

PRIME MINISTER

SRI LANKA

I asked for this report so that you could judge whether we are doing enough to help the Sri Lankan Government against terrorists or ought to do more.

The answer seems to be:

- we are not doing much;
- but equally the Sri Lankans are not at present pressing us to do much more. Where they have made requests, such as for RN vessels, their requests are obviously impracticable.
- there are political risks in doing more, particularly in terms of our relations with the Indians.

From what we saw, it looks to me as though what the Sri Lankans really need is a senior and experienced officer to pay a visit there and write a report telling them how to deal more effectively with terrorism. Someone like Sir Frank Kitson would be ideal.

The only idea I can think of is that we should link an offer of such a visit with a renewed public commitment by President Jayewardene to negotiate with those prepared to work peacefully for a solution.

Any we have a ^{road?} _{mt} CDP

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ACT 2000

(CHARLES POWELL)

19 April 1985



10 DOWNING STREET

22 April 1985

From the Private Secretary

SRI LANKA

Thank you for your letter of 19 April setting out what we are already doing to assist the Sri Lankan government to combat Tamil terrorism.

The Prime Minister has considered it. Her view is that it is not enough.

The Prime Minister thinks that what the Sri Lankan government most needs is advice: advice on how to improve the standards and discipline of the Sri Lankan armed forces; and advice on how to counter the sort of campaign being waged by the Tamil terrorists. There are various ways in which this might be provided. One is described in your letter, that is the visits arranged for senior Sri Lankan politicians and officials. Others might be: to send a senior officer with experience in dealing with terrorism to give advice on the spot to the Sri Lankans:

There are no doubt more. The question of presentation vis-à-vis the Indian Government would need very careful handling. But if the latter are to be taken at their word, they should be interested in seeing the Sri Lankan armed forces more disciplined and effective. It might also be possible to link the provision of further help from the UK to a renewed public committed by the Sri Lankan government to re-open negotiations with those prepared to work for a peaceful solution.

The Prime Minister would like to discuss this as soon as possible with the Foreign Secretary and Defence Secretary. I shall be in touch to suggest a date.

I am copying this letter to Richard Mottram (Ministry of Defence).

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RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3 (4)
(C D Powell)
OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT

L Appleyard Esq,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

SPW



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

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OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT

19 April 1985

Dear Charles,

Sri Lanka

Your letter of 16 April asked for an account of what we are already doing to assist the Sri Lankan Government in their efforts to combat Tamil terrorism, what limits we have set hitherto on such assistance, and any recommendations about this problem which the Foreign Secretary might wish to make.

Current Assistance to the Sri Lankan Government

We are providing, or are prepared to provide, the following assistance:

- Not much*
- (a) training in the UK for Sri Lankan military and police personnel. In 1984/85 nine police officers were given training financed by the ODA. Provision has been made to train eleven in 1985/86. Eighteen military personnel were training in 1984/85, funded from the FCO's UKMTAS budget at a cost of £122,000. UKMTAS funding for 1985/86 will be available at a similar level. So far £97,000 has been committed for 13 trainees: more are expected. In addition, we are in the process of offering the Sri Lankans four police training attachments which will focus on Special Branch work, anti-terrorist procedures, and VIP protection. Under existing ODA guidelines, it is not possible to fund such counter-terrorist training from aid funds. We shall therefore ask the Sri Lankans to pay and they have already indicated their willingness to do so. In addition, in October 1984 Lady Young offered to consider a small increase in the standard training we provide for police and military personnel: the Sri Lankan Government have not responded to this yet;
- (b) in 1984 we arranged for the Sri Lankan Minister of National Security and the Defence Secretary (i.e. PUS equivalent) to meet police and other counter-terrorist specialists when visiting the UK. The Sri Lankan Defence Secretary, Mr Attygalle, also visited Belfast, where he met the Chief Constable of the Royal Ulster Constabulary who briefed him in some detail on the RUC's counter-terrorist role.



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Requests for Military Assistance

In the past twelve months we have rejected informal requests from the Sri Lankan Government for the loan of manned naval vessels

We explained that it would not be appropriate for us to become directly involved in an internal problem. The Sri Lankans accepted this view with good grace and have not pursued such requests.

Arms Sales

In the past eighteen months we have given political clearance for the possible sale to Sri Lanka by British companies of armoured cars, machine guns, mortars, Carl Gustav portable anti-tank weapons, and a variety of other equipment. In 1984/85 actual sales amounted to some £3m: they involved armoured cars, anti-tank weapons, communications equipment and small arms. We have recently given political clearance for the sale of seven second-hand Bell helicopters, and three second-hand HS 748 transport aircraft, though it now appears that orders are unlikely to be placed in the UK for these items. In considering these requests we take very carefully into account the fact that the Sri Lankan Security Forces have shown a tendency on occasion to commit acts of retaliation against Tamil civilians. There is also the risk of strong adverse Indian reaction. We make it a condition that major items of equipment which might be used for internal security purposes (e.g. helicopters, aircraft and naval craft) are to be supplied without armaments.

The Sri Lankan Government have in the past made a tentative enquiry about the possibility of credit for arms purchases. We have made it clear that we are not prepared to provide special credit arrangements for arms sales, though it would of course be open to British companies wishing to supply arms to apply for ECGD cover in the normal way.

KMS Ltd

The Sri Lankan Government currently employ the British security company, KMS Ltd, who recruit British ex-servicemen, to provide counter-insurgency training for the Sri Lankan security forces. Some two dozen employees of the company are at present in Sri Lanka. Their principal task has been to create a 600-strong counter-insurgency police force to take over the counter-terrorist role in



northern and eastern Sri Lanka from the army. Some 200 Sri Lankan policemen have been trained so far and deployed in the eastern province. Our High Commission have reported within the last few days that policemen from that unit are alleged to have been involved in retaliation against the Tamil civil population. Earlier this year, the Sri Lankan Government also asked KMS Ltd to begin training an army counter-insurgency commando unit and to take on coordination of Sri Lankan arms procurement. We understand they have agreed to do both.

We have not sought to dissuade KMS Ltd from taking on the training of police in Sri Lanka. Indeed, we have seen it as important that the police should be trained effectively so that they can take over the internal security role from the army. However, the Foreign Secretary was particularly concerned earlier this year that a British company should not be seen to become directly involved in inter-communal fighting. KMS Ltd were therefore told that we had strong reservations about their involvement in training an army commando unit and that we hoped that they would take steps to avoid being drawn into an operational role. The company have made it clear that they do not intend their personnel to take on a combat role.

Future Policy

The Foreign Secretary believes that we should continue to do what we can to help President Jayewardene resolve the inter-communal problem, and, in particular, counter Tamil terrorism. But we need to take account of:

- (a) the Indian angle. The Indian Government take the view that the Sri Lankan Government should concede a high degree of regional autonomy to the Tamil minority. They have in the past sought to put pressure on the Sri Lankan Government by providing assistance, including arms, to the Tamil extremists. Mr Gandhi appears to have revised this aspect of their policy; but it remains likely that he, like his mother, will remain very sensitive to the involvement of other powers in Sri Lanka. The Indian Government have in the past objected to the activities of KMS Ltd in Sri Lanka and clearly suspect that the company are there at the British Government's behest. They have also expressed concern about the sale of arms to Sri Lanka by British companies. Any major, and overt, increase in British involvement could damage our considerable commercial and defence sales interests in India;

/(b)



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- (b) the heavy-handed policy adopted by the Sri Lankan Government towards the Tamil minority. Although President Jayewardene declared his willingness in December last year to concede a high degree of provincial autonomy to the Tamils in the north of the island, these concessions were made belatedly and were accompanied by increasingly repressive behaviour by the Sri Lankan security forces, particularly in the Jaffna peninsula. Excesses, in particular by the army, against Tamil civilians were frequent and have been admitted publicly and privately by the Sri Lankan Government, whose officials have referred to the army as being "out of control". This has caused particular concern among the substantial Tamil community in Britain;
- (c) the 1947 UK-Ceylon Defence Agreement. This remains in force. It provides that the two governments "will give each other such military assistance for the security of their territories, for defence against external aggression and for the protection of essential communications as it may be in their mutual interest to provide". However, the Prime Minister wrote to President Jayewardene in November last year stating that Britain would not be able to provide military assistance under the Agreement in any circumstances connected with the internal situation in Sri Lanka including any external threat arising from that situation.

The Foreign Secretary has considered whether there is anything further that we could or should do to assist the Sri Lankan Government. He has concluded that we should remind them of Lady Young's offer last October to consider a small increase in the training we provide in this country for police and military personnel, though we would need to make it clear that we could not provide funds in every case. He has also considered whether we should change our policy on arms sales. We have not, since the major outburst of inter-communal violence in July 1983, refused political clearance for any major item of defence equipment. Our practice of stipulating that helicopters, aircraft and patrol boats should be supplied without armaments is intended to reduce the risk of our being charged with supplying major pieces of equipment for use against the Tamil minority. The Foreign Secretary believes that we should apply this rule flexibly, but that we should continue to be cautious about the supply of major items of military equipment, looking at each case on its merits. There appears to be no need to consider any special arrangement for credit, even if the funds could be found: the Sri Lankan Government seem ready to find whatever

/funds



funds are necessary to purchase arms. Finally, the Foreign Secretary considers that we should continue to provide discreet advice about counter-terrorist and security matters to senior Sri Lankan Ministers and officials visiting the UK, but that we should not contemplate the dispatch to Sri Lanka of experts in these fields, To do so would undoubtedly generate controversy in the UK and would jeopardise our already difficult relations with the Indian Government.

I am copying this letter to Richard Mottram in the MOD.

Your ever,

Len Appleyard

(L V Appleyard)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

16 April 1985

SRI LANKA

During her visit to Sri Lanka the Prime Minister was left in no doubt that President Jayewardene wanted help from the United Kingdom in combatting terrorism, in the form both of equipment and training. This was conveyed through hints and allusions, including his speech at the banquet.

BR / The Prime Minister wants to think further about this. It would be helpful to have a short statement of what we are already doing and the limits we have set, which I could put to her, together with any recommendations which the Foreign Secretary may wish to make. It would be helpful to have the information at least by the end of the week.

(CHARLES POWELL)

Peter Ricketts, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

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OUT TELEGRAM

		Classification and Caveats CONFIDENTIAL	Precedence/Deskby IMMEDIATE
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GRS
CLASS
CAVEATS
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TEL NO

1 ZCZC
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6 FM FCO 231500Z APRIL 1985
7 TO IMMEDIATE COLOMBO
8 TELEGRAM NUMBER

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ACT 2000

9 INFO ROUTINE NEW DELHI
10 INFO ROUTINE WASHINGTON
11 YOUR TELNO 265: SRI LANKA: INTER-COMMUNAL PROBLEM
12 1. Mr Rajiv Gandhi implied to the Prime Minister during their
13 meeting on 13 April that he was in touch with the Sri Lankan
14 Government about parallel moves to de-escalate the crisis. He
15 was, no doubt, referring to the visit to Colombo by Romesh
16 Bhandari.
17
18 He added that there appeared
19 to be substance in the recent press reports from Colombo about
20 Sri Lankan moves towards a political settlement.
21 2. The Prime Minister would like to encourage the Sri Lankan
22 Government to respond to Mr Gandhi's ideas on parallel steps by
23 India and Sri Lanka to reduce tension. Please therefore take an
24 early opportunity to tell the Sri Lankans at an appropriately
25 senior level that the Prime Minister was struck by the

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NNNN ends telegram	BLANK	Catchword genuineness
File number	Dept Private Office	Distribution Limited Copies to: Assessments Staff, Cabinet Office SAD PUSD SCD News Dept Private Secretary PS/Lady Young PS/Mr Renton PS/PUS Sir W Harding Dr Wilson Mr Barrington Copies to: No 10 Downing St
Drafted by (Block capitals) P F RICKETTS		
Telephone number		
Authorised for despatch		
Comcen reference	Time of despatch	

OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

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1 <<<<
 2 genuineness of Mr Gandhi's concern to improve relations between
 3 India and Sri Lanka, and to see progress on Sri Lanka's inter-
 4 communal problem. You should say that Mr Gandhi stated clearly
 5 that his Government were taking action to restrict the Indian-
 6 based activities of the Tamil extremists, though for obvious
 7 reasons they could not reveal publicly what they were doing.
 8 You should add that Mr Gandhi appeared optimistic about
 9 prospects for action by the Sri Lankan Government designed to
 10 relaunch efforts towards a political settlement.
 11 3. You should then say, making clear that you are speaking on
 12 the Prime Minister's authority, that the Prime Minister very much
 13 hopes that President Jayewardene will feel able to seize the
 14 opportunity provided by this change of attitude in New Delhi to
 15 increase co-operation and consultation between the two
 16 Governments. Clearly, the Indian Government's ability to continue
 17 to act in a helpful fashion will be contingent on their seeing
 18 signs of parallel movement at the Sri Lankan end. The Prime
 19 Minister, therefore, would be very grateful to hear in due course
 20 what further steps President Jayewardene contemplates to
 21 complement the firm action that he is necessarily taking against
 22 the Tamil extremists. Is there any prospect of his being able
 23 to demonstrate his Government's determination to meet the real
 24 concerns of the Tamil majority, as distinct from those who claim
 25 to speak for them, by putting into effect the proposals for
 26 regional devolution which he put forward in the All-Party
 27 Conference last December? A firm and decisive gesture of this
 28 sort might do much to win over the Tamil population in the north
 29 and might also, in time, lead to the emergence of an
 30 alternative Tamil leadership anxious to exploit the powers put
 31 into their hands by the central Government.
 32 4. Finally, you should thank the Sri Lankans for their swift
 33 response to the Prime Minister's request for detailed
 34 information about action they have taken to deal with

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OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

	Classification and Caveats CONFIDENTIAL	Page 3
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1 <<<<

2 indisciplined members of their security forces (text by bag).
3 You should assure them that we are looking into the allegations
4 that Tamil organisations in the UK have been raising sums to
5 purchase arms for terrorists. We hope to let them have a
6 response on this point soon. In the meantime, it would be very
7 helpful to have any detailed evidence available to them.

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9 HOWE

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Catchword

FOR. POL: SE Asia trip : Pt 3.

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COLOMBO

CRS 233

UNCLASSIFIED
FROM NEW DELHI 171327Z APRIL 1985
TO PRIORITY FCO LONDON
TELEGRAM NUMBER 464 OF 17 APRIL 1985
INFO PRIORITY COLOMBO (FOR P.'S PARTY)
INFO SAVING MADRAS (ACTIONED)
INFO SAVING WASHINGTON (FCO PLEASE PASS)

INDIA/SRI LANKA

1. THE INDIAN PRESS CONTINUES TO DEVOTE ATTENTION TO SRI LANKA IN THE CONTEXT OF MRS THATCHER'S FORTHCOMING VISIT.
2. TIMES OF INDIA OF 17 APRIL HAS A REPORT DATED COLOMBO QUOTING SRI LANKAN POLITICAL CIRCLES AS EXPECTING THAT THE GOSL WILL SEEK MRS THATCHER'S GOOD OFFICES IN CONVINCING THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT TO STOP GIVING SANCTUARY TO TAMIL MILITANTS IN SOUTH INDIA. THE REPORT COMMENTS ON IMPROVED PROSPECTS FOR A REDUCTION IN VIOLENCE AND A RENEWAL DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE GOSL AND TAMIL MILITANT GROUPS FOLLOWING BHANDARI'S VISIT LAST MONTH (MY TELNO 423).
3. GANDHI'S INITIATIVE IN PROMOTING FRIENDSHIP WITH NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES INCLUDING SRI LANKA FEATURED IN YESTERDAY'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS' DEBATE IN THE LOK SABHA, WITH MOST MEMBERS WELCOMING IT.

WADE-GERY

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UNCLASSIFIED

Private Secretary

Prime Minister -
to see before your meeting
with Dr. Tiruchelvan.

PETITIONS FROM TAMIL GROUPS

FERB
12.4

1. I attach a series of petitions addressed to the Prime Minister which we have received from Tamil groups, including the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). Amongst the signatories to the TULF document (directly under this minute) are Dr Neelan Tiruchelvam, whom the Prime Minister will be meeting on Saturday morning at Westminster House, and Mr A Amirthalingam leader of the TULF and ex-leader of the Opposition.

2. The petitions have received a simple acknowledgement saying that they will be passed to the Prime Minister's staff.

11 April 1985

J P P Nason
Deputy High Commissioner

தமிழர் விடுதலைக் கூட்டணி

TAMIL UNITED LIBERATION FRONT

தலைவர்: மு. சிவசிதம்பரம்
செயலாளர் நாயகம்: அ. அமிர்தலிங்கம்

President: M. SIVASITHAMPARAM
Secretary General: A. AMIRTHALINGUM

Adiyapatham Road,
Tirunelveli,
Jaffna, Sri Lanka.

ஆடியபாதம் வீதி,
திருநெல்வேலி,
யாழ்ப்பாணம், இலங்கை.

Camp 2. Thanakachalam Road,
T. Nagar,
MADRAS 600 017.
SOUTH INDIA.
~~Phone: 441902.~~

திகதி
Date 1st March 1985

The Hon'ble Prime Minister,
UNITED KINGDOM

Dear Madame Prime Minister,

On behalf of the Tamil people of Sri Lanka,
We address this memorandum to Her Majesty's Government.

It is with profound anguish and great disappointment
that we learnt of Her Majesty's Government's decision to sell arms
with credit facilities in respect of such sale, to the Sri Lankan
Government. We are confident that, if Her Majesty's Government is
made aware of the fact that these arms will be primarily used against
the helpless innocent Tamil Civilians in Sri Lanka, Her Majesty's
Government will not enter into any arms deal with the Sri Lankan
Government.

You would be aware of the successive violent attacks
by Sinhalese racists since 1956, against the lives and property
of Tamils. Governments comprising largely of Sinhalese represen-
tatives have come and gone, different political parties with almost
a Pan-Sinhala complexion have been in seats of power, different
Sinhalese Prime Ministers have been at the helm of affairs. But

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Dr. T. ...
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signature
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throughout the period 1956 to 1985 Tamils have been the victims of brutal attacks by Sinhalese racists, often aided and abetted by the Security forces who are almost exclusively Sinhalese.

The years 1977 to 1985 has been the blackest period which witnessed an accelerated process of nearly three decades of systematic annihilation of the Tamil people. The dismal racist record of the present Government in power in Sri Lanka shows pogrom after pogrom in 1977, 1981, 1983, 1984 and 1985.

From about the middle of June to the middle of August 1983, Tamils numbering over three thousands were killed in all parts of the island, their properties looted, more than hundred thousands driven out of their homes by marauding Sinhalese racists and these Tamils took shelter in refugee camps. The armed Services and the Police actively encouraged or passively looked on while these killings and pillage were going on. Fifty three Tamil political prisoners in judicial custody were massacred inside the prison on two successive occasions on 25th and 27th July 1983.

The President and leaders of the Government remained unconcerned and took no steps whatsoever to prevent these criminal acts. These events shocked the World and the Governments and leaders of many Countries expressed revulsion and conveyed their strong concern to the Sri Lankan Government, (The Government was compelled by universal protest to move, though belatedly, to curb these racists) It took months before even a state of uneasy calm was restored. The Amnesty International was at pains to impress upon the Government the necessity to hold an impartial inquiry into the prison massacre but its efforts were of no avail.

The Pattern of attack on the Tamils in 1984 changed. The Killings, rape, arson, looting and such other crimes against the Tamils were now being perpetrated by the Security forces, with the knowledge and connivance of the State. Beginning in March 1984 the State Security forces frequently shot and killed several hundreds of innocent Tamil civilians in the streets, in public market places, inside houses, in the fields, in the schools and even in places of worship. An Emergency Regulation empowering the armed services to dispose of dead bodies without judicial inquiry was a licence to kill with impunity. Besides killing and maiming houses and business premises were looted and burnt down by these Armed Services. Under the provisions of the draconian Prevention of Terrorism Act, certain provisions of which the International Commission of Jurists described as worse than those of South African anti-terrorism laws, thousands of innocent young Tamils including male and female, students, have been arrested, detained without trial for months in detention camps and subjected to severe torture. The Amnesty International, in its latest report on Sri Lanka says that "the situation of the Sri Lanka Tamils continues to present a grim tale of denial of basic human rights as this vulnerable minority is subjected daily to the risk of arbitrary arrest, torture and even being killed by members of the Sri Lankan Security Forces."

As the year 1984 proceeded, the frequency and ferocity of Army excesses increased. Under the guise of fighting "terrorism" mass killings of innocent Tamil Civilians had become a regular occurrence. For instance: In September 1984, 16 Tamils were pulled out from a private bus travelling from Colombo to Jaffna, lined up and shot dead near Vavuniya. In December 107 Tamils

were indiscriminately shot and killed in Mannar, while they were engaged in their normal work; ten of them, employees in a Post Office, were called out, lined up and shot dead. This was said to be a 'reprisal' for one soldier killed in a land-mine explosion at Murungan. Political detainees numbering 89 kept captives by the army were killed and buried in two Army camps in Vavuniya.

The army men did not spare even men of God. On 14 December 1984, Rev. George Jayarajasingham, a Methodist priest travelling in a van with two others were shot dead by the Armed forces near the Army camp. Their bodies were thrown into the van and burnt along with the van. In another incident on 6th January 1985, Rev. fr. M. Mary Bastian (36) a Catholic Parish Priest of Vankalai, Mannar was shot dead along with two young boys. The priest was in clerical dress with rosary in hand in his Parish House when he was shot and killed by the Army men and his body was not released for Christian Burial.

The list of few incidents enumerated above is only illustrative and not exhaustive. According to the Amnesty International report referred to above, "The scale of these killings is unprecedented." The scale of these killings is unprecedented, Mass arrest, detention and torture continued apace.

Army terror in some villages in Mullaitivu resulted in the total evacuation of these village and 20,000 Tamils are living as refugees in various schools, temples, and churches.

The year 1985 began with the savage attack by the army continuing. 36 persons were shot dead in Mannar. 52 persons who returned to their village from the refugee camps (mentioned

in the last para) to save their crops were gunned down from helicopters. Hundreds of persons, young and old, men and women fled across the seas in tiny country-crafts, braving the risk of detection by the Sri Lankan Navy. An estimated 12,000 such fugitives are refugees from Sri Lanka, now staying in different districts in South India. They all came in search of security of life since January 1985. The total number of Tamils who have sought refuge in India since July 1983 is over 80,000.

The Sri Lankan Government has imposed a selective censorship on news about Army activities, Yet eminent, investigative and enterprising journalists like Messrs. David Graves, Eric Silver, Trevor Fishlock, have penetrated the iron curtain of secrecy and filed reports in esteemed journals like in London Times, Guardian, The Daily Telegraph, The New York Times and Washington Post, confirming all these army killings. They have termed the Sri Lanka Army, "As the most indisciplined Army" in the world.

We wish to emphasize to Her Majesty's Government that the arms, proposed to be purchased from Great Britain, are to be placed in the hands of this thoroughly andisciplined Army to intensify their killing of innocent Tamil civilians. The declared policy of the Government as per statement by Ministry of National Security (which is already being implemented on a large scale) to arm the Sinhalese civilians, most of whom are criminals and convicts planted in the Tamil areas under an ostensible programme of rehabilitation, portends further threat to the security of our people.

Every prospective victim of such brutality, has a right to appeal to the conscience of Governments that propose to sell arms for these wanton killings. We do so in the full hope that our appeal will strike a responsive chord with Her Majesty's Government with a proud history of fighting for and upholding democracy, freedom, dignity of human life and liberty.

We the Tamils of Sri Lanka have a special claim to make this appeal. We were an independent separate unit under the Portugese and under the Dutch, We remained so till 1833, when for administrative convenience, we and the Sinhalese wwere unified by Her Majesty's Government. When power was to pass into Sri Lankan hands, Her Majesty's Commission headed by Lord Soulbury appreciated the fears and apprehensions of our people and made provision for safeguards in Order-in-Council, granting dominion status to Sri Lanka (then Ceylon). By Article 29 of what came to be known as the Soulbury Constitution, the Parliament could not pass laws that bestowed a privilege or imposed a disability on one community which was not so bestowed or imposed on other communities. The other safeguard was to demarcate electorates on the basis of area and population which was aimed to give additional representation to the minorities. These safeguards proved to be meagre and insufficient to prevent gross discrimination against the Tamils, as was later sadly acknowledged by Lord Soulbury himself. But even these safeguards were done away with in new Constitutions promulgated in 1972 and 1978, in the making of which the Tamils played no part.

One Section of us Tamils, who work in the plantations were brought to Sri Lanka by British planters to be employed on their coffee, tea and rubber estates. The prosperity of Sri Lanka was built up on the blood and sweat of these Tamils who were brought across from South India. Even to-day they earn 60% of the Export earnings of the island. Her Majesty's Government left them as equal citizens. But in the first year of independence, they were stripped of their citizenship and voting rights. With one stroke of the pen, thousands of them became stateless. These persons, the poorest of the poor, the Cinderellas of Sri Lanka, were also helpless victims of the tyranny directed against the Tamils.

The problem of the Tamils is a political problem and all Governments have urged the Sri Lankan Government to find a political solution. But the Sri Lankan Government has chosen to find a military solution which must inevitably result in the total annihilation-the genocide of the Tamil people.

Therefore, we earnestly appeal to Her Majesty's Government not to lend support, either directly or indirectly, to the Sri Lankan Government to effectuate its evil design to exterminate the Tamils of Sri Lanka.

We the undersigned were members of Parliament, having been elected by the vast majority of the Tamil people in the general elections of July 1977. We were the single largest party in the Opposition and our Leader was elected leader of the Opposition. We forfeited our seats by operation of the Sixth Amendment of the Constitution, adopted on the 4th August 1983.

We remain,
Yours faithfully,

1. Mr.A.Amirthalingam,
Leader of the Opposition,
M.P. Kankesanthurai.

2. Mr.M.Sivachitamparam.
President TULF,
M.P. Nallur.

3. Mr.R.Sampanthan,
M.P. Trincomalee.

4. Mr.P.S.Soosaitasan,
M.P. Mannar.

5. Mr.V.N.Navaratnam,
M.P. Chavakacheri.

6. Mr.Ganesalingam,P.
M.P. Paddiruppu.

7. Mr.V.Yogeswaran,
M.P. Jaffna.

8. Mr.V.Anandasangari,
M.P. Kilinochi.

9. Mr.T.Sivasithamparam,
M.P. Vayuniya.

10. Mr.T.Rajalingam,
M.P. Uduppidy.

11. Mr.K.Thurairatnam,
M.P. Pointpedro.

12. Dr.NEELAN THIRCHELVAM,
M.P. Vaddukoddai.

13. Mr.K.P.Ratnam,
M.P. Kayts.

A. Amirthalingam
A. AMIRTHALINGUM
SECRETARY GENERAL
T.U.L.F.

CAMP: 2. THANIKACHALAM ROAD.
T. NAGAR, MADRAS-600 017.

S. INDIA
Phone: 441902.

14. Mr.A.M.Alalasundaram,
M.P. Kopay.

15. Mr.V.Tharmalingam,
M.P. Uduvil.

16. Mr.^XM.Sellatambo
(SINCE DECEASED.)

Colombo, Sri Lanka,
7th April, 1985

Hon'ble Mrs. Margaret Thatcher,

British History dealing with Ceylon, now called Sri Lanka, indicates that the British ruled separately a separate and independent Tamil Kingdom in North and East of Ceylon and the Kandyan Kingdom with a Tamil King named Sri Wickrama Rajasingham with a mixed population in addition to the Kotte Kingdom ruled earlier by the Portugese who had conquered when Perumal ruled Kotte, and other minor states until all were brought together under one rule for administrative control.

The Dutch and Portugess history too indicate the different kingdoms as Tamil and Sinhala.

There stands even today a place called Addanga Vanni in the Vavuniya Area ruled by a Vannian whom the British took a long number years to conquer. Vannian was a Tamil and respected to this day by the Tamils.

British Honour and British demands demands that you will in your speeches on Sri Lanka's ethnic problem, should you happen to do so, state the facts of history as recorded in the pages of British History on Ceylon, before you condemn the Tamils who are only fighting for their human rights and to save themselves from genocide and total annihilation and before you give the green light to the Sinhala leader and the sinhalese to commit the genocide of the Tamil Nation.

Please see the attached which speak for themselves how Vijaya the socalled ancestor of the Sinhala race and the present day Sinhalese are involved in the Genocide of the Tamil nation, from time time to time to the present day of the 20th Century.

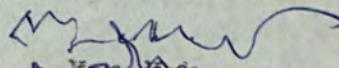
Enclosures:-

a. Article in the Sunday Observer of February 10th, 1985, by Ven Kotugoda Dhammawasa Nayake Thera. He has however ~~stated~~ stated that Vijaya's Queen Kuvani and the children were chased away, when actually according to history Kuvani and her entire clan were annihilated at a feast by Vijaya the ancestor of the present day Sinhalese.

b. Article in the Daily News of February 11, 1985 by Dr. Carlo Fonseka.

Both articles by Sinhalese,

Humane to Humane


A. Karapin

Who are the Sinhalese?

By Ven. Kotugoda

Dhammawasa

Nayake Thera

The Sinhalese who have a long history of over two thousand five hundred years is once again faced with a turbulent situation.

In this moment of turmoil it would, undoubtedly, be immensely beneficial to the people of Sri Lanka and more so to the citizens of North India to consider the origin of the Sinhala race based on historical facts.

At present, a group of young people from among the Tamil community who are citizens of this country and living here are attempting to establish a separate state by parcelling off the northern part of this small island which is only twenty five thousand square miles in extent.

With this end in view, they have followed for ten long years, an immensely vicious terrorist activity program, as a result of which thousands of invaluable human lives have already perished.

The value of property destroyed has to be assessed in millions and billions. The government and the people of Sri Lanka are making a valiant effort to arrest this unfortunate situation as early as possible.

In addition to various discussions being held, the efforts made by organizations such as the All Party Conference and the Pan Religious Conference represented by high-ranking personages are immense. It is, therefore, felt that this is a very appropriate time to express an opinion about the Sinhala people.

It would be clear that in very ancient times there were two human tribes named Yakkhas and Nagas in of Sri Lanka.

The Yakkhas, for the most part inhabited the central hill country and the Dry Zone areas.

Their greatest heroic and majestic King was Ravana. Among the Yakkha kings, King Ravana is pre-eminent.

It is the opinion of historians that Ravana lived about one thousand eight hundred years before the birth of the Buddha. A twelve-year war was waged between King Ravana and King Rama of India.

King Ravana, to take revenge for an act of humiliation perpetrated on his sister in India by some persons in the entourage of King Rama, is said to have abducted Princess Sita in his vehicle known as Dandu Monara and kept her in a secret hide-out in Hakgala, in Nuwara Eliya. Even now this place is called 'Sita Eliya'.

The sage 'Valmiki' wrote the 'Ramayana' based on this war. As the Buddha had prohibited the reading of the 'Ramayana' by promulgating a rule of discipline, it appears that even during the time of the Buddha, the 'Ramayana' or the story of the war between Rama and Ravana had been current among the people.

People of the Naga tribe inhabited the coastal areas of Sri Lanka. The names of the Naga kings such as Chulodhara, Mahodhara and Maniakkhika are well established in history.

Our chronicles mention that they invited the Buddha and five hundred leading Arahants possessing



Ven. Kotugoda
Dhammawasa

psychic powers to Kelaniya, and offered them a sumptuous meal.

The fact that the Buddha came here to prevent a war that originated among the Yakkha tribe in about 587 BC has also been recorded.

Habitat

After the Buddha, who came uninvited, returned after settling the war, the educated Yakkha youth who were well pleased with the action of the Buddha, went to meet him and continued their relationship.

'Arahant Sarabhu' was one of those who entered the Order. Among the others from the Yakkha race, there were those who

had attained to various stages of the Path and Arahant Sarabhu was the leader.

Just as the mortal remains of the Buddha was burnt in the sandalwood bier, Arahant Sarabhu took the collar bone from the remaining main relics and immediately came through the skies to Mahiyangana with his retinue and enshrined the 'Collar bone relic' in the small stupa where God Sumana had enshrined the hair relics of the Buddha on a previous occasion, because the Arahant Sarabhu had a love for his relatives and his country.

The original habitat of the Sinhalese, was the Gujarat country of Northern Bharat. Prince Vijaya started from 'Sinhapura' and came to the harbour of Supparaka. From there he came along the sea coast and came to the east and disembarked at Tammenna which is on the western coast of Sri Lanka between Puttalam and Kalpitiya. He had seven hundred followers.

This accidental visit of Vijaya occurred in the evening of the Wesak Day on which the Buddha pas-

sed away into his final Nirvana.

They spent the night there and in the morning, while they were walking along the coast, to see whether there were any

SEA ROUTES TAKEN BY NORTH INDIAN ARYANS FOR DOMICILE IN SRI LANKA.



human habitation, they saw a hermit, possessing psychic powers, seated under a huge tree.

Being extremely pleased, they inquired about the country. They came to know from this hermit that this was the island of Sri Lanka.

From the initial advice given by the hermit, Vijaya

was keen to take over the kingdom of Lanka. Vijaya fulfilled his desire through the help of a Yakkha princess named Kuveni and subsequently he made her chief queen consort.

When the Royal Yakkha chieftains from two leading cities named Lankapura and Sirisavasthupura in the

Subsequently, he chased away Kuveni and the children Jeevahattha and Disala and having brought a princess named Vijayi from Mathura in the Hararyana State of North India, he crowned himself for the second time.

On account of this relationship, thousands of people who came from North India, mixed themselves with the Yakkhas and Nagas, who were the citizens of Lanka, by intermarrying them.

After reigning for thirty eight years, King Vijaya, approaching death, sent a message to his younger brother Summitta, who was reigning at Sinhapura, in Gujarat to come to Lanka to assume the kingship. The reason was that Princess Vijayi had no children.

King Summitta, who received the message from King Vijaya, treated the mission from Sri Lanka with great respect and sent his son Panduvasudeva to Lanka, to assume the kingship.

The father of Prince Panduvasudeva was King Summitta, who was the second son of King Sinha Bahu. His mother was Princess Chitra, a daughter of King Madu of the city of Sagala.

NEXT:

The ethnic ties

When the country became stabilised, he embarked on developing the

country, with the help of more and more people who came from Gujarat.

How can you forget so soon?

The draft legislation presented by President J.R. Jayewardene to the All Party Conference embodied the maximum that the UNP government is willing to concede at present to the Tamil people by way of a negotiated devolution of power.

The TULF expressed grave dissatisfaction concerning the adequacy of the draft legislation even before the government withdrew it.

The SLFP rejected the draft legislation and in her pronouncements on the matter, Mrs Sirima Bandaranaike implies that she has the answer to our ethnic crisis.

Assuming a holier-than-thou posture vis-a-vis the UNP concerning communal politics, Mrs Bandaranaike says: *"Though there had been outbreaks of communal violence before, as in 1958 when my late husband Mr S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike was the Prime Minister, the whole country including the Tamils know that law was being enforced even-handedly and that successive SLFP governments accepted their obligation to protect Tamil lives and property."*

Of Mrs Bandaranaike's intellectual attributes the easiest one to demonstrate conclusively is an exceedingly short memory.

Let Father Tissa Balasuriya, who has not specialised in prevarication, furnish the evidence that falsifies Mrs Bandaranaike's claim.

In his publication titled 'Catastrophe July '83

DR CARLO FONSEKA
Faculty of Medicine
Univeristy of Colombo

(Logos Vol. 22, No. 4, December 1983) he says:

"The Tamil leaders sat down to a peaceful protest on the Galle Face Green near Parliament on June 5th 1956..... A pro-government mob stripped and attacked them, while the police turned their eyes away from this. Riots broke out in the Gal Oya Valley and nearly 150 Tamils were killed there. This was the beginning of violence against the Tamil people in recent times. In Parliament this mob attack on the Tamil leaders was treated as a joke. It is very important that these events be remembered as the first steps of a trend that has been leading Sri Lanka increasingly on the road to mob violence..... After 1956 there was a positive reluctance on the part of the Tamils in the North to learn Sinhala. Prior to that Sinhala was being taught in many schools there."

"In April 1958, Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike unilaterally abrogated the B - C Pact due to the pressure of Sinhala public opinion led and articulated by the Maha Sangha. Following this in May 1958, there was racial violence against the Tamils on an island-wide scale..... This was the first nation-wide resort to violence on a large scale since the riots and martial law of 1915 under British Rule." (P.19)

"The government of Mrs Sirima Bandaranaike (1960-65) insisted on the implementation of the Official Language Act on 1st January 1961, without promulgating any regulation under the Tamil Language (special provisions) Act of 1958. The Language of the Courts Act of 1961 provided for the replacing of English by Sinhala in all courts of law..... In 1961, when the Tamil people engaged in a non-violent campaign of civil disobedience at the Jaffna Kachcheri to obtain their rights, they were dealt with violently by the defence forces, which were sent to the North at this stage. The army was thus entrusted with a political function in the interests of the Sinhala dominated Government." (p. 91, 20)

"In 1974, nine Tamils were killed during the 4th International Tamil Research Conference. The police attacked the people at the conference. The government did not hold an inquiry into the atrocities. This was perhaps the turning point which led some of the Tamil youth to give up their hope in peaceful campaign." (P.23)

Given that shocking and shameful history, if Mrs Bandaranaike fancies that she is the one who can now bring about what she has called *"a new relationship between the Tamil people and the Sinhala people,"* her judgement is clearly even worse than her memory.

And it is high time the Tamil people themselves realised the truism that you cannot buy a camel in a donkey-market.



24 March, 1965

14
 The Sinhalese under ~~the~~ leadership has come under ~~the~~ diabolical scheme to commit the genocide of the Tamils in this island of Ceylon now termed Sri Lanka. You have not only used State terrorism towards that end, but gone out of the way to discredit the Tamils by falsehood and the suppression of facts by every possible method.

The facts have to be stated without fear and the Tamil has not been bold enough to state them for fear of brutal and planned reprisal by the Sinhalese led by their leaders, who have made the Tamils as baits for coming into power. The Sinhalese leaders made use of rice and then so many pounds of grains to come into power. Having exhausted this they turned to bait the Sinhalese voters by taking to the dirtiest path of using language and religion to come into power. You yourself accused Solomon Dias Bandaranayake of using the Sinhala language for coming into power as he had failed to do so in the normal way and that he had no love for the country, but was determined to come into power at any cost. This same principle of coming into power at any cost and by any method using the policy of genocide of the Tamils and driving them out of this island completing the demolition of their language and culture and their religion was used by all Sinhala political parties since 1948. Even those who stood for parity at the start turned tables as it was easy to get more votes using Tamils as a bait. The Sinhalese and Tamils had lived peacefully ever since the so called ancestors of the present day Sinhalese stepped into the island. The power hungry Sinhala politician used the vilest method not only to come into power but also to stay in power at any cost to the country.

Jayawardene and his party are today seeking the full help of the powers of today to give them the green signal in full to commit the genocide of the Ceylon Tamils and to drive every Tamil from the very land of the Tamils. The inhuman sentence "non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries" has offered criminal governments the opportunity to commit the genocide of the minorities with impunity in their countries in the name of Democratic action.

The Tamils of Ceylon, now Sri Lanka, have no reason what-ever to agree to live in a Unitary State with the Sinhalese. The Tamils have suffered enough over the decades, being thrashed from time to time when ever they asked even for the very minimum rights which every citizen is entitled in a Unitary State. The Tamils who never took up even for a joint demonstration of their strength except in the form of peaceful sit in to plead for their rightful rights were very strangely battered badly by Sinhala people led by Sinhala politicians already prearranged not to allow even a peaceful sit in. The Tamil politicians were taken for a ride everytime by the different parties with promises never fulfilled, as all Sinhala parties had the genocide of the Tamils as their goal. This has been expressed not in uncertain terms in the media by the Sinhalese over the long years by distortion of facts by propagating lies over a hundred times to make absolute lies look like truth to the rising generations.

The Sinhalese leaders and the Sinhalese have tasted that state terrorism on the Tamils over the years had paid a lot of dividends and with the help of other countries professing Democracy to complete in full the genocide of the Tamils once and for all times. The earlier Tamil leaders believed the Tamils would never be betrayed by the Sinhalese and never for once saw the tide of Sinhala Chauvinism overtaking the Tamils until an Israel type Sinhalese Sri Lanka was created in 1948, when it was too late to save the Tamils.

The Sinhala leaders using Sinhala and Sinhala Buddhism as ~~the pivot and the genocide~~ of the Tamils and driving the tamils out of Sri Lanka as the means to come into power and to continue to stay in power took the Sinhalese for a ride in culminating and crowning the Sinhalese Leaders and the Sinhalese people in this 20th Century as Savages and Barbarians which the world has with disgust to acknowledge. Having crowned themselves with this inglorious crown, the Sinhalese are now going all out to discredit the Tamils with all the venom in their possession by distorting facts of history and bring disgrace on the tamils by incriminating the innocent tamils of tender age, who know nothing of what is happening, as terrorists and even exterminating them. No one knows the mental and physical condition of the innocent youths held in custody, -ofcourse there would have been torture to extract information and signatures obtained^{on} prepared confessions incriminating themselves- and released after long incarceration. It will take many years to know the damage done to the youths, a policy followed to eliminate educated youths and to lessen the Tamil population in their areas.

The state forces unable to face the freedom fighters except when challenged by the latter take easily to come out and shoot to kill indiscriminately the innocent civilians who happen to be on their normal business and are found on their rampage to take some credit of having killed some "terrorist", name given to all Tamils whatever they be.

The facts are that the Tamils were in this island, Ceylon now termed Sri Lanka before the so called Vijaya thought to be the ancestor of the present day Sinhalese arrived. The history of these people known as Mahavamsa, Kulavamsa etc were written only between 500 to 600 A.D by people who themselves had come from India at the time of the Hindu revival in India. These new comers were given shelter by the Tamils, whose religion was hinduism with the hindu philosophy of Prince Siddhata the Hindu, born, bred and brought up as a hindu in the religion of his parents and practised it to the maximum. The new comers did not want to recognise the Tamils as Tamils for poupose of Political twist and instead termed them as Nagas and Yakkas in order to show spite and thus continued this spiteful policy over the years. To know and to follow the truth read the article "Who are the Sinhales by Ven Kotugoda Dharmawasa Nayake Thera". He admits that Ceylon was occupied by an intelligent race before Vijaya and others landed in Ceylon, but gives a twist to inhabitants as Nagas and Yakkas instead ~~the~~ of admitting the truth that they were Tamils of Dravidra origin, thus the lying started from the time the history of the so-called sinhalese race was cooked up between 500 - 600 A.D. This article appeared in the Sunday Observer, February 10 1985, in page 10. Quote "It would be clear that in the very ancient times there were two human tribes named Yakkhas and Nagas in Sri Lanka." "The Yakkhas, for the most part inhabited the central hill country and the Dry Zone areas"

"People of the Moga tribe inhabited the coastal areas of Sri Lanka".

N.B. This is an admission of the fact that the Tamils were already in Sri Lanka and that the Sinhalese were of a much later origin.

Quote "From the initial advice given by the hermit, Vijaya was keen to take over the kingdom of Lanka. Vijaya fulfilled his desire through the help of a Yakha princess named Kuvani and subsequently he made her his chief queen consort." "When the Royal Yakkha chieftains from two leading Cities named Lankapura and Sirisavasthupura in the north western and north central provinces respectively were seated at a wedding feast, Vijaya killed them and wrested the kingdom of Lanka"

N.B. When the above mentioned article is read in full, thanks to the article at this period of time, the world could understand how the systematic genocide of the Tamil Nation was being carried periodically by the so-called ancestor named Vijaya and his progeny, the Sinhalese of today who are carrying out the Genocide of the Tamil Nation even now with precise well planned scheme of Political Terrorism.

The undeniable facts that the Tamils were being periodically battered by the Sinhala people and the State law enforcement personnel is better appreciated by reading the article by a Sinhalese Dr. Carlo Fonseka appearing on page 4 of the Daily News of January 11, 1985. Quote " The Tamil leaders sat down to a peaceful protest on the Galle Face Green near Parliament on June 5th 1956 ... A pro-government mob stripped and attacked them, while the police turned their eyes away from this. Riots broke out in the Gal Oya Valley and nearly 150 Tamils were killed there. This was the beginning of violence against the Tamil people in recent times. In parliament this mob attack on the Tamil leaders was treated as a joke. " This is part of the publication titled 'Catastrophe July 1983., (Logos Vol 22 No.4 December 1983)

When the Tamil leaders were being attacked in June 1956, the then Prime Minister standing on the steps of Parliament house and watching enjoyed a good joke with his members that the Tamils leaders were enjoying a sun bath, and let them enjoy. This same Prime Minister Solomon West Ridgeway Bandaranayake got on to the Radio in 1958 and announced that a Tamil had shot the Mayor of Nuwara Eliya at his estate in Kalkudah when the Sinhalese went berserk and attacked all the Tamils in the offices and burnt people alive in addition to committing arson, loot rape etc. When a priest was being burnt alive in a temple at Panadura, the then High Commissioner of India in Ceylon Mr. Gandevia who was passing the temple saw this and rushing up to Colombo went into the residence of the Governor General bare feet and demanded immediate action to stop the merciless killings of the innocent Tamils and it was only then that action was taken to introduce curfew after 3 days of killings.

The shooting of Seneviratne the Mayor was on a private grudge and nothing to do with the Tamils, but the foolish announcement on the Radio saw the merciless killing of Tamils and some decent Sinhalese who went to the help of Tamils. Read "Emergency 1958 "

Quote " In 1974, nine Tamils were killed during the 4th International Tamil Research Conference. The Police attacked the people at the Conference. The Government did not hold an inquiry into the atrocities.

However an independent Commission held the Police as having committed a crime on a peaceful people seated on the ground and were listening to the finale of the conference.

In 1977 the Jayawardena government, as soon as it came to Power let loose a reign of terror on the Tamils using state terrorism and promoting the officers who committed the crimes with enhanced salary. Ever since 1977 it is the same story of terror let loose on the Tamils by the State using the Sinhalese people and the Army and Police in the name of preventing Tamil terrorism when it is full State Terrorism as now acknowledged by the world. The Sri Lankan Army and Police cannot be easily judged from two events in the 1971 Insurgency. In Deniyaya a young woman was suspended by her hands between trees (the old system of punishment) and legs spread apart and a bayonet sent through her private part. In the Sacred city of Kataragama a beauty queen was taken into custody for not reciprocating the love advances, kept in the army and police custody, raped the whole night and in the early morning made to walk stark naked with the blood still trickling down the thighs of the girl in front of the people who had assembled for worship. She walked followed by the army man with others watching to her grave which had already been prepared. She walked with dignity knowing her fate but with shame with people watching to the grave. She was shot from behind, but she staggered and continued to walk and as she approached the pit another shot from behind made her fall into the pit, she did not die. Still alive in the pit she requested the soldier who shot her to do her a favour before the third and final shot, taking a jewellery from her person and handing over to the soldier to hand it over to her mother. A third shot in the pit and she died. If such brutal treatment could be meted out to the Sinhalese themselves by the Sinhalese, what mercy could the Tamils expect from such a Sinhalese race. In the trial the commander of that platoon was not given the punishment that he should have given been given, escaping with light sentence, he was only made a scape goat for the crimes of the state. After 1977 all crimes committed by the police and army are rewarded with promotion and increased salary, and allowances.

The Tamils had taken a very bad beating over the years from the Sinhalese over many a decade, while the Sinhala politicians were using the Tamils as a bait to come to power and to stick in power at any cost. The leaders of the Tamils tried over half a century to make the ~~tamils~~ the Sinhalese realise their folly in trying to suppress the human rights of the Tamils. Finally the Tamil leaders realised that the Sinhalese from what ever side could not be trusted. The intelligent Tamils youths realised the fate that was going to overtake the Tamil Nation and their future. The Tamils were being subjected, specially the innocent youths and civilians, to torture and loss of life. The intelligent Tamil youths took up the challenge of State Terrorism only when every good means failed. It was state terrorism that brought about the reaction from the intelligent and educated Tamil youths to free themselves and their people from constant killings by the Sinhalese.

The Youths will be ready to give an account with evidence to justify any killings they are reported to have carried in defence of themselves and their people.

Junius Richard Jayawardena should now think of ruling his community as he wishes to. The Tamils have no objection to it. Let the Tamils rule themselves in their own land. This is the only way to peace between the Sinhalese and Tamils.

No one should force the Tamils who have suffered so much over the years to live in a Unitary State with the Sinhalese. Perhaps any one could live with any other but not with the Sinhalese.

human to human

a, Karakah

Copy to:

Jaffna, SRI LANKA.

20th March, 1985.

Hon'ble Mrs. M. Thatcher,
Prime Minister,
10, Downing Street,
London, U.K.

Honourable Prime Minister,

The ethnic problem which has been with us for decades in our once blessed island, is now at its peak. The grim picture in the North and the East, worsening day by day, is too well-known internationally for us to go into the details. However, we feel a summary of events leading to the present crisis would enable our appeal to be viewed in proper perspective.

During the British rule of Sri Lanka, Sinhalese and Tamils, the two major communities, were living peacefully as brothers and fought together for independence. Shortly after independence in 1948, SINHALA was made the official language of Sri Lanka, which embittered the Tamils in the North and East. They agitated for similar recognition for their language and regional devolution of power under a Federal set-up. This agitation only resulted in mass murder of Tamils in 1958. An agreement reached to solve the crisis then, between the late Prime Minister Bandaranaike and the democratically elected late Tamil leader Chelvanayakam, was literally unilaterally thrown away by the late Bandaranaike, due to pressure mainly from Mr. J. R. Jayawardena who is now the President. This led to further agitation and ethnic riots. The situation became worse in 1972 when Section 29 of the Constitution was withdrawn when the new Constitution was promulgated. This Section 29 had earlier given some kind of legal protection to the minorities. By this time, the Tamil youths had been systematically discriminated against in education and jobs. The Tamil areas were completely neglected in development, the results of which are now too obvious in the State Sector, when one excludes the semi-professionals and the top civil servants who had entered services long before the seeds of discord were sown between the brothers. The line followed at the International Tamil Conference held in Jaffna when nine members of the audience died due to Police action - the then Government even refused to hold a formal inquiry into this massacre.

(contd.)

With all forms of negotiations either having failed or not honoured and peaceful non-violent agitations leading to race riots indirectly helped by delayed action by the Government, and on a number of occasions, security forces turning a blind eye, all these had led to a new generation of Tamil youths who have become militant and want to find a political solution by guerilla warfare.

CURRENT SITUATION:

The solution the Tamil people now seek is meaningful devolution of power, no discrimination in education and job opportunities, equitable development of North and East and guarantee against a planned colonization of North and East by Sinhalese.

While the youngsters have taken up to arms to achieve these ends to eliminate these militants, the government has filled the North and East with armed State forces. Furthermore, a policy decision has been taken to settle two lakhs of Sinhalese civilians trained and armed in the North to "fight terrorism". The government is obviously seeking a military solution for a political problem. It still could be sorted out among us, brothers. It is no secret that the State forces have failed miserably in their duties in the North. Millions of rupees of State monies have been robbed in the very eyes of the armed forces. Instead of tackling the militants, they only succeed in killing hundreds of civilians, including public servants, raped several Tamil women, destroyed property and stole valuables running to billions. Refugees are fleeing to India daily in hundreds.

The most under-developed areas in the North are now totally deserted either due to army killing or people fleeing to safer places. Thousands of fishermen and the self-employed have lost their livelihood for several months. Many have died of starvation and some others have committed suicide. There is a dusk to dawn curfew in the North for the record-breaking fourth month. No official arrangements were made to transport the sick to hospital during curfew hours, for over two months. While the sick die pathetically at home, innocent civilians from children to eighty-year olds have got shot on the roads. Vehicles can be used only on certain roads in Jaffna. Public servants are not paid their salaries for months. All these indicate -

- (a) complete breakdown of civil administration in the North;
- (b) colossal wastage of State Funds;

(contd.)

and most important of all, an irresistible feeling, at least among some, that the present government is following a policy of genocide of the Tamils - Northerners and Easteners.

ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY:

Rightly or wrongly, at this stage many of us feel that most of these problems could have been foreseen and prevented by the Britishers when Independence was given to us - but let bygones be bygones. Those who have been lucky enough to survive the State supported civil riots, killings by security forces, realise that it's only the beginning of a genocide. Thanks to the interest taken and repeated concern shown by India, Canada, Australia and the Scandinavian countries, there are still Tamils in the North and not all are starving and medical supplies do streak in. It is heartening to note that USA has recently come openly against a military solution and called for a meaningful devolution of power.

With violence by the militants and counter-violence by State forces worsening day by day (recently Christian Priests were planned and killed by State forces and even the bodies were not given for burial) the only hope, we surviving innocents have is the sympathy from the international community with a conscience. This at last seems to be showing some effect and it is our prayer that the international community will not fail in their normal obligation at this hour.

THE TIMING OF VISIT OF THE HONOURABLE PRIME MINISTER:

We are fully aware and appreciate the millions of pounds given to our country as aid and utilised to develop the South. We understand that the Hon. P.M. is planning a visit to our country to ceremonially open one of these projects.

Foreign aid has helped the government to divert large amounts of other funds to kill hundreds of innocent civilians. Aid to develop also may be aid to kill!

WHAT DOES THE VISIT MEAN TO OPPRESSED SURVIVORS:

We have not even an iota of doubt that the two millions of Tamils in Sri Lanka will view your visit as an act of condoning the atrocities of a democratically elected government, following the path of genocide of minorities, under the pretext of containing terrorism. How could any Human Being leave alone the head of a most civilised nation, take part in a ceremony in a country where part of the country

(contd.)

is in flames - for whatever the reason. We are all against Terrorism. But no one in the civilised world will like to be a second class citizen. It is the duty of everyone, independent of one's race or religion to fight against injustice and support the cause of the oppressed by accepted methods.

At this juncture, when the existence of our own race at stake, the leader of the most civilised and highly respected democratic country to visit and participate in a ceremony is like the step mother attending the birthday party of her eldest step son, while the body of her youngest step son just killed by the brother (on a property dispute which probably could have been settled by the step father long ago) lies in the same house.

It is speculated that even if the Hon. Prime Minister comes to Colombo that you may speak out openly, in support of the Tamil cause. But we deeply appreciate silence is golden. You are one of the most respected and courageous leaders in the world. Thousand words will not leave so deep an impression as the dead.

APPEAL TO PRESERVE A UNITED SRI LANKA AND OUR RACE:

We are not asking you to even intervene in this matter. Your postponement of the proposed trip to Sri Lanka, we have no doubt, will not only ensure the death-knell to the atrocities and the gruesome killings but help ultimately all Sri Lankans with equal rights and dignity, in a united Sri Lanka, to welcome the leader of the country which has truly set the highest standards to human rights, civilisation and tolerance to fellow-beings, not only in words but also in deeds.

Your postponement may save thousands of our lives. Interestingly historians need not wait too long to know the effect either way. Nor is history likely to even forgive this blind eye in the name of diplomacy.

PEOPLE OF NORTHERN CEYLON (SRI LANKA)

- 1 DR. A. KANDIAH. MEDICAL PRACTITIONER ^{of Candia} ~~of Candia~~
- 2 C. Koddeswaram - Money - at - Law ^{Jaffna} ~~Madraswaram~~
- 3 S. Sanmugalingam ^{Travala rd Jaffna}
- 4 S. Sivakumari ^{Teacher, Royal Jaffna}
- 5 K. Kugathasan. ^{16 Andy Road. Chavakachchi}
- 6 J. F. Xavier ^{Home for Amm} ~~Jaffna~~
- 7 K. Rajasundaram, ^{Chairman Citizens Committee, Thiruvethalur}
- 8 S. Romial, ^{Hy. Secy, Jaffna Parents' Association}
- 9 S. Sarwanantha, ^{Sayakam, Chavakachchi} ~~Jaffna~~
- 10 S. Nagarajah, ^{Mayor of Jaffna (1968-70)} ~~Jaffna~~
- 11 ~~M. M. Mather~~, ^{Honorary Secretary Citizens Committee}
- 12 K. Vairamanathan ^{President Kopay South - Jaffna Citizens Committee}
- 13 A. Sankaralingam, ^{President North Jaffna Citizens Committee}
- 14 A. Ayed, ^{President, Malabam Citizens Committee}
- 15 S. KARVESON ^{President Kantachi Citizens Committee, Malabam}
- 16 P. Navarathnam, ^{Katrinagar, President, Citizens Committee, Malabam}
- 17 Gaminai Navarathne, ^{Editor, "Saturday Review", Jaffna}
- 18 N. Chelliah, ^{Vavuniya President, Hindu Mahasangam}
- 19 W. JEYAPALAN ^{KILINOCHCHI PRESIDENTS REGARY CLUB} ~~Jaffna~~
- 20 S. SHANMUGARATHNAM, ^{Ex. Municipal Council, JAFFNA} ~~Jaffna~~
- 21 K. Bewanenthiran, ^{Teacher, S. Kondavel R.K.M.V.}
- 22 J. J. Johnpaul, ^{Govt Professor Chendikulam}
- 23 A. S. Mawally, ^{Secretary A.K.O. Sangam Jaffna}
- 24 M. SIVARASA ^{Union President C.D. Thirya Jeyama Sangam} ~~Jaffna~~

PETITION TO MRS. THATCHER

NO	NAME	PLACE	ORGANISATION	SIGNATURE
	K.P. Jeyasri	Soorawatta		K.P. Jeyasri
	S. Sureswary	Soorawattai		S. Sureswary
	S.S. Rajalingham	Soorawattai		S.S. Rajalingham
	S. Kararajid	Erledai	Beachy Comm. Centre	S. Kararajid
	M. Annalacumy	Soorawattai		M.A.
	U. Alpitthengiah	Soorawattai		U. Alpitthengiah
	J. Jeyarajalingam	Soorawattai		J. Jeyarajalingam
	R. Thayarathy	Soorawattai		R. Thaya
	S. Subathini	Soorawattai		S. Suba
	R. PREMKUMARAN	Soorawattai		R.P. Kumaran
	S. Rajah	Soorawattai		S. Rajah
	S. Selvakumaran	Soorawattai		S. Selvakumaran
	V. Srikantham	Soorawattai		V. Srikantham
	S. Selvaratnam	Chunnakam		S. Selvaratnam
	S. Kannan	Soorawattai		S. Kannan
	R.N. Vaender	Naller		R.N. Vaender
	M.S. Ramalingam	Thiruvallur		M.S. Ramalingam
	S. S. Kambalam	Erledai		S. S. Kambalam
	Hrs. U. Ignamendran	Soorawattai		Hrs. U. Ignamendran
	T. Sivaperalingam	Soorawattai		T. Sivaperalingam
	S. Srigowshalya	Soorawattai		S. Srigowshalya
	S. Shantha	Soorawattai		S. Shantha
	Q. Vamathavan	Soorawattai		Q. S. Vamathavan
	V. Rasathini	Soorawattai		V. Rasathini
	V. Sureswary	Soorawattai		V. Sureswary
	S. Sivamang	Chunnakam		S. S
	T.T. Marcella	Chunnakam		T.T.M
	S. Jagantha	Soorawattai		S. J

PETITION TO MRS. MARGRET THATCHER

S. Muthucumar	Soorawatha	Soorawatha
M. Sri Vathsala Devi	Soorawatha	M. Sri Vathsala Devi
M. Sri Ranjana Devi	Soorawathi	M. Sri Ranjana Devi
ச. சிவசுந்தரலிங்கம்	சூராவத்தி	ச. சிவசுந்தரலிங்கம்
S. Suntharalingam	Soorawatha	S. Suntharalingam
S. Leelavathy	Soorawathi	S. Leelavathy
ச. சிவசுந்தரலிங்கம்	சூராவத்தி	ச. சிவசுந்தரலிங்கம்
ச. சிவசுந்தரலிங்கம்	சூராவத்தி	ச. சிவசுந்தரலிங்கம்
ச. சிவசுந்தரலிங்கம்	சூராவத்தி	ச. சிவசுந்தரலிங்கம்
H. Balakumar	Soorawathi	H. Balakumar
M. Balakumar	Soorawathi	M. Balakumar
ச. சிவசுந்தரலிங்கம்	சூராவத்தி	ச. சிவசுந்தரலிங்கம்
K. Subaharan	Soorawatha	K. Subaharan
M. JeevarKumar	Soorawathi	M. JeevarKumar
T. Murali Charan	Soorawatha	T. Murali Charan
P. Managasabai	Chennakam	P. Managasabai
P. Sivasubramanian	Kumarpasiddy	P. Sivasubramanian
X. S. J. Francis	Kolombogam	X. S. J. Francis
M. Simadurai	Pandalur	M. Simadurai
A. L. Kulil	Jaffna	A. L. Kulil
N. Kugesavan	Chumali	N. Kugesavan
M. Paramalingham	Koondavil	M. Paramalingham
N. Sengun	Jaffna	N. Sengun
P. Thambipillai	Jaffna	P. Thambipillai

No	Name	Place	Organisation	Signature
	க. சிவசுப்பிரமணியன்	கரையாறு		க. சிவசுப்பிரமணியன்
	இ. மகாதீர்த்தன்	"		இ. மகாதீர்த்தன்
	டி. சேஷன்	"		டி. சேஷன்
	A. சுவாமிநாதன்	"		A. சுவாமிநாதன்
	சு. சந்திரன்	"		சு. சந்திரன்
	mn. மலிமீரன்	"		mn. மலிமீரன்
	க. சிவசுப்பிரமணியன்	"		க. சிவசுப்பிரமணியன்
	க. சிவசுப்பிரமணியன்	"		க. சிவசுப்பிரமணியன்
	P. Siva Pratham	Karaimagar		P. Siva Pratham
	P. Sivabramanian	"		P. Sivabramanian
	A. Sivajah	"		A. Sivajah
	K. Soma Shankar am.	"		K. Soma Shankar am.
	C. Shan muganidu	"		C. Shan muganidu
	K. Ramachandram	"		K. Ramachandram
	க. சிவசுப்பிரமணியன்	"		க. சிவசுப்பிரமணியன்
	டி. சிவசுப்பிரமணியன்	"		டி. சிவசுப்பிரமணியன்
	டி. சிவசுப்பிரமணியன்	"		டி. சிவசுப்பிரமணியன்
	க. சிவசுப்பிரமணியன்	"		க. சிவசுப்பிரமணியன்
	சு. சந்திரன்	"		சு. சந்திரன்
	சு. சந்திரன்	"		சு. சந்திரன்
	சு. சந்திரன்	"		சு. சந்திரன்
	சு. சந்திரன்	"		சு. சந்திரன்
	சு. சந்திரன்	"		சு. சந்திரன்
	சு. சந்திரன்	"		சு. சந்திரன்
	சு. சந்திரன்	"		சு. சந்திரன்
	சு. சந்திரன்	"		சு. சந்திரன்
	S. SENATHIRASAH	"	Seay Ci Nya Council	S. SENATHIRASAH
	A. Kanagasabapathy	Tattna		A. Kanagasabapathy

No	Name	Place	Organisation	Signature
	M. Velupillai	KARAIKUDI	President Karaiikal Rural Development Society	M. Velupillai
	S. SHANMUGARATNAM	. do		S. Shanmugam
	S. SIVAGNANAM	. do	Manager Karaiikal M.P.S	S. Sivagnanam
	K. Sabaratnam	. do	Karaiikal Murugamosthy Thevasthanam	K. Sabaratnam
	S. Senthilnathan	. do		S. Senthilnathan
	M. Nallabany	. do		M. Nallabany
	M. Selvaraju	. do		M. Selvaraju
	K. Parameswaran	. do		K. Parameswaran
	S. Ramappan	. do	Karaiikal Kiliyarkudi	S. Ramappan
	T. Janthirakumar	. do		T. Janthirakumar
	K. Paramasivam	"		K. Paramasivam
	P. S. S. S. S.	"		P. S. S. S. S.
	B. S. S. S. S.	"		B. S. S. S. S.
	M. V. V. V. V.	"		M. V. V. V. V.
	S. S. S. S. S.	"		S. S. S. S. S.
	M. H. H. H. H.	"		M. H. H. H. H.
	B. S. S. S. S.	"		B. S. S. S. S.
	M. S. S. S. S.	"		M. S. S. S. S.
	K. S. S. S. S.	"		K. S. S. S. S.
	M. S. S. S. S.	"		M. S. S. S. S.
	A. K. S. S. S.	"		A. K. S. S. S.
	S. S. S. S. S.	"		S. S. S. S. S.
	M. S. S. S. S.	"		M. S. S. S. S.
	S. S. S. S. S.	"		S. S. S. S. S.
	D. S. S. S. S.	"		D. S. S. S. S.

6th / April / 1985.

Madam Prime Minister of Britain
Margaret Thatcher Esq.

Be of Help to Alleviate the sufferings of Indigenous
Tamil

MY DEAR MADAM PRIME MINISTER,

WE WELCOME YOU TO THIS ONCE PLEASANT ISLAND, WHICH IS PRESENTLY GARDING TO DEATH, DUE TO THE UNIMAGINATIVE ACTS OF SUCCESSIVE GOVTS. SINCE INDEPENDENCE FROM BRITAIN, IN 1948.

THOUGH THE CONSTITUTION DRAFTED BY THE PRESENT GOVT CONCEDES TAMIL A NATIONAL LANGUAGE, IT IS THE SAME GOVT. WHICH IMPLEMENTS THE LAWS RELATING TO THE SAID PROVISIONS IN THE BREACH.

YOUR GOODSELF WOULD HAVE SEEN THE COLOURED POSTERS WHICH HAD COME UP IN KANDY AND COLOMBO PROCLAIMING YOUR VISIT TO LANKA, TO COMMISSION THE VICTORIA PROJECT. IN ALL THESE POSTERS, TAMIL A NATIONAL LANGUAGE OF THIS COUNTRY, IS CONSPICUOUS BY ITS ABSENCE. ~~THE~~ GOVT. FUNDS SPENT FOR PUTTING UP THESE POSTERS, THOUGH COLLECTED FROM ALL PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY, THE BENEFIT OF KNOWING THE CONTENTS OF THOSE POSTERS HAVE BEEN DELIBERATELY DENIED THE TAMILS.

THIS IS NOT A SOLITARY INSTANCE OF THE OUTRAGE THE GOVT. OF SRI LANKA COMMITS ON ITS TAMIL POPULATION - ITS JUST A SIMPLE INDEX.

YOUR GOODSELF'S VISIT, SHOULD HELP PAVE A PEACEFUL CHANGE, FOR THE BETTER, FOR ALL PEOPLE WHO CALL THIS THEIR MOTHERLAND.

- 3 Copies 1 H.E THE PRESIDENT
2. HON. GAMAGE DISSANAYAKE
3. HON. K.W. DEVANAYAGAM

Thanking you,
Yours faithfully
E.S. Mahendrarajah.