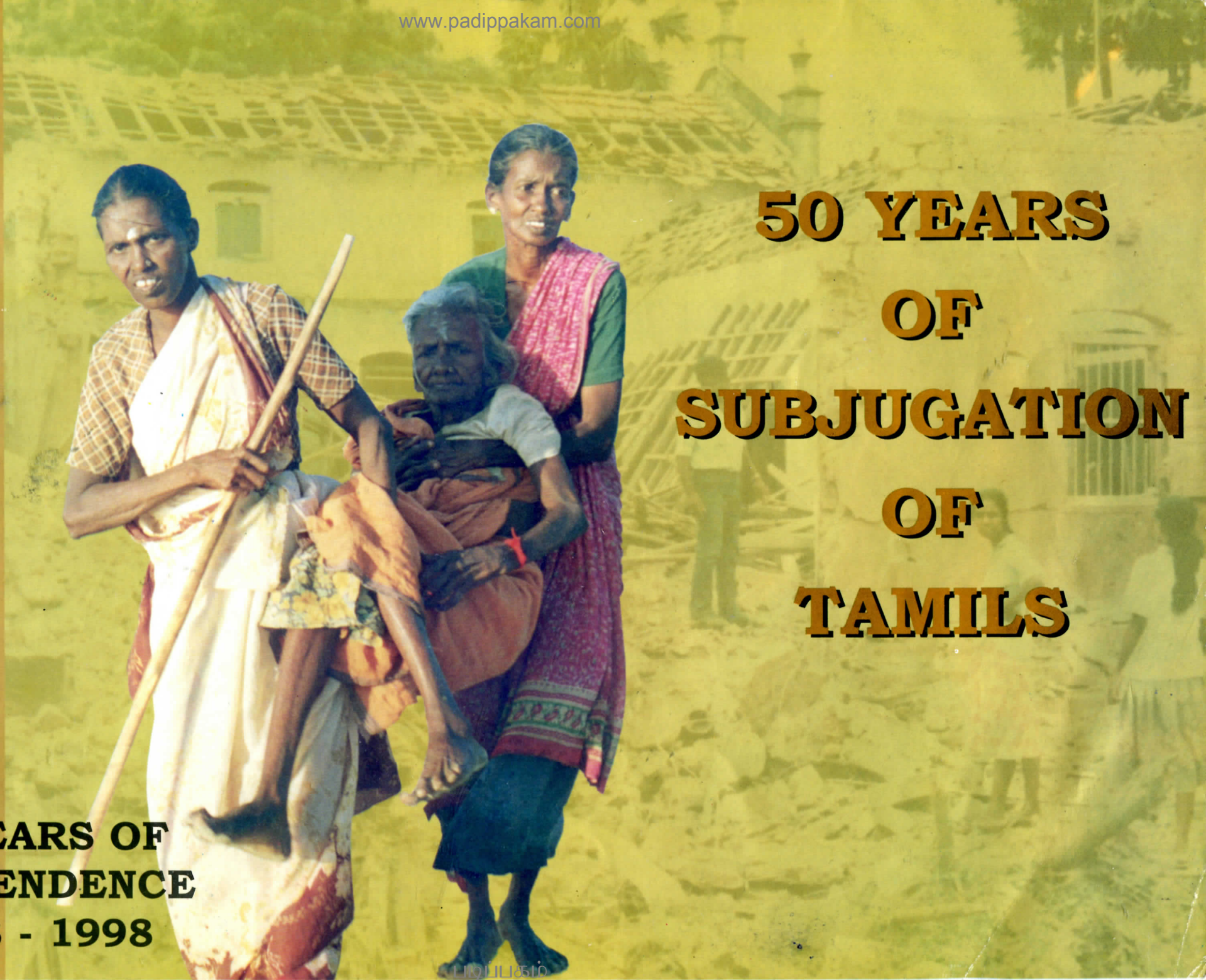




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**50 YEARS OF
INDEPENDENCE
1948 - 1998**



**50 YEARS
OF
SUBJUGATION
OF
TAMILS**

INTRODUCTION

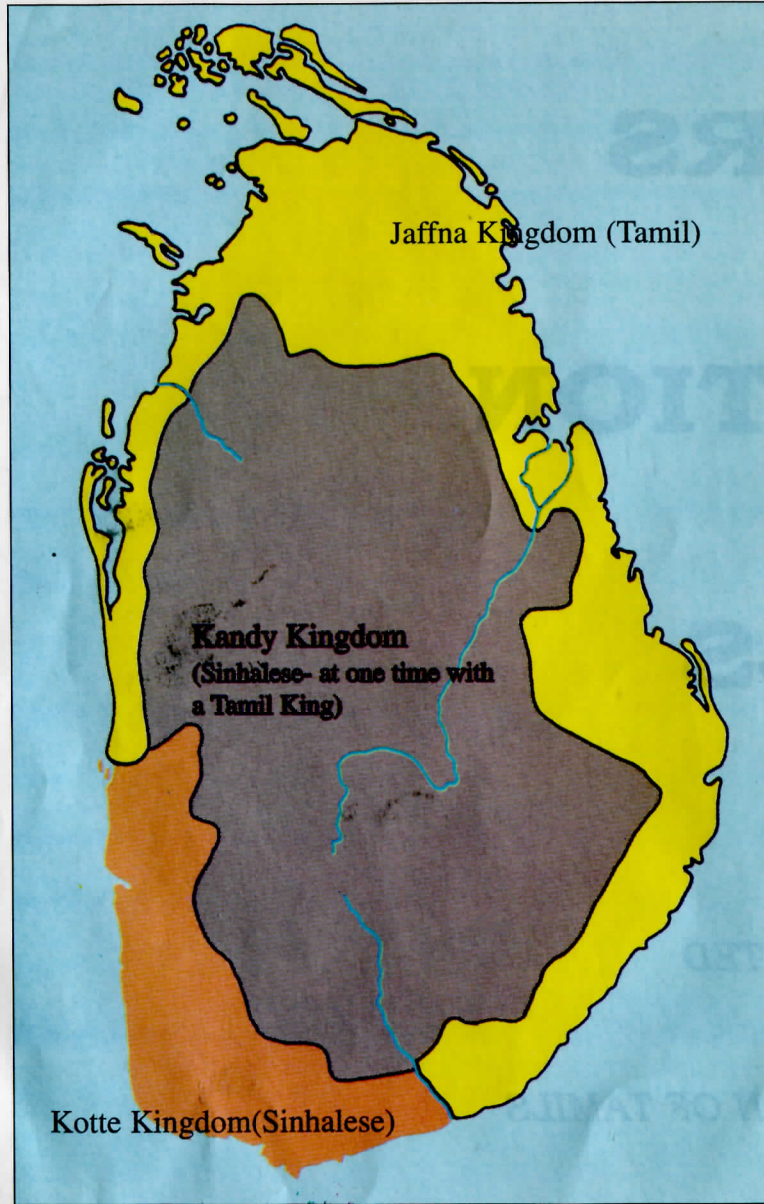
50 YEARS OF SUBJUGATION OF TAMILS

COMPILED AND EDITED

by

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TAMILS

20.01.1998



1789 MAP

Cleghorn Minute 1799...

“Two different Nations, from a very ancient period, have divided between them the possession of the Island: (in ceylon). First the Cinhalese, inhabiting the interior of the cuntry in is southern and western parts from the river Wallouve to that of Chilow, and secondly the Malabars (Tamils), who possess the northern and eastern districts. These two nations differ entirely in their religions, language and manners...”

Three Kingdoms

Both the Tamils in the North and East, and the Sinhalese in the South and West lived on the island for over two thousand years.

INTRODUCTION

Since Independence from Britain in 1948, successive Sinhala Governments have denied fundamental rights of the Tamil people, systematically depriving Tamils of education and employment, denying advancement and development of the Tamil homeland. The consistent and continuous oppression by the Sinhala armed forces have now reached genocidal proportions.

For the last two decades Sri Lanka has been a cauldron of political violence. The racial antagonism that surfaced between the Tamil and Sinhala nations since independence has evolved into a full - fledged armed conflict. The parties in the conflict are the Sri Lankan state and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). Both the parties command standing armies and are embroiled in a bloody war.

The consequences of the war are devastating. The Tamil civilians face the brunt of the conflict because the war is waged in the Tamil homeland. Already over 50,000 Tamils have perished and hundreds of thousands have either fled the country or are internally displaced. Yet the war continues with unabating ferocity destroying life and property with every passing day.

A well orchestrated propaganda campaign has been launched by Sri Lanka to convince the world community that the Tamil struggle is nothing other than a spectre of terrorism. Playing on the sensibilities and anxieties of Western nations about global terrorism, Sri Lanka has been propagating a view that she is also victim of a similar phenomenon. The Sri Lankan diplomatic missions abroad have been active in transposing an internal interracial conflict into a global terror.

This misinformation campaign is intended to discredit the Tamil armed struggle and to seek sympathy and support for a massive war effort in the Tamil homeland. In the diplomatic language of Sri Lanka, this war is an exercise for peace and has noble intentions of 'liberating Tamils from the scourge of terrorism'. Such false propaganda has created a great deal of confusion and misconception in the international political and diplomatic arena about the Tamil struggle in general and the armed struggle in particular. Furthermore, the ongoing violence and counter - violence that characterises the Tamil conflict have given rise to various misrepresentations about the aims and objectives of the Tamil armed freedom movement.

This document attempts to illustrate some of the misconceptions surrounding the armed struggle of the Tamils, while examining the historical conditions and repression of peaceful protests that gave rise to the armed resistance movement against the military oppression and genocide.

This book is dedicated to the memory of all those innocent civilians massacred by the Sri Lankan armed forces and those who have laid down their precious young lives in defence of our motherland

1948 : SRI LANKA'S INDEPENDENCE FROM BRITISH RULE.

Both the Tamil People & Sinhalese people are indigenous people of Sri Lanka. Early history records that they had their own monarchs and Kingdoms. They were conquered by the colonial powers separately and in different periods in history. They existed as separate communities until the British brought them together in 1883 under a single administration (for the very first time in their long history).

The Colonial Era.

1505- Arrival of Portuguese - They first occupied the low country Sinhalese areas in the south west of the Island.

1621- Jaffna Tamil Kingdom fell to the Portuguese (more than a century later)



1656- Dutch occupied areas which were under Portuguese control.

1802- Treaty of Amiens - Dutch possessions ceded to the British.

1815- The Sinhalese Kandyan Kingdom in the central parts conquered by the British, having annexed the Tamil Vanni Kingdom in the north.

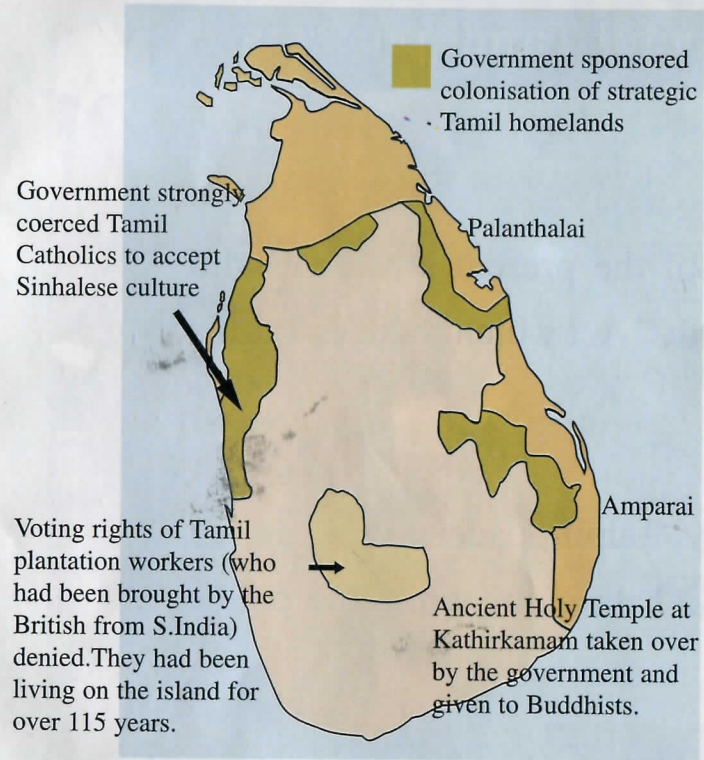
1833- The British unified the island based on the recommendations of Cole Brooke - Cameron Commission (purely for administrative convenience).

1931- Donoughmore constitution - State council elected by Universal suffrage (the first people to exercise universal suffrage in Asia).

1947- Soulbury constitution adopted & general elections held for the parliament of Ceylon.



1948 : CITIZENSHIP LEGISLATION DISENFRANCHISES ONE MILLION 3RD GENERATION INDIAN PLANTATION WORKERS.



“... Wholly arbitrary deprivation of the fundamental right to the citizenship of one’s country for a group of people, all or most all of whom were born there, who have never been anywhere else, and have no other allegiance and who have made immense contribution to the country’s wealth...”

Paul Sieghart: International Commission of Jurists Report 1984



1956 : Long history of peaceful Tamil protests

Solomon Dias Bandaranaike, the father of the present president who was Prime Minister passes the “Sinhala only” Act which reduces Tamils to second class citizenship

Tamil non-violent protesters headed by Tamil leaders who sat in peaceful protest opposite the Parliament building assaulted by Sinhala mobs while the police watched.

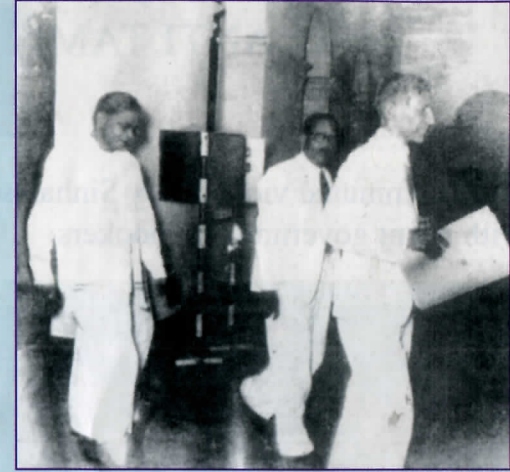
Over 100 Tamils killed in Gal Oya in the East; Gal Oya was a newly created Sinhala colony



1957 : BANDA - CHELVA PACT

This pact envisaged provision for setting up Regional Councils with powers in agriculture, education and selection of candidates for colonization schemes

The Pact was later abrogated due to campaigns by Buddhist monks and then opposition leader J.R.Jayawardene.

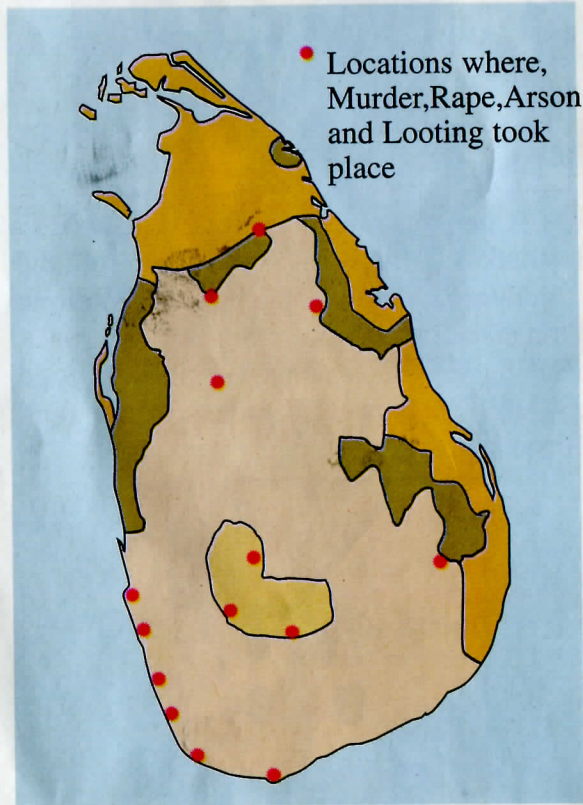


Above, Chelvanayakam entering S.W.R.D Bandaranaike's office for negotiations on the pact between them, July 1957, Below: Bandaranaike after the signing of the pact, followed by Chelvanayakam (in the rear) and other Tamil leaders C.Vanniasingam, and S.M.Rasamanickam



1958 : ANTI TAMIL RIOTS IN THE SINHALA AREAS RAPE, LOOTING AND MASSACRE OF TAMILS

Organised communal violence by Sinhalese with silent government onlookers



1958 Anti-Tamil Race Riots under Buddhist Sinhala SLFP government

May 22nd - Sinhala mobs at Vavuniya stop a train murdering four delegates to a Tamil Federal Party convention.

May 25th - Vans of Sinhalese colonists from land development schemes attack Tamil villagers with home made swords and grass cutting knives setting fire to homes burning them alive.

May 26th - Rioting in Colombo. Massacre of Tamils in the Sinhala areas begins.

“The outbreak of violence began when a train presumed to be carrying Tamil delegates to the meeting was derailed and its passengers beaten up by ruffians. The next day Sinhalese laborers set fire to Tamil shops and homes in nearby villages. Arson and beating spread rapidly to Colombo. Gangs roamed the districts where Tamil lived, ransacking and setting fire to homes and cars and looting shops. Individual Tamils were attacked, humiliated and beaten. Many were subjected to torture and some killed outright...”

Prof. Howard Wriggins;
'Ceylon; Dilemmas of a New Nation'.

“On the night of May 25 (1958)... almost simultaneously on the government farms at Polonnaruwa and Hingurakdoda the thugs struck remorselessly. The Tamil labourers in the Polonnaruwa sugar cane plantation fled when they saw the enemy approaching and hid in sugar cane bushes. The goondas wasted no time, they set the sugar cane alight and flushed out the Tamils. As they came out screaming, men women and children were cut down with home made swords, grass cutting knives and katties or pulped under heavy clubs..”

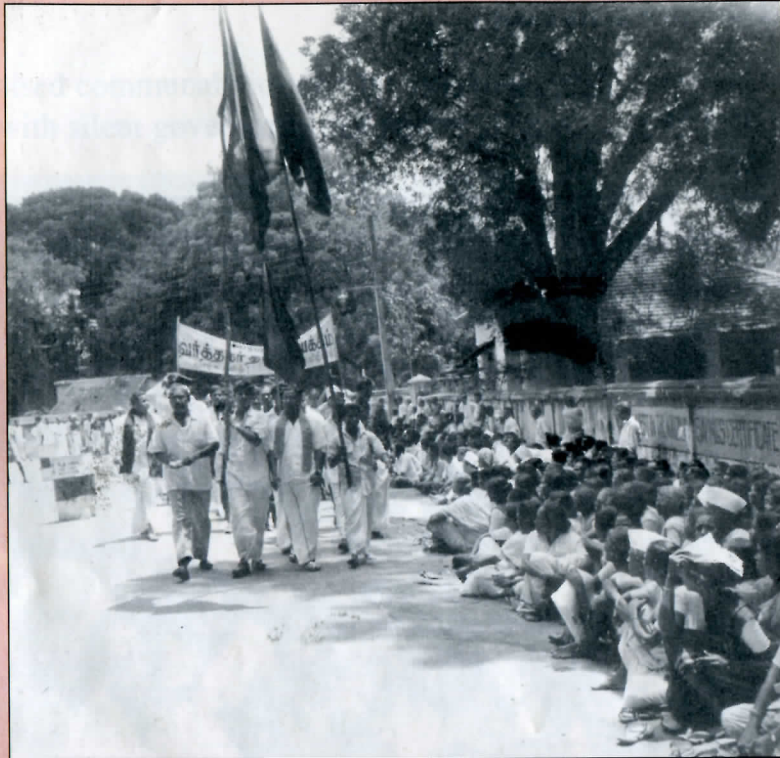
- Tarzie Vittachi; Emergency 58;
- Andre Deutch London 1958

1961 : Tamil non-violent civil disobedience campaign in North and East paralyzes the administration.



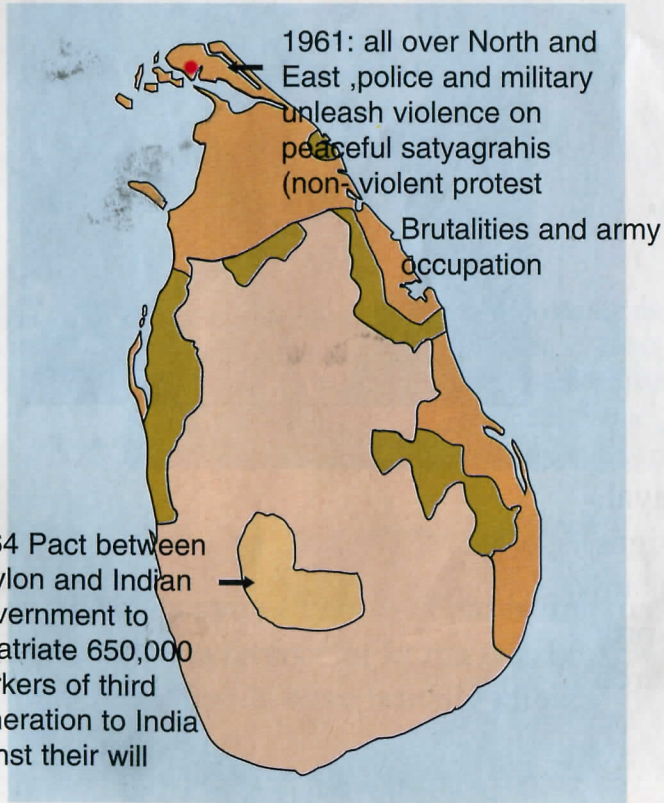
Women in large numbers join the sit in campaign blocking the entrance to administrative centers

Police violence unleashed on peaceful protesters





1964 : Srima-Shastri pact



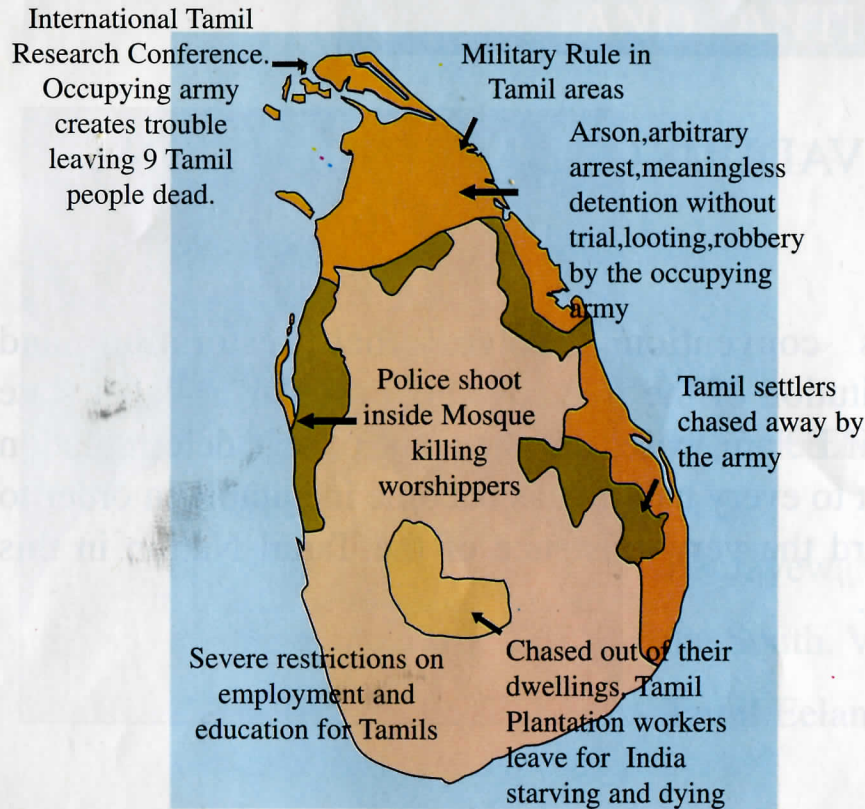
1964 : Srima-Shastri pact to evacuate decitizenised Tamil plantation Workers of Indian origin

1965 Dudley - Chelva pact



Another pact and another betrayal. U.N.P leader Dudley Senanayake signs pact with Tamil leader Chelvanayakam in 1965, leading to autonomy in North and East. Pact again dishonoured because of Sinhala opposition.

1974 : KILLING AT INTERNATIONAL TAMIL CONFERENCE



With the recurrent mob - violence against democratic, non-violent, protests in Colombo, the Tamil leadership was forced to move the venue of their non-violent protest demonstrations to the Tamil homelands.

Thereafter the army, permanently stationed in the Tamil homelands, started to harass, torture and kill Tamil civilians with increasing ferocity.

Later, legislations (Emergency Regulation & Prevention of Terrorism Act of 1979) were enacted to legitimize these activities.

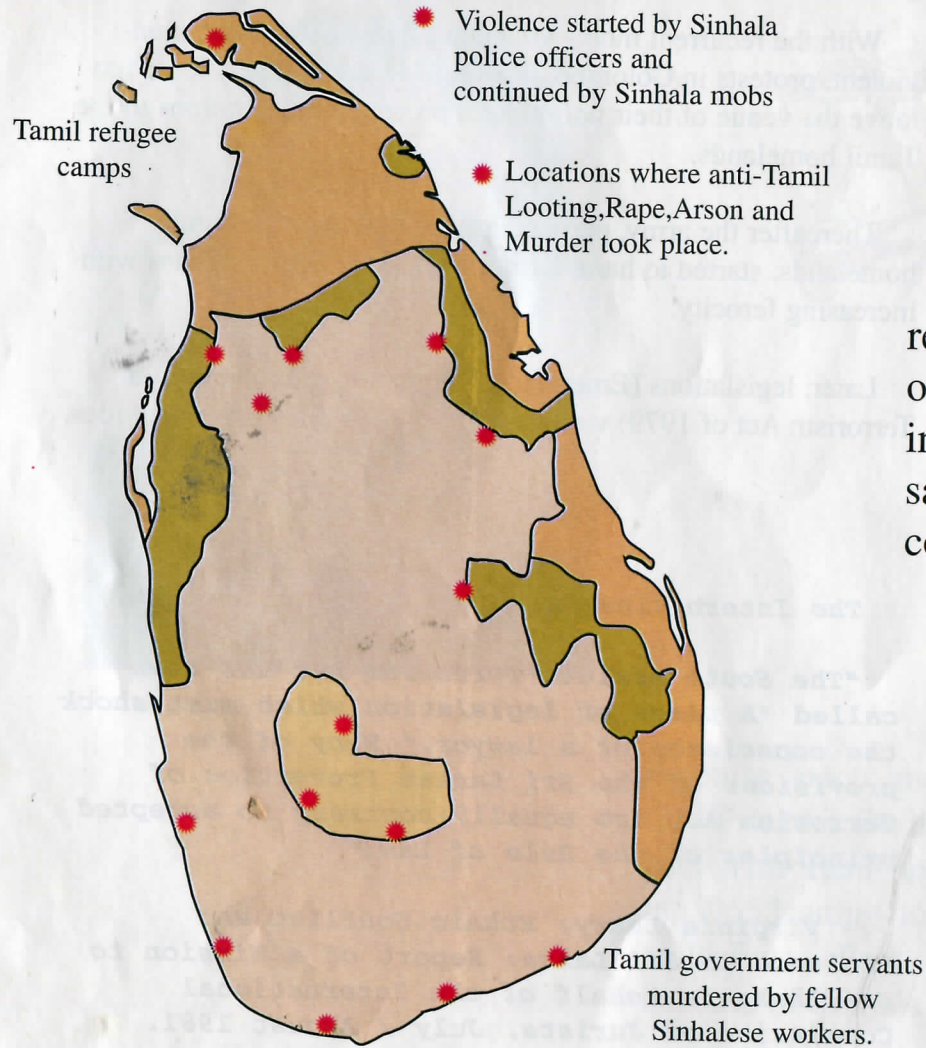
The Internatinal Commission of Jurists said,

"The South African Terrorism Act has been called 'A piece of legislation which must shock the conscience of a lawyer.' Many of the provisions of the Sri Lankan Prevention of Terrorism Act are equally contrary to accepted principles of the Rule of Law."

- Virginia Leary; Ethnic Conflict and Violence in Sri Lanka: Report of a Mission to Sri Lanka in behalf of the International Commission of Jurists, July / August 1981.

10th January 1974 - Fourth International Tamil research Conference in Jaffna was broken up by Police and Nine Tamils were brutally killed.

1976 : VADDUKODDAI RESOLUTION



VADDUKODDAI RESOLUTION : 14 MAY 1976.

“This convention resolves that restoration and reconstitution of the free sovereign secular socialist state of Tamil Eelam, based on the right of self determination inherent to every nation, has become inevitable in order to safeguard the very existence of the Tamil Nation in this country.”

If life together in one state becomes impossible a constitutional separation is in order.

MANDATE FOR TAMIL EELAM AND ANTI - TAMIL RIOTS



1977 : GENERAL ELECTIONS.

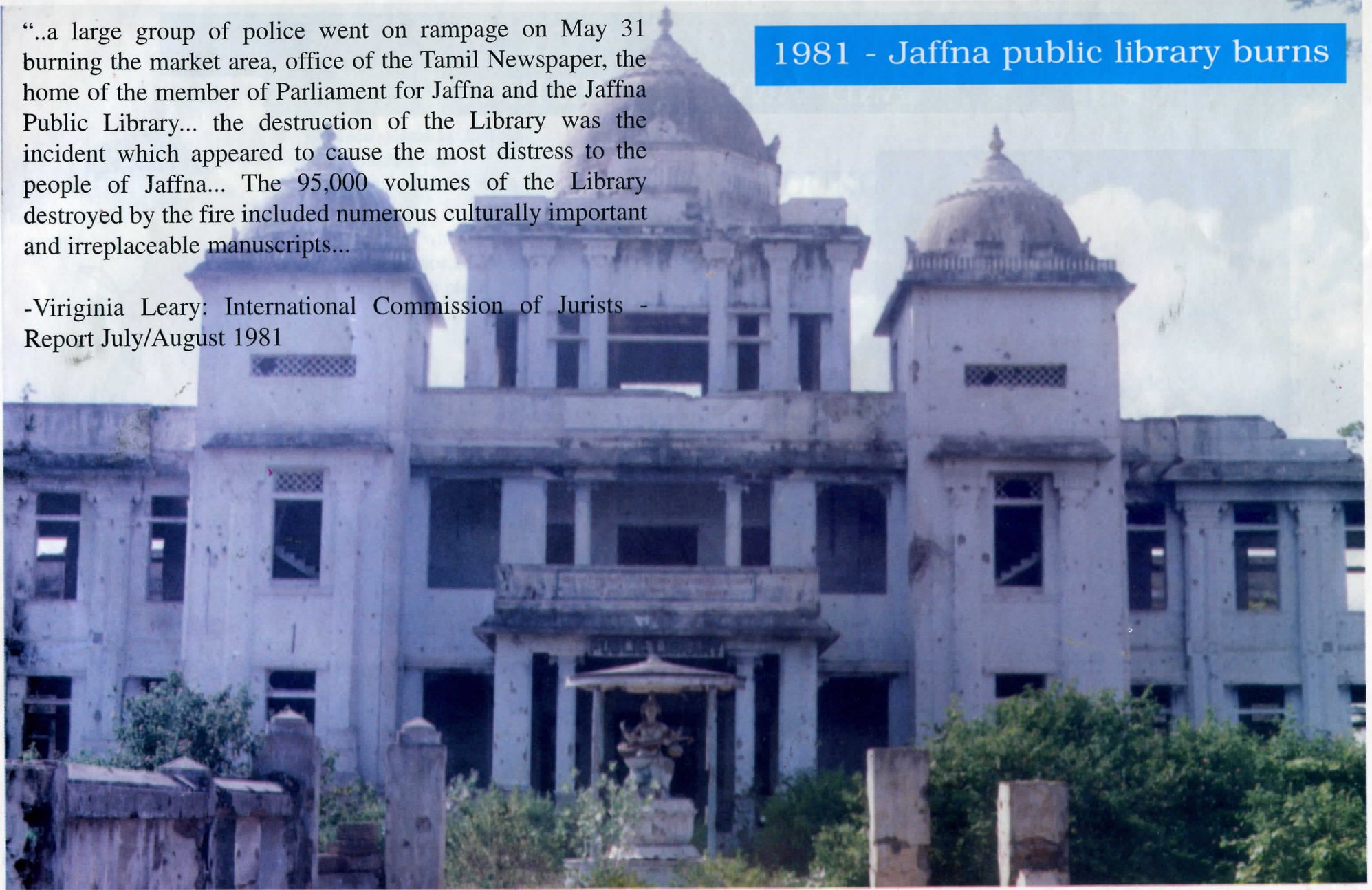
J.R.Jayewardene leads the United National Party to victory in the South. Voters in North and East give mandate for a separate Tamil Eelam.

Backlash against this democratic mandate results in anti - Tamil riots again in the south and in the plantation areas. Thousands of estate Tamils killed and displaced

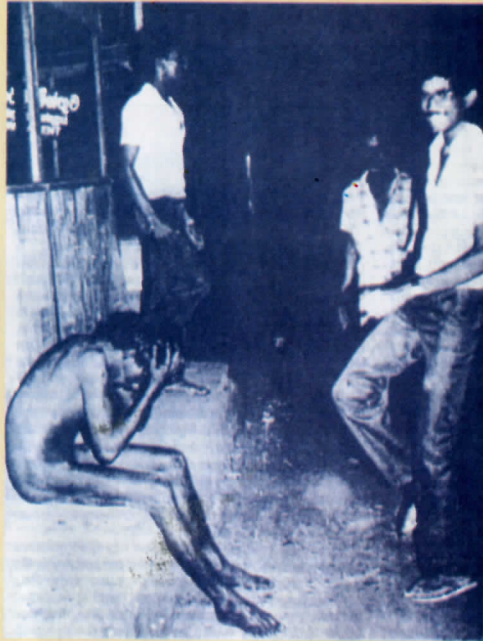
“..a large group of police went on rampage on May 31 burning the market area, office of the Tamil Newspaper, the home of the member of Parliament for Jaffna and the Jaffna Public Library... the destruction of the Library was the incident which appeared to cause the most distress to the people of Jaffna... The 95,000 volumes of the Library destroyed by the fire included numerous culturally important and irreplaceable manuscripts...

1981 - Jaffna public library burns

-Virginia Leary: International Commission of Jurists -
Report July/August 1981



1983 - STATE SPONSORED GENOCIDAL ATTACKS AGAINST TAMILS.



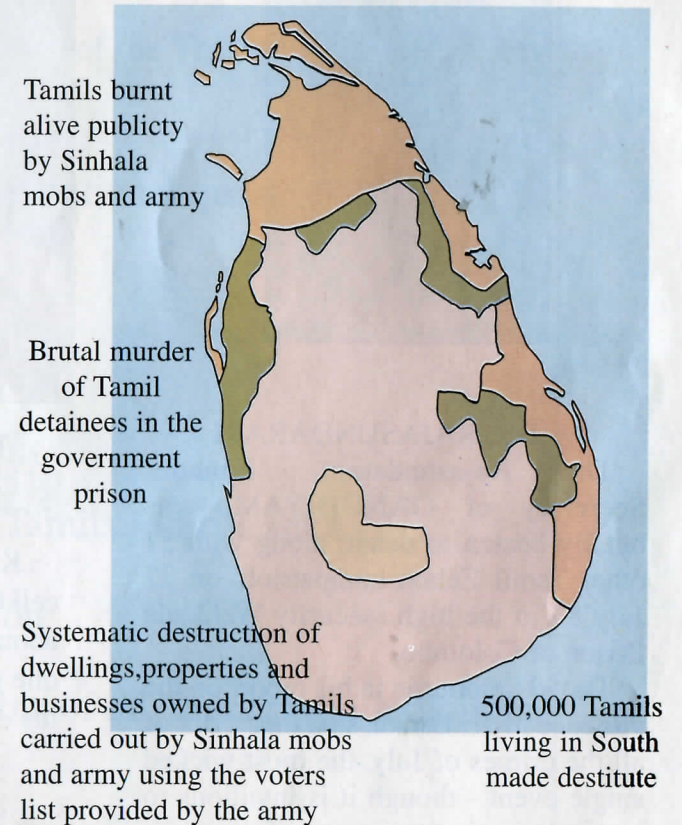
A Tamil youth stripped naked before being burnt alive, while the killers are dancing. The victim is bleeding. This happened at the main bus stand in Borella, Colombo 8, at 1.30 a.m on 24th July, 1983. Signboard at the bus reads 'New Parliament'.

“(In July 1983)... (Tamils) were beaten, hacked and burnt to death in a frenzy of racial hatred.... Their houses and businesses were selectively looted and destroyed. The Sri Lankan government has admitted that the violence was pre planned and well organised and that even sections of the security forces joined in the attack against the Tamils. 53 Tamil detainees held in a maximum security prison were brutally killed on July 25th and July 27th. Yet to date no impartial inquiry into these violent attacks has taken place...”

David Alton MP, Paddy Ashdown MP, Norman Atkinson MP, Tony Banks MP, Prof. John Barret, Kevin Barron MP, Alan Beith MP, Tony Benn MP, Gerry Berningham MP, Prof. Tom Bottomore, Sydney Bidwell MP, Malcolm Bruce MP, Dale Campbell - Savours MP, Dennis Canavan MP, Alex Carlile MP, Tom Clarke MP, Bob Clay MP, Anne Clwyd MP, Harry Xohan MP, Jeremy Corbyn MP, Ron Davis MP, Eric Deakins MP, Alf Dubs MP, Professor Michael Dummet, Derek Fatchett MP, Mark Fisher MP,

Martin Flannery MP, Roy Hattersley MP, Michael Foot MP, Simon W.H. Hughes MP, Lord Jenkins, Russel Johnston MP, Sir David Lane, Robert Kilroy Silk MP, Archy Kirkwood MP, Ted Knight, Terry Lewis MP, Bob Litherland MP, Ken Livingstone, Tony Lloyd MP, Eddie Loyden MP, Max Madden MP, Joan Maynard MP; Willie Mckelvy MP, Bill Michie MP, Dr. Paul Noone, Bob Parry MP, Alan Roberts MP, Ernie Roberts MP, Allan Rogers MP, Aubrey Rose, Ernie Ross MP, Steven Ross MP, Dennis Skinner MP, Prof. Peter Townsend, Jim Wallace MP, Gareth Wardell MP, Dafydd Wigley MP and many others in *The Guardian, London July 1984.*

over 6,000 Tamils lost their lives



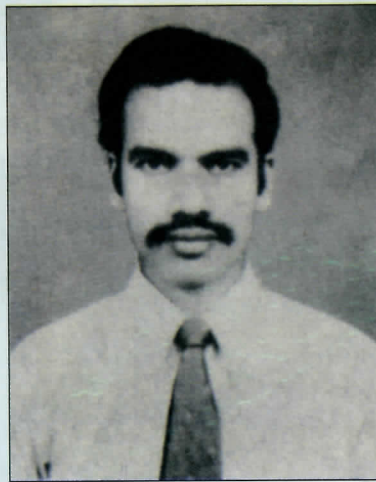
1983 : - 57 TAMIL POLITICAL PRISONERS BUTCHERED INSIDE MAXIMUM SECURITY WELIKADA JAIL.



DR. RAJASUNDARAM

Dr. Rajasundaram, Founder Secretary of GANDHIYAM, was brutally beaten to death, along with 57 other Tamil Eelam compatriots on 27 July '83 in the high -security Welikade Prison of Colombo.

David Selbourne in his report on the violence in Sri Lanka, said this: "But of all the crimes of July, the most wicked single event - though it is invidious to particularise in such a sea of murder - must be the killing of Dr. Rajasundaram, the Secretary of the Gandhiyam movement."



THANGATHURAI



KUTTIMANI



JEGAN

Kuttimani, a nominated member of Sri Lanka Parliament ... was forced to kneel in his (prison) cell by his assailants and ordered to pray to them. When he refused, he was taunted by his tormentors about his last wish, when he was sentenced to death. He had willed that his eyes be donated to some one so that at least that person would see an independent Tamil Eelam. The assailants then gouged his eyes... he was then stabbed to death and his testicles were wrenched from his body.

-Madras Hindu 10 August 1983

"Within Sri Lanka... the Tamils do not have the protection of the rule of law"

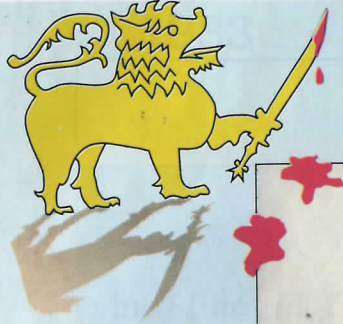
-report of Working Group chaired by Goran Backstrand, Swedish Red Cross, January 1985

THE THIMPU DECLARATION 1985

Joint statement made by the delegation of Tamil leaders on the concluding day of the Thimpu Talks on 13 July 1985.

It is our considered view that any meaningful solution to the Tamil national question must be based on the following four cardinal principles.

1. Recognition of the Tamils of Sri Lanka as a Nation.
2. Recognition of the existence of an identified homeland for the Tamils in Sri Lanka.
3. Recognition of the right of self-determination of the Tamil nation.
4. Recognition of the right of citizenship and the fundamental rights of all Tamils who look upon the island as their country.



1985 - Valvettiturai massacre



Over 50 innocent civilians gathered in a community centre in Valvettiturai were massacred by Sri Lankan armed forces.



1985 Massacre by Navy

15th May - Sri Lankan Navy personnel attacked a ferry carrying Tamil passengers from Delft. 46 people including old women and children were hacked to death

1986 Mandativu Massacre

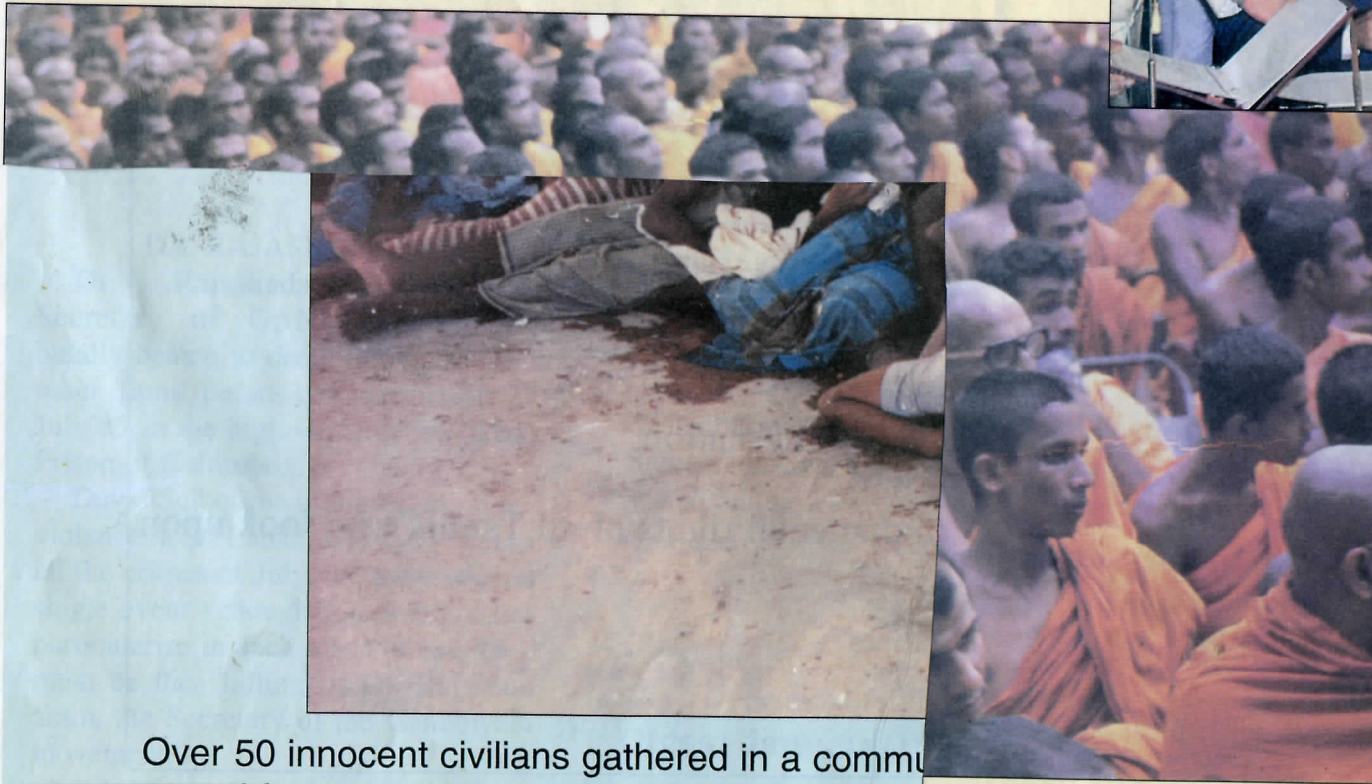
10th June - Srilankan army in black uniform massacre 34 Tamil fishermen from Gurunagar severing their limbs with knives and swords. This horrific incident took place in the sea coast off Mandativu



1987 - Buddhist Monks agitate against Rights for Tamils



President J.R. Jayewardene and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi signing the Indo - Sri Lanka Accord.



Over 50 innocent civilians gathered in a community hall. Buddhist Monks protesting against the Indo - Sri Lanka Peace Accord

1987 - Leader Pirabakaran returns to his people



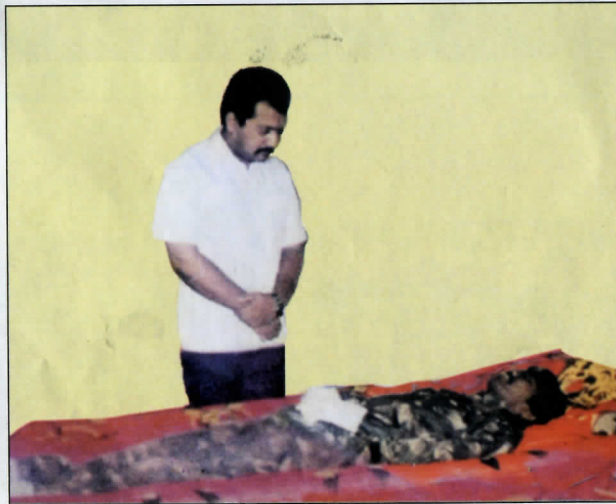
Soon after the Indo-Sri Lanka accord was signed in Colombo, Leader Pirabakaran returned to Jaffna from India.

In a spontaneous welcome many thousands gathered to hear his speech at Suthumalai





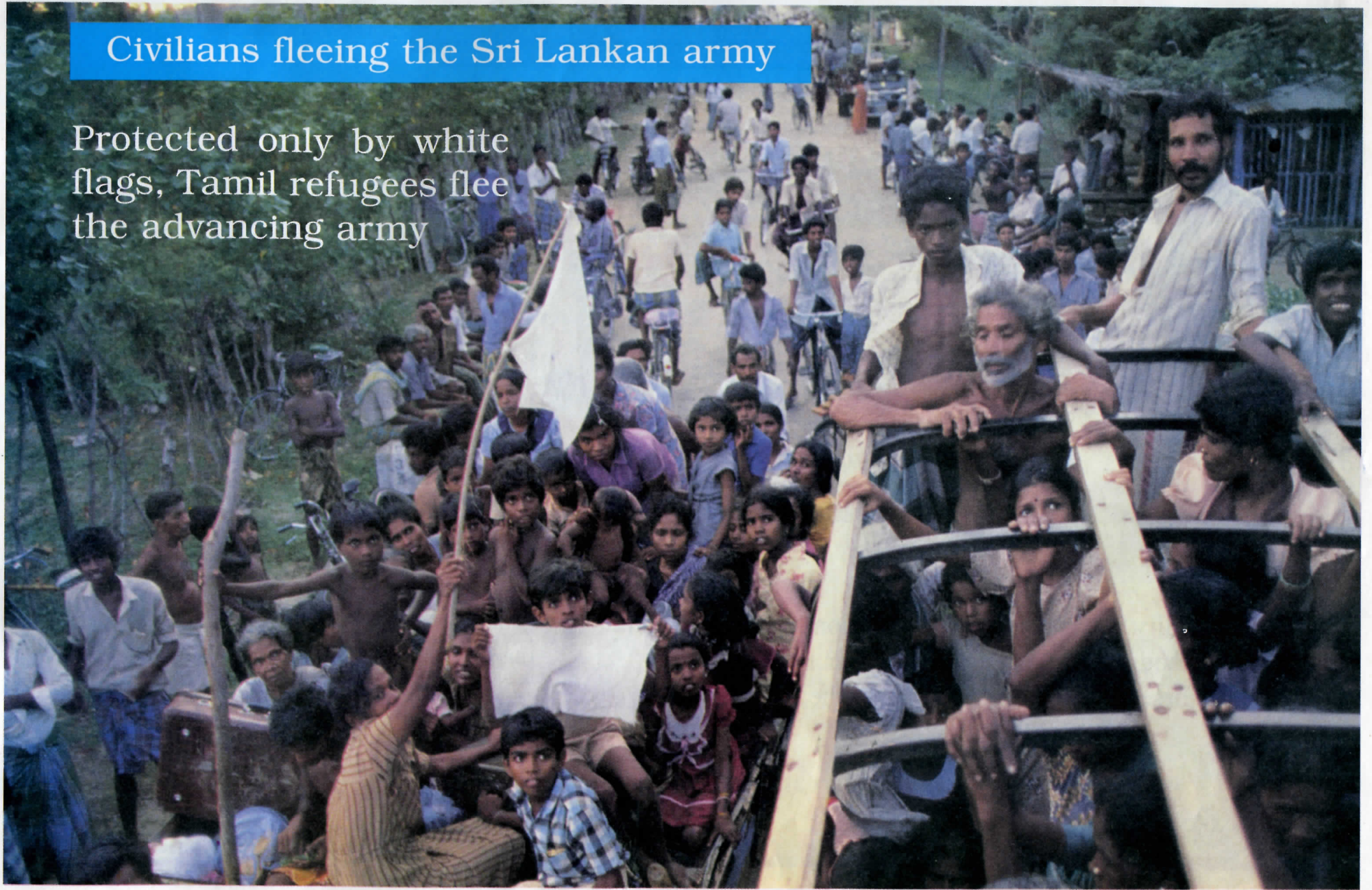
Political wing leader
fasts - unto - death



23 year old Thilepan, Political Wing Leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, on a fast - unto - death on a 5-point demand, including the stopping of Sinhala Colonisation in Tamil areas and the handing over the interim administration of the L.T.T.E. Thilepan died on the 12 th day of the fast. Once again the Tamils were betrayed.

Civilians fleeing the Sri Lankan army

Protected only by white flags, Tamil refugees flee the advancing army



FOOD AND MEDICINES USED AS WEAPONS OF WAR



Child mortality is high due to malnutrition, as an inhuman embargo on food, medicines, fuel and other essential items has been in force in the Tamil areas since the late 80's

THE ECONOMIC BLOCKADE OF THE NORTH

items banned by the Sri Lanka Government as war accessories

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Baby milk powder | Aluminium |
| Sweets and biscuits | Printing & typing paper, white sheets |
| Soap | printing machines and equipment |
| Candles | Roneo copiers, photos copiers |
| Boxes of matches | Tools for repairing photo copiers |
| School bags and shoes | Bicycles and spare parts |
| Exercise and text books | Motor vehicles, spare parts, tyres |
| Uniforms similar to military uniforms | New motorcycles |
| Toy guns | Kerosene oil and cooking oil |
| Electronic toys | Petrol, diesel, natural gas |
| Medicines, cotton, wool, bandages | Batteries |
| Surgical Instruments | Electricity |
| Sanitary pads | Telephones, radio, TV |
| Black shirts and trousers | newspapers, journals, magazines |
| Leather and canvas shoes | Electric wires |
| Shoe polish and brass polish | Iron and iron bars |
| Fertilisers with nitrogen and urea | Camphors liquid |
| Wooden planks | Binoculars, compasses |
| Barbed wire and nails | Road maps, town maps |
| Wire cutting equipments | gold (excluding private jewellery) |
| Plastic containers | Chemicals |
| Bags (small and big) | Any Inflammatory material |
| Polythene and packing material | Remote control devices |
| Electric cookers | Guns, ammunition, explosives |
| Cement | only 8 banned in the East |

1990 INDISCRIMINATE BOMBING OF JAFFNA



“.. After one night’s bombing I visited areas which had been hit. Six people had been killed, a row of houses was reduced to rubble and the smell of burning flesh hung in the air. ‘We ran into the bunkers’ said a resident. ‘The Sri Lankans are just killing civilians at random...In an effort to dent civilian morale, they have also been showering the area with human and animal excrement.’”

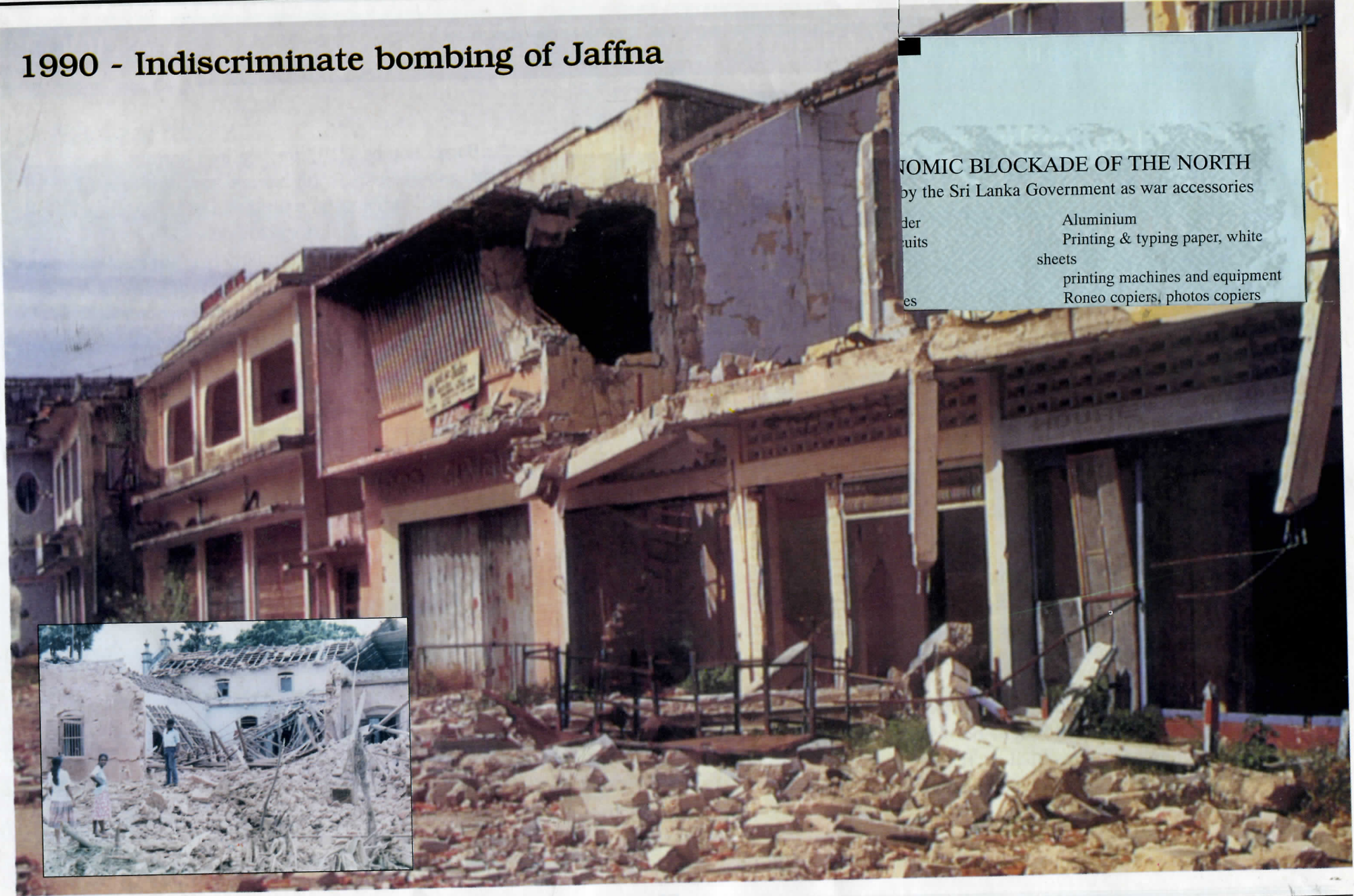
(The London Daily Telegraph, 13 Sept 1990)

“...Barrel bombs -210 litre cast iron barrels packed with explosives, rubber and saw dust rain down on residential areas with the most devastating effect; each bomb can destroy 20 houses. By its haphazard bombing of civilian targets in the northern peninsula of Jaffna. .. The hospital has also been bombed and three weeks ago, a helicopter fired into the operation theatre, killing a doctor...”

(The London Daily Telegraph, 13 Sept 1990)



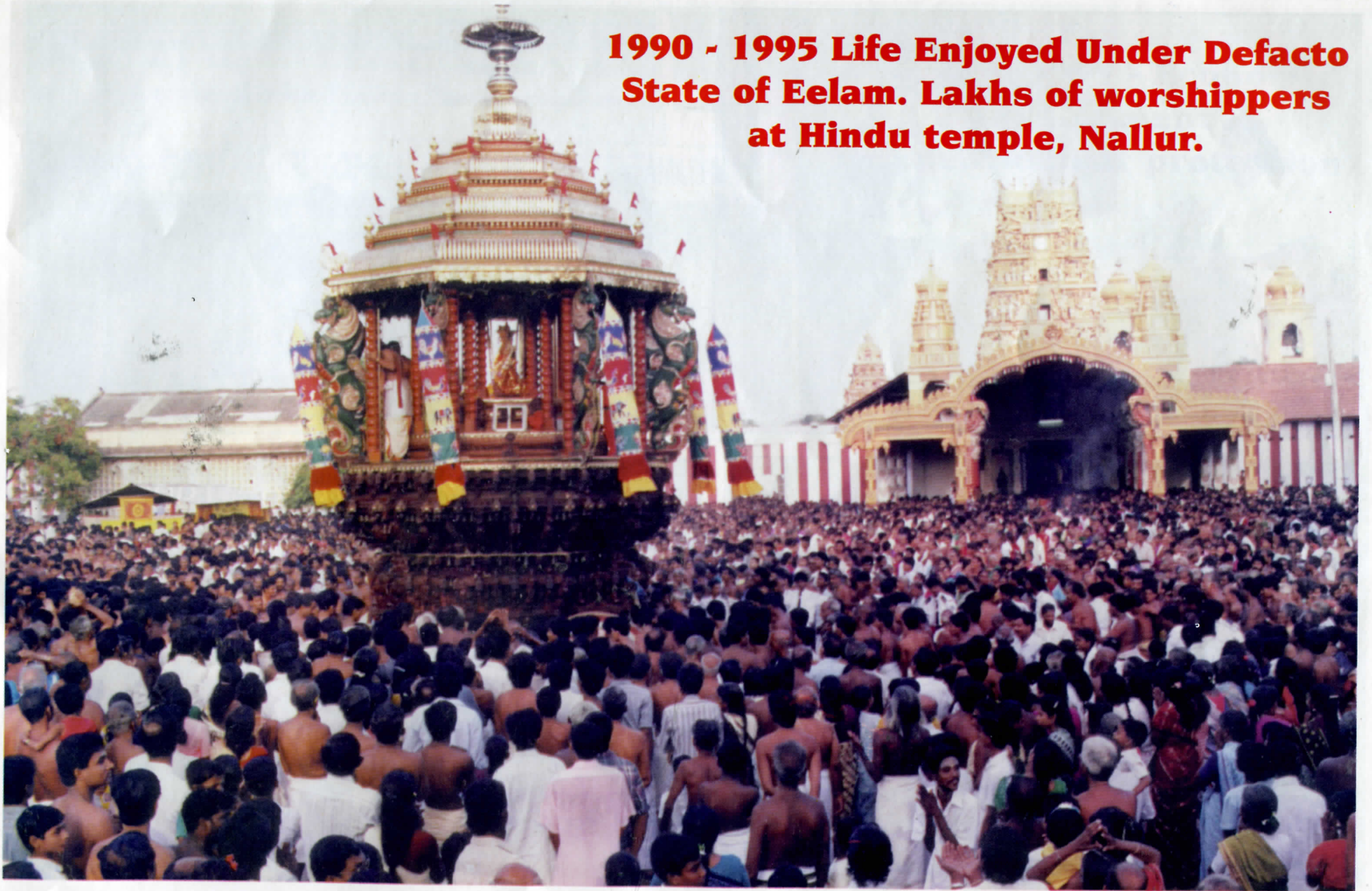
1990 - Indiscriminate bombing of Jaffna



ECONOMIC BLOCKADE OF THE NORTH
by the Sri Lanka Government as war accessories

der	Aluminium
uits	Printing & typing paper, white sheets
es	printing machines and equipment
	Roneo copiers, photos copiers

**1990 - 1995 Life Enjoyed Under Defacto
State of Eelam. Lakhs of worshippers
at Hindu temple, Nallur.**





1990 - 1995 Civil Administration





1990 - 1995 - Economic development & Environment protection



Food, medicines and essential items were embargoed to starve the population to submission. Work shops were held in every village to educate the population on values of proteins from home grown yams, greens and vegetables to survive the inhuman blockade.

Children - our Nation's future wealth

"I'm all afire to build up a nation: that is the life-ideal I have set for myself. The future generation is the foundation for the nation we hope to build. Therefore I consider bringing up the future generation and moulding its character and ideals as important as building up the nation. That is why I take so much interest in the future generation. My ambition is to mould a new generation of youth who will be the architects of our country's future. This new generation will be scientific - minded, patriotic, honest, decent, heroic, and possessed of a



sense of honour, self-respect and dignity. I consider it our paramount duty to educate these children and bring them up on the correct lines as the architects of the future of the nation. That is why I pay very special attention to them"

-Velupillai Pirabakaran,
National Leader of Tamil Eelam

In the Service of the Nation.



Tamils rise to defend
their homeland





1995 - Peace Talks in good faith

“... They (the PA government) mishandled the whole thing. The government should have had discussions at the highest level with the LTTE. A senior minister should have led the government delegation, instead of sending officials...”

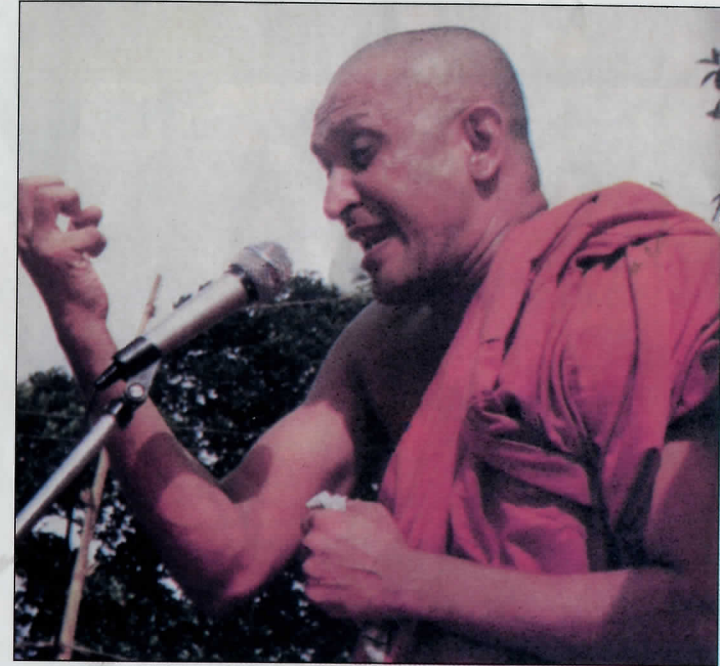
-former Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel, in an interview with Weekend Express Oct.18 1997

Tamils unilaterally declared ceasefire when the PA government was elected to power, genuinely believing that Chandrika Kumaranathunga was sincere about her election pledges to restore peace. It soon became apparent that she was no different from Sinhala leaders before her. Her War for peace strategy has now proved it to the World

SRI LANKA'S 'HOLY FORCES' lead the racist war against Tamils



Picture above shows former President Jayawardena's son and wife with a Buddhist priest and a woman with a gun ; below, another fiery priest



" The real ethnic war will begin if these proposals(in the devolution package) are implemented"

-Fiery Buddhist High Priest Maduluwawe Sobitha
Weekend Express Oct.19.1997



1995 - Safe Havens Bombed



‘St Peters Church Navaly was full of displaced families who had taken refuge on the armed forces advice so as to avoid air raids’, the Bishop of Jaffna said’

-Reuter; 17 th July 1995

“...I want to express my deep-felt sharing in the suffering of so many people involved in the ethnic bombing of the church and school of Navaly.

-Pope John Paul in Vatican city 12 July 1995

1995 : Tamils civilians fled the advancing “Sinhala Liberators”

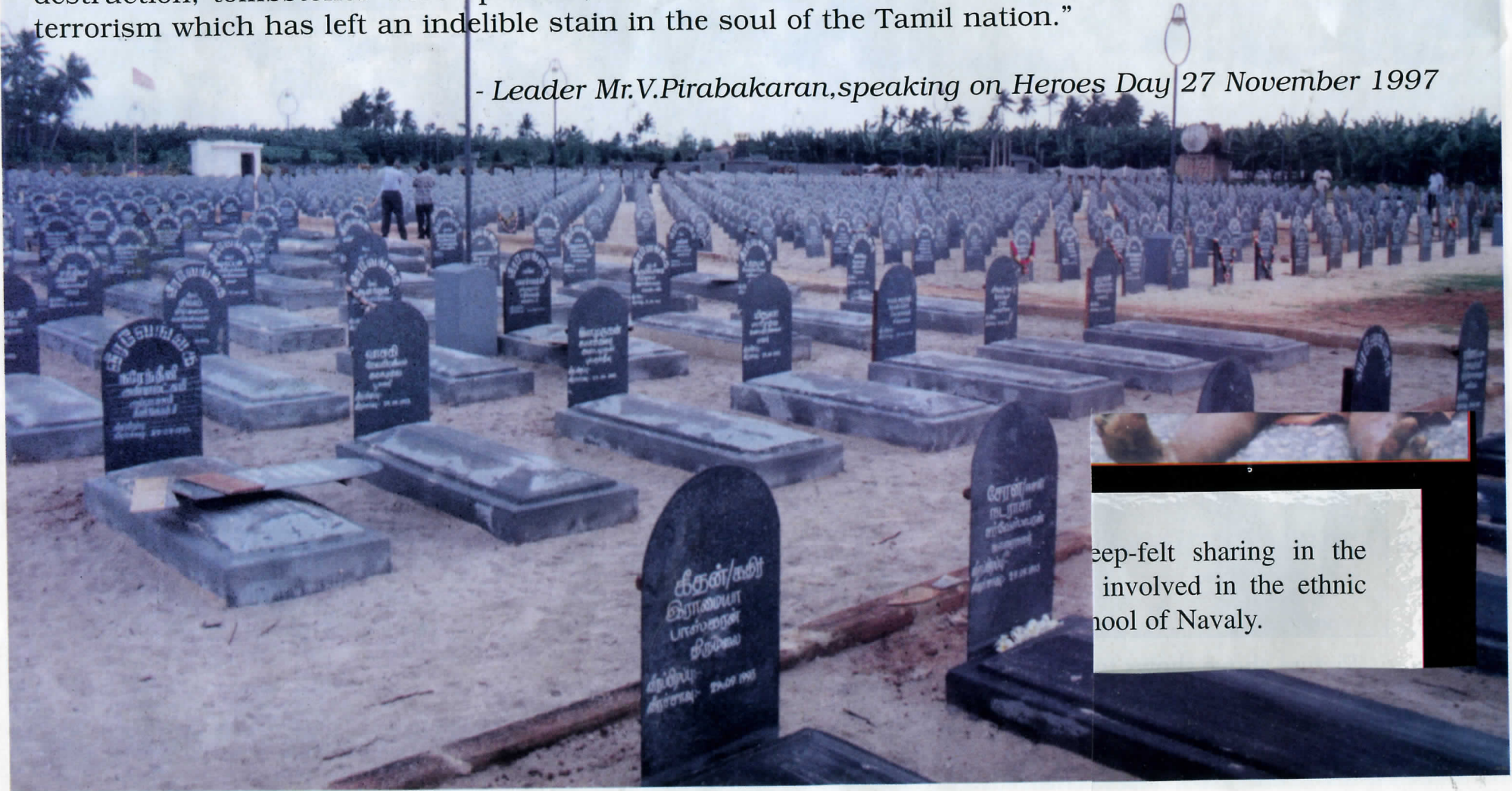


October 1995 - In a dramatic exodus the entire Tamil population of Jaffna fled the Sri Lanka army which declared that it was liberating the Tamils from the LTTE.

MARTYRS' MEMORIALS IN JAFFNA DESECRATED

“When the Sinhalese army of occupation took control of Jaffna...(it) committed the unpardonable crime of desecration, which was wicked,immoral and uncivilisd. War cemeteries underwent wanton destruction, tombstones were uprooted,and memorials were erased without a trace... A grave act of terrorism which has left an indelible stain in the soul of the Tamil nation.”

- Leader Mr.V.Pirabakaran, speaking on Heroes Day 27 November 1997



deep-felt sharing in the
involved in the ethnic
hool of Navaly.

Compared to previous Sinhala Governments it is Chandrika's government which has inflicted the deepest wound in the Tamil souls



Jaffna Peninsula has been transformed into an open air prison. Having dismembered the region into different security zones with defence bunds, barbed wire fences and innumerable check-points, this famous historical land of the Tamils has been brought under the rule of military terror. The incidents of arrests detention, torture, rape, murder, disappearances and the discovery of the



disappeared in mass graves reveal that a covert genocidal policy is practised in the army controlled areas.



WHAT ARMY RULE IN JAFFNA MEANS



NEARLY 600 DISAPPEARANCES : ALMOST ALL OF THEM KILLED IN DETENTION

“Approximately 540 people “disappeared” after they were arrested by the army in the Jaffna peninsula in mid-1996. This document presents evidence, found by an Amnesty International team

visiting the area in August 1997, that nearly all of them are likely to have died under torture or to have been deliberately killed in detention.”



- 27 November 1997

பொருள்கள்

World Tamils in support of a Nation State



For 50 long years the Tamil nation has endured deprivation, oppression, and genocide at the hands of the successive Sinhala governments.

The need to secede was felt soon after the British left, when discrimination against the Tamils began to raise its ugly head. The various pacts with successive Sinhala leaders for limited autonomy (Regional and District Councils) were abrogated time after time. The lack of vision on the part of the Sinhala leaders and the intransigence has culminated in the current crisis. The 1976 Vaddukoddai resolution manifested in an overwhelming mandate from the Tamil people for the creation of a separate state of Eelam. The Thimpu Declaration in 1985 reiterated the self-determination principles. The Sri Lanka government has protracted an unjust war in its attempt to subjugate the Tamil nation.

- ★ Over 60,000 Tamils have been killed at the hands of the Sri Lankan armed forces.
- ★ Over 500 thousands have been rendered homeless as displaced people.
- ★ Thousands of innocent Tamils are subjected to torture in detention.
- ★ Hundreds have disappeared after arbitrary arrest.
- ★ The Tamil areas are under an inhuman embargo on food and medicines.
- ★ Free media is banned from Tamil areas.

This brutal oppression has given birth to the armed resistance which has grown to a fully fledged national struggle.

The time has come for the Sinhala nation to accept the Tamil right to self-determination. Sinhala politician must cease from inculcating negative fears in the minds of the Sinhala masses for political gain. They should have the visionary courage to educate their constituents that Tamil Eelam and Sri Lanka as peaceful neighbours can compliment each other towards economic growth, social stability, and prosperity for both nations.

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