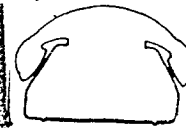


THAMILEELAM

NEWS

JULY 85

NO. 3

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THE TIMES

Fragile Sri Lanka peace at risk as Tamil talks adjourn

Talks aimed at resolving the communal conflict in Sri Lanka have adjourned for a month bringing fears that the fragile cease-fire on the island may break down.

After six days of discussions which apparently made little progress towards solving the strife that has brought the country to the verge of civil war, the adjournment was agreed by both sides meeting in Thimpu, the capital of Bhutan.

A senior official in the Indian Ministry of External Affairs, Mr Romesh Bhandari, had flown to the isolated Himalayan capital when the stalemate between the Sri Lankan Government delegation and the Tamil representatives had threatened to cause the talks to collapse in failure.

India, under whose auspices they were held, is anxious for settlement of the problems between the Sinhalese majority and the Tamil minority on the island. Mr Bhandari spent two days in informal meetings with Tamil delegations before they agreed to meet again on August 12 at Thimpu.

Before leaving the capital, it was reported, that the Bhutanese Government made arrangements for both delegations to go on a sight-seeing tour.

Details of what occurred in Thimpu have been sketchy as it was deliberately chosen for its remoteness and no journalists were allowed entry to the country.

One Indian reporter who managed to arrive in the capital was quickly detected by government officials who ordered him to return to Delhi on the first available flight. The Sri Lankan Government team, led by President Jayewardene's brother, Hector, put forward proposals for devolving powers

to local district councils. These were rejected by the Tamil representatives who said the proposals went no further than those put to an all-party conference by President Jayewardene last year.

A spokesman for the Tamil militants said: "The proposals put forward by the Sri Lankan Government as a solution to this problem are totally unacceptable and we have rejected them." The spokesman added that it was up to the Government to produce more proposals and they were prepared to consider any other ideas aimed at solving the problem.

Both sides used the talks to register complaints about alleged breaches of the cease-fire and though it is expected it will continue until the next round of discussions, there are doubts about whether it will hold.

The Tamil representatives complained of violations by the Sri Lankan security forces in the eastern part of the island, and alleged that civilians supplied with weapons by the security forces had robbed Tamil homes.

Members of the Government delegation promised to refer the complaints to the authorities in Colombo saying they could not reply to the allegations immediately.

● **COLOMBO:** A spokesman for the Eelam National Liberation Front, an alliance of four big guerrilla groups, said in Madras on Saturday that the talks were a "preliminary step although substantial progress could not be made". (Reuter Reports).

A statement from the government team said the first phase of the talks had closed after delegates unanimously agreed to resume negotiations on August 12.

Refusal of asylum to Tamil refugee quashed by judge

A High Court judge accused the Home Office yesterday of using artificial and inhuman criteria in dealing with applications for political asylum from Tamils fleeing communal violence in Sri Lanka.

Mr Justice Taylor, quashing a ministerial decision to refuse asylum to a Tamil aged 34, whose identity was withheld for fear of reprisals to his family in Sri Lanka, said it was a startling proposition that the applicant could not qualify for asylum if he and his family had not been singled out for persecution.

The judgment effectively undermines the Home Office policy of granting political asylum only in the most exceptional cases to fleeing Tamils, and was welcomed by the British Refugee Council and bodies who have been pressing for Tamils to be granted temporary refugee status.

Mr David Waddington, Minister of State at the Home Office, stated that all applications were considered thoroughly and sympathetically, but more was required to justify granting asylum than the fact that the man was a Tamil and that there had been civil unrest against the Tamil community. The man appealing to the High Court had not been involved in politics or singled out for harassment.

The judge said that the decision was contrary to un-

challenged evidence that the man and his father had been beaten up and threatened with death and his family's house in Colombo had been attacked and looted by a mob during riots in July 1983.

"It can be of little comfort to a Tamil family to know they are being persecuted as Tamils rather than as individuals," the judge said.

Mr Justice Taylor ordered the decision to refuse asylum to be quashed and directed Mr Waddington to reconsider the case.

The British Refugee Council said yesterday that Britain had taken many fewer fleeing Tamils than other western European countries which had no historical links with Sri Lanka. In West Germany, between 15,000 and 20,000 were waiting decisions on applications for asylum; in France there were an estimated 19,000, 3,500 in the Netherlands and 2,500 in Switzerland.

Fewer than 2,500 Tamils have arrived in Britain in the past 18 months.

Mr Julius Melchior, the solicitor representing the Tamil, said that the Home Office would have to appeal against the decision or review its basis for deciding Tamil applications.

The Home Office said last night that it would consider the judgement. There were about 1,500 Tamils awaiting decision.

Tamils decision defended

IMMIGRATION

Mr Leon Brittan, the Home Secretary, said in the Commons that it was only with great reluctance that he had decided that it was necessary to impose a visa requirement for citizens of Sri Lanka, a fellow Commonwealth country.

The need for it would be kept under review and he hoped it could be lifted in due course, he said in a

statement on policy towards Sri Lankan Tamils who expressed a fear of return to Sri Lanka.

Mr Alfred Dubs, Opposition spokesman on immigration, said this represented a major departure from two important traditions. For the first time Commonwealth citizens would require a visa to enter Britain; and the British tradition of offering a haven and hospitality to those seeking asylum had been breached.

DEMOLISH ALL REPRESSION



P.L.O.T.

தமிழ்த் தேசிய ஆவணச் சுவடிகள்

OPINION

BUTTAN SUMMIT.

The People's Liberation organisation of Thamileelam (PLOT) despite expressing considerable scepticism on the successful out-come of the Buttan Summit, participated in the conference.

Comrade Uma Maheswaran, Secretary General of PLOT, expanding the reasons why the group participated in the conference despite its scepticism of the outcome, emphasised that the conference provided the best means of gaining international recognition.

Through its participation at the conference, PLOT has implicitly gained recognition of both the Indian and Sri Lankan governments. Whereas on the other hand through their categorical rejection of the ceasefire negotiations and subsequent acquiescence of it because of Indian pressure, the LTTE and the members of the ENLF exposed both their weak position and singular lack of foresightedness.

Comrade Uma when interviewed by Comrade Skantha of the VOTE also emphasised the need on gaining at least a brief respite to the embattled Tamil people who have more especially during the past year been subjected to genocidal attacks.

The Secretary General of PLOT emphasised during the interview that the talks were not to negotiate Thamileelam but aimed at seeking possibilities for a cease-fire.

He pointed out that as early as in December 1983, the Central Committee of PLOT had foreseen the possibilities of the present situation and made its plans accordingly. Referring to the changed stance of the TULF he said, this was a welcome sign, which thereby enhanced its role in the liberation struggle.

Navy patrol kills Tamils

Colombo - Three Tamil civilians were shot dead yesterday at a bus stop near the Karainagar navy base in northern Sri Lanka (Our correspondent writes).

At an inquiry by a magistrate after the shootings, witnesses said that those responsible were from the Sri Lankan navy and

had been in armoured cars. Official sources said the navy patrol had surprised Tamil youths putting up posters and there had been an exchange of fire.

This is the second serious incident to violate the country's uneasy month-old cease-fire since Saturday

Sri Lanka admits..... (contd. from p.7)

they would be loath to relinquish their powers in any sort of devolution.

The majority of the UNP MPs are said to have their first party allegiance to the Prime Minister, Mr R. Premadasa, one of the most implacable exponents of Sinhalese-Buddhist supremacy. He has done nothing to lessen the irrational Sinhalese fears about the huge southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu, which has given bases and support to the Tamil groups.

Negotiations with the Tamil guerrilla leaders, emboldened by their military

successes, will be very unpredictable. The five main groups are a disparate alliance, with strong currents of caste and political rivalries. They include Marxists, as well as Tamil nationalists, who have called for a revolutionary government in Sri Lanka and have some support among educated Sinhalese youth.

With the continuing pressure from India to reach an accommodation, Mr Jayewardene may find a way out of his dilemma. But it will take a leap of huge political will.

**MASSACRES WILL NEVER
STOP THE FIGHT FOR
FREEDOM !**

New Tiger Groupings

The major Tamil militant organisations operating in the North have now polarised into two groupings, according to a report in "The Island"

The People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) led by Uma Maheswaran, along with the Tamil Eelam Liberation Army (TELA) are in one group.

The other group comprises the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO), the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) and the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS).

"The latter grouping, while retaining their individual identities, will unite under the umbrella of the Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF).

**Sri Lanka Army lacks discipline: JR
PLOT call for war of liberation**

JUNE 2, 1985.POLICE STATION AND NAVY POST
ATTACKED AT TRINCOMALEE.

The Police Station at Kuchcheveli in Trincomalee district was attacked by the Thamillelam Freedom Fighters, killing one police personal and eight others. They also attacked a navy post, killing a navy officer and injuring 4 others.

RADIO STATION ATTACKED.

The West German sponsored radio relay station at Kuchcheveli was attacked by the liberation fighters and several equipment belonged to the station were removed.

ARMY ATROCITIES AT MUTHUR.

In a shooting spree at Muthur, the Sri Lankan army sprayed bullets on civilians and killed a number of them. The bodies were removed to Trincomalee General Hospital.

PASSENGERS ATTACKED AT PANKULAM.

At Pankulam, Trincomalee, armed Sinhalese mobs stopped a passenger bus travelling from Trincomalee to Jaffna and killed 17 Tamil Passengers and injured 9 others who were admitted to the General Hospital, Trincomalee. Some of them escaped into the forest for safety.

ARMY WENT BERSERK AT TRINCOMALEE.

The Sri Lankan army went berserk at Trincomalee and killed 23 Tamils and made 300 Tamils homeless, who are refuged in Temples and Schools.

JUNE 5, 1985.LAND-SLIP KILLS 12.

In the up-country area, twelve people were burried with life in a land-slip.

ARMY ATROCITIES IN TRINCOMALEE CONTD.

At five villages in Trincomalee district, 80 Tamils were shot dead by Sinhalese thugs with the connivance of the security forces. Also more than 6000 Tamils lost their homes and have taken sanctuary in schools and temples of Muthur, Thorpur and Sam-poor villages.

NEW PREVENTION OF TERRORISM ACT.

The Sri Lankan government is contemplating to repeal the present Prevention of Terrorism Act and enact a new Act in place of that. Under which death penalty would be imposed for militant activities, so stated Mr. Anandatissa de Alwis.

JUNE 6, 1985.MILLER RELEASE AT PUNNALIKKADDUVAN.

Mr. Rajaratnam a miller who was abducted by unknown persons from his house at Punnalikkadduvan has been released by his captives.

8KILLED AND 200 MISSING AT T'MALEE.

In Trincomalee 8 Tamils were shot dead by Sinhalese mobs. More than 200 are missing and feared some of them would have been killed and the rest arrested.

JUNE 7, 1985.VILLAGE WIPED-OUT.

In Trincomalee, Kiliveddy and three other villages have been completely wiped out by Sinhalese mobs. More than a hundred villagers were killed in cold blood.

T.E.F.F. CAPTURED ARMS.

In a village near Chettykulam, the Thamillelam Freedom Fighters have captured the entire arms from a convey of rural guards of the Sri Lankan government.

JUNE 8, 1985.ARMS STRUGGLE WILL CONTINUE.

At a news conference, summoned in connection with the cease fire, the Secretary General of the Peoples Liberation Organisation of Thamil-eelam - PLOT - Comrade Uma Maheswaran has reiterated that PLOT would not put down the arms until the cause is achieved.

BRIDGES BLOWN-UP.

At Trincomalee, three bridges were blown-up by the Thamillelam Freedom Fighters to prevent the people from army atrocities.

BUSINESSMAN ARRESTED.

A businessman, Mr. Thambiah was arrested by the Sri Lankan Police on accusation that he had funded arms purchases from foreign states for the use of Thamillelam Freedom Fighters.

PASSENGERS KNIVED AND INJURED.

A bus which was travelling from Jaffna to Colombo was stopped by armed Sinhala mobs at Kurunagal and the Tamil passengers in the bus were knived and seriously wounded.

News Round-up

தமிழ்த் தேசிய ஆவணச் சுவடிகள்

INITIATIVE BY RAJIV.

The Indian Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has stated that plans were being drawn to find an acceptable solution for the Tamil problem to end the hostilities. According to him Sri Lanka would have a new constitution very soon.

JUNE 11, 1985.12 SINHALESE KILLED.

An unidentified group attacked a village called Theiwathai, in Muthur district and as a result 14 Sinhalese were killed. At Paddithidal, a truck which was taking a surgeon for an emergency operation was blown off when it run over a land mine. Seven members of the security forces were killed in the incident.

JUNE 13, 1985.60 YOUTHS RELEASED.

Sixty youths who had been detained at Busha army camp were released to Vavuniya.

MEDICAL STORES HEAD ABDUCTED.

The Jaffna City Medical Stores proprietor and his family who were in Madras, were abducted by unknown persons.

JUNE 14, 1985.EXPLOSION VICTIMS AT KURUNAGAR.

At Kurunagar one Arulnayagam with another six were killed in an explosion.

40 KILLED AT PADDITHIDAL.

At Paddithidal in Trincomalee, 40 innocent Tamils were ferociously attacked and killed by armed Sinhala mobs.

JUNE 16, 1985.TAMILS LEFT HOMES IN FEAR.

At Sampoor, Kolitivu, Kaddaiparichan villages in Trincomalee, the Tamils being the target of Sri Lankan army atrocities, left their homes and living in the surrounding forests in fear. Several thousands of them are suffering from infectious diseases and femine. The Sinhala armed mobs followed them into the forest and murdered 35 of them including two women.

JUNE 17, 1985.

The International Human Rights Organisations have accused Sri Lankan government for allowing calculated army atrocities against the Tamil population in the North & East of the country while outwardly talking about a cease fire.

INDIAN NAVY INCREASED PATROLLING

The Eastern Region Navy Commander of India has stated that he had ordered more naval patrolling in the Southern Coast to protect the Indian fishermen from Sri Lankan Navy attack.

MORE KILLINGS BY ARMY IN TRINCO.

At a remote area in Trincomalee the security forces stopped a bus and abducted 6 Tamils from the bus and later killed them. Also the Tamils over 40 years in the refugee camps were forced to the army camp nearby for 'questioning'.

RAIL TRACK DAMAGED.

The railway track in between Omantai and Vavuniya was damaged by the Thamileelam Freedom Fighters (TEFF) by setting off a bomb, as a measure to restrict the movement of the security forces from the South to the North.

GOVERNMENT ACCEPT ARMY EXCESS.

The Minister for National Security in Sri Lanka Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali has accepted that there were army excesses and so far 700 personal have been dismissed for that.

JUNE 18, 1985.YOUTHS IN CUSTODY KILLED.

The Sri Lankan government has reported that 35 Tamil youths who were detained at an army post at Kaluvanchikudy were killed in a clash between the army and the youths at the post.

TRAIN SERVICE CURTAILED.

The Sri Lankan government has informed that train services beyond Vavuniya was withdrawn due to the damage caused to the track by the freedom fighters.

EX-MINISTER OF THAMILNADU RELEASED.

Mr. Somasundram, a former minister of Thamilnadu, who was remanded in custody in connection with a demonstration calling Indian Army intervention in Sri Lanka, has now been released.

TAMILS BURNT IN TAR DRUMS.

In Mannar the security forces entered a village and harrassed the Tamil refugees there and massacred 15 of them ; later, burnt them alive in tar drums.

JUNE 19, 1985.

RAJIV ON SRI LANKAN POLICY.

The Indian Prime minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. has asked the Sri Lankan President Mr. Jeyawardene to take material steps to stop army atrocities. Also, the Indian High Commissioner met the National security Minister Mr. Athulath and expressed this view directly.

JOURNALISTS DEMONSTRATE IN MADRAS.

Thousands of journalists and writers have demonstrated their protest against the Sri Lankan army atrocities against Tamils in a huge march.

HOUSES BLOWN-UP BY ARMY.

Sri Lankan soldiers in Kilinochchi have blown-up three houses by explosives.

ITALIAN TOURIST INJURED.

At Pottuvil in Batticalo district, two Italian tourists were shot and wounded by the government forces on the allegation that they went beyond the army barrier without authority.

PLOT'S POLICY.

The aim of the People's Liberation Organisation of Thamileelam is total emancipation of Tamils from the oppression of the chauvinistic Sri Lankan government, so stated Comrade Uma, the Secretary General of PLOT in a news conference. He continued that the struggle started when we took arms and it would end when we drop the arms.

JUNE 22, 1985.

SAUDI ARABIA DISGUSTED

Saudi Arabia is planning to deport more than 2500 Sri Lankan who have been working there for undisclosed reasons. The Arab states including Saudi Arabia have expressed their dissatisfaction to the Sri Lankan government over its decision to resume diplomatic relations with Israel. Saudi Arabia has also withdrawn its aids to Sri Lanka for an irrigation project.

JUNE 23, 1985.

D.M.K. LEADER SUSPECIOUS

The D. M. K. leader Mr. Karunanithy has expressed concern about the cease fire, in analogy to the round-table conference, that the Sri Lankan government would increase its military strength, taking advantage of the cease fire to launch a major assault on the Tamils. Therefore the Tamils should be very cautious in dealing with the Sri Lankan government, he added.

INDIAN MEDIA OPINION.

The Indian media is of opinion that the opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party would oppose to any solution presented by the government for Tamil problem. The media also doubted their support for the Indian Prime Minister's attempts to the solution.

JUNE 24, 1985.

At Poonagari, in an attempt to diminish the morale of the state forces, the Thamileelam Freedom Fighters, went face to face and attack a convoy of soldiers while they were emerging from a camp.

J.R.'s PRE-CONDITION FOR SOLUTION.

The Sri Lankan President Mr. J. R. Jeyawardene, in a report states, that there would not be any solution for the Tamil Problem unless the call for a separate state is withdrawn. He also predicted that there would be a solution for the problem before the end of the year and any such solution would be presented to Parliament.

JUNE 25, 1985.

THAMILNADU GOVERNMENT'S DONATION.

The State government of Tamilnadu has donated books worth of 300,000-rupees to the Jaffna library.

MORE REFUGEES HOUSED IN SOUTH INDIA.

More than 70 per cent of the refugees who were in Rameswaram Mandapam Camp, have been housed in different parts of Thamilmnadu.

JUNE 26, 1985.

INDIAN MINISTER MET REFUGEES.

Mr. Chauhan, the Minister of Internal Affairs in India met the Tamil refugees at Mandapam Camp and discussed their problems. He also met Mr. M.G. Ramachandran, the Chief Minister of Thamilmnadu, regarding this problem.

TAMIL YOUTHS REFUSED TO CO-OPERATE. JUNE 28, 1985.

The two Tamil youths who were arrested in connection with the murder of Batticalo U. N. P. organiser Mala Ramachandran, refused to give evidence in the court saying that it was a Sinhala court as such they did not want to give evidence in that court. They have been remanded in custody again.

JUNE 27, 1985.

ST. JOHN'S PRINCIPAL SHOT DEAD.

Mr. Anandarajah, the principal of St. John's College, Jaffna was shot dead by a group of youths on allegations that he had arranged a cricket match between Sri Lankan soldiers and Tamil students. The perpetrators say that he was warned several times.

CENTRAL GOVT. OF INDIA WANT TALKS.

The Minister of Internal affairs of India said that the Central Govt. had not talked to the Thamileelam Freedom Fighters and if the TEFF inclined the Central Government would be prepared to talk to them.

FISHERMEN ASSAULTED BY ARMY.

Several civilians were attacked by the Sri Lankan Army in Kiliveddy and Mullaitivu areas. In Thondamanar, Thalayadi areas fishermen were assaulted by the security forces while they were preparing to go for fishing.

JUNE 28, 1985.

TRIBUTES TO MR. ANANDARAJAH.

In response to the requests made by social and public establishments in Jaffna, The Director of Education permitted to close the colleges and schools in the district on the funeral day of the Late Mr. Anandarajah.

Terms of ceasefire

At the instance of India, the following secret four-phase plan for a ceasefire between the Sri Lankan Government and the Tamil militants took effect on June 18. The militants have alleged that the Sri Lankan armed forces and Government have violated the ceasefire; and there are counter-allegations. Despite this, some improvement of the situation on the ground has been noted by independent observers. This is the text of the original secret agreement for the ceasefire, phase by phase with a duration specified for each phase. "Secret talks" were to have come only in Phase IV, but in the actual event it was judged that talks could take place quite early in the process to explore the ground—hence the first round of the Thimpu talks which lasted from July 8 to 13.

In order to create a congenial atmosphere for an acceptable political solution to the ethnic question in Sri Lanka, certain steps need to be taken by the Government of Sri Lanka on the one hand and Tamil militants on the other.

The following series of steps should be implemented by both sides as indicated, over periods shown against each step. (viz)



A militant belonging to PLOT loads a rocket-propelled grenade: before the ceasefire.

Frontline, July 13-26, 1985

Action to be taken by Sri Lankan Government

Reciprocal steps by the militants

Phase I: Start on June 18. For three weeks

1. Government will lift restrictive legislation on use of roads and vehicles and suspend enforcement of the Prohibited Zone.
2. New settlements will be suspended.
3. Security forces will carry out cordon and searches and operations in the presence of local officials and magistrates.
4. Lift Surveillance Zone and stop infusion of further resources to Armed Services and police establishments.

Stop using Prohibited Zone as staging area for carrying men and material.

Stop attacks on civilians — both Sinhalese and Tamils — in the North, East and elsewhere.

Cease attacks in the North, East and elsewhere on government offices, economic targets and private property.

Stop induction of men and material in the affected areas from outside Sri Lanka.

Phase II: Three weeks

1. Security forces will suspend raids and suspend curfews.

Cease attacks directed against convoys of security forces including police, establishments, mining of roads, railtracks and bridges. Stop carrying of arms.

Phase III: Two weeks

1. Observe ceasefire.
2. Police stations which had been closed down will be reopened and the law and order function will be carried out by the police.
3. Amnesty will be declared and those in custody against whom charges have not been filed will be released. (Those who have been charged will be released after the conclusion of successful discussions).

Observe ceasefire.

Phase IV

Secret talks on substantive issues for reaching a political settlement to take place between the emissaries of the Government and representatives of the Tamil political leadership and Tamil militant groups. The venue of these talks could be a third country acceptable to both sides. Every effort should be made to maintain the secrecy of these talks and, in any case, of the course of the discussions. The search for a solid foundation for a political solution must be completed within a period of three months from the date of declaration of the ceasefire and the amnesty. Depending on the result of these secret talks, open and direct dialogue between the Government and the representatives of the Tamil political leadership and Tamil militant groups. The necessary groundwork is considered to have been laid.

Towards

Cartoon by NINAN



a solution for Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka admits it cannot win war against guerrillas

BRIGADIER Nalin Seneviratne, the head of the Sri Lankan army, was in an uncharacteristically candid mood earlier this year. "We can never win this," he said. "Our writ does not run beyond the sandbags that cover our camps, and we can only do a holding operation."

Since the Tamil guerrillas stepped up their armed campaign for a separate state six months ago, the army's beleaguered positions have become almost a national humiliation. The ceasefire with the five main guerrilla groups which was announced yesterday at last signals a recognition that the Government's "war against terrorism" cannot be won by the military.

Yet the political options — perhaps Sri Lanka's last chance to achieve ethnic harmony — will be for President Junius Jayewardene like a walk on glass.

Members of Mr Jayewardene's Sinhalese-Buddhist ruling UNP party privately acknowledge that the Tamil groups have the initiative. Substantial concessions will have to be made if the demand for a separate Tamil state of Eelam is to be deflected.

Most crucially, the Sinhalese, who make up 72 per cent of the population, will have to be persuaded that concessions do not undermine the sovereignty of the state or their predominant role within it.

To do this Mr Jayewardene will have to placate the powerful Maha Sangha, the Buddhist clergy who have been at the forefront of the campaign to preserve the hegemony of the Sinhalese language and religion over the past 30 years.

He will also have to come to terms with the personal rancour that keeps him from restoring civil rights to the former prime minister and *de facto* leader of the opposition, Mrs Sarima Bandaranaike. Without her support, and even the promise of an early general election, negotiations are likely to fail.

In Sri Lanka's present state of insecurity, compounded by political and personal rivalries that go back decades, that is all easier said than done.

Thanks to the heavy hand of Buddhist Indrajith Gunatunga, the government press censor the Sinhalese people have been fed a diet of mendacity about their country's plight. They survive on rumour and prejudice which has been blatantly reinforced by some of the demagogic cabinet ministers vying for position to succeed the 78-year-old President.

Opposition speakers in a recent emergency debate in Parliament accused the Government of state terrorism and electoral rigging; warned of a possible army coup and a military dictator-

ship; and generally berated the Government for its failure in dealing with a determined guerrilla force. It was a moving, vituperative and at times desperate debate.

It was all recorded and printed in Hansard. But the people heard none of it. The day after, the Island newspaper, nominally "independent" commented: "There was really nothing new which was said from either side of the House."

The Government, in other words, is afraid of its own people. After the President's summit in New Delhi last month with Mr Rajiv Gandhi, why did he not explain what had gone on? "There would have been riots," one prominent member of the United National Party said. For the same reason, the Government has refused to publish its new University Amendment Act, allowing for private universities.

If the education-conscious Sinhalese, zealous defenders of their free system, thought that the rich were being given privileges, there would be enormous discontent. Such is the intense competition for professional jobs, the papers this past month have carried column yards of a dispute about the appointment of a cardiologist at the Colombo General Hospital.

Nor have the majority of Sinhalese been told about the real conditions in the

Northern and Eastern provinces, where the Tamils, overall, have a majority. The Minister of National Security, Mr Lalith Athulathmudali, has publicly denied accounts of army atrocities which have been proved beyond peradventure.

Colombo residents may notice the occasional lack of fresh fish, normally shipped down from the north. But the ethnic divide that the guerrilla campaign has created across the island has concealed the state of economic collapse, social dislocation, and pervasive fear that prevails there.

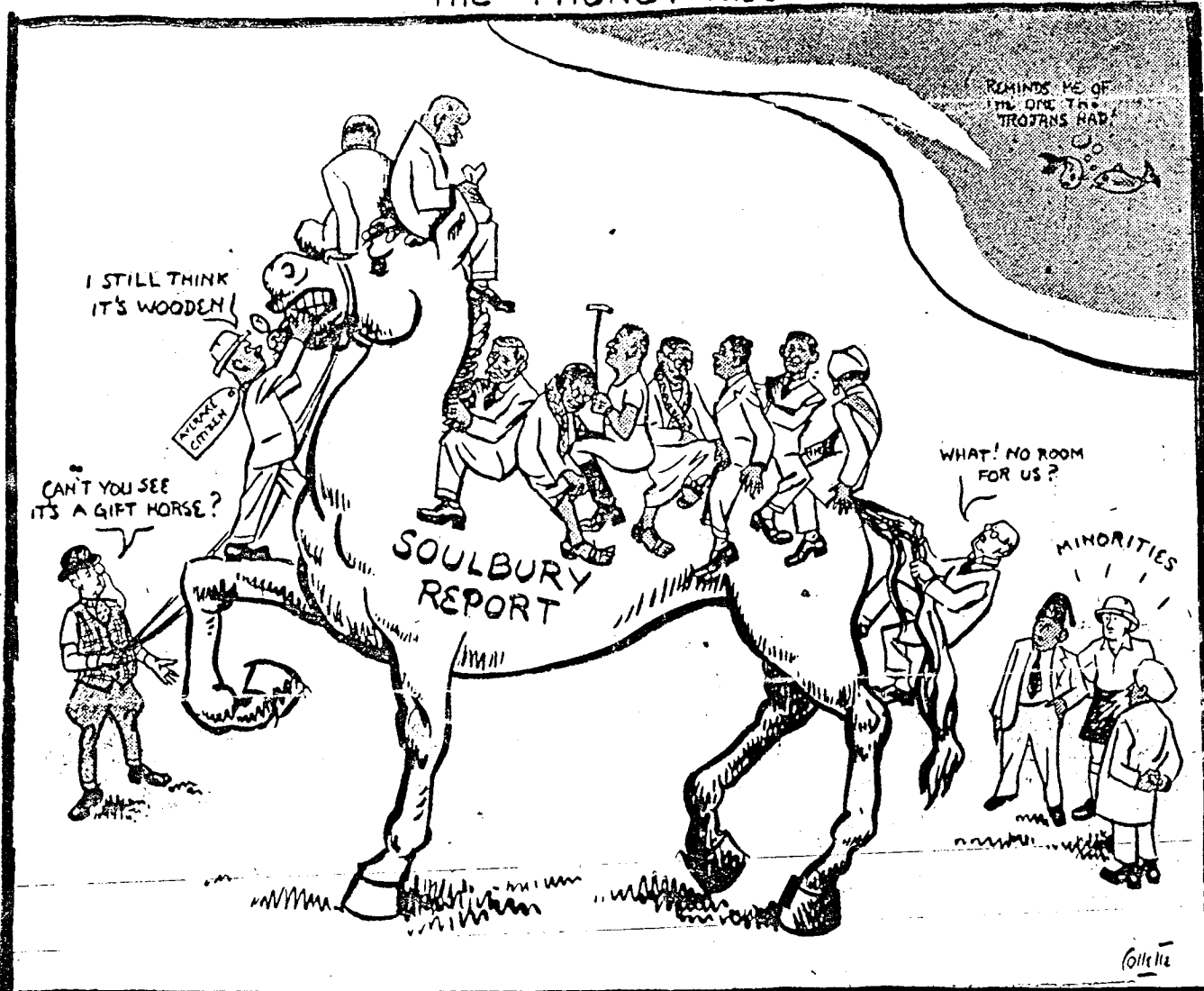
Even though time is not on his side, President Jayewardene does not take hasty decisions. "The clue to the old man," one senior UNP member told me, "is that he waited 43 years to become prime minister. He is like the sphinx, inscrutable and cautious. He had a timetable to settle this problem, but he has been thrown out of key. He is, I'm afraid, a little confused."

"You see, every time we have hammered the Tamils in the past they have run away. Now they are hammering us. We have a new respect for them. We will have to offer them something more now."

Mr Jayewardene's desire to stand above the sordid practices of party politics has created other forces which militate against a peaceful solution.

It is common practice for cabinet ministers in charge of state corporations to set up private company subsidiaries that have no public accountability. They control the state's patronage, and several observers believe that

THE PHONEY RIDE



21st October, 1945.

The report of the Soulbury Commission pleased the Board of Ministers, but raised doubts in the minds of the Minorities.

NOT AGAIN AT BUTTAN

Contact PLOT by writing to:
46 Central Road, Worcester Park, Surrey

DEMOLISH ALL REPRESSION



P.L.O.T.