

**HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS**

**SRI LANKA**

**EXTRAJUDICIAL  
& ARBITRARY  
KILLINGS**

A TIC & HRC (SCOT) PUBLICATION

*"Mass arrests of Tamil youth are being carried out. Detainees in the custody of the state have been killed. Some of the security forces have carried out massive reprisals against the civilian population and, in the course of their operations, have killed many people, and have caused much damage to private property, burning and destroying homes and farms... State security forces are now adopting, in the Jaffna district, the method of cordoning off specific areas and then taking into custody all young Tamil males, falling usually between the ages of 15 and 30, caught within the cordoned areas. These persons are being taken into custody on the basis that they belong to a specific ethnic, age and sex group amongst whom there may be suspected offenders."*

**Civil Rights Movement of Sri Lanka 25.1.85**



*"Kanagaratnam Gunapalasingham, a Sri Lankan cigar manufacturer, committed suicide in September 1981, having been detained, tortured and released in May. Amnesty International possesses his affidavit submitted before a justice of the peace on 2 August 1981. The medical expert who examined him on his third admission to hospital for treatment of physical and mental after-effects of torture told Amnesty International that Kanagaratnam Gunapalasingham was refusing food and drink and was unable to talk, expressing himself only by way of gestures. He had difficulties in passing urine. The doctor said that he had found signs of haematoma (clotted blood) in both the big toe folds and on both heels consistent with the allegations made by Kanagaratnam Gunapalasingham in his affidavit that needles had been driven into both his toes and heels. The doctor told Amnesty International the patient had hysterical attacks, continuously referring to the army assaults. The medical experts concluded that he was profoundly psychiatrically disturbed possibly as a consequence of torture."*

**— From "TORTURE IN THE EIGHTIES", page 25, by Amnesty International.**



*"During 1985 Amnesty International received many well-documented reports from eye-witnesses and others stating, in sworn affidavits, that unarmed Tamil civilians were arbitrarily killed by security forces personnel often in reprisal for attacks by armed Tamil groups on Sri Lanka security forces personnel or on Sinhalese civilians. As an indication of the scope of such extrajudicial killings, Amnesty International received, for the one year period of 1 January to 31 December 1985, sworn statements by individuals alleging arbitrary killings in 412 cases by security forces personnel including many eye-witness accounts of such killings, the victims including men, women and children. Like previous allegations, recent reports of extrajudicial killings concern the army, navy and airforce, but also, for the first time during 1985, the Home Guards, a new auxiliary armed force of reportedly poorly trained and undisciplined non-Tamil civilians. Extrajudicial killings are not only regularly reported from the north of Sri Lanka, where most of the Tamils live, but apparently occur on an increasing scale in the Eastern Districts, inhabited by a mixed population of Tamils, Sinhalese and Muslims, where increased acts of violence have been reported during 1985 both on the part of armed Tamil groups and security forces personnel.*

*In many cases, official reports of these incidents state that the victims were 'Terrorists' killed in combat; however detailed reports received by Amnesty International from eye-witnesses state that those killed were unarmed non-combatant civilians, often apparently killed in retaliation."*

**— REPORT OF THE AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL — 30 April 1986.**



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**BY  
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## PREFACE

“A calculated tide of disinformation and ideological propaganda have together distorted the truths of the situation, and frustrated the discovery of the facts. When not suffocated by the requirements of an overt or covert censorship, our mainstream press has been only too content to stifle their basic functions of informing the people, through varying styles of self-censorship. Information is the true currency of a genuine democracy - in this five star-crossed version, the facts are mostly strangled at birth and comment is biased and one-sided. This is particularly evident in the reporting and analysis of the depressing scenario in the North and East”, commented an eminent Bibliographer and Librarian of the University of Sri Lanka, Mr.I.A.N.Goonetilleke, who incidentally belongs to the majority Sinhala community, adverting to an observation by Professor Sarachandra, a distinguished Sinhala literary figure that the bulk of the Sinhalese people had little or no idea of the enormous sufferings and indignities heaped on the Tamil citizens of Sri Lanka.

We hope that this document will, to some extent, serve to highlight the gravity of the human rights situation in Sri Lanka, particularly in the context of the reported large scale extrajudicial and arbitrary killings that have been committed in that country. Eye-witness accounts, interviews with victims, sworn testimonies and reports and data from human rights groups constitute the essential material for this document. The author also has relied heavily on the various reports of Amnesty International to which he is grateful.

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## **INTRODUCTION**

The continuing ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka has had serious implications for the democratic and human rights situation in that country during recent years. While gross violations of human rights have become almost a fact of life at least for the island's Tamil population in the north and east of the country, the present government which came to power in 1977 continues to remain in office having deprived the people of their right to a general election. The government also has used the ethnic conflict and the resulting heightened tensions between the two major communities to suppress many of the democratic and human rights of the majority of the people, including the Sinhalese community. It has ruled the country under a state of emergency for most of its life.

A massive programme of militarisation has been undertaken by the government ostensibly to deal with the security problem posed by the actions of Tamil guerrilla groups. The number of men under arms has considerably increased. A scheme for setting up army camps and bases within five miles of each other throughout the north and east of the country is being put into operation. The induction of foreign elements into the security and military structures of the country is an officially admitted fact. That Israeli and ex S.A.S. British personnel are also operating in the island is also established.

The government has enacted the Mobilisation and Supplementary Forces Act enabling conscription of civilians for military service. Specially trained commando and para-military units have already been set up. The 'home guards,, created in late 1984, are recruited, controlled and directed by politicians of the ruling party. Lacking in basic training, but armed with guns, grenades and petrol bombs, they have wrought havoc and destruction conducting a merciless campaign of looting, arson and murder mainly in the eastern province. The Special Task Force (STF) comprising a two thousand strong specially trained commando unit function outside the control of either the head of the regular police force or the commander of the armed forces. Citizens Committees in the Eastern Province have attributed many atrocities including a number of extrajudicial killings and 'disappearances,, to the STF.

Indiscriminate use of bombing, strafing and shelling of civilian centres in the north and east has become a part of the government's military operations. Burning of houses and even whole villages has occurred in many areas and people have been literally driven out of their villages accounting for thousands of refugees within the country. Cases of rape, assault and summary executions, in which the victims have been mainly non-combatant Tamil Civilians, have become commonplace.

Mass arrests occur on a regular basis as part of the government's 'search and destroy,, military operations. Most of those arrested are detained in army camps. Bodies of persons taken into custody have not infrequently been found on road-sides or in paddyfields or jungles. 'Disappearance,, of persons taken into custody have assumed a common pattern. There is incontrovertible evidence to establish that detainees are invariably subjected to torture. However, the number of arbitrary and extrajudicial killings by members of the security forces have reached frightening proportions in recent years. There are few countries in the world where so many people are being killed almost on a daily basis.

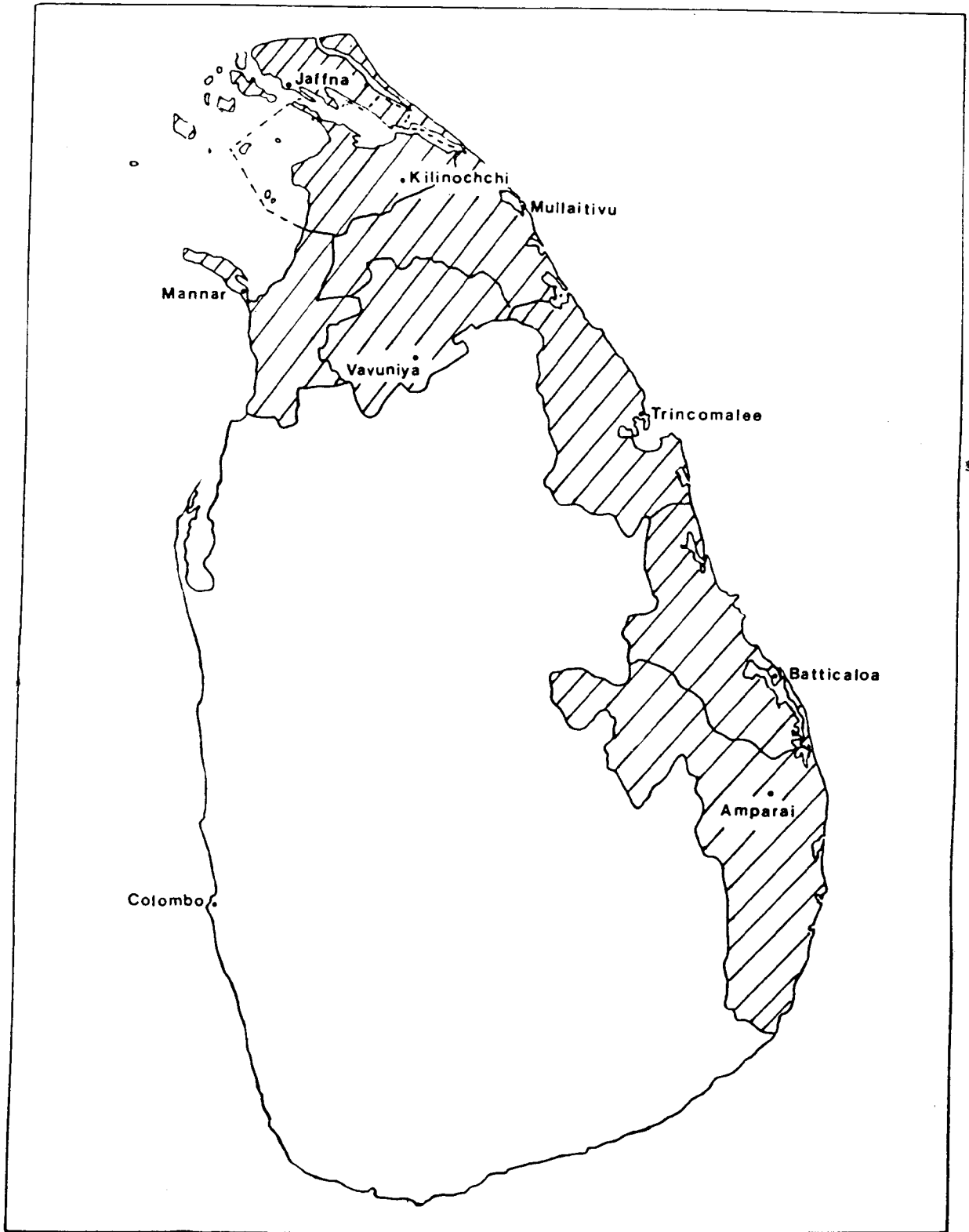
The officially admitted death toll during the island-wide July 1983 violence against the country's Tamil population was in the region of four hundred, but Tamil sources have asserted that the figure was as high as two thousand. What is doubtlessly incontrovertible is the fact that more lives have been lost in the following years. According to Citizens' Committees, between August 1983 and December 1986, an estimated 9,200 people, mainly Tamils have become victims of a war that is purported to be waged against Tamil guerrillas.

Although the government claims that the 'war' is directed against armed Tamil guerrillas, an examination of the well documented cases of extrajudicial and arbitrary killings reveal that the overwhelming majority of the victims have been non-combatant, unarmed and uninvolved Tamil civilians, and not infrequently women, children and very old people.

In spite of the fact that the government is in possession of unassailable evidence of a large number of deliberate killings by members of the security forces, it has failed to take any action against even a single soldier or policeman - not a single court martial or prosecution. On the contrary, the government and its leaders have consistently and deliberately sought to deny and conceal the atrocities committed by its security forces. They appear to be devoted adherents of Machiaveli who said:

"Occasionally words must serve to veil the facts. But this must happen in such a way that no one becomes aware of it; if it should be noticed, excuses must be at hand to be produced immediately".

# SRI LANKA



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## ARBITRARY AND EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLINGS

*“My late husband .... aged 34 years earned a living as a cigar roler ... At about 6.30 a.m. on 17.1.86 about 150 personnel passed by on foot (and) in armoured cars while about 50 passed through the rear of the compound .... My late husband returned about 10 a.m. and informed me that due to the tension that prevailed work had been suspended for the day. At about 11 a.m. army personnel came back along the road. My late husband who was in the front entrance of the house with the child in his arms was called by army personnel. As he proceeded he was asked to hand over the child to me. My husband having given the child to me went towards the army personnel with hands held up in prayer. As he proceeded about 10 yards I heard three gunshots. When I ran up with my child I found my husband lying motionless in a pool of blood ....”*: This is an extract from the sworn statement of a woman whose husband was brutally and unlawfully killed in the northern Jaffna district of Sri Lanka. However, this is not an isolated case. It is one of several thousands of such killings which have been painstakingly documented by human rights groups within and outside the country. The phenomenon of extrajudicial or arbitrary executions by members of the security forces is the product of an ugly war that the government has launched against Tamil guerrilla groups which have taken up arms against the State. In this war the victims have been, by and large, unarmed non-combatant civilians.

The two important measures that have enormously facilitated the sharp escalation of indiscriminate killings by the security forces have been the provisions of the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) enacted in 1979 and the Emergency Regulations, both of which provided for the suspension of basic safeguards in respect of arrest, detention and the disposal of dead bodies without the need for post-mortem examinations and inquests. The security forces also felt safe, secure and even encouraged by the government's continued failure to take action against those responsible for such unlawful killings.

### EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLINGS - 1979

After 1971, the most flagrant example of extrajudicial killings by the security forces occurred following the declaration of emergency rule in Jaffna district in July 1979. During a week of what was then described by civil rights organisations in Sri Lanka as a “Reign of Terror”, six young Tamils arrested by the security forces in the early hours of 14 July no longer lived to tell the tale as to what happened to them after their arrest. This is how the Movement for Inter - Racial Justice and Equality (MIRJE) described their fate:-

“At about 1 a.m. on 14 July a number of men clad in khaki

trousers and white banians, but fully armed with revolvers and sten guns, came to a house in a village called Navali. They were not in uniform and were without identity numbers. There were no signs of a search warrant or an arrest order, unwanted paraphernalia after all, to enter a clerk-cum-farmer's house in a small village in the Island's Northern Peninsula. The gang took K. Visvajothi Ratnam, alias Inpam, and his brother-in-law, 29-year old Saravanamuttu Selvaratnam, married to Inpam's younger sister Ratna Raneer nursing their only child - a five-month old infant. Selvaratnam, with no previous police record, had returned home from Colombo, after perfecting his travel documents, to bid goodbye before leaving for Saudi Arabia to take up a job as welder. Fate, as the conservative Jaffna man would put it, decreed otherwise. That was the last Inpam's family saw of Inpam and his brother-in-law. The following morning their mutilated bodies were found under a bridge. They had been shot and their heads and faces smashed beyond recognition.

“On 14th night, within two miles of Inpam's house in the same village, another youth, 22-year old T. S. Balendra, was walked away from his home by four men, who appeared to be from the police, the pathetic pleas of the old mother and sister notwithstanding. He did not return home and is believed to be dead. His body has never been found.

“Again on the same night, down Satanathar Kovil Road in Jaffna town, a group of armed men, not in any uniform, swooped on the abode of a poor astrologer named Sandrasegaram and took away his two sons-in-law, S. Parameswaran and S. Rajeswaran, two brothers married to two sisters, both daughters of Sandrasegaram. Rajeswaran, the older of the two, and a father of a seven month old baby, was engaged in timber business on a small scale for his living. His younger brother, a reserved and quiet teetotaler, was a salt dealer of small proportions, and he left behind his pregnant wife. Both brothers are believed to have been killed. Their bodies have never been found.

“The sixth victim was Iyathurai Indra Rajan of 54 Pt. Pedro Road, Jaffna, 19-year old son of a widow and a first-year student at the Ayurvedic Medical College, Jaffna. He was missing from 14 July and a worried mother went to Mr. V. Yogeswaran, MP, Jaffna, and was informed that her son was in prison. But she could not see him until he was admitted to hospital where he passed away on 21 July. Medical examination revealed several injuries below the waist, a wound above the nose, burn marks on the face and partially pulled out finger nails.”

Despite the appointment of a Parliamentary Select Committee in late 1979 and the Committee's findings in 1982 that further investigations be carried out into the deaths and disappearances of these six men, no further action has yet been taken by the Sri Lankan authorities.

### MAY - JUNE 1981

During the run-up to the local government elections in Jaffna, scheduled to take place on 4 June 1981, a shooting incident occurred at an election meeting held on 31 May 1981 by the TULF in which two policemen died and another was injured. What followed was, in the words of the Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality (MIRJE), “Ten Days of Terror” in the course of which half the business section of the Jaffna city was consumed by flames. Hundreds of shops, the Market complex, a Hindu Temple, several houses including that of the MP for

Jaffna, the TULF headquarters building, petrol filling stations, vehicles, the printing press and offices of a local Tamil newspaper and the Jaffna Public Library, with over 95,000 rich and diverse collections of valuable literary and historical material, were set ablaze and completely destroyed.

In the course of this rampage, admitted by government to be the work of two hundred policemen specially drafted to maintain law and order during the elections, several civilian Tamils were killed in cold blood.

Amnesty International investigated these extrajudicial killings and came to the conclusion that those killed were "randomly selected members of the Tamil minority". The evidence Amnesty International obtained confirmed "that there was deliberate shooting in cold blood of Tamils by the police on the night of 3/4 June". Four Tamils had been shot or beaten to death and two more shot by the police and left for dead but survived.

#### **Vinasithamby Navaratnam, aged 60, a shopkeeper:-**

According to an eyewitness, who was beaten too but escaped, a police van stopped near the shop and six police officers jumped out and attacked the victim and the witness at 8.30 p.m. on 3 June 1981. The witness managed to run away. The victim died within ten minutes of admission to the Jaffna Hospital. The Magistrate who held the inquest returned a verdict of homicide. An official investigation, chaired by a Deputy Inspector-General of Police, was conducted at which the witness gave evidence.

There is no evidence of any further action nor has any compensation been granted to the relatives of the victim.

#### **Kanapathipillai Shanmugam Nadesu, a laundry worker:-**

On the evening of 3 June 1981 he was shot in the head, repeatedly by the police, on the Manipay Road. The victim had no involvement in politics. The Magistrate returned a verdict of homicide. No official action followed. His family has not been given any compensation.

#### **S. Parameswaran, aged 20, a Cultivation Officer and a known supporter of the TULF:-**

On the evening of 3 June 1981, when he was near a local library, a jeep bearing registration number 31 SRI 3868 stopped, he was called out and pushed into the jeep. His body was found the next mornin; with six bullets in his chest on the road to Neerveli, a mile from his house. Eyewitnesses testified to him being forced into the jeep. The Magistrate who held the inquest returned a verdict of homicide. No official action followed.

#### **Velupillai Balajothy, a known supporter of the TULF and an activist in the election campaign:-**

Balajothy was shot in the head just outside the verandah of the house of the MP for Nallur. The house was being used as the office of the TULF after the party premises were destroyed on the night of 31 May.

Balajothy was sleeping on the verandah with three other young men, someone telephoned in the early hours of the morning on 4 June and asked whether the MP for Nallur was in. The answer was given that he was not. Shortly after, a state jeep turned up at the

house. It carried fully armed uniformed army men. Two of the young men spontaneously jumped from the verandah to the garden. While they were doing so, the armed persons opened fire. Balajothy was shot in the head. The MIRJE Delegation saw the hairs of his head still on the wall surrounded by blood stains. In the patch of the garden there were still the marks of a small pool of blood.

At the inquest held on 10 June (Inquest No. 6383), the Army claimed that the shot was "in self-defence", but the post-mortem examination revealed that "the gun-shot which caused his death was fired from behind when the deceased was running. The shot was probably fired at a distance of two feet". The Magistrate returned a verdict of homicide. Although the army officer named in the inquest was shortly afterwards taken into custody, he was bailed out within a few hours by a high-ranking army officer. Despite the verdict of homicide and availability of eye-witnesses, no prosecution or further action had been instituted.

Following testimony from the two who were shot by the police and left dead was taken down by the Amnesty International delegation in February 1982:-

#### **Survivor No.1**

"In the evening of 3 June 1981, when I was standing at the gate of the house of my driver at ....., a police van stopped... The policeman ordered me to go into the jeep. They were in police uniform... The policeman who asked me was armed with a rifle...

"There were two Sub-Inspectors... seven Constables...(Survivor No. 2) whom I had sent inside the house to bring the key of my minibus, came out of the house at that time. He too was ordered into the jeep. (Survivor No.2), is a friend of mine and the driver of the minibus... I was assaulted and made to sit on the floor of the police van. They assaulted me with their hands, on my back and on my neck. Then one of the PCs removed the Rs 1,000 which I had in my pocket. After that, one of the Police Inspectors, who was in the front of the van, ordered the PCs to load their rifles...I was frightened and I told the Inspector in Sinhala that I knew Sinhalese that I know Sinhalese people. The jeep was proceeding to Jaffna Town.

"That day there was a curfew in Jaffna... from 9 p.m. to 6 a.m. and applied only to Jaffna municipality. ....is not under the curfew... Within half an hour we had reached the municipal boundary. We stopped near the Jaffna town limit board close to the burial ground....

"The Police Inspector told the constables 'Let the man who knows Sinhalese remain in the jeep and let the other person get down...' As (Survivor No. 2) came out at the back, one of the constables told him 'Sir wants you to come in front'. When (Survivor No. 2) came near the Inspector, the Inspector fired at (him)...I saw it from the rear side of the jeep. He fired with a pistol only one shot.(He) shouted 'Ayoo' and fell down. Then the jeep left. I thought that (he) was dead, and the jeep was proceeding to Jaffna... they took me around Jaffna to various places searching for a dark spot, but when they found one, vehicles and people were there. After about one and a half hours the jeep went to .... where there is a lane... The jeep went through the lane and stopped near a paddy field, which is still in Jaffna, (that area does not come under the curfew, but is covered by the police station of ....., of which Police Inspector .... is in charge). The jeep stopped. I was afraid. I worshipped the Inspector while I was on my knees and I begged him not to harm me. A police constable told the Inspector, 'We will leave this man, he is a poor fellow'. The Police Inspector got out of the jeep and ordered me in Sinhalese to get down from the jeep. He told me 'I would allow you to go away, but I am unable to do that because I have already shot the other



man. If I leave you now you will tell about the other '... All the police constables saw this from inside the jeep... The Police Inspector .. kept a revolver to my right ear, but as I worshipped to God, raising my arms, I struck his revolver and a shot went off. It touched me over the ear... I was bleeding profusely. The PC's uniform was soaked in blood. (I stood very close to him when he fired, and I fell down and my blood went over his uniform). I was semi-conscious ... the Inspector lifted me and asked me to go away, but I fell back again on the ground. After five minutes, I opened my eyes to see the jeep had gone. I walked for some two feet, and then fell down again.

"When I regained consciousness, it was about 2 a.m. (I guess this.) I thought I was at ....., close to my friend's house. I walked ... I knocked at the gate and called for people at the home. They said 'Who is it?' I said ..... People came out and identified me as the person who had unloaded cow dung to them... I told them I had been shot, and I said I was thirsty and wanted water... 'We will give you milk'. They milked a cow and gave milk... They took me to a small temple, a little distance from their house, and allowed me to sleep in the temple... At about 6 a.m. I woke up. There was a big crowd. (I could identify many of them). I asked them to take me to hospital. I was unable to sit up and walk. I was still bleeding ... I was taken to Jaffna Hospital and immediately saw a doctor there. I was examined and operated upon. The bullet had struck part of my head and my brain was affected.

"I stayed in Jaffna Hospital for 28 days. The police came to record my statement... ASP (Assistant Superintendent of Police) .... asked me 'Who shot you?' I asked for an identification parade, but this was not granted ... Then the DIG (Deputy Inspector-General of police) .... saw me ...

"Only after my discharge did I come to know of the name of the man who shot me. I did not know his name at the time of the shooting ... the same morning of the shooting, that person came to the spot of the shooting and asked me whether the person shot was dead ... I can identify the Inspector even now. He is now at .... and was transferred there within a month. In Jaffna, he was a Sub-Inspector; there, he is an Officer-in-Charge...I asked the police to investigate this and I also asked the magistrate that this should be investigated. But no magisterial inquiry has been held."

#### Survivor No. 2

"When the police took me to the jeep they asked me whether I knew of the Nacchimar Kovilady incident ... I said I knew where Nacchimar Kovilady was but I did not know anything about what happened there ... When we reached the municipal boundary of Jaffna, an Inspector told the PC 'Put down that person who spoke Tamil'. Immediately afterwards, I was taken to a paddy field. I can identify the paddy field. It was close to the burial grounds...

"A police constable guarded me. He was armed with a rifle. The PC told me 'Go in front'. I thought the police constable was going to shoot me. I walked back towards the front of the jeep. Then something struck me ... It was from the Inspector who was seated in the front of the jeep. The shot pierced my cheek ... The second shot was fired at me by the same Sub-Inspector from the jeep. It was aimed at my chest. I covered my chest with my left hand. It pierced my left hand .. I then jumped over the parapet wall. As I jumped over the wall, another shot was fired at me which struck my right hand. I do not know who fired the shot. I fell down over the wall. I fell unconscious. They did not come after me. After 10 minutes I was able to walk. The following morning at 5 a.m. I was taken by neighbours to the Jaffna Hospital, where I stayed for two weeks."

The victim had marks from the shooting on his face and left hand, and is not able to carry on with his work as a mechanic. There are medical reports from Jaffna General Hospital in both cases. The medical report on Survivor No. 2 shows he was admitted to hospital on 4th June 1981 with a gun shot injury and that a bullet was removed after an incision on the

palm of his hand.

The medical report on Survivor No. 1 shows he was admitted on 4th June 1981 with a 'gunshot injury'. The X-ray revealed that the "temporal bone was affected". When performing the operation, doctors found the bullet had made two holes in the skull and that the brain tissue in between was dead. A piece of bone was removed during the operation and specialist treatment recommended. The report noted the wound had caused semi-paralysis of the patient.

### EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLINGS - 1983

The year witnessed an escalation of violence and counter-violence by the security forces and the Tamil militant groups and in the process the rights to life, liberty and security of person, particularly that of civilian Tamils, received a battering on a scale never experienced before.

It is almost impossible to record every single known incident of arbitrary deprivation of life on which evidence is available, for the years 1983, 1984 and 1985 for the simple reason that incidents involving extrajudicial killings and violence against civilian and non-combatant targets became so numerous, almost occurring every day. Therefore, what appears hereafter are some major incidents which illustrate a systematic pattern and the gravity of the situation.

It was apparent by March 1983 that the security forces have been directed at the settlements established by Gandhiam Society for the rehabilitation of the displaced Tamils from the plantation areas during communal disturbances and on Gandhiam itself. On 14 March 1984, 16 huts of Tamil settlers at Pankulam (near Trincomalee) were burnt by government officials with the assistance of security forces. Mr. S.A. David and Dr. S. Rajasundaram, President and Secretary of Gandhiam, were taken into custody on 6 and 8 April 1983.

**18 May 1983:** Eighteen parliamentary by-elections in South Sri Lanka and Municipal elections in the Jaffna district were scheduled to take place on 18 May 1983. The Tamil militant groups had called upon the people to boycott the elections. At about 4p.m. that day, a shoot-out took place between a group of armed Tamil militants and the army near the Kantharmadam polling booth in Jaffna. This incident resulted in the death of two soldiers. That night, under cover of an emergency declared at 5p.m. that evening, the soldiers went on a rampage through the city of Jaffna. A large number of trucks and jeeps loaded with soldiers entered Kantharmadam and set about burning houses, shops and vehicles and looting valuables before the destruction of the properties. The following extracts from an eyewitness account by a journalist appeared on 21 May 1983 in the English daily "Island" under the heading "BURNING OF JAFFNA":-

"Even as our vehicle approached Kantharmadam we saw fluid towers of smoke spiralling upwards. Jaffna, which burnt in 1977 and 1981, was burning again.

"At Kantharmadam I saw soldiers behaving in four different ways. There was one group which was fanning out in crisp military formation and conducting search operations. There was another group which was setting cadjan fences on fire. There was another group of men who were passive spectators...

"However, there was another group (may its tribe increase) which was trying to douse the fire started by their comrades. They even called upon the residents in some instances to fetch water and douse the fires.

"A soldier called out to a policeman "Give me a lighter. I want to burn all these fences. They shoot at us and hide behind these fences". The policeman did not oblige. I saw a soldier kicking a few bare-bodied youths in sarongs who were being rounded up for questioning. Another group was trying to upturn a parked Morris Minor. A timber depot was burning gloriously. An old woman was peering cautiously through a crack in the gate; a young girl was standing on the verandah of her house watching her neighbourhood burn...

"From a vantage point on a high-rise building in Jaffna city I could see flames in Jaffna City. I had earlier gone on a bicycle to the Jaffna bus stand junction to see what was happening. I discreetly retired when I saw some soldiers in an obviously belligerent mood.

"I went to the Jaffna bazaar area. The vegetable market which was re-constructed after the 1981 fire was gutted again. Vendors were trying to salvage some of their merchandise. Two textile shops were gutted.

"A liquor store had been ransacked. The glass panes of some buildings like the co-operative store had been smashed. Three petrol sheds, one of which is owned by a Northern UNP personality, had been smashed up. It is suspected that petrol obtained here had been used for the orgy of arson.

"But Kantharmadam was in ruins. 169 dwellings in Arasady Road, Old Road and some by-lanes in Kantharmadam were either completely or partially burnt. Vehicles totalling close to 40 were burnt. About 35 of the homes were brick houses. The rest were thatched, wattle and daub huts. The "vel" from a temple was missing. The chariot in another temple was burnt...

"Some of the affected persons alleged that cash and jewellery, watches, etc, had been robbed. At one place where women had been together for safety all jewellery had been taken at gunpoint.

"Another person who had accumulated a large amount of jewellery for his daughter's wedding next week lost everything. A lot of furniture had been also damaged. Close upon a thousand people had been rendered destitute overnight."

"During an attack by some of these personnel attempting to set fire to the Jaffna Co-operative Stores, which is located opposite the Jaffna General Hospital, there came a realisation that their actions were being observed from the junior doctors' quarters on the first floor of the hospital building. Small arms fire was then directed at these doctors and the hospital building. A junior member of the non-medical staff of the hospital was injured during this attack... There was an attempt, by the police to contain these fires. These police, led by DIG Rajaguru, were prevented, at rifle point, from doing so by the army personnel present. One account has a sub-machine gun prodded into the DIG's stomach". (T.J. Moore, ICJ Report, August 1983).

**30 MAY 1983:** Sabaratnam Palanivel, a young van driver from Valvetiturai in the Jaffna district, while driving his van near the Army Camp, was stopped by the army personnel, dragged into the compound of the Camp and shot dead. While his body was lying in the compound, an army truck was driven over it flattening the upper half of his body and smashing the skull. At the inquest held subsequently, Sumathipala Weerasinghe, an army driver, claimed that as he was driving the truck behind a jeep he had driven over the body accidentally. The incident was witnessed by several of the victim's relatives and others who had gathered at the camp entrance.

**1 JUNE 1983:** An incendiary device thrown allegedly by a group of Tamil guerrillas killed two Air Force men while they were in the market area in Vavuniya on 1 June 1983. In retaliation, a large number of service personnel descended on Vavuniya town and set fire to a large number of shops and vehicles. They destroyed a farm and childrens' home operated by the Gandhiyam at Kovilkulam, about one and a half miles from the centre of Vavuniya. Three tractors and a van were burnt. On the same day the Gandhiyam head office building was smashed up and a van was set alight.

## JUNE 1983 - TRINCOMALEE

The eastern port city of Trincomalee and the areas around it witnessed some of the most sustained and continuous episodes of violence during the month of June 1983 (please see Appendix 'A' to this Section). The violence, reportedly committed by armed gangs assisted by service personnel resulted in the following:-

- \* 214 houses burnt;
- \* 24 shops burnt;
- \* 8 Hindu Temples burnt;
- \* 1 Christian Chapel burnt;
- \* 19 killed in Trincomalee.

The culpability of the service personnel in this whole violent saga is demonstrated by the following incident: A high-ranking naval officer named Sivanandan (a Tamil) apprehended a few armed Sinhalese men while committing violent attacks on 30 June 1983 and handed them over to the police. That information had somehow reached some of his colleagues living with him in the same quarters. Upon his return to the quarters, he was set upon and assaulted by his mates resulting in his immediate hospitalisation followed by the prompt release of those who were handed over by him to the police. That information had somehow reached some of his colleagues living with him in the same quarters. Upon his return to the quarters, he was set upon and assaulted by his mates resulting in his immediate hospitalisation followed by the prompt release of those who were handed over by him to the police.

## EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLINGS - 24 JULY 1983

Amnesty International has presented (Report 1 June 1984) detailed evidence in support of its conclusion that all 51 killings of Tamil civilians by the security forces on 24 July 1983 and the following days in the Jaffna district were "deliberate shootings of unarmed civilians apparently in retaliation for the killing of 13 soldiers on the night of 23 July 1983" by a Tamil militant group. Civil Rights organisations had claimed that nearly 76 Tamil civilians were killed on 24 July and the following 3 days.

The government, which maintained that it had no knowledge of such killings, in August 1983 stated that 20 civilians had been killed by "members of the armed forces on the rampage". However in its letter dated 9 November 1983 to Amnesty International revised its figure to 51 and, inter alia, stated:-

".....when, however, on the night of 23 July, 13 Sinhalese soldiers were ambushed and killed by the terrorists in Jaffna, the pent up feelings of some of the soldiers got the better of their sense of discipline. A few soldiers acted on their own and 51 persons in Jaffna were killed".

From early in the morning of 24 July 1983, a number of incidents were reported of army personnel shooting at unarmed Tamil civilians:-

\* At Kondavil Junction, north of Jaffna, army men shot at a cyclist in the early hours of 24 July but the victim survived to tell the tale.

\* An army patrol in a truck from Mathagal Army Camp ran over and killed Thilliampalam Kandasamy, 33 years old and a security guard at the KKS cement factory, while on his way to work on his bicycle on 24 July early morning.

\* on the same day a group of army men from the Mathagal Army Camp hijacked a private van, bearing registration number 29 SRI 1613, forced the driver on a certain route. They kept on firing indiscriminately at people and vehicles and into the houses along the road killing and injuring people in the process.

\* The army men forced the driver to stop at Pandateruppu market and opened fire indiscriminately killing at least 3 persons, among whom were:-

V.K Arumugam, 70 years old, a vegetable dealer,  
T. Rajendram, 24 years old, labourer.

\* Then the army men forced the van to proceed and was made to stop at Sandilipay junction and opened fire at passengers in a bus and killed five persons:-

A Vimalathanan, 29 years, social worker, university graduate,  
M.S. Tharmakulasakeram, student, 24 years,  
T. Kothandapani, 39 years, a carpenter,  
S. Sinnadurai, 55 years, a Town Council employee,  
Another unidentified person.

\* The vehicle was compelled to proceed and stop at the Manipay market. The soldiers alighted and ordered the passengers from a bus, bearing registration no.23 SRI 5277, to get off, segregated them according to sex and ordered the young men, about 15 in all, to line up in front of them. After ascertaining that all of them were Tamils, shot them at point-blank range. All of them were left for dead - Several died on the spot and two died a few days later.

There are three statements from survivors:-

"I am a Muslim. I was coming from Jaffna in the same bus. The army stopped the bus. (They had come in an ash-coloured minibus.) They stopped the bus and asked us to line up. They were selecting the boys and asked them to stand in a line. They then started shooting. I only escaped by running this way (into the market). There were 15 soldiers in the minibus. They broke down one shop after the shooting. They stopped there for five minutes, then got in the van and went away. They took some toffee and other things and went away."

Another stated:-

"The army personnel ordered the passengers to get down from the bus. Then they asked the female passengers to run through the market and ordered the male passengers to stand in a row. Suddenly they opened fire at the passengers. I saw two of the passengers falling down. I saw two passengers who stood behind me running through a half opened shop. I took to my heels through the same shop and saved my life."

Another survivor stated:-

"They (army personnel) came in a minibus, got down and made the people stand in line separated the men from the women. They asked them to raise their hands. They were soldiers in uniform. They carried guns. Three of them shot. The man who was in front of me they shot. Out of 15 people, eight died."

Among those who were killed at Manipay are:-

S. Senthilnathan, 17 years, student  
V. Kumarasiri, 19 years, student  
K. Mylvaganam, 44 years, stenographer  
A. Nadeswaram, 19 years, student  
M. Rajakanthan, 19 years, student  
K. Suntharavathanam, 19 years, student  
K. Ramiah, 41 years, a trader  
A. Seevaratnam, 45 years, bus conductor

\* The soldiers forced the van to be driven back to their Mathagal base. As the van was being driven, the men kept on firing. AT least two persons were killed at Mathagal before the driver and the van were released:-

P.A. Chandrasekar, 34 years

An eyewitness account from a man who was himself hit by army bullets but who survived stated:-

"At 8 o'clock on the morning of 24 July 1983 I left home to buy bread from a shop at the main road at Mathagal. In a few minutes I reached the said shop. While I was standing there, shots were being fired from a passing minibus, towards the said shop. I saw army men seated in the minibus and pointing rifles through the window. Jogarasa Chandrasegar, who was known to me and who was also standing there, cried out 'Aiyu, the army has shot me, tell my father', so saying he fell down. I also was hit and had a bleeding injury. Jogarasa Chandrasegar and I were fired on by the armed soldiers referred to above."

An eyewitness account of the killing of Logan stated:-

"I am a resident of Mathagal. When I was at home at Mathagal I heard three shots from the direction of Pandateruppu. Thereafter the minibus came to Ponnurasa's shop at Arasady (near the bo tree) and they shot at the people there. One of the injured persons is working at the Excise Department in Jaffna (he is still living). They shot him in the leg. Another man who was shot was Logan, son of Augustin. He received an injury in the chest and died the following day. Thereafter the army came toward the co-operative Stores - further north on the way to Mathagal and they were shooting from the minibus as they were moving, there I also heard three shots. I took the number of the minibus, 29 SRI 1613. The colour was ash colour. About 5 or 6 people were inside, in fact I could not observe properly because I was trying to take cover. They were with and without uniform. Both. They were shooting from the minibus. After the incident, the minibus took the army men, left them at the army camp and returned. This happened at Mathagal. I took one man from Mathagal to the hospital the same day. Two people died in this shooting incident."

Another Army unit killed a number of people in Thinneveli and Kantharmadam in Jaffna on 24 July 1983 between 4.00 and 6.00 p.m. Army personnel entered house by house and shot people at point-blank range, most of the victims suffering instant death where they stood in their own homes. (For details of 11 of the persons killed on this occasion and for sworn testimony of eyewitnesses, please see Report of Amnesty International, 1 June 1983). Among those killed was Sinnathamby Saravanamuthu, 82 years, a retired teacher and his son-in-law Subramaniam Parameswaran, 39 years, both shot at the same time in their home. The following is an eyewitness account of their killing:-

"On 24 July 1983 at about 4.30p.m. I saw an army jeep stopping in front of the house. Some soldiers got down and entered the house opposite. We ran behind our house and from there observed some armed soldiers entering our compound by jumping over the gate. They started smashing the window panes and making a din with a result that even the sound of the firing of the rifles was drowned. A few minutes later we heard the soldiers shouting and calling for the inmates. Subramniam Parameswaran then went forward to answer the call of the soldiers. No sooner than he made his appearance, he was shot. The soldiers then left the house. Subramaniam Parameswaran lay fallen where he was shot. He had been shot in the upper region of the stomach area. He however was unable to speak. Soon after, I was informed that Sinnathamby Saravanamuthu, aged 82 years, (father-in-law of Subramaniam Parameswaran who was also in the house), was lying fallen. I found that he had gunshot injuries and was bleeding and life extinct. The police arrived at about 6p.m."

On the following day, 25 July 1983, the killings by the army continued in which several people were killed.

In a village, Valithoondal, near Keerimalai, a group of army men shot at people in several houses and killed one elderly person aged 65. Two others who were shot survived after hospital treatment. An eyewitness account of the killing of the 65 year old David Amirthanathan stated:-

"On 25.7.83 (Monday) at about 2.15 p.m. I heard gunshots all over.... As I had heard of the killings of the army at Sandilippay, Manipay, etc., I was in great fear like the others in our village. As...(D. Amirthanathan).. was deaf, I could not call him out but

went close to him in the courtyard and asked him to run away. I then ran into the house and hid myself. But before...(D. Amirthanathan)... could run away, he received a gun shot from the army personnel and fell dead on the spot. Immediately thereafter a shot rang out penetrating the house door and my right thigh was wounded. I was also wounded in the stomach. I was taken to... Hospital. I was operated on and 3 bullets were removed... Police recorded my statement at the hospital."

\* Among the several other persons killed on 25 July 1983 were Vaithilingam Ariyarajah, 33 years, a Telecommunications Inspector, who worked at Paranthan (outside Jaffna); he was shot dead by army personnel in a truck coming from the direction of Jaffna; Velupillai Nagarajah was one of the three persons shot dead by army personnel at a petrol filling station at Paranthan; Kandiah Somasundaram was shot dead in his office at Paranthan; four other persons who travelled in a lorry of a Co-operative Store were killed by the Vavuniya Police and the lorry in which they travelled was set on fire.

\* On 26 July 1983 three more persons were shot and killed in Vasavilan near the Palaly Army Camp.

\* On 27 July 1983 Sabaratham Satkunanathan, 24 years old, an employee at the KKS Cement Factory was shot dead near the factory.

Although the government claimed in their letter dated 9 November 1983 to Amnesty International that: "All the soldiers were recalled to barracks, and the few who disobeyed such orders were arrested and confined in the army detention cells. They are now facing Court Martial", there is no published evidence of any action or prosecution instituted against those responsible for the killings.

### **KILLING OF POLITICAL DETAINEES IN WELIKADE PRISON : 25 & 27 JULY 1983.**

(For details refer to Amnesty International Report, 1 June 1984, and Report of the International Commission of Jurists, March 1984).

53 Tamil political detainees were hacked and clubbed to death in their own cells in two instalments, on 25 and 27 July 1983. The Magistrate who held inquests into the killings on the two occasions returned a verdict of homicide and directed further inquiries.

The government has all along claimed that the Tamil detainees were killed by fellow Sinhalese prisoners and that the prison officers had done all in their power to quell the "rioting" prisoners but failed.

The government's explanation has been treated by many with disbelief. Those who doubt this version, contend that in a high security prison like Welikade, it would have been virtually impossible for such a mass scale massacre to take place without collusion on the part of prison staff. It is also questioned as to why the surviving Tamil detainees were not given adequate protection after the first massacre particularly in the context of the evidence given by the

Chief Jailor at the second inquest to the effect that he had advance information that there was going to be a second attack. The fact that none of the prison staff were able to identify even one single assailant from among 300 to 400 Sinhala prisoners who were supposed to have participated in the two attacks made the government's version even more questionable. Added to these suspicions, some of the Tamil detainees who had survived the two attacks have published their accounts as to how the massacre occurred:-

"Giving the first eyewitness account of the Welikade massacres of 25 and 27 July, Mr.Devanandan said that but for the intervention of a Muslim army commander, none of the Tamil political prisoners would have survived. The 25 July massacre was conducted at 2.30 p.m. when Colombo was under total curfew. Air force helicopters hovered over the jail when the killings took place inside, under the supervision of the Deputy Jail Superintendent, aided and abetted by the army and security guards. The 27 July killings were led by Sepala Ekanaike, undergoing life imprisonment for hijacking an Alitalia plane on its flight from Delhi to Bangkok in July last year. Sinhalese prisoners convicted on murder, rape and burglary charges were handpicked by the warders for the attack, after plying them with liquor, Mr.Devanandan said. They came out from their cells shouting "Kottiya Maranda Ona" (the Tigers must be killed).

Another escaped detainee, Mr.S.Yogarajah, hardly 20, said the mob who went on the killing spree hit him on the head with an iron rod. He felt unconscious. The marauders took him to be dead and moved on. He not only survived to be transferred to the Batticaloa jail, but was among the escapees to reach the Tamil Nadu coast. He showed deep scars on his head. Ganapathipillai, one of the teenage prisoners in Welikade, was hidden by other prisoners in a cell. But a jailor dragged him out and chopped off his head Mr.Yogaraja said, sobbing." (Tamil Times: September-October 1983)

Amnesty International has itself interviewed one Tamil detainee who survived the killing and has received a sworn statement from another survivor, both of whom had stated that some of the prisoners who had come to attack them later told the surviving detainees that they had been asked to kill Tamil prisoners: "We asked those people as to why they came to kill us. To this they replied that they were given arrack by the prison authorities and they were asked to kill all those at the youth offenders ward. When we asked them to reveal the names of the prison officer they refused to reply."

It is in this context that there has been almost a universal call for a judicial impartial investigation into the prison massacre. Paul Sieghart of the International Commission of Jurists, who visited Sri Lanka in January 1984, stated in his report:-

"Precisely the same considerations apply to the horrific events that took place at the same time within the secure precincts of Colombo's Welikade jail, in which 53 people in the State's custody lost their lives. Here too, there are theories galore, and many individuals and interests are under suspicion. A special team of police officers, under a Superintendent of Police, was appointed many months ago to investigate these events. At the time of my visit, it had still not completed its enquiries, nor did the Attorney-General's office even know how far they had proceeded. I have now been told that it has not been possible to find enough evidence to enable anyone to be prosecuted - a proposition which

must stretch credulity.

"When I saw President Jayawardene in Colombo in January, I understood that he was about to appoint a judge of the Supreme Court to carry out an independent judicial inquiry into the significant and relevant incidents and events surrounding that tragedy, to establish whether any of the prison officers were to blame, and to recommend what steps should be taken to prevent the recurrence of such incidents."

Up to date, the Sri Lankan government has failed to institute an impartial investigation.

## EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLINGS - AUGUST-NOVEMBER 1983

The Amnesty International has recorded (Report, dated 1 June 1984) the following acts of extrajudicial killings by the security forces:-

**1. Krishnasamy Shivasundaram**, from Kopay, Security Officer at Jaffna Co-operative Stores. He was the bread-winner of the family, leaving a wife and daughter.

He left home on 31 August 1983 at 5p.m. for duty at the petrol shed of the above. He was shot dead that night by three policemen in civil clothes who had come out of a bus asking for petrol. He was reportedly shot in the abdomen by the three policemen after trying to explain in Sinhala that the petrol shed was closed and petrol not available. He was admitted to Jaffna Hospital, operated on, but died there the next morning. Relatives gave a statement to the police.

**2. Sellappa Sivanoli**

He was arrested by the security forces in Vavuniya in early September 1983 reportedly on suspicion that he belonged to a Tamil extremist group. After arrest he was reportedly beaten and killed by air force personnel from Vavuniya in the Vavuniya Air Force camp on 11 September. Relatives were asked to identify the body, which was subsequently burnt outside the air force camp. No inquest into his death was held.

**3. Nallalingam Sivagnanam (Sivakumar)**

He was arrested by the security forces in Vavuniya in early September 1983 reportedly on suspicion that he belonged to a Tamil extremist group. After arrest he was reportedly beaten and killed by Air Force personnel from Vavuniya in the Vavuniya Air Force camp on 11 September. Relatives were asked to identify the body, which was subsequently burnt outside the air force camp. No inquest into his death was held.

**4. Subramaniam Navaratnam, alais Nadarajah**, married, manager of the farm of T.Sivasithamparam, former MP of Vavuniya. He was killed by the security forces on 30 September 1983 at Madukkulam.

One Witness described witnessing his arrest and his being beaten by the security forces:

"On 30 September 1983... at about 2.30 p.m a platoon of security force consisting of air force, army and police came to the farm and wanted to search the bungalow and the store. When they started the search they arrested the manager, Nadarajah, handcuffed him, took him to a side 40 yards away from the room where I was, and started to beat him brutally. I saw Nadarajah lying on the ground bleeding through his nose and mouth and unconscious."

At 5.40 p.m. Nadaraja's body was taken away in one of the jeeps, and reportedly taken to the air force camp in Vavuniya. The next morning requests were made to the Superintendent of Police and the Deputy Minister of Defence by telephone to release the body to his wife. However, the body of Nadarajah was burnt by the army opposite the army camp at Vavuniya during the night of 2nd October. The wife of Mr. Nadarajah was not officially informed of her husband's death.

#### 5. Mohan, a young Tamil.

He was reportedly arrested by the security forces on 30th September 1983 and taken to the Vavuniya Air Force camp where he was allegedly beaten to death. His body was reportedly burnt with the approval of the Secretary, Ministry of Defence, an inquest being held.

6. **K.T. Suthanthira Thaha Rajeswaran**, 32 years old, photographer, from Uduvil, near Jaffna, married with three children (10, 8 and 2 years old). He was the bread-winner of the family.

Amnesty International has the following account of his death, which indicates he was shot by the security forces after arrest:-

"On 18.11.83, ... (Friday) ...about 7.45 p.m. , K.T. Suthanthira Thaha Rajarajeswaran, who was a full time photographer, was talking with one Mr. Jeyarajah (Police Constable-Kayts Police) in the front verandah about some photographs which the latter wanted taken by (him). I then heard a barrage of gun shots (about 50 rounds) and looked out. Rajarajeswaran was missing. I next saw about 15 soldiers at the gate shouting out orders to say that all inmates should walk up to the gates with their hands raised...I saw a very large number of soldiers right round the premises. Then the soldiers ... ransacked all the rooms and removed some photographs and books. About 50 soldiers were carrying out the search...two soldiers then came up and asked...why Rajarajeswaran ran behind the house....He must have done so out of fear of being shot dead or tortured as it now usually happens and as it did happen even a day or two earlier at Uduvil South (Malvam) and at Kondavil. I saw about 15 jeeps, three or four trucks and three armoured cars..."

"Around 12 noon a police party came...and then the army personnel went off. They then recorded a statement. I was asked whether I saw Rajarajeswaran being shot dead. I said I heard several rounds being fired from behind the house...The Mallakam Magistrate came over and spoke to the police officers and proceeded to the rear of the house. I .....found Rajarajeswaran's body with blood all over the face , in a stretcher. The body was removed by the police. I heard that Rajarajeswaran fell dead with gun shots near the western boundary parapet wall but that the body was shifted to the eastern boundary fence....The body was released on 19th

evening from the Jaffna Hospital Mortuary. They ordered that the funeral should be completed within one hour without informing friends or relatives."

### EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLINGS - MARCH 1984.

The measures adopted by the government in March 1984, in response to what was described as "terrorism" by Tamil Militant Groups demonstrated its resolve to "combat terrorism" militarily. A new Ministry of National Security was created on 23rd March 1984 "with full powers to combat terrorism particularly in the North and East." The civilian and military administration of the northern and eastern provinces was placed under the new minister who also was, at the same time, appointed Deputy Minister of Defence. Large reinforcements of security personnel were sent to these provinces and training by Israeli experts and former SAS personnel also became publicly known.

This was the backdrop for a new wave of extrajudicial killings carried out by the security forces in the northern Jaffna district during late March and April 1984.

In apparent retaliation to killing of two Air Force men on 20 March at Palali and three policemen on 26th March by Tamil Militant Groups, Air Force personnel went to the Chunnakam Market on 28th March 1984 in two vehicles, a truck and a jeep, and opened fire at random into the market crowded with civilians. Eight people died on the spot and several were injured as a result of the shooting.

After the shooting at Chunnakam, the group of Air Force men proceeded along KKS Road and at Mallakam, three miles from Chunnakam, indiscriminately fired shots into the crowds waiting at a bus stop and near the junction which resulted in one death and several being seriously injured. Then the air force men proceeded along KKS Road to Tellipalai, two miles from Mallakam and again shot at random into crowds near the junction.

The government gave its version of the incident of 28 March 1984 in the following terms by the Defence Ministry on the same day :-

"Sri Lanka Air Force Personnel, on their return from depositing money at a Bank at Chunnakam, fired at a group of terrorists when fired upon. In the ensuing melee, terrorists, as well as by standers, numbering seven, were killed and several others injured in the exchange of fire. In a subsequent incident at Mallakam, several personnel received injuries."

And the Ministry of National Security said in an interview two days later:-

"According to the information I have received, the Air Force men were fired on by terrorists who were on the roofs of some buildings. The servicemen fired back." (Island, 1 April 1984).

The Bishop of Jaffna and the Jaffna Citizens Committee dismissed the Government's version of the incidents and characterised them as unprovoked and arbitrary killings. Judging by the ages of the victims (which included a pregnant woman and men over 50), and from eyewitness accounts, the conclusion that they were extrajudicial killings carried out by the Air Force men in retaliation is irresistible.

The 8 persons who died as a result of the shootings are: V.Sinnathurai,(68);K.Balasubramaniam(53);V.Thiyagarajah (42); T.Sundaralingam (37); K. Ganeshan (42); K Anandan (25); N.Yogarajah (43) ;& Mrs. P Thavamani (44) - a pregnant woman. N.Subramaniam, the Officer in charge of the Chunnakam market, collapsed and died of a heart failure in the course of the shooting incident.

The 24 persons seriously injured were: Muthumaru (65) of Chunnakam; S. Kalithasan (51) of Jaffna; S. Bawani (female,25) of Tellipalai; Kanagaratnam (31) of Atchuveli ;Annarasa of Tellipalai; Kanagaratnam (31) of Atchuveli; Annarasa of Chunnakam;Mumtaz (29) of Jaffna; Nagapooranam (female 61) of Changanai; Kali (45) of Mallakam; Krishnapoopathy (female 52) of Uduvil; Chinnarasa (40) of Chunnakam; Subash (33) of Atchuveli; Uruthirakumar (42) of Mavittapuram; Arumugam of Ponnalai; S Subramaniam (63) of Atchuveli; Manikkar of Jaffna; Segarajasigham (19)of Jaffna; Kanapathipillai of Tellipalai; Kumaravelu (54); Parvathy, an expectant mother; Ponnampalam (50); Sathiyathan (25); Patrick (19) of Tellipalai; Sri Kanthan (40) of Palali; and Ponnammah (female 50) of Chunnakam.

A Muslim trader, stated:-

"I arrived in Jaffna nearly a month ago on one of my periodical visits to do business in ready-made garments....on 28th March 1984 too, I was at the Chunnakam Market selling ready-made garments. Around 11 a.m. I heard a barrage of gunshots coming from the direction of the Chunnakam junction. Looking out, I saw Air Force men getting down from the vehicles and shooting towards the crowded market. People started running and I too wanted to run when some bullets struck me on my left leg and instantly (I) fell down and was bleeding profusely from the wounds...."

A ninety year old man , who survived his injuries, said :

"On Wednesday ,28 March 1984, I was at the market as usual in the company of my grandson...Around 11.a.m. I was leaving the market. While proceedig towards fish market side gate on the western side of the vegetable market, I received a gunshot on my right leg and fell down. Gunshots were being fired all over the market square by Air Force men."

A survivor from the Mallakam shooting incident said:

"On Wednesday, 28 March 1984, I went to the Mallakam District Court in connection with the court case. Around 11.30 a.m. that day, I was at the Mallakam Pillaiyar Kovilady bus-stop along with some others about to board a mini-bus. I then heard a barrage of gunshots from the nearby Mallakam junction coming from Air Force vehicles, a truck and two jeeps. I received gunshots on both legs, sustaining very serious injuries. A chunk of flesh from the lower thigh of my left leg was torn off, exposing the bone. I was brought to the Jaffna hospital in a private bus along with another person who was critically injured in the shooting. He was one of those waiting to board the bus. He died on the way to hospital."

A survivor from the shooting incident at Tellipalai said:

"On 28 March 1984 I went for a haircut at Tellipalai. It was about

11.30 a.m. The saloon was closed and I was turning to return home. At the same time, three Air Force vehicles were passing that way towards Palali (2 jeeps and a truck). The men inside those Air Force vehicles were firing as they were passig. I received a gunshot and was wounded on the right thigh. I was feeling giddy and was bleeding profusely.... I was taken to ... hospital and was operated upon."

The Amnesty International Report of 1st June 1984 concluded:

"Like on previous occasions, inquest proceedings were reportedly waived in all eight cases. The government's refusal to permit inquests to be held can only enhance concerns that there were in fact unprovoked extrajudicial killings. This is especially so since, inspite of the government's official version of the Chunnakam market incident, according to which those killed were shot dead by Air Force personnel in legitimate self-defence, the statements of eyewitnesses received by Amnesty International would appear to indicate on the contrary that the seven shot dead in Chunnakam market and the one man subsequently shot dead in a shop at Mallakam, died as a result of deliberate random shooting by Air Force personnel".

### EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLINGS - APRIL 1984.

In its report of 1 June 1984, Amnesty International stated: "Between 9-12 April 1984, a number of violent incidents took place in and around Jaffna and during these days dozens of Tamils were killed by the security forces - estimates of the numbers killed and the circumstances in which they died varying widely even according to official sources."

The incidents that occurred during these days included:

- On 9 April 1984, a bomb was thrown at an army truck by a Tamil militant group;
- On 10 April 1984, the Church of Our Lady of Refuge in the Jaffna city was attacked by cannon fire by the security forces;
- On 11 April 1984, a Budhist temple, Nahavihare in Jaffna city was attacked by some civilians apparently in retaliation to the attack on the church the previous day ; and
- the Point Pedro police station was attacked by members of a Tamil militant group.

In all these incidents no deaths of members of the security forces were reported.

The Minister of National Security claimed that the total number of persons killed between 9-12 April 1984 was 32, and that they were "Terrorists". However, the civilian government head of Jaffna, the Government Agent, stated that "more than 50" people were killed and that "hardly any of those killed by the army were linked with the Guerrilla campaign for more autonomy for the Tamil minority ".(Island,19 April 1984).However, the president of the Jaffna Citizens Committee, Mr. Rajasingham, estimated the number of people killed at 234.



Amnesty International (Report of 1 June 1984) has documented details of 30 persons killed between 9-12 April. It is significant to note that :

- a) eight of these persons were 50 years of age, and
- b) people were shot at different places, for instance, P.Ponnambalam, 58, a retired government employee, shot at his door step; C. Mahadevan, Manager of Jaffna Branch of Insurance Corporation, shot at entrance to his office, and P. Asaipillai, shot at Jaffna Railway Station.

Amnesty International also has published photographs of partially burnt bodies of those killed which confirm eyewitness accounts that a number of those killed by the security forces had been deliberately burnt to make identification impossible or difficult. There is also credible evidence that the bodies of the people killed had been burnt at Viloondy, Mandaitivu and Chemmani cemeteries. The police would appear to have confirmed that most of the bodies of those killed by the army were burnt by the police at the Chemmani Cemetery.

A mother of a person who was killed on 11 April stated :

"On 11 April 1984, my son left home for work ....his uncle who had followed him a little later informed us that he had found .....s dead body at the Clock Tower Road- Navalar Road Junction and his cycle, coconuts and other items... were lying close by. I went to collect the body, but on seeing the army personnel was still in the area ..... came back. I was informed by some people in the locality that the dead body of my son was carried by a few boys on the instruction of the army personnel and set on fire near the level crossing..... I went to the spot where the dead body had been burnt along with 4 other dead bodies. The bodies were partly burnt and I was able to identify my son though his face was slightly disfigured."

Another mother who went to identify her dead son testified:

"My son left home at about 7.30 a.m. on 11 April 1984 saying that he was going for tuition but has failed to return home so far... we made a search for him.... My son's friends reported having seen my son in the Jaffna town area on 11 April 1984. Hence I visited the spot where it was reported that dead bodies were lying. But the bodies were in such a state, some were partly burnt, some charred and faces disfigured so that no identification could be made...."

Many people have made sworn statements that a number of their relatives who went out of their homes between 9 and 12 April had never returned and gone "missing" giving rise to the conclusion that they had been killed and burnt by the security forces.

The father of a "missing" person who left his home on 9 April stated:

"Subsequently on Friday, 13 April 1984 I lodged an entry at the Jaffna Police Station that my son was missing. An officer in the Police Department told me that most of the bodies of persons shot by the army personnel on 9 April 1984 were burnt by the police personnel at Chemmani cemetery...."

It is to be noted that no judicial inquests were held on any one of these deaths.

Between May and end of July 1984 several incidents of extrajudicial killings took place. Sworn statements by relatives obtained by a Civil Rights Organisations reveal that at least 16 persons were killed in the north and east by the security forces and an equal number injured, all of them Tamils. No inquests were held in respect of any of these deaths.

### EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLINGS AND EXCESSES BY SECURITY FORCES AUGUST-DECEMBER 1984

By any standards, some of the most flagrant violations of the rights to life and security of person occurred during this period. Violence and counter violence by the security forces and the Tamil militant groups escalated to a level never seen before. However, the victims were by and large innocent civilians and their property. The period also saw for the first time a) indiscriminate shelling of coastal towns in the north by the navy; b) retaliatory massacre of civilians by the security forces sometimes reaching over hundred at a time; d) imposition of a Prohibited Zone covering the entire sea coast of the northern province prohibiting civilian life within 100 metres of the coast; e) imposition of a Security Zone covering Jaffna district and adjoining areas causing severe disruption of civilian life in these areas; f) mass indiscriminate arrest of Tamils running in to several hundreds; g) an exodus of Tamil refugees estimated to be over 50,000 into South India; and h) attacks on Sinhalese civilian targets in the north by Tamil militant groups.

**SHELLING OF COASTAL TOWNS:** On 4 August 1984 two naval personnel were killed in an engagement between the Navy and a group of Tamil militants off the coast of Polikandy near Point Pedro. On the same day the navy commenced shelling the coastal villages in Polikandy, Point Pedro, Valvettiturai. On the following days and weeks, the shelling continued intermittently covering other coastal villages including Mathagal.

The shelling resulted in many houses and public buildings being damaged, scores of boats destroyed, several people killed and injured and the coastal population rendered homeless moving into the interior to find refuge in temples, churches and schools.

The government denied shelling from the sea stating that the Navy did not have the equipment to do so. However the evidence of the damage and destruction and the casualties in terms of human life and injury prove otherwise. A report filed by its correspondent in Sri Lanka in the Guardian (London) of 10 August 1984 stated:

"Several thousand refugees from shelling by the Sri Lankan navy



have fled to a camp on the northern coast as the government continues its operation staged with the Israeli Secret Service advisers..... The section of Valvettiturai lying between the coastal highways and the sea was completely destroyed. Sri Lankan Opposition sources claimed that large numbers of Tamils were killed in new incidents in Jaffna's main street, the Hospital Street.

"The entire fleet of boats, big and small belonging to the fishermen living in the coastal belt, were shelled and sunk... Anti-terrorist police yesterday set fire to about 100 fishermen's huts and a dozen primitive houses and shops in the Tamil village of Valvettiturai, 16 miles north-east of Jaffna.

"When I arrived there yesterday (14-8-84) afternoon, a pall of black smoke was rising from the fishermen's huts clustered along the shore. The remains of the houses and shops destroyed in the main street were smouldering.

"About 20 villagers led us gingerly through a maze of alleys from which we could see the huts being burned. The locals were terrified of showing themselves in case the special police opened fire. When they spotted some police coming towards us, they bundled us into our rickety Morris Minor taxi and urged us on our way.

"Although I was unable to obtain confirmation of earlier charges that Valvettiturai was shelled from the sea with heavy losses of property, the villagers alleged yesterday that the shore was being machine-gunned for up to two hours every night by the Navy."

The following is an account by a journalist who visited the affected areas:

"For some time it has been a regular feature for the naval vessels to fire projectiles from the sea on the coastal village in Point Pedro, Valvettiturai, etc. In Point Pedro, as the Parish priest was preparing for the Sunday Liturgy, the assault was on. Some projectiles hit the parish house and a splinter hit the high roof right above the altar. A few houses behind the church which were hit and damaged were shown to this correspondent by the people of the locality.

"The people are in constant dread of being injured or killed as it happened on September 15 at Polygandy (quite some distance from the coast) where Kalavathy was killed. Her husband Thangathurai, a cobbler by profession, who also sustained serious injury by one shell and was incapacitated for life, told this correspondent that one shell penetrated his wife's head. She was later admitted to hospital where she died.

"The projectiles fired by the gun boat hit coconut trees and houses even some distance away from the coast. On September 9 'One shell fell on my house' said T. Ramachandran of Kunchcham Lane. The shell broke into fragments, breaking a large number of tiles. The impact was so great that the beam was broken into two. Mrs.S.Nadanalingam was injured in her right ankle by a shell. Another shell was reported to have travelled three-fourths of a mile, and bounced off after hitting a tree close to the parapet wall at an angle of 45 degrees".

"The projectiles did not come only from the sea. They came from moving armoured vehicles too, hitting houses. Police commandos fired shells from moving vehicles in Point Pedro at the house of a retired postmaster. In another shelling, they killed one Sadacharam and crippled a 65 year old woman, Mrs.Chellappa, in the second week of September." (The Hindu 3.11.84).

The Times of India editorially commented:

"The frenzied blasting of the northern coastal town of Valvettiturai by the Sri Lankan Navy is as shocking as it is deplorable. A national Navy does not reduce its own towns to near obliteration, however grave the provocation. The Sri Lankan authorities would explain the action as a "reprisal against the killing of naval personnel by Tamil Tigers". But they cannot justify this kind of

indiscriminate ferocity on the part of an armed force. It is reminiscent of the tactic of wiping out whole settlements in the name of hunting guerrillas during the Vietnam war."

**JAFFNA: 8 to 12 August 1984:** The Jaffna area witnessed a spate of extrajudicial killings by the security forces during this period, apparently in retaliation to the killing of an Assistant Superintendent of Police on 5 August 1984. At least 30 Tamils are recorded to have been killed during this period. Six civilians were shot dead at random at Ottumadam and Jaffna Bazaar and five persons injured and admitted to Jaffna Hospital on 8 August. Two civilians were shot dead and several injured at Vaddukoddai on 9 August and two others in the Jaffna town. On 11 August the security forces shot at a taxi (No. EN 6847) in Front Street, Jaffna, killing the driver and injuring four passengers.

**Kaithadi, Jaffna : 13 August 1984:** On this day a convoy of military vehicles was proceeding along Kaithady-Manipay Road and at the same time a private mini-van was travelling on the opposite direction. The last vehicle in the military convoy which eyewitnesses said was almost on the centre of the road, collided with the mini-van which was pushed against the fence adjoining the road and came to a halt. The soldiers in the other vehicles which had stopped began shooting at random at the mini-van. The driver was killed on the spot. Eight residents in the vicinity also were killed. The army men then walked into the nearby Multi-Purpose Co-operative Store and opened fire at all those present including four employees of the store and a 11-year old boy who had come to purchase something at the store.

**Chunnakam : 1 August 1984:** Before vacating the Chunnakam police station on this day the police had booby-trapped the building with explosives leaving behind several Tamil detainees in the cells. After the building had been vacated, civilians, in an attempt to rescue the detainees, and not knowing about the booby-trap, entered the building setting off an explosion which demolished the building killing 19 in all.

**Vavuniya : 6 August 1984:** The Superintendent of Police was killed in a bomb explosion, reportedly planted by a Tamil militant group on 6 August 1984. In apparent retaliation, on the same day, security forces threw incendiary devices into a restaurant, Vel Cafe, in the centre of Vavuniya, causing an explosion in which the proprietor and five employees of the cafe died. That same night bombs were also thrown into the house of Mr.Chittampalam, a former District Council Chairman and a leading lawyer of the area. The inmates had fled the house in time but the house was badly damaged. On the following day, 7 August, Army men indiscriminately shot at innocent people along Vavuniya-Mannar Road resulting in the death of at least 16 persons.

**Mannar : 11-12 August 1984:** On 11 August 1984, an

army vehicle was damaged in a land mine explosion, allegedly caused by a Tamil militant group, and 6 soldiers died as a result. In apparent retaliation, the Army went on a rampage through the Mannar town and adjoining villages on 12 August, throwing petrol bombs at shops and houses and indiscriminately shooting people. In all 109 shops, most of them belonging to Muslims, and several houses were set ablaze and destroyed. In some places, they knocked at the door of houses and when people answered, they were gunned down at point blank range. The Army also burnt shops and houses in three villages adjoining Mannar town, Murunkan, Adampan and Manthai, where too people were indiscriminately shot and killed.

The Roman Catholic Bishop of Mannar, RT. Rev. Thomas Saundaranayagam, referring to the conduct of the Army said, "It is like an army of occupation flattening everything in its path".

According to a report filed by Mark Tully for the BBC from Mannar on 14 August.

"..... the security forces on 11 August threw petrol bombs and hand grenades, burning 109 shops. Some shops were still smouldering this morning (14.8.84). The soldiers fired at random, killing two people. More would have been killed if some sections of the police had not warned everyone to flee. Soldiers also entered private houses and stole jewellery.

"On Sunday the troops raided two more villages near Mannar, killing three people. At a public meeting yesterday, the citizens were assured that the army had been controlled. However, last night (14.8.84) soldiers looted and burnt shops in another small town only fifteen miles from Mannar."

The Financial Times (London) of 15 August reported:

"Other army attacks on three nearby villages on Sunday and Monday left five dead and about 30 shops and houses burned, they added. Residents in several towns in the Tamil-dominated north have claimed that soldiers randomly attacked civilians to avenge rebel operations. The Colombo government has vigorously denied these charges.

"Officials who asked not to be named said about 30 soldiers arrived from a nearby military base on Sunday, looted a liquor store and set fire to the main bazaar.

"The soldiers shot a man outside his cafe and threw his body inside it to burn, they added. A teacher was shot dead as she looked out of her front door. The soldiers, who stayed an hour, had slipped out of their base and could not be controlled by the local commander, one official said."

The government initially denied the army rampage but, after a visit by a Muslim Cabinet Minister to Mannar, claimed that the violence had been the work of some mutinous members of the army. The Minister of National Security was reported in the press as having promised that anyone in uniform found responsible after an investigation would be court-martialled. Up-to-date there is no evidence of any action or prosecution or court-martial having been instituted against those responsible.

Among those killed during the Army rampage was a 13 year old boy named Uthayakumar. The following is an eyewitness account of the killings and acts of arson committed by the army at Manthai:

"On 12 August 1984 at about 3 pm army personnel numbering 70 dressed in civilian clothes and armed with rifles, arrived in a Ceylon Transport Board bus at Manthai Junction. They stopped the bus and got out of it. Some soldiers assaulted Suppiah Nagasamy and another old man, who were at the junction at that time. When Nagasamy tried to run away, he was fired at by the soldiers but fortunately he was not hit.... A few soldiers went up to a tea kiosk which was one of the four shops in the row. There they got Uthayakumar, aged 13 years, to open a bottle of aerated water. After drinking the contents the soldiers broke the empty bottle and with the broken bottle they tortured Uthayakumar by ripping his face. Uthayakumar was bleeding profusely. Army personnel then opened fire, killing a telecommunication labourer, one Emilianus, and Ramalingam aged 50 years when they were in one of the vegetable shops owned by Ramalingam.

"Army personnel went to the petrol shed which is also at the Manthai Junction. They got one ....., a carpenter, to fill the empty cans with diesel and kerosene oil and then made him pour it into the shops and I ran away and hid myself. They set fire to the shops and three of the four shops were destroyed. Army personnel set fire to four other huts in the close vicinity and those were completely gutted by fire. Army personnel then left the scene in the bus. Uthayakumar, who was later rushed to Adampan hospital, succumbed to his injuries the same day."

## TESTIMONY

The following account is that of an eyewitness, who was shot and left for dead, but survived after hospital treatment, of an incident that happened at Murunkan on 12 August:-

"On 12 August 1984 I went to Murungan.. At about 6.45 p.m. we heard somebody knocking the door of the shop. All of us were fully aware of the tragic incidents that took place in Mannar. We believe it was army personnel knocking at the doors. We took on heel towards the fields which was behind the shop for shelter. I received a gun shot on my left leg as I was the last to run. I fell down. Then I managed to hide myself under a lorry which was parked in a garage closeby. From there I was able to see the 5 Army personnel clad in army cut banians and shorts, one of them was in khaki trouser, another soldier was in possession of a rifle and all others had iron bars in their hands. As I was wearing a pure white sarong they found me even in the dark. Then I got one revolver shot in my arm. I was bleeding from both injuries. Other soldiers who had iron bars started beating me. I cried 'Aiyo Ammah'. They replied: 'You Tamil die. You want Tamil Eelam.' They then pulled me out. Then the soldier who was in the long army trouser ordered the other soldiers to shoot on the head! As soon as I heard this order I took a big wooden plank which was placed behind the lorry wheel and guarded my face (That wooden plank was about 9" in thickness and 2' x 1' (length x breadth). The shot was aimed at my head but hit the thick plank (and) withstood the shot. The plank..... pressed on my nose so hard that I... started bleeding profusely. The soldiers came and lifted my hands but I allowed them to fall down. Then they shook by head. I pretended to be senseless and I let my head drop on the floor. They believed that I was dead and they covered my face with my sarong and left the scene. They said 'Marilla' in Sinhalese, meaning: "He is dead."

### EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLING : POINT PEDRO - 1 SEPTEMBER 1984

Six Police Commandos were killed when a land mine exploded damaging the vehicle in which they travelled at Tikkam in Point Pedro on 1 September 1984 and a Tamil militant group was reportedly responsible for the explosion. A savage retaliation by a combined force of the Army and Police Commandos of the Special Task Force (STF) followed.

Several eyewitness accounts and sworn statements from victims of the excesses by the security forces confirm the following:

- a) Many shops including a Multi-purpose Co-operative Store were set ablaze;
- b) A large collection of books belonging to Nagamany Vijayaratnam of Point Pedro was heaped in front of his house and set alight;
- c) Three main buildings, the laboratory and the library, containing over 7,500 volumes of one of the leading Colleges in the country, the Hartley College, were set on fire and destroyed;
- d) A large number of houses at Tikkam, Sakkotai and Inbarooti and Point Pedro were gutted; and
- e) 18 civilians were indiscriminately shot dead and many more were injured.

### TESTIMONIES

Statements from two survivors of the shooting on this day state:

1. "On 1 September 1984 after lunch I was seated on the verandah at about 12 noon..... a jeep and a truck, both military vehicles, were passing the house. As the truck passed the house a soldier standing inside the moving truck opened fire in the direction of the house where we were seated. One bullet struck the wall damaging the wall. Both my feet which I had stretched out while being seated were shattered by bullets. I was promptly admitted to Manthika Hospital where both my feet were amputated...."

2. "On 1 September 1984 at about 1 p.m. I was engaged in transporting five bags of wheat flour to a bakery near the 1st. mile-post on Point Pedro - Valvettiturai Road and I was driving the cart and was alone. I saw a mini-van followed by several Army vehicles coming from the direction of Valvettiturai. There were army personnel in it. As the convoy came closer to me, army personnel opened fire at me. I received three bullet injuries on my left leg below the knee. A portion of the flesh had been torn away by the bullets. I was bleeding profusely and fell off the cart.

"As the vehicles passed me they fired three shots at the bull and the bull too fell down with the loaded cart still tethered to its neck. It suffered gaping neck injuries..."

The government initially discounted allegations of the Army rampage, but on 2 September 1984 the Mini-

ster of National Security announced that the Inspector General of Police (IGP) would personally visit Point Pedro and carry out an investigation while partially confirming that civilians had been killed and on the following day promised that action would be taken against those found guilty of killing and arson.

However, up-to-date, there is no evidence of either the outcome of the investigation, if any, by the IGP or of any action or prosecution instituted against those responsible.

### VAVUNIYA BUS MASSACRE - 11 SEPTEMBER 1984.

In the early hours of 11 September 1984, a private coach, VIP EXPRESS, which normally plies between Colombo and Jaffna, was forced to stop at Rambewa between Anuradhapura and Vavuniya by five or six men wearing khaki trousers armed with sub-machine guns. They compelled the driver at gunpoint to proceed and stop at the 6th mile post on Mannar - Vavuniya Road. The Sinhalese passengers were asked to go away. The rest, including the women, were relieved of all their valuables. All the male passengers were called out, lined up in two rows and shot. Fifteen died on the spot and one died after admission to hospital.

### TESTIMONY

One victim who survived the shooting stated:-

"On 10 September 1984 I decided to return to Jaffna and that evening took a bus, (which) ... belonged to VIP Copy, and it left Colombo at 8 p.m. There were about 47 passengers, five of them were females including two teenagers and a small girl. Except for one Muslim and a Sinhalese the rest were definitely Tamils. The bus reached Rambewa about 2 a.m. on 11 September 1984... About 20 minutes later when the bus was approaching Vavuniya, it was stopped by an armed gang which boarded the bus. The gang consisted of six men of whom two were dressed in Khaki uniform and the rest in brown and blue trousers and shirts. Each of them had rifles. One of the men ordered the driver to proceed.

"As the bus got moving the men spoke amongst themselves in Sinhalese that since...some of their men were killed in an incident in Mullaitivu the previous day, they would kill all of us.

"Within about 10 minutes the bus reached Vavuniya and the armed men ordered the driver to turn the bus onto the less frequented Vavuniya-Mannar Road. Within about five minutes... the bus was stopped on the orders of one of the gang. The additional driver who was seated in front was ordered by one of the gang to take the cash box and get down from the bus. The man who gave the order appeared to be the leader. He was sporting a short beard. The driver was taken behind the bus (and) was shot dead.

All the six of the gang next got into the bus and ordered the passengers to surrender their money and valuables like jewellery and wrist watches. Thereafter the armed men dragged one by one about fifteen male passengers and shot them one by one.

I presume that the armed men were soldiers as they spoke only Sinhalese and were well built and their dress strongly suggested such a presumption."

Another survivor of the shooting stated:-

"About 20 of all males got down and one of the armed men asked in Sinhala whether there were any Sinhalese amongst us but none came forward. We were then divided into three groups but subsequently moved into two groups. We were ordered to empty our pockets of the contents including our Identity Cards and wrist watches, etc. We gathered in two groups one in front of the bus .... One person standing behind us opened fire with a firearm equipped with a long barrel. I think that it was a rifle and one shot was fired at each person in the back. I was (the) third person to be shot at and received one bullet on my back and fell down. Several shots were fired and practically all the people who were close to me fell down. I saw two people getting up and running into the jungle. I too rolled down the slopes of the road and fell into a ditch..."

Two young women passengers were taken behind the thick jungle and were raped.

The government discounted that the assailants were members of the Army. A Defence Ministry statement speculated that guerrillas, extremist political elements or former members of the Army who had been dismissed, might have been responsible for the killings. However "there are grounds to believe that armed forces personnel or persons connected with the forces have been involved in the Vavuniya Killings"(AI Report 9.1.85).

On 13 August 1984 the government announced a full investigation by its Criminal Investigation Deptment. To date no information is available in respect of this investigation.

#### **Kent and Dollar Farms, Vavuniya - 30 November 1984.**

The Kent and Dollar farms were two agricultural settlements run by Gandhiyam for the rehabilitation of Tamils from the tea plantations displaced during communal disturbances. These farms have been in operation since 1977. On 22 August 1984 these two farms, in extent 171 and 243 acres respectively, were acquired under Emergency Powers for the purpose of settling ex - prisoners. Those who were settled were progressively chased away and released ex-convicted Sinhalese prisoners were settled in these farms and they were provided with arms by the government.

**On 30 November 1984**, a group of persons, reportedly from a Tamil militant group, attacked those newly settled Sinhalese in the farm, in the course of which an estimated 65 persons were killed.

#### **Kokkilai and Nayaru, Mullaitivu - 30 November 1984**

Kokkilai and Nayaru are two fishing villages predominantly inhabited by Tamils. Sinhalese fishermen from the South of the island visit these places and reside temporarily during the fishing season and at the end of the season return to their homes. The government announced plans to settle these migrant fishermen, with their families, permanently by prov-

iding them with permanent homes. On 19 October 1984, government officials visited Kokkilai and Nayaru to inspect the area for building 1000 homes to accommodate the migrant Sinhalese fishermen permanently. On 30 November 1984, some members of a Tamil militant group attacked the Sinhalese fishermen in the course of which 11 persons died.

### **MASSACRE AT OTHIYAMALAI - 2 DECEMBER 1984.**

The Amnesty International Report (ASA/37/03/85) of April 1985 has given a detailed account quoting eyewitness testimonies of the arbitrary killing of 27 Tamil civilians and disappearance of another 5 from the village of Othiyamalai in the northern Mullaitivu district on 2 December 1984.

At least 30 to 40 armed soldiers from the Padaviya Army Camp went to the village on the night of 1 December 1984 and camped for the night at Malaikadu Hindu Temple. Early in the morning of 2 December, they entered houses in the village and took away one or more men from each house, most of them in the 15-35 age group. Many had their hands tied behind their backs and were taken, some of them in the trailer of a tractor, to the village Community Centre Hall, where 27 males were shot dead.

Five others, all around 50 years of age, were put on the trailer of a tractor, No. 25 SRI 6511, and taken by the army personnel near the Kent Farm and shot dead. Witnesses have seen the dead bodies of two of the latter five near the Kent Farm, but the bodies of the other three have not been found.

The following day, 3 December 1984, the Government Agent, the Medical Officer of Mullaitivu, some policemen and the Village Headman visited the village and saw the bodies of the 27 male villagers. Post-mortem examinations and inquests were held and on 4 December the bodies cremated opposite the Community Centre.

Up to date, the outcome of the post-mortem examinations or the inquests has not been released; nor has the Government instituted any judicial investigation into this incident.

The names of those shot dead at the village Community Centre are:

1. Kanapatipillai Chinnaiah, a 32 year old farmer with four dependents.
2. Kanapathipiai Sivapatham, a 29 year old farmer with five dependents.
3. Kandiah Sivasithamparam, a 34 year old farmer with five dependents.
4. Kandiah Dharmalingam, a 36 year old farmer with four dependents.
5. Kasipillai Selvarasa, a 38 year old farmer with four dependents.

6. Kasipillai Rajalingam, a 28 year old farmer with two dependents.
7. Krishnapillai Paramalingam, a 30 year old farmer with six dependents.
8. Manikkam Mohanadas, a 32 year old farmer with five dependents.
9. Naharatnam Kartheeswaran, a 22 year old farmer with one dependent.
10. Nalliah Navaratnam an 18 year old farmer with eleven dependents
11. Ponniah Thavarasa, a 23 year old farmer with three dependents.
12. S. Alagaiya Yogarasa, a 16 year old washerman with five dependents.
13. S. Nadarasa a 29 year old farmer with one dependent.
14. Sangarapillai Sabaratnam, a 35 year old farmer with six dependents.
15. Sangarapillai Shanmugasundaram, a 28 year old farmer with one dependent.
16. Shanmugarasa Raveendran, a 19 year old farmer with six dependents.
17. Sinniah Rajendram, an 18 year old farmer with ten dependents.
18. Sithamparapillai Rasiah, a 35 year old farmer with two dependents.
19. Suppiah Gengatharam, a 25 year old farmer with three dependents.
20. Thambaiyah Kassipillai, a 42 year old farmer with eight dependents.
21. Thambaiyah Sivagnanam, a 20 year old farmer with four dependents.
22. Thambaiyah Subramaniam, a 27, year old farmer with three dependents.
23. Thambaiyah Velupillai, a 37 year old farmer with seven dependents.
24. Thamothari Sathasivam, a 45 year old farmer with thirteen dependents.
25. Veerakathy Thilainatharasa, a 29, year old farmer with two dependents.
26. Vellupillai Chandran, a 22, year old farmer with six dependents.
27. Velupillai Sithamparapillai, a 36 year old farmer with six dependents.

The names of the five taken away on this occasion and later shot dead are:-

1. Thamothary Kanapathipillai, 52 years, farmer with five children.
2. Kandiah Ponnampalam, 45 years, father of six children.
3. Govinthar Kanapathipillai, 53 years farmer with six children.
4. Nagamani Sinnaiyar, 58 years, farmer with 10 children.
5. Kandiah Kanagarajah, 55 years, farmer with six children.

### OVER ONE HUNDRED DETAINEES KILLED : 2 DECEMBER 1984

The following are extracts from Amnesty International's "Sri Lanka : Disappearance" concerning the fate of over 100 Tamils arrested on 2 December and the previous days in and around Vavuniya:-

Amnesty International recently received the sworn affidavit of a detainee, now released, who stated that on 2 December 1984, while he was detained at Iratperiyakulam Army Camp, in the northern Vavuniya district, he saw about 100 Tamil men under guard and then heard, although he did not see, about 100 shots being fired. He was subsequently made to watch a big fire across the road just opposite the Army Camp. He also witnessed four other detainees being taken out of their cell, with their hands tied

behind their backs, he believed, also to be shot. Afterwards, he said, Army officials alluded to the fact that they had just killed 119 men in their custody, belonging to armed Tamil groups. He stated:

"... On 2.12.1984 I and (x) and another cell-mate were summoned to the office of the camp. The time was about 2pm. On this day a 24 hour curfew was imposed in the north. While I was being taken to the camp I observed about 100 persons dressed in sarongs with upper bodies bare made to sit under a tree and being guarded by soldiers. Even from the office to which I was taken I could see these persons seated under the tree. But I and the two others were made to sit on the floor facing a direction opposite to where the 100 persons were squatting so that I and the two others could not see them. While I was made to sit like this I heard and saw other soldiers looking with some kind of pleasure at the 100 persons seated under the tree.

"About 2.15 pm I heard rifles being fired five at a time. One of the soldiers, a corporal kept counting one, two, three, four, five in English. He would wait for a five minute interval during which a jeep was driven close to the spot. Again the firing would go on and the same soldier would count one, two, three, four, five followed by a jeep being driven to the spot. This went on till the soldier who kept on counting had counted five about 20 times. I presumed that about 100 persons were shot and killed for as the firing went on some of the soldiers mentioned the names of a few of the arrested persons and said, 'Ah, so and so is over.'

"The corporal who kept counting the firing, during the intervals between the counting told me and (x) 'I won't shoot you and ... if each of you give Rs 5,000/-'. I acceded to such a request and so did (x). About 4 pm I and (x) were still there in front of the office. One of the soldiers asked me and (x) to look at a spot 100 yards away at a clearing in the jungle just opposite the camp and just beyond the road. I did not want to look that way as I feared the soldier who was guarding me might attack me. But this soldier shook his head as if it were in approval of the request of the first soldier who wanted me and (x) to look where he wanted us to. When both of us looked towards the spot described earlier we found flames leaping higher and black smoke emanating from there. The first soldier who asked us to look there asked me what it could be. I said I did not know what it could be. At this, he said this is the Tamil Eelam Army going up in flames.

"On 3.12.1985 at about 18.35 hours, Major (Y) came near the cell where I and (x) were locked up. He ordered that two men from the cell adjoining be taken out. I saw (z) being taken out by an armed soldier. (z) had his hands tied behind his back. He was asked where he was going to be taken. He kept silent.

"Soon afterwards he and the armed soldier disappeared from view. I heard a shot from a gun. About five minutes later the same soldier came back and took one other and later two others. I heard further shots and I believe all four persons including (z) were shot and killed.

"I and (x) stood worshipping the major who ordered the removal of the four persons who I believed were shot and disposed of.

"The major left after telling a detenu from Kokuvil in an adjoining cell, 'Do not worry we shoot only the Tigers'.

"That night a sergeant who came over to our cell looked at us and said, 'Do not think you have escaped with your lives. You will also go like the 119 others'.

"I believed the sergeant was referring to the 119 or so young Tamils who were seated under the tree and who were shot and burnt. ..."

Amnesty International believes his evidence may

clarify the fate of an estimated 100 Tamil men who, early on 2 December 1984, were reported to have been taken away by Army and Air Force personnel from the Vavuniya area and who have since "disappeared". The authorities have denied knowledge of their arrest. The arrests were mainly reported from the villages of Chemamadu and Cheddikulam, described in one foreign press report as "sanctuaries" for armed Tamil groups. They took place two days after 65 Sinhalese civilians, mainly former convicts and their relatives, including children, had been killed on 30 November 1984 at Kent and Dollar Farms by members of armed Tamil groups. These former farms, some 40 and 60 miles by road from Chemamadu and Cheddikulam, had previously been used to settle Tamil refugees from the 1977 and 1983 communal violence. The government's take-over of the two farms - part of its policy to move Sinhalese into some Tamil areas - had reportedly been opposed by Tamil groups. The attacks on these farms were followed by widespread reprisal actions by security forces operating in the area.

According to the government many arrests were made in the days following the attack on Kent and Dollar Farms. Amnesty International also received reports of reprisal actions, carried out on 1 and 2 December 1984 by members of the security forces searching the area who killed many unarmed civilians at random. In the nearby village of Othiyamalai in the Mullaitivu district 27 villagers were taken out of their houses, had their hands tied, and were shot.

The bodies of five others whom eyewitnesses reported to have been taken away in a similar manner have never been found; they "disappeared".

In addition, male members of families living in the villages of Cheddikulam and Chemamadu were selected and taken away from their homes by Army and Air Force personnel. They too, have never been seen again. One clergyman travelling in the area reported at the time:

"In transit I am at the village of Cheddikulam... It is a hamlet of farmers with a few shops. It looks like a dead place. Only one shop opens and sells a few provisions, costs very high. On 2 December 1984, the army entered and arrested 57 men and they have all disappeared. They just collected them from houses and fields. One of them a father of nine children. So now all the people have run into the jungle, they stay for the night in the jungle, under trees, women and children... The fear of death is all around...."

Amnesty International has the names of 92 people who were reportedly arrested on 2 December 1984 from Chemamadu and Cheddikulam and whose relatives, despite repeated requests to various officials, notably the Government Agent of the Province, have been unable to establish their whereabouts or fate. Up until now security forces officials have denied that they were arrested although the Government Agent is reported to have told several relatives of the

"disappeared" that he "doubted they could still be alive".

Amnesty International has a number of sworn statements by eye-witnesses who saw relatives who have not been seen since taken from the area on 2 December. The following statement concerns the "disappearance" of Thambirajah Jeyaweerasingham, a farmer, who was married and had four children who was arrested on Chemamadu.

"... On 2.12.84 at about 6am when ... Thambirajah Jeyaweerasingham was in the compound about six service personnel entered the compound, severely assaulted Thambirajah Jeyaweerasingham and removed him in their truck. Twenty-seven men from Chemamadu were assaulted and removed by the security forces on the day and removed in the three trucks in which they had come. On 4.12.84, as Thambirajah Jeyaweerasingham had not returned. I along with other affected persons of the village went to the Government Agent, Vavuniya and appealed for the release of those removed by the security forces. He informed me and the others that 85 persons had been so removed by the security forces on 2.12.84 and that he doubted if they could still be alive. However hoping that Thambirajah Jeyaweerasingham could have been spared I continued to make enquiries from the Government Agent, Vavuniya but of no avail..."

This Government Agent is reported to have given similar information to relatives of four other men, Vythilingam Balasuntheram, Kandiah Pathmanathan, Sellapah Pathmanathan and Selvarasa, reportedly the manager and employees at "Nathan's Cafe", Vavuniya. They were seen to be taken on 2 December 1984 from "Nathan's Cafe" by Air Force personnel in a jeep, possibly to the JOSSOP (Joint Services Operation) Camp, Vavuniya. Their detention was denied by officials at the two main security forces camps in the area: Iratperiyakulam Army Camp and JOSSOP Camp. Amnesty International received several sworn statements about their arrest. According to (x), a relative of one of them:

"... At Vavuniya I was informed by a person who had been in an adjoining compound that on 2.12.84 when a full curfew was in force the proprietor (of) Nathan Cafe (Kandiah Pathmanathan) at about 9 am had been in the compound of his premises.

"A few Air Force personnel who had been on the road had beckoned him. When he went up to them he had been asked to come with all others in the premises with their National Identity Cards. Three others in the premises and the proprietor had gone up to the waiting air force men with their identity cards. All four had been ordered into a waiting jeep which immediately moved away.

"I was able to go to the Vavuniya Government Agent on 9.12.84. He informed me that every effort would be made to trace (x) and that I would be informed.

"Being in great mental agony as to the fate of (x) accompanied by the proprietor's wife and others I went to the Iratperiyakulam Army Camp and JOSSOP Air Force Camp. At both camps they denied knowledge of the whereabouts of (x) or of the three others who had been removed in a jeep and insisted that they were not held by them.

"Repeated efforts made by me to trace the whereabouts of (x) through the Government Agent, Vavuniya and subsequently through the Government Agent, Jaffna during the last seven months have proved futile. When I went to the Government Agent on 17.7.85 it was impressed on me that (x) could not be alive...."

"On one occasion when I appealed to the Government Agent, Vavuniya to trace (x) he informed me that the same fate had befallen 85 Tamils of Vavuniya District on 2.12.84."

## THE MANNAR MASSACRE - 4 DECEMBER 1984.

On 4th December 1984, one soldier died when a land-mine exploded near Murunkan in the Mannar District. The scale of the retaliation by the security forces was unprecedented in its scale both in terms of its sheer brutality and loss of civilian lives.

The final death toll was 106. The former MP for Mannar had himself helped in the collection of 74 bodies between the eighth and twelfth mile-posts on the Mannar-Anuradhapura Road.

The full details of the incidents on 4 December 1984, as recorded by Amnesty International in its Report of 15 January 1985, are as follows:

\*Army personnel are said to have entered the Murunkan Post Office and after separating from those present one man, who was able to identify himself as a Muslim, lined up the other ten persons present, all believed to be Tamils, and shot them. Four were reportedly shot dead on the spot and six others, apparently left for dead, survived with serious wounds, among them the postmaster.

\*Army personnel are alleged to have stopped a Ceylon Transport Board bus, travelling from Murunkan to Vavuniya, and despite repeated pleas from the Sinhalese bus conductor, Kuda Dewage Jayasena, not to harm the passengers in his charge, reportedly he was first shot dead and sixteen male passengers and the driver, a Muslim, were then lined up and killed. Among the dead were Mr. Philip Kulendram, aged fifty-five years, and Alexander Rajaratnam, aged thirty-two years.

\*In the village of Uthavayankulam sixteen civilians, reported to be farmers engaged in transplanting crops, are said to have been shot dead by Security Forces personnel at their homes. According to these reports, they were ordered to lie down face downwards and shot through the head. Two Sinhalese women, one elderly, were reportedly among the victims: Mrs. A. R. Baby Nona, aged seventy five years, and Mrs. Hemawathi Banda, aged forty-five years.

\*In the village of Parappankandal, Army personnel travelling in jeeps allegedly fired indiscriminately at villagers, killing twelve civilians. Among the dead is a young mother, Mrs. John Baptist, nursing a young child who survived despite having three toes shot off.

Initially, the government denied the Army rampage and the killing of unarmed civilians, the Minister of National Security was quoted as saying "at least thirty-one separatist guerrillas were killed in a battle with troops" and adding "it does happen some times in a shoot-out that innocent bystanders get killed".

(International Herald Tribune 6.12.84) The fact was that there was neither a 'battle' nor a 'shoot-out'. Toning down his position, the Minister was subsequently quoted as saying "...the government does not condone killings. When anyone dies...we have to investigate and we shall act to discipline them if there is grave suspicion that they lined up people and killed them". Not merely "grave suspicion" but there was proof that people were lined up and shot at point-blank range. One hundred and six innocent, unarmed and defenceless men and women had been killed in cold blood and despite the fact that full details had been given by the Mannar Citizens' Committee in their memorandum with a request to the President for a full inquiry, up to date no such inquiry has been instituted.

## KILLING OF REV. JEYARAJASINGHAM AND TWO OTHERS -13.12.1984.

On 13 December 1984, a Methodist priest, Rev. George Jayarajasingham, his driver, Abdul Cader Suliman, and Jesuthasan Roche, a Tamil police constable attached to the Murunkan Police Station, while travelling from Mannar to Murunkan, were stopped reportedly by Army personnel who shot and burnt them with the vehicle.

The circumstances of their killing, according to information with Amnesty International, (Report of April 1985) which is corroborated by sworn testimony, are as follows:

"Rev. Jeyarajasingham had reportedly gone to Mannar on 13 December partly in connection with matters relating to the Jeevodhayam Farm. On that day he reportedly visited the local Army Camp at 2 p.m. and the Government Agent of Mannar at about 2.30 p.m. leaving for Murunkan at 3 p.m. after which he passed an Army check-point and was not seen alive again. His body and those of the two men travelling with him were found in a charred condition in the burned-out van not far from the Army Camp. Reports have suggested he might have been killed by Army personnel in connection with his work for displaced Tamils at the Jeevodhayam Farm.

"On 12 and 13 December a number of attacks by Army personnel on persons in a refugee settlement at Periyakattu and on Tamil civilians at Mullikulam, (both villages in the Mannar District), had been reported. Six persons were reportedly killed by the Army on 13 December, the day that Rev. Jeyarajasingham was also killed. Rev. Jeyarajasingham was himself reported to have been active in work for displaced Tamils: he was the Director of Jeevodayam Farm, Murunkan, an agricultural training project where Tamils displaced as a result of earlier violence between the Tamil and Sinhalese communities were living and were being taught new agricultural techniques to increase yields. Following the killings in Mannar on 4th December 1984, the Government Agent of Mannar reportedly asked him to open another refugee camp at Jeevodhayam Farm. About 1000 people were living in the projects he administered."

There is no evidence that official inquiries were carried out to investigate the circumstances of these deaths. Nor was an inquest held into their deaths.

Amnesty International received individual statements about more than 200 killings from August to Dec-



ember 1984(AI Report of April 1985).

David Graves, in his despatch from northern Jaffna which appeared in the London Daily Telegraph of 17 December 1984. stated:

"The only talk on the front line in Jaffna was death and fear... Sri Lankan armed forces had unleashed a bloody campaign...(they) are committing the most, grotesque crimes from international notice".

Trevor Fishlock, reporting from Jaffna in the London Times (31.12.84), stated:

"By means of random murder, indiscriminate shootings, beatings, torture and plunder, indiscipined and trigger happy soldiers keep the Tamils in the north in a state of constant fear.... Troops have been looting and burning houses ....Thousands of youths have been rounded up and held in army camps. Their parents do not know where they are: They have become Sri Lanka's disappeared ones. There is strong evidence of beating,torture and murder of young men in army custody".

## EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLINGS -1985

Extrajudicial killings by the security forces continued in 1985 on an intensified scale in the context of renewed attacks by Tamil Militant groups against security personnel. Civilian life in the Tamil areas was severely disrupted with the continuation of Prohibited and Security Zones imposed under Emergency Regulations. The enforcement of the Prohibited Zone and the requirement that those living within 100 metres from the coast inwards should abandon their homes and move into the interior and the prohibition of fishing adversely affected thousands of Tamils in the north and resulted in a massive refugee problem. The exodus of Tamil refugees into neighbouring South India increased. Mass indiscriminate arrests of Tamils continued facilitated by the restrictions imposed by the Security Zone requirements and day and night curfews.

The government's decision to settle thousands of Sinhalese in the predominanty Tamil northern and eastern provinces to reflect the nation-wide population ratio of 75% Sinhalese to 25% other ethnic groups, and also its decision and action to train and arm Sinhala settlers in Tamil areas, gave a dangerous dimension to the conflict. Instead of the security forces "battling it out" with the Tamil militant groups, the government's action would appear to have been designed to bring the civilian people of the two communities into direct armed conflict.

An armed auxiliary force of non-Tamil civilians was established under a Presidential directive to function under the responsibility of the Minister of National Security requiring no qualifications as to suitability for selection except political loyalty to the ruling local politician, and chosen from among the thuggish and rowdy elements and motivated only by their readiness to fight the "Tamil Tigers" and, lacking in training and discipline. This armed auxiliary force under the euphemism of the "Home Guards" contributed in a

substantial manner to the unprecedented increase in arbitrary killings,looting,raping and arson. Their presence was mostly felt and feared in the Eastern Province.The year 1985 also witnessed the introduction of a special category of security service personnel called the Special Task Force (STF) composed of police commandos specially trained reportedly by Israeli intelligence personnel and ex-SAS mercenaries. The government also conceded that security service personnel including members of the STF and Home Guards were being trained in Pakistan. Deployed mainly in the Eastern Province, and more so in the Batticaloa district, the STF soon acquired a reputation for committing unmitigated atrocities including arbitrary killings of civilian Tamils on an unprecedented scale.

In its Report (ASA/37/03/86) of 30 April 1986 Amnesty International noted:-

"During 1985 Amnesty International received many well-documented reports from eyewitnesses and others stating, in sworn affidavits, that unarmed Tamil civilians were arbitrarily killed by security forces personnel often in reprisal for attacks by armed Tamil groups on Sri Lankan security forces personnel or on Sinhalese civilians. As an indication of the scope of such extrajudicial killings, Amnesty International received, for the one-year period of 1 January to 31 December 1985, sworn statements by individuals alleging arbitrary killings in 412 cases by security forces personnel including many eyewitness accounts of such killings, the victims including men,women and children. Like previous allegations, recent reports of extrajudicial killings concern the Army, Navy and Air Force but also for the first time during 1985, the Home Guards, a new auxilliary armed force of reportedly poorly trained and undisciplined non-Tamil civilians. Extrajudicial killings are not only regularly reported from the north of Sri Lanka, where most of the Tamils live, but apparently occur on an increasing scale in the eastern districts, inhabited by a mixed population of Tamils, Sinhalese and Muslims, where increased acts of violence have been reported during 1985 both on the part of armed Tamil groups and security forces personnel.

"In many cases, official reports of these incidents state that the victims were "Terrorists" killed in combat; however, detailed reports received by Amnesty International from eye-witnesses state that those killed were unarmed non-combatant civilians, often apparently killed in retaliation. This paper describes a number of allegations of extra-judicial killings, many people alleged to have been killed after having been taken away from their homes by security forces personnel. In a number of cases their bodies were allegedly burnt by security forces personnel and some bodies have not been recovered".

What follows are some accounts of major incidents of extrajudicial killings, and they do not in any way constitute an exhaustive or a comprehensive review of all the incidents in respect of which documented evidence is available.

### KILLING OF FR BASTIAN - 6 JANUARY 1985.

Rev. Fr. Mary Bastian, aged 37, parish priest of St. Anne's Church in Vankalai, Mannar, was killed with two others within the Church premises in the early hours of 6th January 1985. Despite the government claims to the contrary, Amnesty International, having investigated and scrutinised all the available informa-



tion, has concluded that "there is credible evidence that Fr. Bastian was shot dead by the army in his mission house and that his body was removed by them from the place of the incident and disposed of". According to reports received by Amnesty International:"the security forces surrounded the church premises around midnight,5/6 January 1985, entered the back of the mission house and called Father Bastian. When he approached, he is said to have been shot through the windows from the verandah in a room at the back of the mission house. After several hours, his body was reportedly removed and put on the steps of a girl's school close to the convent, photographed after certain objects had been put around it, and in the early hours of 6th January taken away in a white van by uniformed security forces personnel believed to be from the nearby Thallady Army Camp." (AI Report dated April 1985)

The following is an account issued by the Bishop's House, Jaffna, as to the circumstances of Fr. Bastian's murder:-

"5.1.1985 - 6pm Curfew begins. Fr. Mary Bastian is in the Priest's House (Presbytery) with an orphan boy Alagaratnam and a helper, Nathan Croos.

'About midnight (6.1.1985) convoy of vehicles moves towards village (Vankalai) and stops at the entrance of the church.

"Security Forces (SF) on foot enter church premises.

"Shots fired and SF take position around the premises.

"SF enter the rear veranda of the priest's house through the rear gate.

"SF knock at the door calling for Fr. Bastian; Fr. Bastian, in his cassock, enters the parlour with rosary in hand along with Alagaratnam and Nathan.

"Shots are fired through the windows of the parlour from the rear veranda. Fr. Bastian pleads, 'please, please'.

"Fr. Bastian is shot along with Alagaratnam and falls crying 'amma'(mother).

"SF forces open the parlour door on the rear veranda, Fr. Bastian is shot dead.

"Nathan is led out to other buildings along the parapet wall-the generator and store rooms.

"Nathan is taken back to the parlour and shot dead.

"SF fire shots in and around church premises - a 72 year-old woman is killed.

"About 4am Fr. Bastian's body is dragged out through the rear gate and deposited on the steps of the Girl's School (old building) close to the convent.

"Only the bodies of Alagaratnam and Nathan are found in the parlour.

"Some articles are placed around the body of Fr. Bastian and photographed.

"Bodies of Alagaratnam and Nathan are removed from parlour by SF.

"About 5 am Fr. Bastian's body is carried by three men in uniform and placed in a mini-van and driven away.

"One of the four cans of kerosene found in the rear veranda is poured on the blood stains found in the parlour.

"5am -curfew being lifted, the nuns who were awake from midnight, are seen near the gates of their convent.

"The nuns and girls residing with them are led into the church by the SF through the door under the portico.

"Some villagers who had taken shelter for the night in the old Girl's School are led into the church. They notice blood stains on the steps.

"SF ransack the entire Convent, removing wrist watches, cash and other articles -SF open the Monstrance.

"Vehicles move into the Church premises upto the rear gate.

"About 7.30 am vehicles move out.

"About 11 am nine bodies are produced at the Mannar Hospital mortuary.

"Fr. Bastian's body not produced".

In a statement Bishop Marcus Fernando, the President of the Catholic Bishops' Conference, stated (SUN, Colombo - 8.1.85) that reports reaching him indicated the shooting was an unprovoked army attack on the church and its incumbent. The Bishop of Mannar, Rt. Rev. Thomas Savundaranayagam, in a statement (Daily News, Colombo 8.1.85) contradicting reports attributed to government sources, stated:-

"We deplore the killings of the Catholic priest, Rev. Fr. Mary Bastian, Parish priest of Vankalai, in the early hours of Sunday 6th morning at Vankalai mission house by the security forces. Fr. M. Bastian, aged 38, a dedicated pastoral worker, was deeply involved in the upliftment of the poor people in the diocese of Mannar. The Catholics of Mannar and I bemoan the cruel, inhuman and unthinkable act against a man of God. We strongly protest against the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation and other means of government mass media beaming out false news that arms and ammunition were found in the Catholic Church of Vankalai and that the church was used as a base to attack the security forces. We also condemn, Catholics of Mannar and I, together with my priests, all forms of violence and earnestly request the government to protect the lives and property of the innocent citizens of Mannar. We are afraid that this sort of action will escalate and the signs are clear and we request His Excellency the President to see that this does not happen."

In view of the widespread demands by Civil Rights organisations and the Catholic Bishops' Conference, on 9 January 1985, the Minister of National Security announced that he had asked the Inspector-General of Police for a full inquiry. The Bishop of Mannar confirmed that "On January 13 and 14 officers of the CID (Criminal Investigation Department) came to Mannar. We produced six witnesses and their statements were recorded in the police station."

Up to date, the government has not published the outcome of the police investigation.

**10 JANUARY 1985:** Ten bodies were taken by the Army to the St. Mary's burial ground in Jaffna, they were piled up in three lots and set on fire.

**6 FEBRUARY 1985:** The Army went on an indiscriminate shooting spree in Jaffna, apparently in retaliation to an attack by Tamil Militants resulting in the death of five civilians and injury to several others. Those killed included, M.D. Emanuel (48 years), Felix Anthonipillai (25), Subramaniam Sivagurunathan (54), and P.Poopalasingham (64).

**15 FEBRUARY 1985:** 58 Tamils were killed by the security forces in Mullaitivu. The Ministry of National Security claimed that they were all "terrorists". However, it was claimed by those in the Mullaitivu refugee camp that the 58 were from the 120 refugees 'missing' from the camp.

### 75 CIVILIANS KILLED : 9 MAY 1985

The Amnesty International Report (ASA/37/14/85) of 16 October 1985 has documented details of the killing of at least 75 Tamil civilians on 9 May 1985 in and around the northern coastal town of Valvettiturai, apparently in retaliation for the alleged killing of an Army Major by Tamil guerrillas.

About 40 persons were taken away from the villages of Udupidy, Polikandy and Valvettiturai and killed in two places near Vavettiturai Hospital. In one incident, at the bathing ghat, 12 young men were lined up, their hands tied behind their backs and shot at point blank range. In the other incident, 25 young men, with their hands tied, were herded into a building, housing a Community Centre at Oorani, and the building was blown up with explosives killing everyone instantly. Amnesty International has, in its judicial killing by the security forces.

The following is an extract from a sworn statement of S.... V... aged 55 years, a resident of Valvettiturai:

"My third child, V.... G.... worked as a construction labourer. He is 27 years old.

"On 9.5.1985 Valvetty was surrounded by large number of military soldiers. They captured many Tamil youths from their houses. A section of the captured youths were put in a Reading Room and the Reading Room was blasted with explosives. As a consequence over twenty youths were killed in a most gruesome manner. Another group of over 10 youths were sent into an Inn belonging to a Hindu Temple and were shot at close range. My above-mentioned son was attending to the construction of a house situated about 1 kilometre away on that day. Another boy named Rasiah Subramaniam was working along with him. Both of them were arrested by the Army and taken away.

"In the afternoon the Army moved out of Valvetty. I went in search of my son together with other neighbours. I did not find the body of my son among the dead"

A 24 year old woman whose husband was also killed on this day testified as follows:

"My husbnad Ponnuthurai Ponnampalam 33 years was a mason. I have three children by him. Eldest 8 years and last 2 years. Now I am pregnant 8 months.

"On 9th May 85 from about 4.00 am we heard sounds of explosions and firing by various weapons in our area. Neighbours said the army had surrounded the area and was firing at people and arresting youths. I was at home with my husband and children.

"At about 12.00 noon several army men walked into our compound and straightaway fired at my husband who was in the verandah. He sustained bullet injuries on his legs and fell down. We all raised cries.

"The army men came inside and dragged him by his legs. My husband wore a sarong. I also saw some other youths being arrested and removed.

"At about 4.00 pm I came to know that my husband was shot and killed at the Theertha Madam at Urani.

"I went with some relations to the spot and identified his dead body. He had severe injuries on his head and body. There were other dead bodies of young men at the madam."

Of the nearly 75 persons killed in the course of these incidents, the following are details of 42 persons:-

1. N.Sivagnanam, 20 years old;
2. S.Thanabalasingam, 34 years old;
3. J.Masilamany, 32 years old;
4. R.Senthiltheepan, 32 years old;
5. R.Bagawatsingam, 30 years old;
6. S.Kalamohan, 27 years old;
7. A.Jeyaratnarajah, 30 years old;
8. M.Sinnappu, 42 years old;
9. M.Pararajasingam, 39 years old;
10. M.Thurairajasingam, 36 years old;
11. K.Ariyasingam, 32 years old;
12. R.Velummylum, 38 years old;
13. K.Veerapillai, 37 years old;
14. V.Murugiah, 22 years old;
15. S.Tharmarajah, 26 years old;
16. T.Thevayogam, 23 years old;
17. N.Sathiyaseelan, 38 years old;
18. S.Nadarajah, 35 years old;
19. T.Thamilmathy, 19 years old;
20. K.Abimannasingam;
21. S.Rajeswaran, 24 years old;
22. K.Kanagaratnam, 22 years old;
23. N.Ratnasingam, 21 years old;
24. K.Selvan, 19 years old;
25. R.Mohanadas, 25 years old;
26. T.Puvanenthirarajah, 21 years old;
27. T.Raveenthirarajah, 26 years old;
28. K.Rajagopal, 24 years old;
29. A.Nanthakumar, 19 years old;
30. S.Kanthavanathan, 38 years old;
31. T.Visvanathan, 22 years old;
32. S.Arumugam, 45 years old;
33. K.Annalingam, 16 years old;
34. S.Krishnadas, 22 years old;
35. V.Ponnampalam, 30 years old;
36. M.Sivapathasunderam, 26 years old;
37. K.Sothilingam, 35 years old;
38. S.Sivaseharam, 25 years old;
39. Selvakumar, 19 years old;
40. Chandiran, 20 years old;
41. Son of Karthikesu, 23 years old;
42. A person from Mallakam.

Although the Government promised an investigation into these killings, there is no information as to whether an investigation in fact took place, and if so, the outcome of it.

## FERRY BOAT MASSACRE - 15 MAY 1985.

On 15 May, 48 Tamil passengers, including women and children, on a ferry boat from Delft to Nainativu, two islands off the coast of northern Jaffna peninsula, were killed by naval personnel. The Amnesty International Report (ASA 37/14/85) of 16 October 1985 documents eyewitness accounts from surviving injured passengers about this massacre and the names and ages of the victims.

Although the Minister of National Security denied that any naval personnel were responsible for the massacre, Amnesty International has received further detailed evidence about the incident which leads it to conclude that Navy personnel were involved in the killing.

The Government has failed to institute any investigation into this incident.

The following is an eyewitness account given by a survivor of this massacre:-

"We boarded the government launch 'Kumudini' at about 7.45 am on 15 May 1985....."

"On the said day when the boat had proceeded towards Nainativu Island for about half an hour, it was ordered stopped by some men who came in the fibre glass boat.

"About six men boarded 'Kumudini' while about two remained in the fibre glass boat which they tied on to 'Kumudini'.

"The six men who boarded 'Kumudini' had rifles as are carried by Naval and Army personnel.

"All of them were dressed variously in blue longos or shorts and T-shirts.

"However, the blue longos and shorts worn by them made me realise that these men were army personnel.

"All the passengers and crew were ordered to enter the forepart of the boat and ordered below deck there, leaving the aft section and the driving cabin completely free.

"All the passengers thus forced into the aft section were made to repeatedly shout out their names, status, locality and where bound to.

"One man pointing out a gun shouted out such an order in broken Tamil. If anybody lowered his voice they would threaten to shoot him unless he raised his voice.

"As the passengers were made to shout in this manner, one from the crowd of passengers was called at a time and led into the aft

section."I nor the others in the fore section knew what was happening to each person who was lead away in this manner owing to the din created by the forced shouting of passengers.

"After about 12 persons had been called into the aft section in this manner we heard the report of a gun and I saw a body falling overboard and being washed alongside the boat. I was able to see this as I was standing.

" When it came to my turn I went towards the aft section. On approaching it I saw blood all over and cut pieces of human

bodies. At this juncture I shouted and refused to move. I was then hit on the head and I fell. I felt that I was dragged and cut on my head by some kind of a hatchet. I received further injuries on my stomach and legs and fell between the boards of the bottom of the boat. I pretended to be dead and lay there. I felt further bodies falling on mine and the cries of distress of men and women.

"About 45 minutes later I heard the fibre-glass boat being started and going away....."

"Of the men who were engaged in this attack I was able to identify one of them as a navy personnel whom I have seen in the said area and is from Nainativu Island Naval Camp".

## THE THAMBILUVIL MASSACRE 17MAY 1985

The following account is reproduced with the kind courtesy of Amnesty International from its Report on "Disappearances", September 1986 :-

In late May 1985 the international press, including Le Monde, The Times, The Guardian and Reuters, carried increasingly detailed reports of what was described as a massacre carried out by the STF at Thambiluvil near the coastal town of Kalmunai, Ammparai district in the Eastern Province.

According to these reports an estimated 60-63 people from the villages of Naipattimunai ( also described as Natpattimunai), Thiruneelavenai and Chenaikudiyiruppu had been arrested and shot by STF personnel between 16 and 18 May 1985. Several of them were reported to have been shot dead at the time of arrest and their bodies taken away. But an estimated 40 of those arrested, mostly aged between 18 and 25 years, were reportedly taken 18 miles south to a place near Thambiluvil cemetery, ordered to dig their own graves and then shot. Their bodies were allegedly later removed by STF personnel responsible for the shooting to a place in the Batticaloa district, and cremated in secret. A foreign correspondent of The Daily Telegraph, London, visited the place where the alleged incident took place a week later. In a report from Thambiluvil, dated 25 May 1985, the correspondent said he found the spot 'identifiable by three separate segments of freshly overturned sand that outline the mass graves and the intermittent clumps of human hair still littering the scene.' The report concluded that 'there can be no doubt that the killing took place on the morning of Friday, May 17'. However, till now, the Sri Lanka Government has persistently denied that either the arrests or the secret killings took place. The official position is that, on 17 May, there had been a confrontation between the STF and the 'terrorists' in which six of the latter were killed.

The STF operates in the Eastern Province where, during late 1984 and the first months of 1985, armed Tamil groups increased their activities, killing police officers as well as STF personnel. STF personnel, in charge of security in the area, usually operate on their own against armed Tamil groups or their sus-

pected members although they sometimes carry out operations in cooperation with the army. At the time of the May events, one Co-ordinating Officer was in charge of security for the adjoining Batticaloa and Amparai districts. His responsibilities included police stations in the two districts, the STF camps in Kalluwanchikudy and Kallady, two Army and Air Force units, the Police, the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) and the Special Investigation Unit of the Intelligence Bureau (SIU). The incident took place on 17 May, three days after 146 Sinhalese civilians, women and children among them, had been killed in Anuradhapura. An armed Tamil group was widely held responsible for the killings ( see section 2.1.). In the following days reprisal killings of unarmed Tamil civilians by Army personnel were reported from Anuradhapura and by Navy personnel from the island of Delft in the north where the victims were men, women and children on a ferry boat. The government denied navy personnel were responsible for the killings on the ferry boat. According to some reports the alleged secret killings by the STF at Thambiluvil, also denied by the government, were part of the reprisal killings then carried out by members of the security forces. Amnesty International has received detailed reports, including sworn statements by eyewitnesses, about what happened on 17 May. According to these reports, STF personnel travelling in jeeps arrested, in the morning, several dozen young men from the villages of Naipattimunai, Thiruneelavenai and Chenaikudiyiruppu in the Eastern district of Batticaloa and Amparai. In the latter two villages, they are also reported to have shot at unarmed villagers, removing the victims and their belongings immediately afterwards. Amnesty International has three sworn statements about such shootings, extracts from which are given below. The wife of one of the victims from Chenaikudiyiruppu stated :

" .... On the 17th. of May 1985 at about 8 a.m. I heard that my husband .... was shot in the field at Thuraivanthiyamedu, I ran to the said field.

" I verily state that some people who were present there informed me that the commando officers who had come in a jeep, called my husband and he, with his arms raised went towards them. The commandos shot him, put him in the jeep and took him away.

" I verily state that I made inquiries from the STF camps in the Batticaloa and Amparai Districts but I am unable to get any information about the whereabouts or the fate of my husband ....."

There are similar reports of such arrests, shootings and removal of the victims by STF personnel from the nearby village of Thiruneelavenai, three-and-a-half miles from Kalmunai. In a sworn affidavit, one woman stated :

".... on this particular day in question ( 17 May 1985 ), while my husband was bathing, the Special Task Force aimed at him, when he had prayed ... at them not to kill him, but, the bullets penetrated through the skull and the skull is blasted into many pieces. In addition to this act of killing, they too have carried the body along with them, leaving few pieces of the skull at the spot..."

Before arriving at Chenaikudiyiruppu and Thiruneelavenai, STF personnel had reportedly travelled early in the morning, between 5.30 a.m. and 6.15 a.m., in at least eight jeeps at Naipattimunai, a village one mile from the coastal town of Kalmunai. In Naipattimunai, which has some 5,000 inhabitants, 90 per centum of them Tamils, they took away several dozen young men, most from their homes. Some of the relatives were told they would be released the same day 'if their name was not on the list'. They have never been seen again. Amnesty International has the names of 28 people reportedly arrested from Naipattimunai. In many cases eyewitnesses testified to their arrest by STF personnel. One of these accounts, testifying to the arrest of six young men from the village, was given at the start of this report. One of the six was Thambimuthu Packiarajah, whose father, in a sworn statement, described how he was taken away :

".... In the morning of Friday 17 May 1985, I was informed by neighbours at about 5.30 a.m. that several officers of the Sri Lanka Special Task Force also known commonly as 'Commando Unit', heavily armed with a variety of automatic and other fire-arms arrived in army jeeps in the vicinity of my house at Naipattimunai and entered several houses and arrested several youths and took them away. My son Thambimuthu Packiarajah who had gone out for morning ablutions had also been arrested and taken away.

" I with other neighbours ran up to the main road to see if we could plead for the release of the arrested youths but the convoy of jeeps (was) already moving away northwards ..."

According to these reports, an estimated 40 young men, together with the bodies of those already shot at Thiruneelavenai, were reportedly driven southwards from the village and, on the same morning, taken to an area 200 yards north of the Thambiluvil cemetery, near Tirukovil, where they were ordered to dig graves, bury the bodies of those already shot, and were then themselves lined up and shot dead. One of the parents described in a sworn statement how, on 17 May, the day his son was taken away, he heard :

".... reports from people which my neighbours and I could not verify or confirm, that the said party of Special Task Force Officers had raided some other nearby villages to the north of ours where they arrested some more youths as well as shot dead a few youths and took their bodies and proceeded south, without going to their camps at Kalluwanchikudy and, Kallady, Batticaloa, and at a place called Periya Muhathuvaram, near the Thambiluvil cemetery, about 18 miles south of our village, shot dead the arrested youths, and buried their corpses and those of the already dead youths, and returned to camp with no one in custody ....."

When reports that their sons had been shot reached the parents that day they immediately informed the Kalmunai Citizens Committee. On 18 May, the President of the Committee, Paul Nallanayagam, who was then warden of a Methodist Orphanage in Kalmunai, contacted the Co-ordinating Officer of the area and was reportedly informed that some arrests had been made, that their had been a few deaths of 'terrorists' in the neighbourhood and that he should check at the Kallady Camp. On 18 and 19 May, Paul Nallanayagam, accompanied by several of the parents of the

young men reportedly taken away from Naipattim-unai, visited the Kallady Camp and established that they were not being held there. One of the relatives said in a sworn statement :

" .... on... 18th May 1985 (we) were told to wait outside and meet the youths as about 15 of them were to be released shortly, but found that those who were released were youths from other villages arrested some weeks earlier. We were then informed to call over again the next day and when we did, Mr.Nallanayagam on our behalf was allowed to go to the detention cells and call out the names of the arrested youths. He did so but found none of them was among those detained there."

Thereafter, at the request of Paul Nallanayagam, the Co-ordinating Officer directed the Superintendent of Police, Batticaloa, to investigate the matter. Accordingly, on 20 May, relatives of 23 of the 'disappeared' had their statements recorded at the CID office in Batticaloa. Immediately afterwards, the Superintendent of Police, together with a police party, five of the parents and Paul Nallanayagam went to the place where the missing young men were allegedly shot and buried. They arrived there in the afternoon of 20 May. One of the parents, in a sworn affidavit, stated that on arrival, villagers living closeby directed them to the site. The father of Thambimuthu Packiarajah stated:

".... villagers in the neighbourhood showed an area adjacent to the cemetery as the place the youths had been shot and buried. There, several jeep tracks and mounds indicating recent digging and refilling were visible. The Superintendent of Police ... called me to inspect a shirt and sarong discovered on the spot and I identified them as those worn by my said son Packiarajah when he was arrested. The Superintendent of Police then showed me an Identity Card found in the pocket on the shirt and read out my son's name. I identified as my son's Identity Card. The ground was then dug up at one place on the orders of the Superintendent of Police. A human body was found buried. It could not be dug out completely or the face exposed as the soft sand was collapsing back as fast as it was dug up and dusk was falling. This body was not identified...."

The Superintendent of Police said that investigations would have to be continued the next day as it was getting dark. He also said that a magistrate's order for the exhumation of the body would be obtained and a post-mortem would be held by the District Medical Officer. The parents were told by the police not to speak to anyone about what had happened and to be present at the Akkaraipattu police station the next morning. However, the next day, investigations were abruptly discontinued. It has been reported that shortly after the visit, on the night of 20/21 May, STF personnel had dug up and removed the body which the group of police and parents had found the previous day. Local residents reportedly noticed that the body was being taken from the place of burial towards Batticaloa by the smell of putrefaction coming from the van used for transport. According to one of the parents: "Reports from people which I have had no means to verify or confirm, indicated that officers of the Special Task Force went in a convoy of vehicles including a lorry and dug up and removed corpses from the said burial site on Sunday, the 19th. May 1985 and again on Tuesday, 21st. May."

Most of the bodies were reportedly removed by

between six and eight STF personnel, possibly on 18 May. According to press reports, the STF felt uneasy at receiving information that the bodies had been exhumed shortly after the alleged shootings, photographed and reburied by members of a Tamil group who had travelled to the site of the incident as soon as they heard reports of the killings. The bodies were reportedly taken north by STF personnel in the direction of Kaluwanchikudy STF camp and disposed of in secret. However, according to the press reports, not all bodies were removed on 18 May and STF personnel returned to the spot again, on 20/21 May allegedly to remove the body found the previous day by the group led by the Superintendent of Police, Batticaloa.

The official position remains that none of the 'disappeared' had been arrested by STF personnel or killed and buried in secret. On 26 June 1985, the Superintendent of Police and Co-ordinating Officer of the Batticaloa and Amparai districts stated:

"I instructed the Superintendent of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Batticaloa... to conduct investigations into this complaint and he reported back that the persons alleged to be missing had neither been arrested by the Special Task Force nor secretly buried."

However, during the trial of Paul Nallanayagam between March and July 1986 on charges connected with the Naipattim-unai incident the judge observed: 'no Special Task Force officer has given evidence regarding this operation or even denied the allegation made by the 23 parents'. Nor has any proper investigation been held to establish the whereabouts or fate of the 'disappeared' men. The investigation by the Superintendent of Police, CID accompanied by some of the parents and Paul Nallanayagam on the late afternoon of the 20 May 1985, was abruptly stopped for reasons unknown to Amnesty International. Nor are the police known to have made further attempts to obtain information about the incident from local residents of the area where the shooting and burial is said to have taken place. Instead, the government arrested Paul Nallanayagam days after he and the police had visited the place where the alleged incident took place and there found the belongings of Thambimuthu Packiarajah, who has since 'disappeared'.

#### **FAMILY MASSACRED - 24.5.85.**

A 65 - year old cultivator from Pankulam in Trincomalee who left the area as a refugee testified in a sworn statement as to how on 24 May Air Force personnel surrounded a house and killed all the inmates:-

"I am a cultivator and have been living with my late wife, Valliamma, aged 55 years and youngest son Thevanayagam aged 19 years at Pankulam..."

"On 24.5.85 Friday night at about 9 pm when my wife Valliamma was engaged in a domestic work at one Mr.Thamotharampillai's

house she was shot dead by the Air Force who had surrounded that area.

"The firing continued at random and eight members of Mr.Thamotharampillai's family other than Mr.Thamotharampillai were shot dead.Mr.Thamotharampillai at that time was in a shop next to his house.

"After the Air Force left the place at about 9.30 pm I ran to Mr.Thamotharampillai's house and saw my wife and eight others shot dead.They were lying in pools of blood.

"On 25.5.85 a Magisterial inquiry was held and after the inquiry we dug three graves and buried all nine dead bodies.

"Fearing to stay further, I fled to Kallumalai forest with my son and stayed there for three days...."

### MASSACRE OF 37 TAMILS - 31.5.85.

On 31 May 1985, security service personnel including Home Guards went on a rampage at Thanganagar, Killiveddy in Trincomalee in the course of which they looted and set fire to all the properties.They also took into custody 38 young men who were transported in a bus and shot near a bridge.Only one survived to tell the tale.The following is an account by a 54 year old former resident of Killiveddy whose son also was one of those shot and killed on this occasion:-

"My family consisting of my wife and three sons were residents living in our own house at Thanganagar and doing farming prior to 31.5.85.I had been resident at Thanganagar for over 35 years.

"On 31.5.85 at about 7 pm Police and Home Guards with dangerous weapons attacked our village.

"All the villagers fled to the jungles and my family and I too joined the villagers except my son, Wijyaratnam,aged 20 years,who had left to the nearby shop to buy some provisions.

"I was informed when I was in hiding in the jungles that 38 youths of our village were taken into custody including my son Wijyaratnam.

"All the houses in our village were looted and set on fire.On the following morning all of us went to the village and found all the houses almost reduced to ashes. All the villagers walked about 4 miles and joined the Refugee Camp at Thoppur. Of those arrested by the Police on 31.5.85,Rasih Balasunderam the only one who had escaped came to the Refugee Camp at Thoppur on 4.6.85 with injuries and informed that all those youths taken into custody with him were taken to Allai bridge in a C.T.B. bus and shot by the Police killing 37 youths and that he alone had managed to escape."

In another incident, 9 civilians, including 6 women and one child, were killed by the security forces at Nilaveli in apparant retaliation to the death of a member of the Air Force during a shoot-out with Tamil guerrillas.

**3 JUNE 1985 - Trincomalee:-** The armed forces went on the rampage at Trincomalee killing at least 13 civilians and injuring several others who were travelling in a bus at which they fired indiscriminately. Of the 13 bodies at the Trincomalee mortuary, six were identified - S.Dharmapalan, Postmaster of Pankulam; Miss.Parameswary Kumarasamy(51), a retired teacher; S.Subramaniam of the National Housing Dep-

artment; Mrs. P.Sivanathan and her mother, Iyamuthu. The injured included three women and a 3-month old infant.

**5 JUNE 1985 - Trincomalee:-** Security forces in two helicopters sprayed bullets into the village of Triyai killing several people. When the people ran into the scrub jungle for cover, Army men in a convoy of Army trucks went into the village, set fire to all the houses in the village, and shot dead all the animals. They destroyed the library, school, post office and Hindu temple, and set fire to tractors and other vehicles.

All villages in the Muthur area were attacked by the security forces assisted by armed Sinhalese. The villages included Thoppur, Barathipuram, Malikaitivu, Manalchenai, Kiliveddi, Puliadicholai, Lingapuram, Thangaveli and Sankuveli. The number of deaths is estimated to be over 200, many more had gone 'missing'. Over 1000 houses were burnt.

**14 JUNE 1985 - Mannar:-** Some men in khaki uniform went into a remote village called Kokudiyar about two miles from Cheddiyar Kaddaiakampan, Mannar, on 14 June 1985 about 9 am and took away 10 persons into the jungle and shot them.

Later in the day, the following were found dead with gunshot injuries:Mahalingam Murugiah - 60 years, married; Kathiravel Tharmalingam - 56 years, married;Murugiah Kanes - 37 years, married.

The bodies of four others were found only on 15 June as they had been taken separately to other areas. They were: Mookan Navasivayam - 23 years, married; K.Ramasamy - 20 years, not married.

Three more people were shot dead and burnt on 14 June at Adampanthalvu, near Vattakandal. They were S.Alexander - father of 9 children; S.Arokiam - father of 2 children; S.Anthony - father of 6 children.

### THE VAVUNIYA MASSACRE - 16 AUGUST 1985

Over 200 Tamils were killed when the Army went on the rampage in Vavuniya indiscriminately shooting in the city. Christopher Moore, the correspondent of the London Guardian (18.6.85), reported from Vavuniya:-

"Vavuniya is a town in shock. Its shops and bazaars closed, its streets empty and the only visible activity the collection and the burial of the dead. More than two hundred people may have died during the last three days, according to reliable sources.

"Vavuniya's agony began on Friday, when Tamil separatists detonated a landmine as an army patrol was returning to camp on the outskirts of the town. The attack was apparently mis-timed because no soldiers were reported injured. But dazed by the explosion by their assailants, the soldiers took immediate retaliation against Tamils living close by.

"For at least an hour after the explosion, which happened at about 5 am, there was the sound of continuous gunfire all over the area. One eyewitness described what happened when troops smashed down the gates of the compound where he and several families were living: 'We all ran to the main house and hid in one room, about 47 people. We could hear the soldiers shouting in Sinhalese. One soldier came in and took us outside. Three soldiers made us line up. One soldier, he was about 10 feet away, loaded a magazine into his machine gun. We were screaming. The other soldiers began firing. I fell down, pretending to be dead, with my son at my side'.

"The witness, the clerk for a prominent local lawyer, said that after half an hour soldiers and the police chief returned to collect bodies. The survivors were eventually allowed to go into the town to take refuge in the Catholic Church. On the way they passed more bodies and saw two trailers loaded with corpses being driven off in the direction of the army camp.

Once the killing had stopped the looting began. Eyewitnesses described how Sinhalese civilians joined the army in raiding Tamil-owned property in the vicinity of the army camp, while troops drew a protective cordon around the district. One eyewitness said he hid for the entire day in an outside lavatory, while soldiers and civilians looted the rice mill where he worked.

"One Saturday afternoon I attended a funeral service for two Tamil victims - a mother and her teenage daughter, their faces scarred after being dragged along the ground. Even as the service was going on, two more dead Tamils were delivered on the back of a lorry with gunshot wound bound up with rags. They had been shot that morning in an outlying village by troops who had landed in a helicopter as they carried out a search for guerrillas.

"All normal life in Vavuniya had come to a standstill. When I arrived there was virtually nobody on the streets. All the shops in the bazaar were shuttered. There were hundreds of Tamils at the railway station, loaded with possessions and jostling each other in a mad scramble to get out of town. It was the same scene when I left on Sunday morning. I travelled part of the way to Colombo with the local government agent, Mr.K.C.Logeswaran. He estimated that not fewer than 200 people must have died in the army violence. Other Tamil sources put the total number of dead much higher".

The government announced that it would cause an investigation by a 'Military Commission'. So far there is no information as to whether, in fact, an investigation was instituted, and if so, with what results.

### **LOOTING AND KILLINGS AT MURUGAPURI FROM 4-10 SEPTEMBER 1985.**

The village of Murugapuri in the Trincomalee district is a well-to-do area with many tourist guest houses and fairly large houses. Beginning 4 September 1985, 'Home Guards' with armed thugs descended on the village firing shots. They went on a rampage, their main preoccupation being looting every house and shop. The same exercise continued on the following days. On 7 September, Air Force personnel began firing into the village from helicopters which continued on 8-9 September. All the shops and homes were set on fire and the people abandoned their villages and took refuge in the jungle. Several people were killed. Two dead bodies, identified as those of Sinnathurai (85) and Navaratnam (50) were found lying within the nearby Hindu temple. A hotel mana-

ger named Menon (61) was found killed inside his burnt out hotel.

On 10.9.85 when the people approached to recover the dead bodies, armed Home Guards and thugs fired shots preventing them removing the bodies. It was on 11.9.85 that some of the bodies were removed by the relatives of the victims and buried in secrecy and without ceremony. (This account is a summarised version of an eyewitness who was a resident of the village).

### **"OPERATION NILAVELI" 16-17 SEPTEMBER 1985.**

On 18 September 1985 the state-controlled Daily News (Colombo) reported: "This operation, described as the biggest in recent times, was aimed at a camp in Nilaveli. 46 terrorists were dead, 84 surrendered in a 12-hour offensive". The impression sought to be given by the government was that the offensive operation mounted in Nilaveli, a coastal village near Trincomalee, was against the Tamil guerrillas.

The fact as reported by eyewitnesses (Saturday Review - 28.9.85)

was that as at the time of this operation on 16.9.85, Nilaveli was full of Tamil refugees having fled from other villages around Mullaitivu and Trincomalee following violence by security forces, 'House Guards', and armed Sinhalese settlers. They thought that Nilaveli was a safe place. Hundreds took refuge at St. Anthony's church and in some empty hotels. It might be that here were some Tamil guerrillas too at Nilaveli.

However, the 'operation' by the security forces in which 12 armoured vehicles, 6 tanks, 2 helicopters and gunboats took part, left several innocent civilians, including women and children, dead, many of whom were refugees from the other areas.

The details of the 'operation' are best seen through the eyes of a refugee now at Mullaitivu.

"We came to Nilaveli as refugees from Veeranagar after the attack there and we were temporarily housed at the premises of St. Anthony's church, my husband myself and 3 children along with 10 other families. At about 5 am on 16 September we heard gun shots and immediately after several soldiers rushed into the church premises. We ran in panic only to find that the whole area had been cordoned off. Later, all of us were 'arrested' by the security forces and herded inside the church. They asked my husband whether he could pluck some king coconuts but as he could not climb, Thurainayagam (35) came forward and plucked some king coconuts for them. We were kept inside the church till about 7.30pm. without food or drink. In the meantime some of our youngsters were taken away. The security forces left us about 7.30pm and we decided to leave the church and vanish into the nearby Kochithoddam. Thereafter, we reached the sea-shore through the jungles.

"On the way we saw about 40 brutally slain bodies of women, youths and children. Among them I could identify the body of



Thurainayagam who plucked king coconuts at their bidding to quench their thirst. On the sea-shore I saw a burnt plastic boat with 3 partially burnt bodies."

An old man who was in the Pilot Hotel Refugee Camp narrated this story:

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

Several eyewitnesses described that on September 17 Navy personnel and Home Guards went about deliberately killing Tamil civilians in their homes. The victims included women and children.

One eyewitness testified that she saw her mother, her one-and-a-half year old sister and 19 year old brother being shot at point-blank range at their home at Thuwarankadu in Trincomalee:

"....that on September 17 1985 the Navy and the Home Guards came to our area shooting at random. That on hearing reports of gun-fire, as our father had gone for work, my mother took all of us and went to the adjoining house for shelter. That while we were there they came and shot dead my mother who was feeding my younger sister....(x) aged 1 1/2 years and (x) also died. That later they shot all of us and that my brother .... aged 9 years also died..."

A woman testified in a sworn statement as to how her 31 year old husband, a father of three young children, was shot and killed at Thuwarankadu on the same day (17.9.85):-

"That on 17 September 1985 about 12 noon some Navy men and Home Guards came to our area shooting and killing Tamil people. That they entered our house and after checking my husband's National Identity Card, called my husband outside saying that they wanted to find out something from him. That when we raised cries, they asked us not to worry. That I ran out to the road when my husband was taken out. That they shot and killed my husband on the road. That they shot at me and I received a gunshot injury on my thigh and was in Hospital...."

Another woman testified to the deliberate killing of her 55-year old father and her brother-in-law and the shooting of her sister:-

"That I was living with my father.... age 55 years at Thuwarankadu, Trincomalee. That on September 17, 1985 some Navy men and Home Guards came to our area. That through fear my father and I ran to the adjoining house of my sister.... That the said Navy and Home Guards personnel came to my sister's house and checked the National Identity Card of my father.... and brother-in-law.... That they took my father and brother-in-law to the road. That when we raised cries they said they would not do anything to them and that they want to inquire something from them. That when we ran on to the road they shot dead my father and brother-in-law, and injured my sister."

Among those killed on 17 September included the following:-

1. Mrs. Gangathevy Gunarajah, married with seven children, from Thuwarankadu
2. Mathialagan Gunarajah, 9 years old, from Thuwarankadu
3. Vasikala Gunarajah, 1 1/2 years old, from Thuwarankadu
4. Muthukumar Kidnapillai, married with 6 children, from Niaveli

5. Kandiah Loganathan, 32 years old, from Nilaveli
6. Subramaniam Manickam, 42 years old, from Nilaveli
7. Kandan Manickam, 55 years old, married, from Thuwarankadu
8. Sithravelu Marimuthu, elderly man, married, with 5 children, from Niaveli
9. Mrs. Velu Ponnammah, 45 years old, married, from Nilaveli
10. Vellayan Thiruchelvam, 21 years, married, from Thuwarankadu. In the whole "Nilaveli Operation", Citizens Committees of the area estimate the number of persons killed to be over 150.

### HOME GUARDS KILL 15 TAMILS - 20 SEPTEMBER 1985

Fifteen Tamils were shot dead and 10 more injured when some 'Home Guards' entered a house at Kalvettu in Sri Lanka's Eastern Amparai District and opened fire on a group of people watching a video film on the night of 20 September 1985.

### FOURTEEN PERSONS DELIBERATELY KILLED - 2 October, 1985

The following is an extract from Amnesty International Report dated 30 April 1986:-

During a search operation in the Killinochi area on 2 October 1985, apparently for persons responsible for a previous attack on the Killinochi Police Station allegedly by armed Tamil separatists, the government announced that 18 rebels were killed on 2 October 1985 and that security forces had captured a large camp at Visvamadu, between Pudukudiruppu and Killinochi. According to reports in the Daily News, 3 October 1985 the spokesman said patrols looking for the Killinochi 'gang' had confronted the group and engaged them in battle, killing six 'terrorists' in the first exchange, and that 12 more had died in the fighting that followed.

However, according to reports from eyewitnesses to the events, at least 14 of the victims were un-armed Tamil civilians deliberately shot after having been taken away from their houses. According to these reports, five helicopters carrying Army personnel landed at Piramanthana, Visvamadu, Mullaitivu district, at 6 am on 2 October 1985. It is reported that during a subsequent search campaign, Army personnel set fire to houses and killed 14 unarmed Tamil civilians of the area, in many cases after capturing them and tying their hands behind their backs. Eight of the men were shot at the 40th canal which runs along the east side of the Mullaitivu Road, the side being covered with bushes. Several witnesses were present at the time of their capture by the Army personnel, heard them shouting and found the dead bodies of relatives at the place of capture, along the 40th canal. We quote here from several of the 10 sworn statements given by relatives who witnessed the arrest of persons killed and who found their bodies later with bullet wounds with their hands tied behind their backs. Some reported they were themselves beaten but chased away. One witness travelling with her husband on a push cycle along the road described how:



"On the 2nd October 1985, there were about 5 helicopters hovering over the place in the morning and we heard gunshot noise and blasting of bombs. My husband and I got out on a push cycle to go to Tharmapuram to my parents home there. On our way we had to pass the 40th canal and while we were passing the place some troops all of a sudden appeared from the canal and pulled my husband to the canal and I too followed him. I was beaten up by the butt of the gun and chased away and my husband was taken to the other side of the canal and his sarong was torn and his eyes and hands tied up with same and two soldiers were cordoning him. After sometime I heard some gun shots near the place where my husband was detained. After few hours (the) wife of ... and ... and I went towards the canal and saw there were seven or more dead bodies lying there and I identified my husband's dead body. The dead bodies of Sivapathasunderam, the trader, Gamini, Arul, Chandrathasan, Selan etc. were there. The hands and eyes of four people were found tied with cloth. There were gunshot injuries on all these dead bodies and they were bleeding profusely. There were gunshot injuries on the forehead and mouth of my husband...."

Another witness was present when three Tamil men were taken away, had their hands tied and were taken to the canal:

"On 2.10.85 there were helicopters flying over our place. Later I went to my brother.....'s house in the same compound and could see the troops taking away my husband and the other two who went with him after surrounding them. They were tied in the hands and after sometime they were taken in a row towards the kade(shop) nearby. Later I heard six or seven gunshots from the canal side.... Later we saw my husband lying dead with gunshot injuries on his mouth and ears ..."

Amnesty International has several similar eyewitness accounts of persons who saw their relatives being captured by Army personnel and taken to the canal side to be shot.

The same morning 36 Tamils who had come to the shop of Kidnar Sivapathasunderam near the 40th canal, were arrested and beaten by army personnel, had their hands tied but were able to escape.

One person stated:-

"On the 2nd October 1985..... I went to the shop belonging to Sivapathasunderam and when I reached the shop to my shock I found Armed Personnel inside the kade(shop) and they beat me up and tied my hands behind my shoulders and asked me and others whose hands were tied up to wait in the shop till they returned.... There were altogether 36 such people tied up and seated.... I asked a boy.... to untie my hands and I escaped."

However, Kidnar Sivapathasunderam of Bramandam Kulam of Visvamadu, the shopkeeper, was reportedly shot after security forces personnel had returned to his shop and found the 36 Tamil men were no longer kept there.

According to a person witnessing his arrest:-

"That on 2 October 1985 the Sri Lanka Security Forces suddenly came early morning at about 6.30 a.m. to our area. That they came to the shop and arrested all people who had come to the shop, tied their hands behind.... and locked them in the shop. That a little while later they came to the shop and took.... (K Sivapathasunderam) away. That later in the day I was told that they had shot him dead near a temple... That the house and belongings were set ablaze by the security forces later."

Those killed at Piramanthanaru, Visvamadu, on 2 October 1985 were:-

1. Suppiah Arunasalam, married with three children
2. Vallipuram Ganeshamoorthy, 29 years old
3. P Packianathan, 21 years old
4. P. Gamini Priyatilleke, married with two children
5. M Ramasamy
6. K Sothilingam, 21 years old
7. N Sathiyalingam
8. Rajan Sathiyaselan, 26 years old
9. Karupiah Selvarasa
10. Kidnar Sivapathasunderam, 33 years old, married with three children
11. Sinniah Soundrarajan, 25 years old, married with one child
12. Karupiah Tharmalingam, 23 years old, married
13. Vallipuram Vivekanandan, 24 years old
14. Suppiah Yogarasa (Rasan), 22 years old, married

### FIVE KILLED AT TEMPLE:

1 November 1985.

On 1 November 1985, a helicopter with eight Army personnel landed near the Pillayar Hindu Temple at Mulankavil. Soon afterwards the army personnel arrested six passers-by at about 11 a.m. at the temple until 4 p.m. when they took off by helicopter after they had shot and killed five of the six captured men. A woman who witnessed the killing by the Army personnel testified as follows:-

"On 1.11.85 at about 11 a.m. my husband went to the Government Dispensary to dress an old wound in his leg. From 9.30 a.m. a helicopter was hovering closer to Mulankavil village and there was tension at the village. A few Army personnel were brought in helicopter and landed close to the Pillayar Temple. My late husband failed to return from the hospital till 4 p.m. and as such I went in search of him to the bazaar. When I was close to the temple gunshots were heard from that direction. When I reached the Temple I saw Army personnel firing at my husband and four others and they fell down. After firing Army personnel got into the helicopter which was landed in front of the Temple, and left.... I went close to my husband and found him dead with four others. The dead body of my husband bore a gunshot in his face...."

The five victims of this shooting were:-

1. Subramaniam Sivarasa, 34-year old farmer, married with three children
2. Chelliah Asokan, a 21-year old labourer, married with one child
3. Kuddithamby Sivarasathurai, a 37-year old labourer, married with three children
4. Sivan Achary Thangarasa, a 42-year old labourer, married with children
5. Asirvathen Jayenthan, 25 years old

### KILLED AND BODIES

BURNT: 8.11.85

On 8 November 1985 Army personnel arrived at Kadalkaraichenai sea coast, moved towards the villages of Chenayur and Kaddaiparichchan and shot eight Tamil men either in their houses or at Kaddaiparichchan junction after taking them away from their homes.

One witness from the village of Chenayur was present when her 58-year old husband and her son were shot in her house by security forces personnel and stated that the bodies were later burnt by them. In a sworn statement she said:-

"That at about 9 a.m. on 8.11.85 suddenly some security forces entered our compound and without any question shot and killed my husband who was inside our house and thereafter shot and killed my son .... aged 20 years in our compound itself and thereafter set fire to the house with the dead body of my husband and later set fire to the dead body of my son..... to ...."

Another witness from Kaddaiparichchan was present at the arrest of her husband by armed personnel. She heard shooting and subsequently found him dead:-

"On 8th day of November 1985 my husband was staying in our house. At the time some people in army uniform came to our house and they took my husband .... and asked him to show them the place called Kaddaiparichchan. They told me that they would bring him back. He was taken about 200 yards from house into the jungle. I heard the firing of guns. When I went into the jungle I saw my husband's sarong with blood. I cried. I proceeded further and found a tiled house. Then I saw 8 burnt corpses including my husband's ...."

The details of the persons shot on 8 November 1985 at Chenayur and Kaddaiparichchan are as follow:-

1. Mahendrarajah Arasaratnam
2. Sebastianpillai Antony Gabriel, 21 years old
3. Thambirasa Kalirasa, 23 years old, married with 2 children
4. T.Mahanarajah, 20 years old
5. Marimuthu Sivarasa, 30 years old, married, with four children
6. Kanapathipillai Tharmalingam, 58 years, married with 3 children
7. Kanapathipillai Vijaykumar, a 32-year old worker
8. Thambipillai Jeevarajah, 28 years, married with 2 children

#### **KILLINGS AT KANTALAI - 9 TO 11 NOVEMBER 1985**

On 9 November a group of Army personnel went into the village of Kantalai in the Trincomalee District and obtained details of inmates of all homes belonging to Tamils. In the course of this 'operation' the male members were assaulted and threatened with death. They entered the Hindu temple and assaulted the priest.

On 11 November at about midnight, Army personnel came into the village in vehicles along Temple Road and tapped on the doors of several houses. Many did not open their doors out of fear. The Army entered the home of one Soundariamamma and took her son Ratnasingham, aged 33, into custody. Then they took into custody four persons from one Mylvaganam's house: 1) M Rajeswary, female, aged 24 years; 2) M Shanthi, female, aged 20 years; 3) K Shunmugarajah, male, aged 35 years; and 4) N Thevarajah, male, aged 34 years. When Mrs. Mylvaganam cried, Army personnel threatened her and removed her matrimonial gold chain which she was wearing round her neck at that time. Then the Army personnel went into the adjoining house and took into custody, V Kugendrarajah, a male aged 30 years.

At about 2 am the Army drove off taking with them the six persons they had taken into custody. The dead bodies of all six were found next morning with gunshot injuries and the females with cut injuries to their breasts.

The bodies were subsequently taken by the police to the mortuary at Trincomalee base hospital and later released to relatives following inquests. On the following day newspapers carried the story of this incident as : "Tamil terrorists kill six Tamils".

(This account is a summarised version of a report by the multi-ethnic Trincomalee Citizens' Committee for National Harmony).

#### **REPRISAL KILLING OF 9 CIVILIANS - 13 NOVEMBER 1985.**

Five police commandos travelling in a jeep were injured in a land mine explosion allegedly planted by a Tamil guerrilla group on 13 November 1985 in Lake Road, Batticaloa.

A group of police commandos arrived at the scene within ten minutes after the incident and rounded up civilians from the area, particularly living along Suriya Lane and Angel Road. Some time later the commandos then ordered the arrested men to run and shot them dead as they ran.

When this incident occurred the Committee for Monitoring Cessation of Hostilities was hearing evidence of ceasefire violations at the Batticaloa Town Hall. The committee members visited the scene of the explosion and where the shooting of the civilians had taken place. The Committee also heard evidence from the security forces and civilian eyewitnesses. Witnesses from the security forces claimed that the deaths of the nine civilians occurred in the course of "cross-fire".

The post-mortem reports of the dead disclosed the following details:

- 1) S Sithran (19 years), 1/2" x 1/2" on middle back, 1/2"x1/2" on right upper arm, 1/2"x1/2" on left upper arm, 3"x2" on left thigh;
- 2) K Ravirajan (30 years), 1/2"x1/2" on back side of left side of neck, 1/2"x1/2" on right loin;
- 3) S Vasanthakumar (16 years), 1/2"x1/2" on right side of neck; 4) S Kanagarajah (22years), 1/2"x1/2" on back side of left shoulder, 1/2"x1/2" on left loin , 1/2"x1/2" on middle of front of right side of chest;
- 5) P Vaseekaran (23 years) 1/2"x1/2" on middle of left side of back;
- 6) N Selvarasa (20years) 1/2"x1/2" on middle part of left side of chest;
- 7) P Manojkumar (18 years) 1/2"x1/2" on middle part of right side of back;
- 8) Thusar Koilaparampil (20years) 1/2"x1/2" on back side of right shoulder, 1"x1/2" on left upper arm;
- 9) K Robert (17years) 1/2"x1/2" on left loin 1/2"x1/2" on lower part of right side of front of chest, 4"x3" on front of left thigh.

It would be seen that of the nine above-mentioned persons, six had been shot from the back, two from the side and one from in front. Of these nine, four were killed by a single bullet each. The Committee for Monitoring Cessation of Hostilities rejected the claim of the 'Cross-fire' because a) there were no injured survivors; b) there were no casualties among the security forces; c) there was no damage by bullets on the two police vehicles from where the commandos directed fire; and d) the majority of the victims had been hit by a single bullet which went through the heart.

The inescapable conclusion from the Committee's findings was that the nine civilians were killed deliberately by members of the security forces. Eyewitness accounts confirm these conclusions. One eyewitness in a sworn statement said:-

"On 13.11.85 at 10.30 am when I was at home a loud explosion was heard. It appeared that a land-mine had exploded a short distance away. This was followed by continuous gun-fire and I confined myself to the house. In about five minutes I was able to see through the window five police commandos clad in civils walking into the front of the house and calling out for the door to be opened. On the inmates failing to open the door, the commandos forced the inmates to open the door by firing at the house. When the commandos came to our house my mother went forward and opened the door. When the commandos asked in broken Tamil whether there were males in the house, our garden labourer and I came forward. We were asked to stand on our knee and the house was then searched. When we were being taken away my mother who was looking for our National Identity Cards to be given to us was told that this was not necessary as we were to be killed.

"The garden labourer, myself and three others taken into custody down the lane were taken to Hospital Road. We were severely assaulted on the way. When one of those arrested fell down he was dragged and he lost consciousness. The five of us were then put in a van where there were three others and taken to Lake Road. We were put down, taken close to a damaged jeep and made to sit down. On hearing someone groaning I turned in that direction and saw the body of an injured person lying with injuries on the chest. His head was hidden in the shrubs. Showing this to us the Army personnel threatened to shoot us but, on listening to instructions given over the walkie-talkie, we were put in the van and taken 100 yards away.

"Through the rear window of the van I could see Police Commandos throwing out dead bodies onto the road at the place of explosion and then placing their guns and other weapons on their chests and other parts of the body. I could see distinctly one body and blood oozing out from the chest and the ears. This body was lying face upwards. I also observed this scene being video-taped. This was over by 2.15 pm".

### **NINE KILLED AND HOUSES BURNT IN RETALIATION - 16 NOVEMBER 1985.**

Four policemen died in a land mine explosion allegedly planted by a Tamil guerrilla group on 16 November 1985 on Bar Road in the Eastern City of Batticaloa.

A group of personnel belonging to the Special Task Force, which came to the scene shortly after the incident, apparently in retaliation shot and killed nine civilians and looted and set fire to 15 shops and several houses including a timber depot situated along Bar Road.

The post-mortem reports of the civilians killed disclosed the following details:

B M Thangarajah: Retired jail guard, 77 years, of 48 Pakiam Lane, Periyappodai, 1/2"x1/2" middle part of left side of chest.

S Thiagarajah: Grama Sevaka, 38 years, of Thimilativu, 1/2"x1/2" middle part of left side of chest.

S Wimalaratnam: Watcher, 31 years, of Iruthayapuram, 1"x1" on middle part of left side of chest.

S Vellayan: Clerk, Peoples' Bank, 45 years, of 374 Bar Road, Batticaloa, 1/2"x1/2" middle of right side of head, 4"x1/2" S

Muniandy: Sanitary Labourer, 30 years, of Boundary Road, Batticaloa. 1/2"x1/2" middle of left side of chest.

S Mahalingam: Assistant teacher, 26 years, of 50/1 Boundary Road Batticaloa. 1/2"x1/2" middle of left side of chest.

K Shanmugam: Labourer, 28 years of Palameenmadu. 1/2"x1/2" middle of left side of chest.

T Yogarajah: Labourer, 32 years, of Urani, 1/2"x1/2" left Italic fessa.

When this incident occurred, the Committee for Monitoring Cessation of Hostilities (CMCH) appointed by the government was already in Batticaloa, and therefore was in a position to hear evidence, both from the security forces and civilians, and see the scene of the incidents. In their evidence, the security services claimed that the nine civilians died in 'cross-fire' between the forces and Tamil guerrillas immediately after the explosion of the land-mine.

However, having heard eyewitness accounts and medical evidence which indicated that all the victims died of single bullet wounds through the chest, the CMCH concluded that the victims did not die during the 'cross-fire' immediately after the explosion as claimed by the security forces. The Committee also concluded that: "From all the circumstances, the committee is left with no doubt that members of the security forces were responsible for the burning of the houses along Bar Road on that day."

In spite of this finding, the government has so far not given any indication that those responsible for these acts of murder and arson would be prosecuted, nor has it announced any further judicial investigation.

### **FISHERMEN KILLED FROM HELICOPTER - 27 NOVEMBER 1985**

Apparently in retaliation to the kidnapping of a Buddhist monk, allegedly by a Tamil guerrilla group, the security forces cordoned off the coastal village of Mandur in Batticaloa in east Sri Lanka. The search operation, in which heavy vehicles armour-plated helicopters and an unspecified number of troops were pressed into service, left 24 fishermen shot dead and many more feared missing.

Nineteen bodies, which had been washed ashore, were identified and cremated with inquests. Among the dead were many innocent civilians who were fleeing Mandur by boats to another coastal village called Kurumanceli. A vigilant Air Force helicopter hovering over the area sprayed bullets from the skies killing several instantly. A number of Tamil civilians would appear to have 'disappeared' during the 'security operation'. (This account is an abbreviated version of a report of the incident by the Batticaloa Citizens' Committee.)

### **MASSACRE AT SAMPOOR - 27 NOVEMBER 1985**

On 27 November, an unspecified number of soldiers

in the company of 'Home Guards' entered four adjoining villages in the Trincomalee district in a 'search and destroy' operation and ended it by killing 22 Tamils and burning down 165 homes.

The soldiers entered the village of Kaddaiparichan at 4.30 pm, set fire to 25 houses and took into custody 2 persons.

They proceeded to the village of Chemaiyoor at about 7.30 pm where they burnt down 20 houses and arrested nine persons.

Next they went to the village of Kaddalkaraichenai at about 10 am. set fire to 20 houses and arrested an additional nine persons.

The soldiers entered the village of Sampoor at about 1pm arrested two persons from the Sampoor Mahavidyalaya Refugee Camp and set fire to over 100 houses.

Of the 22 persons taken into custody, the soldiers shot dead 18 on scrubland at Sampoor and set fire to the bodies. From there, the soldiers and Home Guards proceeded to the sea beach at Kaddalkaraichenai where the Navy gun boat had been anchored taking along with them the remaining four arrested persons. From the sea beach, all of them got into a small plastic boat and approached the gun boat, which the soldiers and the Home Guards got into.

The remaining four arrested persons were ordered to sit on one edge of the plastic boat and shot at close range and pushed into the sea. Three of them died on the spot, but one, Kandaiah Sundaram, aged 30, of Sampoor, survived to tell the tragic tale to the Committee for Monitoring Cessation of Hostilities appointed by the government on 14th December 1985. There is so far no indication that the government is taking any action against those responsible for these proven acts of arson and murder.

### **WOMEN GANG-RAPED AND HUSBANDS KILLED BY ARMY - 5 DECEMBER 1985**

Members of the security forces raided the village of Munnampodivettai in eastern Trincomalee district at about 1 am on 5-6 December 1985, gang-raped five women in their own houses and took away ten men whose dead bodies were found nearby on the following day.

The killing of the ten men was reported on the following days in the state-controlled newspapers with the following headlines: "Sinhala Militants arrested with Tamil Eelam Leaflets" and "ten persons shot dead in attempting to escape from Seru Nuwara Army Camp". The source of the reports were attributed to the Ministry of National Security. The Daily

News of 7.12.85 stated "ten terrorists suspects were shot dead while attempting to escape". However, the wives of the ten men who were killed, four women who were raped and other eyewitnesses, gave evidence before the government appointed Committee for Monitoring Cessation of Hostilities on 14 Dec-

ember 1985 and detailed accounts of how a group of Army personnel descended on their homes at 1 am on 5 December while they were asleep and took away the ten men. The four raped women also related how they were repeatedly sexually assaulted by several soldiers.

Mrs Upasena Premawathie, a Sinhalese woman married to a Tamil named Murugamoorthy, stated in her evidence that on 5 December while she was asleep on the verandah of their house, soldiers entered; three of them entered the room in which her brother and sister-in-law were sleeping; one soldier pushed her down on the floor and forcibly raped her. The other a second soldier dragged her into a room and raped her. After he left, a third soldier came in, and she begged and worshipped him not to harm her, but he too forcibly raped her. Her sister-in-law too was similarly raped by soldiers.

In signed statements dated 9 December 1985, addressed to the President of the Trincomalee Citizens Committee, the four women described their ordeal at the hands of the soldiers as follows:

**Statement of K. Arokiam:** "I, Thangathurai Arokiam, aged 32, of Munnampodivettai, state that at about 1 am on 5.12.85, 15 army personnel came to my house and removed my husband, and three soldiers forcibly had intercourse with me".

#### **Statement of K. Mangaleswary:**

"I, Karunadasa Mangaleswary, aged 20 years of Munnampodivettai, state that on 5.12.85, myself, my husband Karunadasa and my daughter Nanda, aged 11 years were at home. At 1 am 10 army personnel came to our house and took my husband away. Five soldiers forcibly raped me. I regained consciousness at 7 am. It is only three months after my last child birth. Later I was told by my neighbours that my husband was shot dead".

#### **Statement of K. Padmini:**

"I, Gunaratnam Padmini, state that on 5.12.85 I was sleeping with my husband in my house. At about 1 am about 10 military personnel came to our house, woke us and took my husband away. One soldier forcibly raped me".

#### **Statement of Upasena Premawathie**

"I, Upasena Premawathie, 29 years, of Munnampodivettai, state that on 5.12.85 at 1 am I and my mother-in-law, Theivanaipillai, were sleeping when I heard someone shouting 'Kanagaratnam has come, wake up'. When I got up I saw about 15 soldiers. I saw them taking away my two brothers-in-law, Karunadasa and Gunaratnam. Three persons forcibly raped me."

In spite of the fact that evidence of the killings and the rapes has been presented to the government appointed Committee for Monitoring Cessation of Hostilities, the government has so far not instituted any judicial investigation.

## INDISCRIMINATE SHOOTING IN BAZAAR - 12 DECEMBER 1985.

The Army which was out in the northern Jaffna city on 12 December 1985 in search of 'terrorists' apparently disappointed that their quarry was missing, opened fire indiscriminately in the Jaffna Bazaar resulting in the death of K Thurasamy (79), a pensioner, and Kanapathipillai (58). The injured included S Mathialagan (16), Illias (18) and K Jeyaweerasingham (22).

## RAPED AND KILLED BY HOME GUARDS - 25 DECEMBER 1985.

The details of how, on Christmas Day, 25 December 1985, five armed home guards forcibly moved two women Felicia (18) and Mary Agnes Yogeswary (21), and a young Tamil, Jesuthasan (21), from their house and later shot them were revealed at an inquest held into the death of one of the women, Mary Agnes.

The District Medical Officer who held the post-mortem on the deceased concluded that death was caused by gunshot injuries and that she had been raped before death.

One M H Mohammadu Basheer, who was forced by the home guards, who had guns identical to those used by the army, to accompany them to the victims' house in giving evidence said that the home guards took into custody the two women and Jesuthasan. They were taken to the Periyapalam Muslim School where Jesuthasan and Basher were ordered to wait outside and the two women were taken inside the school by the five Home Guards.

After about 45 minutes one of the Home Guards ordered Jesuthasan and Basheer to go inside the school where they saw the two terrified women seated in two corners in the school building. Thereafter the home guards took Jesuthasan and the two women towards Iddiman Aru (river) from where Basheer heard several gun shots.

Mary Alphonso Francis (34) described how the home guards came into their house and ordered her to undress, whereupon she cried and ran out of the house. The men went inside the house where her sister Felicia, brother Jesuthasan and step-sister Yogeswary were sleeping and took them away stating that they were being taken to the army camp for questioning.

Subsequently Felicia was found near Iddiman river with serious gunshot injuries and the dead body of Yogeswary was discovered near Kaddaiparichan river. The body of Jesuthasan has not been found.

The year 1985 witnessed an unprecedented increase in the number of extrajudicial killings carried out by the security forces in association with the newly

created para-military outfit known as the 'Home Guards'.

According to the statistics produced by an independent human rights group which gathers its data by its voluntary workers operating from the scene of incidents in north and east Sri Lanka, the number of victims of extrajudicial killings from April to December 1985 is estimated at 2342, and involuntary disappearances numbered 529.

## EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLINGS - 1986

More and more people became victims of extrajudicial and arbitrary killings by the armed forces during 1986 as the government announced its preferred option to deal with the ethnic "war" militarily. President Jayawardene emphasised the government's position in two much publicised interview in the following terms.

"The Tamil problem is more a military problem and any military problem has to be tackled militarily.... We were not ready earlier. Now we are acquiring arms and getting our soldiers trained. We are getting ready for a decisive military action if nothing comes out of the negotiations... Already there is a strong feeling that we should stop all these talks and strike again."

- India Today (15.12.85)

"I am winning this war .... I have come to realise that only success matters. I do not care what New Delhi, London or any other country says. How quickly and effectively I can exterminate the militants is the crux of the problem and I am on the point of achieving this.... Now I have more weapons. Countries like Pakistan are training my men. In 1985, Pakistan trained 60 officers and 1500 Junior Commissioned Officers. My Air Force is also being trained by people from abroad."

- Times (London) (27.01.86)

As the spiral of violence and counter-violence intensified, there were frequent reports that "unarmed Tamil civilians were taken away and deliberately killed". (AI Report 30 April 1986). 1986 also witnessed the increasing use of attack aircrafts and helicopters mounted with machine guns to bomb and strafe what the government claimed as "guerrilla targets". However, the indiscriminate manner in which such aerial operations were carried out resulted in many civilian casualties.

## JAFFNA: 14 KILLED: 4-5 JANUARY 1986

On 4 January 1986, the government appointed "Committee for Monitoring Cessation of Hostilities" (CMCH) was to visit the northern Jaffna city to hear evidence from Citizens Committees and individuals about any alleged excesses by the security forces. The venue was to be Hotel Ashok located in the centre of the Jaffna city.

At about 8 am, helicopters swooped down in the vicinity of the Hotel and sprayed several rounds of bullets into the area. Five persons including a woman, were killed instantly and 21 were seriously injured.

In view of the incident, the Jaffna city was deserted and the CMCH abandoned its plans to hold its hearing that day and announced that it would hold the hearings the following day - 5.1.86. However, in the afternoon of 5 January, Jaffna city was subjected to mortar fire from the Army Camp based within the Jaffna Fort and strafing from helicopters. Nine persons were killed and about 70 injured in this "operation".

#### HOME GUARDS KILL FARMERS : 04.01.86.

On 4th. January 1986, the Home Guards came to the villages at Pullugannawa and Peruvaddathalavai, which were allocated for pasture land in Manmunai South-West A.G.A's Division and Mavadimunmari G.S.O.'s Division in the District of Batticaloa.

They started firing at the people who were working at the cattle farm. All people fled into the jungle for safety. Later they came out only to see that their huts had been set on fire and cattle burnt. They also saw that three people had been burnt inside their huts. Sinnathamby Kumarasingam(45) father of five, Vyramuthu Sivanathan(38) father of four and Somanather Sinnathamby(68) father of six. The Home Guards 'arrested' seven workers-Eliyathamby Kandappan, Muthiah Poornalingam of Mahiladithivu, Moothamby Thirumanipillai, Thirumanipillai Nesathurai of Arasadithivu and 3 others from Palugamamand Ambilanthurai respectively. Some cattle had also been shot.

"My husband and I were living Eachantivu, Kinniya, together with our four children.

"In the early hours of the morning of 15.1.86 at about 3.30 a.m., we heard the firing of guns and got up.

"We were seated inside our house when a bullet came through the cadjan wall of our house and hit my daughter, Samudrakala, six years on the left side almost below the ribs. She screamed and fell down. In a few moments she was dead.

"The same bullet had passed through her and hit my husband on his left forearm.

"As the Grama Sevaka of the area was not available, we buried the body of our daughter the same morning at about 10 a.m." - Extract from a sworn statement by a widow.

#### THE IRUTHAYAPURAM MASSACRE: 19.01.86.

On 19 January 1986 nearly three hundred police commandos of the Special Task force (STF) in about 25 vehicles moved into Iruthayapuram about 3.30 to 4 am and mounted a "cordon and search operation". Iruthayapuram is situated within the municipal limits of the coastal town of Batticaloa in the Eastern Province.

As the search operation was in progress two police commandos were killed when a grenade was thrown

at them allegedly by Tamil guerrillas. Following this incident, the STF personnel went on a rampage in the course of which at least 24 ordinary Tamil civilians were killed. In one incident three church workers were gunned down within the premises of the church itself.

According to the Catholic Bishop of Batticaloa, Rt. Rev. Dr. Kingsley Swampillai:-

"The Catholic Church of Iruthayapuram Parish called "The Sacred Heart Church" is in the midst of the above area. Rev. Father Joseph de Koning, who is over 56 years of age is the Parish Priest of this Church and resident there. He was suddenly disturbed at about 4.30 am the same day when he was preparing for the Sunday services, which is a Holy Day of obligation for the Catholics. One of the security personnel detained him in his room and prevented him from performing his Sunday Services.

"A few hours later the armed forces brought into the church premises about 300 persons between the ages of 14 to 30. They were tied up, two by two and were laid face-down and were assaulted with the butts of their guns, kicked with boots and assaulted with f. and sticks. This continued from 8 am to 11 am. After 11 am the doors of the church were forced open by the security forces and some arrested young men were marched into the church and again the same treatment was meted out to them inside the church. As a result of these assaults these persons de..... and bled inside the church. When I visited the church in the late hours of the evening, after the captives had been removed to the army camp for investigations, I was shocked to see that it resembled a slaughter house after the remains had been removed.

"At all relevant times Rev. Father de Koning, the Parish Priest, was held captive in his room and .. abused whenever he intervened against the abuse of the church of which he was in charge.

"I would like to mention another serious and sorrowful incident in which three of the church workers, namely the Catechist (Religion teacher) Mr Sahayanathan, the Master M Gnanuthag who looked after the maintenance and upkeep of the church and his Assistant Master, G Anton, who happened to be inside the church, were dragged out, kicked and asked to run outside the church, in spite of the appeals of the Parish Priest. All these three people were shot to death in cold blood, while they were running in the presence of the Parish Priest.

"The Parish Priest appealed to the security personnel and explained that they were innocent church workers, who had absolutely nothing to do with terrorist activities. No questions were asked and no inquiries made. The Parish Priest was shouted down by the security personnel while the three innocent church workers were gunned down so barbarously in the precincts of the Lord whom they served."

(An extract from a letter dated 28.1.86 sent to President J R Jayawardene).

The police commandos went into the Timber Corporation Depot, ransacked the building and shot dead three watchers on duty:- Muthulingam Navaratnam 29 Years; Kumarapperumal Raveendrakumar 29 years; S Sooriyakumar 24 years. They also entered the living quarters of the Petroleum Corporation, dragged out Vyramuthu Jeyakumar aged 21 and shot him dead in front of the building.

In other shooting incidents on the same day, the following Tamil civilians were killed by the security forces: Kandiah Ketharam aged 33, married, father of 3 children and an employee of the Batticaloa

Municipal Council; Antony aged 24 killed on his way to work at Bala's Bakery. Ragupathy Piyadasa, aged 20, fish vendor killed on his way to the market. Amarasingham Kandasamy, aged 34 and father of two children; Sellathamby Thangarajah, aged 54 married with 5 children; Arokiyanathan Xavier Selvaraja, aged 17, student; Masilamani Arulraj, aged 22, married; Muthuvelu Mohamadas, aged 19; Ambrose Ragan, aged 18; Dominic Dasan, aged 24; Arumugam Illangeswaran, aged 24; Murukupillai Vincent, aged 22; Selvaraj Thayalam, aged 24; Valipuram Sivanesan, aged 24; Antony Sahayarasa, aged 19; Devadas Jeyaraj, aged 21 and Muthuvelu Mohanathas, aged 19.

The dead bodies were not released to the relatives although a request for their release was made to the Military Co-ordinating Officer by the Batticaloa Citizens Committee.

### KILLED IN THE FIELD: 23.01.86

Four farmers from Kumburupiddy in the eastern Trincomalee district had gone to their paddy fields in the evening of 22 January 1986 to keep watch on their crops during the night. A group of Army men shot them dead while they were returning to their homes the following morning.

The following is an extract from a sworn statement made by the widowed wife of one of the victims:

"I am the legal wife of Kathamuthu Selvarajah. I am having one daughter aged 16 years. My husband was 55 years old. On 23.1.1986 my husband as usual went to the paddy field for watching the field the day prior to this incident.

"On 23.1.86 at about 10.00 am one boy named Raju came and told me that while my husband was returning home from the field, some Army personnel shot and killed him. The said boy in fear was hiding in a shrub.

"We could not go to the spot as there were Army personnel in that area and also we heard gun shots in a... We went to the field on the third day and found the dead body of my husband and did the cremation in the field itself.

"Now I am made a destitute after the death of my husband who was the sole bread-winner of our family."

### 12 PASSENGERS KILLED AT RAILWAY STATION

At least 12 Tamil civilians were shot and killed and several others injured on 25 January 1986 as soldiers indiscriminately shot at an estimated 75 passengers waiting to board a train at the Kilinochchi railway station in north Sri Lanka.

The dead included four women and two children. The following is an extract from the sworn testimony of a survivor:

"On 25.1.86 I arrived at the Kilinochchi Railway Station with my wife and 2 of my children to proceed to Madawachchi to see my

house there and return. At about 2 pm a bomb blast was heard closely followed by the security forces moving out of their camp in 2 armoured cars in the direction of Thirunagar firing at random. At the same time security forces approached the Kilinochchi Railway Station along the railway track firing their guns.

"Some of the passengers waiting at the station fled into the waiting room while others moved away towards the walls of the station building. I, my wife and 2 children moved and stood alongside a wall.

"We all with raised hands pleaded in Sinhala with the security forces who came on to the platform that we were passengers waiting for the train and not to harm us. As the security forces were moving along firing in the direction of Thirunagar the last 2 of them suddenly yelling in Sinhala, 'All of you must be killed' opened fire on us. I was hit on the thighs and legs. As I bent down I was hit again on the right shoulder. I fell over another injured person. The two army men then left the place.

"After a short time security forces again came to the Railway Station. When one of them came close to me, unable to bear the pain I requested him in Sinhala to shoot and kill me. He then told me that it was the tigers who had shot at us and not they.

"My wife .... and one of my sons ... were also injured I could not find my other son .....

"The security forces then removed all the injured in a truck to the Killinochchi Government Hospital from where we were transferred in a bus to the Jaffna General Hospital the same night.

"I have sustained bullet injuries in my legs, thighs and the right shoulder. My son ....., aged 5 years, received a bullet injury on his right arm causing a fracture. We are both in ward 6 of the Hospital.

"My wife ..... aged 38 years, succumbed to her injuries at the Jaffna General Hospital on 28.1.86. I am now informed that my son....., aged 9 years, had died at the Kilinochchi station when the security forces shot at us on 25.1.86 and that his body had been removed from the Kilinochchi Hospital and cremated by my relations."

### SHOT AND BURNT : 10 FEBRUARY 1986

A group of armed men in black uniforms waylaid a motor car, Peugeot 404 bearing No.7 SRI 8651 at Peyardikulam-Vellikulam junction near Vavuniya in North Sri Lanka, shot dead all three occupants and set fire to the car with the bodies inside it on 10 February, 1986. The dead persons were :

T. Jesunayagam	aged	36	of
Jaffna, P. Mailvaganam,	aged	45	of
Pallai and Vincent,	aged	44.	

On hearing that his lorry had broken down at Chilaw in the Western Province, Jesunayagam along with his two friends left Jaffna at about 5 a.m. on 10 February 1986. It was on their way that they became victims of the massacre by the black-uniformed Army personnel.

The charred remains of the bodies were not released to the relatives by the Army authorities although a request was made.

The occupants of a van which had followed the car in which the victims had travelled, had witnessed the



incident and reported it to the Government Agent, Vavuniya.

The Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation reported the incident on 11 February that in a clash between "two terrorist groups, 3 terrorists were shot dead and burnt inside a car". Giving a different version, the Ministry of National Security subsequently said that terrorists had opened fire at a Peugeot 404 car and killed five persons and that the car was burnt.

### 60 MASSACRED IN PADDY-FIELD: 19.2.86

On 19 February 1986 police commandos descended upon a paddy field at Udumpankulam in the eastern Amparai District, rounded up as many as sixty Tamil farm workers and deliberately shot them dead. Thereafter the bodies were piled up on a heap of partly threshed paddy and covered with straw and sheaves of paddy. The timber and cadjan from a dismantled nearby hut was heaped on a pile and thereafter set on fire.

Eyewitness accounts stated that Sinhala speaking police commandos in camouflage uniforms, together with other armed men surrounded the farm-workers at about 7 am. They collected the men and women in the fields, tied the hands of the men and brought both men and women to an adjoining gravel road where they were subjected to beatings, kicked with boots and cut with reaping knives taken away from the farm workers.

Subsequently the men were separated from the women and killed in the manner described above. One of the victims was 13 years old, three of them over 60 years and almost all of them were married men with children.

Before the killings, a section of the police commandos and "Home Guards" ransacked the nearby village of Thangavelayuthapuram and looted all the premises including shops in the village.

Statements attributed to the Ministry of National Security and published in the state controlled media claimed that all the dead were "terrorists". It further claimed that after the security forces left, the terrorists who fled had apparently returned with others and cremated the bodies of the dead terrorists, but before doing so had taken video films and also had taken photographs in order to falsely paint a picture of Army atrocities on innocent civilians. The government's version has been flatly contradicted by the members of the Batticaloa Citizens Committee who visited the scene of the crime.

In view of the wide coverage given in the foreign media to this massacre, the government appointed a "Committee of Inquiry" headed by the Commander of the Navy. However, up-to-date the committee has

not published its findings.

Of those killed, the following are details of 50 of the victims, (vide AI Report 30 April 1986):-

- 1 Massana Jeyarajah, 28 years old, married
- 2 Thassappu Selliah, 32 yrs old, married with 3 children
- 3 Thassappu Samithamby, 30 years old, married with 3 children
- 5 Thassappu Sebamalai, 20 years old
- 6 Thurai Ramalingam, 26 years old, married with 1 child
- 7 Muthusamy Muthulingam, 20 years old
- 8 Rangan Paul, 35 years old, married with 3 children

All the above persons were from Aligambe (Arugambay)

- 9 Seenithamby Sivapalan, 28 years old, married with 4 children
- 10 Kumaravel Nakaras, 27 years old, married with 4 children
- 11 Suwanya DAVID, 29 years old, married with 3 children
- 12 Seenithamby Thavanathan, 30 years old, married with 3 children
- 13 Seenithamby Arulselvam, 18 years old
- 14 Kanapathy Vadivel, 27 years old, married with 2 children
- 15 Ponnambalam Yogarajah, 18 years old
- 16 Visvakethu Rasaram, 30 years old, married with 4 children
- 17 Kaneshamurthi Perinpam, 28 years old, married with 4 children
- 18 Visvakethu Rasa, 23 years old, married
- 19 Rasiah SATHASIVAM, 35 years old, married with 4 children
- 20 Arumugam Somasuntharam, 35 years old, married with 5 children
- 21 Tharmalingam Sabaratnam, 22 years old, married with 1 child
- 22 Ganeshapillai, Mohanarajah, 22 years old
- 23 Rasiah Thaventhiran, 18 years old
- 24 Sylvester Innasi, 32 years old
- 25 Mylvaganam Thiyagarajah, 13 years old
- 26 Mylan Thiyaharasa, 18 years old
- 27 Suntharam Sinnavan, 20 years old
- 28 Tharman, 22 years old
- 29 Pathmanathan RAMASAMY KANDIAH, 45 years old, married with 6 children
- 30 Markandu RAVENTHIRAN
- 31 Ponnar Rajadurai

All the above persons were from Thankavelayuthapuram

- 32 Arumugam Nallathamby, 65 years old, married with 8 children
- 33 Nallathamby Vinayagamoorthy, 34 years old, married with 5 children son of No.32
- 34 Nallathamby Gopalakrishnan, 23 years old, son of No:32
- 35 Kandappu Pakiyarasa, 26 years old, married with 1 child, son-in-law of no:32
- 36 Kathiresu VYRAMUTHU, 60 years old with 6 children
- 37 VYRAMUTHU SUNTHARALINGAM, 22 years old
- 38 Aron Somasuntharam, 32 years old, married with 2 children
- 39 Kanthasamy RAMALINGAM, 60 years old
- 40 Seenithamby Thamoatham, 40 years old
- 41 Rasiah SATHASIVAM, 35 years old
- 42 Sinnathamby Thuraiappa, 45 years old
- 43 Nallathamby Kanapathippillai, 25 years old, married with 1 child
- 44 Nallathamby Vinayagamurthi, 35 years old, married with 5 children, son of No.32

All the above persons were from Akkaraiappattu

- 45 Tharmalingam Kanageswaran, 18 years old
- 46 Kanapathippillai Thangarasa, 35 years old, married with 2 children
- 47 Manikkam Kirupai, 28 years old, married with 2 children

All the above persons were from Kommathurai Chenkalady The names of the missing tractor drivers, presumed killed are:

- 48 Manahapdy Thiviyathan, 30 years old, married with 1 child
- 49 Thasappu Chelliah, 32 years old, married with 5 children
- 50 Gnanamuthu Buventhiran, 30 years old, married with 1 child



"K.... M....., 38 years, wife of K.... S... of H....., Bakkiyala not being a Christian affirm and declare as follows:

'K... S... age 49 years is my husband. We have 5 children aged 12 yrs, 10 yrs, 08 yrs, 06 yrs and 2 12 yrs; excepting for my son T... 08 years, all the other children are girls.

'On 21.2.86 at about 12 pm in the night I heard gun shots all over the village. Then some members of the Forces dressed in civil carrying automatic weapons came into our house. They spoke in Sinhala and they took my husband and made him to get into a tractor in which they came. They then came back and took away my 8 year old son in spite of my protest.

'Next morning I went to the Police Station at ....., but, they denied having arrested my husband and son.

'I then went to Vellaveli Police Station. I was informed that my son and husband had not been brought there.

'I went back to (police station). I was informed that my husband had been sent to Kondavedduwan Army Camp.

'I was informed by a person released from the Kondavedduwan camp that my husband and son had been taken to the Kondavedduwan Camp and that my husband had been assaulted and that he was thereafter missing and that my son and another 10 year old boy were in the camp.

'I have made complaints to the persons in Authority but have not been able to obtain any information about my husband or son.

'I state that my husband and son had been taken taken to the Kondavedduwan Camp by the Forces and that they are not disclosing their whereabouts".

### FIVE KILLED IN REPRISAL: 3 MARCH 1986

At least five Tamil civilians were killed, many more injured, several shops, houses and boats were looted and set on fire when a group of Navy and Army personnel went on a rampage on 3 March in Nainativu, an island a few miles off the coast of the northern Jaffna peninsula. The rampage was in apparent retaliation to the killing of two Navy personnel in a mine explosion allegedly caused by a Tamil guerrilla group.

The widow of one of the victims said in a sworn statement :-

"On 3.3.86 at about 11.30 a.m. my husband went to the market place to purchase certain goods for the family. At about 12.30 p.m. we heard a loud explosion. This was followed by gun shots and other explosions which caused panic among the residents. As a result most of them fled to the interior of the Island as they knew it was unsafe to be in their homes since the security forces camp was closeby....

"On the fourth day I returned home with my.... they identified the charred body of my husband lying near the Madam adjoining the temple. I sent my.... to verify the information. They came back and told me that my husband was killed and the body was burnt apparently by the security forces who went berserk after the explosion which destroyed a naval patrol boat and killed few members of the crew....."

Another woman who survived being shot at was a witness to the deliberate killing of two men in her statement said:-

"..... On 3.3.86 Monday, I returned from Analaitivu, an island, in a sailing wooden boat at about 2.30 p.m. The boatman was Veeragathy Sadasivam and ....., 9 years assisted him. The two occupants were myself and another young man Narayani Pushparasa aged 25 years. As we approached the shore near Ayanar Temple, Nainativu I saw 7 or 8 Navy men in blue uniform with machine guns approaching us. We all raised our hands and told them that we were coming from Annalaitivu.

"While we were still standing in the boat the Navy men fired at Sadasivam and Pushparasa. They received bullet injuries. One fell inside the boat and the other into the sea. I raised cries asking them not to shoot. They then ordered me and ..... to come ashore.

"The Navy men asked me in Tamil where I live. I told them I lived behind the Temple. They asked me to take them to my house.... My house was closed and none of my children were present. Two of the Navy men held me inside the hall and removed my gold jewellery. "... They then kicked at the wooden door of the house and tried to open it. It failed to open. They then went out to the compound and one among them fired at me. The bullet passed through the right side of the chest with a big exit wound on the rear of the chest. I fell down and started to bleed. The Navy men left my compound. I raised cries for help. For a long time nobody came as all the people had left the neighbourhood through fear."

A third woman whose house was looted by Navy personnel and whose husband was also shot dead said in her sworn statement :-

"I and my late husband were at home when at about 12.30 p.m. an explosion was heard from the direction of the Nainativu Jetty. I am completely blind in one eye. While our neighbours fled from the area we remained in our home. After a few minutes eight Navy personnel entered our compound. (X) pleaded with the Navy men that I was blind and not to harm when they threatened to shoot me. The Navy personnel then entered our house and looted our jewellery comprising of a Talikodi, (gold chain), chain, and two rings.... and cash Rs.2,000/-. As the Navy personnel were about to leave .... (X) pleaded for at least the return of the Thali. His extended right hand was cut by one of the Navy men chopping off all the fingers. As my late husband held his bleeding hand one of the Navy men shot him and he fell down.

"I fled away from the place in fear... It was reported that several had been killed and injured by the navy at Nainativu on this day. ...."

Among those killed at Nainativu on 3 March 1986 were :-

1. Sinnathamby Kandiah, a 50-year old married toddy tapper
2. Kovilan Nagesu, a married fisherman with four children
3. Narayanipillai Pushpakara, a 30-year old un-married accounts clerk (Amnesty International believes that this is the same person as Narayani Pushparasa referred to in the above affidavit)
4. Nagamuthu Seeladurai, a 55-year old married fisherman with three children.

### THROATS SLIT WITH KNIFE: 05 MARCH 86

The family of Rakkan Kalimuthu was one of a few families which had resettled in the village of Man-

kaiuthu at Kanniya in Trincomalee after having been displaced during the 1977 anti-Tamil riots in the tea plantations.

On 5 March 1986, all the five members of the family, Rakkan Kalimuthu (aged 55), Kalimuthu Pakkiam (aged 45), Rangarah Kamalakkanni (age 4), Alagan Sinnasamy (aged 69) and Sinnasamy Nallammah (aged 64) were found dead, their throats having been slit apparently with sharp knife by "home guards".

### FIVE MUSLIMS KILLED 16 MARCH 1986

A group of Army personnel entered the villages of Manal Chenai and Periyaveli in Muthur in the Eastern Province on 16 March to carry out a "cordon and search operation". In the course of this "operation", ten houses were set on fire. Thereafter they moved to an adjoining village of Mallikaithivu "where they came across six Muslim Tamil speaking farmers, who were driving their carts loaded with paddy. The troops had fired at them and five of the farmers died on the spot and one was seriously injured and admitted to Muthur Hospital".

Those killed on this occasion were:-

- 1) Sethu Mohamed Jamal aged 35
- 2) Pavuthamby Dayan aged 34
- 3) Mohamed aged 31
- 4) Heithu Naina Mohamed aged 30
- 5) Abdul Samathu aged 32

### THE NEDUNKERNY MASSACRE: 20 MARCH 1986

At least 16 Tamils including women and old-age pensioners were killed by troops in the morning of 20 March during a "cordon and search operation" carried out in the village of Eeddimurichchan at Nedunkerny situated about 26 miles from the northern town of Vavuniya.

According to eyewitness accounts, soldiers dressed in black uniforms moved in on the previous day, surrounded the village, set fire to scores of houses, looted shops and, as the people began to flee, they were shot at indiscriminately. The Army "operation" continued till the following day.

Of the victims, five people were burnt inside a shop which was set alight. The troops took away the dead bodies. As usual, the Ministry of National Security claimed that the dead were "terrorists".

The wife of a person killed during this incident said in her sworn statement :

"My husband, aged 39 years, was a Sprayer in the Anti-Malaria Campaign and was stationed at Nedunkerni. My husband, children and I were living at Nedunkerni in the ..... Nedunkerni.

"Black-shirted Army personnel numbering about 300 came to Nedunkerni at about 4 p.m. on 19.3.86 and cordoned off the village. All males including my husband fled to the jungles and were in hiding throughout the whole night. Intermittent firing of gunshots were heard throughout the night.

"On 20.3.86 at about 10 a.m. a friend of my husband came and informed me that my husband had been shot and killed by the Security Forces lying in ambush that morning while he was returning home from the jungles. I was also informed that the dead body of my husband had been removed by the Security Forces.

"When I went in search of the dead body of my husband, I found our room key which was in the custody of my husband at the spot where he had been shot and killed. In all about 16 innocent Tamils were killed by the Security Forces on this day."

The ages of the victims ranged from a 25-year old woman to a 60-year old man.

### ARMY ROBS POST OFFICE AND KILLS COUPLE: 21 MARCH 1986

The following is the sworn testimony of a 61 year old Tamil man who was residing with his son and daughter-in-law at Puthukudieruppu in Mullaitivu in north Sri Lanka:-

"My son .....(33) was married to ..... (26) Sub-Postmistress, ... They had no children by this marriage. My son ..... and his wife ... were residing at .... Puthukudieruppu in the very same building the Sub-Post Office was functioning, and I too was residing with them.

"At about 5.00 am on 21.3.1986 Army personnel surrounded the area. Four Army personnel broke into our building. The Sub-Post Office iron safe was forced open and cash was robbed. Our lockers were also ransacked and valuable items were robbed. My late son, daughter-in-law and self were ordered out of the house, and marched to the Puliadi Junction, being beaten with an iron bar and butt-end of guns. Here, while my late son and daughter-in-law were detained I was chased away.

"As I had moved a short distance away I heard the report of a gun. I turned round to see my son fallen. Immediately after, my daughter-in-law was also shot dead.

"I came back to the spot with relatives after about 4 hours and found the two dead bodies of my son and daughter-in-law with gun shot injuries. Both the dead bodies were cremated on 22.3.1986.

"The dead bodies could not be removed to the Mullaitivu Government Hospital eight miles away for post-mortem examination and Inquest proceedings through fear and transport difficulties.

"My late son earned a living as a farmer and also assisted his wife at the Sub-Post Office. My late son and daughter-in-law were not involved in any anti-Government activity and had been wantonly killed the only reason being that they were young Tamils.

"I have two sons and 4 un-married daughters. My family was dependent on my late son, who was the eldest, to a great extent.

"Jewels to the value of about Rs.32,000/- on the person of my daughter-in-law had been removed by the Army personnel after she was shot dead. Value of personal belongings robbed by the Army personnel from our residence was about Rs.8,000/-.

"I still suffer pain from the assaults made by Army personnel."

## NAVY KILLS THIRTY FISHERMEN: 10 June 1986

"I am a widow of fifty-two, with five sons and one daughter. In May, unbelievable tragedy struck our family. Now when I think over the events of those two terrible weeks, I am gripped by a sense of unreality.

'We had just sat down to lunch that day when five army officers knocked on the front door and said that they wanted to talk to my youngest son. My son was not at home, so they told me to send him to the army camp at the Jaffna Stadium as soon as he came home. I was worried, but tried not to show it when I told my son this. He reassured me and said he would go straightaway since he had nothing to hide. We decided that he should go to the nearest police station since they were the civil authorities concerned. Later, I heard that the police had sent him over to the army camp at the stadium, which was close by.

'My son did not return home that night, and I was sleepless with worry. In the morning, I went to the camp to inquire about my son, but they refused to let me see him. That evening, I heard a rumour that he had been taken to hospital. When I rushed to the hospital, I heard that he had been moved against medical advice. No one could tell me where he was. At home everybody tried to comfort me. But how could I stop worrying until I saw my son again?

'After two days of tension, in desperation, I went to meet an influential government official and told him about my son. He was sympathetic and promised to help me, perhaps because he too had a son. Finally, I discovered that my son had been taken to the General Hospital in Colombo. When I heard this, my first instinct was to go down to Colombo immediately, but everybody advised me against it.

'It was exactly two weeks later that a policeman arrived at our house. At last I thought hopefully, he would be able to tell me about my son.... He did. He told me abruptly that my son was dead and that I must go to Colombo for the post-mortem. I could only stare at him unbelievably. He did not even tell me how my son had died, and I could not think to ask him any questions.

'On the next day I went to Colombo with this policeman. At the hospital, they took me straight to the mortuary. My son's body was wrapped in a cloth and only his face was visible. He had already been dead for ten days and his face was swollen and discoloured. They asked me to identify him. They would not uncover the rest of his body, and a hundred anguished questions flooded my mind. How did my son die? Why didn't they show me his body? Were they afraid to show me how my son had died?

'I was told that the postmortem was already over and that an inquest would be held. The inquest began almost immediately. However, soon after I had begun giving evidence, the authorities decided to postpone it for a week. They advised me to go back to Jaffna.

'When I reached home the next day, the police informed me that the inquest was to be resumed immediately and that my presence was essential. I could not understand this but I went back to Colombo. At the mortuary, I found my son's body already in a coffin. The officer-in-charge had my son's face uncovered and wanted me to identify him again. They would not open the rest of the coffin, and even though I had brought with me his favourite suit of clothes, they would not let me dress the body. They carried the coffin into a vehicle and I was allowed to accompany them to the cemetery. There, he was cremated. There were no last rites... The inquest was never resumed. I still do not know why he was killed, nor who killed him. Perhaps those who killed him were no older than he was."

On 10 June 1986 at about 5 am, 31 fishermen, aged between 13 and 62 years, set out to sea from Gurunagar in Jaffna in a boat named "Thuya Oli" (Holy Light). Near the offshore island of Mandaitivu, they were attacked by Navy personell and 30 of them were deliberately massacred; only one of them escaped.

The Magistrate who held the inquest (Inquest No. 9388) on 26.6.86, while returning a verdict of homicide, held that "it is conclusive that the persons who attacked and killed the fishermen were men wearing black uniforms who arrived in Navy vessels".

According to the medical evidence led at the inquest all the fishermen had died of multiple injuries to various parts of the anatomy by machine-gun firing.

The following are extracts from the verdict of the Magistrate who held the inquest ( Inquest 9388) :-

"Another who gave evidence before court is Simion Mariadas. According to the evidence of Rayman and Simion Mariadas the only survivor in the awful tragedy that befell the fishermen who set out in the boat was this Mariadas. Simion Mariadas is the only person who saw what happened to the men who went out fishing in the boat. He said in his evidence that at about 5 am on Tuesday, 10.6.86, he along with fellow fishermen from Gurunagar set out in the said boat "Thuya Oli" for fishing. At about 7.30 am they started fishing close to the Mandaitivu coast and were engaged in laying and drawing nets. At about 8 or 8.30 am he developed a stomach upset. In order to answer a call of nature he came out of the sea. While easing himself behind a thicket he saw two Navy vessels arriving there anchoring and later lowering 4 plastic boats which went in different directions. One of the plastic boats carrying about 10 to 15 soldiers in black uniform came towards the men engaged in fishing. They had in their hands firearms with fixed bayonets. The soldiers while approaching the fishermen who came by boat, showed signs requesting the fishermen to go towards them and opened fire on the fishermen and attacked them with bayonets. Further, Simion Mariadas has said in his evidence that he was about 40 yards from the shore when the attack took place. He said that all the fishermen were killed in the attack and not even one was spared. When the fishermen were attacked they cried in distress and the men in black uniform committed the attack, said Mariadas. He said that through fear he waited quietly in silence in the thicket watching the awful night and after the attackers had gone away and when the two Navy vessels had left the place, he swam, all alone to Sirutivu from where he reached Jaffna in the boat of known persons. He said that on hearing that all the fishermen who went in the boat "Thooya Oli" were killed and their bodies were already brought and kept in Gurunagar Community Centre, he went there, viewed the bodies and identified them. Court accepts his evidence. According to the evidence of Mariadas it is conclusive that the persons who attacked and killed the fishermen were the men wearing black uniform who arrived in Navy vessels.

"Another witness who gave evidence in Court was Simion Michael, the person brought the bodies of the dead to the Gurunagar Jetty. According to his evidence he is engaged in fishing beche-de-mer by casting nets and this type of fishing did not warrant his going out to sea in the early hours of the morning. At about 11 am. on 10.6.86 he with Christian and Anandan set out in his boat to fish in the authorised part of the sea near Mandaitivu. That while passing the sea opposite Our Lady of Velankanai Church he saw his elder brother's boat "Thuya Oli" without anyone in it and when he went near and looked into the boat "Thooya Oli" he

saw some dead bodies in it and the rest of the bodies in the sea. He had said that later with the assistance of some people he put all the dead bodies into his boat and brought them over to the Gurunagar Jetty. This evidence is corroborated by the evidence of Anthonypillai Anandan and Sebamalai Christian."

**'I R.... wife of T.... V...., aged 40 years of Mullipottanai, Thampalakamam do hereby truly declare and affirm:**

**'I was living with my husband T... V .... and my children, two daughters and one son.**

**'On 8th May 1986 at about 5 am when my husband was sleeping with my children armed forces entered my house and took into custody my husband and removed him without any questioning. My husband is 50 years of age.**

**'I have seen my husband in the Thampalakamam Army Camp on four occasions but I was not allowed to talk to him.**

**'Thereafter when I went to see him he was not in the camp at Thampalakamam and I was told that he will be released that day.**

**'My husband has not been released till today and his whereabouts are not known to me.**

**'My husband has never participated in any kind of activities against the state and at the age of 50 years a person with family responsibility and was looking after us with his income.**

**'His absence has driven to the stage of starvation and tension and panic-stricken. I pray that the whereabouts of my husband be made known to me....,**

### **HOME GUARDS KILL REFUGES: 12 JUNE 1986**

On 12 June 1986, a village headman (Grama Sevaka) and a Colonization Officer together with 19 Tamil refugees were attacked and killed by Home Guards while engaged in transporting dry rations in Seninuvara to their own refugee camp, Poonagar refugee camp in Trincomalee. Before moving to the Poonagar refugee camp, the refugees had been at a refugee camp in the Batticaloa district where it was thought to be relatively safe. Under the threat of cutting off the supply of dry rations, they were forced to move into the Poonagar Army camp. The following is an account given by the widow of one of those thus killed :-

"I was living with my husband, Nalliah Parameswaran, aged 27 years, at Kathiraveli refugee camp since 31.5.85 in the Batticaloa district. On 28.12.85, the Assistant Government Agent of Seruvila, Government Agents of Batticaloa and Trincomalee and Coordinating Officer, Trincomalee, visited our refugee camp and requested to get back to Trincomalee district. On such request, I with my husband and relatives went to Poonagar refugee camp where we were given dry rations.

"On 12.6.86, my husband Nalliah Parameswaran, with some others went to Alioluwa, Serunuvara to collect our dry rations by bullock cart.

"On their return journey, he and eighteen other Tamils including a Muslim Grama Sevaka and a Muslim Colonization Officer were shot dead by home guards. I was able to recover the dead body of my husband and later cremated it."

### **THIRTY-TWO FLEEING REFUGEES KILLED : 20 JUNE 1986**

Thirty-four Tamil refugees on a boat from Gurunagar in Jaffna to India were shot at by Sri Lankan Navy personnel at Natchikudah killing 32 of them. Only two of them survived the massacre and managed to swim to safety to relate the tragic tale.

Fifteen of the dead bodies were found in the boat which was washed ashore. During the following days several more bodies were washed ashore in a state of decomposition.

### **KILLING OF REV.BR.WENCESLAUS: 20.6.86**

On 20 June 1986, the security forces were engaged in "action" in the vicinity of the Tholagatty Monastery near Vasavilan in the Jaffna peninsula. Army personnel went into the monastery premises and having spoken to Rev. Br. Wincelkaus, who was busy giving fodder to the cattle in the cattle-shed, shot him dead.

The following is an eyewitness account given in the form of a sworn affidavit by a 12-year old school boy who used to work at the monastery :-

"I am living with my mother, Poomany Arulanantham in a house situate at about 500 yards from the Rosarian Monastery at Tholagatty.....

"I was studying in Grade 4 at the Vasavilan Roman Catholic School, Vasavilan, till 17 May 1986. This school was closed lately because the Army had set up a Camp close to the School. During school days I am free in the afternoon as the School is only a single session school that closes for the day at 1.30 pm. I, therefore, go to the Tholagatty Monastery whenever I am free and help the monks at the farm in the Monastery.....

"On 20. 6. 86 as the School was closed I went to work at the Monastery farm at 8 am. I was engaged in cutting sticks in the southern section of the Monastery..... When I had crossed over to the northern section of the Monastery....., I heard a series of gunshots and I remained in the Northern Section therefore till there was a lull in the firing, and continued with my task of carrying the sticks from the Southern to the Northern section.

"When I was about to carry the last lot I saw about 12 Army personnel in the premises of the Southern section. They were in uniform, wore foot-wear, carried guns and about three of them had portable radios in their hands with long antennae. They were about 20 yards away from the cattle-shed of the Monastery farm.

"At this time Brother Wincelkaus had put straw for the cattle in the cattle-shed and was turning back to go to his room. Brother Wincelkaus was dressed in a khaki habit and wore a sash around his waist.

"Through fear I ran towards the Church which was closed and hid near a bush near the West end of the Church.

"From here in a crouched position I saw the same Army personnel who then appeared to be speaking to Brother Wincelkaus. Brother Wincelkaus was facing a South-easterly direction and the soldiers were standing in almost a semi-circle and were facing Brother Wincelkaus.

"In a shortwhile I saw one Army personnel striking Brother Wincelkaus on his hands with some long black object. I saw

Brother Wincelous being struck on his hands twice. The other soldiers were having the guns in their hands as if ready to fire.

"I was so frightened that I decided to run away. As I ran towards the gate of the Southern section of the Monastery, I heard a gunshot coming from the direction of the cattle-shed where I had seen Brother Wincelous and the Army men last. Besides Brother Wincelous and the Army men I did not see anyone else in the premises.

"A short-while later I went home and related these events to my mother."

### **FIFTEEN KILLED DURING 'SEARCH OPERATIONS,': 26 June 1986**

On 26 June 1986, a large number of Army personnel drove into Sambaltivu, a village in Trincomalee to carry out a "cordon and search operation", in the course of which at least 15 Tamil civilians were killed and many properties set on fire by the security forces.

The following is an extract from the sworn statement of a 48-year old former resident of Sambaltivu :-

"My family consisting of my wife, four children (two daughters aged 15 and 2 1/2 and two sons aged 12 and 10 years) and I were living in our house at Athimodai, Sambaltivu prior to 26. 6. 86.

"On 26. 6. 86 at about 10 am Army personnel who came in vehicles with rifles and machine guns started firing, killing about 15 innocent civilians including women, children and infants.

"At this time I was engaged in fishing at Sambaltivu. Three of my children at the school and my wife Gnanapragasam Annaletchumy aged 35 years and my daughter Gnanapiragasam Baleswary aged 2 1/2 years were at home.

"Gun fire was heard and I noticed villagers fleeing to the jungles. Those who were engaged in fishing including myself too joined the villagers. In the jungle I met my three children who were attending school and they informed me that they had come to know from the neighbours that my wife and daughter Baleswary who were at home were shot and killed by Army personnel.

"I could not go home as Army personnel were in the village throughout the day. Subsequently I came to know that my house and house-hold goods along with the dead bodies of my wife and child too were burnt to ashes. About thirty houses were burnt by the Army personnel in this incident in our village.

"My three children and I joined the villagers in a boat and came to Mullaitivu on 30. 6. 86 and from there to Jaffna by a Transport Board bus after three days."

A widow of another 35-year old former resident of Sambaltivu and who was shot dead, gave the following account :-

"I was living with my husband K.....S..... at ..... I am having four children. On 26. 6. 86, during the combing operation by the security forces, my husband while he was at home was taken into custody by the security forces. Then they led my husband to the next compound and shot and killed him without any question along with some other three persons on the spot."

'I, M... M..., aged 29 years, of .... Gurunagar being a Roman Catholic do hereby solemnly sincerely and truly make oath and state as follows:-

'My husband A... A... M..., aged 34 years, was a casual labourer attached to the Municipal Council, Jaffna.

'On 22.5.86 at about 11.00 am Army Personnel from the Army Camp Gurunagar entered our residential area in Army vehicles and arrested about 25 persons all male including my husband.

'Immediately informed the Government Agent and with his letter I went to the Gurunagar Camp on 25th May 1985 to meet my husband.

'At the Army Camp, Gurunagar I was informed that my husband would be released after questioning but was not allowed to see my husband.

'Subsequently I visited Gurunagar Camp on several occasions and I was informed that he had been killed and warned not to visit the Camp.

'Through fear, I stopped visiting the Gurunagar Army Camp to verify about my husband.

'Up to date I have not heard anything about my husband from the Army or any other source.

'I have 6 children, 3 daughters and 3 sons eldest is 11 and the youngest is 2 years,,,

### **THIRTY-FOUR DEAD BODIES FOUND IN THE JUNGLE: 28 JUNE 1986**

Thirty-four dead bodies including that of a woman were discovered on 28 June in a jungle at Thampal-akamam in the Trincomalee district. The victims had reportedly been abducted by Home Guards.

The dead bodies were subsequently identified as those of a local mill-owner, his wife and his employees. The bodies were discovered by the son of the mill-owner when he went in search of his missing mother.

### **EIGHT FARMERS KILLED: 28 JUNE 1986.**

A 68-year old farm manager was one among eight persons arrested, tied to trees and later shot dead by security service personnel in the course of a cordon and search operation by security forces at Paranthan in North Sri Lanka on 28 June 1986.

At the time of their arrest they were working in a poultry farm. Two persons were killed when an attack aircraft dropped bombs. A culvert on the Paranthan-Mullaitivu Road was blasted by the security forces apparently with a view to diverting moving vehicles to follow another route passing an Army Camp.

As usual on the following day the Sri Lankan media published reports attributed to government sources

that "seven terrorists were killed in an encounter" and that the terrorists had blasted the culvert.

### **FISHERMEN KILLED AT SEA: 01.07.86**

On 01 July 1986, several fishermen were engaged in fishing at Karesal Pesalai seas near Mannar. At about 3 p.m. navy personnel in a boat approached the fishermen and opened fire indiscriminately and several were killed.

The following is the sworn testimony of a 28 year old fisherman.

"On 1.7.86 morning Velu, Unka, Rama Krishnan and I were engaged in fishing with several other fishermen who had come from other villages at Karesal Pesalai seas.

"At about 3.00 pm navy personnel in plastic boat sailing fast were approaching us. All the fishermen got excited and were about to jump into the sea. Suddenly navy personnel from the plastic boat ... opened fire at us. I received a severe gun shot injury on my right palm whereas Ramakrishnan sustained an injury on right thigh. I bled profusely and was semiconscious.

"Velu and Unka brought me and Ramakrishnan to the sea shore in the same boat. While we were taken to the sea shore we were able to notice several bodies floating and injured fishermen struggling in the sea.

"I was then taken and admitted to Mannar Base Hospital along with Ramakrishnan. Both of us were transferred to Jaffna Central Hospital after 7 days by bus and admitted to ward No 6 on 10.7.86 at about 2.00 pm".

### **HOME GUARDS KILL ELEVEN: 9 JULY 1986**

Eleven Tamils, three males, five females and three children were killed on 9 July, 1986 by Home Guards armed with guns, swords and other dangerous weapons when they entered Unit 9, Mullipothanai, a Tamil settlement at Thampalakamam in Trincomalee and fired indiscriminately at the people. A woman, who survived the attack, said in her sworn testimony :-

"On 9. 7. 86 at 4.30 p.m. armed personnel came to our place and on account of fear, I, my, and my children went to the place of Saravanamuthu for safety.

"Armed personnel came to the place of Saravanamuthu and shot at random and my daughter Shyamala aged 6 months received injuries and died. My child Parimala received injuries. My mother Sivanesam was shot dead at the spot.

"Chitra my sister's daughter who was maintained and looked after by me was also injured."

Another person, whose wife and grand-daughter also were killed during this incident, said, in his sworn statement :-

"My wife V.... S.... aged 50 years was living with my daughter .... in ..... Mullipothanai.

"On 9th. July 1986 at about 4 p.m. armed men and some others with knives, clubs and weapons came and the person with the gun shot at my wife as she was running to my home and she died on the spot. She was carrying our grand-daughter, Sharmila aged 6 months. The infant child also died at the spot...."

### **FAMILY KILLED: 13 JULY 1986**

On 13 July, 1986, three members of the security forces deliberately shot and killed the mother, brother and two sisters of Mrs. Selvarasa Thevi from Pavatkulam in Vavuniya in North Sri Lanka. They also killed her two neighbours aged 70 and 38 years. Mrs. Selvarasa Thevi also was attacked, but survived to tell the tale of the tragedy that struck the family. The following is Mrs. Selvarasa Thevi's sworn testimony \*-

"I was living with my brother Subramaniam Veerasingam (38), my mother Parasakthy (48), sisters Yogamangalam (19), Jeyamany (13), my young sister and two children at Pavatkulam for the last six years as my husband had deserted me.

"On 13. 7. 86 at about 2.15 p.m. I was having lunch with my two sisters Yogamangalam and Jeyamany. My youngest sister and my two children had gone to another house to play. My brother and mother were sleeping in a room. At that time three uniformed men came in a jeep and stopped in front of our house. They then got down and walked towards our house. Two of the uniformed men were clad in khaki uniform and the other in grey-coloured uniform.

"The two dressed in khaki uniform stood in front of our house while the third in grey uniform went to the next house and came back dragging Kuddiyur Kanapathy (70) and Arumugam Vaithilingam (38) two of our neighbours. These two were made to stand in the front compound of our house. The three uniformed men then asked us to come out of the house.

"I fell at the feet of one of them and begged him not to harm us. He scolded me in Sinhala and hit me with the butt end of the gun.

"My mother then came out and walked up to one of them. He pointed the gun at her and threatened to shoot her. My mother then ran back into the house. The man in grey uniform then ordered my brother to come out. I gave my brother his National Identity Card and told him to show it to him. When my brother attempted to show his Identity Card the person in grey uniform hit my brother with the gun. All of us then were ordered again to come out and we did so.

"Two boys Kumar and Kulendran from the neighbourhood who were in our house at the time were taken to the rear of the kitchen by one of the men and asked to show where the Cottiyas (Tigers in Sinhala) were. At this time my mother and sister Jeyamany were on the verandah. They were asked to come down. I was standing in the compound near my brother. I asked my sister to go and bring my two children and my youngest sister and she left the place to do so.

"My brother then told me in Tamil, 'there is no escape for us' and grabbed the grey uniformed man's gun. To help my brother I too got hold of the gun. The grey uniformed man then cried out

something in Sinhala and the khaki uniformed man who had gone to the rear of the house came back running and shot my brother who received the shot in his chest. The second shot fired at him hit me also and both my brother and myself fell down. Then the man in grey uniform then shot at my mother too and she fell down. My sister Yogamangalam came up to the man in grey uniform and asked him to shoot her too and he shot her in the face. As the three uniformed men were running out my sister Jeyamany who had gone to bring my children returned alone on hearing the gunshots. She (Jeyamany) then shouted out to the uniformed men, 'you have shot my mother, shoot me also.' One of the uniformed men then shot her too and left. While leaving they shot K. Kanapathy and A. Vaithilingam. K. Kanapathy died on the spot. I understand that A. Vaithilingam who ran away after receiving the gunshots fell into a well accidentally and died.

"I went up to my mother and saw that she had been shot in the stomach. I then told my mother that she was going to die and that I too would ask these men to shoot me too. My mother asked where my sister Yogamangalam had been injured and I told my mother that she had been shot in the face. She then stroked my hand where I had been injured and asked me to run away and escape.

"The two boys who had been taken to the rear portion of the house and were in hiding came out of their hiding place and asked me to run away with them. I told them that we must carry my mother and take her along with us as my brother and sisters were dead. My mother then said that she would definitely die and wanted us to run away and escape. The two boys and I then ran into the jungle. When we were in the jungle my youngest sister and my two children joined us. They told us that they had gone home and my mother had asked them to find us and run away.

"We waited in the jungle till dark and then went and stayed in a house. The following morning we decided to go back to our house where we found the dead bodies of my brother, my mother and two sisters. My brother's dead body lay with one hand clutching his National Identity Card. The gold ring he was wearing was missing. I then arranged the dead bodies as best as I could, kissed the dead bodies and left with my children and youngest sister. I then walked to Cheddikulam and handed over my children and youngest sister to the Reverend Sister-in-Charge of the Convent. I made a complaint to the Grama Sevaka who instructed me to go to the Army Camp and lodge a complaint. At the army camp I was asked about the persons who had come to our house and I told them that I would be able to identify them if I saw them again. They then produced a person with a gun and I was asked whether the uniformed men who had come to our house possessed similar guns and I replied that two of them possessed the same type of guns.

"The army officials then told me that these uniformed men must have been Tamil terrorists posing off as army personnel and I replied that they were not Tamil terrorists but Sinhala soldiers as they spoke in broken Tamil when they pointed out to my brother and asked me whether he was my husband.

"I was taken in an army vehicle to the hospital where they informed the doctor that my hand may have to be amputated and that I should be sent to the Anuradhapura General Hospital. Army personnel then brought a truck in which there was an old Sinhalese lady and wanted to take me to Anuradhapura Hospital. I declined saying that I had to first attend to the funeral arrangements of my mother, brother and sisters. Army personnel then left.

"My cousin then came in search of me and took me on his bicycle to my house where I came to know that Ariyanathan Kalyani (30) a Sinhalese, Sritharan (14) and Rasan son of Piyadasa too had been shot dead in this incident.

"When all the bodies were about to be cremated army personnel came on the scene and took away the dead bodies lying on the pyre and in the cemetery. I then travelled to Jaffna and got admitted at General Hospital Jaffna for treatment."

'On July 14, 1986 at about 2.30 A.M. I left home with my brother-in-law Kathirimalai Jeyadas(28) in a cataraman (a fishing boat). Within fifteen minutes when we were about two miles from the shore we encountered a Navy boat which came towards us firing at random.

'The security services personnel in the Navy boat ordered us to stop and when we stopped we saw four of them - one of whom wore a green-coloured iron helmet and an Army khaki green-patched shirt and wore bells and was armed with a gun. The others wore banians and shorts and bells, none were in Navy uniform, they spoke to us in broken Tamil and were speaking to one another in Sinhalese.

'They said 'you are fishing and earning money and supplying food and money to the Tigers. Your Tigers have cut and killed our people in Trincomalee. You must be taught a lesson and then the Tigers will be tamed., They threw a rope and asked us to tie our boat to the Navy boat and dragged us further up another two miles. They asked us to keep our hands on the ridge of the Navy boat trampled our hands and hit us with our oars. They got our Kerosene can and poured it on me and tried to ignite me with a cigarette lighter but to the blowing it did not catch fire, they gave a sword 5 feet long and six inches broad with a pointed tip and asked my brother-in-law to cut me when I raised my hands in worshipping position and begged my brother-in-law not to cut me. As my brother-in-law was hesitating, the man with the gun opened fire and one bullet struck my brother-in-law and he fell on our craft and simultaneously I too fell into the sea pretending that I was shot. I remained in the sea for sometime since I could dive and I heard another volley of shots being sprayed on my brother-in-law who was groaning in pain and then there was stillness.

'Slowly without disturbing the water I began to swim back to the shore and I reached the shore at about 5.30 A.M. having swum about four miles.

'I circulated the news of this tragedy and left with an uncle of mine A. Palanivelswamy in another craft towards our stranded craft in the sea.

'When we reached the stranded craft, we did not see the body of my brother-in-law but saw only pieces of flesh from his body.

'On further search, we found a rope tied to the craft and when we lifted it, it was heavy and we found it was the dead body of my brother-in-law. It was naked and even his clothes which were new had been removed by the personnel who came in the Navy boat

'There were two gunshot injuries on his chest, two deep stab wounds on his stomach through which the intestines were protruding, several cut marks on hip, thighs, back, knees, buttocks etc. and the flesh on both his calves had been scaled off.

'We brought the body to the shore and it was cremated the following day."

## OVER 50 KILLED - 13 JULY 1986

On 13 July 1986 a group of army men went into Adampan in the Mannar district to conduct a cordon and search operation in the course of which many Tamil and Muslim civilians were shot and killed. The death toll in this operation, which included strafing from helicopters, was estimated to be over 50.

The following are extracts from a sworn statement made by a 36 year old Tamil woman from Uyilankulam who was married to a Muslim man:-

"As my husband is paralysed, it was sister's son Sellathamby Kanagasabai, whose mother is dead and who was staying with us since then, that was earning our livelihood through a small bicycle repair shop he was conducting at Sinnapunganthalu, Uylankulam.

"On 12.07.1986, the above-named Sellathamby Kanagasabai went to Adampan to visit one of our relatives Nagoorpitchai Abdul Razak who was having a grocery and textile shop at Nedunkani Adampan and stayed there overnight.

"On 13.07.1986, the army had surrounded the village of Adampan on a combing out operation, and they had entered the said Rasak's house and shop and shot him dead, his wife and his six children, and the above named Sellathambi Kanagasabai and Salim Sadick and Sahul Hameed Gaffoor.

"On 13th July evening, the surviving members of Razak's family came to our house and said that the above - named Sellathamby Kanagasabai had also been shot along with their father, mother and brothers and sisters.

"His body was handed over to the Base Hospital, Mannar and we took charge of his body and had his body buried at the Mannar Cemetery".

#### **FORTY-FOUR REFUGEES KILLED: 16 JULY 1986**

At least 44 Tamil civilians, mostly refugees, were deliberately shot and killed when members of the security forces entered the villages of Peruveli and Manalchenai in the Trincomalee district during the early hours of 16 July 1986. The majority of the victims were forcibly removed from the Peruveli refugee camp and shot dead.

An inquest was held by the Magistrate of Muthur, Mr. Kathravetpillai, who returned a verdict of homicide. Within two hours of the announcement of the verdict, all the relevant papers were flown to Colombo by helicopter. Up-to-date there is no evidence that further action has been taken to investigate, identify and punish those responsible for this massacre.

One 20-year old widow of a victim said in her sworn testimony:-

"We were living in the Peruveli refugee camp after the destruction of Mallikaithivu.

"On 16. 7. 86 my husband V..... E..... 27 years, was pulled out of the shed in the Refugee Camp by the security forces and shot inside the school premises and set fire to the hut burning all our belongings".

A 32-year old widow of another victim said in her sworn testimony :-

" We were living at the Peruveli Refugee Camp after Mallikaithivu had been destroyed.

"On 16. 7. 86 we heard the reports of guns from 3.30 am. We ran into the school building from our huts through fear. At

about 7 am. the army personnel entered the school building, caught hold of my husband A..... S..... 39 years, kicked him and hit him with the butt of the gun. He shouted and cried out to leave him, his wife and five children; yet they kicked him, dragged him out and shot him with ten others."

Another woman, aged 28 years, described in her sworn testimony as to how her husband was dragged out of the house and shot dead :-

"My husband and I were living with our five children at Peruveli.

"On 16. 7. 86 at about 7 am. the security forces came along the road where our house was and two of them entered the house, dragged out my husband T..... T..... aged 35 years, assaulted him, pulled him to a distance and shot him dead."

Another woman aged, 48 years, from Manalchenai described in her sworn statement as to how her 56-year old husband was killed and their house looted :-

"I was living with my husband and three children at Manalchenai.

"At about 6 a.m. on 16. 7. 86 four army personnel entered my house and two of them pulled my husband S..... S..... out of the house and shot him near the gate while the other two broke the suit-case and removed the valuables from it....."

A 67-year old woman described in her sworn statement as to how her 26-year old son was killed :-

"We were living at Peruveli Refugee Camp after Mallikaithivu was destroyed.

"On 16. 7. 86, I heard the firing sound all round the village from 3.30 am. onwards, and at 7 o'clock in the morning, they surrounded the camp. I was there in the refugee shed in the school premises with my son K..... R..... aged 28 years. Some army personnel entered the shed caught my son, hit and kicked him brutally with feet and butt of the gun and dragged him about forty yards and finally shot him.

"My son was the only bread-winner of the family and he had never identified himself with any illegal activities against the government".

#### **TEN KILLED IN HELICOPTER ATTACK ON BUS: 17 July 1986.**

At least ten passengers travelling in a State Transport Board bus were killed when it was bombed from a helicopter on 17 July 1986 at Mullaitivu in Northern Sri Lanka. The following is an account given by an Attorney-at-Law, who was travelling in the bus and survived the bombing :-

"I am an Attorney-at-Law by profession practising chiefly in the Magistrate's Court of Mullaitivu, Vavuniya and Mannar and in the High Court of Anuradhapura. I am also the Secretary of the Mullaitivu Bar Association.

"On 17.7.86 I left Mullaitivu at about 6.15 A.M. by the N.R.T.B. bus bound to Vavuniya. I do not know the number of same. But both the driver (Mr. Emmanuel) and Conductor (Mr. Kengatharan) were known to me.

"The bus in which I travelled covered about 17 miles and arrived at Thanduvan at about 7.15 A.M. or so. A few villagers stopped



the bus and cautioned us not to proceed any further as there was some trouble at Nedunkerni area by Army personnel. Consequently the bus was parked there for a short while. Later for the purpose of providing shelter for all the inmates of the bus, the Driver took the bus and alighted between the engine and the foot-board. I heard a terrible blast. I think I was dazed.

"When I regained my senses, I found most of the passengers, had fled from the bus except the injured who were shrieking in agony. I observed six dead bodies including that of the Driver, a young girl and an old lady, whom I later learned to be a retired mid-wife, in the bus itself. When I got out of the bus I saw another corpse on the road, behind the bus. I assisted certain injured persons to leave the bus. Gradually, those in the neighbourhood started gathering at the scene of the incident. With their assistance we transported the injured to Mullaitivu in a tractor. On our way an injured female succumbed to her injuries.

"Subsequently the injured persons were transferred to a lorry. Before we reached Mullaitivu, an injured youngster also passed away.

"We were warded in the Base hospital, Mullaitivu and underwent treatment. Three patients whose condition was critical, were despatched to the General Hospital, Jaffna by ambulance. Later (at 5 P.M.) I was transferred to Jaffna Hospital along with seven other victims of the air shelling by the District Medical Officer, Mullaitivu, by a special service bus provided by Mullaitivu N.R.T.B. depot. We were held up by the army officials at the Elephant Pass Check Point for about 45 minutes. By the time we reached our destination (at 10.30 p.m. on 17.07.86) another Muslim patient by the name of Fareed Faisal was dead. I was admitted in the surgical ward. I have multiple punctured wounds in my neck, nose, fore-head and head caused by the splinters of the bomb. I still have severe pain in my left side ribs. Owing to the shock created by the bomb blast I have lost the hearing faculty of my right ear, as a consequence of perforations in my ear-drum.

"To the best of my knowledge and belief, there were no militants in the above ill-fated bus and all those who died and were injured are civilians."

**'My wife named Seethathevi was taken into custody by the armed force during the combing operations and shot dead on 25 May 1986. Immediately afterwards her body was burnt by the armed forces and left without any further action.**

**My wife the aforesaid had given birth to a child twenty days ago; accompanied by one of her sons named J..... aged 10 years (she) had gone to the Government Dispensary, Kinniya, for treatment; on her return at Sarankal the aforesaid tragedy occurred in the presence of her son, the said J....., who will testify to the aforesaid incidents,,**

**-Extract of a sworn affidavit by a resident of Nayamarathidal, Thampalakamam in the Eastern Province of Sri Lanka.**

### **POLICE COMMANDOS KILL 11: 19 SEPTEMBER 1986**

Seven policemen travelling in a jeep were injured following an explosion of a bomb planted in a car allegedly by a Tamil guerrilla group on 19 February 1986 in Batticaloa. Police Commandos of the Special Task Force (STF) went on a rampage in the Batticaloa district following this incident. They went to a private tutoring and shot at the students. They shot

dead a 67-year old workman of St. Anthony's Church. At least 11 civilians were killed and several others injured. The bodies of the following were identified by relatives:-

Sunderarajah (15) of Koolavady  
Sivanesarasa (27) of Pullumalai  
Panchalingam (20) of Puliyaadikuda  
Ravindran (19) of Sathurukkondan  
Ponnuthurai (37) of Kottaikallaru and one-and-a-half year old child, Bartlett of Batticaloa  
James Jeyakumar (17), Rajendram (18), Arulanandam (22), Suppiah (40), Amirthalingam (35) of Selvanagar and Nallarattam (42) were van drivers reportedly burnt with their vans, and another unidentified young woman.

The following injured were hospitalised :-

Revd. Father Ananthan (37), Luxmy (15), Sinnathamby (65), Nathan (16), Soosaipillai (40), Sirisena (28), Lingarajah (29), Jesuthasan (43), Nagalingam (35), and Rajendran (15).

According to report by the Citizens' Committee of the area the following were reported to be missing :-

Thayaparan (20), Rajeswaran (18), Sivaseelan (28), Cheran (26), Panchayuthan (30), Sivakumar (20), Vijayan (20).

The Bishop of Batticaloa and Trincomalee the Revd. Kingsley Swampillai, in a letter to President Jayawardene said :-

"Terrorism should not be welcome in any form.

"It is the duty of the security forces to provide protection to the people. They are paid by the state exchequer from the taxes levied from the people. Those very forces are killing the people without remorse or pity and this is a cause for censure.

"Three days ago (19 September) the security forces in a 'gunning spree' killed 18 innocent people in Batticaloa town.

A worker attached to the Church of St. Anthony's was individually downed by bullets.

Aerial bombing, bullet spraying have been undertaken by security forces under the cloak of security. The hapless victims in this type of action have been innocent civilians.

It is, therefore, necessary that suitable action acceptable to all be formulated to bring an end to these inhuman acts."

### **TWENTY-ONE CIVILIANS KILLED: 12/22 OCTOBER 1986**

On 12 October 1986, several soldiers were killed when an army unit engaged in "combing operations" at Adampan in North-western Mannar district, was ambushed by a group of Tamil guerrillas. Following this incident the armed forces launched a massive retaliatory military operation in the area lasting several days.

According to details given in two separate memoranda sent to President Jayawardene by the Mannar District Citizens' Committee, at least 21 civilian Tamils were killed and 15 were injured between 12

and 22 October in the Adampan and Madhu areas. The Citizens' Committee also pointed out that "there was large scale and intensive bombing from the air, strafing from helicopter gunships and artillery shelling and thus more than 200 houses in the area have been razed to the ground".

The list of civilians killed during the military operations included the following :-

Name	Sex	Age
(From Adampan Area)		
1. A. Missias	M	28
2. A. Francis	M	35
3. U. Jeyaseelan	M	22
4. K. Yovan	M	60
5. M. Selvaraj	M	14
6. A. Gaspar	M	56
7. G. Veerai	F	40
8. G. Tharumaseli	F	17
9. G. Devarani	F	06
10. G. Devarasa	M	05
11. G. Arulnayaki	F	02
12. T. Devasagayam	M	72
13. Daisy Mariamma	F	60
14. S. Nagamma	F	70
15. M. Nagamuthu	F	84
16. V. Selvam	M	24
From Madhu Area		
17. K. Sasirani	F	02
18. K. Kiruparani	F	10
19. K. Alagamuthu	F	55
20. E. Ernestine	F	11
21. J. Francis	M	55

### REFUGEES KILLED AS TERRORISTS: 31 OCTOBER 1986

On 31 October 1986 security services personnel entered two refugee camps at Kathiraveli and Ampanthaveli in East Sri Lanka and took away a large number of Tamils. Although the majority of them were subsequently released, at least five of them "disappeared" while in custody : Sabapathy Mahendran, Ramalingam Rudhrakumar, Kathiramathamby Theivanayagam, Thambipillai Sivagnanasunderam, Kasinathan Kanthalingam and Sangaralingam.

On 3 November 1986, it was announced over the Sri Lankan TV that six terrorists had been shot dead giving the names of the six persons mentioned above.

### 20 KILLED AND 21 "MISSING" : 11 NOVEMBER 86

At least 20 Tamil civilians were shot and killed and several houses and shops were set on fire when security forces went on a rampage on 11 November 1986 at Periya Pullumalai, a village in the Eastern Batticaloa District.

The security forces also took into custody three Tamil women whose dead bodies, after having been raped and with gunshot injuries were subsequently discovered. Twenty-one others who were captured by the security forces had gone "missing".

Following the violence over 350 families had fled the village and gone to Batticaloa.

The newspapers in Colombo subsequently reported that an inquiry into the incident was held by three Senior Army Officers headed by the Joint Chief-of-Staff; however, the outcome of this "inquiry" had not been published although it was reported that 35 witnesses had testified.

'Bomb-blasts, rocket-blasts, shell-blasts, machine-gun fire etc, have become everyday occurrences for us. We are being attacked from the land, from the sea and even from the air. Hundreds of peaceful, unarmed Tamil civilians have been killed or wounded during such attacks, carried out during the past few months by the Government Forces in places like Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Vavuniya, Mannar, Mullaitivu, Kilinochchi, Valvettiturai, Jaffna, Kayts, Mandaitivu.

Many peaceful Tamil civilians have been brutally massacred by the Armed Forces in Murunkan, Cheddikulam, Iruthayapuram, Akkaraipattu, Kurikadduvan, Mandaitivu and other places. Thousands of peaceful Tamil civilians, who have been forced to flee from their traditional homes due to the activities of the Armed Forces, are not being properly cared for by the Government. Fishing, the only livelihood of thousands of peaceful Tamil civilians, has been totally banned in the Northern Eastern seas. All these clearly show that on the pretext of fighting the 'Marxist Tamil terrorists', the Government is intent on the annihilation of the Tamils living in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

The Citizens' Committees of the Northern and Eastern Provinces have appealed several times to the President of Sri Lanka against these inhuman measures taken against peaceful defenceless people but with no effect. Since the peaceful Tamil civilians of the Northern and Eastern Provinces have no effective means at their disposal to defend themselves against the unjust attack on their lives and properties, the time has come to feel for us to raise our voice and make an appeal to the United Nations Organisation to take effective steps to halt the annihilation of the peaceful, defenceless Tamil civilians of the Northern and Eastern Provinces"

- Rt. Rev. Dr. B. Deogupillai, Bishop of Jaffna, Sri Lanka, on 19 June 1986.

### SHOT DEAD IN PADDY FIELD: 14 NOVEMBER 1986

On 14 November 1986 at about 5.30 am., a group of security service personnel went into the village of Sampoor in Muthur in the Eastern Province and indiscriminately fired shots in the direction of the paddy field aimed at some farmers who had been there from the previous evening keeping a watch over the crops during the night.

At least six farmers died as a result. They were :-

1. Velayuthan Sivapal, 45 years
2. Saravanamuthu Nallathamby, 35 years
3. Sivarasa Sivakumar, 20 years

4. Pechamuthu Manoharan, 30 years
5. Nagaratnam Gunarasa, 33 years
6. Vyramuthu Mathavarasa, 35 years.

**DETAINED, RELEASED AND SHOT DEAD:  
23 NOVEMBER 1986**

A young Tamil, carpenter by trade, was detained at the Kallady Army Camp in the Batticaloa District. On 23 November, 1986 he was released from detention.

Within minutes of his returning home at Boundary Road, a group of men belonging to the Special Task Force forced themselves into his house, pulled him out of the house, dragged him on to the road and shot him dead.

In the random shooting that followed, another youth and a 50-year old woman were shot dead and about 20 persons were injured. In spite of repeated requests from relatives, the bodies of the dead persons were not released and they were removed by the Special Task Force.

**PASSENGERS KILLED:  
5 DECEMBER 1986.**

Six passengers in a bus which was proceeding from Jaffna in the North towards Kalmunai in the east was indiscriminately fired at by members of the S.T.F. when the bus had reached Kalawanchikudy.

Four persons including the conductor were killed in the attack which took place in the night. Four other passengers and the driver, who were injured were admitted to the hospital. However, subsequently the driver and a passenger succumbed to their injuries.

**THREE SHOT DEAD:  
8 DECEMBER 1986**

Three persons from a refugee camp at Nilaveli in the Trincomalee district who went to collect firewood were shot and killed reportedly by army men near the 12th. mile post. The dead bodies had been taken to the army camp at Irakkakandy where a woman identified the bodies of her husband and that of another man.

The following is a sworn statement of the widow of one of the victims of the shooting:-

"I was living as a refugee at Varatharajah Hotel, Nilaveli with my husband and three children after the attack of Kuchaveli village by the security forces on 2. 6. 85 in which all houses were gutted by fire and the villagers lost all their belongings and fled to safer places, following the attack on the Kuchaveli Police Station the previous day.

"On 8 December 1986 my husband V..... P..... aged 38 years with Chelliah Vijayakumar, bullock-cart owner went to bring firewood and did not return home in the evening.

On 9th. December 1986 news spread among the refugees that on the previous day at about 6 p.m. three men had been shot dead with a cart-load of firewood at 12th. mile post while they were coming towards Nilaveli along the Nilaveli- Irakkakandy Road and the dead bodies had been taken to the Army camp at Irakkakandy.

"I went to the army camp in the company of another male in the refugee camp whose name I am not aware and made inquiries regarding my husband. The soldier who was at the sentry denied first that any dead bodies having been brought to the camp and after a while informed us to call over at 4 p.m. so that the dead bodies could be seen after the arrival of the helicopter bringing official to hold the inquest and post-mortem.

"At 4 p.m. when we went again in the company of my three children and a niece of my husband and the other male who accompanied me in the morning, I and the niece of my husband only were permitted to see the dead body of my husband and we identified it.

"I requested that the dead body of my husband be handed over to pay our last respects and bury it according to Hindu rites but it was disallowed.

**HALF-BURNT BODIES  
IN PIT: 9 DECEMBER 1986**

On 9 December 1986, at about 12 midnight, a group of armed men believed to be "Home Guards" entered the houses of three Tamils and a Muslim in Kinniya in Trincomalee district and took away four persons. On the following day the dead bodies of three persons were found half-burnt and buried in two pits at Alankerny about three kilometres from Kinniya. These bodies were brought by the relatives to the Kinniya hospital and then to the Trincomalee Base Hospital where post-mortem examinations were carried out. The details of the four victims are as follow :-1. Rasiah Panchalingam, 36 years, male, an employee of the Kinniya Multi-Purpose Co-operative Store

2. Sellathamby Velayutham, 40 years, male, an employee of the Anti-Malaria Campaign unit

3. Pitchaithamby Faisal, aged 26 years, male and a farmer

4. Somasunderam Amirthalingam, aged 22 years, male and a farmer.

**EIGHT SHOT DEAD IN  
SLEEP: 31.12.86.**

Eight farmers while sleeping in their huts at Pankulam in Trincomalee were shot dead by security forces in the course of a search operation conducted by about 200 men.

The dead bodies of the farmers were set on fire as were their huts.

Pankulam had been a target of attack by the security forces even previously and many of its inhabitants, essentially farmers, had fled this village. The farmers, who became victims of this attack would appear to have been given special permission by the Army authorities to return and cultivate their land.

'Kathan Letchumi - 55 years - wife of Arumugam Nallathamby of Akkaraipattu not being a Christian affirm and declare as follows:

'The late Arumugam Nallathamy was my husband. We had eight children - 7 boys and 1 girl. We reside at Akkaraipattu. My husband was a cultivator - cultivating 12 acres of land owned by us at Udumbankulam in the AGA's Division of Thirukkivil. My two eldest sons are cultivators.

'My third son Arumugam Vinayagamoorthy was killed by the Forces at Udumbankulam on 19th February, 1986.

'He was married and had five children aged 10, 08, 06, 03 years and 02 months. My fourth son Karunanithy had been killed by the Special Task Force on 23.03.85 during a search operation in our village.

'My fifth son Jeganathan was employed as a clerk at the High Court, Jaffna. He was arrested at Kirankulam on his way to Jaffna on 30.11.85 by the Special Task Force. The Special Task Force denies any knowledge of his whereabouts, and complaints made by me to the persons in Authority have proved futile and they are refusing to disclose his whereabouts. My daughter Devaki is 6th in my family. She has one child, 3 months old. Her husband Kanthappu Pakiyarasa was also killed by the Forces at Udumbankulam on 19th February 1986.

The seventh member of my family is Thurairajasingam. He was arrested by the S.T.F. on 5th January, 1986 when the S.T.F. carried out a mass search operation in our village. He has not

been released up-to-date.

The youngest member of my family was Gopalakrishnan. He was also killed by the Forces at Udumbankulam on 19.02.86.

'My husband was allotted lands at Udumbankulam by the Government in 1965. At that time these lands were jungle. We cut the jungle uprooted the trees and with our toil converted the virgin jungle into a fertile paddy field. We have been cultivating these lands for the last 20 years and these lands were our only source of income. My husband as usual commenced cultivation of our land and other lands leased by him from others in October, 1985 and the fields were harvested in February this year. My husband with my two sons Vinayagamoorthy and Gopalakrishnan my son-in-law Kanthppu Pakiarasa, my daughter-in-law Gandimathi, my nieces and sister-in-law and eight gypsies from Aligambai were working in the field threshing the paddy which had been reaped and stacked. The tractor belonging to my son driven by Thasappu Selliah was in the field.

'Members of the forces had come there in the morning of 19th February. They had shot my husband, two sons and son-in-law and also had raped my daughter-in-law.

'My son's tractor and the paddy that had been threshed had also been removed by the Forces.

'By the action of the Forces my entire family has been destroyed and we have been left ruined and destitute.'

## Notes

## Notes

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