

# TAMIL

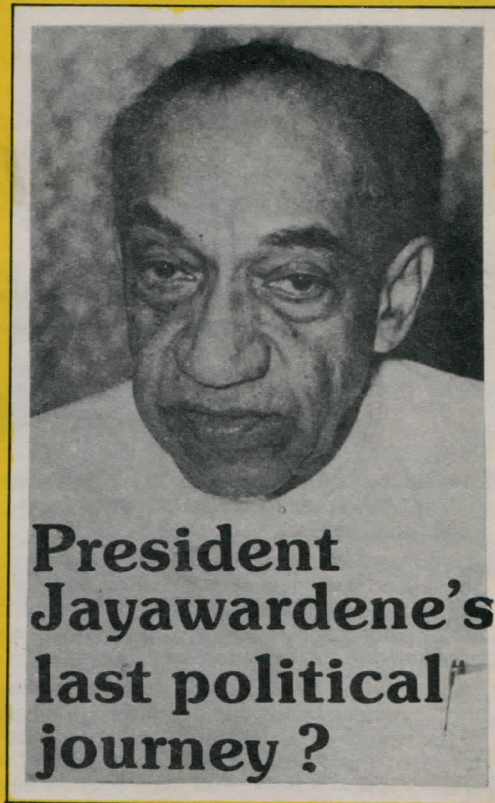
## International



### • Jaffna — A Dying City



**MRS. INDIRA GANDHI  
AND SRI LANKA  
WHAT ARE HER OPTIONS ?**



**President  
Jayawardene's  
last political  
journey ?**

- International law and Intervention
- Arab nations turn the screws on Sri Lanka
- How the Minister escaped the time bomb!

## The Central British Fund for Tamil Refugees Rehabilitation



- \* The Central British Fund for Tamil Refugees Rehabilitation (C.B.F.T.R.R.) is an incorporated national and overseas charity established in 1979.
- \* The purpose of its establishment is to relieve poverty amongst persons of Tamil race or origin whose mother tongue is Tamil and in particular to relieve poverty amongst such persons who are displaced or refugees or victims of war and disturbances or oppression and the families and dependants of such persons.
- \* Soon after the 1977 pogrom although assistance came from the Government and other organisations initially in the running of the Refugee Camps, no funds were available for Rehabilitation of the Refugees. This led to the formation of the C.B.F.T.R.R.
- \* Since its inception, C.B.F.T.R.R. has assisted in the settlement of the Refugees in Tamil Homelands through Gandhiyam and Tamil Refugees Rehabilitation Organisation of Sri Lanka.
- \* In the July 1983 pogrom, over 150,000 persons were rendered refugees and C.B.F.T.R.R. was able to release Rs. 600,000 for programmes aimed at providing immediate relief to the Victims.
- \* Collected and sent over 6,000 books on all aspects of education for the Jaffna Public Library.
- \* Established the Tamil Information Centre and internationalised the Tamil problem.
- \* Currently involved in Rehabilitation programmes aimed at helping refugees in Tamil Homelands in Sri Lanka.

# TAMIL International

Editor: S. Sivanayagam

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Kingdom.

So, Mossad is here!

The speed with which President Jayawardene moved in to fill the awed silence that followed the tragic blast at Madras airport was a classic demonstration of the art of political one-upmanship. Even before Madras could blink its eyes or count its dead, the 78-year fox was busy writing a letter to Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi not merely expressing the customary "shock and grief" but calling on her to "unite to fight terrorism"! The insinuation was as loud as the bomb.

If getting the first word in, is the characteristic of a seasoned campaigner like Jayawardene, leaving deceptive trails is the hall-mark of a professional killer organisation. Sticking a Colombo destination label on a piece of baggage does not necessarily mean that the baggage was meant to go to Colombo. It only means that we are asked to think so. We do not even know whether there were more telephone calls than what we are supposed to know, or what they said. There is apparently much more in the Madras airport tragedy than what meets the eye.

If there is another characteristic that President Jayawardene shares with — yes, the Mossad outfit from Israel — it is this: Carry the war into the enemy camp; always. It is known that in an attempt to appease angry Arab nations soon after the induction of Mossad into Sri Lanka's internal affairs, the Colombo government tried to plead that Mossad help was sought only to meet "external terrorist" threats. The insinuation against Tamilnadu was again clear. It is also known that a retired high-ranking Sri Lankan Police officer has been given a virtual blank cheque to set up a Mossad-trained outfit in Madras itself. A cocktail party boast by a Sri Lankan High Commission official that Indian mediamen could be bought over with imported Scotch might not prove true except maybe in the rare case of one or two. But to hire Tamil agents for the Mossad strike force with attractive dirty money may not prove so difficult.

To the several thousands of Sri Lankan Tamil refugees and exiles, and particularly to the various liberation groups and activists who have fled danger in their own country and found temporary sanctuary in Tamilnadu, the writing on the wall is now clear. Even Tamilnadu is becoming unsafe. The long hand of President Jayawardene's State terrorism is reaching out. It may well prove to be that the first MOSSAD harvest was reaped at Madras airport on the night of August 2. The Eelam liberation battle cannot anymore be fought on Tamilnadu soil, through newspaper statements and human rights seminars. It can only be done on the soil that generated it and the land that needs the liberation. ■

## TAMIL INFORMATION

TAMIL INTERNATIONAL was launched in Madras dated 1 July 1984. Around the same time in New York, the International Tamil Conference meeting in Nanuet adopted a resolution for the setting up a BODY called THAMIL INTERNATIONAL.

Ours is an independent journal published by the Tamil Information Centre, London, with its branches in Besant Nagar, Madras and in Madurai, and with no affiliation whatsoever with any other body in any part of the world. Since the directorate of the TIC felt that the identicalness of the names has led to some public confusion and may lead to further embarrassment in the independent functioning of the journal, it was decided to change the title to TAMIL INFORMATION.

Although it was our intention to appear fortnightly beginning 1 July, we have been unable to maintain this periodicity because of these unforeseen problems. The next issue bearing the new name will be issued on 1 September, and thereafter the fortnightly frequency will be maintained. Readers are requested to bear with us until then. Thank you.

தமிழ்த் தேசிய ஆவணச் சுவடிகள்

# The Institute of Race Relations

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'Sri Lanka: racism and the authoritarian state', *Race & Class*, Summer 1984, 200 pages, £3.50, publication date 23 July, 1984. Available from The Institute of Race Relations, 247, Pentonville Road, London, N. 1.

## Now Available!

To mark the anniversary of the July 1983 pogrom in Sri Lanka, in which 2,000 Tamils were killed and thousands made homeless, *Race & Class*, the journal of the London-based Institute of Race Relations, has published a special double issue — 'Sri Lanka: Racism and the Authoritarian State'.

The articles not only include a narration of the events, but look to their causes — at class formation and the type of racism that has developed; at the position of the Tamil plantation workers in an overall examination of state racism; and at the culture of racism as political diatribe — notably in the speeches and writings of Cabinet Minister Cyril Mathew. The issue also contains background materials on discrimination and state aggression against Tamil people, human rights violations and the first comprehensive bibliography on July 1983.

All this is set in the framework of 'Sri Lanka: racism and the politics of underdevelopment', by A. Sivanandan, the Sri Lanka editor of *Race & Class*. In this article, he traces the history of state racism, setting his analysis in the context of underdevelopment and imperialist strategy, and points to the symbiotic relationship between racism and dictatorship in Third World countries.

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# JAYAWARDENE'S LAST POLITICAL JOURNEY ?

It seldom happens that a Head of Government (and Head of State) visits four important world capitals within the space of a month — but that is precisely what President Junius Richard Jayawardene of Sri Lanka did during May-June.

On May 19 he was winging his way to Beijing, on June 16 he was in Washington five days later in London and a few days later in New Delhi. But wherever he went, be it Beijing, Washington, London or Delhi, there was one BEE that was constantly buzzing in his bonnet — and that the TERRORISM. Terrorism with a capital "T". He talked Terrorism at breakfast, talked Terrorism at brunch, at lunch, at dinner and supper. He also talked Terrorism at Cocktails and at Press Conferences. In fact he seemed hardly capable of talking anything else beside Terrorism. How does one explain this 78-year old's insatiable appetite for talking Terrorism? Is his "Terrorism" problem at home become so gigantic and unmanageable that he needs the help of one Superpower and three major powers to meet it, or is it all a gigantic hoax that he is trying to inflict on what he thinks is a gullible world? President Jayawardene's peregrinations to Beijing, Washington and London had one primary purpose, and Terrorism was only incidental to it. It was to sell his fear of "Indian expansionism"!

While neither Beijing, nor Washington nor London would like to be seen doing anything that would openly displease India, covertly it would suit them to humour Jayawardene at his game and prop his tottering regime. How else does one explain Jayawardene's newly assumed brashness at New Delhi? Under the headline "MRS. GANDHI WARNED NOT TO MEDDLE IN SRI LANKA", the TIMES, London, carried the following despatch from its own correspondent in New Delhi, in its issue of July 3:

Two days of rather prickly talks between President Jayawardene of Sri Lanka and Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister ended yesterday with the President marking off the proposals he is making on the future devolution of power within Sri Lanka as none of her business.

In the formal statement he made at the end of the talks, he said "I reiterated to the Prime Minister my view that the political resolution of this matter is an internal matter of Sri Lanka, to be settled between the various Sri Lankan parties concerned". He added: "and she entirely agreed".

The Indian Government was known to feel that the proposals he was to make to the all-party talks aimed at solving the island's ethnic troubles did not go far enough towards satisfying the aspirations of the Tamils. Mrs. Gandhi feels protective towards the Tamils, if only because of the importance that 50 million Tamils have in her own political environment.

Although Mr. Jayawardene told reporters that he would be happy to use the good offices of anybody towards solving what



he called "not the Tamil problem — the Tamil disaster," he was adamant that the Indian view would not influence him.

"She would not discuss (the proposals)", he said "This is our internal matter for us to solve".

He was, he said, in India at Mrs. Gandhi's invitation. But he found time to complain of "hostile propaganda emanating from Indian territory, which was supportive of terrorism in Sri Lanka." He added that the Prime Minister took note of his views.

The Indian Government spokesman later said that the Indians "are firmly opposed to all forms of violence, and would neither encourage nor support" terrorists.

*Here are some Press reports from Washington, London and New Delhi that give the clue to the nature of the diplomatic offensive undertaken by President Jayawardene:*

## Jayawardene in Washington

*Washington report:  
Russell Warren Howe  
The Washington Post*

President Junius Jayawardene of Sri Lanka, now on a two-day official visit here, is expected to plead with the United States to intervene in his country if India uses force to protect Sri Lanka's Tamil (Indian) minority from growing ethnic violence. ▶

# Jayawardene's

Although the U.S. ambassador in Sri Lanka, former Republican Gov. John Reed of Maine, has told Mr. Jayawardene that there is no prospect of America sending in the Marines to help the Sri Lankan government, the 78-year-old president seems convinced that he can change Washington's mind, Western diplomats in Colombo are reporting.

At a briefing for State Department correspondents on Friday, a senior U.S. official stressed that there would be "no security alliance between this country and Sri Lanka."

The visit of Mr. and Mrs. Jayawardene, who stopped in Williamsburg Saturday and arrived in the capital yesterday, is being treated as low-key. The hospitality of Blair House is not being offered, and Under Secretary Michael H. Armacost, not Secretary of State George Shultz, met the couple yesterday at Andrews Air Force Base.

Mr. Jayawardene will meet with President Reagan today and the visitors will be guests at a state dinner tonight. At a South Lawn ceremony, Mr. Jayawardene will give Mr. Reagan an 18-month old Sri Lankan elephant, Jayathu (Victory), for the National Zoo.

Meetings are also scheduled with Secretary Shultz, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the House Foreign Affairs Committee, the president of the World Bank and the administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development. A technical and scientific agreement will be signed by Mr. Shultz and Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel.

The rest of the seven-day call will be spent visiting Indian reservations in New Mexico, and Niagara Falls.

Although U.S. Sri Lankan relations are relatively warm, Western diplomats here are more and more concerned about the often eccentric behaviour of the aging South Asian leader, who has proclaimed his country to be the fulcrum of a campaign to save the world through Buddhism. This theme now furnishes almost the entirety of the president's public speeches.

Sri Lanka—formerly the British colony of Ceylon—is said by local guide-books to have been the original Garden of Eden, but there is little that is paradisaical about the lush, mountainous, pretty island today.

Eleven months ago, Sinhalese Buddhists, inspired by Mr. Jayawardene's call to make the country the "custodian" of Buddhism, turned this capital into a slaughterhouse.

## Did Jayawardene ask for U.S. military help against India ?

According to the dispatches of Western embassies, 2,000 Tamil Hindus were murdered in a single night — hacked to death with axes or burned alive in their houses or cars, with Sinhalese gangs using the electoral register to determine where Tamil families lived.

The country's 20 percent Indian minority have since turned Jaffna province in the North — where 90 percent of the population is Tamil speaking and Hindu — into an area of tension, with some leaders calling for an independent Tamil kingdom such as existed there at the onset of British rule.

Repression of the Tamils by the Sinhalese majority has been heavyhanded. Amnesty International, comparing local

legislation and the systematic torture of political prisoners with South African practices, gives the country one of the worst human rights records in the world.

Although India takes a protective attitude toward the Indian minority there, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has warned Tamil leaders that they can expect no armed support from New Delhi.

The senior administration official who briefed the press in Washington on Friday said: "We welcome the role of India in facilitating a dialogue between Tamils and Sinhalese."

"We will tell Mr. Jayawardene that we regard it as most urgent that a peaceful solution be found. Communal accord is necessary for economic growth." The objective, he said, should be "Lankan unity".

But Mr. Jayawardene's Prime Minister, Ranasinghe Premadasa, has challenged India to invade, telling diplomats he is sure that the United States will come to Sri Lanka's rescue.

Mr. Jayawardene's schismatic and militant Buddhism has created some problems elsewhere in Asia. Visiting Peking last month, the Lankan leader proclaimed that his country and communist China were brothers in Buddhism.

The embarrassed Chinese authorities, who tolerate limited religious activity but do not encourage it, found him an elderly surviving abbot to talk to.

## Jayawardene in London

### Thatcher backing urged to tame Tamil Tigers

by Mary Anne Weaver,  
Colombo.

THE SUNDAY TIMES,  
24 JUNE 1984

SRI LANKA'S president, J.R. Jayawardene, flies to London this week to seek Mrs. Thatcher's support for his war against the "Tamil Tigers", a militant guerrilla group. The group, based in the

south of India, smuggles its members across the narrow waterways to attack targets in the north of Sri Lanka.

The president has already made an agreement with the Israeli intelligence organisation, Mossad, and has hired a group of British mercenaries, veterans of the SAS, to set up an intelligence organisation and a paramilitary force to combat the guerrilla threat.

The Britons arrived in Sri Lanka in January, from the Sultanate of Oman, to begin a year's training programme.

Their arrival sparked an immediate protest from Mrs. Gandhi, the Indian premier, whose own 50 million Tamils share a common language and ancestry with those in Sri Lanka. The "Tamil Tigers" have set up training centres along the south Indian coast.

# last political journey?

The British High Commission in New Delhi is believed to have said there is nothing it can do to prevent the former SAS men operating in Sri Lanka. The organisation was a private one over which the government had no control.

Sri Lankan sensitivity to foreign criticism of government handling of the Tamil unrest was highlighted on Friday by a refusal to grant visas to two British MPs who wanted to investigate alleged human rights violations.

The mercenary group has its headquarters in the Channel Islands and also runs operations in London and Oman.

Before Sri Lanka made its decision to hire mercenaries it asked Britain and the United States to set up an anti-terrorist assistance programmes to be run by the CIA and MI5. President Jayewardene has conceded that, because of pressure from large Tamil lobbies, London and Washington had turned down the request.

But the Israelis didn't, which is why David Matani sits alone in room 335 of the Lanka Oberoi hotel, the only Israeli in Sri Lanka waiting for his colleagues to arrive. Mossad's price for providing its services in the setting up of a special interests section in the American embassy, a stepping stone towards the re-establishment of full diplomatic relations severed by the Bandaranaike government in August 1970.

In the mountains outside Kandy, 150 miles to the north of Colombo, at least five former officers of the SAS are training Sri Lankans in Paramilitary warfare in temporary training camps. By December, the mercenaries, who arrived more than four months ago, will have armed, trained and provided simulated guerrilla war exercises for an estimated 300 men. They will then be ready to confront the "Tigers" 200-300 of whom have been trained by the Palestine Liberation Organisation in Lebanese and south Yemen camps.

The Mossad's help has proved "invaluable", according to a Sri Lankan security source. Physical conditions in the Jaffna Peninsula where the "Tigers" operate are nearly identical to those in the Gaza strip.

Some of Jayewardene's advisors are worried about the consequences. One western intelligence official said: "What happens when an SAS-directed hit team goes against the Tigers in Madras? It is just this kind of foolhardy behaviour that could lead to an Indian invasion."



## Asking help from Margaret Thatcher

"Terror on Sri Lanka agenda", said the headline of the London Times report by its Diplomatic Correspondent:—

When President Jayewardene of Sri Lanka calls on Mrs. Thatcher today, the control of terrorism is expected to be the main topic on his agenda.

The Sri Lankan leader is in this country on a private visit, after talks in the United States, and will be going on to see Mrs. Gandhi in New Delhi, at her invitation, on his way home to Colombo.

So far as India is concerned, terrorism is a contentious issue because of reports that Sri Lanka had organised the assistance of expert trainers from the British Special Air Services to operate a training programme in the mountains to the north of Colombo.

Mrs. Thatcher and the Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe, who is having separate talks with Mr. Jayewardene today, have already sent specific messages to Mrs. Gandhi and her ministers, assuring them that the British Government is not sending "mercenaries" or military units of any kind to Sri Lanka.

What has emerged during the present visit of the Sri Lankan delegation to London is that President Jayewardene and his senior colleagues have approved the budget for the services of a British contract organisation which operates on commercial lines to provide training in anti-terrorist methods. Some are members of the SAS who have retired and left the service.

## Terrorism on the Dinner Menu

Jayewardene seeks curb on Tamils in Britain.

By Henry Stanhope, Diplomatic Correspondent

President Jayewardene of Sri Lanka will urge Mrs. Margaret Thatcher today to curb the activities of militant Tamils in Britain who, he said were raising funds and getting arms for extremists at home.

He made the accusation at a London press conference after his state visit to Washington where he is understood to have made a similar appeal to President Reagan.

President Jayewardene, aged 78, confirmed that his Government had hired a British company, reportedly staffed by former members of the Special Air Service, to help train troops for counter-insurgency operations.

But he had armed himself with a fresh set of proposals for the all-party conference in Sri Lanka which has been trying, so far without success, to bring an end to the communal strife between the Sinhalese and the island's 13 percent Tamil minority.

The President, who seemed confident over his peace plan, warned the Tamil United Liberation Front that, if it did not accept it, he was prepared to let Parliament and the people decide — probably through a referendum later this year.

The militants, popularly known as the Tamil Tigers, believed in the bullet not the ballot. He would raise the whole question of international terrorism with Mrs. Thatcher before dinner at Downing Street tonight.

# JAYEWARDENE'S LAST POLITICAL JOURNEY ?

*The HINDUSTAN TIMES of 3rd July carried the following report by its correspondent in London, Rakshat Puri:—*

Like some other South Asian Government and Opposition leaders, Sri Lanka's President Junius R. Jayewardene brought his tale of woe to Britain last week. On a private visit here, he met Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and her colleagues to seek sympathy and support against recalcitrant Tamils in his country who continue to dare to seek rights in equality with the overwhelming Sinhala majority, or to live independently in separation — who continue to seek these rights in spite of being killed in hundreds in riots and pogroms such as that of 1958 or 1977, of July 1983 and again in March and April this year.

Mr. Jayewardene did not attempt to conceal what he intended to talk about with the British leaders. In fact he made

it amply clear at a Press conference to which Indian correspondents were not invited — that he proposed to urge on Mrs. Thatcher and her colleagues that they curb the activities of the 'militant Tamils' raising funds for 'extremists' in Sri Lanka. The allegation has of course been categorically and vigorously denied by the separatist 'Eelam Solidarity campaign' in a letter addressed to Mrs. Thatcher.

Mr. Jayewardene said he had with him fresh proposal for the so far unsuccessful "all-party" conference in Colombo to find peaceful constitutional solutions, and he would raise the 'whole, question of international terrorism' with the British Prime Minister. This was obviously calculated to appeal to everybody in Britain, where

Libyans, Iranians and others have angered all citizens by fighting their battles on British soil, and where killings related to the draining Northern Ireland situation have taken innocent lives.

The British leaders' response to Mr. Jayewardene's appeals and urgings has not been made public. But a section of the Press here did comment with a vague measure of sympathy, and predictably, 'the Times' editorially compared the violence in Sri Lanka with Britain's problem in Northern Ireland. However in the general sympathising, there is also perceptible a feeling of unease and the unease may be due to the Jayewardene Government's known excesses. These have been listed along with pleas for restraint, by Amnesty International...



*Chinese Air Force chief Zhang Tingfa (right) being greeted on arrival in Colombo by Sri Lanka Air Force chief Air Vice-Marshal Dick Perera.*

Now that President Jayewardene is back after his travels, what does the immediate future hold for Sri Lanka and the long-battered Tamils? At the time of our going to print, Colombo is going through an intensive security alert. Lalith Athulathmudali was suddenly left for the U.K. on what appears to be a hurried secret mission. All Tamils in Colombo are viewed with suspicion. Government is getting ready to fight what it seems to think its final battle with the Tamils. China's Air Force commander and politburo member Zhang Tingfa is due in Colombo heading a 5-member delegation, possibly with a promise to train Sri Lanka's

Air Force. Maggie Thatcher is also being persuaded to call over. CIA-Mossad is already there. Singapore and South Korea has already been approached to help in various ways. In short, several nations of the world are being asked to help the Jayewardene government to fight a few hundred Tamil "terrorists"! Does it really ring true? Look at the line-up of nations whose help has been sought by the Sri Lanka government — the United States of America, Great Britain, Israel, Pakistan, South Korea, Singapore... And yet President Jayewardene has the temerity to tell India that this is an "internal matter of Sri Lanka"!

The truth is, President Jayewardene's government is fighting for its own survival. Opposition within the country is building up. Internal contradictions within the governing party are surfacing. A power struggle within the government is moving towards a crisis. The cost of living is shooting up. The economy is in shambles. Tourism, the great white hope is going downhill and half the tourist hotels might be forced to close down soon, according to the governing party's own M.P. Jabir Cader, a hotel proprietor himself. Israeli presence has already alienated the government from its traditional Muslim support outside Colombo. Robberies, kidnappings, and crime in the Sinhala areas are on the increase. It only needs a fuse to ignite a popular explosion in the country, an explosion in which the Tamils themselves are not directly concerned.

TAMIL INTERNATIONAL does not claim to do any astrological forecast. Going by the political trends within Sri Lanka, and assessing the possible fall-out of the Jayewardene government's myopic anti-India game, one forecast can be made with reasonable certainty. Colombo is heading for a big blow-up, and Jayewardene's recent political journey might well prove to be his last!





## **JAFFNA – “a city of fear slowly dying in Sri Lanka”**

*The DAILY TELEGRAPH,  
London July 2, 1984  
David Graves  
reporting from Jaffna*

**JAFFNA:** As darkness falls over Jaffna, the 118,000 people living in the Tamil capital of Sri Lanka suddenly vanish indoors, leaving just the occasional army patrol to rumble through the streets.

Jaffna is a city of fear — a product of the enmity and bitterness between 11 million Sinhalese living in the tear-shaped island and 26,00,000 Tamils.

What causes the fear is itself a subject of contention between the two communities, which are said to have lost since independence in 1948 more than 2,000 lives in racial bloodshed.

The Sinhalese-dominated Government in Colombo cites the reign of terror waged by Tamil guerillas since 1975. The Tamils who live in Jaffna blame “State terrorism” by Government troops.

The only conclusion most visitors can reach is that the two communities have difficulty in reaching an accommodation about anything, let alone solving the terror that stalks Jaffna and Tamil areas of the northern-eastern provinces of Sri Lanka.

While the generations-old bickering continues the city itself is slowly dying. Its young men are either fleeing abroad or are joining one of the five guerilla groups based in Tamil Nadu, only 18 miles away across the Palk Strait.

The guerillas, whom the Government describes as “Marxist terrorists,” say they are fighting for a separate Tamil State to end the discrimination from which they suffer in education, university places, and job opportunities.

Separatism to the Government and the Sinhalese majority means a prospect of Communism, more interference from Tamil Nadu with its population of 50 million Tamils just over the water, and subsequent loss of their own nationality.

The rivalry between the two communities led to street fighting in Colombo a year ago that left 400 people, mostly Tamils, dead and 100,000 refugees fleeing to the northern province dominated by the Jaffna peninsula.

It was also the reason for President Junius Jayewardene of Sri Lanka visiting Delhi at the weekend for talks with Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and for the Government engaging a team of former special air service soldiers and seeking anti-guerilla assistance from Mossad, the Israeli secret service.

Until a year ago there was a daily flight to and from Colombo for Tamil businessmen in Jaffna with factories and offices in the capital.

Now, with so many Tamils having fled north, there is only a five-seater Cessna making two trips a week, and last Friday there was only one passenger.

In the centre of Jaffna, the west wing of the white-domed public library is charred and gutted-left as a reminder of the night of June 1, 1981, when police burned the building with the loss of some 97,000 books, including many priceless Tamil manuscripts.

At the end of Mahatma Gandhi Road are the charred remains of the Jaffna co-operative store, which Tamils say, was burned down by some of the 3,000 troops based in the peninsula on the night of April 9 this year.

Nearby are burned-out shops army retaliation, say Tamils, for guerilla attacks. The Army says the terrorists were responsible.

According to official figures, since July 1975, when Mr. Alfred Duraiappa, Mayor of Jaffna, was assassinated by terrorists, at least 50 members of the security forces, 11 politicians, 13 police informants, and 16 civilians have been killed.

Between May 16 and June 16, a further three policemen, seven suspected police informants, and a Government official were murdered by guerillas and there were 35 armed gang robberies in the northern and eastern provinces.

However, Mr. Ramalingham Balasubramaniam, a lawyer, who is secretary of the Jaffna Citizens' Committee, claimed there were hundreds of cases of civilians being arrested and tortured by security forces.

He claimed that between April 9-12 this year at least 67 people were shot dead, 17 went missing, and 47 needed hospital treatment after the Army went on the rampage following the ambush of a military convoy in Hospital Road Jaffna.

Mr. Balasubramaniam said: “Those are the figures about which I have had information. Many more could, have been killed and their bodies burned, I simply don't know.”

# Jaffna's gruesome massacre

*CARNAGE IN SRI LANKA, said the cover story legend in the June '84 issue of INTERNATIONAL COURIER, the news monthly published in New Delhi. LANKA SMOULDERS AS INDIA WATCHES said the title of the cover story report written by the journal's correspondent Naresh Kumar. Part of the cover story is the account on "Jaffna's gruesome massacre" on April 9 this year, written by the correspondent after an on-the-investigation. Here it is:*

"Headless statues of Mahatma Gandhi, Tamil Sage Thiruvalluvar and revered poetess Auvayar stand mute testimony to the gruesome vengeance the Sinhala dominated Sri Lanka army wrecked on the Tamil city of Jaffna on April 9. These statues and burnt remains of 14 shops inclusive of a multi-million supermarket gives the busy Hospital Street a worn-torn sombre look.

About the origin of the orgy of violence — government and eye-witness versions concur. It started around 1.50 pm with the ear-bursting explosion of a Lebanon type car bomb which threw one of the army trucks carrying 16 soldiers from the station to the camp into a drain. The car that was kept stationary opposite the Church of our Lady of Refuge was set off by the Tamil guerillas a second before the truck by-passed. This error in timing had spared the soldiers being blown to pieces like 13 of their comrades on July 23 which had ignited the pogrom last year.

The next fact to which the government and the eye-witness accounts agree was about the involvement of 300 — odd soldiers camping at Jaffna's sports stadium. In all the other factors including the numbers shot dead — the two sources differ.

The government position was the guerillas (the government describes them as terrorists) engaged the forces at different times and in the skirmish civilians were killed accidentally, shops were burnt during the operations the guerillas themselves burnt the cars to prevent army movement.

Two responsible government servants, both Tamils in charge of the civil administration of the troubled northern province of Jaffna where about a million of the island-nation's 2.5 million Tamils live are in trouble for belying the government version. Devanesan Nesiah, respected government agent (equivalent of the collector) of Jaffna, discounted the story of running battles with the guerillas. "The only operation in which they were involved was the attempt to blow up the army truck. There was no firing at the army at all" he said.

Nesiah contradicted the government story on two more vital points. Asked whether any guerilla was killed during the shoot-out he replied "Hardly any". He put the number of dead at "Over 50".

Jaffna's police superintendent T.E. Anandarajah has hurt the government by calling the public to report the names of the dead and the injured during the army rampage that ran into three days. He had also asked for statements about the loss of the property. Government's censor of terrorist and army news Douglas Liyanage says the police officer was not authorised to collect such information. "He has to stick to the information given by me" he told foreign correspondents who chose to question him about the veracity of his figures after their on-the-spot investigation.

The story that was unfolded to this correspondent by eye-witnesses tells sordid tales of army ruthlessness. "It was about 1.50 pm. I was seated in my room" began grieved Fr. Mariyanayagam, pastor of the Church of our Lady of Refuge, "when I heard an ear-splitting explosion, I ran outside. Then there was a volley of machine-gun and cannon fire. I saw people flee. I ran back to my room".

The explosion was heard 3 kilometres away. "It was the most powerful bomb ever used by the terrorists" explained an army official who tried to convince me about the accuracy of the government version.

The explosion threw the army truck 20 meters afar into a drain. The soldiers escaped with minor injuries. Joseph a fisherman who was buying a cigarette at a nearby shop at the time of the explosion said he saw an old black car parked by the side of the church wall. "As I was about to leave the shop I saw the army convoy coming. Next I hear the explosion and the truck flying into the air. Other vehicles screeched to a halt. Soldiers in the front vehicles began to fire. I ran into the shop" he said.

Doctors of the Jaffna Hospital saw the army convoy enter the hospital firing in all directions. "We treated the soldiers. They had minor injuries. All of them were in state of severe shock". One doctor who did not want to be identified said.

By that time the soldiers at the satium had arrived at the hospital junction. "They took up positions along the hospital road and began firing at the civilians indiscriminately. No one fired at the soldiers." The doctors were emphatic that there was no skirmish. "It was an orgy of violence by the army" they insisted.

After a short spell of firing the soldiers started burning the cars and shops. They also burnt houses, eye-witnesses said.

"The entire area was visible from the Medical Superintendent's Office. We gathered there. When the soldiers saw us watching they trained their guns at us. We ducked under the tables for cover. A few shots were fired at the hospital", the doctor confided. He also witnessed the burning of the Jaffna Co-operative, Jaffna's biggest super market. "Men and women, old and young had run into the shop for shelter. Troops surrounded the building and poured petrol all round. Luckily a superior officer persuaded the soldiers to permit the people to get out. After the people left, the shop was set ablaze.

Troops quietened down and returned to the camp after three hours of rampage leaving five dead and several others injured an eye-witness said. While all this was going on, an armoured vehicle drove to the church and beckoned the priest to come out. "I went out to meet them. The soldiers insulted me in filthy language and asked me whether the guerillas were inside the



## Jaffna's gruesome massacre

the image of invincibility of the Sinhala army by saying the army killed 22 terrorists in direct combat. Their talk of surveillance zone is also an attempt to prop up the sagging public morale by giving a false sense of security," he added.

He put the recent resurrection of the 1947 British — Ceylon defence agreement by President Junius Jayewardene and his courting trips to China, South Korea and the United States also into the category of bolstering the Sinhalese morale.

That the government is in real hot water is accepted both by Sinhalese and the Tamils. By its cover-ups of army excesses and placating the Sinhalese feelings it is driving the Tamils into the fold of the guerrillas. "There is no instance in history where the majority community succeeded in keeping down the minorities by force permanently", Balasubramaniam said. President Jayewardene is aware of it. Hope his move towards a political solution succeeds.

## Amnesty International Report

"...It has been pointed out that identification of the dead and the circumstances in which persons were killed has become extremely difficult in view of the army reportedly burning the bodies of several people shot dead by them, according to one of the statements received by Amnesty International:

"My son... left home at about 7.30 am on 11.4.84 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 11.4.84. Hence I visited all the spots 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 that no identification could be made..."

Amnesty International has received nine other statements from relatives of persons who left home between 9 — 12 April and who are still "missing", relatives stating they fear these persons were killed by the army, and their bodies burnt by them. One of them stated:

"I was reliably informed that some persons who happened to be in the area in and around the Buddhist Temple... were shot and killed by Sri Lankan army soldiers that day. The bodies of the dead including many motor cycles or push cycles were destroyed by burning..."

In one other case however, relatives were still able to identify the body of the person missing, as the body was only partly burnt:

"On 21.4.84 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 Rd., Junction, and his cycle, coconuts and other items... were lying close by. I went to collect the body, but on seeing the army personnel were 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 other 4 dead bodies. The bodies were partly burnt and I was able to identify my son though his face was slightly disfigured."

Amnesty International has received reports that such burnings took place at Villoondi, Chemmani and Mandativu, most reports identifying the army as responsible for the burnings. However, two reports received by Amnesty International allege that at the Chemmani cemetery, the police burnt the bodies of people shot by the army. The father of one man, who had left home on 9 April, and who is still "missing", stated that he had been told so by the police themselves:

"Subsequently on Friday 13.4.84 I lodged an entry at the Jaffna Police Station that my son... was missing. An officer in the police dept. told me that most of the bodies of persons shot by the army personnel on 9.4.84 were burnt by the police personnel at Chemmany cemetery..."

Amnesty International has attached to this document the pictures of two, as yet unidentified, bodies reportedly burnt by the army on 10 or 11 April 1984. Such burnings, impeding identification and investigations into the circumstances in which death occurred, can only enhance concerns that these deaths were the result of extrajudicial killings by the security forces...

## Human Rights violations hit a new low !

Sri Lanka government has created a new low in human rights violations! A young Tamil mother with a 9-DAY old infant — Mrs. Kumudini Thambirajah, wife of a former member of the District Development council for Batticaloa, was forcibly removed from her home in Batticaloa in mid-March this year and detained in jail. The reason? Her husband Mr. V. Thambirajah who was "suspected" by security forces of being involved in "terrorist activity" could not be appre-

hended. It was therefore decided to take the young mother as a hostage.

The 9-day infant was deprived of the mother's nursing and care. There was a chorus of appeals to the government by family members on behalf of the infant but there was no relenting. Ultimately, some hospital doctors who thought that the infant's life itself was in danger made a strong plea on humanitarian grounds, which produced at least one result. Permission was granted to the mother to nurse the baby in the detention jail, at Negombo.

But the hostage mother's nursing was of no avail to a child which was already badly sick. The child died last month. On 11th July, the mother was released. The father, who never had the opportunity to see his child, is still missing. ■

# TAMIL

International

Readers please note

**Due to unforeseen difficulties, the printing and overseas mailing schedules of the inaugural issue of TAMIL INTERNATIONAL could not be kept. This issue, dated August 1, will be a combined 2nd and 3rd issue, and we hope to maintain the fortnightly schedules thereafter, beginning August 15.**

# Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Sri Lanka: What are her options ?

It is a fact not widely remembered that the Indian government had been registering its concern over violence against Tamils in Sri Lanka long before the State-aided anti-Tamil pogrom of July 1983. Repeated expressions of Indian "concern" — has been an old, old story!

The first such "expression of concern" was made by the Morarji Desai government in August 1977. That was the time, seven years ago, when within one month of the Jayawardene government riding into power with an unprecedented Parliamentary majority, a massacre of Tamils began. Particularly badly hit were the Tamils of recent Indian origin in the plantation areas.

On August 24, 1977, the DMK under the leadership of party president M. Karunanidhi called a one-day hartal in Madras as an expression of sympathy to the fellow Tamils in Sri Lanka. The hartal was almost total. The DMK also took out a massive procession from the Anna statue on Mount Road to the office of the Deputy High Commissioner of Sri Lanka.

The then Congress president Brahmananda Reddi and several Indian M.Ps raised their voices against "the climate of violence and intimidation against settlers of Indian origin and also a section of Indian citizens" (HINDU: Aug. 28, 1977).

The Prime Minister Morarji Desai sent a personal message to the (then) Prime Minister of Sri Lanka J.R. Jayawardene voicing his concern and expressing the hope that normalcy will be restored soon. The Prime Minister also replied to the messages sent by Chief Minister of Tamilnadu M.G. Ramachandran and DMK leader M. Karunanidhi assuring them that the Central government will do its best to "ensure the safety of the Sri Lanka Tamils".

But that safety has remained unensured ever since. Sporadic anti-Tamil rioting has continued, in varying proportions, in 1979, 1980, 1981, climaxing in the major pogrom of July 1983.

Five days before last July's holocaust began, there occurred in New Delhi an event which assumes greater significance in retrospect. Sri Lankan envoy Bernard Tillekeratne was summoned to the



M. KARUNANIDHI: He led a massive procession in Madras on August 24, 1977.

Foreign Office. He was told by the then Foreign Secretary Shankar Bajpai — the date was Tuesday July 19 — of India's concern over killings of Tamils in Jaffna, and particular reference was made to the emergency regulations that compelled disposal of dead bodies without inquests. When the Sri Lankan envoy wanted to know whether the Indian government was conveying the feelings of the government and people of Tamilnadu, Mr. Bajpai made it clear that he was expressing the concern of the government of India "at the highest level".

The next few days saw the Colombo Press going into hysterics. BIG BROTHER, STOP MEDDLING IN SRI LANKA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS — was the theme of all editorial writers.

Then came the big blow to the government and army morale when an army unit in Jaffna careered headlong into a "Tiger" trap and thirteen soldiers died instantly in the midnight ambush of Saturday July 23. The massacre of Tamils began the next day. The events of that dark period horrified the whole world.

At that point of time India's options on Sri Lanka were wide open. Even the world

would have accepted (maybe after a technical protest) whatever action Mrs. Gandhi chose to take, not excluding limited military intervention, so shocked was world opinion on the burnings and brutality that took place. Indian nationals and Indian property were themselves attacked. But Mrs. Gandhi held her hand, and subsequently earned encomia for her "restraint" even from President Zia of Pakistan!

Intervening in the debate on Sri Lanka in the Lok Sabha on August 5, Mrs. Gandhi made a statement which seemed to spell out the course of policy that India proposed to adopt thereafter. That policy has obviously not changed even after the events of the past one year, as could be seen from the interview she gave "La Figaro" of Paris early in July (see Page 13).

One noteworthy question which had puzzled and disappointed Tamils both in Sri Lanka and in Tamilnadu was: Why did Mrs. Gandhi have to go out of the way to limit India's options voluntarily, in the face of the continuing defiance and anti-India campaign by the Jayawardene government ?

# Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Sri Lanka : What are her options ?

For example, in her August 5 Lok Sabha statement, she said: "...We have made it clear in every forum and in every possible way that India does not pose any threat to Sri Lanka; neither do we want to interfere in their internal affairs. I reassured the President (Mr. Jayawardene) on this. We want the unity and national integrity of Sri Lanka to be preserved..."

In a subsequent statement in Parliament on August 12, she said: "...I took the opportunity to reassure Mr. Jayawardene (the President's brother Harry Jayawardene who came to New Delhi as a special emissary) that India stands for the independence unity and integrity of Sri Lanka..."

While one undoubtedly makes allowance for diplomatic finesse in international relations and does not expect the leader of a great and powerful nation like India to descend to the insular undignified postured of Prime Minister Premadasa of Sri Lanka, it has hurt Tamil pride to see the Jayawardene government adopting postured and executing policies which are in open defiance of India and her own strategic interests, and getting away with it!

A cold, logical assessment of India's policy on Sri Lanka yields the following:—

1. India is concerned over the anti-Tamil violence in Sri Lanka and has a right to be concerned.
2. Any extraneous involvement in Sri Lankan affairs will be unwelcome as far as India is concerned, because India cannot be regarded "as just any country".
3. India is interested in finding a permanent solution to satisfy the "legitimate" aspirations and ensure the security of the Tamil minority, through a process of negotiations between the Sri Lankan government and the Tamil leadership.
4. India does not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka, but at the same time she "can't be entirely out of the picture"
5. India desires the unity and national integrity of Sri Lanka to be preserved.



## All conventional options exhausted

If these together represent the framework under which India's Sri Lanka policy is mapped out, then obviously that policy has failed. Soon after the July holocaust when the Sri Lanka government was brought to its knees in the eyes of international opinion and had necessarily to adopt a defensive posture, Colombo gave tacit approval to India's friendly intervention. The Jayawardene government was compelled to receive both External Affairs Minister Narasimha Rao and special emissary G. Parthasarathi, and allowed itself to be persuaded to go through the mockery of the Round Table negotiations. But on his recent visit to New Delhi, after buying the necessary time over the year to strengthen his hand both militarily and strategically, Jayawardene was in a position to say "Boo" to India's continued desire to help.

In other words, India has yet to establish her right to have a special interest in Sri Lankan affairs. On the other hand, the

'extraneous involvement' in Sri Lanka which India has been considering unwelcome has been systematically taking place, and India as Chairman of the Non-aligned movement has been unable to prevent Sri Lanka from getting closer to countries that are outside it. The negotiation process that India got going has led to nowhere. The Tamil leaders who participated in that process are no longer recognisable as the leaders of the Tamil people. The charge that India interferes in Sri Lanka's affairs continues to be made with greater vehemence than before, while that "interference" has neither brought us closer to a permanent solution, nor ensured the security of the Tamils; nor has the chances of the "unity and national integrity of Sri Lanka" been brought any closer. On the other hand, with the Jayawardene government continuing to place confidence in a military solution, those chances have become remoter.

What then are the options left to Mrs. Gandhi? The option suggested by Tamilnadu Food Minister S.D. Somasundaram (see Page 22) might be considered extreme from New Delhi's point of view, but it has at least the merit of being an act of positive thinking and a move in the direction that the political winds are blowing. Particularly worthy of attention is Mr. Somasundaram's remark: "The feeling has been created amongst the Sinhalese that India is a weak country and that the Indian government does not respect the feelings of Tamils in India..."

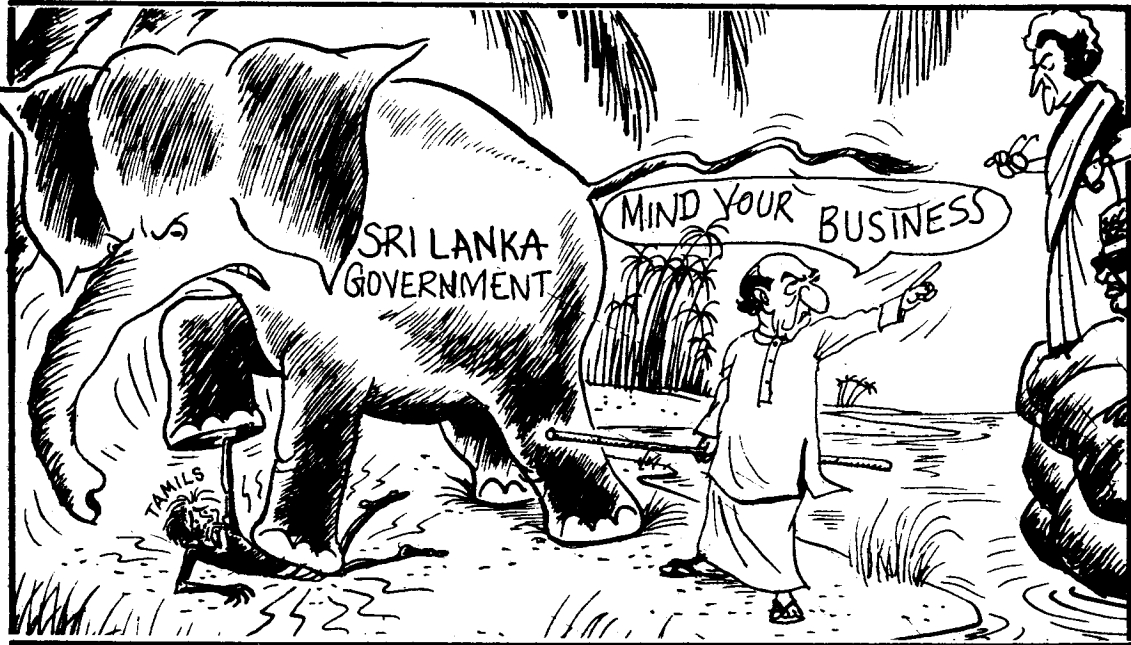
Whatever the options that are chosen, they have to take a realistic cognizance of the following two hard facts:

That despite the pseudo political stance that one has to take for the sake of diplomatic nicety, Indo-Sri Lankan political relations are no longer friendly.

That India's capacity to exert a friendly influence in shaping Sri Lankan policies has diminished over the past one year to such a point that any non-military intervention by India will no longer be tolerated by Colombo.

It is very clear that the options that are left unexhausted are the unconventional ones!

**“We have no wish to interfere, but we can't be entirely out of the picture...”**



Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has described as "not very encouraging" the talks held by her with Sri Lanka President J.R. Jayewardene during his recent visit to India.

Mrs. Gandhi regretted that the Sri Lankan Government was not seeing its problems with the Tamils "in its larger perspective of its own history and its own future".

Mrs. Gandhi was replying to questions on a wide range of subjects in an interview given to Ms. Nathalie Blime of the French newspaper "Le Figaro" of Paris.

Q: How do you assess your recent meeting with the President of Sri Lanka ?

PM: We have not put any proposals. We dont want to interfere in their affairs but since Indian citizens were involved and refugees started coming here, we thought that if we could help in some understanding being reached, we should do so. The division was becoming sharp between the ethnic groups. We merely offered our good offices.

Q: Was this visit, and your talks with Mr. Jayewardene, encouraging or not ?

PM: Not very encouraging well. Our main point was that somehow they should give

the opportunity to the people to come to negotiations.

Q: If the Sri Lankan authorities put before you a formal request to extradite the terrorists who have taken refuge in Tamil Nadu, what will be your reaction ?

PM: First we have a large number of refugees who have come here because they are afraid of their lives. They dont want to live in India. They are used to quite a different atmosphere and so on. And we dont want refugees here. But we have certain laws. And I am told that a similar situation exists in the United Kingdom also.

Q: You have not said what will you do ?

PM: We have to proceed according to our laws.

Q: Do you have any extradition treaty with Sri Lanka ?

PM: No.

Q: Listening to the President of Sri Lanka we got the impression that the period of India's good offices is finished, is it true ?

PM: I do not know. No such thing was said to us. Earlier when we made the offer of good offices, it was accepted. Otherwise, we would never sent anybody

from here. As I said earlier, we have no wish to interfere. But our nationals are concerned. We cant be entirely out of the picture. I mean any country would take up the cause of its nationals.

Q: Do you think that the Israeli section in Lanka is a menace ?

PM: Well, within Lanka itself there are serious misgivings among all communities about this new induction and for us it is a threat to have any foreign presence in Sri Lanka which is so close to our coast.

Q: I dont know who, somebody said that an Israeli-Lebanese type of situation can arise in Sri Lanka. Do you believe that ?

PM: I really dont know what was the purpose of inducting them... The President says that he has these people merely to deal with terrorists but in the name of terrorists we hope that innocent people will not be massacred, as happened earlier in Colombo areas.

Q: In case of new violence against Tamilians. Will you go for limited military intervention ?

PM: We cant really interfere in this... we will try all our powers of persuasion. ●

# GENOCIDE

## International Law and Intervention

Prof. T.S. Rama Rao

*The Genocide Convention had been violated in Sri Lanka on three counts, said Prof. T.S. Rama Rao, Professor of International and Constitutional Law, Madras University, speaking at the inauguration of the Organisation for the Protection of Human Rights in Sri Lanka at Madras recently.*

*Posing the question: "Can then a State or some States together intervene to prevent such violations?", Prof. Rama Rao said the answer is in the affirmative, "as customary International Law definitely permits humanitarian intervention by them to protect the victims of such crimes".*

*Here are extracts of submissions made by Prof. Rama Rao on that occasion:—*

"The questions in International Law are:—

1. Whether the Sri Lanka government can perpetrate these atrocities with impunity under the garb of sovereignty and the protection under Article 2 (7) and (2) of the charter against intervention in its domestic affairs, and,
2. If so, in what way, the International community can protect the beleaguered Tamil minority in Sri Lanka?

First let us examine the issue of genocide. The Genocide Convention provides in Art II as follows: In the present convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national ethnic, racial or religious group as such:—

- (a) Killing members of the group.
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group.
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent birth within the group and
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Clearly the acts against the Tamils in Sri Lanka amount to genocide under clauses A, B and C of this article. And even before the Genocide Convention was enacted, the Nuremberg and the Tokyo Charters, provided for the punishment of Axis powers for "Crime against Humanity", which is more or less Genocide, and Nuremberg and Tokyo tribunals upheld the validity of these provision in International Law.

And further, under Art. II of the International Convention of the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid (sponsored by the General Assembly Resolution 3068 (XXVIII)) the Crime of Apartheid, "shall apply to the following inhuman acts committed for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group of persons over any other racial

group of persons and systematically oppressing them: (a) Denial to the member or members of a racial group or groups of the right to life and liberty of persons;

- (i) By murder of members of a racial group or groups;
- (ii) by the infliction upon the members of a racial group or groups of serious bodily or mental harm by the infringement of their freedom or dignity or by subjecting them to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment,
- (iii) By arbitrary arrest and illegal imprisonment of the members of a racial group or groups".

It is evident, that the atrocities perpetrated on the Tamils of Sri Lanka come within the definition of Apartheid. It is in glorious to think Apartheid is confined only to South Africa; only on balance, South Africa seems better than Sri Lanka in one respect in that Genocidal attacks there have been far fewer than in Sri Lanka.

Next, can a State commit or abet these crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity and apartheid on its nationals and get away with it in International law? No. the International community can and should intervene to prevent and punish these crimes. The United Nations Security Council and, to some extent, the General Assembly can do so, under the Charter but unfortunately, political forces and the undue sensitivity of its members to issues of sovereignty and domestic jurisdiction prevent them from acting in that matter. Can then a State or some states together intervene to prevent such acts? The answer is in the affirmative, as customary International Law definitely permits humanitarian intervention by them to protect the victims of such crimes. To give two examples of nineteenth century interventions — The first is the Greek intervention of 1830. Greece had been part of the Ottoman Empire and had suffered appalling treatment at the hands of the Porte. At the request of the Greeks, Great Britain, France and Russia concluded in the London Treaty, to seek to establish peace by means of an arrangement called for no less by sentiments of humanity as by interests for the tranquility of Europe". The Turkish Government rejected the joint London Endeavour, insisting that the Greek case was a matter of domestic jurisdiction. Then the three powers undertook an armed intervention in Greece which resulted in 1830 in the independence of that nation.

Secondly the Cretan intervention. In 1866, the Cretans, claiming Turkish misrule and persecution of Christians, revolted. Austria, France, Italy, Russia and Russia insisted upon the creation of an International Commission of Enquiry to conduct a fact finding exploration of the island. Turkey refused the demand, claiming it was a matter of domestic jurisdiction. A military intervention was avoided when Great Britain, interposed itself as a neutral mediator, proffering friendly advice to Turkey. The Turkish Government responded, promulgated a new Constitution acceptable to the Christian population and undertook a number of human rights commitments vis-a-vis Crete to the European powers.

How one wishes that this example would be followed by the Sri Lankan Government promulgating a new federal constitution guaranteeing the rights of the Tamils there!

In the twentieth century, the most conspicuous case of humanitarian intervention is that by India in East Bengal as a result of the massacre of 3 million East Bengalis by the brutal West Pakistan army, which resulted in the creation of Bangla



Desh. Curiously, the Indian Government still claims its action as one of self-defence though the International Commission of Jurists and several International lawyers, (like Prof. R.B. Lillich in his report to the Madrid Conference of the International Law Association) advocated intervention in Nabibia on the analogy of the Bangla Desh Intervention of India. "Since the consensus that a gross and persistent pattern of illegality and human rights violations is taking place in Nambia, Could scarcely be more universal".

If Sri Lanka is found guilty of a similar "gross and persistent pattern of illegality and human rights violation" by repeating its genocidal attacks in future, an intervention by third states would evidently be called for and would be legitimate in International Law.

Of course, the intervention should be proportionate and a brief one. It should not be abused. But one can point out that there was no abuse by India in East Bengal, as its troops walked out immediately after the objective was achieved, and India did not derive any colonial advantage from Bangla Desh. The several outstanding issues between the two countries today would prove that India did not take any advantage from its intervention.

It may be pointed out, in this connection, that in the Resolution on the Definition of Aggression adopted by the General Assembly on 14th December 1976, Art. 7 provides that "Nothing in this definition... could in any way prejudice the right of self-determination, freedom and independence... of the people forcibly deprived of that right... particularly people under colonial and racist regimes or other forms of alien domination, nor the right of these peoples to struggle to that end and to seek and receive support...".

And the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties enunciated by the General Assembly, provides that "it is the right and duty of all states immediately and collectively, to eliminate colonialism, apartheid, racial discrimination, neo-colonialism and all forms of foreign aggression and that "states which practise such coercive policies wre economically responsible to the countries, territories peoples affected... and that it is the duty of all states to extend assistance to them". In view of our earlier argument that the racist attacks on the Tamils of Sri Lanka come within the definition of Apartheid, it is evident that these international instruments offer further legal basis for intervention by third states in case of renewed attack on these helpless minority of Sri Lanka.

## U.S. broadcast base in Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka and the U.S. have agreed to the setting up of six Voice of America transmitters on the island, according to details of the agreement signed in December last year, now available in New Delhi.

Under an earlier agreement signed in 1951, three short-wave stations of 35 kilowatt each were built, which were later handed over to the Sri Lanka broadcasting authorities. Colombo was responsible for administration, operation, and

maintenance of these facilities. It also had a right to get the VOA transcripts before they were broadcast.

Under the present deal, six short-wave transmitters would be installed four of 500 kW each and two 250 kW each, The U.S. will have the right to instal associated communication and operational facilities.

But Sri Lanka will not have the right to supervise the programmes. However, the U.S. has undertaken to "use its best

endeavours" not to broadcast any programmes detrimental to the national interest of Sri Lanka.

Unlike the previous deal, this time the U.S. would be responsible for the administration, operation and maintenance of the facilities covered by the agreement.

No limits on the number of operating staff has been envisaged, but for a period of seven years the station will be manned by U.S. personnel.

## Arab nations turn the screws on Sri Lanka

The partial restoration of diplomatic contacts with Israel after an interval of 14 years is obviously going to cost Sri Lanka dearly. The island nation already beleaguered by political and economic malaise, might soon be called upon to pay a very heavy price for its Israeli connection.

It is now known, despite National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali's denial in the Sri Lanka Parliament, that Saudi Arabia has put off the acceptance of the accreditation of the new Sri Lankan ambassador to Riyadh. Iraq has taken steps to cut off all future imports of Ceylon Tea. Syria has suggested collective action by Arab countries to boycott Sri Lankan

goods. The Arab League, an exclusive club of oil-rich West Asian states is likely to discuss at its next meeting, the adopting of strong collective measures against Sri Lanka. Iran, after appointing a new ambassador to Sri Lanka after a long time, has now suspended the appointment. Iraq has already recalled its ambassador in Colombo. Colombo agents of the flourishing West Asian labour market are already experiencing difficulty in getting visa clearances for their recruits, most of them housemaids.

Meanwhile, government circles in Colombo have expressed private fears that apart from alienating the Arab world outside and the Sri Lankan Muslims within,

the Israeli connection has brought the links between the PLO and some Tamil revolutionary groups even closer.

Recently, the PLO ambassador in Colombo, Dr. K. Abdul Rahman had complained about the Press censorship in Sri Lanka under which Press releases issued by Arab and Muslim embassies explaining their stand on the Sri Lanka - Israeli relations were prevented from being published in the media. He said according to information he received from Sri Lankan Ministers themselves, 150 Mossad members had arrived in the island even by the end of June.

*The following letter written by Mr. Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer, formerly Judge of the Supreme Court of India, was published by the HINDU in its issue of July 16. We reproduce it for the benefit of the large number of overseas readers of TAMIL INTERNATIONAL.*

## An "appeal to every Indian and every world citizen"

Sir, — President Jayewardene has hawked round the world — the U.S. and U.K. in particular, with a halt in India, — propoganda to sell his regime's diehard inhumanity to Tamil humans as a necessary measure against Tamil terrorists. He has unblushingly justified his government's use of the world's specialists in the butchery of human rights viz. Israel and its malignant Mossad. He has openly confessed to hiring British military mercenaries. No mercenary soldier is a guardian of human rights! Already, Trincomalee is slyly declared 'open sesame' for the U.S. forces and the Island Paradise is put in peril of its own Freedom. Maybe, that is Sri Lanka's own business — O.K. But the President has no apology before the comity of nations for the butchery last July, of helpless prisoners and of innocent Tamils in his 'realm' by his own army run berserk. Not even a post-mortem nor inquest over the bodies of the dead! He does not deny that savages, with electoral lists in hand, hunted down Tamils in their homes and shops. Nor, indeed, is there any extenuation of the macabre killings; genocidal fashion, and incendiary destruction of Tamilian property. Just see a Buddha statue! An historic insult to the Symbol of Compassion with a Buddhist Government's silent sanction! Will the Lord forgive them? Will the avenging spirit of the Story of Man spare a misrule which crushes an ethnic minority through a brutal fraction of the majority? The whispering gallery of the chronicle of civilisations shouts 'no'.

The President of Sri Lanka, apparently decent and shrewd, diplomatic and simple, has sought to cover up the tortures and murders and ethnic-linguistic suppression of Tamil islanders by black-brushing Tamil freedom-fighters as terrorists and branding democratic autonomy of minorities as disruption of national sovereignty.

The truth about terrorism, at least in part, comes from Jaffna Bishop Deogupillai: "They fire at the church and provoke my people. When they retaliate they shoot them like pigs and announce to the world they had shot terrorists. They also proclaim that Tamil terrorists tried to provoke Sinhala Buddhists but they had restrained them. Is the majority entitled to attack our churches? he asked". (International Courier June '84).



V.R. Krishna Iyer

A manacled minority, driven to despair by a barbarous majority, might challenge the cult of Might is Right and charge forward for freedom and sometimes terrorise terrorists. While violence never solves problems and is no alibi, the question arises who is morally, perhaps vicariously, liable for such desperate detonations? The regime that leaves no human alternative. Grave communal injustice in gross denial of human rights breeds extremists.

The Roman empire regarded Jesus an extremist; the British empire jailed Gandhiji as an extremist. So was Socrates in Athens and Jose 'Marte' in Cuba. Terrorists are made, not born. When a State becomes satanic and its brute majority asuric, freedom fighters become

the fore-runners of terrorists. The pathology is State Terrorism, not love of freedom. The remedy for the malady is an activist concern for the human rights of Tamils. They too are human, as many distinguished Sinhalese brothers and sisters acknowledge but, perhaps, the Government of Sri Lanka does not.

Justice to a minority is a measure of democracy. Sri Lanka, objective jurists and human rights specialists have repeatedly asserted, is unfortunately a panicky picture of a Government in the grip of anti-minority elements. World opinion cannot be manufactured by Anti-Terrorism Acts which are the halter of human rights. A Government which locked up the building of the Supreme Court and told the judges they were not judges and even proceeded against the Chief Justice for some remarks he made cannot be a model democracy and guardian of human rights.

And yet I have a hunch that right-thinking Sinhalese and compassionate Buddhists will finally prevail against the philistines and barbarians and authoritarians gone haywire.

Our organisation is not involved in the internal political issues of Sri Lanka, including the Tamil claim to separate Statehood or federal status. However, we are all members of a human family and must be concerned intensely with the fate of human rights of every one in Sri Lanka, as elsewhere. In this integral world, every humanist inside and outside Sri Lanka will be on our side because the cause we espouse is global. We are all joint tenants of our common home, Planet Earth, and must defend the basic rights of every man everywhere. And the Tamils of Sri Lanka are our brothers and sisters. I appeal to every Indian and every world citizen to stand for their human right to survive and against democratically draped tyranny of the majority. I appeal to the President and his Government in Sri Lanka to humanise his policy towards the minority.

"To see what is in front of one's nose needs a constant struggle".

— Orwell.

V.R. Krishna Iyer

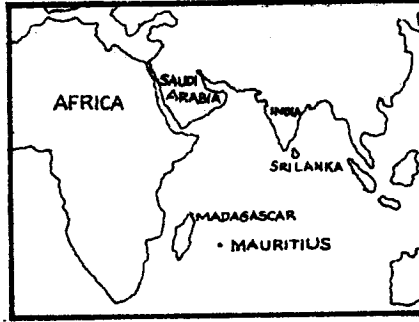
President,  
Organisation for the protection  
of Human Rights in Sri Lanka

Madras.

# TAMILS IN MAURITIUS

The following account of the position of Tamils in Mauritius is excerpted from a paper presented by M. SANGEELEE at the First International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies at Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia held in April 1966. TAMIL INTERNATIONAL will be glad to publish an updated account of Tamilian life in Mauritius by a Mauritian reader.

— Editor TI



Mauritius is a small island lost in the Indian Ocean. It is some 550 miles to the east of Madagascar. It is 31 miles long and 28 miles broad and has an area of 270 sq. miles.

It was first discovered in 1507 by the Portuguese, who gave it the name of Cirne. When the Portuguese abandoned it, the Dutch came and settled there in 1598. They too finally abandoned it in 1710.

In 1715 the French took possession of it and gave it the name of Ile de France. It was under their administration that the country began to develop. The French governor Labourdonnais introduced from India, sugar cane, which is now the main crop.

He also brought from Pondicherry a number of artisans, especially joiners and masons, to teach the crafts to the Mauritians, who were then mainly slaves from Africa. Fine pieces of furniture made by these Indian craftsmen still exist, some of which are on exhibition at the Naval Museum at Mahebourg.

In 1810 the English took the island after a fierce naval battle. In this battle a good many Tamil soldiers fought with the English. Ever since, the island became a British colony.

It appears that during the French occupation, there was a considerable number of Tamilians there and that they played an important part in the economic life of the country. This is evident from the fact that one or two French newspapers of the time published in Tamil, accounts of

important events and advertisements especially auction sales. We infer from the above that among those Tamilians, there were many traders and well-to-do people.

After 1810 other traders came from South India, many of whom settled there. As they came single, many of them had concubines of African origin or among the French-African hybrids. A good percentage of the present creole population is composed of the descendants of those Tamilians.

After the abolition of slavery in 1834, the emancipated slaves refused to work on the sugar plantations of their erstwhile masters. The sugar industry was, therefore, faced with a serious labour problem which threatened the very existence of the industry. The estate owners, all of French descent, viewed the situation with grave concern and looked up to India for help. India agreed to send her some there to save the country from ruin. Indentured labourers soon arrived, who not only averted the catastrophe, but also proved to be the architects of their masters' rapid prosperity. For this signal service, the reward they received from those masters was the most cruel treatment. The poor Indians had no one to take up their defence. It was at that critical time that a Pole, by name De Plevitz, feeling for the defenceless Indians, started an agitation in their favour. Of course, the white estate owners resented it and subjected De Plevitz to severe ill-treatment. De Plevitz addressed a petition to the governor on behalf of Indians, but as he hardly knew English, the petition was drafted, both in English and Tamil, by one Rajarethinum Modeliar.

As the first batch of immigrants came from Malabar coast, the Indians, in general, came to be called malabars, as

they still are in the neighbouring French island of Reunion (formerly Bourbon).

As the labourer's work, though the noblest, is foolishly considered humble, the appellation came to acquire a perjorative meaning. The Indians resented it so much that it had in course of time to be given up.

According to statistics, the first batch of Indian labourers arrived in 1835, but in fact, a first batch of 1100 coolies had been introduced six years before, in 1829...

In the early days, when oppression was at its highest point, those who dared to put up a fight were Tamilians. The greatest among them was no doubt Mr. Sinnatambou. He was a wealthy man and could have greatly profited by courting the whites, but there was in him such nobility of character that he would sooner have given up all his wealth than let down his suffering brothers. Among the many things achieved by him, let us quote the following:

In those days, the Indian immigrants had no right to travel from any one place to any other without a "pass" about them.

Sinnatambou had a temple built at Terre Rouge. Though it is now over a century since that temple was built, it is still called after him "Teglise Sinnatambou". On the consecration day, Indian labourers came from all parts of the Island to attend the sacred function. While the puja was going on, the police burst into the temple and arrested those who were not in possession of their "passes". Sinnatambou petitioned the governor, complaining of the outrageous conduct of the police and asking that it should be provided in the law that temples should be respected. The governor, finding that the Indians' grievances were grounded, issued orders that thenceforth the police should not enter any temple to arrest people. To complain of the police in those days was an act of daring especially for an Indian. Only a man of the calibre of Sinnatambou could be that bold.

Before 1834, came to Mauritius Dr. Malayappen Sinnapillay. Though he was of an Indian University, he was at first allowed to practise without any restriction, but after some time, he was asked to restrict his practice to the Indian community.

(To be concluded in next issue)

# INTERNATIONAL BRIEFS

**NEW DELHI:** Indian President Zail Singh is expected to pay a visit to Mauritius in October on the occasion of the 150th anniversary celebration of the arrival of the first batch of Indian immigrants to the island as indentured labourers to work on sugarcane plantations. Mauritius is the only country outside India where people of Indian origin are in a majority and also in power, while everywhere else, including Fiji and Guyana it is not so despite the predominance of Indian settlers there.

**LONDON:** The wife of the South African Prime Minister Mr. Pieter Botha — whose Government imposes racial segregation on blacks and Indians — retrieved a lost \$80,000 engagement ring due to the honesty of two Indian cleaning women. Mrs. Botha had lost the ring made in gold and set with diamonds while accompanying her husband on a tour of Europe. The two women, both from Punjab, found the ring wedged between two seats of Mr. Botha's official plane while they were cleaning it in London on June 2.

**COLOMBO:** The Sri Lanka National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali said here on July 9 that the government had uncovered a terrorist plan aimed at a repetition of last year's incidents this month. The bomb attack a few days earlier in Jaffna and placing of a time bomb in the building where his office was located were part of the terrorist plan, he said.

**SINGAPORE:** Singapore has launched a campaign in hospitals and among pregnant women to promote bilingualism in children. Pamphlets are being distributed urging each parent to speak a different language to their child to help him or her acquire two languages before starting school. The Education Ministry which issued the pamphlets seeks to allay any fear that speaking two languages to a child will create confusion. "If you and your spouse each speak one language to your child consistently, the child, after some time, will be able to use two languages without mixing them". It adds that bilingual children score significantly better in intelligence tests than children who know only one language.

**COLOMBO:** The safe of the Kilinochchi branch of the Bank of Ceylon was robbed during the early hours of 2nd July, according to a censored report in the Colombo newspaper, "The Island" of 3rd July. The report said robbers had removed the safe in an ambulance to an unknown destination. The ambulance had been found later, abandoned in a desolate spot.

**MADRAS:** The Madras-based Organisation for a Protection of Human Rights in Sri Lanka is thinking of setting up a tribunal to enquire into the happenings in the island during the past two years, with special reference to the events of July 1983. Disclosing this to newsmen here the Organisation's president, Mr. V.R. Krishna Iyer, former Judge of the Supreme Court, said the tribunal would have three to five members — outstanding public figures from India and abroad, to be selected soon. The tribunal would gather evidence from the victims, if the Sri Lanka Government gave permission, or else meet the refugees in India and other countries.

**NEW YORK:** Indian M.P. Dr. Karan Singh, has made an appeal to Hindus in the world to spearhead a new spiritual movement to enable mankind to survive into the next century. In a keynote address to the 10th Hindu conference organised by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad of America, he said Hinduism must respond to the crisis facing the human race today "We may be the last generation to live on this planet, and, therefore, we accept this challenge", he said. The two-day conference, with its theme of "Hindu thought and world harmony" has attracted 3,000 delegates.

**MOSCOW:** A new English and Russian edition of the well known book "Tamil grammar" by Dr. M.S. Andronov will soon be published. The English edition will come out in India while the Russian edition from Moscow almost at the same time, reports APN. The book, first published by the Nauka Publishers of Moscow in 1966, got immediate recognition from the leading Dravidologists of India, Europe and America. An English version of it was published in 1969 in India. The book soon bagged the first prize of the Tamilnad Government in the competition of books on Tamil language and literature, APN said. In his book Dr. Andronov offers a very clear grammatical system.

**MADRAS:** The golden jubilee celebrations of Besant Theosophical High School were inaugurated by Education Minister C. Aranganayagam recently. The minister paid great tributes to Dr. Rukmini Arundale who had taken over full charge of the School after Dr. Annie Besant and Dr. Arundale. B. Sivanthi Adityan, Chairman of the Celebrations Committee welcomed the gathering. He said that a building at a cost of Rs. 5 lakh was under construction in connection with the Centenary of Dr. Arundale.

**LONDON:** A Mauritian Tamil Maha Sangam is to be formed in London to gather all Tamil Mauritians in the United Kingdom under one body. A preliminary meeting is to be held in early summer. All interested Mauritian Tamilians are invited to contact: K. Krishna Pillay, 74, Ranelagh Road, TOTTENHAM, London N 17. The Sangam will be inaugurated on the occasion of the Mariamen Canjee Poojai to be held on Sunday, August 26th 1984 at 1.00 p.m. at the Highgate Hill, Murugan Temple, 200A, Archway Road, Highgate Hille, London N6.

**JAFFNA:** The UK government has gifted the Jaffna Civil Hospital with a generator for use in the hospital. The gift was made through the good offices of the British High Commissioner in Sri Lanka. Hitherto, the hospital was using a less powerful small-sized generator to supply electricity to the Operating Theatre and the Intensive Care Unit. The British generator it is understood could provide electricity to the entire hospital and ensure an uninterrupted water supply even in the event of a power-cut.

**KANDY:** A large number of forged currency notes of the 500-rupee denomination has been detected by the Kandy police, in addition to the detection made of 1000-rupee forged notes recently in the Kandy area, according to CID sources. Three persons have been taken into custody by the CID following the detection of the 500-rupee notes. The CID believe that the forged notes have been printed abroad as these notes even bear the watermarks and the security thread which could not have been printed locally. CID sources said that millions of rupees in forged currency were circulating in various parts of the country. Police have also cautioned all banks and business institutions to be on the alert.

**COLOMBO:** The Sri Lanka Government has claimed to have arrested six suspects who were allegedly transporting a consignment of explosives in a boat in the Northern Security Zone. The suspects in this case are Shaul Hameed, Mohamed Mousoon, S. Ariyaratnam, K. Ilamaragam, K. Vishvaratnam from KKS, Chunnakam, and Kopay. The sixth suspects they claimed, is an Indian national named Vaithiyalingam Ramamoorthi. The Colombo Magistrate Mr. S.I. Imam was told that the suspects on detection had attempted to throw the explosives into the Ocean. The consignment they said consisted of 1763 sticks of dynamite and 23 kilogrammes of wire used for detonating

explosives. The CID is reported to have sought information from the Indian High Commissioner in Colombo about the Indian national.

**MADRAS:** A 14-party Opposition Front led by the DMK staged a demonstration before the Office of the Sri Lanka Deputy High Commissioner in Nungambakkam on July 3rd to protest against the atrocities committed on the Tamils in the island and the presence of the Mossad, Israeli intelligence agency. DMK president M. Karunanidhi who led the demonstration said the outcome of the talks between the Sri Lankan President and the Prime Minister in Delhi had disappointed Tamils all over the world. The Tamils in Sri Lanka, he said, were bound to succeed in their struggle, as people's power would always triumph over oppressors' howsoever strongly armed they might be with modern weapons. It was "sheer arrogance" that Mr. Jayewardene, while in Delhi, should have justified Sri Lanka's links with Israel, and asserted that they would continue.

**COLOMBO:** Sri Lanka is shortly to extend the surveillance zone it had established three months ago ostensibly to prevent movement of terrorists between the country is north and Tamil Nadu in South India. This was stated in Parliament by the National Security Minister, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali. Mr. Athulathmudali, who was speaking on a motion to approve more funds for purchase of vessels for the Navy and for naval support services, said that since the zone was set up, 40 persons had either been captured or had died while trying to cross it. The country's Parliament passed the motion for more funds unanimously. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the main Opposition group, suggested that the Air Force should also be equipped with more aircraft to combat terrorism.

**THANJAVUR:** A 15 x 6 copper plate with a 58-line inscription of Jagaveera Pandya Kattabomman called the "Panchalankurichi Pattayam" has been deciphered by the Epigraphy Department of the Tamil University here. Pulavar S. Raju, Associate Professor, Epigraphy, Tamil University, in a paper at a seminar on "Studies of Archaeology in Tamil Nadu, and Kerala, past and present" said it was the first inscription of Kattabomman other than the information given by the East India Company records and literary sources about him. The copper plate is now in the custody of the Tiruvaduthurai Adheenam.

**NEW DELHI:** Prime Minister Indira Gandhi recently released a book entitled "The Science of Bharata natyam" written by a renowned exponent of the dance, Saroja Vaidyanathan. Speaking on the occasion, the Prime Minister said Bharata natyam as an art form embodied the whole gamut of Indian expression in all its richness, its variety and its nuances. Mrs.

Gandhi said the dance helped one to develop one's personality. In this connection she pointed out that some of the greatest scientists of the world were also connoisseurs of dance and music.

**VATICAN CITY:** Sri Lanka's nine Roman Catholic Bishops representing both Sinhala and Tamil dioceses discussed the island's ethnic problems at private audiences with Pope John Paul here. The Pontiff told the Bishops of his "solidarity in your efforts to proclaim the Church's message concerning human dignity and the rights of all individuals, as well as the rights of communities with their cultural and linguistic patrimony".

**COLOMBO:** The Sri Lanka Air Force is trying to acquire night surveillance capability, the Air Force Commander Dick Perera told a Press conference here on July 5. He said infra-red goggles each costing about two and a half lakh rupees, were being obtained from Britain. The goggles would be worn by both helicopter and fixed-wing aircraft pilots. The wearing of these goggles would help pilots flying at an altitude of 500 feet to locate objects on the ground. Commander Dick Perera also said that during the last three years the Air Force had increased their cadre by about 1,000 personnel.

## INTERNATIONAL BRIEFS

**AMPARAI:** Twenty guns were robbed from the Central Camp Police Station in the far eastern district of Amparai in Sri Lanka during the early hours of July 4. It was stated that seven armed youths had forcibly removed a Hiace van belonging to Karalasingham of Mandur and used the vehicle for the purpose of the robbery. The robbed guns consisted of eleven rifles, four repeater guns, and five shot guns. Two constables at the Police station were injured when hand bombs were thrown at the premises.

**COLOMBO:** Universities in Sri Lanka remained closed even by mid-July, following student unrest in the campuses, and the death by Police shooting of Peradeniya campus student Pathmasiri on June 19. According to government sources, it was very unlikely that campuses would re-open before end of July.

**FLORIDA:** Eighteen-year old Sri Lanka contestant at the Miss Universe contest in Miami, Sandra Nilmini Iddamaloda pulled out of the contest at the last moment for unstated reasons and flew back home. The organisers of the Miss Universe

Pageant said this was the first time that such an incident had occurred. It was stated later that she was over-awed by the occasion and doctors had advised her return to Sri Lanka.

**COLOMBO:** Returning to Sri Lanka on July 17 from Madras, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) leader A. Amirthalingam telephoned President Jayewardene and asked for a postponement of the July 23 Round Table meet in view of the first anniversary of "black week" of July 1983. He had said there was tension and anticipation of violence among the people and that was not the time to hold the all-party conference. The TULF has planned to observe July 25 as a day of satyagraha.

**COLOMBO:** Beginning July 17, Sri Lankan authorities have tightened security at the Colombo airport. Official sources said the restriction was part of security measures enforced at vulnerable places on the island in case of any violence by guerrillas to mark the anniversary of the eruption of anti-Tamil violence on July 25 last year. Passes issued to visitors to see arriving and departing passengers at the terminal building will now be restricted to one per passenger.

**COLOMBO:** Three surveillance commando ships which the Sri Lanka navy acquired recently will soon be commissioned for operations in the country's northern surveillance zone. This zone was established in April last to prevent the movement of Tamil freedom fighters to and from South India. According to a navy spokesman, the ships which are roll-on, roll-off container vessels, were in Colombo harbour undergoing extensive alterations for surveillance purposes.

**RAMANATHAPURAM:** Prime Minister Indira Gandhi will participate in the 1000th anniversary celebrations of the coronation of the Chola King Rajaraja, to be held in Thanjavur. Tamilnadu Finance Minister V.R. Nedunchezian who is chairman of the organising committee said the 3-day celebrations which were scheduled to begin on July 27 had been postponed to enable Mrs. Gandhi to participate. New dates would be announced shortly, he said.

**COLOMBO:** The Opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) is under pressure from an influential party group to withdraw from Parliament, a new opposition journal FORUM said here on July 15. It said that the "Quit plea" was made to the party leadership to expose to the world what "sham democracy" was practised by the ruling United National Party. Though the biggest national opposition party after the TULF has been shut out of Parliament, the SLFP has only eight members against the five-sixth majority held by Jayawardene's UNP.

## BEHIND THE NEWS

# Who is lying – the “Devil” or his mate ?

The SUNDAY TIMES, London, published a despatch from Mary Anne Weaver in Colombo on 24 June, stating that while Britain and the United States turned down a request by President Jayawardene to set up “anti-terrorist assistance programmes” to be run by the CIA and M15 (see report under JAYAWARDENE’S LAST POLITICAL JOURNEY), the Israelis obliged. The Israeli Embassy in London denied this. The following butter-won’t-melt-in-our-mouth statement was issued by the Embassy and published in the July 1 issue of the paper:—

“On the 24th June an article appeared in the Sunday Times describing the security problems of Sri Lanka. In the context of this article, mention was made of the arrival in Colombo of Mr. David Matnai in order to set up an Israel interests section within the United States embassy in Sri Lanka. The article could have been interpreted as relating Mr. Matnai’s presence to that of steps taken by the Sri Lankan government to combat its problems of internal terrorism, and implied a direct relationship between Israel’s co-operation with Sri Lanka and action against Sri Lanka’s Tamil citizens. The

article gave precise details of Mr. Matnai’s hotel residence in Colombo and subsequently, an explosive detonated, at the location, killing a Sri Lankan citizen.

“The embassy of Israel wishes to emphasise that the insinuation regarding Mr. Matnai’s role in Colombo is totally without foundation. Mr. Matnai is one of Israel’s veteran diplomats and a specialist in Asian questions. His function in Colombo is to improve Israeli-Sri Lankan relations and in particular to co-ordinate co-operation with Israel in the development of agriculture, irrigation and social development in Sri Lanka.

“Israel has maintained friendly relations with the Tamils of Sri Lanka for many years. The government of Israel does not interfere in any way in that country’s affairs”.

Well. There you have the actual role of the poor, much-maligned Israelis! As the whole world knows Israeli concerns have always centred round “agriculture, irrigation and social development”, and there was this Mr. Matnai sitting in his Room 335 of the Lanka Oberoi Hotel figuring

out how to improve Sri Lanka’s agriculture after 14 years!

Now what does Sri Lanka’s own Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Fernando think of the Israeli “agricultural interest in Sri Lanka? We are quoting from a report in THE ISLAND, the Colombo newspaper of 12 July (all Sri Lanka newspapers are under censorship now):—

“...Addressing law students on “The Foreign Policy of Sri Lanka” at the Law College, Mr. Fernando pointed out that Sri Lanka can no longer live isolated and that “we are part of the world where everybody is watching the moves we make”. ...He defended the government’s decision to obtain the services of Israeli anti-iguerrilla experts by saying that the local security personnel felt that “given the state of terrorist activity it was necessary to get the best”. Mentioning the decision to “get help from the devil”, Mr. Fernando pointed out, “The devil you can see, but the terrorist you can’t”.

Funny way to refer to the man who comes to help you, is it not ?

## How the Minister escaped the time-bomb !



Lalith Athulathmudali

When Lalith Athulathmudali was appointed Minister of National Security on March 23 this year, he began to strut like a peacock. He began to make brave

statements and boasted to Sinhaia audiences that with his appointment the northern “tigers” were as good as finished. But after one visit to Jaffna and one month in office he began to climb down swiftly. He sobered down. Instead of wiping out what the government keeps on referring to as “northern terrorism”, he has only managed to escalate it. In fact that “northern terrorism” thanks to the stupidity of the National Security Minister and his government has come very very close South, so close that sheer luck had saved the Minister and the 14-storey Insurance Corporation building in which he works, from a bomb blast!

The Minister was scheduled to leave for New Delhi on Thursday June 28, and a time bomb was discovered at 12.30 p.m. on the same day in a lavatory on the

6th floor (the Minister has his office in the 7th floor). The bomb which is described as one of the biggest ever found in Sri Lanka was timed to go off at 2.30 the same afternoon. When a similar bomb went off accidentally at 1 a.m. the same day at the Hotel Lanka Oberoi, also timed for 2.30 p.m., killing a woman hotel floor supervisor a general alert was called in Colombo and the bomb meant for the Minister’s office was discovered and quickly defused. The bomb comprised 45 sticks of dynamite, and it was estimated that had it gone off, it might have brought half the building down.

But the Minister was additionally lucky. Scheduled to leave for Delhi on Thursday, he had advanced his departure to Wednesday!

## BEHIND THE NEWS

# Two jail massacres, two jail escapes

Two heinous crimes occurred on the 25th and 27th July last year in Colombo, Sri Lanka, which horrified the world. 57 Tamil political detenus were butchered within the high walls of the maximum security jail at Welikade. The savagery behind the acts was so gruesome that the killers bathed their hands in the victims' blood and splattered it at the feet of the Buddha statue in the prison yard — as an offering to the Enlightened One! The crimes have gone unpunished.

On the night of the 27th, after the second massacre, the government thought it prudent to avoid a third. Twenty other Tamil detenus who were lucky to escape, including Mrs. Nirmala Nithiyandan, the first woman to be detained under the infamous Prevention of Terrorism Act, were evacuated from the Welikade premises, bundled into a bus and taken to the Colombo airport, while elsewhere Tamils in Colombo were getting massacred by mobs with the help of the armed forces. At the airport, they were ordered to lie flat in the bus, humiliated by army men, tortured, and kept the whole night in that fashion without food or water. On the 28th morning they were flown to Batticaloa, the Tamil populated East coast town and detained at the Batticaloa jail. About 25 other Tamil detenus from other jails were also brought there the same day.



Nirmala

Two months later, while the government was considering the idea of taking all of them back to their former jails in Colombo, came the stunning news of the big jailbreak. The dramatic event occurred on the night of September 23. No lives were lost, and despite the manhunt operation launched by Sri Lanka's army, navy and air force, not one of the 60 detenus who escaped got caught to the security forces — thanks to the spontaneous sense of

solidarity of the Tamil population all along the escape route.

Recently came the second dramatic rescue — of Nirmala Nithiyandan. Having lulled the government into the belief that Nirmala was not a potential jail escapee (it is apparently easy to lull the Sri Lanka government into wrong beliefs!) a daring and intelligently planned rescue operation by more than a dozen Tamil freedom fighters, some of them heavily armed, some in prison guard uniforms, resulted in the rescue of Nirmala on the night of 10th June. Minimum necessary violence was used, and the National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali, his government and security forces, again presented a foolish face to the world, as they did in the case of the Allens kidnapping episode.

Nirmala majored in Political Science at an American University (Wheaton College), served as an English-language teacher in Jaffna, and was responsible for building up an amateur Tamil theatre group which created new modern trends in Tamil drama. She herself went on the stage, is a skilled translator and has been the forerunner of the now emerging liberation-minded Tamil womanhood. Nirmala also served for some time on the editorial staff of the Jaffna-based English-language weekly, SATURDAY REVIEW.

## New York Conference

Resolution unanimously adopted by the International Tamil Conference held at Nanuet, New York on the 1st of July 1984.

Resolved that the Tamil International be established, committed to the following objectives:

1. To secure the physical well being of the Tamil people because physical existence provides the base for all human action;
2. To secure the cultural identity of the Tamil people because their culture is a rich and ancient culture and because it is a culture which has much to give to the world;
3. To secure the human rights of the Tamil people because these are rights which spring from the inherent dignity of man and the Tamil people seek to live with dignity amongst their fellowmen;
4. To secure the civil and political rights of the Tamil people because the Tamil people seek to live in equality and in freedom amongst their fellowmen.

## Procession as homage to Tamils killed in Sri Lanka:



MADRAS, July 25.

To pay homage to the Tamils killed in the ethnic violence in Sri Lanka during July last year, the Tamil Eelam Students Organisation in the city took out a silent procession from Teynampet to the Labour Statue on the Marina.

Wearing black badges and carrying placards, the processionists passed through Anna Salai and Wallajah Road. Mr. K. Ravivarma, Secretary of the Organisation, and others addressed the gathering.

A batch of volunteers belonging to the youth wing of the Tamil Nadu Kamaraj Congress, led by Mr. Munawar Basha, undertook a fast

## India must 'hold out threat' of recognising Tamil Eelam

From the Madras Press

The Centre should issue an ultimatum to Sri Lanka to the effect that unless the Tamils' issue was settled within a month, India would recognise Tamil Eelam as an independent country and Eelam Tigers as the army of the new country. Food Minister S. D. Somasundaram said on Tuesday.

Sri Lanka should be given the choice, in the ultimatum period, of either redeeming President Jayewardene's promise to the Indian Government to confer the status of an autonomous state on Tamil areas in the island or acting by the recommendations of a "conciliatory committee" to be set up with representatives of five non-aligned countries, he further stated.

If President Jayewardene could not redeem his promise, he should step down, Mr. Somasundaram said.

Mr. Somasundaram said that the Indian Government's "good offices" had clearly "failed".

"The feeling has been created amidst the Sinhalese that India is a weak country and that the Indian Government does not respect the feelings

of Tamils in India. I appeal to the Centre not to slight the feelings of crores of Tamils to win the approbation of a few Sinhalese", he said.

In a statement titled "Unite world Tamils", the Tamil Nadu Minister urged the leaders of Sri Lanka Tamils to announce unitedly that efforts through the round table conference had failed and there was no need for more such conferences.

Instead, a team of independent observers consisting of representatives of five non-aligned countries should meet Tamil Eelam leaders and Sinhalese leaders and announce their decision on the Tamils issue. A peace force from these non-aligned countries should be stationed in Sri Lanka to give protection to Tamils.

The Minister said Sri Lanka Government appeared to be preparing for unleashing another round of ethnic violence on July 25. Mercenary commandos brought from Israel and U.K., were kept in readings. A section of the Sinhalese army was stationed in the Tamil areas. "If this state of affairs continues, the Tamil race would be destroyed in the island" he said.



Somasundaram



## A helping hand in Madras

The fact that Sri Lankan Tamils fled for safety by the thousands into Tamilnadu in the wake of the anti-Tamil pogrom last July is well known. But what is not equally well known is the fact that the influx that began an year ago has not completely ceased yet. Called upon to lead a life of fear and insecurity, hounded by Sri Lankan security forces, harassed constantly because of alleged links with the Tamil liberation struggle, a steady stream of Tamils continue to seek refuge in Tamilnadu, not all with sufficient means to support themselves.

While it is estimated that those who have sought shelter here number over 40,000, it is believed that at least 10,000 of them need assistance. They include those from vulnerable areas in north and east Sri Lanka constantly exposed to arbitrary arrests, detentions and torture and hundreds of youths who have fled in fear and others seeking educational opportunities. It was in this context that the ORGANISATION FOR EELAM REFUGEES REHABILITATION (OFERR) was formed in Madras to offer assistance and guidance to the needy; duly registered in May under the Tamilnadu Societies Act. An application for Tax exemption is expected to be allowed in due course.

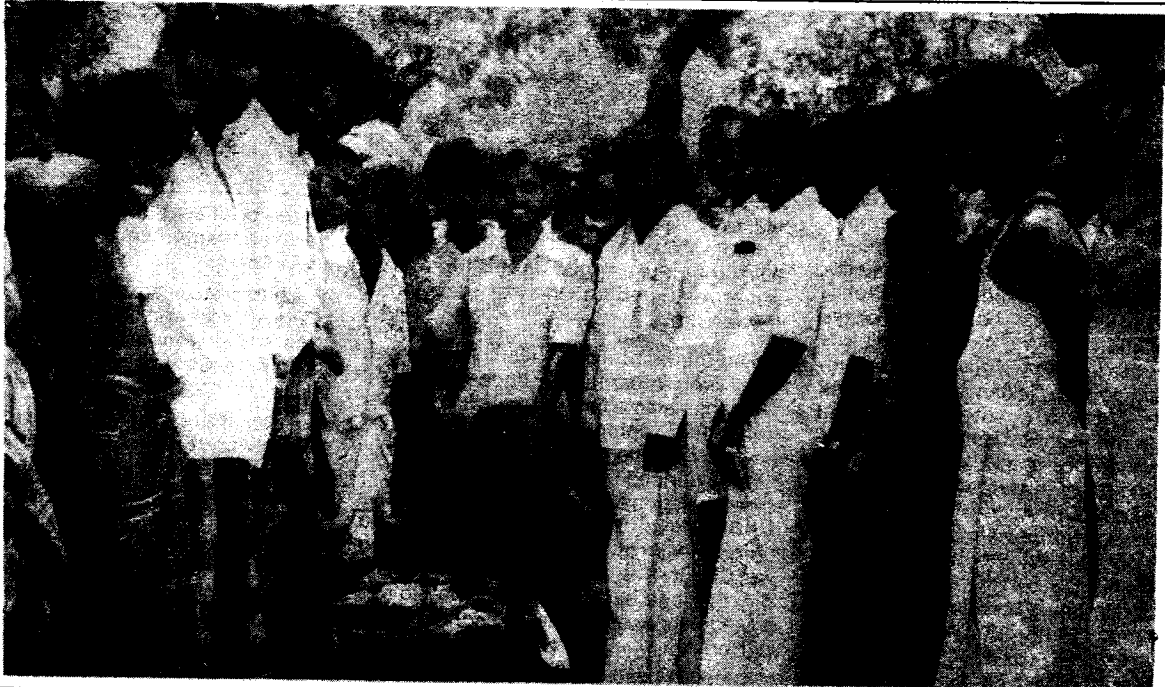
The OFERR office is situated at 1st Floor, 84, Spur Tank Road, Chetpet, Madras 600 031 and is managed by a full-time Secretary and Treasurer and other volunteers. The Organisation is funded by expatriate Tamil associations.

With the limited resources available, OFERR now provides the following forms of assistance:— 1. A daily allowance of Rs. 10 up to a month for those in destitute circumstances within which time they are helped to find some form of gainful employment. The question of further assistance is reviewed at the end of each month; 2. Providing financial assistance to those with some skills to set themselves in independent employment; 3. Assisting otherwise in securing gainful employment; 4. Helping refugee students in getting placements in Universities, Institutes and colleges, and also helping financially if necessary. OFERR has also contacted well-wishers who might be in a position to offer scholarships to such needy students.

There were also occasion when OFERR supplied food parcels to about two hundred repatriate refugees who were displaced from their place of settlement, and rice and other essential food items to others who were already in settlements.



At the OFERR office



Distributing food parcels to displaced repatriates.

## THE ARTS

# Dancing in the precincts of Chidambaram

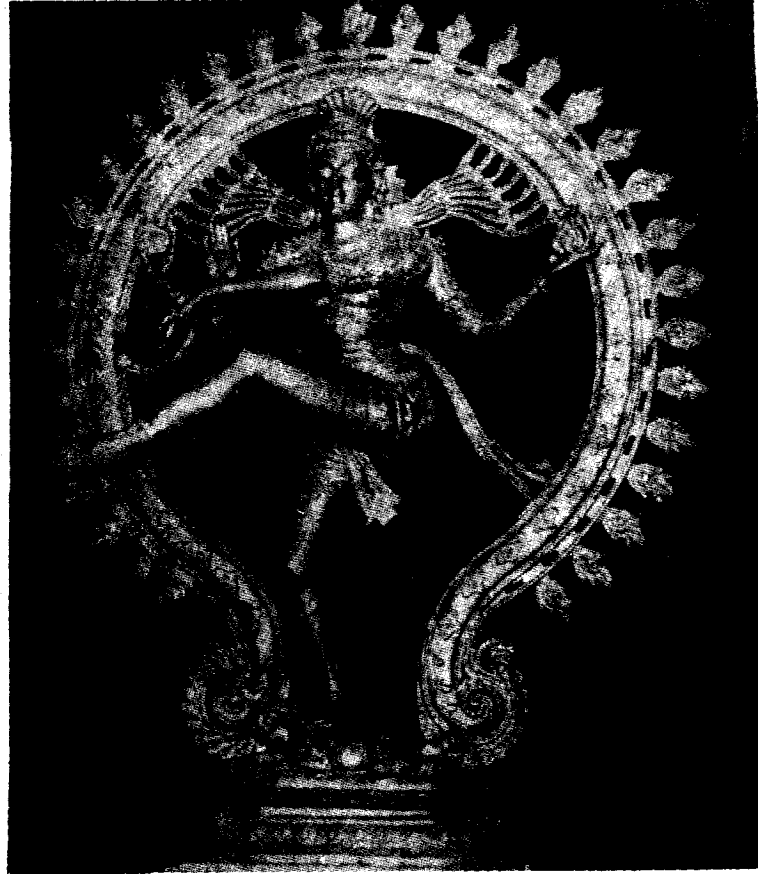
*Extracted from a report in the July '84 issue of SRUTI, a unique and distinctive South Indian classical music and dance monthly, published in Madras.*

Fifteenth of May. It was Vaishakha Pournima. The moon was a luminescent disc, looming above the palm trees lining the outer "prakara". For what seemed the entire population of the town of Chidambaram assembled at the Nataraja temple, it was a festive occasion. The slabs of granite they were seated on were still warm late at night, radiating the heat absorbed during the day, but no matter. The dancers on the stage several hundred yards away near the East Gopuram were tiny specks in motion, but again no matter. The large audience was happy to be there for the occasion. The occasion was the third NATYANJALI held at the Nataraja Temple, Chidambaram. The four-day festival featured mostly dancers from Madras, while local dancers were accommodated as they came forward. The festival was planned as a devotional offering, on the lines of the Tyagaraja aradhana festival at Tiruvaiyaru. Dancers were asked to dance compositions on Siva.....

The established antiquity of the Nataraja temple goes back to the second century B.C.; legend takes it beyond. The temple has figured prominently in the mythological, historical, archaeological and cultural history of South India. It is famous for the simplicity of its objects of worship. In the Chitsabha or the hall within the temple, Siva is said to have danced while blessing two devotees Patanjali and Vyagrapada.

Someone asked why the festival is organised at the Chidambaram temple. To which the reply of one of the organisers is a counter-question: Where else is better to hold a Natyanjali except at the feet of the Lord of Dance? There is of course the legislation banning the performing of dance in the temples. But in the Chidambaram temple there is dancing throughout the year. Many a devotee comes and dances in the thousand-pillared hall. It is also a custom for local dancers to have their arangetram in the temple. The few dance teachers in town offer no quality training but enthusiasm is high. For example, there is seventy-seven year old S.M. MOHIDEEN SAHIB, who has been training young girls and presenting their performances at the temple for the past forty years.

The Chidambaram temple is managed by a priestly community of Dikshitaras.



Nataraja Ratna Dikshitar, the suave English-speaking priest of the Kali temple says that the temple authorities have never restricted anyone from dancing in the temple.

The theme of the festival this year was Siva and almost all the dancers danced "Ananda natamadum padam". Some other delightful compositions were also presented. One such was "Tillai ambalathane" danced by Uma Sriram and Jayashree Rajagopal of Padma Subramaniam's Nrithyodaya. The song described the uniqueness of the Siva and Vishnu worship in the same temple. It seems a pity that one has to go all the way to see a Madras-based dancer like Uma Sriram perform.

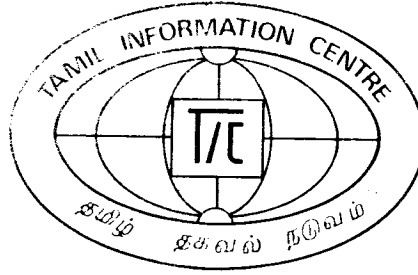
Chitra Visweswaran's "Varugalamo" created the right mood for the audience.

In the brief span of this composition, the festival came very close to being devotional.

Chitra's students presented "Tiruneelakander", a legend placed in Chidambaram. The group won hearts off the stage too, thanks to Chitra's spontaneous friendliness and her students' good cheer.....

Then there was Alarmel Valli, unanimously acclaimed the best dancer at the festival, cutting her own programme short to make time for local dancers. There was also the scene of her running in full costume to have a darsan of the Lord before the doors of the sanctum closed...

The festival ended with a performance by the fifty-five year old Registrar of the Annamalai University, Mr. Lakshmanan, who brought the house down with his "Tikku terriyada kattil".....



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