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POLICE COMMANDOS JOIN IN VIOLENCE

Irrefutable evidence has emerged that the violence that broke out in the eastern province of Sri Lanka during the second week of April in which over 2,000 Tamil homes and several hundreds of shops were set ablaze, scores of Tamils and some Muslims were killed and over 15,000 Tamils rendered homeless was pre-planned and organised by influential sections within the Sri Lankan government.

It is now established beyond doubt that the active instigators and participants in the violence, which the government's newspapers characterised as Tamil-Muslim clashes, were the Israeli-trained police commandos and Sinhala and Muslim thugs transported - from Colombo, Maradana and Peliyagoda. Even some government ministers representing the eastern province and who visited the affected areas have confirmed that 'external elements' were responsible for the violence.

The worst affected areas are Karaitivu and Akkaraipathu where the entire Tamil population has become refugees. In one single incident, on April 17, police commandos killed 27 Tamil refugees, 13 of them travelling in a van towards Thirukovil and the other 14 were burnt to death near the 48th mile post along Koolavil-Thirukovil road. All shops in Akkaraipathu have been looted and burned.

Government-inspired newspaper reports that the 'Muslim-Tamil' violence was the result of the alleged killing of three Muslims by Tamil militants while praying in a mosque in the Mannar area have been totally discounted and discredited. The only information of the alleged killing of the three Muslims came from the press release issued by the Ministry of State on April 4, 1985. To date, no names of the victims had been published. None of the Tamil liberation groups has claimed responsibility for this alleged killing. More importantly, the alleged killings took place in the north-western

25,000 Tamils are rendered homeless

town of Mannar which has a substantial concentration of Muslim residents, who did not react or retaliate in any way. If the killings actually took place in a mosque as alleged, it would have been logical for the Muslims of the area to react, which they did not.

It is unbelievable that ordinary Muslims living 200 miles away in Akkaraipathu and Karaitivu began to retaliate after several days of the alleged killings in Mannar.

Mr K.W. Devanayagam, Minister of Home Affairs, Mr C. Rajadurai, Minister of Regional Development, and the second MP for Pottuvil, Mrs R. Pathmanathan, all representing constituencies in the Batticaloa district, met President Jayawardene and complained to him that external elements and police commandos were responsible for the violence. Mr Devanayagam said that 90 per cent of the Karaitivu area had UNP supporters who had been attacked. Even the UNP District Council member, Mr S. Vinayagamoorthy's house had been burnt down.

Mr A. Abdul Majeed, MP for Samanthurai and Deputy Minister of Posts, denied that the violence was a Muslim-Tamil clash. He called on the Minister of National Security and demanded that action be taken to bring an end to the violence.

The Colombo newspaper 'The Island' of April 16, 1985, reported: 'In Karaitivu, over 480 Tamil houses and two places of worship have been destroyed, while in Akkaraipathu a large number of business places and market places belonging to both communities have been destroyed. Over 1,300 Tamil families from Karaitivu are now living in makeshift refugee camps in neighbouring areas.'

Unlike in the northern province, the Tamil and Muslim people living in the

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MRS THATCHER & SRI LANKA

During his recent visit to the Eastern European countries, and particularly in Poland, the British Foreign Minister Sir Geoffrey Howe waxed eloquent on the failure of the authorities to observe human rights, and even visited the grave of the murdered Catholic Fr. Jersey Popieluszko in Warsaw to pay tribute to his memory. The assailants of the priest, after a long and much publicised trial, are serving prison sentences ranging from 14 years to 25 years.

In marked contrast, the British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher failed to mention even one word on the subject of human rights during her recent tour of Asian countries, some of which have achieved world-wide notoriety for flagrant violation of human rights. One wonders whether in Sri Lanka she raised a single question about murdered Catholic priest Fr. Mary Bastian, who was gunned down in his own church on January 6 and his body disposed of by the Sri Lankan army and where the Jayawardene government is engaged in a cover-up of this brutal murder.

The gross violation of human rights, including extra-judicial killing of hundreds of civilian Tamils, has been the subject of many reports by reputed international human rights bodies. Two British MPs, Conservative and Labour, who recently visited Sri Lanka, had met Mrs Thatcher before her visit and told her of the 'substantial violations' of human rights in Sri Lanka. Yet the British Prime Minister 'refused to be drawn on the issue of human rights in Sri Lanka', ('Observer', April 14, 1985). One wonders whether it is her view that the people of Sri Lanka, particularly the Tamils, are less entitled to human rights than those in Poland.

A British jurist of international repute, Mr Paul Sieghart, after a visit to Sri Lanka as a

guest of President Jayawardene, reported: 'Communal riots in which Tamils are killed, maimed, robbed and rendered homeless are no longer isolated episodes; they are beginning to become a pernicious habit.'

Commenting on President Jayawardene's response to the anti-Tamil violence in July 1983 in the course of which thousands of Tamils perished, over 4,000 properties were put to the torch, and 200,000 Tamils were rendered homeless, Mr Sieghart said: 'And not until the fifth day, on 28 July, did President Jayawardene finally appear on national television

... In the course of that address, the President did not see fit to utter one word of sympathy for the victims of the violence and destruction.

In recent months the newspapers have been full of the horror and terror of random murders, arson, looting, destruction and rape committed by the security forces. Boatloads of Tamils numbering over 90,000 have fled to South India to escape the uncontrolled fury of the army. And when recently asked (in an interview published in 'Sunday', April 30, 1985), whether he would appoint a commission to inquire into army atrocities, President Jayawardene, displaying his characteristic callous disregard for the lives and rights of the Tamil people, replied: 'Not now. Did the British appoint a commission during the war?' Yet the British Prime Minister, showing an utter lack of even humanitarian concern for the battered Tamil people said in Colombo, 'the matter of the Tamils is a matter for the Sri Lankan government'.

In Sri Lanka, Mrs Thatcher said, 'Terrorism must never be seen to win. If it does, it is the end of democracy. It is a democracy in Sri Lanka, and I believe that, as in Britain, the problems must be solved through democracy.' It is not surprising, for the military dic-

tator who has ruled Pakistan under martial law for the last several years, to be proud of President Jayawardene and award him the 'highest honour' of Pakistan. But it is a disgusting spectacle for a British Prime Minister to issue a character certificate to the Sri Lankan regime.

If Mr Neil Kinnock and the Labour Party were to win the next general election, and proceed to deprive Mrs Thatcher of her civic and political rights and expel her from Parliament by the enactment of retroactive legislation, one wonders whether she would regard that as a democratic act. That is precisely what Jayawardene did to Mrs Bandaranaike, the former Prime Minister, and some others after he came to power in July 1977.

Jayawardene's democracy is such that the life of the Parliament elected for six years was extended to 12 years without a general election. This he did by monkeying with the Constitution and through the subterfuge of a referendum characterised by unprecedented malpractice including violence and thuggery against political opponents, detention of several opposition politicians and closure of newspapers opposed to the extension of the life of Parliament.

However much Mrs Thatcher might have detested the verdict of the jury in the Clive Ponting case, British democracy would not have permitted attacks upon those responsible for the verdict. But in Jayawardene's democracy, thugs are hired and transported in vehicles belonging to the state to attack the homes of Supreme Court judges whose judgements conflict with the wishes of the Executive. And the Executive President who enjoys powers which 'are exceptionally wide for a free democracy under the rule of law' does not hesitate to freely concede that he had personally ordered the promotion of police

'SUBSTANTIAL VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN TAMILS ARE BEING DRIVEN OUT

Two British parliamentarians, Mr Roger Sims (Conservative) and Mr Robert Kilroy-Silk (Labour) visited Sri Lanka in February this year at the request of the British parliamentary human rights group to investigate allegations of human rights violations. The report on their findings is due to be published shortly. In the meantime, Mr Kilroy-Silk, in an exclusive interview with the editor of 'Tamil Times', discusses the question of substantial violations of human rights in Sri Lanka and considers the plight of the Tamil people in the context of the government pursuing a military solution to the ethnic conflict in that country. He conveys his concern that the Tamil people are being psychologically and physically driven out in the context of a growing feeling even among ruling circles that Tamils are no longer welcome in Sri Lanka.

Q. Mr Kilroy-Silk, you and Mr Roger Sims MP recently visited Sri Lanka. How did you come to make this visit?

A. We were asked by the British Parliamentary Human Rights Group to go to Sri Lanka for a period of ten days to inquire into allegations of human rights violations in that country. In fact, we spent little over two weeks there.

Q. Did the Sri Lanka government and the High Commission in London approve of your visit?

A. Initially, they did not approve. In fact at the beginning they were somewhat difficult and obstructive. But when we made it clear that we would make the visit on our own initiative with or without their approval, then they became very helpful, so much so we ended up as guests of the government of Sri Lanka. Once we were there, they provided us with a car and a driver to travel to various places.

Q. What places and who did you see during your visit to Sri Lanka?

A. We saw President Jayawardene, the Foreign Minister and the Minister of National Security several times. We also saw other Ministers and government leaders. They enabled us to see several places including the Welikade prison, the army camp at Boosa which had detainees and also refugee camps where there were Tamil and Sinhalese refugees. In that sense the government was very helpful. We made our own arrangements to see others whose names we do not propose to disclose for a variety of reasons.

Q. Other than government leaders and officials, who else did you see?

A. We saw human rights activists, members of the clergy and political parties, trade unionists, TULF MPs

and Mrs Sirima Bandaranaike. We saw Mr Vasudeva Nanayakkara, the NSSP leader, who was taken into custody after two days of our seeing him.

Q. Did you visit the Tamil areas of the north and east, especially Jaffna and Mannar which from all accounts seem to be the most affected parts?

A. We wanted to but we did not. The government told us that it would be too dangerous and that the roads and railways were mined. They could not take us by helicopter because we were told that they were being shot at by rockets and more importantly all the helicopters were in use for security operations. We had no alternative but to accept the government ruling on the matter. However, we are sad that we did not visit these areas and therefore are not in a position to say adequately anything about what is actually happening there.

Q. Your visit was primarily intended to examine the allegations of human rights violations. What is the situation in this regard?

A. As our report will make it clear, there is evidence of substantial violations of human rights in Sri Lanka. First of all, the Tamil people are being forced out of their homes by the government from the Prohibited Zone area and they have been turned into refugees in their own country. They are living in churches, temples, schools and garages. According to the government itself, there are about 100,000 refugees and that clearly is a conservative estimate. We were informed that Tamils are leaving at a rate of a thousand every day by boat to South India. There has been a complete dislocation of the fishing industry on which the coastal people largely depend. The Prohibited Zone includes thickly populated areas and it has brought about unimaginable hardship

and disruption to the life of the Tamil community.

A Security Zone has been declared under the Emergency to cover the entire Jaffna peninsula and no one can enter or leave this zone without special permission. Although we could not visit the affected areas, from first-hand accounts we are in no doubt as to the extent of the hardships experienced by the people. There is an acute shortage of food, drugs and other supplies. People have not been able to go to work or to their farms. Schools do not function normally. It is not necessary for us to elaborate on the human rights implications of the forced evacuation of thousands of Tamil people and the hardships to which they are subjected. Besides, a large number of people who are political activists are being arrested and detained under Emergency Regulations without charge or trial and even without access to lawyers or relatives.

Q. You referred to arrests of a large number of people who are political activists. How selective or indiscriminate are these arrests?

A. The Emergency Regulations are framed so broadly that you could be arrested virtually on the say-so of an army or police officer. You do not have to commit an offence or have to be suspected of an offence to be arrested. Virtually any action they deem it so, can be made use of, to arrest any person. The Emergency Regulations are drawn so wide that anybody can be picked up at any time.

Totally indefensible

Q. There have been reports of indiscriminate arrests of Tamil males of a particular age group by the army during so-called combing operations. Is there any truth in these reports?

A. That is true, because we were actually told that by the army officers and Ministers themselves. When there is an incident, the army covers an area of something like a square mile and arrests all young Tamil men between the ages of 16 and 35 in that area and they regard that as a common and acceptable practice. We find that totally indefensible.

Q. How are those arrested in this manner dealt with?

RIGHTS IN SRI LANKA' — U.K. MPs

PSYCHOLOGICALLY & PHYSICALLY

Robert Kilroy-Silk MP

A. Once arrested, they are taken to an army station and then interrogated. Some of them may be returned home after interrogation, and others are taken a couple of hundred miles south to the Boosa Army Camp to be detained and further interrogated.

Q. Are the detainees kept in a normal prison?

A. No, they are detained in a separate compound in the army camp behind barbed wire and armed guards.

Q. The Minister of National Security has stated that the detainees would be released once they prove their innocence. Could you comment?

A. Clearly that is not true and it does not happen in practice. The government has set up an Advisory Board to look into cases of detention and where appropriate direct their release. We had evidence that the Advisory Board had examined hundreds of cases and recommended that the detained individuals were innocent and ought to be released, but they are still in detention several months later. When we raised this matter with the Minister, he first discounted it but when confronted with evidence relating to several dozens of cases, the Minister pleaded that there was a shortage of clerks. We found his attitude most worrying and disturbing.

Q. Do you consider it to be an acceptable practice that those who are indiscriminately arrested should prove their innocence before they were released?

A. Clearly not. People should not be arrested unless they had committed an

offence or there was reasonable suspicion that they had committed an offence. However, in Sri Lanka people are arrested, interrogated and continue to be detained long after they should have been released.

Q. Is there any evidence that detainees are subjected to torture?

A. Yes, the use of torture seems to be widespread. It was evident that detainees were cowed and afraid. We saw prisoners who had terrible scars having been beaten up with plastic pipes and with cigarette burns on their bodies. Other forms of torture included detainees being hung up by their ankles upside down over a chilli fire and made to inhale burning chilli fumes; pins being pushed down their finger nails, etc. We saw and spoke to these people and it is our view that suspects are indeed beaten up when they are arrested and in the course of interrogation.

Q. Did you raise the question of the use of torture with Ministers whom you met?

A. Yes. They of course denied it took place. However, a senior police officer actually volunteered the information that pickpockets are beaten up because they are more frightened of the beating than of imprisonment as they regarded prisons as 'holiday camps'. If such an admission can be made by a senior police officer to two foreign MPs known to be investigating violation of human rights, it does not seem to be unreasonable to conclude that suspected terrorists are in fact beaten up and tortured.

Q. How about the allegations of army atrocities against Tamil civilians?

A. The government and Ministers seem to concede that atrocities are committed by the army against civilian Tamils when they stated that several service personnel have been disciplined in the past. Of course, we had other evidence from individuals and organisations that virtually every time there was any alleged terrorist incident, retribution by the army against civilians was normal. Retribution takes the form of beatings and killings of civilians and the destruction of their property.

Q. You referred to government claims of disciplinary action against security

personnel. Did they provide any evidence in support? Does the government give any publicity in the media about the action taken?

A. They gave us a list of army units from which men had been subjected to disciplinary action. However, none of this is published in Sri Lanka. The reason they gave for not giving publicity was that it would cause dissatisfaction in the armed forces.

Fear of being deposed

Q. Did the government offer any explanation as to why army excesses could not be controlled?

A. They accept that they occur, but said that it was difficult to control the army; some sections of the army were not well trained or disciplined and that was one problem. The other was that if the government took severe action, then the army might respond by taking action against the politicians and the state.

Q. That sounds like a confession of government losing control over the forces?

A. I think it indicates a fear that the army might use its power to establish a government under its control.

Q. So, the government is desisting from taking action against indisciplined sections of the army for fear of being deposed?

A. Yes, I would have thought so.

Q. From whom did you gain this impression?

A. From every Minister with whom we raised the issue as to why indisciplined army men had not been disciplined more often. I cannot from memory say whether the Minister of National Security said this, but certainly the President was of this view.

Q. The Sri Lanka media is full of daily reports of security forces killing terrorists and arresting several others. Is there any indication that those arrested are going to be charged and tried in the courts?

A. No. When we were there, there was the case of one person, Fr Singarayer, being brought to trial. He was on

PLEASE TURN OVER

course arrested two or three years ago. Other than that, there is no indication that any other person is to be charged or brought to trial.

Q. Do you think that the Tamils living in the South in places like Colombo feel secure and safe?

A. No, there is a growing feeling of insecurity and fear amongst them. We spoke to many Tamils, their friends and relatives living in Colombo and other places and they are plainly afraid. There was one man who dressed up to give the impression that he was a Sinhalese, spoke the Sinhala tongue and was afraid of anyone knowing he was a Tamil. Of course, we also had the evidence of all those who had left during and since the July 1983 communal violence. Many Tamil parents have sent their children away for safety.

Q. Did you gain the impression that Tamils are not any more welcome to be part of Sri Lanka?

A. Yes, that was perhaps the most worrying and unfortunate part. We cannot say that we got that impression from everyone. We did begin to get the feeling, and we discussed it amongst ourselves, that there was a growing sense amongst the members of the government and perhaps others as well and they talked in a manner which almost implied that Tamils were not part of Sri Lanka. They may not have realised that they were talking in that manner but that is the way it looked. The most worrying part is that if this feeling is allowed to grow, it would become generally acceptable to express these views quite openly.

Q. You said that you spoke to others including civil rights activists and trade unionists. How do they feel about the situation?

A. Even those people concerned with human rights, many of them Sinhalese, seemed frightened and apprehensive. They were clearly cowed and afraid for their safety.

Q. Who are these people?

A. I cannot name them because that would put them at risk. We gave them assurances that we would not disclose their names. They belonged to all communities — Tamils, Sinhalese, Christians, Buddhists and Hindus, trade unionists who are educated, articulate and professional people. They were afraid that if it was known that they had spoken to us, then they may be

endangered in some way or interrogated about what they had been telling.

Government bent on military solution

Q. The government seems to be following the course of a military solution. Has the government indicated any proposals or initiatives for a political solution?

A. No. We were very concerned about that. We wanted to see and encourage a political solution, but the Prime Minister, the President and others were very clear that they wanted a military solution.

Q. Is it your impression that the government has given up the idea of negotiated political solution?

A. Yes, definitely.

Q. How do you rate the chances of such a course?

A. Well, it will never work; it is wrong in principle; it is morally wrong; it is also foolish because you will never succeed in having a complete final military solution; and it will cost enormously in terms of lives. Eventually the problem in Sri Lanka has to be settled by people talking to each other and negotiating an honourable settlement and all efforts should be made to secure it.

Q. The fact that Tamils are being regarded even in the ruling circles as not being part of Sri Lanka, and that in the context of the government's decision to seek a military solution, what do you think the future holds for the Tamils in Sri Lanka?

A. I think it is very depressing. The Tamils are being driven out both psychologically and physically. If I was a Tamil in Sri Lanka, I would be very worried. It seems to me there is going to be an increasing sense of fear and insecurity, particularly for those in the north and the east.

Q. Do you think that the government sees its role as the protector of the majority Sinhalese community and that it has ceased to reflect the interests of all the people of Sri Lanka including the Tamils?

A. I think so. Increasingly, from the conversations we had with Ministers, it is clear that they are more concerned with maintaining the allegiance of their supporters, and everything they

say or do is viewed in the context of whether or not that will increase or maintain their support. In that sense, they are resolved to do what the majority community wants them to do and the majority community as expressed politically seems to be at the moment anti-Tamil.

Q. What role is the Buddhist clergy playing in the present situation?

A. From what we have heard from others and from no less than the President himself, it seems that they are one of the most extreme groups pressing for military action against the Tamils.

Q. Did you talk to any Christian leaders and what is their position?

A. We spoke to some of them, some were very good and some were very bad.

Who are the people you met?

A. I can mention the names of those ones we were not impressed with. We weren't particularly impressed with the Papal Nuncio in Colombo and the Anglican Bishop of Colombo. There were other Christian leaders who impressed us and who were clearly worried and concerned about the future of the Tamil people.

Q. What was the position of Mr S. Thondaman, the Tamil minister in President Jayawardene's Cabinet?

A. Of course he wants a negotiated settlement. I do not want to undermine his position with the government by anything I say or whatever you publish. He was certainly critical of government policies and actions. He was concerned about the future and welfare of the Tamil tea plantation workers and the way they have been treated during the communal violence and also about the fact that they had no civic or political rights.

Q. Did you raise with government leaders their plan to colonise the Tamil areas with Sinhalese to reflect the nationwide ethnic ratio of 75 per cent Sinhalese to 25 per cent other ethnic groups?

A. Yes, several times, but we did not get satisfactory answers. Their view is that Sri Lanka is one country and the population should be balanced throughout. That clearly is silly and will cause a great deal of trouble, but that is the government view.

Q. What are the opposition parties doing in the present context? Are they having any impact?

A. Oh no. We met Mrs Sirima Bandaranaike, the leader of the SLFP, who clearly is a supporter of the government to the extent that she would not do anything more liberal or sensible. She had no solution to the present ethnic problem and she too wants a military solution. She seemed to be more angry with the government for depriving her of civic rights.

Censorship

Q. Are there any restrictions placed against opposition parties in carrying out their normal political and democratic functions?

A. Yes, clearly the Emergency Regulations do that. So does the censorship. So does the fact that the Tamil United Liberation Front and its MPs are not represented in Parliament. The Emergency Regulations also prohibit peaceful protests, meetings, pickets and demonstrations.

Q. Do you know why Mr Vasudeva Nanayakkara, the NSSP leader, was taken into custody and the circumstances in which he is held?

A. I do not know why he was arrested. He was taken into custody two days after our meeting him. He was apparently arrested for breaching the Emergency Regulations, but as we said earlier they are so wide as to cover almost anything. No one gave us a satisfactory explanation for his

arrest except that he was distributing leaflets during the recent demonstration by university students. He was being held in the Colombo Harbour police station, and when we saw him he was sleeping on a mat in the corridor outside the Inspector's office. We were not allowed to speak to him. Asked as to why he was being held, the Officer-in-Charge said that he had been arrested for his own protection because he was being harassed by other people trying to get him to do things which he did not want to do and that he needed psychiatric help — all of which seemed patently absurd because we had dinner with him two nights before he was arrested and there was nothing wrong with him.

Q. Did you raise the question of his arrest with any government official?

A. Yes, we raised it with the Secretary of the Ministry of Defence, General Attygala. He described the explanation given to us by the Officer-in-Charge of Mr Vasudeva's arrest as ridiculous. However, he could not give a satisfactory reason for his arrest or indicate as to when he would be released.

Q. What in your view is the solution for the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka?

A. Both sides have got to talk. They should stop fighting, avoid the use of weapons and agree to talk without pre-conditions and negotiate a settlement which allows for some form of separateness or devolution to the Tamils in the north and east. The

solution lies along the lines of some degree of self-government to the Tamil community. What form it should take and how much of autonomy they should have are matters for discussion and negotiation. That is the only path to a solution.

What UK should do

Q. In the context of the substantial human rights violations and the decision of the Sri Lankan government to pursue a military solution, as a British parliamentarian, what do you think the British government should do?

A. I think the British government has to bring pressure to bear on the Sri Lankan government to stop the fighting and to begin negotiations without pre-conditions. We will be seeing the British Prime Minister before she visits Sri Lanka and we will be placing before her the evidence we gathered during our visit and impressing upon her the need to being to bear her influence upon the President to ensure that the violations of human rights are stopped, and use the economic aid that the UK gives Sri Lanka as a weapon to get the government to agree to negotiate with the Tamil leaders and political parties.

Q. Do you think that any other form of pressure could be brought to bear upon the government of Sri Lanka?

A. I think we have got to the point where pressure has to be applied by the whole international community. Sri Lanka is a fellow Commonwealth country, and that together perhaps with the Scandinavian countries and all those who are donors of aid to Sri Lanka should be prepared to say with a degree of unanimity that unless Sri Lanka actually stopped violating human rights in the way it is doing at the moment, then there could be no more economic aid, and that I think is the most powerful weapon that could be employed to have the desired result.

Q. Do you think it is right for the British government to extend loan facilities to Sri Lanka to purchase gun-boats in the present context?

A. No, I do not think we should be providing weapons of any description or military assistance to the Sri Lankan government until it complies with its human rights obligations and seeks a political solution to the ethnic problem in that country.

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WHY WAS 'INDIA TODAY' BANNED IN 'PARADISE LOST'

A few months ago, India's prestigious news magazine 'India Today' was a hot favourite with Jayawardene's Sri Lankan government. When it published an investigative report about 'terrorist training camps' in India, the Sri Lankan government could not restrain its delight. Its special report was republished in all the newspapers that the government could influence. The government also placed a special order for several hundred additional copies of the magazine, which were sent by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Sri Lankan missions abroad for world-wide circulation.

But things have now changed. The same government that distributed 'India Today' gratis abroad has now banned its latest issue from entering Sri Lanka. The reason is another nine-page 'Special Report' entitled 'Paradise Lost'. The on-the-spot report on Sri Lanka, which deals with the 'traumatic' effects of the ethnic civil war on the economy and public life, is written by the magazine's Associate Editor, Dilip Bobb, who was there a few weeks ago and 'talked to a wide cross-section of Sinhalese society including businessmen, top-rung professionals, politicians, diplomats bureaucrats and ordinary people'.

Despite the ban, photostat copies of the article have been freely circulating and are even being sold or hired like pirated video-tapes. Those who have read it ask what part of the article is the one that the government objects to most.

Portrait

Is it perhaps Mr Bobb's word portrait of President J.R. Jayawardene? 'At times, says Mr Bobb, 'he resembles a professional mourner or even an undertaker with his perpetually melancholic mien and severe raiment. Add a sinister-looking cowl and he would be straight out of the Inquisition, an image reinforced by the priest-like robes he favours. Even his smile is slow and sad, forming new and enigmatic patterns in the deep wrinkles of his elongated face.'

Or is it Mr Bobb's remarks that 'at an age when most politicians are haltingly dictating their memoirs, Junius Richard Jayawardene, 78, is quite literally riding a tiger into an unknown sunset'? Or that 'his dreams seem as mockingly empty as the hotels strung out like modern museum-pieces on Colombo's Galle Face green'?

Nevertheless, Mr Bobb, who also obliquely compares our President with 'tinpot dictators of banana republics', considers him to be 'probably the most

secure leader in the region'. He discounts the 'oft-quoted theory' that the President 'is under pressure from the hard-liners and the Buddhist clergy' pointing to the ease with which the President got rid of Cyril Matthew and writing off the vocal chauvinist sections of the Maha Sangha as 'faction ridden', 'Mercedes-Benz Bhikkus' who have 'debased much of their own credibility by indulgence in wide-spread and blatant corruption'

Ethnic

As far as the ethnic crisis is concerned, Mr Bobb thinks that 'Jayawardene is determined to milk the crisis for everything it is worth before finally, and dramatically, coming up with a diplomatic compromise acceptable to the Tamils'. President Jayawardene's other modus operandi for staying in power and on top is described thus:

'His political strategy has always been to pick up people, usually in pairs, and project them as likely successors but making sure that they are people with no power base like Athulathmudali and Premadasa.

'He then steps backstage and lets them do all the running and foaming at the mouth while forming their respective camps. Then, as abruptly as he elevated them, he drops subtle hints that one or both are no longer in favour. The entire polity hangs on his every word to catch a hint of who the next star will be, while frenetically trying to regroup.'

Mr Bobb does not mention whether he interviewed Messrs Cyril Matthew and Gamini Dissanayake, but he could have got some interesting sidelights on this aspect if he did.

However, while saying that Ranil Wickremasinghe, a 'hardliner' who gets publicity 'hardly in keeping with his official position' is the heir-apparent in waiting, Mr Bobb says that 'political analysts in Colombo' have a 'sneaking suspicion' that the ultimate winner may be son Ravi Jayawardene who, up to now, has 'displayed his disinterest in politics and his avidness for wheeling and dealing as a middle man, and a highly successful one at that, for getting government deals, including arms sales'

Economy

An interesting part of the banned special report is that in which Mr Bobb quotes official statistics and reports to illustrate the 'sudden and traumatic turnabout in almost every aspect of the island's economic life' as a result of the continuing economic crisis, the government's policies, its attempts at

a military solution and what the World Bank has described as 'the major source of instability in the economy' — namely, government's budgetary mismanagement. Budgetary allocations for defence, which were only Rs.50 million a decade ago, have now risen to Rs.4 billion. A further Rs.100 million has also been provided by Parliament.

Mr Bobb is obviously unaware of the immense extra-budgetary expenditure on the purchase of naval craft, helicopters, and a variety of sophisticated weaponry, which has added another one and a half to two billion rupees to this.

But he quotes Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel, who has 'little control' over extra-budgetary spending, as saying: 'If this sort of thing continues, the economy can't come back.' Mr Bobb remarks that the government obviously hopes that it can, as before, meet its huge budgetary expenditures forever from 'aid, concessional borrowings and commercial loans'

Aid-dependent

But, he points out, 'Sri Lanka is currently the most aid-dependent country in the world. Aid accounted for almost 60 per cent of government expenditure in 1983, resulting in a dangerously high debt service ratio of 20 per cent. But in fact, Sri Lanka has become a 'high-risk investment as far as aid donors and banks are concerned'.

Mr Bobb also quotes the Central Bank's view that 'the prospects for concessional aid are uncertain and further large-scale borrowing is imprudent in view of the dire consequences of debt servicing'. Prolonged ethnic violence has made aid, loans and investment in Sri Lanka even more risky. Mr Bobb says that from 1977 to 1983, foreign companies invested about 240 million US dollars in 300 ventures in Sri Lanka, mostly in the Free Trade Zone. But 'since 1983 the process has gone into reverse gear'.

Some companies have started to pull out while others have reneged on intended investments. He quotes the instances of AGRICO, which wanted to invest 300 million dollars in a phosphate project, and two other US electronic companies — Motorola and Harris Electronics.

Another section of Mr Bobb's article examines the crisis in the tourist industry where arrivals dropped by 17 per cent in 1983 and a further 5.9 per cent in 1984. Overall occupancy rate in

PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 15

THE TAMIL ISSUE AND THE INDIAN SCENE

The Indian government at the centre has gone out of its way to reassure those Members of Parliament, particularly from the southern five states of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Kerala, Pondichcheri and Andhra Pradesh, that there has been no change in Delhi's stand that the legitimate demands of the Sri Lankan Tamils should be met if a political solution is to be achieved.

The lack of a positive response from Delhi to the plight of the Sri Lankan Tamils in the context of increasing atrocities committed by the security forces resulting in thousands of Tamil refugees landing along the South Indian coast caused much concern in all the five southern states. There emerged a suspicion that the central government was no longer upholding the Sri Lankan Tamil cause with singular determination as was done in the past.

M. Karunanithi's DMK, which has taken an abiding interest in the Sri Lankan Tamil issue even to the point of demanding direct military intervention, threatened to start an agitational campaign throughout Tamil Nadu from April 29 alleging failure of the central government to safeguard Sri Lankan Tamil interest. The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, M.G. Ramachandran summoned an all-party conference which resolved to send an all-party delegation to meet Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to convey Tamil Nadu's concern. Similarly, M.O.H. Farook, Chief Minister of Pondichcheri also summoned an all-party conference on the Tamil issue.

The Chief Ministers of the five southern states were also summoned to a conference by M.G. Ramachandran to discuss a common strategy on the Sri Lankan Tamil issue.

Meanwhile, the central government had to step in and defuse the tension and dissatisfaction resulting from the contents of the communique issued in Colombo following the visit of the Indian Foreign Minister, Romesh Bandhari.

Strong objections

Several MPs raised strong objections to the communique issued in Colombo which gave the impression that India had accepted the position that the Tamil militants should give up their armed struggle before the Sri Lankan government called off military operations and commence negotiations. The leader of the Janatha Party in the Rajya Sabha, Mr M.S. Gurupadaswamy, voiced the misgivings of several members when he called for an early statement by the

government on whether Mr Bandhari's talks in Colombo reflected any dilution of the Indian position.

Clarifying the situation, it was announced in Delhi that there was no joint communique as such and that what had been issued by the Foreign Ministry in Colombo was only a press statement giving its version of the outcome of Bandhari's visit.

The clarification did not satisfy the agitated MPs. The memorandum recently presented by MPs of all parties in Delhi to the Prime Minister, said, inter alia, that 'in its anxiety to play the role of a benevolent Big Brother, successive governments in Delhi had put up with the discriminations against the Tamils in Sri Lanka'.

What is apparent today is that not only politicians of southern India but of the entire country and from all parties are concerned about the Sri Lanka Tamils. This development has exploded the fallacy in the Sri Lankan thinking and the irrational presumption that north Indians at the Centre are less concerned about the fate of the Tamils.

G.K. Reddy, the Hindu columnist, recently wrote reflecting India's think-

ing: 'The big mistake that Mr Jayawardene and his colleagues are making is in imagining that India can use its authority to restrain the Tamil Tigers and persuade the TULF leaders to accept the limited devolution of powers promised through district and provincial councils to give a semblance of local self-government to them . . . The Sri Lankan government has been making some grievous mistakes in assessing the Indian mood and in proceeding on the assumption that it would not intervene. It has been ignoring the fact that there is a limit to India's tolerance.'

'President Jayawardene and his advisers have become almost paranoid in imagining that they would be able to establish a better rapport . . . And yet the new Prime Minister of India, like his mother, cannot afford to play the ostrich and pretend that the Sri Lankan crisis does not exist or that it is of no concern to this government. He has to face it because India has a vital interest in a peaceful settlement of this ethnic tangle and any prolonged civil strife in this neighbouring country is detrimental to India's own interest.'

DIPLOMATS & REPORTERS BANNED FROM TAMIL AREAS

Although the Sri Lankan Minister of State in a recent press briefing denied that the Tamil areas of the northern and eastern provinces were prohibited to foreigners including newsmen, those who attempted to visit these areas have been refused permission.

Trevor McDonald of the British ITN and other journalists have reported that their efforts to go to the Tamil areas have been thwarted by the government. Some journalists who attempted to go to Jaffna have been turned back by the military at the Elephant Pass checkpoint. Kudlip Nayar who interviewed President Jayawardene for the 'SUNDAY' (30.3.85) was refused permission to go to the northern Tamil city of Jaffna by the President himself. Having refused permission, Jayawardene added: 'But there is nothing to see there. Only the army and the police; no sign of any life.' If what the President says is true, the question arises as to what has happened to the 800,000 Tamil people who live in the Jaffna peninsula!

Even two British Parliamentarians, Mr Kilroy Silk (Labour) and Mr Roger Sims (Conservative) had their request to go to the Tamil areas, particularly Jaffna and Mannar, turned down by

the government. The government knew that these two MPs had gone to Sri Lanka to investigate violations of human rights to obtain first-hand accounts of atrocities and destruction caused by the security forces. The excuse given to the MPs was that travel by road and rail was too dangerous and that all helicopters were engaged in 'security operations'.

Impossible to accurately report

It is reliably understood that even foreign diplomats have been requested by the government not to visit the Tamil areas. The Papal Nuncio has not visited these areas despite several pleas from Tamil Bishops. In the face of this government ban the diplomats find it impossible to accurately report on the actual conditions in Tamil areas to their home governments.

Political detainees in Colombo contend that the government is becoming increasingly worried that the atrocities committed by the security forces will be exposed. They also do not want the rest of the world to know about the acute shortage of food and medical supplies and the large number of camps housing thousands of Tamil refugees following the imposition of the Prohibited and Security Zones in the Tamil areas.

SUN SETS AT DAWN OF A NEW ERA

Chellappah Suntharalingam passed away in his ninetieth year in Lingam, Thottam, Vavuniya in northern Sri Lanka on 11th February 1985. His cremation took place at his farm in Navatkulam, four miles from his home. The streets of Vavuniya were lined by schoolchildren; the jasmine-adorned hearse rolled with reluctance as the legend passed through the town which he represented as Member of Parliament during the stormy days of the fifties and sixties.

He was born in 1895, the third of the five famous Lingam brothers — the first, Panchalingam, was an eminent surgeon; the second, Nagalingam, Queen's Counsel and the first Ceylonese to act as Governor-General; the fourth, Thiagalingam, another Queen's Counsel and Amirthalingam, a prominent zoologist.

The mathematical brilliance of Suntharalingam's early years was borne out in later life. At University College, London, he was the Ellen Watson Memorial Scholar and Mayer de Rothschild Scholar and won the Sir William Lubbock Memorial Prize. In 1918, he entered Balliol College in Oxford, where he was elected the Open Williams Exhibitioner.

Called to the Bar from Gray's Inn in 1920, he joined the Indian Civil Service, only to resign and join the Ceylon Civil Service in the following year. 'Fed up with signing gun licences', he soon resigned from the CCS and became Vice-Principal of Ananda College, Colombo.

In 1922 he was appointed Professor of Mathematics in the University College, the first Ceylonese to reach professorial rank. He was associated with Sir Ponnampalam Ramanathan in the Riddle Commission of the University of Ceylon and had introduced the Engineering Faculty. With the appointment of Sir Ivor Jennings as Vice-Chancellor, Professor Suntharalingam retired to practise law.

The politician

'Sun's' political career was whetted in his early days by his strong connections with Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan. They were closely associated in their opposition to the Donoughmore Report. Ramanathan died three months before the Donoughmore Constitution was enacted, being 'saved the sorrow of not knowing that, not withstanding his earnest endeavours and protests, a constitution was being thrust on the peoples of Ceylon with the inherent probability of a homogeneous Board of Ministers, a revival of communalism and a danger of illiterate,

coercible, corruptible, vulgar mob rule'.

In 1947, he contested and was returned as MP for Vavuniya and became Minister of Trade and Commerce in the first government after independence. He was dismissed from the Cabinet for opposing and not voting with the government on the Indian and Pakistani Residents Citizenship Bill.

In 1950/51, he opposed the adoption of the Sinhala Lion Flag as the national flag and resigned his parliamentary seat in protest, only to be re-elected at the by-election.

A distinct 'Nation'

The word 'Eelam', with its connotations of a distinct Nation, was first revived by Suntharalingam in 1956. Due to his disillusionment with most of his Sinhala friends and politicians, and having observed the traditional history of the Island from time immemorial, the genius had the foresight of forecasting the subjugation of the minority community and the removal of their separate identity from the polity of the country. At the time of the 'Sinhala-only' Act, he was carried out of Parliament, stoned at Galle Face Green and arrested at Bambalapitiya. He asked the Sinhalese, 'What shall it profit a people if they gain the whole world and lose their own soul?' He begged the Tamils, 'Do the Tamils of Eelam want to survive or perish? . . . Eelam struggle is our duty . . . No proud cultured people ever obtained freedom or retained their self-sacrifice except through suffering and sacrifice, and the Tamils have before them and their progeny, for the immediate future, only toil and tears.' He resigned from Parliament on the 'Sinhala Only' issue in 1955.

'Sun' formed the 'Eelam Thamil Ottrumai Munnani' and later named it the 'Eelam Thamil Viduthalai Iyyakkam'. He vociferously objected in Parliament and in public to every chauvinistic act of the majority Sinhala governments. 'Democracy,' he declared, 'was the counting of heads, not the cracking of heads, not the ruling of the minority by the majority.' During the



Chellappah Suntharalingam

1958 riots he effectively protected the Northern Province from organised and transported Sinhala hoodlums by ambushing them in the jungles. His courage and determination was unparalleled in the contemporary political history of the Tamil people.

Eelam's National Anthem

Suntharalingam, in the face of the gathering storm, had determined the borders of 'Eelam' and had written its constitution, its National Anthem and had produced a working paper on its economic, social and educational structure. But the Tamil people were not ready for Eelam. As his views conflicted with the mainstream Tamil politics, 'Sun' was considered an eccentric and was never elected to Parliament after 1960.

In 1923 he married Kanagambihai and he leaves behind his wife, six children, 21 grandchildren and nine great-grandchildren. His strength of character no doubt influenced the success of all his progeny.

In his last will, Chellappah Suntharalingam had left a message to the people of Eelam, in Tamil. It states that it was the independence and not the interdependence of the Tamil leaders of the day which contributed to the gathering strength of Sinhala chauvinism. The future, for a small nationality of people, can only lie in the key word of 'Unity'.

EELAM RADIO BECOMES POPULAR

Listening to the Eelam Radio has become a popular pastime amongst the Sinhala listeners, particularly the youth in the South of Sri Lanka. Up and down the country youth tape the Eelam Radio broadcasts and pass them around. The censorship imposed by the government on all news relating

to the students' struggle, the blackout of news from the North and East has made people eager to obtain the 'other side of the story'. The Eelam Radio too makes good use of statements made by the critics of the government and this too has made the Radio popular.

STATE TERRORISM

TAMIL TRAVAILS UNDER STATE TERRORISM

FEBRUARY 4, 1985

Terrorising troops honoured: A detachment of 100 troops drawn from the state-terrorised North of Sri Lanka were honoured at the military parade in Colombo held to mark Independence Day by being chosen to honour the National Flag. It is to be noted here that time and again Sandhurst-trained commanders in the North had told the Foreign Press that they agreed that their men were thoroughly disciplined and that they had absolutely no control over them!

Dysentery at Refugee camp - 11 dead: Bacillary dysentery had taken its toll among the Tamil refugees languishing in camps in the Mullaitivu District. Currently 25 have contracted dysentery. Three who were admitted to Jaffna Hospital have died over the last few days. In December 1984, eight refugees had succumbed to dysentery. In all, 450 refugees from the Mullaitivu camps have been treated for dysentery to date.

The bells toll no more: The bells in churches and Hindu temples toll no more out of fear of courting murder and mayhem from marauding troops in the North of Sri Lanka. This is because the troops suspect the pealing of temple and church bells as clandestine messages being exchanged between militants. And so the gods have also been forced to put up with denial of their freedom!

FEBRUARY 6, 1985

Army rampage in Jaffna town: The army went on the rampage in Jaffna town this morning resulting in the deaths of five innocent civilians and injuring several others. Those shot dead are: M.D. Emmanuel (48 years) at Oadaikarai, Felix Anthonypillai (25 years) at Eachamoaddai, Subramaniam Sivagurunathan (54 years) at Colombothurai and P. Poobalasingham (64 years) at Koivyathotham. Selliah Kugadas (43 years) from Nallur and Kanapathipillai Singaram (53 years) from Karaveddy were grievously injured.

During the pandemonium that ensued, V. Padmaroopan (20 years) died in a van accident. During the tension that prevailed buses and minibuses

took off suddenly from the Jaffna bus stand and sped at break-neck speed. People ran hither and thither in all directions, panic-stricken. Shops began putting up their shutters. People ran into the Jaffna hospital and into closing shops seeking refuge. The state of chaos lasted nearly two hours.

Shot dead near the courts complex: Mr T.T. Rajadurai (33 years) from Manipay was shot dead by the troops in Jaffna near the courts complex this evening.

Solicitors boycott courts: Solicitors practising in the Jaffna district met today and decided unanimously to boycott courts for two weeks from today to protest against the state of tension and terror precipitated by the armed forces.

Youths killed at Chettikulam: Two innocent Tamil youths, Subramaniam (24 years) and Sivalingam (26 years) were shot dead by the armed forces at Chettikulam in the Vavuniya district. Following the army rampage here, 13-year-old Karuppiyah Ratnam has been reported missing. He is feared to be dead.

More massacres in custody: Mr N. Jeyanathan, Government Agent, Kilinochchi District, has been informed by the army that three Tamil youths held in custody at the Vavuniya army camp have been shot dead 'while trying to escape from the camp' (in keeping with earlier cover-ups whenever prison massacres took place). The dead are: 'Subbiah Ramasamy (from Kilinochchi), Ingipillai Kaddakuddy Balakidnar (from Ganeshapuram) and Subramaniam Selvanathan (from Kilinochchi).

FEBRUARY 13, 1985

2,900 refugees in India over last few days: It has been announced in India that 649 Tamil refugees constituting 107 families have fled across the sea from Jaffna to India today. This brings the total number of refugees who have fled to India over the last few days to 2,900 people from 760 families.

Catholic priest refused entry into Jaffna: Rev. Father C.M. Omlo, a Dutch priest serving in the Jaffna District for the last 37 years, was yesterday refused entry into the Jaffna District from the Kilinochchi District by the armed forces. When he arrived at the

Elephant Pass military barrier with a permit from the Government Agent, Kilinochchi, to proceed to Jaffna he was refused entry and asked to obtain a permit from the Defence Ministry in Colombo to cross the barrier.

FEBRUARY 14, 1985

Justice Minister among colonisers: Mr Nissanka Wijeratne, Minister of Justice and Trustee of Lord Buddha's Temple of the Tooth in Kandy, speaking to newsmen in the precincts of the temple, said that he was going to send 150 Sinhalese families from his electorate of Dedigama to colonise Jaffna. He himself was going to participate in the National struggle to save the country by going along to the North with these families and settle down there.

80,000 Tamil refugees in India: Mr A. Amirthalingam, Secretary-General of the Tamil United Liberation Front, said in India today that there were now 80,000 Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka in India and judging from the present rate of overflow of refugees he expressed fear that within a month this figure could double itself.

312 refugees today: It has been reported in India that 312 Tamil refugees have crossed the sea from Jaffna to the safety of India today.

FEBRUARY 15, 1985

Mullaitivu rampage - 58 killed: The armed forces went on the rampage in the Mullaitivu District killing 58 Tamil civilians. From Colombo, the Minister of Internal Security, Mr Lalith Athulathmudali, justified these killings and claimed that all those killed were 'terrorists'! Meanwhile, it has been reported that on the 11th of this month, 13 old men had left their refugee camps 'on leave' to pay a visit to their homes but they had not returned and their whereabouts are not known.

704 refugees today: India reported that the number of Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka who reached India today totalled 704. Sri Lanka's High Commissioner in India, Mr Bernard Tillekeratne, was summoned to the Indian Foreign Ministry today where Mr Romesh Bhandari, Indian Foreign Secretary, expressed dissatisfaction and concern about the great problems India was facing as a result of the influx of

Monday	5 12	Monday	5 12	Monday	5 12	Monday	5 12
Tuesday	6 13	Tuesday	6 13	Tuesday	6 13	Tuesday	6 13
Wednesday	7 14	Wednesday	7 14	Wednesday	7 14	Wednesday	7 14
Thursday	8 15	Thursday	8 15	Thursday	8 15	Thursday	8 15
Friday	9 16	Friday	9 16	Friday	9 16	Friday	9 16
Saturday	10 17	Saturday	10 17	Saturday	10 17	Saturday	10 17

SUKHRAN'S DIARY OF THE OCCUPIED TAMIL AREAS

refugees. He also registered India's strong protest at the continuing harassment and killing of Indian fishermen by the Sri Lankan Navy in Indian territorial waters.

FEBRUARY 16, 1985

Arson, murder at Kopay: 55-year-old Saverimutti was shot and killed by the armed forces at Kopay. It is said that the deceased and a few others were travelling in a car and on seeing an armed patrol, had stopped the car and fled. The troops opened fire and killed Saverimutti on the spot. They then proceeded to set fire to the car. The charred remains of the car could be seen at Raja Veethy, Kopay.

Two murdered at Urumpirai: Two innocent Tamil civilians were found shot and killed by the troops in front of Urumpirai Hindu College.

Mullaitivu refugees massacred: It is believed that the so-called terrorists, announced by Minister Athulathmudali, to have been killed at Mullaitivu, were none other than missing inmates of various refugee camps in the Mullaitivu area. The following is a list of Tamil refugees reported missing from these refugee camps: N. Dharmalingam, P. Ambaladas, C. Gnanaprasadam, M. Chandravathana, M. Lawrence, A. Kathirgamu, V. Gnanendran, N.M. Thavarajah, S. Jeyakumar, I.L.L.J. Segaram, S. Mariadas, S. Jeyaraman, V. Packiarajah, M. Rasammah, S. Benedict, S. Lawrence, A. Arokianather, A. Mariadas, S. Manohararajah, S. Thaiyalnayagi, V. Mahalingam, V. Logendran, N. Kilori, S. Ligor, S.I. Arokianathan, S. Jesuratnam, E. Soosaipillai, K. Paul, Leelawathi Gunasingam, A. Thillainathan, S. Parwathy, M. Sinnathamby (all from St Peter's Church, Mullaitivu); M. Murugupillai, K. Sivarajah, K. Ravichandran (all from M.S. Garage Welfare Association building); S. Ponnambalam (from the Mullaitivu Muslim School Welfare Association building); C. Subramaniam (55 years), S. Iyadurai (44 years), I. Bhaskaran (13 years), M. Robinson (65 years), N. Puvanewary (19 years), V. Mahadevan (33 years), V. Muthulingam (12 years), V. Dharmalingam (25 years) (all from the Silapathurai Welfare Association building at Mullaitivu.)

400 refugees flee to India: India reported that 400 Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka had arrived by nine boats at the port of Rameswaram in South India today.

FEBRUARY 17, 1985

434 refugees to India today: The total number of Sri Lankan Tamil refugees

who escaped to India today has been reported to be 434 people from 92 families.

More refugees missing from Mullaitivu: The total number of refugees reported missing from refugee camps in Mullaitivu has now risen to 120. The following have also been reported missing and it is feared that they might have been killed by the armed forces while straying out of the refugee camps: Vattapallai Amman temple refugee camp: K. Kandasamy (55 years), S. Kandavanam (45 years), V. Kanagasunderam (55 years), S. Nagalingam (26 years), S. Kulasingam (25 years), S. Dharmaraja (22 years), E. Navaratnarajah (34 years), K. Kandasamy (32 years); Hindu school refugee camp: M. Markandu; Mulliavalai Hindu school refugee camp: V. Nagamani (50 years), M. Sivagnanam (24 years), V. Thirunavukkarasu (32 years), V. Kanapathipillai (25 years), K. Balasubramaniam (22 years); Vidyananda College refugee camp: K. Dharmalingam (42 years), S. Muthulingam (40 years), M. Sinnethamby, S. Kannan; Vattapallai Roman Catholic school refugee camp: V. Moorthy, M. Rajapoopathy, M. Saantha, N. Nagulan, M. Suthaharan, S. Natkumapiraisoody, I. Gunabalasingam, K. Sunthararani, K. Ushananthini, K. Kalaranjini, K. Ranjan, K. Pavany, S. Selvan, S. Arulnayagi, V. Velautham, V. Balavani, V. Nandini Devi, V. Subashini (female) V. Dharmini, P. Mahalingam, M. Ranjini Devi, M. Nilandan, M. Dhushyanthi, E. Ponniah, P. Navamani, P. Amirsha, P. Vaagesar, P. Dhushyanthi, V. Anusharatnam, A. Dhayaroobi, S. Tiruchelvam, T. Mariyavijayakulan, T. Chandran, T. Premkumar, P. Kularatnam, A. Rajendran, R. Thavamalar, R. Ravindran, P. Katpatiam (female), K. Pavananda Devi, Kumarasamy Sarma, K. Sathiyabama, K. Kanagambara Senthamilroobi, K. Panchadchara Sarma, Pragalatha Sarma, K. Saravanabavanathan, S. Chelliah, S. Ghanamma, S. Sathiyabama, S. Yuganthini, S. Kirubamoorthy, S. Ambijavathy, M. Sivakolunthu, C. Kanagambal, S. Sirushanthi, Kirushanthan, S. Suhandan, V. Durairajah, T. Jeyendran, T. Nesamma, T. Ravindran, T. Saraswathy, Chitra, Rajani, Jude Anthony, Robert Anthony, Ajanthan, S. Mailvaganam, M. Parimalam.

Mannar - no farmers for harvest: Though paddy cultivation this season has produced an increased yield, the farmers are scared to go to the fields to harvest the crop. This is because in the past few months farmers were shot dead by the troops while working in the paddy fields. The soldiers are reported to have cut open irrigation channels

and flooded the paddy fields thereby ruining the crops.

FEBRUARY 18, 1985

Evicted from their homes: The government has ordered the immediate eviction from their own homes of all people residing within a radius of half a mile from the army camp at Gurunagar and the Navy camp at Karainagar. The government has not announced any compensation or alternative accommodation for these people. Today residents from the affected areas met the Government Agent, Jaffna, and explained to him that they would be on the streets if they had to vacate their homes.

Famine in Jaffna district: Professor V.K. Ganeshalingam, President of the Point Pedro Citizens' Committee, has sent an appeal to President Jayawardene, pointing out the acute short supply of essential commodities like rice, flour and fuel, which has reached famine proportions. In an obvious reference to the government's excuse that the militants had disrupted road and rail communications with Jaffna, Professor Ganeshalingam has pointed out that cargo ships belonging to the government were regularly taking cement produced in Jaffna to Colombo and it was possible to send essential commodities to Jaffna by these ships when they do an empty run to the Kankesanthurai harbour from Colombo.

FEBRUARY 19, 1985

Graves most gruesome: A few mass graves have been discovered near the Maniam Thottam colonisation scheme at Colombothurai, Jaffna, by people living in the area. On finding a foul stench emanating from a half-closed pit in the area, people dug open the pit to find four human bodies, of which three were females, in a bullet-ridden, mutilated and partly charred state. The people cremated these bodies on the spot. Nearby, there appeared to be a few more foul-smelling newly closed pits, out of one of which was protruding the end of a saree. These pits were not opened by the people. These are strongly believed to be the work of the armed forces.

Mullaitivu refugees killed: Two Tamil refugees, Sittambalam Yogan (28 years) and Kandiah Thamotheram (35 years) from Thannir Murippu and living in one of the refugee camps at Mullaitivu, were shot dead by the armed forces when they left the camp to pay a visit to their paddy fields. The Post Master of Thannir Murippu, Eliyathamby Thangarajah and a Village Headman of the area, Kasitham-

PLEASE TURN OVER

SRI LANKAN POLICE BEAT & TEAR GAS WOMEN PICKETS

Several hundred women picketing peacefully at Lipton's Circus, Colombo, on Women's International Day (March 8), were attacked by the police, beaten with rattan canes, tear-gassed and dispersed forcibly. They belong to five women's organisations which had jointly organised the picket — namely, the Lanka Kantha Peramuna, the Kantha Sakthi and the women's organisations of the LSSP, SLMP and MEP.

The pickets carried placards protesting against the sharp increases in food prices, bus and rail fares, and other items. They also asked for the stopping of government attacks on free education, and a negotiated political solution to the ethnic crisis in place of the present slaughter.

Placards displayed by the women picketeers also called for the cancellation of the permission given to the Voice of America to establish a major radio transmitting station in Sri Lanka and the 'oil tank farm' agreements which will give the US Sixth Fleet special facilities at Trincomalee.

Unprovoked

Manouri Muttetuwegama, General Secretary of the Lanka Kantha Peramuna, said: 'We had lined the roads around Lipton's Circus, taking care not to obstruct anyone. We displayed placards and handed out a leaflet

EVEN COTTON WOOL IN SHORT SUPPLY

The hospitals in the North, including the General Hospital, Jaffna, continue to be plagued with a severe shortage of drugs. At the Jaffna hospital, supplies of even insulin, oxygen gas, bandage and cotton wool are running very low. These facts were highlighted at a recent meeting of the Jaffna Hospital Committee.

The Medical Superintendent, Dr C.S. Nachinarkinian, told the Committee that the situation had been caused by the non-supply of the required quota of drugs and other items as well as transport difficulties.

He said that 50 per cent of the drugs quota for 1984 had still not been supplied. As the trains now stop at Anuradhapura or Vavuniya, the hospital authorities had to depend on the Northern Region Transport Board to have supplies brought up to Jaffna. On a number of occasions drugs and oxygen cylinders had been held up at Vavuniya for days because of the non-availability of transport. Several times, appeals had to be made to the

BOOK REVIEW

'EDUCATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN SRI LANKA', by K Nesiah, published by The Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society, Christa Seva Ashram, Chunnakam, Sri Lanka.

This selection from the writings of Kunasekaram Nesiah, spread over the years 1930 to 1933, not only brings out

which had been submitted to the censors and been passed by them, with some deletions. Suddenly, without any warning or prior order to disperse, a police party attacked us, laying about them with canes and pushing and shoving the pickets aside. Tear gas was also used. Many women were thrown to the ground or bodily removed.' Among the many well-known women activists from various organisations who took part in the picketing were Doreen Wickremasinghe, Vivienne Goonewardene, Iranganie Ratwatte, Sineetha Perera, Rohini Weerasinghe and several others.

Meetings

Women members of the CMU and other trade unions which had gathered in Hyde Park earlier in the day in order to proceed to a morning meeting at the New Town Hall in connection with International Women's Day were also baton-charged and dispersed by the police.

army and air force authorities to have supplies air-lifted from Vavuniya.

The Medical Superintendent said that the situation at the Blood Bank had improved after Jaffna University students and some organisations had arranged to donate blood whenever required. Students from several schools have also joined in this arrangement.

It was announced at the meeting that tenders had been called for the construction of a new five-storey building for the hospital, but no decision will be taken as long as the government insists on diverting all development funds for defence.

The following were present at the meeting: Mr S. Sivagnanam, (chairman), Mr C.V.K. Sivagnanam, (municipal commissioner), Mr E. Vaitilingam, Mr S. Senathirajah, Mr G.W. Alexander, Mr M.S. Hameed, Mr T. Shanmugalingam, Mr S. Selvarajah, Mr N. Constantine and Mr A.G. Ratnam, secretary.

the thinking of the author on various themes of contemporary interest, but should be of help in re-constructing a seminal period in the story of Sri Lanka.

A lengthy autobiographical preface, together with an introduction to the volume by Bishop Kulandran, lends further insight into the author's purpose and what he has understood as the meaning of his life. It is to be noted that he discerns a ray of hope in what he has dubbed 'this sad decade'. The 38 chapters which constitute the author's basic writings are divided into eight groups, each devoted to a separate aspect, but with thin boundary marks — General Education, University Education, Sri Lanka wakes into the Gandhian Dawn; the Politics of Sri Lanka; Towards World Community; the Co-operative Movement; The Educative City; The Call to Renewal.

As a sort of postscript, 15 personal tributes to men and women who have trod Sri Lanka's soil during the author's active days, should also help to throw some sidelight on the story of the period.

In his introduction, Rt Rev. S. Kulandran writes: 'I trust that Mr Nesiah's views will be read with respect by everybody because they are not merely views that he has professed but which he has lived out, in spite of everything to the contrary. But, the article and addresses are held together not merely by a common authorship but by a consistent philosophy from which the author never deviates.

'In my opinion, it is part IV of the book that forms its central strand and more than anything else will make this book a memorable achievement. It was a master stroke on the part of Mr Nesiah to have printed his Youth Congress address of 1931. It expresses the ideals of most of our generation at that time. In part IV he relates what happened to our dreams and ideals. The totally unexpected series of events between 1948 and now has led those of our generation into a situation too deep for tears. In dealing with the situation, Mr Nesiah almost rises to the stature of a prophet.'

In a letter to the author, the Rt. Rev. Swithin Fernando, Bishop of Colombo, states: 'I must confess that I like the Autobiography the best because there I meet your person. How much I share your sadness that you express in its concluding sections. Yet I know that you are with me when I say that this sadness does not leave one in hopelessness.'

The price of the writings is as follows: Ordinary Edition: Cey.Rs.40, Ind.Rs.20 Library Edition: Cey.Rs.60, Ind.Rs.30 US\$15, UK£10.

SRI LANKAN THUGGERY IN INDIAN WATERS

JAN 5, 1985 — Ten Indian fishermen who went out fishing in the territorial waters of Tamil Nadu are reported missing. It is believed that they were killed by the Sri Lankan Navy.

JAN 10, 1985 — A massive demonstration was held at Rameswaram demanding the Indian government protect the fishermen of Tamil Nadu from the Sri Lankan Navy. The demonstrators demanded compensation from the Indian government for the families of the two fisherman killed by the Sri Lankan Navy recently. The government announced today that it was stepping up Indian Navy patrols off the Tamil Nadu coast to protect Indian fishermen.

JAN 11, 1985 — Indian fishermen fishing in the seas between the Pamban lighthouse and Rameswaram were attacked by Sri Lankan Navy men who arrived in a 20-ton patrol boat. The seven Sri Lankan Navy men robbed the Indian fishermen of their catch of fish and prawns and also their fishing nets, weighing 400 kilograms. The fishermen brought it to the notice of the Indian coastguard, who gave chase to and seized the Sri Lankan boat. The seven Navy men on board were arrested.

JAN 15, 1985 — India announced today that it cannot consider releasing the Sri Lankan men arrested by its coastguard unless the Sri Lankan government was going to release 17 Indian fishermen held without trial in Sri Lankan jails. Colombo was said to be reacting swiftly to the offer and making arrangements to release the Indian fishermen.

JAN 20, 1985 — Indian Tamil fishermen, who had refrained from going to the sea for two weeks, were shot at by the Sri Lankan Navy when they returned to fishing in Indian territorial waters today. A few fishermen suffered gunshot injuries.

JAN 24, 1985 — Sri Lanka today announced the release of 17 Indian fishermen held in custody. They will return to India by their own boats (16) from Talaimannar. The Sri Lankan Navy would escort them to Rameswaram and hand them over to Indian authorities. Official Indian sources said that once the Indian fishermen were returned, India would release the seven Sri Lankan Navy men held by them.

JAN 28, 1985 — A few hours before the Sri Lankan Navy officially handed over the 17 Indian fishermen to Indian authorities, another Sri Lankan Naval patrol boat is alleged to have entered Indian waters and assaulted ten Indian fishermen. They are also supposed to

The Palk Straits Diary by Aravind

have robbed the Indian fishermen of their day's catch. Mr Arulanandam, Secretary of the Rameswaram fishermen's association said that nine fishermen and two boats were missing.

FEB 9, 1985 — Five Indian fishermen from Rameswaram, who were fishing in Indian waters off Koaddikarai, Rameswaram were assaulted by sailors from an intruding Sri Lankan Naval boat. They were then robbed of their catch and nets by the intruders. Many fishermen were injured and admitted to hospitals at Rameswaram.

FEB 12, 1985 — A Sri Lankan patrol boat opened fire on an Indian fishing boat in the Indian waters off Koaddikarai, grievously hurting an Indian fisherman. A spokesman for the Rameswaram fishermen's association said that 20 fishermen who went to sea in that area were missing.

FEB 13, 1985 — A Sri Lankan patrol boat fired at an Indian fishing boat south of Rameswaram in Indian waters, grievously injuring Mr Segaram, who was admitted to hospital. Three other fishermen on board were mercilessly assaulted by the Sri Lankan Navy men. The Rameswaram fishermen's association has appealed to Premier Rajiv Gandhi and Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M.G. Ramachandran to ensure the safety of the fishermen.

FEB 14, 1985 — Two Indian fishermen, Anthony and Anandan, who went from Thangachi Madam to Thundikadal (Indian waters) to fish were shot at by a Sri Lankan Naval patrol boat and succumbed on the spot to gunshot injuries. Their boat was also badly damaged. Other fishermen brought their bodies ashore in their boats. Following that, chaos and tension prevailed at Rameswaram. Angry fishermen set fire to a train at Rameswaram to express their disgust with the Indian government for failing to protect them. Shops put up their shutters immediately.

FEB 15, 1985 — Mr Bernard Tillekeratne, Sri Lankan High Commissioner in India, was today summoned to the Indian Foreign Office by Mr Romesh Bhandari, Foreign Secretary, and warned about the Rameswaram incident where two Indian fishermen were killed.

FEB 17, 1985 — Mr M.G. Ramachandran, Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, condemned Sri Lanka in his capacity as head of the Tamil Nadu government for the Rameswaram incident and said that Sri Lanka was abusing Indian patience.

The opposition D.M.K. party, led by Kalaingar Karunanidhi, condemned the Indian government for failing to take steps to safeguard Sri Lankan Tamils and Indian fishermen.

The opposition Congress (Kamaraj) party, led by Mr Nedumaran, resolved to request the Indian government to send its troops into Sri Lanka and to take back the island of Kachativu which India had given to Sri Lanka a few years back.

Mr M. Kalyanasunderam, leader of the Communist Party (Moscow wing), in a telegram to Premier Rajiv Gandhi, requested that he take steps to prevent intrusion by the Sri Lankan Navy and safeguard the Palk Straits.

In Colombo, Sri Lankan Foreign Minister, A.C.S. Hameed, told Indian High Commissioner Mr J.S. Chatwaal shortly before he emplaned to New Delhi (having been recalled by the Indian government) that the Indian fishermen were not killed by the Sri Lankan Navy but by Eelam militants dressed like Navy men. He also suggested joint patrols of the Palk Straits by India and Sri Lanka.

Mr Romesh Bhandari, Indian Foreign Secretary, said at New Delhi that India has confirmation that the killers of the fishermen were Sri Lankan Navy men and warned the Sri Lankan government that unless its naval provocations were stopped forthwith, India would hit back.

FEB 18, 1985 — On his way to New Delhi from Colombo, Indian High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, Mr Chatwaal made a brief stop in Madras to explain to Mr M.G. Ramachandran, Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, about the Sri Lankan situation. Shortly after the meeting, it was announced that Mr Ramachandran would proceed to New Delhi to meet Premier Gandhi in connection with the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka.

FEB 19, 1985 — Indian Defence Minister Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao said today that the Indian coastguard off Rameswaram would be further strengthened and that they would be issued with sophisticated weapons to protect Indian fishermen from the Sri Lankan Navy.

FEB 21, 1985 — Mr M.G. Ramachandran, Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, today communicated his unequivocal opposition to the Palk Straits joint patrol idea proposed by the Sri Lankan government to Mr G. Parthasarathy, chairman of the Policy Running Council of the Indian government.

FEB 23, 1985 — Speaking to newsmen at Lucknow today, Indian Premier Rajiv Gandhi today rejected as out of the question, the Sri Lankan proposal

TALKS ABOUT WHAT?

The recent visit of the Indian Foreign Minister, Romesh Bandhary, to Sri Lanka and his talks in Colombo with the Sri Lankan leaders have raised renewed speculation about the possibility of a resumption of negotiations between the government of Sri Lanka and the Tamils. The Sri Lankan newspapers are full of speculative reports about the various issues in which the government was willing to make its offer for a restart of negotiations.

According to the 'Island', the package that the government was willing to offer included the grant of amnesty to all Tamil militants, release of all political detainees, a ceasefire on both sides and confinement of the army to the barracks as a first step and followed by talks to implement the proposal for district councils, with the possibility of provincial councils in the future. There was also the possibility of the 'revision' of the Sixth Amendment.

The President's and his government's track record on the ethnic question is replete with deceit, duplicity and opportunism. The scuttling of the Annexure C proposals which he himself had authored was a typical example. He and his ministers had displayed a remarkable capacity for saving

one thing in the morning and totally contradicting it before the day is over. For instance, at a public meeting with the Indian Foreign Minister on the platform, Mr Jayawardene announced that if the Tamil militants laid down their arms, he would grant them an amnesty and commence negotiations with them. However, on the following day, (Mr Bandhary not being on the platform) he made an empty and infantile challenge to the Tamil militants to shoot him if they could when he went to the north and east in the future.

It was therefore not surprising that the Tamil militant groups and the TULF itself have summarily rejected the bait of 'concessions' dangled recently by the Minister of National Security. They are no longer interested in talking about 'concessions' with a government which had during the last six months caused incalculable damage, death and destruction in the Tamil homelands of the north and east. The government has not treated the Tamil people as part of Sri Lanka and has literally unleashed genocidal violence upon them. It has demonstrated by every action it has taken that Tamils are a disposable commodity

and their lives and rights are no longer its concern.

Besides the vicious physical attacks made upon the Tamil people in general, the venomous anti-Tamil propaganda carried out throughout the country by government leaders, the sheer intolerance and the extremism displayed by the all-powerful Buddhist clergy and the adoption by the government of the policy of creating large-scale Sinhalese settlements in Tamil areas and providing the new settlers with weapons of warfare have left the Tamil people with the only predictable feeling — that they cannot any longer live with self-respect and security in the unitary state of Sri Lanka. No longer can their destiny be dependent upon the unpredictable temperament of Sinhala politicians.

In this context, talks on 'concessions' are a mere waste of time and an exercise in self-deception.

If there be talks, let them be aimed at the fundamental alteration of the political, constitutional and power structure of the Sri Lankan state so as to ensure that the 3 million Tamils can determine their destiny in their own traditional homelands and live with self-respect.

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Vijayambigai's insatiable quest for the Dances of India have seen her spend nearly a decade in India and go through the portals of internationally renowned institutions like Kalakshetra, Bharata Choodamani, Kuchipudi Art Academy, Nirthia and Bharata Kalanjali where she has learnt at the feet of great teachers like Rukmani Devi, Adayar Lakshman, Thrichoor P. Ramnathan, Madras Chellappah and the late Sri Padmanaba Mavar.

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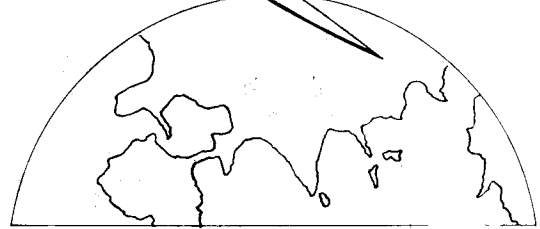
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Jaffna Tamil Christian parents, US citizens, seek doctor or qualifying doctor, under 27 for daughter, seventeen, brought up in US, furnished house in US, jewellery and new car, all worth \$150,000. Box M21, c/o Tamil Times.

Father presently working as an engineer in Africa seeks a Christian groom for a daughter aged 21 completed computer studies and presently undergoing university education. Box M26. c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Tamil, long settled in the UK. UK citizen, tall, professional engineer, sober habits, house owner, aged 38, seeks qualified/working (UK or elsewhere) homeloving bride for matrimony. All replies treated with strict confidence. Box M27 c/o Tamil Times.

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OBITUARY

Dr M.S. Thuraisingham

Dr Thuraisingham passed away peacefully on 22nd February at the age of 62. In the early sixties he taught physics at Trinity College, Kandy,

where apart from being an excellent teacher he was noted for his saintly nature. Almost a recluse, he spent much of his time in meditation. He had a very kind nature and infinite patience, particularly with wayward students.

OBITUARY

Dr Subramaniam Gunaratnam

Dr Gunaratnam, 50, specialist of internal medicine at Mary McClellan Hospital, Cambridge, New York, died suddenly of a heart attack on 11.1.85. He was born in Batticaloa, the son of John and Arasammah Subramaniam, and graduated in medicine from the University of Ceylon in 1961.

He was a diplomat of Child Health (UK) and a fellow and member of the American College of Physicians. He was also a member of the American Medical Association, the Washington County Medical Society and the Royal College of Physicians of the UK.

His funeral service took place in Embury Methodist Church, Cambridge, New York on 16.1.85

He later moved to the Ceylon Technical College (later to become Katubedde University) as head of the Physics Department. He pursued his academic studies at the Imperial College of Science and Technology in London where he did post-graduate work on low temperature microwave

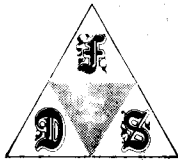
ultrasonics, and received his doctorate in 1973. He continued his active interest in academic matters until he suffered a major illness in 1980.

Dr Thuraisingham will be remembered for his compassion and piety. The last few years were difficult ones for him and the loving kindness of his wife and three children was a great source of strength to him. They deeply grieve his passing, as do his many friends and former students. May he attain Supreme Bliss!

CHILDREN CELEBRATE TAMIL NEW YEAR

One of the highlights of the year for the Tamil community in London took place on Saturday March 30, when the West London Tamil School combined its end of term ceremonies with the celebration of the Tamil New Year — in advance of the official date of April 13.

The guest of honour was Mr Harry Greenway, MP for Ealing North. In his address, Mr Greenway said that through Dr Nithyananthan, the headmaster, and other Sri Lankan constituency members, he was very aware of the problems the Tamils faced in Sri Lanka. He totally sympathised with the Tamil cause and with the legitimate aspirations of the people.

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By GAMINI NAVARATNE
in Times of India

officers found guilty by the Supreme Court!

The American President Thomas Jefferson declared, 'while the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, the minorities possess their equal rights which to violate would be oppression'. And the non-recognition of the equal rights of the Tamil people and their resulting oppression at the hands of successive chauvinist Sinhala-dominated governments are adequate demonstration of the absence of true democracy in Sri Lanka.

Three decades of neglect and refusal to solve the ethnic problem peacefully on the basis of the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Tamil people, the failure of successive governments to honour agreements solemnly entered into with leaders of the Tamil people, the recourse to military suppression of even Gandhian-style peaceful protests, the continuing discrimination and the often repeated anti-Tamil pogroms have, as a last resort, given rise to the twin phenomena of separatism and political counter-violence. To characterise, denounce and dismiss such violence as 'terrorism' is not only simplistic and naive but also to deny the right of an oppressed people to defend their fundamental rights and democratic freedoms.

SRI LANKAN GOVERNMENT BANS 'FRONTLINE' NUMBER

The Sri Lankan government has banned the March 23 issue of 'Frontline', fortnightly brought out by the publishers of 'The Hindu'.

The issue covers a detailed and comprehensive cover story on Sri Lanka discussing the Tamil ethnic problem from various angles. It also published a number of photographs which reportedly are 'unpalatable to the Jayawardene government'. The ruling UNP government had last month banned another Indian fortnightly news magazine, 'India Today', as its issue carried a cover story on Sri Lanka.

For the first time in many months, there was jubilation in Jaffna, the northern city of Sri Lanka populated by the ethnic Tamils. The Tamil guerrillas fighting for a separate state called 'Elam' had captured the main police station just two days before the British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher's visit to the island republic amidst mounting protests calling on her to dissociate herself from the repressive regime.

I was the first correspondent to visit the scene of attack at dawn on Thursday. I saw people gathering in knots outside their homes and street corners discussing the latest exploits of the guerrillas who have now succeeded in bringing the civil and military administration in Jaffna, the capital of northern Sri Lanka, to a virtual halt by their repeated attacks on the state machinery.

Guerrillas stood guard

Of course, there was apprehension that, as in the past, the security forces might unleash reprisals on the civilian population, but the people were heartened by the fact that the guerrillas stood guard in the city to take on the security forces. The city was swarming with young guerrillas carrying AK-47 assault rifles, rocket launchers and other military gear. They directed the traffic and advised the people in vulnerable areas, particularly close to police stations, to evacuate to safer places. Men, women and children carrying bags laden with their precious belongings were seen leaving in a steady stream.

When I reached the flattened police headquarters at Jaffna at dawn on Thursday, I saw army personnel digging in the debris to recover bodies. On the previous night, about 200 guerrillas had arrived in four mini-buses and dozens of motor-bikes, and attacked the station with rockets before overrunning it after four hours of fighting. Over 100 policemen were known to have been inside the headquarters at the time but most of them fled to the adjacent police station when the attack started.

Policemen taken hostage

No reliable figures of casualties were available from either side, but it is believed that at least two policemen were taken hostage by the guerrillas. Official statements said four policemen and 20 guerrillas were killed in

the attack. To prevent the military from coming to the rescue, the guerrillas had laid landmines along the road leading out of Jaffna's main army camp at Gurunagar, about a mile away, and also kept firing at the camp. The soldiers returned the fire, but did not venture out of the camp till dawn.

The Jaffna police station was one of the three remaining in the peninsula. The others are at Valvetitturai and Point Pedro. About a score of others had closed down after guerrilla attacks. The attack and smothering of the Jaffna police headquarters has boosted the militants' morale, particularly against the background of the training given to the security forces by the Israeli secret service, Mossad, and Britain's SAS.

The jubilation in the militant camp arising from their latest victory has led moderates in the northern province to believe that the time has come for the Jayawardene government to settle for serious negotiations with the guerrilla leaders to end the conflict. They feel that with India also opposed to a division of the country as envisaged by the 'eelamists', the guerrillas will be willing to settle for regional autonomy.

Monks' opposition

It is felt that President Jayawardene in recent months has appeared to be willing to accept the inevitable, but not so the Buddhist clergy which wields considerable influence in this predominantly Buddhist country. The monks are opposed to any meaningful devolution of state power because they fear it would inevitably lead to the establishment of a separate state and eventual link-up with the Tamils in South India and pose a threat to the Sinhalese as in ancient times.

It was the Buddhist opposition that led to the collapse of the all-party talks convened by President Jayawardene to find a solution to the ethnic problem.

Observers here feel that the attack on the Jaffna police headquarters should be an eye-opener to the Buddhist clergy that the Sinhalese cannot continue that hegemony over the Tamils and that it is time they agreed to grant them a measure of self-rule in their predominant territories. The alternative, in their belief, is civil war between the two communities, possibly leading to foreign intervention.

'SECURITY FORCES ENGAGED IN GENOCIDE OF TAMILS' — Australian MP

The government of Sri Lanka was involved in oppression of the Tamil minority and with its army and security forces engaged in genocide against the Tamil people, said Mr Kent, MP for Hotham in the Australian House of Representatives, during an adjournment motion on February 25, 1985.

The following is the text of Mr Kent's speech as reported in the Hansard of 25.2.85:

'It is with sadness that yet again, rise in this House to speak against the continuous racial violence in Sri Lanka. The government of that once tranquil island is involved in oppression of the Tamil minority and with its army and security forces is engaged in genocide against the Tamil people. The ethnic violence which erupted in July 1983 brought untold misery to the Tamils. More than a 1,000 Tamils, peaceful citizens, were attacked, beaten, shot or burnt to death in July riots. One would have thought that after those sad events the Jayawardene government would have stepped in to protect its Tamil citizens and to punish those who were guilty of planning and carrying out the unprovoked attacks. Yet, to date, no impartial inquiry into these violent attacks has taken place. What is worse, the killings continue. Ominous news of atrocities arrives regularly. I will quote from one of the telexes received recently. It states:

Sri Lankan government escalates genocidal violence against Tamils in Ceylon. First December, security forces strafed from helicopters Tamil civilians in Nedunkerny near Vavuniya and dropped incendiary bombs on houses killing more than 200 . . . same day Tamil civilians of Periyakulam village lined up and fired on by army death squads murdering 27 and injuring many more. Second December, 64 innocent Tamil civilians arrested at Chettikulam near Vavuniya by army later found lying dead along the high road . . . Third December, 52 Tamil detainees held in Vavuniya army camp summarily executed by Sinhala army . . . at Uyilankulam near Mannar, army death squad indiscriminately opened fire on innocent Tamil villagers and murdered 17 and injured many more. At Parapankandal in Mannar district army death squads intercepted two State transport buses and murdered all Tamil passengers totalling 65 including a woman passenger.

Gruesome atrocities

The telex goes on, page after page, giving details of gruesome atrocities against Tamil civilians. To dispel any doubt about what is going on, I also

quote from the 'Australian' of 13 February. It states:

News of a new jungle massacre carried out by the Sri Lankan armed forces in the northern part of the island is being circulated in this coastal town. The country's heavily censored press, which has to rely exclusively on government hand-outs for its news of activities by both terrorists and security forces, says a raid on a jungle camp during a cordon and search operation around a number of villages in Mannar district 13 days ago resulted in the deaths of seven terrorists, and the capture of a considerable amount of military equipment.

People who were there say the reality was quite different. Distraught villagers say 32 innocent men were shot in cold blood, often in front of the

terrified eyes of their wives and children. They say no terrorists were in the villages, none were shot and no military equipment was seized.

Take necessary steps

I call on our government to take the necessary steps in international forums to mobilise world opinion which, in turn, will force the Sri Lankan government to stop murdering its own citizens and stop the genocide against its Tamil minority. In addition, it is our duty to stop all military aid to the Sri Lankan army, to make sure that Australian weapons and bullets are not used for killing innocent Tamil civilians.'

LIBERATION GROUPS UNITE

Leaders of Liberation groups, left to right, Sri Sabaratnam, TELO, K. Pathmanaban, EPRLF, V. Prabaharan, LTTE, and Balakumar, EROS, after unity talks



The Tamil Liberation group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), has decided to join three other Tamil groups in a united front with a view to co-ordinating their activities. The Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO), the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS) and the Eelam Peoples Revolutionary Front (EPRLF) have already been functioning for several months in close collaboration.

The four organisations have set up one single body called the Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF) and this historical development is expected to bring about the much needed unity for which many Tamil people have been hoping.

Appealing for support from all Tamil people, the joint statement signed by V. Prabhakaran (LTTE), Sri Sabaratnam (TELO), K. Pathmanabha (EPRLF) and Balakumar and Sangar (EROS) states that the four groups had come together on the basis of a minimum programme with a view to taking joint political decisions and

co-ordinating the struggle against the Sri Lankan armed forces.

Agreed minimum programme

The agreed minimum programme among the groups includes the liberation of the Tamil homelands from the Sri Lankan state and its oppression, non-acceptance of any terms which do not recognise the right of the Tamil nation to a separate state in pursuance of their right to self-determination, acceptance of armed struggle as the method of mass struggle, the carrying on of the Tamil national struggle towards the establishment of a socialist society and the total removal of the stranglehold of neo-colonialism from the country and the pursuit of a non-aligned foreign policy.

The People's Liberation of Tamil Eelam (PLOT) led by Uma Maheswaran has so far not joined the newly formed ENLF but it is reliably learnt that serious efforts are being made to bring PLOT also into the fold.

ATROCITIES ON TAMILS MUST STOP

The Indian Prime Minister has declared that the atrocities committed by the Sri Lankan security forces against Tamils must stop. The present situation could not be allowed to continue for the next 15 or 20 years and a solution on the basis of a federal structure as in India should be found, he added.

These observations came during a 45-minute interview in New Delhi on April 4 with 'Frontline'. Q: 'There is a lot of concern about the major crisis the Tamil people (of Sri Lanka) are facing and it appears to me that they are all looking towards India for a way out. And yet the attitude of the Sri Lanka government — despite what one read about the Bhandari visit — seems very intransigent on the basic, substantive issues. What has India's foreign policy achieved, or India's good offices achieved, in this context? And

what do you plan to do since it is a very urgent problem?

A: 'Well, we have been in touch with Sri Lanka. Not everything that they say or we talked to them about can be told to you at this stage. But, really, we must first consider the long-term interest of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. A situation must not come about where they will have a problem over a 15-year period or a 20-year period. That must be kept in mind by everyone. . . . At the same time, we have to see that the atrocities which are being committed by the security forces in Sri Lanka — not totally under government control — must stop.

'We have to see that an atmosphere is created where the refugees can go back. We've got almost a lakh now, maybe 90,000. . . . It's not that we don't want them here, or want to push them out. This would be the guarantee that

conditions are all right. And it would be a barometer of the feeling and mood and confidence. So we must work towards that.'

In response to a question whether he would agree that a solution to the Sri Lanka crisis must come on the basis of a substantive measure of autonomy or federalism, whatever it was called, for the Tamil people within the framework of a united Sri Lanka, the Prime Minister observed, 'that is really something the Tamils and the Sri Lankan government should discuss', and 'it's not something that we can interfere with to any great degree'.

He added that the autonomy that 'we can talk about is what we have in India. We cannot go beyond that and that sort of a federal structure'. But 'if a solution could be found on a pattern that we have, we'll be glad to help in any way that we can'.

THONDA'S SHOCK REVELATION

A sensational revelation that four senior Ministers of the Sri Lankan government wanted to arrest President Jayawardene some time ago was made by Mr S. Thondaman, the Minister of Rural Industries in Jayawardene's Cabinet. He made the revelation while addressing the All-Ceylon Muslim League recently.

'One night, around 10, four Ministers of the present government knocked at my door and said President Jayawardene was to be arrested to save Sri Lanka from doom. I was shocked. A moment later I recovered and told my callers, 'If you do that, I will take to the streets with my followers. I will fight you and will not mind going under,' he said.

Thondaman did not, however, identify Sri Lanka's Gang of Four. Nor did he explain why the gang wanted to arrest the President at that moment.

If this revelation is true, Thondaman would have told the President himself and the question then arises as to why he had not initiated action against the four ministers or at least sacked them from his Cabinet.

No confidence

In the meantime, there are moves to present a no-confidence motion against Mr Thondaman and this is spearheaded by opposition MP, Mr Dinesh Gunawardene of the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna with the backing of the opposition leader Mr Anura Bandaranaike. The accusations against Thondaman are believed to be that, while being a Minister, he had publicly condemned the government policy of

colonising Tamil areas with Sinhalese; he had met with Tamil militant leaders during his recent visit to India; he had made defamatory statements against the majority Sinhalese community, and that his statements and actions are not in the national interest, and that he had breached Cabinet collective responsibility.

The Cyril Matthew gang within the ruling party would appear to be fully backing the no-confidence move against Thondaman. However, President Jayawardene is expected to use all his power to scuttle the move and to defend Mr Thondaman to the hilt

because he had been one of the most loyal and faithful supporters of the President. In fact, if it wasn't for Mr Thondaman's support in mobilising his CWC members, Mr Jayawardene would have found it extremely difficult to win his second term as President.

The unrepentant Thondaman at a recent meeting said that the government should seek a political solution without waiting for a cessation of violence by the Tamil militants. Why should we make 'terrorism' an excuse to delay a reasonable political solution to the ethnic discord, he asked.

MILITANTS' SUCCESSES

The complete destruction of the Jaffna Police Headquarters and the bomb blast which partially destroyed the railway station near the Colombo International Airport just two days before the arrival of the British Prime Minister in Sri Lanka have sent shock waves in government circles. The viability of the military option which the Jayawardene regime has adopted to deal with the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka is under serious challenge.

The draconian measures imposed by the Sri Lanka government in setting up a prohibited zone along the northern coast, a security zone covering the northern areas, and the surveillance zone in the Palk Straits have apparently failed to contain the Tamil militants. They have served only to bring untold hardship and starvation to ordinary civilian Tamils.

The daring attack and total destruction of the Chavakachcheri Police Sta-

tion in the course of which scores of Israeli-trained police commandos became casualties in November last year, the well-planned attack on a train carrying soldiers at Mankulam in December in the course of which an estimated 100 soldiers died, and other mine explosions in which several members of the security forces paid the price with their lives for the uncontrolled terror they inflict upon Tamil civilians, taken together with the latest two remarkably successful attacks by militants have compelled even the once cocky Lalith Athulathmudali to change his tune. The man who was only a few months ago talking about totally wiping out the Tamil militants in two months was recently heard to say, 'so long as all the people extend their support and co-operation we would be able to eradicate terrorism by the end of 1986'. ('The Island', 1.4.85)

JAYAWARDENE IN HORSE DEAL WITH U.S.?

by **CHANAKYAN**

President Junius Jayawardene, so aptly characterised by 'India Today' as resembling a 'professional mourner or even an undertaker' with a sinister-looking cowl, was probably getting ready to write the epitaph of Sri Lanka when he piloted a Cabinet decision last month to construct a new International airport at Trincomalee at the apparent request of the USA.

Announcing the decision on March 13, Cabinet spokesman Anandatissa de Alwis waxed eloquent that the main purpose of the venture was to attract more tourists, service the Mahaweli project and supply an alternative to Katunayake (Colombo) airport in case of bad weather!

That Minister de Alwis was only bluffing was not difficult to see as the proposal had not been mooted by any of the Ministers in charge of tourism, Communications or Mahaveli Development, but by President Junius, in his capacity as Minister of Defence. And what's more, the decision to construct a second airport was an overnight one, as no financial provisions had been made for it in the 1985 budget of Sri Lanka passed barely two months ago.

Airport or airbase?

The 'Sun' newspaper has given some revealing details about the scope and extent of the proposed new airport. It would have a runway similar to that of Katunayake but would also have equal or more facilities including third generation navigational aids and communication equipment. It will also have facilities to store sufficient aviation fuel for ANY AIRCRAFT that may require it.

What is more revealing is that the plan for the new airport was drawn up at a cost of US\$290,000 by the US concern - Boeing Aerosystems International, whose parent firm also builds planes for the US air force!

It is very well known that the US is having serious difficulties regarding the refuelling and maintenance of its war planes on its main Indian ocean base located in the tiny and now overcrowded island of Diego Garcia. The same 'rest and recreation' problems experienced by its naval personnel at Diego Garcia, to supply them with wine and women, and fuel for the ships of the Seventh Fleet for which Trincomalee harbour was bartered, has risen again as far as the US air force is concerned and hence the decision to construct an airport at Trincomalee.

Junius the undertaker?

President Jayawardene has thus ful-

filled the role of an undertaker for Sri Lanka's independence by wilfully committing and integrating the country into the global and regional war plans of the US, which run counter to the countries which are fighting for a peace zone in the Indian ocean. It is a well-known fact that some NATO powers have for over a decade obstructed in some way or other, the Conference on the Indian Ocean Peace Zone in Colombo that the UN, the Non-Aligned nations and the littoral states have been trying to bring about all these years.

If President Jayawardene thinks that by beefing up the US presence in Trincomalee he could thwart the cry for Eelam within whose boundaries Trincomalee lies, he would be simply re-enacting the role of Ehelepola, and other Sinhala chiefs who courted the British colonialists and betrayed the last Tamil king of Kandy - Sri Wickreme Rajasinghe. The results of the re-enactment could lead to even a nuclear disaster to the country, unlike the act of Ehelepola and his cohorts.

Notorious visitors from USA

We have spotlighted in the past the significance of the visits to Sri Lanka, of Jeanne Fitzpatrick, General Vernon Walters, Richard Murphy and then General Walters again.

In the wake of these internationally notorious visitors, another recent visitor was ex-Senator Charles Percy who ended up by suggesting to President Junius how he could 'help us to help you' (to crush the Tamils).

The next visitor to Sri Lanka was perhaps the most notorious, the most nefarious and the most flamboyant of them all. He was Charles Z. Wick, the Commandant of the US Information Agency, the 'Voice of America', and all other agencies of US ideological aggression, throughout the world, the man who carries his piano, in addition to his tricks around with him in a special plane in which he flies around the world. He masterminds 'Radio Liberty' and 'Radio Free Europe', which conduct a campaign of slander and subversion against the socialist community and the peace movements of Western Europe.

His visit to Colombo served to twist Sri Lanka's arm to stop dragging its feet on the installation of a 'Voice of America' transmitter, owing to opposition in Sri Lanka itself and in other Asian countries. The biggest subversion from his VOA station, which will be the biggest VOA station outside the USA, would have been directed at

India, in addition to serving as an efficient telecommunication network directing the activities of the US Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean.

Charles Wick, the superhawk, seems to have achieved quite a lot during his sojourn in Sri Lanka, for it was soon after his departure that the second airport project was announced by the Sri Lankan government.

Oil tank deal boomerangs?

Meanwhile, the first US-Sri Lankan fraud concerning the so-called 'consortium' whose tender for the oil tank at Trincomalee was accepted by the Sri Lanka government last year seems to have run into serious trouble. The Chairman of the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation, Mr Wimalasena, has admitted that the constituent companies of the 'consortium' were in disagreement and that, unless they all signed the contract by the end of June 1985, the deal would be off.

The government of Sri Lanka was trying to lease the 99 oil tanks at Trincomalee to a questionable US firm - 'Coastal Corporation', a supplier of oil to the US Navy Department, so as to provide a support facility for the US Sixth Fleet in the Indian Ocean. But when the proposed deal was exposed it led to opposition, both locally and internationally and the government called for 'international tenders'.

The tender was awarded to a so-called 'consortium' ignoring better bids from India's oil corporations and others. The award of the tender was also later exposed as a 'fraud'. Two directors of Coastal Corporation had set up two dummy firms - Oroleum Company of Singapore and Tradinaft of Switzerland. A genuine West German firm 'Oil Tanking' was also included.

When the composition of the 'consortium' was exposed, the West German firm got cold feet and tried to pull out. It feared that its business reputation would be tarnished and that it might lose the substantial oil business it had in India, which was quick to criticise the 'consortium' horse deal.

The directors of the dummy companies began squabbling over the sharing of the spoils. Meanwhile, the US also found that it could not obtain refuelling and rest and recreation facilities for its Navy in Sri Lankan ports without going through the bother of setting up a special oil tank firm.

So, the notorious oil tank deal today stands the risk of blowing up US refuse on the 'elongated face' of Junius Jayawardene and adding to its 'melancholic mien'. (Phrases within quotes coined by 'India Today')

FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

by (50 years) were admitted to hospital after being shot at by the troops.

Vavuniya murders: Joseph Yogarajah, a student of the University of Jaffna who was taken in for questioning by the army was shot dead by them today. Meanwhile, the bullet-ridden bodies of Thamotherampillai Manobalan and a leading businessman — Ibrahim (a Muslim) were also found in Vavuniya and taken to the mortuary of the Vavuniya hospital. They are also believed to have been murdered by the armed forces.

Dead bodies in KKS sea: The bullet-ridden bodies of four youths were washed ashore on the Keerimalai beach in Jaffna today.

Tractor incinerated: The army set fire to a tractor parked near the Thirunelveli junction in Jaffna today.

FEBRUARY 22, 1985

Sarath's shocking disclosures: Speaking to the Parliament on the resolution to extend the state of emergency in Sri Lanka, the Communist (and Sinhalese) MP Mr Sarath Muttetuwegama said that he has received information from very reliable sources that a large percentage of males from the Tamil village of Vaddakandal in the Mannar District have been shot and killed by the armed forces. He also cautioned the government that a Bangla Desh-type of situation was brewing in Sri Lanka due to the increasing number of Tamil refugees who were fleeing to India daily due to the atrocities of the armed forces.

Anil's frank admission: Speaking in the Parliament, Mr Anil Moonesinghe, (a Sinhalese) MP, said that the Tamils had sought to live as equal citizens with the Sinhalese in Sri Lanka and all the present problems are the result of the Sinhalese refusing to recognise them as their equals.

Citizens' committee leader intimidated: In the wake of the shutting out from Parliament of the democratically elected Tamil MPs, the citizens' committees that threw themselves up became the voice of the Tamil people in the darkest hours of their history. Today, the President of the Jaffna Citizens' Committee and the chairman of the co-ordinating body of all citizens' committees in Tamil areas, Mr R. Balasubramaniam, was intimidated by the armed forces. Scores of troops arriving in a convoy of about 15 army vehicles rushed into his house, turning it topsy turvy, claiming to look for a terrorist suspect. This was obviously a grim warning to him to pipe down in his persistent disclosures of army atrocities.

FEBRUARY 23, 1985

Army on shooting spree in Jaffna: The army went on a shooting spree in several parts of the Jaffna district today, killing and injuring several people. At Kandarmadam, one innocent civilian was killed and the following admitted to hospital with gunshot injuries: Miss N. Pragashini (10 years), Udayakumar (21 years), V. Thambirajah (31 years), Anton (30 years), Muralidharan (23 years), N. Iyanas (27 years).

At Nallur, troops shot at a motor cycle, grievously injuring the rider and then set fire to the vehicle. They also smashed up a photographic studio, situated nearby. At Chunnakam, air force men opened fire at houses from helicopter gunships injuring a few civilians. At Aadiyapatham Road, Jaffna, Reckno Dharasan (20 years) was shot at by the troops and later admitted to Jaffna Hospital. At Neervely, the soldiers set fire to a van that was parked by the side of the road. An armoured car travelling along the Rasavinthottam Road, Jaffna, opened fire and killed Buhari Lawrence (38 years), a welder.

841 refugees today: It has been reported that 841 Tamil refugees crossed the area from Sri Lanka to India, bringing the total number of refugees who arrived in India over the last few days to 6,752.

FEBRUARY 25, 1985

9,167 refugees since Feb 4: India today announced that a total of 9,167 Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka had crossed over to India since February 4. In addition to lodging facilities these refugees were being granted Rs.110 per month for an adult and Rs.85 a month for a child by the Indian government.

Bridge blasted by army: The army today blasted the Kopay-Kaithady bridge, leading to diversion of traffic through Puttur, causing great hardship to the people.

Money order restrictions: The government has cut down drastically the amount of money encashable over money orders in the Jaffna district. Major post offices can now encash only Rs.600/- per money order as opposed to the Rs.1,000/- per money order that prevailed up till now. Sub-post offices which handled up to Rs.6,000/- as money order cash can now handle only up to Rs.300/- at any time. With the soaring cost of living in the Jaffna district due to troop atrocities, this has come as another economic blow directed at the Tamil man.

Free text books for Jaffna — not yet: Though it is now nearly six weeks since the first term of 1985 started in schools, the free school text-books that

have been distributed by the government in schools in other parts of the country have not been given yet to schools in the Jaffna district.

FEBRUARY 26, 1985

'Saturday Review' intimidated: The fearless, independent English weekly from Jaffna — 'Saturday Review' (edited by a Sinhalese — Mr Gamini Navaratne) which has been fiercely critical of the handling of Tamil affairs by the government and troops atrocities in the Tamil areas, was subjected to intimidation by the armed forces today. They swooped down on the newspaper office and took into custody its editor, his assistant and two visitors who were present at that time. It was later announced that they had been released after questioning.

Four murdered at Maviddapuram Four Tamil civilians travelling in a car were killed when the armed forces opened fire on the vehicle at Maviddapuram.

FEBRUARY 28, 1985

Army rampage — 2,000 flee homes: Following a landmine explosion on a road at Kallundai in the Jaffna district, the army went on a rampage shooting indiscriminately and setting fire to every hut or house in sight between Kallundai and Navaly. As a result, 2,000 people fled from their homes and have sought refuge at schools and churches in Navaly and Manipay.

1,031 refugees today: 1,031 more Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka have reached India today, it was announced in Madras, bringing the total number of refugees since February 4, 1985 to 12,000. In response to a request by Mr M.G. Ramachandran, Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, to the central government for the immediate grant of Rupees 50 million for rehabilitation of refugees, Delhi has released Rs.30 million and is considering the release another Rs.30 million very soon.

MARCH 5, 1985

Defence fund or genocide fund, asks Sarath: Speaking in Parliament today, Mr Sarath Muttetuwegama, the Communist MP, condemned the National Defence Fund set up by the government. 'Is it for the purpose of killing all the Tamils living in this country? Or, is it for the purpose of waging a war with India?' he asked. Watching the developments in India and Sri Lanka, he said that a Bangla Desh-type of situation was existing, but it was due to the lack of a strong leader of the mould of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman that Tamil Eelam was not yet born.

of joint patrolling of the Palk Straits.
FEB 24, 1985 — Mr Bernard Til-lekeratne, Sri Lankan envoy in New Delhi, left for Colombo after a series of meetings with Indian Foreign Secretary Mr Romesh Bhandari this week, it was announced in New Delhi today. India had urged the Sri Lankan government to stop forthwith the atrocities committed against Sri Lankan Tamils, failure to do so would pave the way for escalation of tensions in the Indian Ocean region, it was announced in New Delhi.

FEB 26, 1985 — Admiral Kurana, head of the Indian coastguard, paid a visit to Rameswaram today.

Meanwhile, a hartal was observed at Ramanathapuram today to express solidarity with the Sri Lankan Tamils and to condemn the Sri Lankan Navy's provocative acts. Massive demonstrations, culminating in a rally, were held.

FEB 28, 1985 — Premier Rajiv Gandhi, on a visit to Madras, today received Mr M.G. Ramachandran at Raj Bhavan, and had a long discussion on the deteriorating condition of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

MARCH 3, 1985 — The Indian Navy today conducted a 'war rehearsal' in the Bay of Bengal. India's newly acquired aircraft carrier, destroyers, warships, warplanes and surface-to-air missiles were deployed in the rehearsal, which was inspected personally from a helicopter by Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, India's Defence Minister.

MARCH 13, 1985 — Indian Premier Rajiv Gandhi, visiting Moscow to attend the funeral of the Soviet leader Konstantin Chernenko, met several world leaders including British PM Margaret Thatcher, Soviet leader Gorbachev, and US Vice-President George Bush, and explained to them the Tamil problem of Sri Lanka.

MARCH 12, 1985 — Eleven Indian fishermen fishing at the sea off Rameswaram were attacked by the Sri Lanka Navy men who snatched their catch — 11 kilograms of prawns. At about the same time a Sri Lanka Air Force helicopter flying overhead shot at them but the fishermen jumped into the sea and escaped being injured.

MARCH 14, 1985 — Mr V.R. Nedunche-liyan, Minister of Finance and Leader of the House in the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly, said that the ruling AIADMK Party was prepared to summon an all-Party conference to seek approval for a proposal to request the central government to scrap the 'Kachchativu Agreement' with Sri Lanka and if approved he would move the resolution in the State Assembly.

MARCH 18, 1985 — While it was announced in New Delhi today that Mr Romesh Bhandari, Indian Foreign Secretary, would visit Sri Lanka soon to have discussions with President Jayawardene on the Tamil question, DMK leader Mr Karunanidhi was demanding in the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly that India should seek a Bangla Desh-type of solution to the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka.

DR. R.K. SELLIAH

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FROM PAGE 1

Batticaloa district, until this latest orgy of violence, have been spared the violence of the rampaging Sri Lankan security forces. This has been mainly due to the fact that these areas are represented by the ruling UNP MPs.

The latest violence has been orchestrated in the context of the growing solidarity between the Tamil and Muslim communities in the eastern province and several recent successful attacks by Tamil and Muslim militants on the security forces.

FROM PAGE 8

all tourist hotels fell to 35.9 per cent in 1983 and 'even worse' in 1984, where the average occupancy rate during the season was only 5 per cent, with about 20 employees to look after each guest.

The view of Mr Askar Moosajee that 'Hotels are a disaster area . . . you are losing money every minute' is backed up by other spokesmen of big private enterprise in the tourist industry whom Mr Bobb interviewed. The gloomy account of the present economic situation revealed in official sta-

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tistics is also backed up by statements, in interviews, with such captains of the private sector as Mr D. S. Jayasundra (Chairman of the Hayleys Group and the Chamber of Commerce) and Mr C.P. de Silva (Chairman and Managing Director of Aitken Spence and Co.).

The growing role of the military is another matter that engaged Mr Bobb's attention. He notes that the total strength of the armed forces, which was 16,000 in 1982 had doubled by 1984 and recruitment continues, and discusses what he says is the 'fertile ground' for an 'army coup' which he thinks is sure to materialise when the struggle to succeed President Jayawardene starts.