand. At Thimpu, we had a united stand when we placed the four principles basic to our idea of a settlement. But this is not sufficient, a structured framework should be given..." Mr. Amirthalingam explained.

At the recent talks in New Delhi, the ENLF had indicated that it would prefer to meet the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Romesh Bhandari, separately and not in conjunction with the other two groups, the TULF and PLOT. This had resulted in a situation where a united stand could not be presented. Mr. Amirthalingam said that the TULF would continue its efforts to forge unity among the groups.

No framework for devolution had been discussed in Delhi with the Indian Government taking the stand that it would try to improve the existing framework, and figure out how that could be made acceptable.

The TULF had learnt of the details of the meeting between the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and the Sri Lankan President, Mr. J.R. Jayawardene, in the Bahamas and found that it had revolved around the three core issues - the merger question, internal law and order, colonisation and land settlement. The TULF said that Mr. Bhandari had conveyed Mr. Jayawardene's expressed perceptions of these issues to it in Delhi. The TULF reiterated its stand on these issues, making clear what would be the minimum acceptable settlement.

In response to Mr. Jayawardene's ruling out a merger, Mr. Amirthalingam recalled that the TULF, aside from reiterating its view of the integrity of the Tamil homeland, had explained to the Government of India that what it was asking for was similar to the reorganisation of India's linguistic provinces after Independence. "Just as part of the Madras Presidency was incorporated into Madras State along with the southern part of Travancore and the northern part of Madras Presidency along with part of Hyderabad became Andhra on a linguistic basis, we are suggesting that the geographically contiguous Tamil areas traditionally occupied by the Tamil people be made into a linguistic province."

Mr. Amirthalingam said that Mr. Bhandari's report of Mr. Jayawardene's promise to confer on the Chief Executives of the Provincial Councils police powers similar to those of "his Minister in Colombo" was unclear on whether the reference was to the Minister of National Security or to the Minister for Internal Security. The TULF had made it clear in Delhi that the provinces should be given police powers similar to those existing in Indian States.

On the third issue relating to colonisation and land settlement, the TULF had pointed out that the demographic pattern of the Eastern province had changed since independence on account of Sinhala colonisation and that could not be perpetuated.

Expressing this view that prospects for a settlement of the Tamil problem did not seem hopeful at all, Mr. Amirthalingam said "We don't see any light at the end of the tunnel at all".

It appeared that the next initiative in the process would be the Indian Government's taking up the issue with the Sri Lankan Government. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi will meet with Mr. Jayawardene in Dhaka in December during the SARC summit. However, there was no indication that "intense discussion" on the issues would take place, Mr. Amirthalingam said.

By courtesy of "The Hindu"

SRI LANKA RESPONSIBLE FOR TAMIL OPPRESSION

- Says Swedish Government

It is obvious that the Tamils in Sri Lanka have been victims of oppression and suffering, writes Pierre Schori.

The Lankan Government cannot escape responsibility for the oppression of the Tamils, writes Pierre Schori, Cabinet Secretary in the Swedish Foreign Office.

In an article in Dagens Nyheter of 5/10/85 Aru Sandanam criticizes me for allegedly having said that "We regard the violence in Sri Lanka as a conflict between two ethnic groups for which the Government in Colombo is not responsible". The quotation has obviously been taken from the September 1983 issue of the South Asia Bulletin.

This is, however, a misconception of a commentary passed through the Press office of the Foreign Office to the South Asia Bulletin. It gives a completely wrong picture of my own and the Swedish Government's attitude to the occurrences which have taken place in Sri Lanka.

The Government has, on the contrary, followed the development of the situation in Sri Lanka with deep concern. It is obvious that the Tamils have been submitted to oppression and sufferings which are not motivated by various terrorist actions. The Lankan Government cannot escape responsibility in regard to this.

The Swedish Government's attitude has on numerous occasions been submitted to the Government in Sri Lanka - as recently as in connection with the inauguration of the Kotmale project.

Pierre Schori Cabinet Secretary

17.10.85.

THE MOBILISATION AND SUPPLEMENTARY FORCES ACT

A DANGEROUS AND OMINOUS LAW

by Dr. Colvin R De Silva

"The Mobilisation of Supplementary Forces Act has just passed through Parliament without any worthwhile discussion.

"The country had had no opportunity of understanding the import of this piece of legislation which, if discussed, would have given rise to a great deal of controversy.

"This Act had been publicised as legislation which enables the conscription of persons to the country's Armed Forces.

"Even a first reading of the Act however makes it quite clear that the conscription is not to the existing Armed Forces but to other military and para-military forces to be set up outside these and away from their control.

"This by itself is significant and one can see at least one unprecedented way in which these forces can be used.

ARMY ACT

"The Army Act allows the existing Army to be used only in one civil life situation, and that too is closely defined.

"That is for the maintenance of essential supplies and services in the event of these being threatened. *Its involvement in other areas of law and order can be had only after the declaration of a state of emergency under the Public Security Act.*

"This is not so with the military and para-military forces to be set up under the new Act.

"The Act allows the use of these forces in the prevention or suppression of any

rebellion or insurrection or other civil disturbance.

"The category given here as civil disturbance is wide enough to include even a sizeable strike of workers.

SUPPRESSION

"That is, these forces can be used even for the suppression of a strike.

"One can understand the intensity of that suppression when one realises that the new forces are under no obligation to be under the discipline of those forces which normally attend to matters of public law and order.

"The new law provides other possibilities too. A combination of its machinery with Emergency Regulations can result in strikers being conscripted and forced to work.

FORCES

"The forces to be set up are described in the new Act as the National Auxiliary Force, any other Auxiliary Force, any Para-military Force, the Home Guard and the Civil Defence Force.

"These are described as Supplementary Forces.

"As to the Auxiliary Forces mentioned here, it must be remembered that the Army Act and the Acts in respect of the Navy and the Air Force allow for the recruitment of supplementary forces such as the Volunteers and the maintenance of the Reserves.

"There can thus be no valid or legitimate reason for the new law except to give legitimacy to the para-military forces and the Home Guards.

"But this at what cost?

"The very inclusion of the projected National Auxiliary Forces in the same set-up with the Home Guards etc. is bound to pull down the standards of professionalism in the presently existing Armed Forces too.

"This is especially so because these forces can be assigned for work with the existing Armed Forces and the Police.

"But under the Act, even in such contingencies, they need not come under the operational command of the present hierarchies of the Armed Services or the Police.

"The President, who appoints their Commanders and Commandants, can also place them in these instances under the operational command of "any fit and proper person designated by name or office".

"The Reserve Affairs Council set up under the Act does no more than get up the recruitment schedules and perhaps the basic rules, if any.

"In fact, the Act leaves a large area to be filled by gazette regulations. That is, this Act, which provides for such radical departures in respect of the recruitment and utilisation of military and para-military units, also allows to a government in power undefined areas of operation and powers for their manipulation."

THAT SECRET MEETING IN PARIS

Why has Lankapuvath and the rest of the Sri Lanka media that the government owns or influences remained tight-lipped up to now about the meeting between President Jayawardene and Israel's Prime Minister Simon Peres, when the former was on his way back home after attending the CHOGM meeting in the Bahamas?

The meeting could hardly have been an accidental or ephemeral one. Otherwise the world press would not have given it such attention. What's more, either Lankapuvath or Ministers Lalith Athulathmudali and Anandatissa de Alwis, who have been quick to contradict false or incorrect reports in the foreign media recently, would have shot it down in flames by now.

The story of this "secret meeting"

was first revealed by Israel's semi-official JERUSALEM POST. It was repeated in the news bulletins of Israel's official radio. It was then taken up by the French news agency, AFP, which added that the two leaders had discussed secret bilateral matters. It was next taken up by All-India Radio, which relayed the news on October 29, and it was repeated by the world press with the exception of Sri Lanka.

Speculation is now rife as to the "secret bilateral matters" that the two leaders, whose governments do not officially recognise each other, discussed.

It could not have been the help that the government gets from MOSSAD and SHIN BETH, as this is now in full swing.

It could not have been the

resumption of trade relations as our government has already allowed Sri Lankan private businessmen to trade with Israel and even given green-light clearance for state corporations and GOBUs to do the same.

So the consensus is that further steps on how to enlarge Israel's political and diplomatic presence in Sri Lanka must have had high priority in the secret talks.

No wonder such talk had to be kept secret. It will annoy not merely the Arab countries and India but also Muslim and democratic opinion in Sri Lanka.

Maybe the government will come out with some explanation before this is published. But its long and deafening silence on such an explosive issue will make a belated statement even more suspect.

Sri Lanka

FILE ON TORTURE

No. 10 October 1985

amnesty international

Safeguards against torture are suspended

Allegations that torture occurs in Sri Lanka have long been of concern to AI. Over the past five years, however, the organisation has received consistent reports, many in the form of sworn affidavits, which lead it to conclude that that the practice is widespread and persistent. Torture is used particularly against political detainees, some of whom have died as a result, and also against criminal suspects.

Prohibited

When the present government took office in 1977 it prohibited torture and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment under the Constitution. It has also denied that torture is permitted, stating, for example in a letter to AI on 30 July 1984: "The Government of Sri Lanka categorically denies that it permits or condones the use of torture for any purpose whatsoever." In 1982 the government also deposited a Unilateral Declaration Against Torture with the United Nations.

However, torture has been widely reported by a variety of sources. AI has received testimonies from former detainees detailing torture and from witnesses to the torture of others; from relatives of victims and from lawyers. In addition, the findings of several medical

examinations of former detainees are consistent with the tortures alleged.

Similar reports have been published in the international press. In January 1985 *The Times* (London) reported that hospital staff in Jaffna had seen "... many victims of army beatings. Typically boys emerge from interrogation and spells in custody with multiple bruises caused by thrashings with PVC pipes filled with sand. Some have heel fractures, having been suspended and beaten on the feet. A doctor said: 'I see about five of these cases a week, but remember that many victims do not seek treatment because they are afraid or because it is impossible to travel'."

Those most at risk are young men, between the ages of 17 and 25, who are members of the Tamil community and have been arrested under the 1979 Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA). Tamil women are also known to have been tortured.

Assault

AI has also received allegations that Sinhalese prisoners belonging to opposition parties, in particular the People's Liberation Front (JVP) and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) have been tortured. Sinhalese criminal suspects are also regularly reported to have been tortured. For example, W.A. Dayaratne, a young man arrested on suspicion of theft, died in custody on 28 March after interrogation in Wallawa police station. At the inquest the magistrate stated he had died as a result of police assault.

Torture occurs in military and police camps and in police stations, but is rarely reported from prisons. It is used to extract "confessions" or to obtain information. It is widely used by the army and the police, including the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) and the Special Task Force, a recently formed police unit which operates in the Eastern Province.

Army camps in the north where former detainees have alleged they were tortured include Vavuniya, Palaly, Panagoda, Elephant Pass, Point Pedro, Keerimalai, Thallady and Gurunagar. There have also been allegations of torture in the recently established camps of the police Special Task Force at Kalladi and Kaluwanchchikudi in the Eastern Province and at Boosa Camp and Tangalle Prison in the south.

"I saw able-bodied young men naked with bleeding injuries on their bodies and swollen tell-tale marks of beatings. I also saw men standing by with pieces of plastic pipe about three feet in length . . . I also saw one of [them] rush at one of the men who were being beaten and attack [him] with his legs. The person who received the kick was already, from signs visible to me, in a weak position and he fell dead at the kick. This man . . . was covered with a mat." Affidavit of boy detained in Vavuniya Army Camp in June 1985.

"While questioning me he now and then placed on my leg a device which made me feel that I was subjected to an electric shock. This he did five times. Every time . . . my whole body shook violently and I was in a state of shock. The device appeared to be about two and a half feet long and pipe-shaped, black in colour. At one end there was a coiled spring. It was this part that was applied on my body. At the other end there was a switch which was pressed every time it was applied . . ." Affidavit of man detained in Mankulam Army Camp in June 1985.

A young man arrested in August 1984 for allegedly being in possession of "subversive literature" stated in an affidavit that on arrival in Panagoda Camp "... I was put into a dark room, stripped of all my clothes and made to lie on the floor. My hands and feet were chained and large spikes were inserted into my body . . . I was assaulted with machine guns, iron rods on the knee joints, neck regions, close to the eyes, on the feet and almost all parts of the body . . . I was bound with chains on the legs and let down a deep well and then pulled up."

Another former detainee stated that in May 1984, at Elephant Pass Army Camp, "... my legs and feet were handcuffed. I was then suspended from the roof by my legs. A soldier hit me on both feet with a loaded (plastic) pipe, while another hit me on the back. The beating was so severe that I broke the handcuff while trying to free myself."

Continued on page 6

Violence used by Tamil groups

In recent years most of the Tamil opposition groups demanding a separate state for the Tamil minority have resorted to violence. In addition to killing security forces they have been accused of killing alleged Tamil "informers" and in 1985 of killing Sinhalese citizens and of kidnapping and killing politicians. AI condemns the torture and execution of prisoners by anyone, including opposition groups, but is concerned that in bringing to justice those responsible the government's actions conform with international standards for the protection of human rights and that torture is always prohibited.

File on Torture: Sri Lanka *Continued from page 6*

Torture victims have been warned not to make statements about their experiences by members of the security forces and threatened with rearrest and further torture should they do so. Some detainees who made statements alleging torture have been beaten. In spite of such threats many former detainees have alleged that they were tortured.

Affidavits

As well as receiving affidavits such as those above, AI has also interviewed a number of detainees who have left the country, most of whom wish to remain anonymous for fear of reprisals against their families. In some cases medical examinations were conducted at AI's request. One such case is that of a young man detained at Kallady Camp, near Batticaloa, in late December 1983. He said he was beaten for several hours with rifles, iron rods and plastic pipes while being questioned about incidents attributed to Tamil opposition groups.

Beaten

"They tied the rope around my arms, crossed right over left over my chest. My arms were tied together just above the elbows and I was suspended that way. My toes could reach the floor, but they brought a tray of burning coals so that I was forced to bend my legs to avoid being burned, all my weight being taken by my arms. I was beaten [and] hit on the soles of my feet. A mug of chilli powder mixed with water was brought in and the paste applied to my eyes which were forced open, into my nose, ears and onto my genitals. When I opened my eyes from crying they put more in. This continued for several hours. I started feeling a numbness in my arms."

Ten months later a medical examination conducted at AI's request found that: "... the remaining physical scars confirm the essential story. The multiple faint scars criss-crossing his back are typical of a beating. The scars above each elbow ... are ... consistent with

"On 2 December 1984 I was playing with my child in the compound of my house when a soldier armed with a rifle who came along called me to come out. . . . This soldier then spoke to another soldier who was close by and then turned and fired at me. The bullet hit on the right side of my stomach, which pierced through and found an exit on the back close to the hips, leaving a gaping wound. . . . I was then rushed to the hospital. . . . I did not commit any offence by playing in the compound of my house with my child and do not know why I was punished in such a manner."

- Affidavit of victim.

The following types of torture have been reported to AI:

- ☐ prolonged hanging upside down while being beaten all over the body, sometimes for the duration of one night and sometimes with the head tied in a bag in which chillies were burning, making the victim feel close to suffocating.
- ☐ prolonged beatings, especially on the soles of the feet while lying stretched out on a bench or while hanging by the knees from a pole; beatings on the genitals and other

parts of the body with sticks, batons and sand-filled plastic pipes.

- ☐ insertion of chilli powder in the nostrils, mouth and eyes and on the genitals.
- ☐ electric shocks.
- ☐ insertion of pins under fingernails and toenails and in the heels.
- ☐ insertion of iron rods in the anus.
- ☐ burning with cigarettes.
- ☐ mock or threatened executions.

abrasions caused by a restraining rope, tying the arms together. . . ." Paralysis in the median and radial nerve distribution on the left was confirmed at this [medical] examination in 1984. "The more severe nerve damage in the left arm is consistent with the position of the arms, as described. . . . This man is fortunate that the damage to these major nerves was not sufficient to leave a permanent disablement."

Student

X, a student at Jaffna University, had been arrested in January 1985 while applying for a permit to travel to Jaffna to resume his studies. During his arrest he was shot in the left leg. He was taken to the Kaluwanchikudi Commando Camp and beaten and then to Batticaloa Commando Camp. He was interrogated six weeks later. "My hands were then tied behind [me] . . . a rope was secured and . . . thrown over the wooden beam on the roof. I was made to hang from this rope.

"Chilli powder was thrown into my eyes. My clothes were taken off and chilli powder rubbed onto my body and genitals. They placed nails on the soles of my feet and started hammering the nails with a length of plastic piping. Into the wounds on the soles of my feet also they rubbed chilli powder.

"I was hung like this from 8pm till 12 midnight. The following day I underwent the same treatment. . . . I was hung up in the same manner and beaten from 8am till about 4pm. I was also burnt on my buttocks with a heated metal rod. . . . When they released me from their treatment I was unable to move my hands or my feet."

A week later he was released and taken to Batticaloa Hospital. "The doctors found that owing to the long hours during which I was hung up by my hands, my nerves were affected. I was still unable to move my hands. I was hospitalized for three months and 20 days. I am still unable to use my right hand. I am immensely handicapped and have to learn to write with my left hand."

Hospitalized

A doctor who reportedly treated him in Batticaloa two weeks after he was

tortured stated: "There were contusions and linear abrasions on the back, thigh and chest wall. He could not move his upper arms, almost completely paralysed. There were flickers of movement in the left fingers. The lower limbs were also paralysed."

"I have lost my sense of hearing. I cannot see properly. My speech has been affected. My voice is very hoarse and inaudible. I cannot walk properly as I suffer severe pains in the knee joints. I have also lost my job and doubt whether I will be able to perform any responsible work again. Prior to my arrest, detention and torture, I was a healthy, robust and hard working person. I have lost count of the days and my memory fails me. . . ."

- Affidavit of victim.

In all cases of torture and ill-treatment reported to AI detainees were held incommunicado. AI has repeatedly informed the Sri Lankan Government that special legal provisions, especially those in force since 1979, facilitate torture. Under the 1979 Prevention of Terrorism Act normal legal safeguards are suspended and detainees can be held for up to 18 months without access to lawyers and relatives. They can be held in incommunicado detention in unknown places without any form of independent control or supervision. Relatives have difficulty in establishing the whereabouts of detainees and in recent months over 180 are reported to have "disappeared", the authorities having denied any knowledge of their detention. Lawyers and relatives complain they are rarely permitted access to detainees during the initial months of detention, when torture reportedly occurs.

Repercussions

Article 126 of the Constitution permits the Supreme Court to hear petitions of infringements of fundamental rights. However, cases alleging torture rarely reach the Sri Lankan courts. There are

well-founded fears of repercussions and many victims do not have the financial resources to approach the courts. Relatives say it is difficult to find lawyers to take up the cases of those detained under the PTA. Where allegations of torture of political detainees have been brought before a court no effective action is known to have been taken to punish those responsible.

K. Navaratnarajah, who was detained under the PTA, died on 10 April 1983 in Gurunagar Army Camp. A post mortem identified 25 external and 10 internal injuries on his body and the magistrate at the inquest into his death returned a verdict of homicide. No action has apparently been taken to bring those responsible to justice. AI knows of no case in recent years in which police or security personnel have been prosecuted for acts of torture or deaths in custody of political detainees held under the PTA.

Deaths

Several such deaths have been reported recently. A young man detained in Elephant Pass Army Camp in 1984 described the death of two fellow inmates: "At 12 midnight [on 13 August 1984] Kandasamy Pathar Pirapaharan of Valvettihurai and Sivasubramaniam wanted to urinate. They were taken out and later their dead bodies were brought into the room [with] large wounds on their backs."

"I was stripped naked. A rope was tied around my ankles. I was dragged along the floor to the doorway and the rope around my ankles was passed through the wooden ventilation grill over the door. I was pulled up by my feet hanging upside down, facing the room with my head two or three inches off the ground. I was hit on the back upper part of my legs with plastic pipes . . . I was struck with iron rods on the soles of my feet. One of the iron rods was forced into the anus. Then they brought burning coal and chillies on a tray.

When they dropped the chillies onto the coal, the two interrogating officers had to leave the room from the smoke. A soldier then tied a sarong around my waist so that it fell down over my head like a funnel. The burning chillies were placed inside. Owing to the fumes, I felt a burning sensation. I had difficulty in breathing. I remained like that for two or three hours. I was untied and dropped to the ground. I lost consciousness.

—Affidavit of young man detained at Kalladay Camp in December 1983.

Inquests into deaths in custody of criminal suspects are usually held under the ordinary procedures of the Code of Criminal Procedure. In several instances police personnel have subsequently been prosecuted, although rarely convicted. However, inquests into the deaths in custody of political detainees are apparently rare, and between 3 June 1983 and 14 June 1984 all inquests into deaths in the custody of the security forces were suspended under Emergency Regulation 15a.

This regulation authorized the police to dispose of bodies in secret and without inquests. It was replaced on 14 June 1984 by Emergency Regulation 55 B-G which

permits some inquests but only under special procedures that substantially limit normal legal safeguards. Immediate investigation by an independent magistrate, applicable under ordinary law, seems to be by-passed. Inquests conducted by the High Court, in principle sitting *in camera*, can apparently only be held upon the initiative of the police and the proceedings may not subsequently be published without government authorization. Furthermore it appears the security forces may still be permitted to dispose of dead bodies without an inquest in exceptional circumstances.

Continued on page 24

WHAT YOU CAN DO

In view of persistent reports of torture in Sri Lanka in recent years, AI recommends that the Sri Lankan Government implement the following measures as a sign of its commitment to eradicate torture and ill-treatment, as laid down in the Constitution and reaffirmed through its Unilateral Declaration Against Torture to the United Nations.

Please write courteously worded letters urging the Sri Lankan authorities to take effective measures for the prevention of torture in Sri Lanka, as indicated below:

■ The Sri Lankan Government should issue clear public instructions to the army, police and other security forces personnel that torture is a criminal act and will not be tolerated under any circumstances. All relevant officials should be instructed to refuse to obey any order to use torture.

■ The Prevention of Terrorism Act and the Emergency Regulations should be amended to allow detainees arrested under their provisions

immediate and regular access to lawyers and relatives and to ensure that detainees are brought before a judicial authority promptly after arrest, preferably within 24 hours.

■ Relatives and lawyers should be informed promptly of the whereabouts of detainees. No one should be held in unacknowledged detention.

■ The government should establish an independent body to impartially investigate complaints of torture and deaths in custody. Its findings should be published in all cases. Inquests should be held into all deaths in custody under the ordinary procedures of the Criminal Code and relatives and lawyers permitted to produce evidence and cross-examine witnesses at such proceedings.

■ Where it is found that torture has been committed by or at the instigation of a public official, criminal and disciplinary proceedings should be instituted.

■ Confessions or other evidence obtained through torture should never be invoked in legal proceedings.

■ Rules should be introduced for those detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act ensuring the presence of a senior official throughout interrogation. The government should permit regular visits by an independent body to inspect places of detention.

■ All victims of torture and their dependants should be entitled to compensation and medical care.

■ Send your letters to His Excellency President J.R. Jayewardene, President Secretariat, Republic Square, Colombo 1, Sri Lanka and Mr Lalith Athulathmudali, Minister of National Security, Ministry of Defence, Republic Building, Colombo 1, Sri Lanka. Send copies of your letters to Sri Lanka's Ambassador or Representative in your country.

THE DIABOLICAL PLAN

TAMIL TIMES is in possession of a document titled "Tamil Separatist Terrorism – Strategies for a Settlement" prepared for the government of Sri Lanka by a specially appointed "Study Group". It is clear from the policies and actions that the government has been pursuing in the recent past that it is implementing the proposals contained in this document.

The document's proposals envisage a complete transformation of the ethnic composition of the Tamil areas of the north and east of the island and redrawing of the map of Sri Lanka by boundary changes of districts and provinces. In addition, the document proposes the deployment of armed forces along the coastline and the sea, the encircling or bordering the fringe of the Tamil heartland with naval and communication bases located at strategic points and the islands off the coast of northern province to be converted into permanent naval and military bases.

It is apparent the forcible evacuation of tens of thousands of Tamils from the Mannar, Mullaitivu, Vanuniya, Trincomalee and Batticaloa districts by the armed forces backed by armed Sinhala thugs is part of the diabolical plan conceived in this document. The announcement of the government to settle 75 percent Sinhalese and 25 percent other minorities in the predominantly Tamil north and east with a view to destroying the claim that these provinces constitute the traditional homeland of the Tamil speaking people is also part of this plan of ethnocide.

Reproduced on this page are some of the important extracts from this document.

SRI LANKA is enmeshed in a guerilla type civil war with no end in sight. A situation similar to that of the occupation of Cyprus which occurred a few years ago where a powerful neighbour in the North imposed a military solution and the partition of a small island in favour of a minority cannot be ruled out altogether. In fact it is an awesome possibility, and the existence of Tamil Nadu with over 50 million Indian Tamils is a significant factor in the Sri Lankan ethnic conflict.

It is the pattern of such a war that the guerillas have considerable initiative regarding timing and place of attack, and that a lull of several weeks or months is the prelude to another sudden daring onslaught. With a sympathetic local population as their allies, it is they who control the countryside of Northern Sri Lanka, especially at night, after check-mating the armed forces with their most effective weapon – the remote controlled landmine.

It is not the objective of this Paper to analyse the manifold causes of the present situation, as all the Sri Lankan governments since independence have contributed their share. The roots of this conflict are ancient, but they have been exacerbated by a disastrous educational policy – Sinhalese for the Sinhala children and Tamil for the Tamil children – creating two nations without a link language over the past three decades. The cultural void was filled by South Indian films and media that have led to the emergence of a thoroughly alienated Tamil youth in

whose minds it was instilled, from childhood, that an Eelam was their only salvation.

That all post independent governments of Sri Lanka did not anticipate the seriousness of the looming ethnic conflict and evolve a suitable strategy is a tragedy (with the exception of the limited objectives achieved by D.S. Senansyake and C.P. de Silva). It is imperative at least at this late stage, that we anticipate developments and evolve appropriate strategies – both political and military – the latter to deal with the immediate grave situation and in order to buy time as well as to strengthen our hand when the negotiations eventually take place.

It is the intent of this Paper to highlight some issues for consideration and discussion. The ideas put forward are only suggestions which may be developed or modified depending on the circumstances and further developments.

Effective and complete naval blockade of the North of Sri Lanka from South India appears vital to control the war. It may also be advantageous to deploy the Sri Lankan armed forces and the armed police on the coastline and the sea encircling or bordering the fringe of the Tamil heartland – with naval air and communication bases located at strategic points. Some of the smaller islands surrounding the Jaffna Peninsula, the Indian end of the Mannar island and important strategic locations on the North and East coast of the Jaffna Peninsula and the Northern Province should be

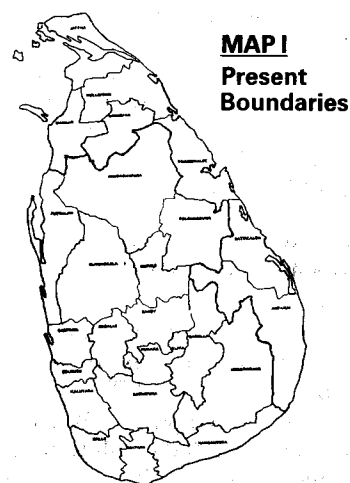
made into permanent naval/military bases (and Nagadipa should be linked to this chain though not for military purposes). At present transport to this region across the area appears safer than over land. Total control of the sea by an expanded Sri Lankan navy may be a key to an eventual negotiated settlement.

However, as the experience of Northern Ireland and the Basque region of Spain reveal, all modern military hardware of a sea blockade may not be able to eliminate guerilla war as long as the rebels have local support. An eventual negotiated political settlement with the TULF politicians in the North achieved with the active cooperation of the central government in New Delhi should be our main objective. The crucial stumbling block to a settlement may be the level of regional power and the geographical extent of territory demanded by the TULF.

Giving up a large segment of the North and East for a Tamil autonomous region is unacceptable for the majority community. There is an inbuilt fear among the Sinhalese of the establishment of Provincial Councils, and the feeling that Sri Lanka is too small for provinces to be included in an autonomous region (federalism is a dead word). Thus it may be a good idea to abolish provinces altogether and search for other units.

There is another potent reason for taking this step.

The existing map of Sri Lanka has often been shown in foreign media with the Northern and Eastern provinces marked as 'Traditional homelands of the Tamils' or as 'Tamil areas'. It is amazing how the



FOR TAMIL ETHNOCIDE

Sinhalese have accepted for so long the presentation of such maps by foreign media to world audiences. These maps do not represent the traditional boundaries of Sri Lanka corroborated by its long history. They are merely those drawn up by colonial administrators to **suit their own purposes** in the 19th century and were last revised as far back as 1890. These boundaries and divisions into provinces are not sacrosanct and do not obtain support from our historical records. One wonders why the succession of independent governments in Sri Lanka accepted the original 19th century maps of colonial cartographers. Within this mould the Separatists are unhappy that the Trincomalee District has 33.8% of Tamils compared to 33.6% of Sinhalese. **It is time that this cartographic absurdity is broken for good.**

It is of utmost importance to the Sinhalese and the Muslims and the future security of Sri Lanka that the Northern Tamil Districts should on no account be allowed, either now or in the future, to join up with the Eastern Province Batticaloa Tamils in an extended provincial council for, together, they can control almost two-thirds of Sri Lanka's coastline. **The Trincomalee District with its strategic harbour is vital to the security of Sri Lanka** and there should not be any compromises over the handing over of this area to a TULF dominated Provincial Council. The area forms an ethnic bridge and colonisation of this region by a Sinhalese population can break this inter-district ethnic link. It is a tragedy that this main seaport of the Polonnaruwa kingdom and an important province of the Kandyan Kingdom (where Robert Knox was captured by soldiers of Rajasinghe I) has been neglected for centuries and remains so after independence.

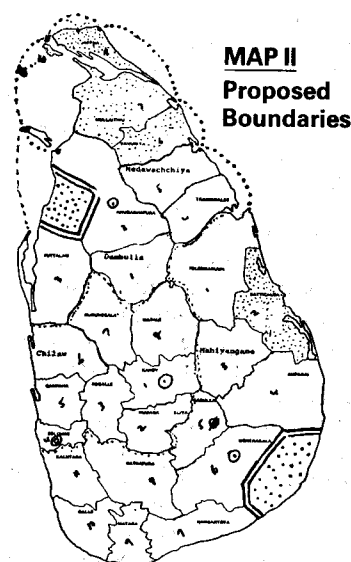
Is colonisation of this region possible at this period of time? Achieving this would be difficult as in the case of the West Bank where all Israeli colonists are part-time soldiers. The new Sinhalese colonists run the risk of being shot at or being blown up by land mines, and there may not be enough volunteers. But by redrawing the traditional maps with newly demarcated district or county boundaries and by their presentation in foreign as well as Sri Lankan media the following objectives may be

achieved which may prove to have a dramatic psychological effect – without the actual transfer of populations.

1. Reinforce or highlight the fact that Tamils form only a minority in the Eastern Province;
2. It would be useful in the psychological and propaganda warfare against the guerillas by raising the question – “Is this small Eelam worth fighting for?”
3. It would boost the morale of the Sinhalese and reinforce the anti-Eelam attitude of the wavering Tamil speaking Muslims living in these areas (who form about 25% of the population in the Mannar district).

As such we urge the Government to:

1. Break the 9 province system completely and erase the outline of the 19th century provinces from the map of Sri Lanka, and make the units of administration smaller districts or ‘Disawas’ (similar to the English Counties or French Departments).
2. Redraw the boundaries of the present districts similar to the revision of County boundaries carried out in the UK some years ago – enlarging some and abolishing others. The new arrangements should then lead to the westward extension of the Trincomalee District so that the Sinhalese are in a majority. **Refer map 2.**
3. Extend the Polonnaruwa District eastwards up to the east coast.
4. Create a new district of Medawachchiya to include some areas of the Northern Province, the Sinhalese district of Vauniya etc. This district too should extend to the east coast. These three districts should have a majority of Sinhalese depending on how the boundaries are drawn.
5. If necessary, create other new districts like Dambulla, Chilaw and Mahiyangana and remove other existing anomalies from the district boundaries.
6. Take this opportunity to enlarge the 2 National Parks, Yala and Wilpatthu for effective preservation of our wild life heritage as the forest cover of Sri Lanka would decline further in the forthcoming decades. The displaced villagers may be resettled in the Medawachchiya district.



7. Amalgamate the strategic Mannar district to the Anuradhapura district. Full publicity should be given to the fact that the largest unexcavated archaeological mound in Sri Lanka is in Mannar (Mantota), the main seaport of the Anuradhapura kingdom (which traded with Arabia, China and the Roman Empire in ancient times). This amalgamation is thus the revival of an old historical link.
8. (a) Effective political control of the North East and North West of Sri Lanka should enable the Sinhalese to give some concessions regarding autonomy to the Tamils in the Jaffna, Mullativu (and possibly Vauniya and Batticaloa Counties) under the umbrella of military encirclement;
- (b) Consider further enlargement of **non-separatist** Tamil representation in Sri Lanka's Parliament by the creation of a parliamentary seat for the Colombo Tamils (Colombo South). Granting two or three parliamentary seats for the minority Tamils whose voices can also demonstrate to the world media that Separatism is not supported by a large segment of the Tamil population.
- (c) Consider the creation of the Post of Vice President of Sri Lanka to be held by a Muslim or Tamil. This may alter the attitudes and loyalties of the minorities towards the Sri Lankan State.

A Note from the Editor

WE BEGIN our fifth year with this number. During the past four years we have had our critics and detractors, admirers and supporters.

We thank you very much for accepting our invitation and being present on the occasion of the fourth birthday of TAMIL TIMES.

May-June 1981 witnessed the tragedy of the burning of the Jaffna Public Library with its priceless collection of 95,000 volumes and half the city of Jaffna by the Sri Lankan security forces. In August, the Tamil people were again subjected to another familiar bout of islandwide mob violence. The government and the forces of law and order abdicated their responsibility to protect the Tamil people.

In spite of the claim of Sri Lanka of being a 'Five Star democracy', the media was and is controlled and manipulated by the state and the agony of the Tamil people has found little reflection in the media. Trade unions, opposition parties and civil rights activists had become targets for attack. Human rights and democratic freedoms were being eroded. The independence of the judiciary was being undermined. TAMIL TIMES was born to focus attention on these issues and more specifically on the plight of the Tamil people in Sri Lanka.

In September 1981, a group of ten concerned individuals met in London and decided to start the publication of a journal. Those present on that occasion contributed £10 each. The first issue of TAMIL TIMES appeared in October

1981 with no money to pay even the printer's bill. We had no backing from any funding agency or business magnate. We had no office or equipment.

You might wonder how we survived so long. It is a story of goodwill and sacrifice. We asked every subscriber to contribute a little more than the mere subscription. No amount was too small. Gradually our

Tamil Times celebrates fourth birthday

The Chairman, Directors and staff of *Tamil Times* entertained guests at the Royal Commonwealth Society last week (12.11.85), to celebrate the fourth anniversary of the paper.

In spite of the sufferings of the Sri Lanka Tamils (a large number in the UK are refugees from official persecution and some have escaped with their lives) the atmosphere was happy and lively. The hosts had provided excellent refreshments.

Among the guests were several MPs and mediamen. Speeches were, mercifully, short and to the point. One hilarious item was the display of a copy of *Tamil Times* - not the genuine article, but a forgery reportedly put out by the Sri Lanka government.

(Courtesy of India Weekly)

subscribers and well-wishers responded. Everyone connected with the paper gave his services voluntarily. The paper has survived at personal cost to some individuals immediately concerned with the editing and the circulation of the paper. The same situation continues to this day. We have neither full time staff nor a paid editor. Having to work all day for his daily bread, our editor does most of his work for TAMIL TIMES when the rest of the world has gone to sleep.

The last four years have been a tragic and stormy period in the history of the Tamil people of Sri Lanka. Tens of thousands have fled the country and their travails in the refugee camps within and without the country illustrate the enormity of the violence, the violations and the deprivations to which they have been subjected. TAMIL TIMES has attempt to reflect and focus attention on these and other matters during this period.

Today TAMIL TIMES reaches subscribers in almost 75 countries in the world. Among the avid readers of TAMIL TIMES, we understand, are the leaders of the Sri Lankan government. Their interest in the paper has reached such a level that **fake copies of TAMIL TIMES are being distributed through their missions abroad.**

On the occasion of our fourth birthday, we thank our several thousand readers and wellwishers for their unstinted support without which we could not have survived.

From the Editor

P.O. Box 304,
London W13 9QN

WHAT OTHERS SAY OF TAMIL TIMES

A Bitter Celebration

The *Tamil Times* deserves congratulation for its four years of hard effort to monitor the struggle for survival of the Tamil people of what used to be Sri Lanka. During a period when consistently brutal attempts have been made by the Colombo regime, one of the world's worst, to extinguish the lives, liberties and political aspirations of the Tamils, the need for testimony or witness, for patient explanation and public information, has been equally constant. Moreover, by unscrupulous pressure on the world's media - including a crude campaign against the integrity of British press and radio coverage of what the Sinhalese government has been doing - Colombo has sought (in vain) to extinguish the truth also: that is, to disinform, to confuse by 'double-speak', and to cover up a whole hecatomb of murders carried out by the state's security forces.

In the face of such officially-organised barbarism and lying, those who, with slender resources, have sought with pen

and sword to withstand the onslaught have shown no sign of surrender. The Colombo press, largely debased by syncophancy, self-censorship and outright state control and interference, has in these four years recorded only its own debasement; the Jaffna press, for most of the period harassed, persecuted, censored, has fought on, in darkness, to keep a light burning in its broken windows. But the Tamil expatriate press, though riven with its own jealousies and dissensions, has been able to speak out, loud and true, and to a gradually growing international audience, the terrible record of its people's oppression and resistance. And, certainly, Colombo's clumsily forged and spurious version of the *Tamil Times* is a backhanded compliment to the truths it has been telling.

It could always be said, perhaps, that in the scale of the world's evils the attempted political, and even physical, extinction of the Tamils of 'Sri Lanka' weighs little. They are, after all, relatively few in number; and 'Sri Lanka' itself, with its pigmy Sinhalese politicians and murderous parody of one of the world's

great religions, could be said to be nothing more than an insignificant curiosity, a mere off-shore island of a continent which overshadows it, and dwarfs its problems. But, no. It is the very brutishness, a giant brutishness, of this pigmy regime, the killing, parody itself of the Buddha's teachings, and the heroism of an embattled and isolated minority people which, together, give such 'minor' matters a universal meaning.

For me, what used to be Sri Lanka is a microcosm of political cruelty and evil. To understand it is to learn every political lesson; to encounter its leaders is to look into the eye of the basest brutality and the lowest cunning; to observe its economy - from its tea estates to its 'free trade zones' - is to see dependency, corruption and exploitation at their purest; to study its press is to come upon truth on its hands and knees, its tongue extended. The Tamil struggle, conversely, is the epitome, on however 'small' a scale, of every nation's struggle for existence, a struggle which itself diminishes its opponents. The Tamil press, left, right and centre, has a crucial role to play in this

battle; even if its publications need to be better presented, more frequent, further-reaching and more generously funded. Time is not on the side of the Tamils; four long years of this paper is not only an achievement, but a dire record, and a direr warning. For four **more** years of the

Tamil Times, and of the kind of news it carries, will also be the Tamil's undoing.

DAVID SELBOURNE
Oxford,
United Kingdom,
30 October 1985.

A Considerable Achievement

Although I write this letter as one of congratulation, and as a tribute to your having kept your paper going through four difficult years, I realise full well that this may not be the right time to celebrate. Indeed it may appear that the Tamil people are now more beleaguered than ever before.

First, we all hear every day of the violence and conflict that continues to flare up back in Sri Lanka. My Party, my colleagues and I agreed at the Liberal Party Council in December 1984 to make strong protests about the abuses of human rights that have been perpetrated by Mr. Junius Jayawardene and his government.

Since then Sir Russell Johnston, who was our Foreign Affairs spokesman at that time, has made representations to the Sri Lankan Commissioner, and the Liberal Party has repeatedly raised the question of Sri Lanka by way of questions and speeches in the House of Commons. But we have seen no return to proper democracy and are entirely dissatisfied with the present situation.

Then there are the denials of human rights which have been the responsibility, not of the Sri Lankan but of the present British government. These are all the more invidious for being closer to home. Who would have thought the Tamils would find greater friends in France and Germany than in Britain, even though these countries have no historical links with Sri Lanka? Yet in the last few years the majority of Tamil refugees have been

forced to go to European countries rather than Britain for help. On top of that came Mr. Brittain's announcement on the 29th May of this year that Sri Lankans intending to come to Britain would first have to obtain a visa; never before has that been asked of a Commonwealth citizen, and Sir Russell Johnston was one of those to protest in the House of Commons against this abuse.

Thirdly there are the immense strains which I realise that the present and continuing inter-community strife must have brought to the Tamil community in this country. You live with the anxiety of not knowing what will happen next to your families and friends who remain in Sri Lanka. In addition, you have taken it upon yourselves to look after the two and a half thousand Tamils who have come to live here in the past eighteen months alone. That is not a light responsibility.

Set against the dark background, is there any room for celebration? I think there is. It is a considerable achievement to maintain the circulation of a small newspaper. Even more significantly, you have managed to provide a vehicle by which the Tamil community in this country can express itself. May this long continue.

On behalf of the Liberal Party and personally, I send my very best wishes for the future.

SIMON HUGHES, M.P.
House of Commons,
London SW1A 0AA

A Valuable Contribution

Please accept my congratulations on four years of successful publication. For someone like myself who has been away from Sri Lanka for most of my life, the *Tamil Times* has provided much useful information on the political situation in the land of my birth. It would perhaps interest you to know that my husband, Dr. Peter Utting, who is a New Zealander, is an avid reader of your magazine, and I must confess that he reads it in more detail than I do.

I would like to take this opportunity to wish you every success for the continuation of the *Tamil Times* which is a valuable contribution towards the aspirations of not only Tamils, but also of all Sri Lankans who wish to live in peace and harmony.

JEYA WILSON (Miss)
President-elect,
Oxford Union Society,
Frewin Court,
Oxford, UK.

'Beacon of Light'

I take this opportunity of warmly congratulating you on the magnificent service you have rendered the Tamil diaspora during its years of extreme adversity. Like the proverbial xerophyte plant in the desert you have thrived in the most adverse circumstances. But the most heartening aspect of your efforts is that you have come through it exceedingly well and you today are the most respected spokesperson of a people who want to be a nation state. I will add that in this stressful and storm-tossed ocean of troubles, *Tamil Times* has functioned as a beacon of light. My warmest congratulations again and I wish you continuing success. Best wishes.

PROF. A.J. WILSON
University of Brunswick,
P.O. Box 4400
Canada.

A Note from the Circulation Manager

We should appreciate all the help you can give us to bring the paper out on time. You can start by renewing your subscription promptly and by enrolling *all* your friends and relations who are not yet subscribers. Have you thought of donating a year's subscription as a Christmas gift to your old school/town library/M.P. etc.? Finally, we need your assistance in running our office. Can you type? Or help with addressing, wrapping, despatching, updating, records, etc.?

If you are free to help even for a few hours in a month, please drop me a line.

P.O. Box 304,
London W13 9QN

Keep the Flag Flying

I have been regularly reading *Tamil Times* with great interest for the last three years. Written in lucid style, this magazine, perhaps, is the only one of its kind exclusively devoted to the dissemination of information about Tamils of Sri Lanka. Naturally it is read with avid interest by Tamils scattered in different parts of the world. On the occasion of its birthday, I convey my hearty congratulations to all those associated with the journal and hope that *Tamil Times* will keep the flag flying in the years to come.

PROF. V. SURYANARAYAN
Centre for South Asian Studies
University of Madras, India

A GREAT SERVICE

Never before in their long history have the Tamil people of Sri Lanka faced a situation as grave and tragic as they have during the last four years.

In this period, *TAMIL TIMES* has through its columns exposed the scale and nature of the state terrorism to which the Tamil people have been subjected. Those associated with the *TAMIL TIMES* have performed a great service to the Tamil people at a time when it was most needed. Our best wishes.

Secretary
Standing Committee
of Tamils (SCOT)
London.

TAMIL TIMES — FOURTH BI

HELD ON 12 NOVEMBER 1985 AT THE RO



Mr. Gerry Bermingham, Labour MP, and Mr. Alan Macdonald of the BBC



Dr. David Selbourne exchanging views with Mr. Trevor MacDonald of ITN



Mr. Harry Greenway, Tory MP, speaking as he holds the TAMIL TIMES and the fake Tamil Times



Mrs. Anne Dummett of the Runnymede Trust, Mr. Alf Dubs, Lab. MP, and Lord Antony Gifford



Mr. Alan Beith, Lib. MP, and Prof. David Walton discussing the fake Tamil Times



Dr. Selbourne, Prof. Walton, and Mrs. Selbourne

H BIRTHDAY CELEBRATIONS —

E ROYAL COMMONWEALTH SOCIETY IN LONDON



Labour MP Mr. Mark Fisher, in a crowd



Professor Dummett in conversation



Labour MP Miss. Betty Boothroyd with Trevor MacDonald of ITN



Mr. Mark Fisher MP in conversation



Mr. Neil Hook of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in discussion



Mr. K. N. Malik of Times of India, Miss. Betty Boothroyd, MP, and Mr. Jonathan Fryer of the BBC

A COMMENT ON PRESIDENT JAYAWARDENE'S SPEECH AT THE COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE

AN EXERCISE IN DISTORTION By P.R. GANESHAN

NO ONE can deny that the Sri Lankan President, Junius Richard Jayawardene (known to his friends as 'JR', Yanky Dicky for his American inclinations, and Tricky Dicky for his deviousness) knows his history, and Sri Lankan history at that. And therefore he is in a better position to distort it as well.

His long and laborious harangue on the history of Sri Lanka on 17 October 1985 to the Commonwealth Heads of Government in the Bahamas is typical of his capacity for distortion. Whether the other Heads of Government took his account seriously or not, his speech was given wide publicity at the poor Sri Lankan tax payer's expense. The London TIMES carried a two-third page advertisement of his speech at an estimated cost of £25,000. Perhaps this was necessary because no newspaper of any international standing carried any report of JR's performance on Sri Lanka's history. There were other burning issues of the day to report including the question of sanctions against South Africa.

JR began his speech with a rather irrelevant and inappropriate reference to Christopher Columbus and his Spanish Conquistadors landing at San Salvador, their extermination of the native Indians etc. Confusion must have reigned supreme in the minds of his esteemed audience when JR, in his inimitable self-contradictory manner, told them that if Columbus "lived today we will call him an international terrorist, but today he is recognised as a great leader". What was JR trying to convey? Perhaps he was attempting to make a comparison with the mythological Vijaya who was banished by his kingly father for his (Vijaya's) incorrigible wickedness, with 700 of his equally wicked associates, all of whom landed on the shores of Sri Lanka in the 6th century BC, married the native Queen and later put her and her people to death and usurped the kingdom of Sri Lanka and founded the Sinhala race. Was Vijaya a brigand and a murderer who killed his wife and her people to usurp the throne for himself or is he a celebrated founder of the great aryan Sinhala race as the concocted

mythology of Sri Lanka would have us believe?

JR informed his colleagues at the Conference that Sri Lanka's recorded history went "back in an unbroken sequence to the arrival from north India of King Vijaya in 543 BC". He added that "Kings and Queens of various races and dynasties, Sinhalese; Indians, Cholas and Telugu; British, Hanover and Windsor had ruled Sri Lanka". Note the 'racial' reference to Sinhalese, Telugus and British. No reference to Tamils at all. Of course Cholas were Tamils. But who in the audience, except perhaps Rajiv Gandhi, would have known that Cholas were Tamils? JR did not want his colleagues to know that Tamil kings ruled Sri Lanka. He did not want them to know that even the last King of the Sinhalese kingdom of Kandy who was captured by the British was a Tamil and that 13 of the 'Sinhalese' Chiefs who signed the Kandyan Convention in 1818 placed their signatures in the Tamil language.

The 193rd Head

In any event, why was JR going into the unbroken sequence of Sri Lanka's history? He soon provided the answer. JR referred to himself as "the 193rd in this long and unbroken line of Heads of State"! What an incredible exercise in self-adulation!

JR's excuse for subjecting his fellow Heads of Government, who had gathered to discuss matters of current importance, to this painful voyage into Sri Lanka's past history was his complaint that "countrymen of some of the leaders present here have made atrocious statements about my country and its government". He lamented that "one has said that Sri Lanka should be classed with South Africa because of the recent apartheid policy it is pursuing". This was a reference to the statement made by the Rt. Hon. John Howard, MP, the Australian Leader of the Opposition, on 15 September 1985 on Australian TV in which he likened the treatment of Tamils in Sri Lanka to the treatment of blacks in South Africa.

JR added, "We have had universal franchise and elected Ministers since 1931". However, he concealed the

fact that one million Tamils working in the tea plantations were deprived of citizenship and franchise in 1948 by the government of which JR was the Finance Minister. And since then, these Tamils have remained without basic human and civic rights as "stateless" persons subjected to a form of apartheid as practised in South Africa against the black population.

When JR claimed that the democratic process was well established in Sri Lanka and that there were ten general elections and changes of government on six occasions, what he failed to disclose was that the life of the parliament elected in 1977 for a period of six years was extended without a general election through the subterfuge of a rigged referendum held under emergency conditions and characterised by massive violence and electoral malpractices.

JR also asserted that he was elected in November 1982 for a period of six years having polled 52.9% of the votes. What he did not reveal was the fact that he had achieved his pyrrhic victory by politically disfranchising his main rival candidate, the former Prime Minister Mrs. S. Bandaranaike, by the deprivation of her civic and political rights through the device of a retroactive constitutional amendment.

JR's most amazing claim was that in Sri Lanka there was guarantee of equality of all races and religions, freedom of speech and opposition, freedom from arbitrary arrest etc. His own constitution differentiates between the religions practised in Sri Lanka in that Buddhism enjoys the foremost and most favoured status under the constitution.

The frequent and repeated anti-Tamil pogroms during which the country's security forces joined in the slaughter of innocent defenceless Tamils and the destruction of their property and the failure of the government to apprehend and punish the perpetrators of these crimes can hardly constitute equality of treatment of all 'races' in Sri Lanka. As for freedom of speech and expression, the fact is that the press and the radio and TV network are all

state controlled, besides the frequent use of censorship of news and views under emergency powers.

The catalogue of arbitrary killings, mass arrests, systematic practice of torture, prolonged incommunicado detention without trial and other gross human rights violations documented by independent international human rights organisations only proves the fraudulent nature of JR's claim in this regard.

Pathetic President

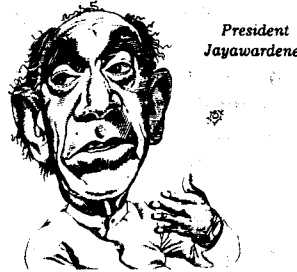
As far as language rights are concerned, JR admitted that Sinhala was the only official language, but concealed the fact that Tamil being a 'national language' in letter only was meaningless and without any practical significance. He readily conceded that recruitment to the state services and admission to universities were based on ethnic ratio and not on merit without realising that this constituted discrimination under International human rights Covenants.

While concealing the fact that the country's armed forces are composed of 98% Sinhalese, he refers to the Chief Justice and Attorney General being Tamils in an attempt to show that there is no discrimination against Tamils. It is pathetic to see that a President should go before an international conference of Heads of government and cite two or three names to refute the allegation of discrimination. The fact that he and his government are able to pick out only two or three names as examples among three million Tamils is in itself demonstrative of the prevailing discrimination.

While elaborating on the attacks upon the security forces by Tamil militant groups, JR sought to underplay the atrocities committed by his armed services which have been described by the American 'NEWSWEEK' as the "most indisciplined in the world". He said, "The security services in defence and retaliation have killed several". What an exercise in understatement! The Tamil militants are not spared; they are hounded out and killed; they are arrested, detained, tortured and sometimes prosecuted under draconian laws the like of which are found only in South Africa. But not a single soldier has up to now been court martialled or prosecuted in spite of the countless number of proven acts of arson and murder committed by the security forces.

The explanation given by JR for the statewide anti-Tamil pogrom in July

1983 reminds one of the statement made by a veteran Sri Lankan left politician who knew JR very closely. He said, "JR does not tell the truth even by accident". JR told his Commonwealth colleagues that the July 1983 riots were caused as a result of some Sinhalese civilians being misled into harming the Tamils and their property in retaliation for the deaths of 13 soldiers in a bomb attack in the north. This was not what JR and



his Ministers said at that time. Their position was that the violence was premeditated and well organised. Gangs with voters lists in their hands to identify Tamils and their homes went about attacking the Tamils with military precision. The President and his government in fact put the blame on certain left groups for the violence (although no one believed it) and banned three left parties and placed many of their leaders in detention. Some of JR's Ministers even went to the extent of accusing the Soviet KGB of instigating the violence. That was in July 1983. But in October 1985, according to JR, the violence was caused by some Sinhalese who had been misled!

Within Sri Lanka, the Sinhala people are deliberately roused against the Tamils on the issue of Tamil separatism. Sinhala opinion and people are mobilised behind the government to prevent the attempt to divide the country and form a separate state. However, JR told his fellow Heads of government that the Tamil militants were bent on creating a Marxist state in the whole of Sri Lanka. He elaborated this theme during his BBC interview later. He said, "They think this is an ethnic conflict. This is not an ethnic conflict. It is a conflict of some people who want to capture the whole of Sri Lanka, not a portion, the whole of Sri Lanka and make it a Marxist state". There one has heard the authentic Yanki Dicky at his most eloquent.

If what is taking place in Sri Lanka is not an ethnic conflict, then why is JR seeking the assistance of Rajiv Gandhi to arrange for talks with the Tamil groups in Bhutan? Why did he invest his Queens Counsel brother

with full ministerial powers and send him to New Delhi and Bhutan to negotiate with Tamil groups? Why is he putting forward proposals for devolution of power by the creation of provincial councils etc? Why all this effort to solve a non-existing ethnic conflict?

JR's Crusade

One might wonder whether JR is a fool or a knave. Certainly he is no fool. He knew exactly what he was talking about, and more appropriate where and to whom he was talking. He was only trying to raise the age old bogey of Marxism to get money and weapons for his crusade. In fact it is a crusade against the Tamils within Sri Lanka and he makes that very clear when he is in Sri Lanka. But he would not get much money or weapons for that type of crusade. However, if it is made to look like a crusade against Marxist international terrorist forces, he knows that he is bound to get some response from the Reagans and the Thatchers of this world.

Violence has become a permanent phenomenon in Sri Lanka since JR and his party came to power in Sri Lanka in July 1977. Immediately after his election victory, gangs of thugs associated with the ruling party went on a revenge-seeking mission of arson and murder against the defeated opposition candidates and members. At least five major outbreaks of anti-Tamil pogroms have taken place since July 1977. The government's security forces are the most indisciplined, brutal and beastly creations on earth. Opposition meetings and trade union pickets have been attacked and broken up many times. Thugs associated with the ruling party's trade union, the JSS, have attacked even homes of Supreme court judges. Convicted hard core criminals are released from prison, armed by the government and sent to Tamil areas to terrorise the people. The government openly distributes guns to Sinhala settlers in the north and east and these guns are certainly not intended for Buddhist or Gandhian purposes.

As for JR himself, his precepts and practices are far apart. When the late S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike in 1957 sought to bring about a settlement between the Sinhalese and the Tamils by signing a political agreement with the then Tamil leader, the late Mr. S.J.V. Chelvanayakam, it was JR who came forward to lead the people in a war against 'the betrayal of the

Continued on page 24

CRIMINAL ELEMENTS MUST BE WEEDED OUT

The following is the full text of the resolution unanimously adopted at the Annual General Meeting of the London based Standing Committee of Tamil Speaking People (SCOT) held on 27 October 1985:

"The legitimacy of the struggle of the Tamil speaking people for their right to self determination arises from the oppression they are subjected to and the denial of their fundamental democratic and human rights and freedoms. Their peaceful protests and pleas in Parliament for their rights and freedoms were treated with contempt and derision by successive Sri Lankan regimes. They also have been victims of racial pogroms in which thousands of Tamils have lost their lives. In this context, the use of armed rebellion as a means of resisting their national oppression was regarded as not only legitimate but also essential for their continued survival as a people. And the struggle of the Tamil people received international recognition, credibility and support in the wake of the July 1983 anti-Tamil pogrom which highlighted the violence and violations to which the Tamil people were subjected.

"In spite of the massive acts of

retaliation and reprisals against Tamil civilians and their property by the security forces, the support of the Tamil people to the Tamil militant groups never diminished. They were and are prepared to endure the enormity of the crimes inflicted upon them by the armed forces of the oppressive Sri Lankan regime so long as the struggle is for the national self determination and of securing their fundamental human rights.

"However, we note with repugnance the emerging evidence of some elements, under cover of fighting for national liberation, engaging in criminal acts of murder, gangsterism and banditry against members of the Tamil community. The foul murders of former TULF MPs, V. Dharmalingam and M. Alalasundaram, only highlighted the sheer ruthlessness of these criminal elements and their lack of respect for human rights. There are substantiated reports that these elements have been and are engaged in

demanding ransom in the form of money and jewellery from ordinary Tamil civilians, accompanied by menacing threats to their lives. The ordinary Tamil people are beginning to resist these gangs of criminal elements by concerted mass action as has been evidenced recently in the Jaffna district in northern Sri Lanka.

"These criminal elements must be identified, isolated, exposed and weeded out of existence if the legitimacy and credibility of the struggle of the Tamil people are to be maintained. By their actions, these elements are doing enormous damage to those groups and individuals genuinely engaged in the struggle against national oppression.

"We alert the Tamil speaking people to the dangers posed by the criminal actions of these unruly elements who have no place in the just struggle for national self determination, democratic rights and fundamental freedoms."

Stop Robberies & Violence – Mothers' Front Appeals

The Mothers' Front of Jaffna district in northern Sri Lanka has made a strong appeal to bring an end to the sporadic robberies and killings carried out by those pretending to be associated with the Tamil liberation movement.

The Mothers' Front was formed towards the end of 1984 to protest against the atrocities committed by the Sri Lankan security forces. The following is the full text of their appeal:

"We, the members of the Mothers' Front of Jaffna, make a humble appeal to our children. Do not allow anything to happen that would besmirch the fair name of our community.

"Fight on for our people, continue your fight against suppression. We, the Mothers, have always extended our support and expressed our solidarity with all just struggles of the peoples here and far away.

"We have been disturbed by some of the incidents that have taken place in the North in recent times, particularly the spate of robberies and killings.

"This must be stopped. It is your sacred duty to safeguard the people who are here with you. The ordinary people must not be allowed to be

harassed by anyone. If you allow this to continue to happen, you will be failing in your duty.

"There are many enemies against us, both outside and within. By their activities the enemies within are weakening the unity of the people and giving substance to those forces which are trying to keep the Tamil people in bondage in perpetuity. Hound out

these devils, they are a danger to all of us.

"Take action to stop the robberies and killings, which are draining the resources of our community and bringing about suffering, dissension and disillusionment among our people.

"That is our humble appeal to you, our sons and daughters."

BLOOD MONEY

The Sri Lankan High Commission in Canberra says it has collected over \$10,000 for the government's National Defence Fund. This fund, said the letter, would be used to "augment budgetary allocations for Defence." A purported violation of diplomatic convention, it has drawn the presumed concern (!) of Australian authorities.

Apart from the letters of appeal from High Commissioner Lieutenant General Denis Perera, funds are being raised through front organisations such as the Sydney-based Sri Lankans Interested in National Harmony and Aid (SINHA).

The Commissioner has also made personal appeals to some rich Sri Lankans resident in Australia, most

of whom still have extensive property and business interests in Sri Lanka. The Australian Council For Overseas Aid (ACFOA) has asked that the fund be closed. (SLRHC Bulletin September, 1985).

In Canada, money is collected through the Toronto-based Sri Lankan United National Association (SLUNA) and Project Peace in Ottawa.

Materials collected by Canada-Sri Lanka Association for refugees in 1983 has still not been accounted for. It is no secret that some people rushed home after the pogroms to buy land of dispossessed Tamils. A few years ago, the Prime Minister R. Premadasa caused a stir when he sent letters to Sri Lankans in Canada, asking for money.

(Courtesy of LANKA REVIEW, No. 4 & 5)

SRI LANKA, A MANUFACTURED TYRANNY OF THE MAJORITY

Commenting on the current situation in Sri Lanka, the Council for Liberal Democracy states:

"In these past two years and more the challenge posed to Sri Lanka's survival as a nation worthy of its own past and of the open and tolerant political system which it has been its good fortune to possess, indeed the challenge to the very survival of thousands of its citizens to say nothing of their fundamental human rights has steadily grown. The forces of irrational hatred, sectarianism, racism and intolerance in all its forms have demonstrated a vicious strength, richly led by glib proposed solutions that have sought not the true nature of the Sri Lankan crisis but to avoid a meeting with reality. The continued use by many of the major actors in Sri Lankan public affairs of this grave situation as an instrument of partisan political advantage has done little to bring about a settlement and much to create the impasse in which this country finds itself today.

"As both domestic and foreign sources declare with frightening incessance, the imminence of civil war, liberal values, individualism, political, and social and economic pluralism, respect for the rights of the human person and for the immutable principles of justice, are threatened in Sri Lanka as never before. With ever-increasing might, the forces of populist and demagogic manipulation are seeking to obviate choice, to stifle dissent, to impose the views created by 'newspeak', 'double think' and by 'lie-factories' – in a word liberal pluralism is threatened with extinction by a grotesque coalition of violence, and a manufactured tyranny of the majority.

"The Council for Liberal Democracy is convinced that there cannot be a permanent settlement of the current conflict until racism and sectarianism have been eradicated.

As the group that dominates the structure of the Sri Lankan state today and has imposed its ideology as the dominant political force in Sri Lanka for almost thirty years, the advocates of Sinhala-Buddism, need to be combated as strongly as Tamil terrorism if the ideal of a united liberal democratic Sri Lanka is to be achieved.

"Another error in the approach to the current crisis has been the treatment of it as an exclusively racial antagonism devoid of a context. The CLD, however, had been convinced even prior to 1983 that the crisis of Sri Lankan communal relations was one facet of the crisis of liberal democracy in Sri Lanka. The erosion particularly since 1970, of individual rights, the freedom of the press, of the quality and freedom of Parliament which reached a high point of intolerant and manipulative excess with the Referendum of 22nd December, 1982 and of the opportunities for political dissent and constructive criticism particularly over the last seven years, has created a climate of creeping authoritarianism which compounded the possibilities for racial hatred."

"OPERATION MURUGAPURI" An Eyewitness Account

"I am a resident at Murugapuri, Uppuveli, eye witness to many incidents which took place since 4th September, 1985 – brutal killing of many Tamils and destruction and burning of all houses belonging to the Tamils towards South of Murugapuri were over by this time. All of them fled to Sampaltivu direction as refugees.

On 4th September, 1985, during the height of the tension, all residents at Murugapuri and suburbs, up to the 3rd mile post, had left their houses and took refuge at the 3rd mile post and beyond towards the North. On the evening of the 4th, thugs entered Murugapuri and suburbs with armed "home guards" and looted the houses. This looting continued until the 8th. In the meantime, on the 7th, the area was shelled from the air by helicopter. On the 9th morning, Forces with machine gun fire moved on to the 3rd mile post. All residents in the area fled for safety. The Forces then proceeded about 200 yards beyond the junction towards Nilaveli and maintained guard, preventing Tamils crossing the point. Soon after, I could hear reports of gun shots and smoke and flame coming up from Murugapuri end. A crowd moving in the direction of 3rd mile junction with armed "home guards" looting all houses and shops en route. This went on until about 5 p.m. Another crowd, who followed later, set fire to houses and shops, which were already looted.

Practically all houses and shops, about 100 yards beyond the junction, were looted and burnt down. About 6 p.m., the thugs and the "home guards" with guns moved out. Subsequently the Forces, who were guarding the

Main Road, also moved out, after firing several shots.

About 7 p.m. some people, including myself, approached the road at the 3rd mile junction. It was deserted. Adjoining the roadside is the Solai Vairavan Temple, where we saw two dead bodies lying in the Temple premises with cuts and gunshot injuries. They were identified as Sinnathurai, 85 years old, and Navaratnam, aged 50 years. Also one Menon, 61 years, manager of a hotel nearby, was found killed and partly burnt inside his hotel.

The following morning (9th September, 1985), when some relations and others visited the scene to remove the dead bodies, armed "home-guards" and thugs came to the spot and fired shots. Leaving the bodies, all fled through fear. No one attempted to remove the bodies on this day too. Finally, on the 3rd day (11th), only, the bodies were removed and buried without any inquest or ceremony.

Most of the people took refuge in jungles. It appears that their plan to drive all the Tamils systematically away from the Urban Limits to and beyond Sampaltivu areas in the North is almost successful. Up to now no Government Officials or responsible persons had visited this area.

Incidentally, Murugapuri in Uppuveli is similar to the Cinnamon Gardens in Colombo, consisting of many tourists, guest houses and fairly large houses. Millions of rupees worth of damage had been caused to this area alone.

"Trincomalee, a Scorched Dead City"

The Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality of Sri Lanka, in a statement concerning the destruction caused to the eastern Tamil port city of Trincomalee, says:

"MIRJE has, always and consistently, argued for a political solution to the ethnic problem. The alternative to a peaceful political solution is continuing strife, with the level of violence escalating day by day, resulting in the increasing destruction of human life and property, the negation of all civilised values and the emergence of a brutalised society in which violence will be endemic.

The destruction of the Trincomalee district over the past three to four months is one example of the results of increasing intransigence and violence.

Trincomalee is today a scorched, dead city. The huts and houses on the approach roads to Trincomalee are now deserted. Traffic is very rare. The schools are empty or are turned into refugee camps. The city itself recalls images of war-ravaged,

bombed and burnt out cities. In only a few quarters of the city are houses standing and occupied. By early evening the city is deserted. People are huddled in their homes, in make-shift shelters, in refugee camps, in schools, temples etc, not knowing what form of violence will strike in the night.

Trincomalee city has been saved from the 'terrorists' as the security forces claim, but in the process Trincomalee has been destroyed. The security forces, the armed home-guards who function as their auxiliaries and the Tamil militants are waging a war where victims are civilians; the number of refugees forced out of their homes and livelihood now number over 40,000 in the district, with no ethnic group being totally spared."

Letters to the Editor

CRISIS IN SRI LANKA: A POSTSCRIPT

On September 24, 1985, there was a complete 'hartal' in Tamil Nadu over the plight of Sri Lanka Tamils. In no country other than India and in no civilisation other than the Indian could this have happened. Nor would it have happened before the advent of Mahatma Gandhi who drew on India's great heritage of Ahimsa or Soul Force and perfected it into mass action called Satyagraha for securing the freedom of his people from British rule. When in March 1930, Gandhi led the famous Salt March, with the injunction to the young volunteers that they must not raise their hands to ward off the lathi (baton) blows, one hundred thousand people throughout India staged similar marches and were arrested and imprisoned. In the words of Lord Pethwick-Lawrence, Gandhi's non-violent non-cooperation awakened the soul of India; it sapped the will of the British to maintain their rule.

When, following Gandhi's example, Martin Luther King staged the historic Washington March to secure the equal dignity and rights of the Blacks in America, a large number of white people joined the March.

May I appeal to our young and dedicated militants to re-think their strategy and mode of struggle in the light of the above examples. The Tamils of Sri Lanka, who share in the values of the same Indian civilisation and heritage, would do well to ensure that their struggle conveys an enduring message to our children and their children, and to the world outside.

Nor should we, even in the hour of suffering, dim our vision of a world community. As a first step, after securing the rights of the Tamils to self-determination, the challenge to all men and women of goodwill in Sri Lanka is to engage in a massive effort at Sinhala-Tamil reconciliation. Maybe there are areas in which the multi-ethnic classroom will once again contribute to the evolution of a harmonious multi-cultural, multi-ethnic society in our dear motherland. By a similar token, one or more Universities, and some post-graduate departments, can be designed so as to bind Sri Lanka together, where they can share a common intellectual estate.

Will we respond to the great challenge that lies before us?

Jaffna, 24.10.85.

K. NESIAH

GRAVELY FALSE!

Mr. N. Satyendra's article, "Tamils of Sri Lanka, Kurds and Bhutan" as a supplement in your paper, is a disservice to the Tamil cause. The comparison of the Kurd issue with the Tamil problem is as shallow as it is insidious.

It is nauseating to note that someone of Satyendra's calibre should stoop to allege that: "Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi seeks to manage the ethnic conflict of Sri Lanka in such a way as to further the foreign policy objective of securing India's influence and power in the Indian region – a policy objective which is sometimes expressed as securing a 'non-aligned' Indian region". This assertion is gravely false.

People and the state government of Tamil Nadu and also the central government of India have generously afforded sanctuary and stretched their scarce financial resources for the well-being of nearly 100,000 Sri Lankan Tamils. To describe the Indian Prime Minister as a politician jockeying for regional hegemony is a misconceived view.

In my humble opinion, if Satyendra had appreciated the enormous contribution made by people of other religious denominations for the enrichment of Tamil, he would not persist with his Hindu view. Tamilum Saivamum – Saivamum Tamilum meaning Tamils are Hindus and they are one and the same, which he expressed in his interview with 'Hinduism Today' (25 September 1985).

Unity among Sri Lankan Tamils is crucial at this juncture. Splinter groups have to be brought into one fold. Satyendra's effort should be directed to the unity of 2.5 million Sri Lankan Tamils than read into the motives of the Indian government.

Pasadena, CA 91101,
USA

NALLI M. KRISHNAN

Readers are requested to make their letters short.
Normally letters should not exceed 200 words –
Editor.

A subscription guarantees your Tamil Times anywhere in the world

Simply complete the form
below and return with your
payment to:

CIRCULATION MANAGER
Tamil Times
P.O. Box 304
London. W13 9QN

Name
BLOCK CAPITALS

Address

.....

.....

.....Postcode

Telephone

Annual Rates

UK, India & Sri Lanka £9.00
Rest of the world £15/US\$24

PLEASE NOTE: Payment only by
Sterling or US Dollar cheques or
International Money Order in Sterling.

To celebrate our fourth
anniversary we are pleased to offer
new subscribers free copies of our
November and December issues.

London Tamil Congregation

Carol Service

Sunday 15 December 3.45p.m.

Watchnight Service

Tuesday 31 December 11p.m.

at

Putney Methodist Church

For further information please contact
Chandra Sethurajan 01-743 5294

SOUTH LONDON TAMIL SCHOOL

This school is now conducted at
the Adult Education Centre,
South Norwood. Classes in
Tamil language, literature,
Carnatic music, Bharata Natyam
are held on Saturdays from 2pm
to 4.30pm.

Parents of children are
welcome to play badminton and
table tennis while children
attend classes. Swimming
facilities are also available.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

To advertise in this section, please
send the text of your advertisement
with **prepayment** to: Advertisement
Manager, Tamil Times, P.O. Box 304,
LONDON W13 9QN. First 20 words cost

£10 and each additional 20 words £5.
Deadline for each month's issue is the
5th. Cheques should be drawn payable
to Tamil Times Ltd.

MATRIMONIAL

Brother seeks pretty, Tamil, Catholic
bride for his 26 year old brother,
UK graduate electronics engineer,
working in UK. Please write with photo.
Correspondence treated in strictest
confidence. Box M58 c/o Tamil Times.

slim, educated bride for professionally
qualified son, mid-thirties, settled and
working in Australia for the
government and well established. All
details with photograph (returnable)
preferred. Box M62, c/o Tamil Times.

Parents settled in Britain seek qualified
Hindu, Tamil Sri Lankan bridegroom in
British employment, 28-35 years, for
their attractive, working daughter
(British citizen). Inter-marriage with
professionally qualified son (28 years)
also considered. Please write with
basic details. Box M59, c/o Tamil
Times.

Parents seek Sri Lankan Hindu
professional for their accomplished
and attractive nurse daughter (UK
resident), presently employed in
Australia. Box M63, c/o Tamil Times.

Hindu parents seek an attractive bride,
preferably permanent resident abroad,
for their chartered accountant son,
aged 30, employed in international
firm in Middle East for past 4 years.
Please send details. Box M61, c/o Tamil
Times.

Uncle settled in Canada seeks partner
for niece, Jaffna Tamil Hindu, 29 years,
slim, fair, educated and accomplished,
good dowry available. Her only brother
bachelor engineer settled in Canada.
Please write with brief details. Box
M64, c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Tamil Hindu parents seek fair,

Family emigrating to Australia seeks
suitable partner willing to settle in
Australia, for daughter, 26 years.
Professional preferred. Box M65, c/o
Tamil Times.



Conveyancing!

Before you buy or sell your property
Write or telephone us for a written estimate
of our fees

SOLICITORS with substantial experience can help you with the
following:

- Divorce and family matters
- Motoring offences
- Immigration
- Wills Probate and administration
- Criminal and Civil
- Personal injuries cases
- Landlord and Tenant
- Unfair Dismissal
- Liquor Licensing

We can also arrange your mortgage with Building Societies
ALL LEGAL AID CASES UNDERTAKEN Fixed Fee interview £5

Nalliah & Xavier
Solicitors
Administrators of Oaths
Privy Council Agents

Offices:
HARLESDEN: A. Xavier B.A. (Crim)
1 Craven Park, London NW10 8SX
Tel: 01-965 7186
BATTERSEA: N. Balakrishnan, LL.B
187/189 Lavender Hill, London SW11 5TB
Tel: 01-223 8221

TAMIL GROUPS MUST SPEAK OUT – Rajiv

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, today said that if the violence in Sri Lanka was to stop there must be an agreement between the Tamil militants and the Sri Lanka Government.

Answering questions at a press conference here, Mr. Gandhi urged the ENLF (comprising LTTE, EROS, EPRLF and TELO) to spell out what they wanted.

The Prime Minister was asked whether the Government of India would take a fresh initiative to break the deadlock in the talks between the Tamil Liberation leaders and the Sri Lanka Government and to stop the recurrence of violence on the island. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi said the Government had been trying to work on it. "What the ENLF must realise is that we are not a negotiating party; we are only trying to bring them together so that the ENLF and the Sri Lanka Government can negotiate. But the ENLF is thinking that we are going to negotiate for them; it is absolutely wrong".

Starting point: The Prime Minister said that the Sri Lankan Government had given a working paper which could be the starting point for a discussion.

Was there any basis for the allegation that the Government of India was leaning more towards the Sri Lankan Government? Mr. Rajiv Gandhi said, "We are not leaning towards any one; we want peace in Sri Lanka. What we want is that the Tamils in Sri Lanka should not be caught in the fight between the militants

and the Government and get hurt".

A reporter drew the Prime Minister's attention to the liberation groups' demand that the Government of India exert greater pressure on Sri Lanka to come to a negotiated settlement. The Prime Minister retorted: "The militants may want all kinds of things, but they must come out and say what they want."

Arms build-up: Asked whether it was a fact that there was a sudden arms build-up by the Sri Lanka Government and whether he would stop it, Mr Gandhi said, "Any Government will build up its security forces; and you cannot stop it."

Was he convinced that the Sri Lankan Government was sincere in its talks with the Tamils? Mr. Gandhi replied he could answer the question if the other side also was talking. "They are not willing to talk and we are not able to make an assessment as to how genuine the Sri Lankan Government is. So far, the indication has been positive from the Sri Lankan Government because it has come out with a working paper, while the ENLF has not."

Refugees all: A newsman wanted to know how long India would extend its hospitality to the Tamil militants and how the Government of India treated them – as terrorists, freedom-fighters or refugees.

"Refugees," the Prime Minister said. "We have always been very hospitable to refugees, whether they come from Sri Lanka or any other part of the world."

By courtesy of "The Hindu"

MUSLIMS ARE BEING OUSTED

The driving out of Tamils from areas of Mannar, Vavuniya, Mullaitivu, Trincomalee and Batticaloa in the north and east of Sri Lanka and settling Sinhalese brought from outside has been a familiar story.

Lately the Tamil-speaking Muslims of the eastern province have become the latest target of this Israeli-type land grabbing. For instance, the Muslims who had traditionally lived in Ponnaveili in the Addalaichenai Division in the eastern province are being driven away by armed gangs of Sinhalese and security personnel. Sinhalese from outside the area have been brought to be settled in their place.

The affected Muslims are all peasants and they have called upon the President and the Muslim Ministers in the Cabinet protesting against the action of the so-called Home Guards in driving them out of

the lands in which they have lived and cultivated for generations. If the government does not remedy the situation, the Muslim peasants have threatened to take the law into their own hands to assert their rights.

INDIRA AND GANDHI

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi likened Mrs Indira Gandhi to Mahatma Gandhi, Father of the Nation, who also had fallen to the assassin's bullets.

He said the two had striking similarities. Both had dedicated their lives to the upliftment of the downtrodden.

Both the leaders, he said, met the same fate after their long and dedicated service to the country, shedding the last drop of their blood to uphold their ideals.

Mrs Gandhi, the Prime Minister said, knew that the real strength of the country lay in ameliorating the lot of the poor and the deprived.

WIMAL & CO.

SOLICITORS

Are you planning to buy a property?

Do you intend to sell your present property and move shortly?

Are you thinking of obtaining a new mortgage to replace your present mortgage and raise some capital?

TELEPHONE US TODAY for a written quotation in writing. We may also be able to assist you with a mortgage direct from a building society at no extra cost.

WE WILL ALSO PROVIDE PROFESSIONAL ADVICE AND SERVICE ON:

- ☆ Purchase and Sale of Business
- ☆ Company Formations
- ☆ Matrimonial Matters
- ☆ Debt recovery Litigation
- ☆ Powers of Attorney to administer your property in Sri Lanka
- ☆ Motor traffic matters
- ☆ Wills
- ☆ IMMIGRATION Matters — Appeals before Home Office, etc.
- ★ You may be entitled to Legal Aid.

For an appointment or a consultation under the Fixed Fee interview scheme. Telephone us and ask for Pathma or Wimal Sockanathan.



TELEPHONE: 01-689 7503 (ansafone outside office hours) and 01-683 2645

3,5 & 7 Brigstock Road, Thornton Heath, Surrey CR4 7JG

FILM COMPANY WITH VIDEO RIGHTS REQUIRES

AGENTS FOR DISTRIBUTION OF TAMIL VIDEOS

IN UK, EUROPE, USA, CANADA, AUSTRALIA AND AFRICA

Please apply to Arjuna, Box CA/Misc 3, c/o TAMIL TIMES

WITH COMPLIMENTS

Ranjit Masilamany, LL.B., M.B.I.M.

Shirani V. Thevarajah, LL.B.
(Assistant Solicitor)

MASIL & COMPANY
Solicitors

Bank Chambers,
17 Leeland Mansions,
Leeland Road,
West Ealing, London W13 9HE

Tel Nos: 01-579 7318 and 7319

LIFE ASSURANCE for OVERSEAS RESIDENTS

*Can now take out LIFE
ASSURANCE POLICIES from
Leading UK Companies through Us.*

**LIFE ASSURANCE RATES IN
THE UNITED KINGDOM HAVE
A WORLD-WIDE REPUTATION
FOR VALUE FOR MONEY
AND SECURITY.**

*Special Mortgages Available for
UK Expatriates & Professionals*

**P. SRINIVASAN
ARM Associates**

1524 LONDON RD, NORBURY,
LONDON SW16 4EU

Tel: 01-679 1952/53 (office), 01-656 0396 (home)



**Our name is your guarantee for prompt and
efficient service**

We put you in touch with the world

- Sri Lanka • Australia
- Europe • Singapore • USA
- India • Mauritius

Contact:

RITA SANDRASAGARA
5 CAVENDISH AVE.
LONDON N3 3QP
Tel: 01-346 5044

Barclays Life has plans for you.

Today's financial world is complex and is often so bewildering that many don't know where to turn for advice.

The answer is Barclays where you will find experts on savings, pensions and the providing of financial security for dependants. These experts can give you clear-cut advice and explain the various Barclays Life plans which could suit your needs.

So if you would like to know more about how we could help you, complete the coupon below.

I would like more information about (please tick box(es)).

Regular Savings ☐ Investment Capital ☐ Pensions ☐ Family Protection ☐


Name _____

Address _____

Telephone Nos.: Home _____ Business _____

Hand this coupon in to any branch of Barclays or send it to:

Jo Moorthy
Barclays Life Assurance Company Ltd.
Eagle House, 1/2 Parkshot
Richmond, Surrey TW9 2RN.
Telephone: 01-940 0131.

 **BARCLAYS**

THE CIDER HOUSE

CIDER HOUSE TRAVEL

289 6934

Computer Lists Updated Daily
For Lowest Worldwide Air Fares

WOODFIELD INSURANCE

289 2761

Home Contents and Structure
Motor - Personal Accident - Travel
Commercial Premises - Liability
Mortgages - Pensions - Life Cover

MORTIMER & COMPANY

289 7121

Chartered Accountants with
over 20 Years' Experience
in Company and Personal Tax
Accounting and Auditing

2 Woodfield Place, London W9 2BJ

N BHAVAN

● IMMEDIATE HOME MORTGAGES AVAILABLE ●

UP TO 100% - (Subject to Status)
LOANS - COMMERCIAL OR FOR A SECOND HOME
OTHER SERVICES INCLUDE:

LIFE and PENSION
Policies

SHOP and COMMERCIAL
Insurance Cover

MOTOR INSURANCE
Competitive Rates
Instalments. BIA & Lloyds

HOME INSURANCE
Low cost Endowment
Policies

**SPECIALISTS FOR
HIRE & REWARD**
(for private hire)
- Monthly basis



Bainbridge Insurance Services Limited

* Local Agents for:



* **HEAD OFFICE**

78 Green Street,
London E7 8JG
01-471 3350
01-471 1866
01-472 2063 (hot line for quotations)

157A Hartfield Road,
Wimbledon,
London SW19 3TJ
01-543 5181

* 214 Hither Green Lane,
London SE13
01-852 8397

Bainbridge,
FREEPOST,
LONDON E7 8BR.

**Bainbridge for
prompt and reliable
service**



RATHBONE HOLIDAYS LTD

55 Rathbone Place, London W1.
Telephone: 01-636 2391

In addition to the most competitive
fare to **COLOMBO**

we also offer

DISCOUNTS for **GROUP TRAVEL**
to
MADRAS, BANGALORE and TRIVANDRAM

Competitive fares
to
USA, CANADA & AUSTRALIA

Special discount on **Club & First Class** fares

We are specialists in travel to
the **South East & Far East ASIA**

We confirm and reserve your seat on same day

Call us for fast, efficient &
courteous service



**YOUR
GUARANTEE**



UNITY COLLEGE

81-89 Fortress Road, Kentish Town, London NW5 1AG

Tel: 01-482 3349

YOU CAN ACHIEVE SUCCESS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

UNITY COLLEGE OFFERS YOU:

Commitment to Highest Educational Standards

Highly Qualified and Experienced Lecturers

Individual Academic Support

Pleasant and Caring Environment

Fees You can Afford

Locational Advantage

GUARANTEE YOUR SUCCESS

JOIN UNITY COLLEGE

Some of our courses are:

ACCOUNTANCY AND MANAGEMENT

Association of Accounting Technicians

Association of Certified Accountants

Institute of Costs & Management Accountants

Association of Business Executives

Institute of Administrative Management

Duration	3 terms	2 terms	1 term
----------	---------	---------	--------

Fee per subject	£130	£90	£60
-----------------	------	-----	-----

BANKING — The Institute of Bankers

IOB Stage 1 Internally examined

IOB Stage 2

Duration	2 terms	1 term
----------	---------	--------

Fee per subject: IOB1	£600	—
-----------------------	------	---

Fee per subject: IOB2	£170	£150
-----------------------	------	------

MARKETING

Institute of Marketing

CAM Foundation

Duration:	3 terms	2 terms	1 term
-----------	---------	---------	--------

Fee per subject:	£120	£80	£150
------------------	------	-----	------

ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Foundation — Elementary — Intermediate

Duration:	3 terms	2 terms	1 term
-----------	---------	---------	--------

Fee per course	£450	£300	£150
----------------	------	------	------

Write or telephone for your prospectus and enrolment form to
The Registrar

வீடியோ உலகில் மேல்ஓங்கி நிற்கும் கலை நிறுவனம்

EURO TAMIL VIDEO FILM SOCIETY

22, LANSDOWNE GROVE, NEASDEN, LONDON NW10 1PR. TP 01-450 1036

TOTALLY THE BEST PEOPLE FOR TAMIL VIDEO FILMS.

**DISTRIBUTORS IN UK FOR EURO/PYRAMID VIDEO FILM
AND PYRAMID AUDIO CASSETTES**

TAMIL, HINDI, ENGLISH
& MALAYALAM FILMS
ARE AVAILABLE FOR
SALE IN VHS/BETAMAX



WIDE RANGE OF
PYRAMID AUDIO
CASSETTES AVAILABLE
AT ALL OUR
BRANCHES

★ அன்றும் இன்றும் திரையில் பார்த்து பரவசமடைந்த சினிமா படங்களை
இப்பொழுது வீடியோ டேப்புகளின் மூலம் வீட்டிலேயே பார்த்து மகிழ்வுங்கள்
★ எங்களிடம் 800-க்கு மேலான தமிழ் படங்கள் வீடியோ டேப்புகளில்
விற்பனைக்கும் வாடகைக்கும் கிடைக்கும்

TRY US FOR QUALITY VIDEO FILMS & AUDIO CASSETTES

62, ELTHORN AVENUE,
HANWELL, LONDON W7
TEL: 01-579 3103

OUR BRANCHES ARE

64, ETTA STREET,
DEPTFORD, LONDON SE8
TEL: 01-691 1527
(new address)

“ உங்களது திருப்தியே எங்களது குறிக்கோள் ”

AGREEMENT BROKEN BY 'CEASEFIRE' PANEL

The Sri Lankan ceasefire monitoring committee broke a formal agreement that it would tour Jaffna peninsula unaccompanied by the security forces, according to members of the Jaffna citizens committee.

The monitoring committee, which was appointed on October 16 was visiting Jaffna city between November 4 and 6 to enquire into complaints of ceasefire violations by the security forces and Tamil militants.

But the visit has been widely condemned by Tamil sources in Jaffna as having been a waste of time, and the committee itself is accused of lacking in independence.

Mr. R. Balasubramaniam, secretary of the citizens committee, said: "These people are supposed to be enquiring into ceasefire violations by the security forces as well as by the militants. How can they be expected to make independent investigations into allegations against the army if they feel the need to rely on the army itself for their security? I wrote to them before their arrival asking them to make their investigations unescorted because the people are afraid to be seen by the army when they give evidence. They gave the citizens committee an undertaking that they would travel alone,

but when they came, they broke that undertaking".

Wasted: According to the citizens committee member, the first day of the visit was entirely wasted because of the monitoring committee's refusal to leave its base at the Fort Army camp without an army escort to accompany it to the Ashok Hotel, 100 metres away.

The hotel, where complainants had been asked to meet the committee, was heavily guarded by uniformed security personnel, while other soldiers patrolled the streets since 8 a.m. This prompted Tamil militants to let off a number of bombs as a warning to the forces not to come out of their camp.

In the meantime, members of the Jaffna, Point Pedro and Valvettitturai citizens committees who had come to make their statements waited at the nearby hospital because they would not enter the hotel in the presence of the security forces. The monitoring committee itself did not turn up until after 3 p.m. because of the militants setting off bombs.

On the next day, army security was replaced by the police after an appeal by the Jaffna citizens committee, and a number of complainants were able to make their statements. On the third day,

militant groups began to make repeated announcements on loudspeakers fixed near the Ashok Hotel, appealing to members of the committee to pursue their investigations outside the hotel, and guaranteeing their safety if they travelled unescorted by the security forces.

Movement limited: However, the monitoring committee limited its movements to three sites in central Jaffna where it inspected damage to buildings allegedly caused by heavy firing from the army on the night of October 24.

A spokesman for the Jaffna citizens committee said: "The monitoring committee consists of 11 persons who are trying to investigate as one body, which we feel is very unwieldy. Their approach is that of a commission of enquiry. They sit like judges expecting people to come forward to them - even people who are unable to do so through fear. We feel their role should be to act as an investigating committee which should be able to go to the sites in question without being obligated to any party for protection. Furthermore, the committee has no powers to suggest means of preventing future violations. This is a material omission, and without it the committee is of no use".

By courtesy of "The Hindu"

File on Torture

Continued from page 7

AI has heard of very few such inquests being held. For example, to AI's knowledge no inquest has been held into the death of Kamalarajah, a Tamil man from Kankesanthurai who was taken to Gurunagar Army Camp on 2 December 1984 and was reported to have been beaten frequently during the days following his arrest. Witnesses have stated that he died on 10 December as a result of continuous beatings by army personnel.

Despite a statement by Sri Lanka to the UN Human Rights Sub Commission on 26 August 1985 that the High Court has held 63 such inquests, to AI's knowledge no information has been published in the Sri Lankan press about any of them.

The government stated that "in none of these cases has there been material to establish unlawful action by any member of the security forces". But the information it provided to the UN Sub Commission gave no indication of how the investigation was carried out, what evidence was presented to the inquest or how the inquest reached its conclusion. Nor did it offer the texts of the stated High Court findings.

In one such inquest into the shooting of 32 Tamil detainees in the Joint Services Special Army Camp in Vavuniya on 2 December 1984 AI was informed that only evidence by the police and a medical officer was presented and no relatives were present during the inquest.

ARMY ON RAMPAGE IN BATTICALOA

Scores of Tamils were shot dead and a number of homes set on fire near the eastern Tamil town of Batticaloa, Sri Lanka, when the armed forces went on a rampage following the death of five policemen, including a Sub-Inspector, in a land mine explosion allegedly planted by a Tamil militant group on 16 November.

According to an eyewitness, the security forces went berserk, attacking people on the streets and opening fire at random. Many of the dead were in the 12-18 age group. Two were shot dead as they were leaving the hospital after collecting medicines.

Two students were hit by bullets when they had come out of their classrooms during the interval. The number of people killed or injured has not been fully ascertained, as the people were afraid to take them to the hospital because of the tension and fear prevailing in the town.

Batticaloa town and its environs gave

the picture of a ghost city. The local people have run away fearing further attacks by the security forces.

Among the several dozen houses set on fire by the security forces, many were situated along Bar Road, a highly residential area, barely a mile from the town. According to the Government Agent, Mr. M. Anthonimuthu, many of the houses damaged were large ones and they had been looted before being set alight. The people of the area had sought refuge in far away places with friends and relatives. Many vehicles were also destroyed.

Although the government first sought to cover up the atrocities committed by the security forces, after representations made by local Members of Parliament belonging to the ruling party, it belatedly admitted that the Tamils killed in Batticaloa by the security forces were innocent civilians.

EXERCISE IN DISTORTION

Continued from page 15

Sinhala race'. In 1977, he threatened, "If they (the Tamils) want peace they will have peace. If they want war, there will be war", and within a few days, the August 1977 anti-Tamil pogrom was unleashed. And since his assumption to power, violence has become a part of the daily life of the people. Yet JR had the effrontery to conclude his speech at the

Commonwealth Conference saying: "I believe in democratic principles of non-violence and the principles proclaimed by Gautama the Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi". These two truly Great Sons of Asia, and of the world, must be turning in their graves for the manner in which their names are dragged in vain by political scoundrels.