

A

Plan

for

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PEACE

IN

EELAM

Kopan
Mahadeva

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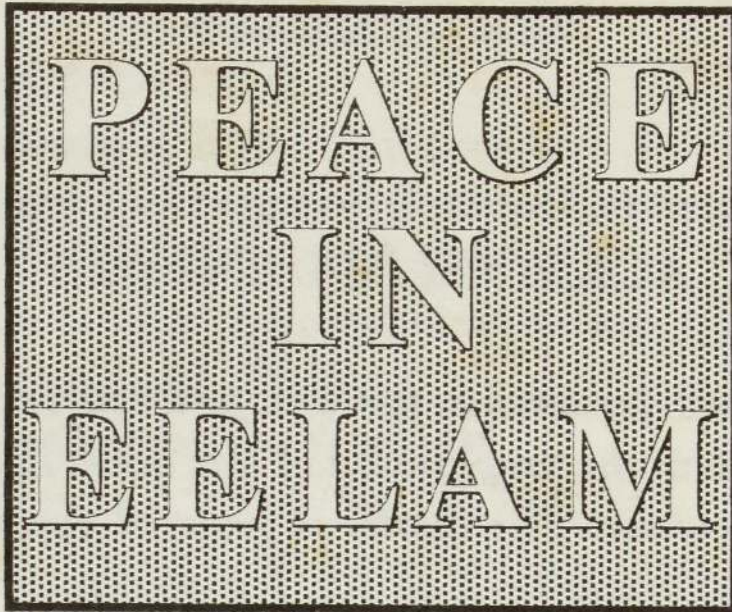


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A PLAN FOR



by

Professor Kopan Mahadeva

MSc, PhD (Birm), CEng, FIMfgE, FIEE, FIMgt

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

I have taken quite a long time to bring this book out — much longer than what was spent in any of my earlier theses and publications in engineering, management, poetry and fiction. That is because the contents of this book are meant to change dramatically & immediately, for the better of all, the lives of 18 million embattled, divided, confused and suffering human beings, some of whom are living daily at the brink of death. Also, this is not a task which I have voluntarily accomplished in order to boost my standing as an author. It is offered as a positive & solid contribution, my 1994 New Year Present, to that dear land which made me a man—for which land of my birth I will always continue to owe a debt, repayable suitably all my life.

My head tells me that I should now consider myself firstly to be British, and only then as Sri Lankan, and thereafter a Tamil. But my heart often dictates to me just the opposite. My dreams in the past few years have been full of the horrors occurring in the land of my younger years. When I hear of the death of Sinhalese and Muslims, I do, indeed, feel extremely sad and depressed that precious lives are being unnecessarily lost. My thoughts go to those Sinhala and Muslim friends of mine of yester-years with whom I have shared many pleasant, precious and productive months and years. But whenever I've heard of the killing of even a single Tamil of whatever age, sex or group, or of the rape (read, mostly during the time of the Indian Forces) of any woman, I've instantly felt a million cells in my body writhe and die. It has taken considerable time for me to recover from such shocks.

All I can honestly say under these circumstances is that in reproducing some of the earlier ideas, with my own plan for urgently solving the Island's problems I've consciously and consistently tried to use my head rather than my heart. I have judiciously tried to be fair to all concerned, placing myself, in turn, in the position of each group. I believe that my intention is faithfully reflected in the book.

I sincerely believe that the present civil war arose largely due to undue thirst for power, of past politicians of all creeds, irresponsible and competitive journalism by some (with both eyes on mass circulation and money making), and also in no small measure to misunderstanding and lack of constructive communication between the Island's linguistic groups, especially after the selfish Sinhala Only Act of 1956.

In offering this book and plan to the peoples and the UNP Government of Sri Lanka; to the leaders of various political parties & liberation groups in conflict with it (headed by the LTTE, SLFP and DUNF); to the UN, Commonwealth Secretariat, ICRC, AI & other International Agencies working for peace; and to the parliamentary leaders of the world's progressive nations who are in one way or another affected by and concerned in the civil war in Sri Lanka, I can only pray that my most sincere efforts in the form of this book do have a tangible effect, and motivate, towards urgent positive action, the thinking of all leaders both within and outside the Island of Sri Lanka (called Eelam in Tamil), on whom the Island's lives and future depend. Offers to publish Tamil and Sinhala translations of this book are urgently invited.

CENTURY HOUSE,
Birmingham, B23 5XA, U.K.

Kopan Mahadeva,
April, 1994.

Introduction & Historical background

EELAM is the ancient and cherished Tamil name for the Island of Sri Lanka. It also means 'old & peaceful'. Tamils have been living in Eelam for over 2500 years with the Sinhala, and most of them speak only Tamil. Over such a long period of time it doesn't matter as to who entered the Island first, and exactly when. Very few Tamils have learnt Sinhala, Eelam's pre-dominant official language, imposed on them against their wish by the Sinhala Only Act of 1956, despite peaceful protests. All the governments of Eelam since independence have been dominated by Sinhala, and been sadly and cruelly stepmotherly to all groups of Tamils in the past 46 years.

Overnight disenfranchisement of a million Up-country Tamils of post-British origin in 1948, and the 1956 Sinhala Only Act, exacerbated by the misconceived superiority and selfishness displayed by the Sinhalese majority nation have resulted in proven discrimination against the Tamils in the fields of education, employment, development, and colonisation in agricultural schemes giving rise, as the very last resort, to the ongoing civil war.

The Tamils now want to be free to live peacefully and to manage their own affairs at least in their ancestral and contiguous habitats of the Island's Northeastern Province which they call TAMIL EELAM (TE), represented by the administrative districts of Amparai, Batticaloa, Jaffna, Kilinochchi, Mannar, Mullaitivu, Trincomalee & Vavuniya, listed alphabetically.

Historically, Eelam was occupied by the dwindling Veddha tribes, before the recent ancestors of both Sinhala and Tamils arrived from India. The Sinhala descend from a group of North-Indian soldiers exiled 2500 years ago. The Tamils' ancestors are mainly South-Indian warriors and seafarers who, some believe, brought in Tamil & Hinduism into Eelam much earlier. Since then the Sinhala established two kingdoms in southern and central Eelam, while the Tamils founded one with its capital in the north, territorially covering the Island's eastern, and parts of the western coasts.

Both groups had maintained links with neighbouring South-India's mighty Chera, Chola and Pandian Tamil kingdoms through marriages and military alliances until the Portugese conquered Eelam in 1505 A.D. Eelam had also been ruled earlier by Tamil kings alone during some interim periods, and vice versa, and some Sinhalese kings had Tamil Prime Ministers who administered official business in Tamil. The Portugese rulers were displaced by the Dutch in 1646 A.D., and the Dutch by the British in 1796. Eelam, then called Ceylon, was granted independence by the British on 4th February 1948, under the Soulbury Constitution, 173 days after India won its independence. The Republican Constitution of 1972 brought back into usage, one of Eelam's ancient names in Sinhala — SRI LANKA. The Island's Sinhala now number 13 millions or so.

The Tamils of Eelam comprise of three groups. Ceylon Tamils are the oldest, descending from South Indian warriors & sea-farers, who established their own kingdom in Eelam, and are politically the most dominant of the three Tamil groups. Of Eelam's 1994 population of around 18 millions, the 2.5 million Ceylon Tamils, who are described in latter-day official records as Sri Lanka Tamils, live mostly in the Island's north and east.

The 1.2 million or so Up-country Tamils, misleadingly called Indian Tamils, are really the remaining descendants of South Indian labourers taken to Eelam during the 152 years of the late British Raj to man their tea and rubber plantations of Eelam's central districts, where they yet live among the Sinhalese and work largely in government & private estates.

The 1.3 million Muslims now being referred to in official records as Sri Lanka Moors descend mainly from traders who immigrated after the 8th Century, A.D., from Arabia and various parts of old India, and reside scattered all over Eelam amidst the Hindu Tamils as well as surrounded by their Buddhist Sinhalese compatriots. They generally speak Tamil at home. Eelam has also around a tenth of a million people of other minority and mixed ethnic origins like Malays, Burghers, Paravas and Chettys.

From 1948 to-date Tamils have made persistent efforts to claim their rights through parliamentary means, but have met only force and failure. Even now, most Up-country Tamils and some Muslim groups work with the government and are thus solving a few of their immediate, but none of their basic problems. Some smaller Ceylon Tamil groups also have lately supported the government on an ad-hoc basis — hoping to gain power in Tamil Eelam as and when more Tamil rights are won. But the roots of the multi-propped but ailing Banyan Tree which today's Eelam is, infected with Sinhalese selfishness and oppression, are sapping Eelam's economy and harmony, polluting them with the former two germs and pumping them up and out to its supports and branches. Saving Eelam from this deadly virus at the roots right now to free their own branches and the tree itself, is the aim of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) leading the Tamils' war today.

The militant Tamils are mostly educated young men and women from peace-loving families who have taken up arms as the very last resort because they see no future for themselves nor for the coming generations under the present discriminatory, Tamil-bashing power-politics. Their dedication and discipline are solid, and they have matured much over the years. It is therefore the duty of Eelam's government, as the party with official responsibility for the entire Island, to stop the futile war and usher in peace.

This book analyses in simple language the main factors which hinder Eelam's peace, and recommends an overall Plan by which peace could soon be attained through decentralised power-sharing in a re-structured union.

The Case for Immediate Peace in Eelam

The Island of Eelam is blessed by nature with immense potentials. Its beauty and resources are legendary; hence its old world reputation as the Pearl of the Indian Ocean. It is large and fertile enough to sustain all the present inhabitants and their offspring in comfort for centuries, provided peace can be soon re-established and maintained. Eelam's people are fortunate that they never need face the scales of starvation, disease and deaths as in some parts of Africa. Eelam's independence was won in 1948 in peaceful transition from the British. Apart from the Sinhalese-Muslim Riots of 1915 the Island has been peaceful and peace-loving in recent history, even during WW-2, until the present civil war. The current miseries of the Island should really be considered self-inflicted.

Eelam's people follow four of world's great faiths preaching peace, led by Buddhism with global following. For us to have been driven to start a civil war and continue it, is shameful. We enjoy very high rates of literacy with a Free Education Scheme. Eelam had been a model of economic and social development, in some former years. We eradicated the plague of malaria decades ago, and our peace-time life-spans are up to world standards. We have merely two national languages to cope with, and are very proficient even in the internationally spoken English language. We enjoy several advantages, compared with our neighbours, and the entire world loves our tea, hospitality and traditional tourist attractions.

But all the above attributes and potentials are underutilized, wasted and hampered by the ongoing civil war & the consequent devastation of invaluable lives and infrastructure. We waste 70 million rupees daily, on the destructive war effort, from borrowed money, most of which could be used constructively for the peoples' needs by restoring peace. What is burnt and blasted in one hour could take years of effort to rebuild, even if we had the money. The lives we lose in war are, of course, invaluable more precious and irreplaceable and the younger they are, the greater is our loss. Even the injured survivors will need recurrent large budgets to support and sustain, for many more years to come.

Every individual in Eelam, irrespective of language, race, caste, culture or religion, rightfully deserves to live on, until natural death occurs, and to live in peace, freedom and security, pursuing the type of life he or she chooses to lead. Instead, within the 46 years of our existence as a free country we have had to endure some 5750 days of emergency rule, lost some 180,000 to 200,000 lives and maimed twice that number in political struggles. This war has made us the world's biggest boozers, highest suicides, and mentally afflicted. All in a Buddhist-led country! And, there have been some 23,000 deserters from the armed forces. Isn't it time for the Government to restore peace in the Island immediately, through a just compromise with its Tamils?

What Type of Peace?

* **JUST PEACE:** There cannot be peace without justice. Therefore, the peace being sought for Eelam must be just, according to the international standards and practices followed by the world's nations — legally and constitutionally. It must follow the best precedents established in other countries in past disputes, as judged and settled in recent times. It will never last if it is a quick-fix, hastily hammered out or half-baked peace, not in conformity with basic principles of accepted international norms.

* **FAIR PEACE:** The peace to be forged should be fundamentally fair to all the national, ethnic and cultural groups in the Island, in an equal manner. It must, for example, conform to the International Guidelines on Human Rights so that the terms of peace will be also morally fair, for us to earn the names of Paradise Island and Dharma Deepa for Eelam.

* **PRACTICAL PEACE:** Any proposals put for peace must be practical, consistent with the above requirements. The terms of peace must build on the lessons of the past, suit Eelam's circumstances, and not be too complex or cumbersome to establish or maintain, for continued success.

* **WANTED PEACE:** It is hoped that all the parties will want peace in Eelam at this juncture. If any party or group does not want to join in the pursuit of peace, wishing to continue the war and carnage when all others are ready for talks, they will obviously go on hurting their own people.

* **PEACE WITH DIGNITY:** The peace being sought cannot be peace at any cost or peace on bended knees, for any party. The terms of peace and the way it is brought about must safeguard the self-respect and save the faces of all groups, without any humiliation — if it is to be real peace.

* **PERMANENT PEACE:** What is agreed at this stage, after the suffering, trauma and reversals of the past four decades and more, should have a solid element of permanency, so that it will last for the foreseeable one to two centuries at least. It would, for example, incorporate the wisdom of the long serving kings and emperors of the past as known in the cultures of the people of Eelam, such as Asoka, Manu, Akbar and Solomon.

If the above criteria are followed with objectivity and honesty by all those concerned, the peace achieved will also be a **LASTING PEACE**. It is this author's earnest belief that such a peace will sprout in Eelam by the end of 1994, take root by 1997 and start blooming before the year 2000.

Futility of Militarism in Eelam Politics

The Island of Eelam has suffered immeasurably over the centuries of our history due to intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic wars. The irony of the situation is that it is also a country where four of the world's greatest faiths have a greater proportion of devout followers among the population than many other nations, even though all its religions were brought in from outside. Its peoples are hence basically god-fearing and peace-loving.

Militarism grew in recent times when successive governments since 1956, led by persons with no military experience at all, tried to use the armed services to suppress peaceful forms of dissent like hartals, satyagraha sit-downs, and mass meetings, under the Emergency Regulations, especially after the Sinhala Only (Official Language) Act of 1956.

This was exacerbated by the fact that the proportion of Tamils, notably in the non-commissioned ranks of Eelam's armed services is some 2-3%, and 97-98% of the armed forces do not know, nor have they learnt Tamil to communicate courteously with the Tamil-speaking masses. Additionally they lack any significant religious education or background, with comparatively modest levels of general education and intelligence but overflowing physical energy, with a natural tendency to exhibit a macho image at the first available opportunity — being confined to barracks most of the time in the absence of external enemies or invaders for several decades.

Its root cause, however, is identifiable as post-independence Sinhala nationalism-turned-chauvinism demonstrated by the political leaders which gave encouragement to the armed services to resort to greater brutality with the civilian population (both Tamils and Sinhalese), tortures, rapes, trigger-happy killings, disposal of bodies without inquiries, etc.

When the Tamil youths started facing discrimination in higher education, with the additional lack of prospects for employment due again to linguistic discrimination, and found that the parliamentary methods of their elder political leaders were proving ineffective with the Sinhalese leadership, they resented the abuses and physical harassment of the police and armed forces more and more, finally deciding to take up arms themselves to defend Tamils' very survival. But up to the late 1970s, Tamils were extremely passive and docile, and also reared their children under that type of discipline. Once the present war began, it soon bred cycles of revengeful counter-violence, often clouding the real objectives.

The losses in the current civil war would be 100,000 Tamil & Muslim deaths, 7,000 among Sinhalese (mainly armed personnel, excluding the 60,000 due to JVP's rebellion), and 2000 from Indian forces; twice the above numbers disabled and four-fold injured but healed, in Eelam; and US\$ 1000m spent by India, and possibly US\$ 2000m by Eelam, to-date.

But that is not all. Losses due to damage and destruction to the infrastructure of Tamil Eelam alone was estimated by this author in 1991 as US\$ 1,500m, for rehabilitation and reconstruction to pre-1980 levels, and another US\$ 1,500m needed for development of the region for economic self-sufficiency to modern standards. The costs will be more today. We have to add to this the damages in the rest of Eelam, the loss of productivity, etc, and also non-quantifiable damages to the physical and psychological health and morale of the population, to ethnic relationships and harmony, indirect deaths due to desperation and suicide, and so on.

War is brutal and irrational. Once it starts, revenge for the immediately previous killings of friends, comrades and relatives takes priority over sober, long-term considerations of the real issues and goals, and over how best and speedily they could be attained with minimum friction, minimum hatred and loss of lives, assets, and human dignity of all the parties concerned. Also, quite contrary to the inherent cultures of the indigenous population, the war has created and is feeding the survival of a gun-based culture, with short-cut laws, which will be much more difficult to reverse as time recedes. Is this the type of life we wish for our future generations?

Besides, what has been really achieved by the government and the militants by war over the past decade at the above enormous costs and losses?

The government has merely established that it has been trying to carry out its official duty to maintain law and order in the Island. But it has done so rather unsuccessfully with unjust laws, by inhuman methods, killing its own citizens by the thousands and seriously ruining the Island's economy. There are some 500,000 refugees in Eelam, 300,000 in India, over 100,000 in Europe, 50,000 in Canada, and 30,000 in Australia, on the Ceylon Tamil side alone; and possibly 150,000 Muslim and 200,000 Sinhalese refugees, all within the Island. Has the government performed any of its many other duties by its Tamil citizens, especially during the past 10 years, such as protecting their lives and property, providing for their food, health, education, housing, clothing, and so on? The answer is, NO. E.g., life in Jaffna is most primitive and mournfully pathetic, with frequent bombing.

What have the Tamil militants accomplished? They have convinced the Eelam Government and the world that, pushed beyond limits of tolerance, they will fight on heroically and die than live as an oppressed nation.

The government cannot satisfy or govern the Tamils through militarism, nor can it subjugate them, even by defeating the LTTE or by capturing their leader. The Tamils too cannot win their full rights by warfare alone, unless with significant and sustained external support. Hence, as advised often by the Sinhalese and Indian Generals themselves, the only way to solve the ethnic problem in Eelam is politically, and not militarily. The sooner it is done, the better for all the people in the Island, including the helpless men in the armed forces.

What the Tamils Want

To put it simply, what the Ceylon Tamils want, at this stage of their history is merely to be left alone to live in peace with dignity, to preserve their national character, self-respect and identity and to look after their own affairs, as they deem fit and know best, in their ancestral habitats of the Northeastern Province which they call TAMIL EELAM, in harmony with the Muslims and the few Sinhallas who have lived in that region as natural settlers. They feel they have suffered enough under Sinhalese majority governments, in the present form of democratic structure.

Tamils do not want any Eelam government as at present, dominated by Sinhalese politicians, to pretend to govern, protect, police, 'look after' or patronise them, nor to finance their rehabilitation and developmental schemes. Left to themselves they know how and where to find the finances to resuscitate and rebuild their economy and provide for the future of their own people and homeland, and of other ethnic cohabitants.

They would want basic human and democratic rights to be guaranteed to their brethren (a part of the Ceylon Tamils, most Up-country Tamils, and two-thirds of Muslims) who will reside among the Sinhallas in the rest of Eelam, and they would guarantee the same rights, reciprocally, to their own minority groups (consisting of Sinhallas, Muslims and Up-country Tamils) living in their midst in their homeland, Tamil Eelam.

If and once their above just aspirations are understood and agreed upon, the Tamils will be willing to co-operate and collaborate with the Sinhalese Provinces in reconstituting a united central structure for the entire Island of Eelam on an equitable basis with bilateral pacts and common economic, educational and cultural projects & defence pacts.

While preserving their democratic freedom to govern their areas and to develop their language, cultures and religions, they will also help the Sinhallas as best as they can in protecting their unique Buddhist heritage, as well as to develop the Sinhala language and culture, and would be willing to assist the Sinhallas economically, in several mutual ways.

The Eelam Tamils have no intention of forming any political union with Tamil Nadu, nor is anyone in India known to have such ideas. Their fraternal feelings will be no less for the Sinhallas than for their linguistic and cultural brethren across the Palk Strait, once all their rights are regained and stabilised in Eelam, as had been once, before they became a systematically suppressed nation over the past 4-5 decades.

The plan contained in this book suggests a formula to achieve the above legitimate aspirations of the Tamils smoothly and speedily, with justice and fairplay to all the other cohabitants of the Island.

Imagined Sinhalese Fears

It would appear that it is the legitimate and understandable wish on the part of the Sinhala people and their Buddhist clergy to preserve, protect and promote their cherished religion and their own native language, coupled with imagined fears that Eelam Tamils may join with the Tamils of South India and destroy their above heritages or else drive them away from Eelam, as exploited by the power-seeking Sinhalese politicians of the past, which has resulted in various acts of disenfranchisement, discrimination, deprivation and de-settlement of the Tamils in their own land of birth. Rationally, there is no realistic basis at all for these fears.

That such fears are unjustified has always been obvious to all sections of Tamils, both in Eelam and India, because they have never considered any such moves. But they've found it almost impossible to convince the Sinhalese masses on this point, because of the adverse and self-defeating propaganda which has taken place at schools, religious gatherings and political platforms, citing monstrous distortions of historical facts, carried out with a misplaced sense of nationalism, proffered as patriotism. Thus, even non-violent Satyagraha protests by saintly Tamil leaders of the past were met with police batons and army barricades, bayonets and bullets, abrogating even the laboriously negotiated B-C & D-C half-way pacts.

At least the events of the recent years should have convinced the Sinhalese masses and their leaders that the Tamils of Eelam stand united with the Sinhala people in that they will not permit themselves to be noose-led or over-run by India despite its indisputable historical and cultural links, power, goodwill and generosity. It is also true that Eelam Tamils will never again want to be dominated by the Sinhalese majority despite their own historical coexistence in Eelam, and personal friendships, equally strong cultural ties and common heritage as with India, and the respect and goodwill Eelam Tamils genuinely have for the Sinhalese people.

The time has now come for the Sinhala people to flush out such sickly fears from their psyche by thinking positively, killing off feelings of hatred and guilt from their conscience, and boldly beginning to love and embrace Eelam Tamils as brothers and friends. The Sinhala people constitute a brave nation, as brave as the Tamils when fighting for what is morally right, and should be ashamed of such fears, and the unrighteous actions which have been triggered off by those irrational fears. They would be reassured that the Tamils are large-hearted enough to bury the past and usher in a new era of coexistence in Eelam with equality and mutual respect, if an honest attempt is made at this stage to rectify the misdeeds of the past.

The Sinhala political leaders of today face a challenge—whether and when they'll put the country before their parties and personal interests!

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The Present & The Future Vs The Past

In this world which is forever changing, and changing so much faster than ever before, the objective realities of the present, and thereafter our future aspirations deserve much more consideration than the past. This is not idle philosophy but pragmatism. In fact it does really happen that way at the individual level in our day-to-day activities, subconsciously and involuntarily, as a natural instinct to promote self-preservation.

But some of us who conquer our personal material goals and embark on trying to do our best for the society of which we are a part, often tend to be too idealistic and mislead the masses by trying to foresee and cater for too far into the future, based on our distorted views of the past.

How do we come to know of the past? It is usually through mouth-to-mouth transmission of information, often misinformation, or from history books and newspapers, again mostly based on hearsay, and only seldom by unbiased, indisputable, scientifically executed personal research.

Whereas even the theories propounded through scientific observations and precisely worked out mathematics, such as in astrophysics, are proven wrong by immediately following generations of scientists, and whereas, if we are honest enough to admit it, we are unable to always accurately perceive and correctly conclude on even the current happenings around us due to insufficiency of time, lack of evidence (as admissible in a court of law, for example), improper interpretations, analysis, and so on, just how could we give full credit to all what we hear and read of as past happenings—which took place before we were even born?

There are thus practical limitations to our basing of decisions for the present and for the future on the events of the distant past, as we may find in so-called historical records, of which we have no first-hand knowledge. Also, even if it is true, say, that our past relationship was full of quarrels, selfishness & killings, can we not hopefully build a peaceful future based on our more civilised, enlightened and positive attitudes of today?

Hence it will be most prudent to concentrate our efforts on improving and harmonising our day-to-day situation in Eelam as we could see by the current facts at our disposal, with only one future century or at the most two in mind, believing only the overall, universally accepted events and lessons of the past and ignoring all trivialities, and also not trying to over-exuberantly and misconceptually remedy matters for all times.

The greatest need of the hour is positive thinking, objectivity and optimistic compromise by all, based on rebuilt mutual trust—and even a bit of blind faith in the better attributes of fellow men, for the brighter future of our Island—which happens to be the only home for all of us.

Tamils Accept Sinhalese Aspirations

The Tamils have never been against the Sinhalese realising their legitimate aspirations, and will never be. They accept that the Sinhalese form a unique nation in the world, speaking a unique language. As a mass of people and a distinct ethnic race, the Sinhalese have only Eelam as their habitat, with a history of over 2500 years, and their language is native to Eelam alone, having been home-grown there. Hence, understandably, the Sinhalese have to take special care in Eelam to protect, preserve and develop it. Even the very few Tamils who could speak Sinhala like it as a language, though they naturally love their own native tongue more. This author, in fact, likes the rhythms, lyrics and other special features of Sinhala poetry & music, and hopes to study them at some stage.

Also about 93% of the Sinhalese are Buddhists, and they lead the world in the Theravada School of Buddhism. Hence it is indeed a special heritage of Eelam, and so, it is only logical and fair that this heritage has to be preserved in the Island—the Buddhist way of life, places of worship, ruins and archaeological sites, the clergy, and all related aspects.

But the Tamil-speaking inhabitants of Eelam have separate and distinct (though naturally related) heritages, cultures, ethnicity, ideologies, and so on, different from the Sinhalese, and practise the faiths of Hinduism, (60%), Islam (28%) and Christianity (12%) according to personal backgrounds and preferences, yet cohabiting in the Island of Eelam with the Sinhalese for centuries and millenia. Hence they wish to preserve and promote their own identities and cultures. They are not at all against the Sinhalese preserving theirs, and will happily assist them where they can.

Thus the Tamils have no intention at all of assimilating the Sinhalese into their own culture, nor to join with Tamil Nadu of India and deprive them of their own freedom, or restrain or diminish it in any way.

But what the Eelam Tamils are against is for the Sinhalese to improve their lot at the expense of the Tamils through domination, discrimination and deprivation. They resent having been systematically exploited over the past 46 years or so, and are single-mindedly determined not to let that situation continue any longer. They love to live as good neighbours with the Sinhalese for ages, if it is possible, with mutual economic assistance. The Tamils are not against voluntary integration, but against genocide. They will permit natural population movement, not sinister colonisation.

A good example of the voluntary cordiality which the Tamils are capable of extending to the Sinhalese would be the old practice of teaching Sinhala as a second or third language in many of the Tamil and English schools in their northern homeland before the discriminatory Sinhala Only Act was passed in 1956.

Tamil & Sinhala Religious Kinship

Buddhism (the religion of some 93% of Sinhalas) was born in India, also the cradle of the more ancient Hinduism, followed by 60% of Tamils. Anagarika Dharmapala (1864-1933), the venerated Buddhist leader of Eelam has called Buddhism, *Brahminism without castes*. Buddhism has been practised and even propagated by Indian and Ceylon Tamils, along with Hinduism, for centuries, as is well documented in literature. Buddhist shrines have Hindu deities. There has thus always been active kinship between Sinhalas and Tamils through these two major religions (as well as, in more recent centuries, through the Christian faiths). For example, in Chapter-41 of the book RETURN TO RIGHTEOUSNESS containing all the writings of the Anagarika, published in 1965 by the Government of Ceylon, are listed the following Fundamental Buddhist Beliefs drafted by Col. H. S. Olcott, approved by the high priests of several nations including Ceylon (on signature of the Anagarika himself), Burma, Japan and India in Madras in 1891, and used in Olcott's lecture delivered in Calcutta in 1892 titled THE KINSHIP BETWEEN HINDUISM AND BUDDHISM:

FUNDAMENTAL BUDDHIST BELIEFS

- I. Buddhists are taught to show the same tolerance, forbearance, and brotherly love to all men, without distinction; and an unswerving kindness towards the members of the animal kingdom.
- II. The universe was evolved, not created; and it functions according to law, not according to the caprice of any god.
- III. The truths upon which Buddhism is founded are natural. They have, we believe, been taught in successive kalpas, or world-periods, by certain illuminated beings called BUDDHAS; the name BUDDHA meaning 'Enlightened'.
- IV. The fourth Teacher in the present Kalpa was Sakya Muni, or GAUTAMA BUDDHA, who was born in a royal family of India about 2500 years ago. He is an historical personage and his name was Siddarta Gautama.
- V. Sakya Muni taught that ignorance produces desire, unsatisfied desire is the cause of rebirth, and rebirth the cause of sorrow. To get rid of sorrow, therefore, it is necessary to escape rebirth; to escape rebirth, it is necessary to extinguish desire; and to extinguish desire, it is necessary to destroy ignorance.
- VI. Ignorance fosters the belief that rebirth is a necessary thing. When ignorance is destroyed, the worthlessness of every such rebirth, considered as an end in itself, is perceived, as well as the paramount need of adopting a course of life by which the necessity for such repeated rebirths can be abolished. Ignorance also begets the illusive and illogical idea that there is only one existence for man, and the other illusion that this one life is followed by states of unchangeable pleasure or torment.

VII. The dispersion of all this ignorance can be attained by the persevering practice of an all-embracing altruism in conduct, development of intelligence, wisdom in thought, and destruction of desire for the lower personal pleasures.

VIII. The desire to live being the cause of rebirth, when that is extinguished, rebirths cease, and the perfected individual attains by meditation that highest state of peace called *Nirvana*.

IX. Sakya Muni taught that ignorance can be dispelled and sorrow removed by the knowledge of the *Four Noble Truths*, viz.: 1. The miseries of existence; 2. The cause productive of misery, which is the desire ever renewed, of satisfying oneself without being able to ever secure that end; 3. The destruction of that desire, or the estranging of oneself from it; 4. The means of obtaining this destruction of desire. The means which he pointed out is called the *Noble Eightfold Path*, viz., *Right belief; Right Thought; Right Speech; Right Action; Right Means of Livelihood; Right Exertion; Right Remembrance; Right Meditation*.

X. Right Meditation leads to spiritual enlightenment, or the development of that Buddha-like faculty which is latent in every man.

XI. The essence of Buddhism as summed up by the Tathagata (Buddha) himself, is: TO CEASE FROM ALL SIN; TO GET VIRTUE; TO PURIFY THE HEART.

XII. The universe is subject to a natural causation known as '*Karma*'. The merits and demerits of a being in past existences determine his condition in the present one. Each man, therefore, has prepared the causes of the effects which he now experiences.

XIII. The obstacles to the attainment of good karma may be removed by the observance of the following precepts, which are embraced in the moral code of Buddhism; viz., (1) *Kill not*; (2) *Steal not*; (3) *Indulge in no forbidden sexual pleasure*; (4) *Lie not*; (5) *Take no intoxicating or stupefying drug or liquor*. Five other precepts which need not be here enumerated should be observed by bhikshus and all those who would attain, more quickly than the average layman, the release from misery, and rebirth.

XIV. Buddhism discourages superstitious credulity. GAUTAMA BUDDHA taught it to be the duty of a Parent to have his child educated in science and literature. He also taught that no one should believe what is spoken by any sage, written in any book, or affirmed by tradition, unless it accords with reason."

In his Calcutta Lecture of 1892, after revealing the above gems of Fundamental Buddhist Beliefs, Olcott continued, "...Hinduism, and in fact every other religion may be synthesised in the same way, and if this were to be done, sectarians would then have the chance to see how nearly alike all the world's great creeds are in certain important basic ideas. Between no other two systems, however, does synthesis bring out so close a kinship as it does in the cases of monistic Hinduism and Buddhism..."

Many other similar historical and sociological facts could be cited to remind ourselves that culturally and ideologically there is well-established kinsmanship between the Tamils & Sinhallas of Eelam, and that there is no good reason why both nations cannot peacefully co-exist in the Island.

Salutations to Sinhalese Sensibility

In his revealing report to the Tamil Times (TT) of November 1983 about the immense humiliation, torture, suffering and near-murder he had undergone in the hands of Sinhalese officers and other ranks of the Sri Lankan Army and Police, the saintly Founder of Eelam's Gandhiyam Movement—a devout Catholic—Chartered Architect S. A. David pays tribute to two Sinhala officers and a Sergeant. After describing his being questioned on the notorious 4th Floor of Colombo Fort's CID Office on 7th April 1983 he concludes, "...To my dying day, I will remember with gratitude Mr Punya De Silva and Mr Wijetilleke who treated me with extreme politeness and kindness." That was at the start of David's ordeals.

He was then taken to the Army Camp at Panagoda with Dr. S. Rajasundaram, his Co-Founder of Gandhiyam (who was, sadly, murdered by Sinhala fellow-prisoners in July 1983 with some 50 other Tamils when they were remanded at Welikada for questioning). In Panagoda, David was stripped, sadistically beaten, kicked, cursed and psychologically tormented by a named Camp Commander, another officer and their NCOs and soldiers regularly. Mr. David concludes the story of his Panagoda days thus: "In the middle of all these bodily and mental tortures, a pure ray of boundless compassion has left an indelible mark on my soul. I experienced to the very limit of its content the compassion of the great Buddha. This is in the nature and action of a Sinhalese Army Sergeant. As the detainees were being beaten and kicked and hung up he would look with tear-filled eyes and when all was quiet, open the cells and apply balm and rub us down and cover us with warm clothes."

"All the sad moments I have gone through is as nothing for the rare meeting and companionship of this great soul. How noble and how great Sri Lanka would have been if its leaders could have had in their soul a hundredth part of the compassion in the soul of this sergeant."

Here's another act of sensibility shown, with a dedicated sense of duty and justice by an ordinary Sinhala Bus Conductor on 4th December 1984 at the cost of his life as reported in the Tamil Times (TT) of January 1985: "A CTB bus going from Mannar to Vavuniya was stopped by army personnel and all the passengers aboard were ordered to alight. The Sinhala conductor, Kuda Devage Jayasena, whose bravery we record with gratefulness, told the army men that he was a Sinhalese and was responsible for the safety of the passengers and added that he would have to be killed if the passengers were to be harmed. The soldiers promptly obliged by shooting him dead first and after lining up the male passengers including the Muslim driver of the bus, shot seventeen of them dead." The above two reports have, in fact, moved this author to write a poem and a short story, published elsewhere.

The above three are examples of how four Sinhalas have shown compassion and sensibility to Tamils in danger at the hands of their misguided colleagues, even at real risk to their own jobs, comradeship and lives. In fact, during all the anti-Tamil pogroms during the past 30-35 years by Sinhala goons, and also by police and armed service personnel on and off duty, thousands of their fellow-Sinhalas have sheltered, saved and comforted Tamil victims. Only a few dozen such acts have found their way into newspapers. In addition, several Sinhala leaders have come forward to write and condemn the violence and terror unleashed on the Tamils, and the massive death tolls, acts of cruelty, losses, rapes, arson, and so on.

Given below in random order are excerpts from statements & articles of Sinhala leaders, from newspapers & books including the TAMIL TIMES, U.K. (TT), on the wrongs done to the Tamils—with this author's sincere apologies for his inability to mention everyone who has thus contributed:

Mr. Susil G. Siriwardene, *the National Organiser of the Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality [MIRJE] in Sri Lanka* had, in a memorandum "to President J.R. Jayawardene concerning the recent violence by the security forces appealed not to permit members of the armed forces to behave like mad men and urged to take action against those members of the forces who harass and intimidate the innocent public."—TT, February 1982

Dr. J. Uyangoda, *Senior Lecturer in Political Science*, in his article titled: *Are Tamils a Minority?* wrote in the TT of April 1982, "...Thus, the Tamils though they are not the major ethnic group in Sri Lanka, are essentially not a national minority. They possess a fairly contiguous traditional territory, a common language and culture of their own, and a common economic life though the latter, to a certain extent, has been inter-mingled with and interrelated to that of the Sinhalese due to specific historical conditions. Hence a Nation. They were and are being deprived of the fundamental democratic rights of a nation, first of which is the right of political independence, that of a separate political existence. Hence an oppressed nation..." In another article, *In Memory of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord ten years later (September 1992)* he wrote, "...In Sinhalese society, the sheer inability of political and ideological leaders to come to grips with the basics of the ethnic question has paralyzed its soul, if it had one. So, despite efforts made by affable Mangala Moonesinghe of the Select Committee, the carnage may go on...Multi-ethnic character of Sri Lankan society, devolution and provincial councils, and merger of North-East provinces are the key formulations that are inscribed in the Accord and found their way to the political and constitutional debate. For that alone, long live the memory of the Indo-Lanka Accord."

Mr. R. Kahawitta, in April 1982, in his article subtitled: *End Discrimination*, lamented, "With a boastful heritage 2,500 years old, and a culture landmarking our memory with a shrine under every Bo-tree, and after fifty years of Universal Franchise, thirty five years of political independence, with three Constitutions to ensure our sovereignty, we have not yet learnt to understand the other man's point of view... it has resulted in arson, looting, murder and atrocities against each other not once, twice, thrice...Unity cannot be built with an eye on political popularity. Humility, understanding, and the ability to understand the other man's point of view are the keys to unity and success. This cannot be achieved by rabid political views, political ambitions, or political popularity...Alas, what is troubling everybody is the language issue. It is a thorn in everybody's side, and the goading starts with it. We have to admit that the language issue was a hasty political decision made with an eye to capturing power and never gave a second thought to national unity, freedom of movement, equality of opportunities, etc...The New Constitution too endorsed the idea of two Nations, two National Languages."

The late Bishop Lakshman Wickremasinghe in his Christmas Message of 1977 said: "After August 1977 (violence), the Tamils feel insecure and alienated. They want security of life and property guaranteed to them against mob violence and communal prejudice; they want to be treated like equals in public life as of right, in the face of discrimination". Of the anti-Tamil violence of July 1983 he again wrote in his last pastoral letter, "...the massive retaliation, mainly by the Sinhalese against the Tamils in July 1983, cannot be justified on moral grounds. We must admit and acknowledge our shame...We must be ashamed because what took place was a moral crime. We are ashamed as Sinhalese for the moral crime other Sinhalese committed. We must not only acknowledge our shame. We must also make our apology to those Tamils who were unjustified victims of this massive retaliation." — TT, January 1984

Rev. S.K. Perera, President, Methodist Church of Sri Lanka, in his statement titled *We Are Shattered*, published in February 1984: "All peace-loving people, irrespective of caste, religion or creed, have been deeply shaken by the communal violence, the worst since independence in 1948, which overtook us in 1983...The cry for separation is a recent cry and the result of our failure to find a just solution...For this present violence and destruction and suffering, the Sinhala people are mostly responsible. Being a Sinhala I feel my own hands stained by the blood of the innocent victims of senseless violence. As members of the Sinhala community, we express deep regret and sorrow for what we have done and ask for forgiveness."

Dr. Brian Seneviratne, a Consultant Physician, in July 1984, concluding on, The July 1983 Massacre, said: "If a division of the country will bring peace to Sri Lanka, this will be more acceptable to the author, a full blooded Sinhalese, than an internal conflict that could go on for decades with a massive loss of life and property and total disruption of the country."

Mr. Asoka de Silva, writing in SOUTH, in April 1984 says in his Letter to the Editor: "...Buddhism emphasises Maitreya (goodwill) and compassion to all sentient beings. What is disturbing is that few Buddhist monks have been publicly involved in any effort to restore peace and understanding among the communities. Ironically, again, Sri Lanka history has the story of the Buddha intervening to bring peace among two warring tribes..."

Mr. L. Piyadasa, in his book, *Sri Lanka: The Holocaust and After*, published in 1984 on the savage July-1983 anti-Tamil pogrom, blames the struggle for power among factions within the ruling Party, the bad leadership of Tamil communities, muddled thinking about the national question, growing gap between racist fantasies and social reality, economic underdevelopment, and anti-democratic trends in recent decades, as the reasons for the holocaust.

Mr. H. N. Fernando, General Secretary of the Ceylon Teachers Union, majority of whose members are Sinhalese, in his statement published in December 1984 protested against the draconian measures imposed against Tamil people and accused the government of marching towards a naked military occupation in the Northern Peninsula...putting the most inhuman Pass Law in South Africa to shame, by banning the use of private vehicles including private buses and curtailing the movements of the civilian population to two hours in the morning from 6.00 to 8.00 and two hours in the afternoon from 2.00 to 4.00 apart from imposing curfew from 4.00 pm to 6.00 am, and declaring a North-eastern sea stretch totally prohibited.

Dr. Nihal Jayawickrema, a Permanent Secretary in the 1970-77 United Front government, in his article on Post Independence Politics in Sri Lanka wrote in February 1985 thus: "...the tragedy of the situation lies in the fact that while successive Sinhala governments were willing and able to be receptive to Sinhala aspirations, they consistently failed to respond to the equally legitimate aspirations of the Tamil speaking people, particularly of the Northern and Eastern Provinces. What this ethnic minority asked for was the right to manage its own affairs in those parts of the country in which they had been traditionally settled, and the right to do so in its own language. Apart from that, the Tamil community asked to be treated as equal citizens with the Sinhalese in the one country to which they all belonged. That these were legitimate demands, and were so regarded by the Sinhala political leadership, has never been in doubt. But what was, and still is, seriously in doubt, was the sincerity of the assurances held out to them by a succession of our national leaders."

Dr. Nihal Jayawickrema, in another article on Non-Discrimination & Self-Determination published in June 1985, also in the Tamil Times, wrote, "...A government's behaviour towards its own nationals is now regulated by international treaties. And, in 1981, the government of Sri Lanka voluntarily declared to the international community that, in the matter of the treatment of its nationals, it would honour, respect, and abide by these norms and standards...brought itself within the jurisdiction of international human rights law when it subscribed to, and ratified, the two international human rights covenants...The principle of non-discrimination means that as between persons similarly circumstanced, or of comparable capacity, neither law nor executive action may discriminate on the basis of race, language or religion...For instance, in the academic year 1983/84...the total number of excluded Tamil students would be 273 or 51.6%: a result which leads irresistably to the conclusion that in the matter of university admissions, the principle of non discrimination had been violated... .. Therefore, it appears to me that, if we are to get back to the good earth, certain very positive and urgent steps require to be taken: 1. The Sixth Amendment to the Constitution, which has had the effect of preventing the Tamil-speaking people of the Northern and Eastern provinces being represented in Parliament, must be repealed. 2. The Prevention of Terrorism Act and any other statutory provision which deny to the Tamil speaking people of the Northern and Eastern Provinces the benefit of the general law of the country, must be repealed. 3. The existing Bill of Rights must be enlarged to make it an effective weapon against racial discrimination. 4. The Tamil speaking people of the Northern and Eastern Provinces must be given an opportunity of determining, by plebiscite or referendum, the degree and form of autonomy they desire to have. This is a decision which they alone have a right to make..."

Dr. W. S. Karunaratne, Professor of Buddhist philosophy, University of Kelaniya, and Former Sri Lankan Ambassador to the USA, as reported in the TT of March 1985 said in Ratmalana that the government's resort to militarism in order to solve the ethnic problem could be the starting point of continuous civil war in the country, and that in his view those who were holding meetings, lectures and seminars calling for the 'unity of the Sinhalese' were in fact only interested in providing a cover for whipped-up terrorism against the Tamil people. The Tamil people, said the Professor, had made a significant contribution to the development of Sri Lanka. "This included the spread of Buddhism in our country. The main texts for the study of Buddhist philosophy had been written by scholars like Buddhagoshā, Buddhāditta, Dhammapāla, Anurudda and others, who were both Buddhist priests and Tamils. In fact, Tamils in India had embraced Buddhism even before the Sinhalese did. The founders of Buddhism, like Lord Buddha and his disciples Ananda and Mahinda, were not Sinhalese but Indians. But today those who talk so much about Buddhism and the Sinhalese race, including Buddhist monks, do not mention these facts or the contribution that Tamil Buddhist monks made to the spread of Buddhism in Sri Lanka...Many of those who talked loudly and glibly from platforms about Buddhist virtues like compassion, kindness, discipline, etc., were in the same breath justifying killing and terror when it came to the Tamils..."

Mr. Desmond Fernando, Secretary, Civil Rights Movement (CRM) of Sri Lanka, in a comprehensive statement issued on January 25, 1985 disclosed, "Mass arrests of Tamil youth are being carried out. Detainees in custody of the state have been killed. Some members of the security forces have carried out mass reprisals against the civilian population, and in the course of their operations, have killed many people, and have caused much damage to private property, burning and destroying homes and farms. Peasants in the language border areas have been pushed out of their villages. The killing of combatants and non-combatants on both sides has escalated; the civil administration of these areas and the normal economic and social life of the community have been disrupted...Finally, as an organisation devoted to the maintenance and indeed expansion of civil rights within a democratic framework, CRM would like to stress the absolute necessity of resuming negotiations in a form that would ensure a just political solution; the absence of such a solution and the continuance of the present situation can only result in the further erosion of the civil and democratic rights of all the citizens of the country."

Dr. Jehan Perera, a Sinhala, and scholar in the US, has regularly written in support of justice and fairplay for the Tamils. For instance, in July 1985, in his article, Sri Lanka: The Federal Alternative, he has advocated, "...it is time the Sinhalese asked themselves whether they can fairly expect the other communities to accept this (their) way of looking at their status in Sri Lanka. The minority communities have their own vision of Sri Lanka and their place in it—as their homeland too, where they have the right to live in peace with justice just as the Sinhalese do...Thus the key to finding a peaceful solution is to find a means of reconciling the true interests of the Sinhalese and Tamils within a united Sri Lanka...To reach this solution the Sinhalese will have to put away the Mahavansa mentality...Tamils consistently opposed separation from the colonial era right up to 1975...The goal to be aimed for is a federal Sri Lanka where Sinhalese and Tamils share political power and live with respect for one another..." In his TT article of August 1990 titled, The North-East: Getting Back to Fundamentals, he wrote: "Before insisting that the Tigers should disarm, the government must make up its mind what it is willing to offer the Tamil people. This offer must be based upon what the Tamils are entitled to, not upon the balance of power. The standard we must go by is not what the military situation dictates or what the Sinhalese feel like giving or what the Tamils feel like having, but what is internationally accepted in the International Covenants on Human Rights. As a distinct people, different from the Sinhalese in their language, religion, culture and history, the Tamils are entitled to self-determination..." Again, in August 1993 he makes the following comments in his article, On Rewriting Constitutions: "... A basic feature of all our constitutions is that they were framed by small coteries of political elites. The lifestyles and values of the framers of the constitutions were at variance with those of the vast majority of the people...The model politician and social reformer will, from one point of view, always be Mahathma Gandhi...It is his counterparts we most need in Sri Lanka today..."

Mr. Charles Abeysekera, President of MIRJE, writing in the TT of August 1985 on Settlement of Sinhalese in Tamil Areas discloses, "...in Trincomalee District, the Sinhala population has increased from 4.4% in 1921 to 31.6% in 1976 while the Tamil population had declined from a majority 53.2% to 32.8%. In Vavuniya it declined from 77.0% to 65.8%, in Batticaloa from 52.8% to 40.2%, and in Mannar from 58.1% to 49.8%. Settlement policies followed over the last 50 years have thus substantially altered the population mix in these areas; they have diminished the political power of the Tamil people through a dilution of their electoral base; and have also served to deny them a territorial basis for their separate identity ...They refuse to make a distinction between voluntary migration and a well-organised system of state-aided settlement, one of whose aims is the alteration of existing population patterns..."

Mr. S.D. Bandaranaike, SLFP MP for Gampaha, as reported in the TT of September 1985, "said in Parliament recently that the Westminster system of party politics had caused the present crisis in Sri Lanka, and that as a result, the Tamil-speaking people had to resort to violence to win their human rights. The Tamil representatives at Thimpu in Bhutan had based their solution to the National problems of Sri Lanka on four cardinal principles: (1) the recognition of Tamils of Sri Lanka as a distinct 'nationality'; (2) the recognition and guarantee of the territorial integrity of the Tamil homelands; (3) the recognition of the inalienable right of self-determination of the Tamil nation, and (4) the recognition of the right of citizenship and other fundamental rights of all Tamils to look upon the island as their home. He added that in the formation of the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact (1957) these four cardinal principles were the basis of agreement with the Tamil minority, because that was the inalienable right of every citizen of the country...Tamil representatives at Thimpu quite rightly had pointed that out...He now called for all parties to unite and destroy the present constitution..."

Dr. W. Dahanayake, MP for Galle and one-time SLFP Prime Minister who later joined the UNP, advised in Parliament as reported in December 1985, "The government should offer the Tamils a solution they could accept with dignity. They should also offer them a degree of autonomy within the framework of a united Sri Lanka. Why cannot the Tamils of Sri Lanka have a government like that of Tamil Nadu in the north and east within the framework of unity?..."

Mr. C. Samarasekera, wrote from Jeddah on February 13, 1986 : " ...Sinhalese must bear one thing in mind: If we wish to have national unity, we must wholeheartedly accept those Tamils who wish to live within a united Sri Lanka. We must not think that a Tamil Sri Lankan is in some way inferior to a Sinhalese...If we behave in this manner the entire Tamil community of Sri Lanka will unite, and one fine day we will have to divide up our country with them..."

Dr. Ediriwira Sarachchandra, one-time Professor of Sinhala Language & Literature, in a letter published in the 15th February 1986 issue of Saturday Review, as reported in London two months later, lamented: "There must be some formula for peace, and this can (only) be evolved in an atmosphere of sanity. There is, obviously, no sanity now. The security forces have lost their balance of mind. Fear of unknown death-traps like landmines and their own impotence before the unseen enemy have driven them to this state...I am raising my feeble voice among thousands of others to say that the Sinhalese do not want this war. We want to live in peace and amity with the Tamils and all other communities. Therefore, let whoever has the power to stop this war, stop it. Let him not waver, let him not procrastinate, let him take the bold step that is needed, and, in the end the forces of good and justice will be on his side..."

Mr. H.A.J. Goonetilleke, a distinguished Sinhala scholar & author, in his May 1986 article, *A Plea for Sanity*, urged, "It is well to dwell briefly on the terrible pass we are in today. One of the poorest countries in the world community, a small island of 16 million people, is spending 600 billion rupees in its current budget for fighting, what is to all intents and purposes, a 'civil war' with a significant minority of its own citizens. Half of its population depends for survival on food stamps, 40% of its children are undernourished, while the scourge of inflation in the last decade has become a mounting infliction on most segments of the people...Nine years ago the ruling regime in its manifesto for that 'famous victory' correctly identified the just grievances of the Tamil people of Sri Lanka, and promised swift redress...What we have now, as a result of a failure of vision and a faltering leadership, is a squalid and bloody war...The Tamil psyche has been too grievously violated, and the Sinhala psyche riddled and tormented by the myths and fantasies of a seemingly incurable insular hubris...To cry halt to the insanity of this senseless and continuing carnage is the compelling need of the hour. No final solution of the political stalemate can otherwise be achieved..." In July 1987, Mr. Goonetilleke advocated a more specific solution: "...Neither durable peace nor lasting reconciliation can emerge from a military solution, whether partial or total. Only a political solution in which the cardinal concepts of self-determination, regional autonomy, inter-racial justice, equality and freedom from oppression and discrimination are guaranteed through some form of federalism can preserve our unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity..."

Ven. Kurunegala Piyaratne Thera, Chief Incumbent of Sri Pada Privena, speaking at a seminar in Nawalapitiya in 1986 said, "Politicians have ruined the country after independence. The aim of political parties was to capture power. The 1983 July ethnic trouble will show that the inciters were safe, and poor masses who were like brothers and sisters were victims. The country's economy is affected and no one is worried about the progress of the nation. There should be a solution to the ethnic problem...Children of all communities should be admitted to one school where Sinhalese, Tamil and English should be made compulsory subjects...Politicians would never solve the problem. The Sinhalese and Tamils came from India. We should not fight with each other, but should get together and preserve peace and order..."

Mr. Reggie Siriwardene of the Committee for Rational development (CRD), also a poet, wrote thus in December 1986, "...Opposition groups which resist the peace process will only inherit a greater problem if and when they come to power. The sooner a settlement is reached, the better result for all political sections within our national polity...The government must...be committed not only to a package of devolution but devolution which has the open or tacit consent of those living in the North and the East...The militants must accept the fact that they too have no military solution to their search for Tamil Eelam. To fight for it at any cost is to lead the Tamil people toward genocide and humiliation...The Tamil people have made their point. Their political will can no longer be ignored by mainstream Sinhala politics..."

Later, in his *Kandasamy Commemoration Lecture on Violence and Human Rights*, in Colombo on 18 June 1989, Mr. Siriwardene discussed the aspect of violence on the "fateful day in 1956 when the Official Language Act was introduced in Parliament," thus: "...when the Bill was introduced Tamil opponents of the Bill staged a peaceful satyagraha on Galle Face green and were assaulted by thugs who had been transported there. The head of the government not only permitted this to happen but ordered the police away when of their own volition they had arrived to keep the peace. This was the first of a series of occasions in the fifties and sixties when peaceful protest by Tamil political groups would be met with violence. The long-term consequences of this response would become apparent in the seventies and eighties when a younger and more militant Tamil generation emerged to pursue their struggle by other means..."

Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, MP, who was then the Leader of the Opposition from the SLFP, was reported in April 1987 to have said to the UNP government in a speech in Parliament: "...Now, Mr. Speaker, who was responsible, to start with, for creating this ethnic problem? Let us not start from 1948 or 1932. Let us talk from 1977. During the DDC elections that were held in Jaffna, Sir, in 1981 or 1982 you all proved to the Tamil people that democracy was not a viable alternative open to them. You lifted the ballot boxes because certain Ministers came and told your hierarchy in Colombo that, in fact, the TULF could be defeated in Jaffna. Under that misguided conception, some of your key Ministers went to Jaffna, unleashed JSS thugs on innocent Tamils and lifted ballot boxes. In fact, two ballot boxes were found in the Subhas Hotel...Then you arrested Mr. Amirthalingam who was then Leader of the Opposition. He phoned me at 2 in the morning. You also arrested Mr. Sivasithamparam, then Member for Nallur, and also, I believe, the then Member for Jaffna, Mr. Yogeswaran...Anyway, the Jaffna Library was burnt. The Tamils felt that there was absolutely no viable democratic alternative available to them. Then you brought in the Sixth Amendment...The entire lot of Tamil Members of Parliament were driven out of this House..."

Mr. Gamini Navaratne, Sinhala Journalist and Editor of Saturday Review chided on 18 July, 1987: "...To hell with the Tamil people. They are not, according to some Government spokesmen, part of Sri Lanka: their rightful place is India!...A country which could be a paradise has become a hell-hole — thanks to the misguided policies of the UNP Government. And the Opposition parties have contributed and are still contributing to the situation by their inane policies...What the country needs at this hour are sane people. But how many of them have we in Sri Lanka today? People with heads on their shoulders? What we have is a set of buffoons everywhere, who are messing up the works in grand style...Surely, there must be an end to this buffoonery — if Sri Lanka is to survive."

Committee of the World Solidarity Forum on Sri Lanka for Justice and Peace addressed an Appeal for Peace With Justice, early in 1992, representatively signed by around 200 leaders from all communities and religions in Sri Lanka including 150 Sinhalas (out of whom 40 were leading Buddhist Monks) to the people and Government of Sri Lanka to take decisive constructive action for peace, on the basis of justice for all. Their appeal was summarised as follows: "...Stop the War; Declare terms of mediating and monitoring procedures; Ensure rights of Minorities as well as Majority and recognise reasonable apprehensions of both; Continue dialogue on disputed issues; Repeal repressive legislation, lift State of Emergency, return to normal law and restore democratic process; Bring down cost of living; Search for alternative economic policies to bring justice to the under-privileged of all communities; Ensure rights of all working people; Ensure rights of women and children..." The appeal also said, "...The major communities in the country, Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim have, over a considerable period of time, especially through the conflict of recent years, become conscious of their separate identities and nationalities. We believe that the time has come for all communities to frankly face the reality of each other's identity and nationality...The character of Sri Lankan society — democratic and pluralistic — should be...enshrined in the constitution. There should also be a Bill of Rights that is justiciable...There should be suitable constitutional restraints on the powers of the Executive Presidency which is now practically above the law..."

Appeal by 11 Colombo University Dons in January 1992: Prof. W.D.Lakshman, Prof. B. Bastiampillai, Dr.J.Uyangoda, Dr.D.Udagama, Dr.N.de Mel, Dr.A.Parakrama, Dr.R.Edirisinhe, Ms.J.Thambayah, Mr.S.Perera, Mr.M.Gomez, and Mr. N. Selvakumaran appealed in January 1992 to the Government and the opposition parties urging them to "...work out, without delay, a democratic political solution to the ethnic problem on the basis of genuine devolution or federalism...so that all extreme nationalist forces are politically isolated and confidence among the masses of all communities built..." because, "...As the past experience...particularly of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia testify, if ethnic problems are allowed to intensify without viable and democratic political alternatives being worked out, territorial disintegration of the country would become an irreversible process."

Mr. Hector Abhayavardhana, a senior leftist ideologist and former state corporation boss, had this to say in the *Tamil Times* of May 1992: "...Tamil Dravidianism is a closed chapter of the social struggle in Tamil Nad and is most unlikely to find new life... It would be a mistake, however, to believe that the woes of the Tamil people in Sri Lanka are now nearing their end. There is no indication that Sinhala chauvinism has been displaced by modern secular forces and trends. Much to the contrary, religio-racial politics has strengthened its hold on society and, in particular, on what constitutes the state..."

Mr. Anuruddha Tilakasiri wrote in the *Tamil Times* of July 1992: "...In fact, far more damage is being done to Buddhism by the practices engaged in by certain sections of the Sangha—like propagating casteism and caste oppression; using Buddhism to incite passions against ethnic and religious minorities and to justify bloody wars—all of which are clear violations of the teachings of the Lord Buddha...the SLFP is resorting to Sinhala racism and Buddhist fundamentalism. Everything is being done to whip up anti-Tamil anti-Catholic and anti-upcountry Tamil / Thondaman hysteria...We know the role played by the various anti-Tamil policies of the SLFP and its allies in the creation and the exacerbation of the ethnic problem—the Sinhala Only Act in 1956 gave rise to the Tamil national movement and the various policies implemented by the '70 - '77 government (the '72 Constitution, mediawise standardisation, etc.) gave rise to the armed Eelam struggle..."

Mr. Stanley Jayaweera, former Sri Lankan Ambassador in Germany, in his article of January 1993 titled: No Harm can Come From A Federal Structure, wrote: "...It is up to the majority community, that is, the Sinhalese to make the minorities feel that the whole of Shri Lanka is their homeland and that their separate identities will be guaranteed both in the letter, and more importantly, in spirit, under a new dispensation...much of the harm done to the Sinhala masses—and, in any community it is the welfare of the masses that matters—has been by the Sinhala leadership. It is their own kind who have let down the Sinhala people. I find it difficult to think of any people, anywhere, who are so shallow, vacuous, and rootless as most English-educated Sinhalese are. Their gods are power, position, and money...Those who make a song and dance about Buddhism are no better..."

Mr. Chanaka Amaratunga, in his February 1993 article on: Fear Of The Dreaded 'F' Word, reports, "...With increased interest in that forever elusive process of seeking a political solution to the crisis in the North-East, the debate on federalism has become accentuated. It is an unmitigated tragedy that this debate is conducted in an atmosphere of blind ignorance and prejudice or in one soaked with cynicism and lack of vision. Thus those who know no better are sincerely convinced that federalism is a short route to the division of Sri Lanka and those who should know better are determined to avoid its adoption..."

What do we infer from the above? It seems clear that a good number of Sinhala political stalwarts and a large number of other Sinhala leaders from various walks of life, want peace to be created in Eelam immediately by granting constitutional equality and justice to the Tamils and other minorities, but it is the top leaders in the most powerful UNP & SLFP, which formed all the governments from 1948-94, who are vacillating.

President Dingiri Banda Wijetunge

Mr. D. B. Wijetunge, President R. Premadasa's Prime Minister and very close friend for forty years was promptly and unanimously elected by the Parliament to succeed as Acting President when Mr Premadasa was assassinated in May '93. In his address to the country soon after his appointment Mr. Wijetunge pledged that he would act not as a politician but as a statesman, in making his decisions. He promised general elections in March 1995 as it's constitutionally due. He met Opposition Leader and fellow-Kandyan



Mrs Bandaranaike and had cordial discussions. He dismantled a notorious security agency formed during Mr. Premadasa's time, also jettisoning some of the other authoritarian and controversial legacies of the past.

At 72, Mr. Wijetunge is a mature politician, reported as soft-spoken, who believes in give-and-take flexibility and, shunning excessive publicity, to have amply demonstrated in his short term in office that he has a mind and a will of his own, and cannot be played around with by opponents.

In his first speech he vowed, "(I'll)...always act in the best interests of all our people as one nation — irrespective of political, ethnic and religious differences... ..I am conscious that a solution must be found to the unfortunate North-East problem. This is an urgent need in the national interest. I ask for the co-operation of all sections of our people to solve this problem... ..I will not deviate from the path of righteousness. I would always welcome your valuable suggestions as well as constructive criticism." Soon afterwards, at a UNP rally in Mawanella before Provincial Council polls, he has repeated, "...The North-East conflict must be resolved soon. It is a very serious problem. In fact it had been prolonged. My hands must be strengthened to resolve this crisis..." And two days after he was sworn in, from Temple Trees he reiterated the government's commitment to resolving the Island's ethnic conflict, and appealed to the Tamil Tigers to return to the negotiating table, outlining his government's position that they were willing for a fresh dialogue with the Tigers: "Our doors are open. Let them come, and let us settle this problem."

Mr. Wijetunge is an acclaimed Buddhist, pledged to show the same tolerance, forbearance & brotherly love to all men without distinction, and cannot really smear his past reputation with words and wild attitudes such as: "...*violence should be met with violence if you want to reduce it...*"

Premier Ranil Wickremasinghe

At 44, Ranil Wickremasinghe became the second youngest, and tenth Prime Minister of the Island, the first Prime Minister D. S. Senanayake's only son Dudley having been the youngest ever. Like the other two, Ranil is also from the United National Party (UNP), and belongs to one of the most well known and richest families in the Island. The Premier is a Sinhala Buddhist, born in Colombo, educated at Royal College & is a lawyer by training. In the UNP he was Treasurer of the Youth League in the crucial 1974-77 years, when UNP's leader Mr. J. R. Jayewardene was rebuilding the Party to win power back from Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike's SLFP, and Ranil formed close links with J. R. who became Premier in 1977 and the first Executive President in 1978. From then on Ranil's rise in the UNP was meteoric.



At 28, in 1977, he first entered Parliament as the M.P. for the new electorate of Biyagama and became Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. At 31 he became the youngest Minister of Education. At 40, in 1989, he became the Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs, and also the youngest Leader of the country's Legislature. And in May 1993, when President Premadasa was killed and Mr. D. B. Wijetunge was appointed Acting President, Ranil was rewarded with the Prime Ministership.

Ranil possesses the background, training, acumen and fresh outlook to play a leading role in steering the Island back to peace. One of his forefathers was the first Sri Lankan Government Agent. His grandfather Mr. D. R. Wijewardena was the pioneering press baron of Ceylon who founded the Lake House. His family had been patrons of the Kelaniya Buddhist Temple for decades. Ranil himself knows the law and had learnt politics at home, watching his father Esmond discuss important political problems with past Prime Ministers and leaders including from the Tamil parties. In fact his father is reported to have had a big hand in the signing of the D-C Pact described in page 50. Some of today's political leaders like Anura Bandaranaike and Dinesh Gunawardene were his friends at school. Ranil is reported to be a convincing speaker and writer who displays immense public appeal, and should succeed in forging a peaceful transition of the country through the radical reforms in the constitutional and political fields envisaged in this author's plan.

Sirimavo Bandaranaike, SLFP Leader



Mrs Sirimavo Ratwatte Dias Bandaranaike earned her reputation as world's first woman Prime Minister in 1960. She took over as party leader and Prime Minister within months of the assassination, on 26th September '59 by a Buddhist priest, of her husband S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike who founded the SLFP in 1951, and who was the architect of the Sinhala Only Act. Born in 1916 she is a Veteran in Eelam politics.

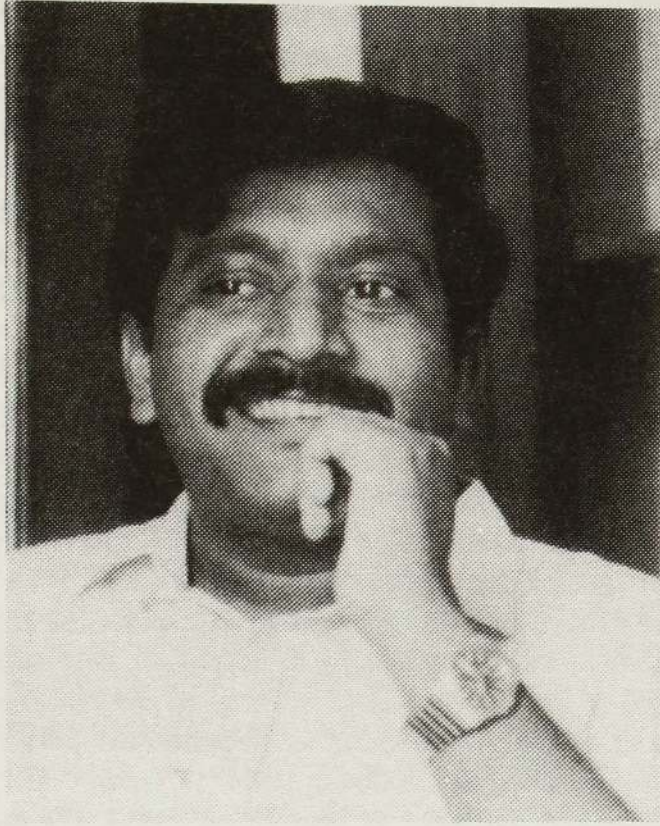
Mrs B was a housewife and social worker until she became Party Leader and Premier within ten months of her husband's departure, from the then existing Senate. She served as P.M. from 1960-65 and 1970-77, and as Leader of the Opposition from 1965-70 but was defeated at the Presidential Election of 1988. Losing her civic rights when the UNP came to power in 1977 she was out of politics until 1988 but is now back to her 1965-70 status, and hence is one of the key-holders of peace in Eelam.

Although educated only up to secondary level, she learnt politics and public affairs as a Minister's wife from 1940 and then on-the-job as Premier. It was during Mrs B's time in 1961 that Sinhala was made also the official language of public administration, following her husband's line.

As Prime Minister she proved her knack for tackling delicate problems through diplomacy—nationally and internationally. She signed the S-S Pact with Premier Sastri of India in 1964 in an attempt to solve the nationality problem of the earlier disenfranchised Up-country Tamils, and with her friend Mrs Gandhi of India, solved the Kachativu and other issues. Had Mrs G lived and Mrs B been in power, Eelam Tamil issue may be non-existent today. The author recalls how she broke her holiday during parliamentary recess in 1974 to meet him to reverse a Cabinet Decision and allow visas for foreign delegates for a historic Tamil Conference.

Mrs B has worked with Tamils, but may not have met Tamil masses and studied their grave problems at first hand. Yet, both in her own and SLFP's interests, and by way of justice to Tamil compatriots, she should give her support for the Peace Accords expected from current initiatives.

Mr. V. Pirabakaran & LTTE's Policies



Mr. Velupillai Pirabakaran, LTTE's Leader & Supreme Commander was born in late-1954, in Valvettiturai, a village in the northern coast of the Island, also the northern boundary limit of Tamil Eelam. His father was a public servant, and wanted his son to continue in education, but the youth was disenchanted by the plight of the Tamils and of his prospects in entering the university, under

the selection scheme favouring Sinhalese students. Thus, with some school friends he formed the LTTE to serve and solve Tamils' problems.

Pirabakaran's military skills and knowledge of history and world affairs were mostly self-taught, on-the-job as it were, but he is well known to have obtained some initial military training in India. He observes strict disciplines and inspires the same from his volunteer followers. He does not drink or smoke, and has imposed the highest moral codes in sexual matters, on himself and his men and women fighters. He married one of his early captives some years ago and has a young family. His dedication to the cause of politically and economically liberating Tamil Eelam, his powers of organisation, perception of others' real motives & intentions, his innate intelligence, etc, are well proven. Sinhalese Bishop Kenneth Fernando, was quoted in the TAMIL NATION after he met Mr. Pirabakaran on 10th January 1993 to have said : "*...he's a courteous, quick-thinking, soft-spoken, humane person.*" Pirabakaran is reported to be a forthright man who keeps his promises, expecting others to reciprocate. Originator of the do-or-die cyanide capsules, he always wears one.

He is a grassroots leader who is not greedy to retain power for the sake of wielding it, once the rights of Tamils are won and a democratic structure established, as could be judged from his interview reports. He lives in the hearts of millions of Tamils and non-Tamils all over the world. All may not agree with his line, but he has the basic qualities to be taken seriously in what he says and means, and could be trusted in honest deals. Pirabakaran's and his LTTE's political philosophy are now considered.

From INDIA TODAY's interview with Mr. Pirabakaran on 30th August, 1986:

Q: What is the geographical territory you want to liberate as (Tamil)Eelam? A: *Eelam was already existing. There was a distinct Tamil homeland. We are now trying only to retrieve that...* Q: What is your response to the Government of India's mediatory efforts? A: *We fully support the Government of India's peace initiatives. We support India's role fully.* Q: But India wants a solution within the framework of a united Sri Lanka. Whereas you are bent on Eelam. Doesn't that mean you are at cross purposes with India? A: *We are representing the political aspirations of our people. We don't think the Government of India will go against the aspirations of our people. India's support is important to us. But we also have a right to self-determination.*

From NEWSWEEK's interview of Mr. Pirabakaran by Reporter Mazumdar in September 1986:

Q: Your opponents charge that innocent civilians are often killed in your military offensives. How do you respond? A: *The LTTE has never killed any civilians. We condemn such acts of violence. There were occasions when we had to kill Home Guards. But they are not civilians. They are trained non-combat draftees who carry guns...* Q: Why do you think LTTE has taken the lead among other guerrilla groups? A: *Discipline and order are most important. We emphasise personal morality and a sense of patriotism. Our cadres carry cyanide pills with them to avoid falling into enemy hands. Most of all the people are behind us...* Q: What is your assessment of the latest round of negotiations between moderate Tamils and the Sri Lankan government on devolution of power to Tamils? A: *The proposals put forward by Colombo are insufficient even to start negotiations. We have enunciated four principles as the basis for talks: The traditional homeland of the Tamils must be recognised; Tamils should be officially recognised as a separate nationality; Their rights to self-determination should be recognised, and the civil rights of stateless Tamils should be recognised. A frame-work should be worked out incorporating these principles. Then we will consider negotiations...* Q: What kind of a political system do you envisage for an independent Tamil state? A: *We want to establish a socialist society. Ours will be a unique socialist model, neither Soviet nor Chinese nor any other.* Q: Have you ever considered calling for India's military intervention to stop what you call genocide? A: *India's military intervention is not necessary because we have a fighting force capable of facing the military. In fact India's intervention may allow other international forces to meddle in Sri Lanka and create chaos.*

The LTTE Leader's comments of December 1986 to the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister on the Proposals submitted by the Sri Lankan Government:

"...we find the framework inadequate, failing to meet the basic political aspirations of our people. The proposals refuse to consider any of the basic principles enunciated by us at the Thimpu talks last year. The separate provincial councils framework negates our fundamental demand for the recognition of our homeland...The recognition of the territorial integrity of the region as the homeland of the Tamils is cardinal to any meaningful, lasting solution to the Tamil national question...the package of proposals offered by the Colombo government has serious inadequacies. The legislative and executive powers that are to be devolved to the provincial councils have been severely constrained by the prerogative powers of the Parliament and the Presidency and they are not real or concrete in conceptual and practical terms...In matters relating to law and order the framework offered by Sri Lanka provides overriding powers to the centre...The other crucial issue that does not resolve satisfactorily is the question of land...We also wish to point out that if Sri Lanka is prompted by genuine desire for peace, it should put an end to State violence, to the ruthless killing of innocent Tamils, to the massive militarisation programmes, to the continuous erection of army camps in Tamil areas and seek to establish a condition of normalcy and peace...our liberation movement will provide wholehearted support and co-operation to all efforts by the Government of India to find a lasting solution that would guarantee the liberty, dignity and security of our people."

From INDIA TODAY Reporter's Interview with Pirabakaran, August 15, 1987:

Q: What was your initial objection to the [Indo-Sri Lanka Peace] accord? Will you be endorsing this agreement? A: *This agreement was totally unacceptable to us. It is called an Indo-Sri Lankan friendship agreement, but it deals with the Tamil ethnic question. And it was drafted without consulting the Tamil representatives. So, we had rejected it...* Q: What are the specific reservations that you raised and what was Mr. Gandhi's response? A: *We raised the point about the referendum. But Mr. Gandhi pointed out that there were several clauses with regard to the referendum as for instance that it can be delayed at the discretion of the President and that the displaced Tamil refugees will have to be rehabilitated first. So all this will take time and he told us not to take it too seriously as India would handle it...* Q: It was being said in Indian official circles that the LTTE had unofficially agreed to the accord but that, as you have taken a stand on Eelam, you were registering a token protest. A: *I am a man of principles. I also have the trust and faith of my people. If anyone had said that we had unofficially agreed to this accord, it's a lie...* Q: What will be LTTE's role now? A: *It's for the people to decide...* Q: What exactly are the issues that you find objectionable in the accord? A: *It is being said that three of the four cardinal principles which we enunciated at Thimpu have been met. It is not so... But the most crucial point on which we are rejecting this agreement is the point about giving up our arms. This is tantamount to surrender and not return of arms under a mutual agreement...* Q: If you had all these objections, why did you agree to come to Delhi? A: *If we had been shown this agreement in Jaffna, we wouldn't have come to India at all...* Q: But didn't Puri brief you on this agreement when he met you in Jaffna? A: *He told us that Jayawardene had come up with a 'wonderful package' and that he had agreed to merge the North with the East, that Tamil would be an official language and that they had agreed to the question of homeland—he didn't use that word. He said that land settlement and law and order would be with the provincial council... And I was asked to come to Delhi to meet Rajiv to pave the way for a solution. It was shortly before we boarded the helicopter that Puri referred to some agreement I must sign. Puri assured us that "we won't pressure you. It is up to you to decide what you want"...* Q: What do you think will happen now? A: *I don't think the accord will bring lasting peace.*

Aims and Objectives of LTTE's Political Party, People's Front of Liberation Tigers (PFLT) as announced in a Press Release on 21 December 1989:

"1. To fight for the social, political and economic emancipation of the Tamil and Muslim masses; 2. To fight against all forms of oppression, discrimination and exploitation of the Tamils and Muslims; 3. To fight for the right of self-determination of the Tamils and Muslims; 4. To protect and preserve the geographical identity and integrity of the traditional homelands of the Tamils and Muslims; 5. To eliminate the oppressive caste system and work towards the establishment of an equalitarian social formation; 6. To fight and defend the rights and interests of all workers and peasants; 7. To work towards communal peace, harmony and co-existence; 8. To fight against the oppression of women and support the struggle for women's liberation; 9. To fight for the defence of political freedoms and democratic rights of all the people of the island; 10. To support the world national liberation struggles against imperialism and neo-colonialism... The PFLT has embraced democratic socialism as its political and theoretical ideology. The Party holds the view that democratic ideals of liberty, equality, social justice and self-determination are essential components of an authentic socialist system. The Party advocates a socialist political system based on democratic principles, an ideal political society that would enhance the material and spiritual development of human beings... The Liberation Tigers are agreeable to multiparty democracy and they are ready for the Provincial Council elections which can be supervised by an international team of observers including journalists. All parties can contest and campaign in the poll freely. The newly formed PFLT will contest the elections under the Provincial Council framework only as an interim measure. After the elections, as the elected representatives of our people, the Liberation Tigers will negotiate with the Sri Lankan Government for the permanent resolution of the question of Tamil and Muslim people..."

From Pirabakaran's Policy Declaration when Indian Forces left Eelam (1990):

"... We have learned that we have to be self-dependent and fight our own struggle to win our rights rather than depending on foreign powers..... We are not a hostile force to the Indian Government or to the Indian people. We opposed the misguided policies of the former Indian administration and resisted the military intervention. We do not want the Government of India to interfere politically or militarily in our problems..... The present Sri Lankan regime seems to have realised that racist oppression and military suppression will not bring about a resolution to the problems of the Tamil speaking people. I should say that the courageous and radical approach enunciated by President Premadasa has resulted in the present climate of peace and conciliation. We sincerely desire that the present atmosphere of peace should continue and that our people should live a life of freedom, dignity and security.... For a long time we have been fighting an armed struggle to advance the cause of our people. But the forms of our struggle changed in accordance with the concrete conditions and historical compulsions. Such changes in the modalities of our struggle is inevitable. Now, we have decided to build up our Party structure and to embrace democratic politics as the mode of our struggle. We are not opposed to democratic norms and practices. ... We wish to say that once concrete actions are taken to remove the causes and conditions that led to Tamil resistance, then the question of arms will be settled forever..... The question of arms cannot be resolved unless the ethnic issue is resolved amicably. I hope that the Sinhala people and the Sri Lanka Government will understand our position..... I call upon the Tamil and Muslim people to rally round our movement to strengthen it into a powerful national force."

Lanka Guardian Excerpts: Mervyn de Silva's interview with Ex-PFLT Leader Gopalaswamy Mahendrarajah (Mahattaya), published on 15th March, 1990:

"Q: What finally would you say was the impact of this [IPKF] war, so tragic and costly in human, material terms? A: *Their common suffering has united the people and strengthened the bonds between the LTTE and the masses. This will be vital in rebuilding our society. Also, caste-class barriers have broken down. This also will help in the reconstruction effort. All we need is peace.* Q: In that case, you can allow free and fair polls and open multi-party politics. A: *We're opposed to a one-party system. We are for pluralism.* Q: You are negotiating very seriously with President Premadasa, Mr. Hameed, etc., as well as the President's security advisers. Is the only basis for a convergence of interest, the mutual desire to internalise the issue? A: *We are both against foreign occupation armies. This is the common ground. We are both patriots. And this may have helped to build up the trust that has allowed us to negotiate seriously...* Q: You say you'll permit free expression of political opinion... I suppose you have anticipated my last question, the surrender of arms... what have you to say about that? A: *Why do you use the word 'surrender'? The only question about arms is who uses it and for what purpose. We need arms just like your police here in the south need arms. There will have to be law and order, and of course, security for the people.*

Extracts from an interview given by Mr. Pirabakaran to Mr. Kendall Hopman of THE SUNDAY TIMES, published on 8th April 1990:

Q: Are you still determined to fight for a separate state, or will you settle for less? A: *We launched this struggle for self-determination and political independence because of the systematic oppression by the state. We have not given up our demand for self-determination or independence. The President offered to talk to us unconditionally. Because of this radical approach, we are talking to him. But if the oppression of our people continues, we are ready to fight for self-determination and a separate state...* Q: Will you stand for office? A: *No, I will not participate in elections, or in the administrative set-up...* Q: Don't you think that the cause of the Tamil could have been served much better if there had been unity among the Tamil militant groups? Why couldn't you get on?

A: I agree with you that with unity, our struggle would have progressed better. But unfortunately, we were placed in a tragic situation. We had to kill our own brothers. It is a curse and a tragedy that disunity prevailed. I find it very painful and tragic. Because of this disunity, there are cadres in our organisation who had to kill their own blood brothers. It is a matter of serious concern. This conflict arose because some groups betrayed our cause. It was unavoidable.....Q: Do you foresee any problems in the transition of your organisation from a highly disciplined military force, to a more flexible political organisation? A: political conditions led to the creation of our military structure. We are fighting for political objectives. One should not differentiate between politics and militancy. Once we achieve our political objectives, our military structures will automatically dissolve themselves.....Q: What model of government would you like to see in this country? A: I would like to see a society that is economically self-sufficient and self-reliant. I also want a democratic system in which people have a right to rule themselves. And there should be economic equality among the working people."

From an interview with LTTE Leader Pirabakaran by BBC's Chris Morris on

1st September 1991: Q: Your critics in Sri Lanka say that despite the formation of your political wing, the LTTE is primarily a ruthless military organisation. Can you hope to play any political role in the future? A: *We have a political wing; it is a massive political structure which has been involved in a variety of activities. In particular the political organisation runs our civil administration in the north and east. They are involved in food production, they are involved in relief and rehabilitation work, social services; and the political organisation is also looking after the problem of the refugees. In every aspect, in all facets of social life, our political organisation is deeply involved. So the accusation that we don't have a political structure, and we are simply a military organisation, is untrue...Q: There have been various attempts in the last few months to reopen some form of dialogue between the government and the LTTE. What do you think are the chances of anything along those lines succeeding in the coming months? A: We have always been prepared for peaceful negotiations. But we have always insisted, and continue to insist, that there should be talks without conditions. Q: In a broader sense, in your personal opinion, do you think there is a chance for Tamils and Sinhalese to coexist peacefully in the future within a united Sri Lanka? A: It is up to the Sinhalese people and the Sinhalese politicians to determine whether we can live in this island peacefully as one people. As far as we are concerned the Sinhalese people should first of all recognise the very basis of the Tamil national question. In other words, the Tamil homeland, the Tamil nationality and the right of our people to self-determination. If these basic principles are recognised, then there is a possibility for unity between the Tamil and Sinhalese people...Q: Finally can you tell me what you have achieved by the last fifteen months of war. Thousands of Tamils and thousands of Sinhalese have been killed. What has the LTTE achieved as a result? A: As a consequence of these fifteen months of war, we have impressed upon the government of Sri Lanka, that they cannot impose a military solution on our problem. Q: And what about the future? A: We sincerely feel that we are progressing towards the objective for which we have been fighting.*

Proposal of April 1992 to LTTE of the Representative Delegation of Buddhist Monks led by Ven. Balapitiya Siri Siddhaththa Maha Nayaka Thera. included:

The protection of the unitary status of Sri Lanka and unity among communities; Devolution of powers through regional bodies; Merger of the two (Tamil) provinces with the consent of the people of the Eastern Province obtained at a referendum; Powers for the regional council to obtain foreign aid without increasing the debt burden of the central government; A separate unit of Rupavahini and the SLBC in the North-Eastern regional body; and the Establishment of a second chamber in parliament (Senate) comprising representatives from the regional bodies.

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Extracts from LTTE's Reply of 24 April 1992 to the Buddhist Monks' Proposal:

(The LTTE had put forward two counter-proposals to the Buddhist Delegation. They proposed the recognition of the North and East as the traditional homeland of the Tamil-speaking people, and a permanent merger of the two provinces)

"On behalf of the Tamil people, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam wish to express their appreciation for the mission of peace and goodwill undertaken by you amidst obstacles and opposition in the South. While we praise your bold decision to visit Jaffna, we fervently hope that your mission may open the doors of understanding, goodwill and peace between the two nations.....We wish to emphasise that the armed struggle of the Tamils was the direct product of state oppression and violence.....The LTTE is not a terrorist organisation bent on irrational violence. We are a liberation organisation fighting for the political rights of our oppressed people. Our armed struggle is a mode of a political struggle charted with specific political aims and objectives.....we are firmly committed to the view that any meaningful solution to the Tamil national question should be based on the recognition of the Tamils as a national formation with an inalienable right to a homeland and to self-determination. These were the basic principles enunciated at the Thimpu Talks.....The LTTE will consider favourably a political framework which addresses these basic set of principles that underlie the national problem.....While we appreciate your earnest effort in working out a set of proposals, we find your framework very sketchy, limited and inadequate.....The idea advanced by you of a common, all embracing, multi-ethnic homeland is unacceptable since it contradicts historical reality and contravenes the inalienable right of a people to their homeland.....the framework fails to meet the basic demands and aspirations of our people. Though these proposals are unsatisfactory, your pilgrimage of peace to Jaffna will have a positive and constructive role in creating a congenial condition of peace, goodwill and understanding between the two peoples. We hope that you will continue your peace efforts in the Noble Path of Lord Buddha."

From Pirabakaran's BBC World Service interview, broadcast on 2 March 1993:

Q: During my visit to Jaffna, I saw with my own eyes the indescribable sufferings experienced by the people because of the economic blockade imposed on Jaffna. When will the war that is dragging on and the sufferings of the people come to an end? A: *The continuation of the war, the ending of the war and finding a peaceful solution, all these depend only on the decision of the government. It is the government that started the war and is prolonging the war. It is the government that believes in a military solution to the Tamil problem. In spite of the fact that we have on several occasions requested that the war be brought to an end and that the problem be solved in a peaceful way, the government appears to have turned a deaf ear...The western countries are indirectly giving assistance to this ethnocidal war...* Q: From where do you obtain your weapons? A: *Weapons are forced out from the enemy forces. We fight the enemy with the weapons taken from the enemy...* Q: What is your stand in regard to the Muslim people? A: *We have to approach their problem on the basis that the Muslim people are an ethnic group possessing their own cultural identity. We are of the view that, while the identity and land rights of the Muslim people are preserved, it is by living together with the Tamil people that their social, political and economic life will be enhanced...* Q: Muslims are also people of Jaffna. The why did you expel them from Jaffna? A: *In the Amparai district, communal riots broke out in 1990 in which a considerable number of Tamils were killed, and following this there was the danger of riots breaking out in Jaffna also. In those circumstances, in the interest of the security of the Muslim people, we requested them to temporarily leave Jaffna. But once the war ends and a peaceful atmosphere prevails, we will permit them to settle again in Jaffna...* Q: Mr. Pirabakaran, are you ready to genuinely enter into peace efforts? And what are your conditions? A: *I genuinely wish for peace. My aim in life is that my people should live in peace, in freedom and with dignity. We have not prescribed any conditions for peace..."*

Extracts from Mr. V. Pirabakaran's Speech on Heroes' Day, 27th November, 1993: "...From the birth of our movement till now, within the space of this lengthy struggle, though we have encountered innumerable problems, trials and tribulations, we have not deviated from our basic political ideal. We are firmly convinced that the creation of an independent sovereign state of Tamil Eelam is the only and final solution to the Tamil national question...The Tamil political parties which obtained the mandate from our people for the establishment of an independent state, and the Tamil armed groups who pledged to fight an armed struggle for political independence have already given up their cause and betrayed the Tamil people...We stood by our principles even when we were pushed to the brink of destruction...the Tamil ethnic problem continues unresolved for the last forty years. During this lengthy duration of time our people fervently hoped for justice but what they encountered were death, destruction and intolerable suffering...We offered many opportunities to the Sri Lankan state. We participated at various peace talks from Thimpu to Colombo. But the Sri Lankan state refused to put forward any substantial set of proposals to the Tamil question. Instead of seeking a peaceful means it is determined to resolve the problem in the battlefield. Since the outbreak of hostilities in June 1990 our liberation organisation kept the doors for peace open. Whenever we announced our readiness for peace talks and extended our hands of friendship, the Sri Lankan government refused to respond positively. It also rejected our persistent call for the cessation of hostilities and lifting the economic embargo...We have not obstructed the peace process. But I should make it absolutely clear that the doors for peace will be closed forever if the Sinhala government continues its ruthless military methods and launch major offensive operations on our soil or if it continues reckless and indiscriminate attacks on Tamil civilians....Without...a radical change there is no hope for a peaceful resolution of the problem..."

Finally, some possible answers to doubts held by some in Eelam and abroad that Pirabakaran and the LTTE are warmongers who only believe in violence and would never pursue peace and democracy: 1] The successful fasting campaigns by: a) Pirabakaran in November 1986 in Madras, b) Kittu in October 1988 in Madras, and c) Thillepan (until death) in September 1987 in Jaffna; 2] Pirabakaran's assurance on 27th November 1992: "*...We are not warmongers who love violence. In actual fact, spiritually, we love peace. We want a permanent, stable, and honourable peace. It is because of this reason that inspite of this bloody war, we are keeping the doors of peace open. We have not closed down the path of peace. We have no such intention. One day when our enemy knocks at our doors of peace, we will extend the hand of friendship...*"; 3] LTTE's Statement of November 1989 when declining Sri Lankan Government's offer to participate in the proceedings of President Premadasa's Peace Committee (except as observers) and opting to hold direct talks with the Government: "*...We wish to make it absolutely clear that the LTTE is firmly committed to peace. We believe that conflicts can be resolved by peaceful dialogue. It is with the firm commitment to peace we decided to enter into peaceful negotiations with the Sri Lankan Government against whom we have been fighting a guerrilla campaign for the last 17 years. The peace talks between the LTTE and Sri Lankan Government have been very successful resulting in cessation of armed hostilities between both parties and a firm commitment on our part to enter the political mainstream through democratic electoral process. We have agreed to participate in a fresh election for the Northeastern Provincial Council when the Indian troops are completely withdrawn and congenial conditions are created for free and fair elections. We are of the opinion that the Tamil and Muslim people who have been deprived of a genuine democratic election for more than a decade should be provided an opportunity to elect their own representatives. The people should be the medium for all parties and groups to solve their differences. Once the authentic representatives of our people are elected, we will certainly co-operate and work together...This is how we foresee that the conflict between groups could be resolved, and a permanent peace restored in the Tamil-speaking region...*"

The Case of the Up-country Tamils

The Up-country Tamils, officially referred to ambiguously as Indian Tamils are a component sub-group of Eelam Tamils. They are descendants of South Indian Tamils brought into Eelam from about 1820 to 1948 by the British coffee, tea and rubber planters as a cheaper source of resident labour for work in their estates during the British Raj in Eelam.

They live mostly among the Sinhallas, in Nuwara Eliya, Badulla, Kandy, Ratnapura, Kegalle and adjoining central districts of the Island. Population-wise, the 1981 census statistics gave their numbers as 818,656 although their total numbers were much higher earlier — for example, reported as 1,008,269 on 29th September 1964 for the Sirima-Sastry Talks and the resulting S-S Pact signed on 24th October 1964.

At the time Eelam gained its independence from the British on 4th February 1948, of the 95 seats in Eelam's First (1947) Parliament, there were seven Ceylon Indian Congress MPs representing Up-country Tamils, and seven from the Tamil Congress of the Ceylon Tamils, out of a total of 95 seats. Prime Minister D.S. Senanayake's ruling United National Party had 41 seats with some Ceylon Tamils. Independents held 21 seats. In the 1952 (Second) Parliament however, the Ceylon Indian Congress had no seats because by then the Up-country Tamils had been decitizenised and disenfranchised by the UNP Government through Ceylon Citizenship Act No. 18 of 1948 and the Ceylon Parliamentary Elections (Amended) Act No. 48 of 1949 taking away their nationality rights, violating the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and also Section 29 of Soulbury's Independence Constitution meant to protect the Island's minorities.

The Indian & Pakistani Residents Citizenship Act of 1949 then required the Up-country Tamils to re-apply for citizenship, and talks were held between successive Prime Ministers to repatriate many Up-country Tamils back to India, and certain agreements were reached. For example, the Sirima-Sastry Pact of 1964 concluded that of the 925,000 'stateless' whose citizenship was then being discussed, 525,000 would acquire the Island's citizenship within 15 years, with an estimated 300,000 of their descendants. The rest were to be deported back to India. There were other related pacts too, e.g., in 1954 and 1974. All these were internationally condemned as inhuman, and even their good aspects were not implemented faithfully. E.g., up to June 1978 only 131,473 had been granted citizenship out of the 309,926 recommended, but 229,925 had been deported. Of the deportees, 55% were later reported to have died of starvation, out of the 88% who were forced to live below the poverty line on return to India. This is typical of the travails of Tamils under Eelam's form of post-independence democracy.

The above injustice had been dealt out to Eelam's Up-country Tamils despite the fact that they alone contributed to, and still contribute to, up to 80% of the Island's export income through their labour and dedication, working long hours in the tropical sun and pre-dawn chill, for very low wages, with inhuman housing, health, and welfare measures.

It is a regrettable fact that Ceylon Tamil leaders in Parliament in 1948 did not raise their voice against that injustice to the Up-country Tamils. In reality they were themselves politically divided. In the face of continuing and further strengthening Sinhalese chauvinism however, Mr. Savumiyamoorthy Thondaman, the Leader of the Ceylon Workers Congress (CWC) and of the Up-country Tamils was invited to the 1976 Vaddukoddai Convention (see also p-51) of the Tamil United Front of the Tamil Congress (ACTC) and the Federal Party (FP) of the Ceylon Tamils, which had Muslim supporters and MPs also among them, where it was decided that the three parties joined together to form a Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) with their respective leaders as Joint Presidents of the Front.

The three leaders thus elected were Mr. S.J.V. Chelvanayakam (FP), Mr. G.G. Ponnambalam (ACTC) and Mr. Thondaman (CWC), and *a historic decision was made at that convention that, having tried and failed for three decades to win their rights through parliamentary democracy, the only way left for the Tamils of Eelam to survive Sinhalese oppression was to establish a separate autonomous state in the northeast Tamil Eelam.*

Mr. Thondaman was not actually present at that meeting. He had sent a written message. His message was that a separate state would not afford a suitable solution to his Up-country Tamils who live among Sinhalese, and that he would solve the problems of his people in his own way. On that basis he accepted and remained a President of the TULF even after the other two of the above-named leaders had died. But he later joined the UNP Government of Mr J. R. Jayawardene in 1977, as a Cabinet Minister, and accepted another Ministry when Mr. Premadasa was sworn in as President in 1988. He still functions as a Minister and has been able meanwhile to obtain citizenship for some 400,000 more Up-country Tamils in 1991, and is doing his best to assist in solving the problems of the Ceylon Tamils and the Muslims living in Tamil Eelam, as peace-maker. Details of his proposals are given in pages 65 & 66.

Mr T. is now 81. He is a very experienced parliamentarian and an astute politician with a masterly sense of timing. He is quite aware of the long-standing problems faced by his Up-country Tamils, such as housing, health, education, language rights, landlessness, and so on. During all the race riots of 1958-83, they too suffered like Ceylon Tamils even though they voted for Mr Jayawardene in 1978, and also for his later Referendum.

Living among the Sinhalas, many of whom carry the misconception that even Ceylon Tamils with over 2,500 years of claimed lineage do not belong to the Island, which is "theirs and theirs alone", the Up-country Tamils will have recurrent and infinite problems on ethnic and cultural grounds, under the existing governmental structure. Their problems are exacerbated due to their poverty, lower levels of literacy (62% as against the national average of 85%), house ownership (4.2% compared with the Island's 90% in the rural and 66% in the urban sectors), lack of alternative employment opportunities, virtually non-existent ownership of land, capital accumulation deficiency, inadequate developmental facilities, and so on. Hence the proposed peace accord must also pave the way to providing the Up-country Tamils with viable alternative means to solve their remaining problems mentioned above, at this stage itself.

Recent reports from Up-country districts reveal the birth of militant organisations there too, to defend the rights of their own Tamils. Hence the lurking possibilities of violence spreading to Up-country districts, with associated refugee problems, military expenditure etc, as well as the possibility of consequent unprecedented repercussions in Tamil Nadu because of near relatives of Eelam's Up-country Tamils still living there in constant contact and correspondence, constitute another reason why the Government as well as Mr. Thondaman would want to use wisdom, foresight and statesmanship and pave the way now itself, all together, once and for all, to provide for their long-term future and welfare too.

Most of the problems of the Up-country Tamils could be solved when Tamil Eelam is freed from political domination of the Sinhalas and also becomes economically independent, hopefully as a result of new and bold peace initiatives. It would be considered nothing but a fortuitous asset for the whole country including for the Sinhalas if better understanding is re-established between President Wijetunge and Mr T. who is willing to visit the LTTE leaders again and again in Jaffna to get a hopefully fruitful and final round of Government-LTTE peace talks going.

For example, it is possible when Tamil Eelam attains autonomy, for the Up-country Tamils to be invited there on a voluntary basis, at least partly solving a problem from the Sinhalese viewpoint too. It is important, however, that any such move should be embarked upon in full consultation with parties representing the Sinhalas as well, since the economy of the rest of the country may be jeopardised if large numbers of Up-country Tamils were to pull out from the tea and rubber estates and settle in Tamil Eelam within a short span of time. Mr. Thondaman is a leader with the interests of not only Up-country Tamils, but of all Tamils including the Muslims, and of the Sinhalas at heart. He deserves to be trusted, and it will be a sad loss if his vast experience is not utilised in peace efforts.

Effective Democracy for the Muslims

Muslims constitute a significant minority in Eelam. They have resided in Eelam for centuries, mostly scattered in villages among the Sinhalas and the Tamils. Earlier called Ceylon Moors & Indian Moors, they are now classified only as Sri Lanka Moors in official statistics, numbering an estimated 1.3 million in 1994. Two-thirds of the Muslims live in Sinhalese areas, and the rest in the combined Northeastern Province.

Especially after the medium of education was made compulsory in the indigenous languages in the early 1960's, the younger Muslims in Sinhalese areas not only speak Sinhala fluently unlike their elders, but also can read and write it. They are hence a linguistically divided religious community today, although the home language of all Eelam Muslims is still Tamil.

Traditionally Muslims were traders, farmers and weavers. A historical riot took place in 1915 between the Sinhalas and Muslims triggered off by business competition, when the Tamils took the side of the Sinhals and helped to bring law and order. In legislature, during the early British period, the Muslim interests were represented by the Tamils. Later on they had nominated and elected members, and tactfully claimed their due share, and often more, by joining one or other of the winning parties dominated by Sinhalas, acting as power balancers. This was more so with the affluent Muslims in the Sinhala south. It is a fact that Muslims supported the Sinhala Only Act of 1956, but they regret it now.

It is probably true also that the Muslims never trusted the Tamils after 1915, although the Federal Party led by Ceylon Tamils had Muslim supporters and MPs, especially in the Eastern Province, for many years. And, there had been no clashes among the Tamils and Muslims in the adjoining villages of the North and East at any time until in these recent years. They have lived like brothers, working and trading together, employing each other in agricultural pursuits, etc. Culturally too, they share similar traditions in attire, weddings, folk lore and Tamil literature.

The Tamils were the big land owners and the more educated lot in the Northeast for centuries. All this changed with the ceiling on lands imposed by the Paddy Lands Act, the Free Education Scheme, and the Sinhala nationalism which turned into chauvinism and the consequent revival of defensive Tamil nationalism. The Muslims, quite understandably, have now become assertive of their distinct cultural identity and wish to ensure that their rights are secured under any peace settlement of the current civil war between the Sinhalas and the Tamils. They feel politically and constitutionally insecure today, especially after the alleged recent attacks and killings by Tamil militants, and the consequent Government sponsored armed Muslim Home Guards unit causing cycles of retaliatory violence.

Some Muslim and Tamil leaders feel there are other hands at work in Eelam, sowing and fertilising the seeds of dissension between their peoples, and have taken initiatives to forge amicable agreements to share power in a single Northeastern Province to stably re-unite and jointly face common problems. The terms of one accord of 1988 by the leading Tamil LTTE with the Muslims' MULF are given in pages 62-64.

Another accord reached in 1990 by five Tamil and three Muslim parties for submission to the All Parties Conference (APC) also needs consideration. The parties thus agreed were the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress (ACTC), All-Ceylon Muslim League (ACML), Democratic People's Liberation Front (DPLF), Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF), Muslim United Liberation Front (MULF), Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC), Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO), and Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). *They agreed to satisfy the aspirations of the Muslims and Tamils within the framework of a merged North and East, constitutionally devolving power to one Provincial Council (PC) for the Northeastern Province, with a Muslim Ethnic Council and a Tamil Ethnic Council, both having equal status and powers. The two Ethnic Councils would have under their jurisdiction all the Muslim and Tamil majority AGA Divisions (Pradeshiya Sabhas) in the Northeast, with any required ethnic adjustments to existing Divisional land areas. They also agreed on a bicameral legislature for the PC, the second chamber with weighted representation for the province's minorities, and on details like territorial limits of the ethnic councils, structure, powers, and functions.*

In 1992 two new options were with the Parliamentary Select Committee. The one by seven Tamil political parties and the CWC recommended: *1. Permanent Merger of the Northern and Eastern Provinces; 2. Meaningful devolution that signifies autonomy; 3. Institutional arrangements to safeguard the rights of the Muslims in the North and East; and, 4. Necessary arrangements to ensure that the Sinhalese minority in the North and East enjoy the same rights as the minorities in the Sinhalese majority provinces.*

A proposal placed by the PSC's Chairman presumably with the then-President's consent provided for two separate PCs with an Apex Council: *1. Two elected separate Provincial Councils (PCs) for the North and East. The administration of all matters pertaining to the Northern and Eastern Provinces would be attended to by the respective Councils.*

2. An Apex Assembly (AA) to be elected at a joint meeting of the elected members of the Northern and Eastern Provincial Councils; the AA would plan common policies and co-ordinate programmes for the two Councils.
3. More meaningful powers to be devolved to the PCs and the AA, and rectification of all grievances presented by the communities.

- 4. A National Chamber (NC) to be constituted consisting of Chief Ministers to meet monthly with the President, Cabinet Ministers & representatives of opposition parties in parliament. The NC's main function would be to establish harmony and co-ordination between the Centre & the Peripheral Units.*
- 5. Until the elected Councils duly come into being, an Interim Administration for the Northern and Eastern Provinces is to be established with representatives of political parties within and outside Parliament.*

The Muslims of Northeast Eelam face three major problems which they could best solve only in unity with the rest of the Tamils in the region: They have suffered in recent years by loss of their crown grant title lands taken for the Padaviya, Allai, Digavapi and Kantalai colonisation schemes, where, earlier, they were even deprived of equitable allocations. Secondly, along with other Tamils they have faced discriminatory selection procedures for higher education. Thirdly they have suffered in other ways too under the government's language policies. Hence they have the necessity and desire to live in harmony with the rest of the Tamils in the Northeast. But they must be duly rid of their fear of unfairness from Ceylon Tamils.

Also the Muslim leaders are rightly concerned about the increasing tendencies of growing militancy among their population who have been, after 1915, a peaceful community settling their problems by non-violent methods and strategies. Hence, they like to forge a peace accord soon.

The Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement (pages 58-61) failed to mention or specifically provide for the rights of the Muslims, neither did the 13th Amendment. But the CWC proposal (pages 65-66) includes them.

As could be seen from the Muslim-Tamil Accords of 1988 and 1990 quoted earlier there is agreement among the Tamils, and the Sinhala also agree, that the Muslims are indeed a distinct national community whose rights must be constitutionally guaranteed at this stage itself, as part of any new framework evolved to protect all minorities.

It must not be forgotten that two-thirds of the Muslims would still live in Sinhalese regions. It is obvious that their rights too must be stabilised simultaneously, along with those of the rest of the Tamil-speaking peoples and other minorities who inhabit the Island of Eelam. These aspects are dealt with in fairness to all, in this author's plan later on.

There are six Muslim leaders who could perhaps contribute most, to a settlement on the question of Muslim rights in Eelam today. They are: Mr. M.H.Mohamed, Speaker of the Parliament, and Mr. A.C.S. Hameed, Minister of Justice, both from the ruling UNP; Mr. M.I.M. Mohideen (Ex-MULF / SLMC); Leader of ACML; Dr. Badi-ud-din Mahmud of MULF, a former SLFP Minister of Education; and Mr.M.H.M. Ashraff, Leader of the SLMC, some of whom have already had talks with Tamils.

On Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity

Let us take sovereignty first. The dictionary meanings of sovereignty are: *Supreme or unmitigated power; Complete independence & self-government; Supremacy of authority or rule.* Sovereignty is thus, simply, a group of peoples' unchallengeable joint authority over a commonly owned & occupied territory.

In our case, the Sinhala, Tamils, Muslims and others jointly own and occupy the territory of the Island of Eelam, *our country*, which would lose sovereignty only if some outside power comes in and starts doing things against our joint wish. E.g., had India not pulled out its troops when asked by President Premadasa in 1989 on behalf of us all, then our joint sovereignty could have been impaired. But India acted honourably, despite the insult.

And, what do we really mean by *our country*? We mean, the land area of 65,610 square kilometers (of which the Northeastern Province is a part) and also all the inhabitants of the Island (i.e., Sinhala-speakers, Tamil-speakers, and all others), as well as its resources like rivers and minerals, and all other material possessions like buildings and fixtures. And this is how a part of the sovereignty of the Island already came to rest with the Tamil-speakers, who have for centuries lived in, and own, a part of its land and wealth.

The Sinhala who are also a part don't have sovereignty over the whole, just because they happen to be in the majority, nor would the Tamils have sovereignty over the Sinhala if, for argument's sake, they start producing babies faster than the Sinhala and thus acquire numerical majority in the Island. At no time and in no way do or can the Sinhala have sovereignty over the Tamil-speakers, or also vice versa, except by forcibly conquering and subduing the other party, which, we have to agree, is not what is being attempted now, eitherway. Thus, the Sinhala have their own sovereignty over themselves, and the Tamils & Muslims living together in the Northeast have theirs. Only if we had, or if and when we now do, discuss terms and agree to pool our separate sovereignties to form a single unit, such as a joint government, then may we have sovereignty over others, but that too, *only joint sovereignty over each other—so long as we live and act as one.* This is basic commonsense. We need not know too much law to understand it.

Historically, the British relinquished their sovereignty over us which they acquired by defeating our earlier rulers and capturing us, and left us together in 1948 to govern ourselves, with our joint and separate sovereignties over ourselves. We, both parties, have been trying to exercise the joint part of our sovereignty rather one-sidedly, until now. If either of the groups is unhappy on how that joint sovereignty is operated, they have the right to keep their own sovereignty to themselves and look after their own affairs in their own territories. Thus, even if the Tamils & Muslims form a separate state of their own without joining any overseas territory and without ever trying to conquer the Sinhala, the Sinhala will never lose even an iota of their own sovereignty, nor need the Island as a whole lose any sovereignty, as in this author's plan.

Let us now objectively answer the theoretical question, "*What happens if the Tamils, at some stage, decide to want to conquer the Sinhallas and rule over them as has historically happened before — maybe with the help of South Indian Tamils?*" This question has been replied in page-13 too, that the possibility of this happening is purely imaginative, founded on unnecessary fear, and is unworthy of the brave nation that the Sinhallas are. Because, if, and when such a possibility arises, they would then be fighting injustice, like the Tamils are now doing, and they will somehow find the courage and resources to successfully defend their freedom. Even if the Tamils do have the desire and potentials to do so (which they don't, but let us consider it just for argument's sake), then is it wiser, as now, to keep on denying the fraction that is due to them, or is it more prudent to honourably let them take their fraction, and thus maintain their goodwill and friendship and thereby make them, by statesmanship and diplomacy, not want to take their allies' lands and freedom at any time?

Also, the question of sovereignty as clarified above from the common law and moralistic angles is closely in line with the rights of an aggrieved people, a nation or community to self-determination and secession as are recognised in international law, UN Charters and policies. These matters have been thoroughly researched recently by legal experts from Eelam as well as from Europe, America, Asia, and Australasia, in the particular context of the Island of Eelam. Some findings are summarised here, although, *it must be well understood that peace and settlement in internal disputes are very much easier and quicker to achieve through mutual understanding and goodwill than by legal arguments or overseas debates.*

The Sinhallas, Ceylon Tamils, Up-country Tamils, Muslims are all peoples of Eelam with distinct historical and cultural identities. Also, from objective and subjective considerations, at least the Sinhallas and the Ceylon Tamils qualify to be called distinct nations. The UN General Assembly Resolution 2200 of 1966, ratified by our Government in 1980 provides that "*All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development...States (who are) parties to the present Covenant...shall promote the realisation of the right of self-determination and shall respect that right.*" And UN's G.A. Resolution 2625 of 1970 gives the right of self-determination to peoples within existing independent states when their governments fail to "*conduct themselves in compliance with the principles of equal rights*" and "*when the States do not represent the whole of the people belonging to the territory without distinction as to race, creed or colour.*" The above Declaration also permits self-determination in the form of secession in the absence of a government representing the entire population inhabiting its territory.

The subject of territorial integrity is also largely misunderstood in the context of Eelam. The Island indeed has the right to territorial integrity against foreign aggression and annexation. This right of integrity of the Island must, of course, be defended by the Sinhallas, the Tamils and all others in the Island who consider it to be their home—which they will, as long as they form and feel a full and integral part of the combined state.

The actions and attitude of the LTTE, once they discovered that the IPKF had changed from a peace-keeping force to a de-facto search-and-kill, torturing, lootist, rapist force, much against the earlier intentions, and LTTE's co-operation with President Premadasa's Government to materialise IPKF's withdrawal from the Island, prove beyond doubt that the Tamils up to that stage at least were resolute in defending the territorial integrity and sovereignty of not only their homeland of Tamil Eelam but also of the whole Island of which they felt they were an integral part.

Now, if the Eelam Government does not take meaningful and speedy actions to constitutionally and peacefully convince the Tamils that they are full and integral partners in Eelam's existing Democratic Socialist Republic, and if the Tamils do decide soon, as their only left resort, that they would go ahead and form an autonomous government of their own in Tamil Eelam with international assistance, even then, the territorial integrity of the Island will not be impaired, let alone lost, because there will be no external domination or annexation. But, territorial integrity will be affected if, for example, the Eelam Tamils were to join with a part or all of Tamil Nadu to form a new State, which is a virtual improbability.

Even the League of Nations Covenant guarantees the protection of territorial integrity of member States only against external aggression but not against rebellions, such as triggered off by internal colonialism. Also, although the UN Charter recognises the primary right of every state to maintain its territorial integrity, yet that right is not an absolute right, and presupposes the duty of the state to treat its minorities with equality and justice without discrimination on any grounds. When the right to equal treatment is violated, the right of the aggrieved people to self-determination takes precedence over the state's right to maintain territorial integrity. That is the predominant international legal opinion.

In summary, the Tamils have the right to sovereignty over themselves and their habitats, and the Sinhallas who have their own sovereignty, do not have any over the Tamils or anyone else. But under a joint structure voluntarily and willingly formed as equivalent partners, both parties together could enjoy joint sovereignty as long as they both wish to. And a state's right to maintain territorial integrity is subordinate to the right to self-determination and secession of any of its aggrieved people.

Some Basics on the Use of Referendums

Referendums constitute a method of referring specific governmental or political questions or legislation to the whole electorate for direct decision by general vote. Plebiscites also utilise a similar method of direct vote of all electors of a state on important public questions, such as the changing of a constitution, or for the public expression of a community's opinion, with or without binding force. The term plebiscite is normally employed to those referendums held to decide to which state an area should belong.

Ballots on referendums and plebiscites, simple though they might appear to be, e.g., when only two alternatives are offered, should still be professionally designed with the help of experts proficient in the sciences of social psychology, verbal communication and statistics. The answers of the voters, for example, would depend on the wording and innuendos of the questions asked, and hence the questions should be direct, clear and comprehensible with no possibility of misinterpretations. There must be adequate advance publicity such as on the media about what exactly is being asked, and what is expected from the voters. Enough time should be given for the different camps to explain the relevant issues to the public who should know the various consequences of their answers. And, all those affected must be given their right to vote, and to vote voluntarily, exercising their own free will, without any coercion.

The actions to be followed after the vote is taken should be clearly discussed and decided beforehand, e.g., what will be done if there is only a simple majority, the consequence of a two-thirds, four-fifths or nine-tenths vote of assent. Allowance should be made in such decisions for any statistical errors in the polls despite all the scientific methods used and precautions taken.

Also, the voting should be conducted in a manner which inspires public confidence on the verdict of the polls. It is best that teams of observers with wide powers, including representatives from the opposing camps as well as from international organisations or friendly countries, are invited to watch the entire procedure — ideally from the very initial, conceptual stages.

In Eelam, Mrs. Bandaranaike's SLFP-led United Front government did not hold a referendum when the 1972 Constitution was enacted, nor did President Jayewardene's UNP government on the 1978 Constitution, though there were two referendums on the extension of his term of office and of his Parliament, for an unprecedented and historical 12 years. Referendums are vital when introducing new constitutions. Election manifestos are insufficient.

Finally, referendums are costly, and could be disruptive, raising more issues than the ones intended to be solved, and should be embarked upon with utmost caution. But when needed and held, these must be properly designed, organised, conducted, interpreted & implemented. As regards Eelam Government's intentions to de-merge the existing N-E Province, neither a referendum nor a de-merger is justifiable at any time. Tamils and Muslims too do not want either.

Earlier Views, Assurances & Agreements

The main cause of the current war in Eelam is the denial of parity to the Tamil language as for Sinhala, which soon grew into many other hardships of the Tamil-speaking people. It is also significant that certain Sinhalese plunderers of Tamils' rights had been their patrons decades earlier.

In 1927, the Kandyan National Assembly advocated a Federal System of Government "to enable the respective nationals of the several states to prevent inroads into their territories". This plea for Federalism was supported by Mr. Bandaranaike who, later, as P.M. in 1956, made Sinhala the Island's Only Official Language, and even dishonoured the B-C Pact of 1957 (pp 48 & 49) he signed with Tamil leaders in respect of the 'reasonable use of Tamil'. In 1932, G.K.W. Perera moved resolutions in the State Council for use of Sinhala and Tamil in judicial and civil administration. In 1937 Philip Gunewardena moved in State Council to use Sinhala and Tamil in Police Stations and Lower Courts. In 1939, the Ceylon National Congress too demanded that Sinhala and Tamil be introduced as Official Languages, when English had been the Official Language from 1833. And, in 1944 the Sinhalese leadership even offered a 43:57 ratio to the minorities when Tamil leader Mr. G.G. Ponnambalam demanded 50% for the minorities like the 50% for the Sinhalas in order to avert the possibility of one ethnic group dominating the others. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, who as President (1978-88) fought the Tamils, had also laudably moved a resolution in 1944 that both Sinhala & Tamil be made Official Languages.

On the eve of independence in 1948, Eelam's first (UNP) Prime Minister Mr. D. S. Senanayake had comforted the Island's minority communities with his sincere assurance that they need not fear any harm in the hands of the majority Sinhala nation when the country became free. Yet, one million Up-country Tamils lost their citizenship as well as their votes by two Acts passed by his government in 1948 and 1949 (p 36).

The 1965 D-C Pact (p 50) of UNP Premier Dudley Senanayake was soon abandoned, and also later his 1968 White Paper on District Councils (p 85) due to opposition from a significant section of the Sinhala MPs (and Tamils) when he grieved: "...*The unity some people want is the subjugation of the rest, subjugation of another's culture, language and aspirations, to their dominant force...May the country be saved from those who speak of national unity, and do their utmost to prevent it from being achieved...(Also) ...The tragedy of the Tamil race is the existence of a set of self-seeking sycophants making the sweet speech of saviours. If the Tamils are ever to regain their birthright in Ceylon, they should send away the present saviours of the Tamil Congress and the Federal Party...I have tried to bring together the different communities, and I would continue my efforts...*"

Tamil Rights & Safeguards Before 1948

Britain gave full independence to Eelam in 1948, following stage-by-stage rights granted since it took over the Island from the Dutch in 1796, having merged the existing Tamil and Sinhalese kingdoms in 1833 into a single unit for administrative convenience, with English as the official language. The principle that the Sinhalese and Tamils are different but equal was accepted from the very beginning of British rule. Hugh Cleghorn, Colonial Secretary wrote in 1799, "*...Two different nations, from a very ancient period, have divided between them the possession of the Island: the Sinhalese inhabiting the interior of the country in its southern and western parts from the river Wallouve to that of Chillaw, and the Malabars (Tamils) who possess the northern and eastern districts. These two nations differ entirely in their religions, languages and manners*". The British rule of equality to Sinhala and Tamil was established when Robert Browning, Governor of Jaffna and Kotte Kingdoms in 1813, wrote to the Secretary of State for Colonies, "*The Tamil language which with a mixture of Portugese is used in all provinces is the proper tongue of the inhabitants from Puttalam to Batticolloa, northward, inclusive of both these districts. Your Lordship will therefore I hope have no objection to my putting the Tamil language on an equal footing of encouragement with the Sinhalese*".

From 1833, a Sinhala, a Tamil and a Burgher were nominated to the Legislative Council to represent their respective communities, until 1889 when a Kandyan Sinhala and a Muslim were also admitted to represent their own communities. Thus the Low-country Sinhalese, Kandyan Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims, and Burghers (forming less than 1% of the population even in the census year 1881) were recognised as different national ethnic groups with equal rights. From 1924 to 1931, the Council introduced communal representation of 16 to 8 (2:1 ratio) for the Sinhalese and Tamils, but subject to the Devonshire formula that no single community should be in a position to outvote all the others combined.

In 1944, as a part of the moves for the granting of independence, a parliamentary composition of 57 Sinhala, 15 Ceylon Tamil, 14 Indian (Up-country) Tamil and 8 Muslim seats was recommended to Whitehall, but Lord Soulbury avoided proportionate representation, incorporating instead, a safeguard for the minorities in Section 29(2) of his 1948 Constitution which prohibited the "*Enactment of any law that would make persons of any community or religion liable to any disabilities or restrictions to which persons of other communities or religions were not liable, or confer advantages or privileges on persons of any community or religion which were not conferred on persons of other communities or religions*". Even this minimal safeguard in the form of an entrenched clause in the 1948 Constitution was removed from the 1972 Constitution by a Sinhalese majority.

Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam (B-C) Pact

[Note: This B-C Pact, made in 1957, was abandoned by the Prime Minister within days of signing it, when UNP's Leader of the Opposition, Mr. J .R. Jayewardene, and the Buddhist clergy which supported him, protested.]

Agreement entered into between Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon and Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, Leader of the Thamili Arasu Kadchi (Federal Party) on the 26th July, 1957:

PART-A

Representatives of the Federal Party have had a series of discussions with the Prime Minister in an effort to resolve the differences of opinion that had been growing and creating tension.

At an early stage of these conversations it became evident that it was not possible for the Prime Minister to accede to some of the demands of the Federal Party.

The Prime Minister stated that, from the point of view of the government, he was not in a position to discuss the setting up of a Federal Constitution, or regional autonomy, or take any step that would abrogate the Official Language Act.

The question then arose whether it was possible to explore the possibility of an adjustment without the Federal Party abandoning or surrendering any of its fundamental principles or objectives.

At this stage the Prime Minister suggested an examination of the Government's draft Regional Councils Bill to see whether provision could be made under it to meet, reasonably, some of the matters in this regard which the Federal Party had in view.

The Agreements so reached are embodied in a separate document.

Regarding the language issue, the Federal Party reiterated its stand for parity, but in view of the position of the Prime Minister in this matter they came to an agreement by way of adjustment. They pointed out that it was important for them that there should be recognition of Tamil as a national language, and that the administrative work of the Northern and Eastern Provinces should be done in Tamil.

The Prime Minister stated that as mentioned by him earlier it was not possible for him to take any steps that would abrogate the Official Language Act.

After discussion, it was agreed that the proposed legislation should contain recognition of Tamil as a language of a national minority of Ceylon, and that the four points mentioned by the Prime Minister should include provision that, without infringing on the position of the Official Language Act as such, the language of the administration of the Northern and Eastern Provinces be Tamil, and that any necessary provision be made for the non-Tamil speaking minorities in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

Regarding the question of Ceylon citizenship for people of Indian descent and the revision of the Citizenship Act, the representatives of the Federal Party put forward their views to the Prime Minister and pressed for an early settlement. The Prime Minister indicated that the problem would receive early consideration. In view of these conclusions the Federal Party stated that they were withdrawing their proposed Satyagraha.

PART-B

1. Regional areas to be defined in the Bill itself by embodying them in a schedule thereto.

2. That the Northern Province is to form one regional area whilst the Eastern Province is to be divided into two or more regional areas.

3. Provision is to be made in the Bill to enable two or more regions to amalgamate even beyond provincial limit; and for one region to divide itself subject to ratification by Parliament. Further provision is to be made in the Bill for two or more regions to collaborate for specific purposes of common interest.

4. Provision is to be made for direct election of regional councillors. Provision is to be made for a delimitation commission or commissions for carving out electorates. The question of MPs representing districts falling within regional areas to be eligible to function as chairmen is to be considered. The question of Government Agents being regional commissioners is to be considered. The question of supervisory functions over larger towns, strategic towns and municipalities is to be looked into.

5. Parliament is to delegate powers and to specify them in the Act. It was agreed that Regional Councils should have powers over specified subjects including agriculture, co-operatives, lands and land development, colonisation, education, health, industries and fisheries, housing and social services, electricity, water schemes and roads. Requisite definition of powers will be made in the Bill.

6. It was agreed that in the matter of colonisation schemes the powers of the Regional Councils shall include the power to select allottees to whom land within their area of authority shall be alienated and also power to select personnel to be employed for work on such schemes. The position regarding the area at present administered by the Gal Oya Board in this matter requires consideration.

7. The powers in regard to the Regional Council vested in the Minister of Local Government in the draft Bill to be revised with a view to vesting control in Parliament wherever necessary.

8. The Central Government will provide block grants to the Regional Councils. The principles on which the grants will be computed will be gone into. The Regional Councils shall have powers of taxation and borrowing.

The Dudley-Chelvanayakam (D-C) Pact

[NOTE: The Prime Minister Mr. Dudley Senanayake abandoned this Pact of 1965 in subsequent years, due to SLFP's protests, and the only Federal Party Minister in his Cabinet, Mr.M.Tiruchelvam resigned his post in 1968]

Text of Agreement entered into between Mr. Dudley Senanayake, Prime Minister of Ceylon and Mr. S.J.V. Chelvanayakam, Leader of the Tamil Arasu Kadchi (Federal Party) on the 24th March 1965.

Mr. Dudley Senanayake and Mr. S.J.V. Chelvanayakam met on 24-3-65 and discussed matters relating to some problems over which the Tamil speaking people were concerned, and Mr. Senanayake agreed that action on the following lines would be taken by him to ensure a stable government:

1. Action will be taken early under the Tamil Language Special Provisions Act to make provision for the Tamil language to be the language of administration and record in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

2. Mr. Senanayake also explained that it was the policy of his Party that a Tamil speaking person should be entitled to transact business in Tamil throughout the Island.

Mr. Senanayake stated that it was the policy of his Party to amend the Language of the Courts Act to provide for legal proceedings in the Northern and Eastern Provinces to be conducted and recorded in Tamil.

3. Action will be taken to establish District Councils in Ceylon vested with powers to be mutually agreed upon between the two leaders. It was agreed, however, that the Government should have power under the law to give directions to such Councils in the national interest.

4. The Land Development Ordinance will be amended to provide that all citizens of Ceylon shall be entitled to allotment of land under the Ordinance. Mr. Senanayake further agreed that in the granting of land under colonisation schemes the following priorities will be observed in the Northern and Eastern Provinces:

- a) Land in the Northern and Eastern Provinces should in the first instance be granted to landless persons in the District;**
- b) Secondly to Tamil speaking persons resident in the Northern and Eastern Provinces; and**
- c) Thirdly to other citizens in Ceylon, preference being given to Tamil citizens resident in the rest of the Island.**

Sgd:

Sgd:

1976 Vaddukkodai Resolution of Tamils

On 14th May 1976, the Tamils of Eelam, through their democratically organised and reconstituted political party, Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) which had 16 out of the 19 elected Ceylon Tamil Members of Parliament at that time, passed a historic resolution in Vaddukkodai, which has become known as the VADDUKKODDAI RESOLUTION.

The Resolution was as follows: *"The First National Convention of the Tamil United Liberation Front, meeting at Pannakam (Vaddukkodai Constituency), hereby declares that the Tamils of Ceylon, by virtue of their great language, their religions, their separate culture and heritage, their history of independent existence as a separate state over a distinct territory for several centuries till they were conquered by the armed might of the European invaders, and above all by their will to exist as a separate entity ruling themselves in their territory, are a nation distinct and apart from the Sinhalese and their constitution, announces to the world that the Republican Constitution of 1972 has made the Tamils a slave nation ruled by the new colonial masters, the Sinhalese, who are using the power they have wrongly usurped to deprive the Tamil nation of its territory, language, citizenship, economic life, opportunities of employment and education and thereby destroying all attributes of nationhood of the Tamil people...and therefore...resolves that the restoration and reconstitution of the Free, Sovereign, Secular Socialist State of Tamil Eelam based on the right of self-determination inherent in every nation has become inevitable in order to safeguard the very existence of the Tamil nation in this country"*.

The convention also called upon the Tamil nation in general and the Tamil youth in particular to come forward to throw themselves fully into the sacred fight for freedom and to flinch not till the goal of a sovereign, socialist state of Tamil Eelam is reached. It was envisaged that Tamil Eelam shall be a socialist state wherein the exploitation of man by man shall be forbidden, the dignity of labour recognised, the means of production and distribution shall be subject to public ownership and control while permitting private enterprise in these branches within limits prescribed by law, and economic development shall be on the basis of socialist planning where there shall be a ceiling on the total wealth that any individual or family may acquire. At the 1977 elections, with this resolution as Mandate, 17 TULF MPs were elected.

A new constitution was then enacted in 1978 by Mr. J.R. Jayewardene's UNP Government, again without the support of Tamils, to replace the above-said 1972 Constitution of SLFP Premier Mrs. Bandaranaike's United Front Government. A Sixth Amendment was then passed to the 1978 Constitution, virtually disenfranchising the Island's Tamils by reason of the ban imposed on their political parties. And that was how the LTTE started their armed struggle, as the ultimate resort, to liberate the Tamils, and how they are now spearheading the struggle, with the TULF and the other groups marginalised because they have abandoned the crux of the Vaddukkodai Resolution.

The Thimpu Talks of 1985

The above Talks were held in July and August 1985 under the initiative and control of the Indian Government, in Thimpu, Bhutan Kingdom's capital in the Himalayas, after an agreed ceasefire in Eelam's civil war. The Island's Government delegation was led by Mr. H. W. Jayewardene, Q.C., brother of the then-President, and the Tamils were represented by leaders of six of the major political and armed groups of Tamils fighting for the liberation of Tamil Eelam. The six Tamil groups were: LTTE, TELO, EPRLF, EROS, PLOTE and TULF—the first four united for the purpose as the Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF). These Talks internationally legitimised the armed struggle of Eelam's Tamils to win back effective equality of rights with the Sinhallas, and served to crystallise the main issues of the Tamil national liberation struggle.

The crux of the proposal put forward by the Government was to create autonomous Councils at the District Level in the entire Island, within the framework of the existing unitary state, with devolved authority from central ministries on specific matters, including their right to merge with one another by mutual consent into Provincial Councils, but without any special powers to be devolved to meet the aspirations of Tamils.

The Tamils expressed their view that no meaningful solution to the Tamils' problems could evolve outside the four principles of : (1) *Recognition of the Tamils of Ceylon as a nation*; (2) *Recognition of the existence of an identified homeland for the Tamils in Ceylon*; (3) *Recognition of the right of self-determination of the Tamil nation*; and (4) *Recognition of the right to citizenship and other fundamental rights of all Tamils in Ceylon*.

In reply, the Government delegation recognised the existence of the Tamils as a distinct ethnic group and community, and their rights to a status of equality and dignity with the rest of the communities which constitute the "Sri Lankan nation" and the right of all communities in the Island to preserve, protect and promote their cultural heritage and linguistic traditions and to practise their religion without prejudicing the sovereignty of the State. On the question of an identified Tamil homeland and the guarantee of its territorial integrity, their view was that in so far as there is a need to recognise the special rights and claims to preferential treatment of the strong concentrations of Tamils in certain parts of the country for the preservation of their ethnic identity, the Government was prepared to consider reasonable proposals, as long as the claims are not inconsistent with the fundamental principle of equality and equal protection. The right of self-determination, in so far as it implied the right of secession from and out of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka and the right to create a separate State, was considered to be totally unacceptable to the Government, which rejected it in that form.

The Government did not recognise the need to create special status for the Tamil minorities, which is not recognised in the case of the other communities living in the Island. On the right to citizenship and the fundamental rights of all Tamils living there, the Government did not acknowledge the right or status of any persons present at those Talks to represent or negotiate on behalf of all Tamils living in the Island.

And, to implement any agreement reached, the Government required as a precondition to be met by the Tamils, the complete renunciation of all forms of military action including the surrender of arms and equipment, and the closing down of all training camps within the Island and abroad. Refugees were to be permitted back to their own areas, from wheresoever, and all forms of agitation by extra-legal means and unconstitutional methods including violence were to be abandoned. It was stated that all places of worship shall be restored, and an amnesty was offered for all violations of the criminal law by the militant groups, after their observance of the above preconditions set by the Government.

At this stage the Tamil Delegation made three statements reiterating their four principles for a peaceful solution, substantiating in greater detail the Tamils' rights to nationhood, homeland and self-determination, and explaining the reasons why the four principles are important to the Tamils, stating categorically that the Up-country Tamils are indeed an integral part of the Tamil people and have a right to full citizenship and other fundamental democratic rights, also recapitulating the various acts of injustice and subjugation done against the Tamils by successive governments of the Island. The District Council proposals as updated from earlier times and presented by the Government were rejected by the Tamil Delegation as they failed to satisfy the legitimate political aspirations of the Tamil people. On 17th August 1985, the Tamils made a final statement about the genocidal intent of the Sri Lankan State by its breach of the ceasefire agreement, including the killing of over two hundred Tamils by its armed forces even during the days of the Thimpu Talks, and walked out of the Talks in protest, since their continued participation at the Talks had been rendered impossible under the above conditions.

Although the Thimpu Talks thus ended in failure, it was the first serious attempt at a dialogue of the Eelam (i.e., Sri Lankan) Government with the six major Tamil Liberation groups united as a single force on the commendable initiative of India, and represents the crystallised thinking of both parties at that time on some of the important issues involved. Parts of the 1985 proposals and principles are invalidated by subsequent events, but the documentation, experience and possible regrets carried forward from the Thimpu Talks by all participants should prove very valuable in better diplomacy at proposed peace talks in the near future.

A Plan of 1987 Through Madras Hindu

Reproduced below is an article by the Author published in India's popular daily, The Hindu, on Tuesday June 16, 1987, just 43 days before the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement was signed, outlining a plan then considered most suitable for solving the crisis in Eelam through International Mediation. Today's situation in Sri Lanka hasn't changed much from that described here in 1987, with only a few phrases [as bracketed thus, below] being currently inapplicable. No details of the possible terms of a settlement were suggested by the Author in 1987. They were left for the recommended Mediation Council to evolve through consultation. Since then, direct talks were held between President Premadasa and the LTTE in 1989/90, Mr. S.Thondaman put forward his CWC's Proposal in 1991, and the Sri Lankan Government's Parliamentary Select Committee has been trying to evolve a solution from 1992, all without any finality towards a settlement and peace. It is in these circumstances that the current 1994 Plan, which is the raison d'etre for this book, is proposed in outline and published, incorporating worthy features from all previous plans and proposals, for general discussion, improvement where necessary, acceptance and implementation as soon as practicable. The main differences between the 1987 Plan and the current 1994 Plan are: The latter envisages a solution with minimum foreign participation, and suggests a specific constitutional structure which, it is believed, could bring peace very soon to the Island. —Author, April 1994.

TOWARDS A FINAL AND LASTING SOLUTION IN SRI LANKA

Something concrete must be done immediately to halt the current spate of renewed killings and violence in Sri Lanka. Besides loss of lives and private property, the economy and infrastructure of the country are fast deteriorating. The responsibility for ending the turmoil in Sri Lanka is primarily that of its elected government. But its inability to solve the linguistic ethnic problem without external support and influence is well known. Hence countries like the U.K., because of their historical links with Sri Lanka, and interested and powerful neighbours like India must take urgent and effective initiatives to bring about a speedy solution.

The urgency is real for another reason. The Sri Lankan Government at the moment thinks that it is on its path to victory in effecting a military solution. This feeling and attitude can only mislead everyone and plunge the country into further, irrevocable disunity and disaster for decades if not centuries to come.

Psychological and related studies have proved that no one—including alleged offenders—really enjoys violence, terrorism, bloodshed, torture, rape and similar actions in the long term. Nor can anyone deny that the Sinhalese, and the Tamils (including Muslims) of Sri Lanka are basically peace loving, progressive, friendly and fair-minded people. They all belong to much respected ancient cultures and religious backgrounds which are admired by the rest of the world. Hence it seems realistic to expect that with due initiatives and persuasion the warring factions could be made to get together without delay and work out a formula for the de-escalation of bloodshed and destruction and for a step-by-step but speedy return to peace through mediation. Some guidelines which would seem to be profitable to follow are indicated below.

MUTUAL TRUST

There can be no sincere and successful peace talks and constitutional discussions when killings, arson, food and fuel embargoes or similar activities go on daily in the country. And peace efforts cannot succeed in an atmosphere of fear, suspicion, anger and hatred. It is, of course, unrealistic to expect the fighting parties to suddenly start loving one another. But at least a good working relationship and minimum levels of trust in each other's desire to solve the problem by mediation must be established before any real progress could be made. Some immediate steps are hence needed to arrest the downward trend.

First, the security forces now reported to be on a rampage in the North and East have to be ordered back and confined to barracks. The Tamil militants must then reciprocate this action and announce that they are themselves ready for externally sponsored peace talks. It is necessary that this announcement should be made by all the militant groups.

The Sri Lankan Government should take further action to lift the food embargo in the above areas. All no-go zones and barriers must be lifted. Thus the normal farming, fishing and industrial activities, and the functioning of schools, hospitals, pension offices and administrative centres must start immediately.

The Government should simultaneously take parliamentary action to grant a general amnesty to all Tamil militants, release the thousands of political detainees [and recall and reinstate the Tamil parliamentarians who are now in exile. In response] Tamil militants must down arms, and muster and organise their members together to evolve jointly a single, concerted formula for presentation to a proposed Mediation Council. Immediately following this, all security personnel must be withdrawn from the Tamil areas, and police stations restarted for day-to-day law and order administration with only Tamil personnel, recruited newly, where necessary. Rehabilitation of refugees should also commence at this stage, and problematic colonisation schemes withdrawn.

MEDIATION COUNCIL

An international Mediation Council is proposed as the main agency to solve Sri Lanka's present problems. The Council should be created through initiatives of the Indian Government which has already been trying unsuccessfully to mediate on its own [for the past three years]. British collaboration for this initiative will go a long way to ensure ultimate success. The proposed Mediation Council will consist of three components: an International Mediation Team, an All-Party Negotiating Team of the Sri Lankan Government, and a Tamil Citizen's Negotiating Team.

It will be the responsibility and sole prerogative of this Mediation Council to bring about the ultimate solution. The Council's conclusions and recommendations should be accepted as final and binding on all parties concerned. The Sri Lankan Government, for example, must take suitable steps, both in advance and at the conclusion of the mediation process, to get the Council's verdict accepted by Parliament, and for its implementation within any time scales stipulated by the Council.

The most suitable person to officiate as Chairman of the Mediation Council would be India's Premier [Mr. Gandhi], with a Vice Chairman of his choice to act in his absence. All decisions with respect to a final solution would be made by a majority verdict of the Council, with actual voting conducted by secret ballot.

INTERNATIONAL MEDIATION TEAM

This team, which will assist the Council with all the advisory, consultative and administrative work involved, will consist of a representative each from the United Nations, Amnesty International, the Red Cross, ICJ, the Commonwealth Secretariat and all similar bodies, and one each from countries like India, the United Kingdom, Canada, West Germany, France, Sweden, the U.S., Switzerland and Australia (which have been directly inundated with the influx of refugees from Sri Lanka) and also have representatives from countries like Norway and Argentina which have displayed significant initiative and interest in recent times to assist in solving Sri Lanka's problems. The Chairman and Chief Executive of the Mediation Team should be a nominee of the British Government.

The Mediation team will have to start functioning almost immediately to meet and study the associated problems, in detail. It has to invite written submissions of proposals from the All Party Government Team and the Tamil Citizens' Team and study them carefully, as well as hold prior consultations and discussions where necessary. Also this Team would invite memoranda from the various organisations within Sri Lanka and abroad which have been working on similar lines in recent times, as well as from religious and social groups within Sri Lanka, all of whom would have valuable information, statistics and ideas on the above subject. Such submissions will also have to be studied very carefully before the team evolves the basic framework of a solution which the Chairman of the Mediation Council will later present to the Council for its final decision.

SRI LANKA'S ALL-PARTY TEAM

The proposed all-party team will have a representative each from all the recognised political parties in Sri Lanka (with a minimum of, say, three years' standing) including the Tamils' FP, TC, the CWC and the TULF.

There can be no better choice to lead the All-Party Team on behalf of the Sri Lanka Government than the President [Mr. J.R. Jayewardene who started his long term of office in 1977 with a determination to make Sri Lanka an island of peace and justice]. He would however have to take steps to ensure that all political parties do participate in the mediation process and not opt out. It should not be difficult for him with his goal of speedily finding a lasting solution, to obtain all the parliamentary sanctions needed.

CHIEF NEGOTIATORS

The Tamil Citizens' Team which is proposed as a component of the Mediation Council should consist of the leaders of the militant groups which have been fighting for the Tamils' cause as well as of the chairmen of the various citizen's committees in the Tamil areas of Sri Lanka which have provided an invaluable service to the suffering Tamil population in the past few years.

Although the Tamil militants have, undoubtedly as a last resort, adopted generally less desirable and non-democratic methods to seek redress to the Tamils' grievances and problems, it would be only realistic and prudent to accept them as the chief negotiators for the Tamils at this stage. Their degree of honesty of purpose, self-sacrifice, dedication and discipline are outstanding. The Sri Lankan government must be congratulated on taking initiatives in this direction in recent times. The strong LTTE must on its part fraternally accept and absorb all other militant groups under its wings with one representative in the Team per group, before mediation could commence. The LTTE's present leader is suggested to be recognised as the Chairman of the Tamil Citizens' Negotiating team at the Mediation Council.

A FRESH START

It is highly desirable that all those involved in mediation should make an honest and sincere fresh start to find a solution beginning from fundamentals rather than try to re-start from where they left off during past negotiations. Thus they could avoid tripping into the same old ruts and tracks.

Such a fresh approach would also pave the way to a smoother process of give-and-take and prevent the disastrous effects of feelings of loss of face by anyone.

THE APPROACH TO A SOLUTION

It should be the responsibility and prerogative solely of the Mediation Council to bring about the ultimate solution. This solution must be final and binding on all the parties concerned. In order to perform its task successfully and expeditiously, the Council will need assistance from a Secretariat of international civil servants (including, of course, Sri Lankans) and from a similar group within it, of constitutional lawyers.

The details of what form of new government the country is to have, in order to ensure due scope and justice to all minorities including the Tamils, will have to be left entirely in the hands of the Mediation Council to evolve, in consultation with all concerned, in the manner proposed and suitably refined or modified as found necessary. The author undoubtedly has concrete ideas as to what he considers to be a fair and practical scheme which is most likely to be finally accepted by all sections. But views and suggestions on such matters have been justifiably avoided here.

The goal of the Mediation Council and its component teams as regards time targets should be such as to ensure that free but possibly supervised democratic elections take place in all the areas of Sri Lanka within a matter of 12 to 24 months. And even during the first General Election under the terms of the proposed mediation, all sovereignty must remain unhurt.

Prof. Kopan Mahadeva,
[A Sri Lanka born U.K. citizen,
working as Visiting Professor at
City of Birmingham Polytechnic]

United Kingdom, June 1987

Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement: 29 July 1987

THE PRESIDENT of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, His Excellency Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, and the Prime Minister of the Republic of India, His Excellency Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, having met at Colombo on July 29, 1987:

Attaching utmost importance to nurturing, intensifying and strengthening the traditional friendship of Sri Lanka and India, and acknowledging the imperative need of resolving the ethnic problem of Sri Lanka and the consequent violence, and for the safety, well-being and prosperity of people belonging to all communities in Sri Lanka;

Have this day entered into the following agreement to fulfil this objective. In this context,

1.1 *Desirous to preserve the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka;*

1.2 *Acknowledging that Sri Lanka is a multi-ethnic and a multi-lingual plural society consisting, inter alia, of Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims (Moors) and Burghers;*

1.3 *Recognising that each ethnic group has a distinct cultural and linguistic identity which has to be carefully nurtured;*

1.4 *Also recognising that the Northern and the Eastern Provinces have been areas of historical habitation of Sri Lankan Tamil-speaking peoples, who have at all times hitherto lived together in this territory with other ethnic groups;*

1.5 *Conscious of the necessity of strengthening the forces contributing to the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka, and preserving its character as a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-religious plural society in which all citizens can live in equality, safety and harmony, and prosper and fulfil their aspirations;*

2. Resolve that:

2.1 Since the Government of Sri Lanka proposes to permit adjoining Provinces to form one administrative unit and also by a referendum to separate as may be permitted to the Northern and Eastern Provinces as outlined below:

2.2 During the period, which shall be considered an interim period, (i.e. from the date of the elections to the Provincial Council, as specified in para 2.8 to the date of the referendum as specified in para 2.3, the Northern and Eastern Provinces as now constituted, will form one administrative unit, having one elected Provincial Council. Such a unit will have one Governor, one Chief Minister and one Board of Ministers.

2.3 *There will be a referendum on or before December 31, 1988 to enable the people of the Eastern Province to decide whether:*

(a) *The Eastern Province should remain linked with the Northern Province as one administrative unit, and continue to be governed together with the Northern Province as specified in para 2.2 or*

(b) *The Eastern Province should constitute a separate administrative unit having its own distinct Provincial Council with a separate Governor, Chief Minister and Board of Ministers.*

The President may, at his discretion, decide to postpone such a referendum.

2.4 *All persons who have been displaced due to ethnic violence, or other reasons, will have the right to vote in such a referendum. Necessary conditions to enable them to return to areas from where they were displaced will be created.*

2.5 *The Referendum, when held, will be monitored by a committee headed by the Chief Justice, a member appointed by the President, nominated by the Government of Sri Lanka, and a member appointed by the President, nominated by the representatives of the Tamil speaking people of the Eastern Province.*

2.6 *A simple majority will be sufficient to determine the result of the referendum.*

2.7 *Meetings and other forms of propaganda, permissible within the laws of the country, will be allowed before the referendum.*

2.8 *Elections to Provincial Councils will be held within the next three months, in any event before December 31, 1987. Indian observers will be invited for elections to the Provincial Council of the North and East.*

2.9 *The Emergency will be lifted in the Eastern and Northern Provinces by August 15, 1987. A cessation of hostilities will come into effect all over the island within 48 hours of the signing of this agreement. All arms presently held by militant groups will be surrendered in accordance with an agreed procedure to authorities to be designated by the Government of Sri Lanka.*

Consequent to the cessation of hostilities and the surrender of arms by militant groups, the army and other security personnel will be confined to barracks in camps as on May 25, 1987. The process of surrendering of arms and the confining of security personnel moving back to barracks shall be completed within 72 hours of the cessation of hostilities coming into effect.

2.10 *The Government of Sri Lanka will utilise for the purpose of law enforcement and maintenance of security in the Northern and Eastern Provinces the same organisations and mechanisms of Government as used in the rest of the country.*

2.11 *The President of Sri Lanka will grant a general amnesty for political and other prisoners now held in custody under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and other Emergency laws, and to combatants, as well as to those persons accused, charged and/or convicted under these laws.*

The Government of Sri Lanka will make special efforts to rehabilitate militant youth with a view to bringing them back into the mainstream of national life. India will co-operate in the process.

2.12 The Government of Sri Lanka will accept and abide by the above provisions and expect all others to do likewise.

2.13 If the framework for the resolutions is accepted, the Government of Sri Lanka will implement the relevant proposals forthwith.

2.14 The Government of India will underwrite and guarantee the resolutions and co-operate in the implementation of these proposals.

2.15 These proposals are conditional to an acceptance of the proposals negotiated from 4.5.1986 to 19.12.1986. Residual matters not finalised during the above negotiations shall be resolved between India and Sri Lanka within a period of six weeks of signing this agreement. These proposals are also conditional to the Government of India co-operating directly with the Government of Sri Lanka in their implementation.

2.16 These proposals are also conditional to the Government of India taking the following actions if any militant groups operating in Sri Lanka do not accept this framework of proposals for a settlement, namely,

(a) India will take all necessary steps to ensure that Indian territory is not used for activities prejudicial to the unity, integrity, and security of Sri Lanka.

(b) The Indian Navy/Coast Guard will co-operate with the Sri Lankan Navy in preventing Tamil militant activities from affecting Sri Lanka.

(c) In the event that the Government of Sri Lanka requests the Government of India to afford military assistance to implement these proposals the Government of India will co-operate by giving to the Government of Sri Lanka such military assistance as and when requested.

(d) The Government of India will expedite repatriation from Sri Lanka of Indian civilians to India who are resident here, concurrently with the repatriation of Sri Lankan refugees from Tamil Nadu.

(e) The Governments of Sri Lanka and India will co-operate in ensuring the physical security and safety of all communities inhabiting the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

2.17 The Government of Sri Lanka shall ensure free, full and fair participation of voters from all communities in the Northern and Eastern Provinces in electoral processes envisaged in this agreement. The Government of India will extend full co-operation to the Government of Sri Lanka in this regard.

2.18 The official language of Sri Lanka shall be Sinhala. Tamil and English will also be official languages.

3. This agreement and the Annexure thereto shall come into force upon signature.

ANNEXURE TO THE INDO-SRI LANKA AGREEMENT OF 29.7.87

1. His Excellency the President of Sri Lanka and the Prime Minister of India agree that the referendum mentioned in paragraph 2 and the sub-paragraphs of the Agreement will be observed by a Representative of the Election Commission of India to be invited by His Excellency the President of Sri Lanka. 2. Similarly both heads of Government agree that the elections to the Provincial Council mentioned in paragraph 2.8 of the Agreement will be observed by a Representative of the Government of India to be invited by the President of Sri Lanka. 3. His Excellency the President of Sri Lanka agrees that the Home Guards would be disbanded and all para-military personnel will be withdrawn from the Eastern and Northern Provinces with a view to creating conditions conducive to fair elections to the Council. The President, at his discretion shall absorb such para-military forces, which came into being due to ethnic violence, into the regular security forces of Sri Lanka. 4. The President of Sri Lanka and the Prime Minister of India agree that the Tamil militants shall surrender their arms to authorities agreed upon to be designated by the President of Sri Lanka. The surrender shall take place in the presence of one Senior Representative each of the Sri Lankan Red Cross and the Indian Red Cross. 5. The President of Sri Lanka and the Prime Minister of India agree that a joint Indo-Sri Lankan observer group consisting of qualified Representatives of the Government of Sri Lanka and the Government of India would monitor the cessation of hostilities from July 31, 1987. 6. The President of Sri Lanka and the Prime Minister of India also agree that in terms of paragraphs 2.14 and 2.16(c) of the Agreement, an Indian peace keeping contingent may be invited by the President of Sri Lanka to guarantee and enforce the cessation of hostilities, if so required.

EXCHANGE OF LETTERS

President of Sri Lanka

July 29, 1987

Please refer to your letter dated July 29, 1987 which reads as follows:- Excellency,

1. Conscious of the friendship between our two countries stretching over two millenia and more, and recognising the importance of nurturing this traditional friendship, it is imperative that both Sri Lanka and India reaffirm the decision not to allow our respective territories to be used for activities prejudicial to each other's unity, territorial integrity and security.

2. In this spirit, you had, during the course of our discussions, agreed to meet some of India's concerns as follows:- (i) Your Excellency and myself will reach an early understanding about the relevance and employment of foreign military and intelligence personnel with a view to ensuring that such presences will not prejudice Indo-Sri Lanka relations. (ii) Trincomalee or any other ports in Sri Lanka will not be made available for military use by any country in a manner prejudicial to India's interests. (iii) The work of restoring and operating the Trincomalee oil tank farm will be undertaken as a joint venture between India and Sri Lanka. (iv) Sri Lanka's Agreements with foreign broadcasting organisations will be reviewed to ensure that any facilities set up by them in Sri Lanka are used solely as public broadcasting facilities and not for any military or intelligence purposes.

3. In the same spirit, India will: (i) Deport all Sri Lankan citizens who are found to be engaging in terrorist activities or advocating separatism or secessionism. (ii) Provide training facilities and military supplies for Sri Lankan security forces.

4. India and Sri Lanka have agreed to set up a joint consultative mechanism to continuously review matters of common concern in the light of the objectives stated in para 1 and specifically to monitor the implementation of other matters contained in this letter.

5. Kindly confirm, Excellency, that the above correctly sets out the Agreement reached between us. Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration. (Sgd) Rajiv Gandhi.

Prime Minister of India

This is to confirm that the above correctly sets out the understanding reached between us. Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration. (Sgd) J.R. Jayawardene.

A Tamil-Muslim Agreement of 1988

After discussions between delegations of the Muslim United Liberation Front (MULF) led by Dr. Al Haj Badi-ud-din Mahmud (one-time SLFP Minister), and the LTTE led by its late Deputy S. Krishnakumar (Kittu) in Madras from 15-19 April 1988, the following Agreement was reached:

- 1. Although the Muslim people living in Sri Lanka speak the Tamil Language, we consider them as a distinct ethnic group falling within the totality of Tamil nationality; and we affirm that the area composed of the Northern and Eastern Provinces which constitutes the traditional homeland of the Tamil-speaking people is also the traditional homeland of the Muslims.*
- 2. We affirm that the Tamil and the Muslim people who inhabit the contiguous homeland composed of the Northern and Eastern Provinces should live in unity and peace; at the same time it is felt, and indeed accepted as an article of faith, that since the Muslim people are a minority in the area, and because it is of paramount importance that they should be assured of a life free from fear, mistrust and insecurity, immediate steps be taken to create conditions whereby the Muslim people will be guaranteed security, equality and freedom; and that the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam will extend their total co-operation towards this process. It is also accepted that all provisions that ensure the security of the Muslim people be guaranteed by law.*
- 3. It was declared and accepted that the interests of the Muslim people could be secured only in their homeland; that only through a greater unity with the rest of the Tamil-speaking people, that the Muslim people could win their rights in their homeland, and safeguard their land and their cultural existence. It was assured on behalf of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam that they would continue to work towards the well-being of the Muslim people, and this was accepted.*
- 4. Without prejudice to the aspirations of the Muslim people and the rest of the Tamil-speaking people, both LTTE and MULF will extend their co-operation for the full implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement.*
- 5. It was agreed that the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution in respect of Provincial Councils was unacceptable for the following reasons: That it does not meet the basic political aspirations of the Muslim people and the rest of the Tamil-speaking people; That it has been passed in contravention of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement; That certain clauses of the Amendment are in contradiction with the provisions of the Agreement.*
- 6. It will be ensured that all steps taken towards safeguarding the interests of the Muslim people and arriving at a reasonable power-sharing agreement will be done in such a way that they will not seriously undermine the territorial integrity of the homeland of the Tamil-speaking people.*

7. Flowing from the above, all the Muslim people who have made the area comprising the Northern and Eastern Provinces as their homeland, have the right to enjoy the same ethnic rights, concessions, opportunities and freedom as enjoyed by the rest of the Tamil-speaking people.

8. While the Muslim people constitute 33% of the population in the Eastern Province and will comprise 18% in the combined Northern and Eastern Provinces, it is agreed that in order to ensure maximum safeguards to the Muslim people and enable them to enjoy equitable power-sharing, they will be entitled to not less than 30% of the representation in the Provincial Council and the Cabinet. It is also agreed that both sides would make all efforts to facilitate the constitutional process to secure such proportional entitlement.

9. It is agreed that in all future land distribution, the Muslim people will be entitled to not less than 35% in the Eastern Province, not less than 30% in the Mannar district and not less than 5% in other areas.

10. The Muslim people will be entitled to job opportunities in the public sector in proportion to their population in each district.

11. In the field of education, special consideration will be given to backward areas until such time as equal opportunities are achieved by all sections of the population. Private educational facilities will be organised for the benefit of the Muslim people, up to the pre-university stage. An Islamic University will be established.

12. No legislation that affects the rights of the Muslim people or involves their identity and interests will be passed by the Provincial Council unless three-fourths of the Muslim representatives in the Council vote for such legislation.

13. Unless a Muslim has been already appointed Chief Minister of the Northern-Eastern Provincial Council, legal provision should be made to ensure that a Muslim is appointed as a Deputy Chief Minister of the said Council.

14. Appropriate political, administrative and developmental units should be created in areas in the Northern and Eastern Provinces where there is a predominant Muslim population, to enable the Muslim people to enjoy their rightful share in the spheres of political, administrative and developmental affairs. The LTTE expressed their views in this regard. On the question of delineating traditional boundaries and the earmarking of natural resources that will go into these units, both parties will engage in further analysis and make a final decision.

15. A decolonisation policy should be evolved in order to redress the adverse effects caused by planned Government colonisation which was aimed at the destruction of the economic, political and administrative power base of the Tamil-speaking people, at the changing of the demographic pattern of their homeland, and the eventual annexation of their homeland.

16. The forthcoming election for the Provincial Council of the Tamil-speaking Province should be based on a voters' list compiled in a manner that would be fair and justifiable. It was discussed in detail as to which year should be considered as a basis for the compilation of such a list.

17. It was agreed that in order to alleviate the sufferings of the vast mass of innocent civilians who are the ones who are truly affected by the military actions, and to enable them to return to normal, peaceful life, there should be an immediate cessation of hostilities.

18. Once hostilities cease, it is imperative that there should be an interim administrative government until such time as the people return to normal life and proper elections are held for the Provincial Council. The composition of the interim government should be in accordance with the earlier decision arrived at in this connection.

The above was in some respects a hurriedly negotiated agreement between a single Muslim Party and the LTTE's late Deputy, with the expectation that the LTTE was soon to be asked under the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement to form an interim government in 1988, to be duly followed by the first free and democratic elections to the Northeast Provincial Council. The agreement is however noteworthy because it is a unique written statement indicating the type of issues and arrangements which could be further discussed and agreed in giving effective democracy to the Muslims in a combined Northeast Provincial Government.

What is important at this juncture is that the above is an indication of how an LTTE/PFLT dominated government in Tamil Eelam is likely to treat the Muslim minority. This should dispel the fears and suspicions which the Muslims may presently have. A broader formula for sharing of power with the Muslims could be ironed out, based on this pioneering agreement. Timely and recurrent reassurances from the LTTE as to how they expect to treat the Muslim and Sinhalese minorities, will go a long way to expedite the peace process which is urged by this author.

Secondly, there are several aspects in the above draft which provide solid food for political thought as to how the minorities in the rest of Eelam should ideally be treated in the future, even if we were to forget at this stage how they should have been, all these years: such as specified proportion of cabinet posts, proportional distribution of land and public sector appointments, equal opportunity for Chief Ministership and a guaranteed Deputy Prime Ministership, and so on. It also reveals the views of a Muslim party led by an Ex-Minister of the SLFP on the aims of the past government colonisation schemes and on the Thirteenth Amendment, as well as that the LTTE was, in 1988, indeed sincere in co-operating with the full implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement.

The Thondaman-CWC Peace Proposal

The above proposal of 1991 constitutes the second recent attempt to promote peace in Eelam by meeting the minimum demands of the Ceylon Tamils, but has not so far succeeded in doing so. On the other hand it has met with strong protests from Buddhist quarters on the misconceived notion that it will destroy the unity and sovereignty of the country. It was submitted to the then-President, to the LTTE and to the Parliamentary Sub-Committee headed by Mr. Mangala Moonesinghe, whose Committee has also been working in 1992 & 1993 on a constitutional peace formula for the then-President, consulting the political parties which co-operated.

Mr. Thondaman himself has repeatedly said that theirs was an outline proposal which had to be discussed, further clarified, negotiated, and the details worked out with open minds before any acceptance could be expected from the two-thirds majority of MPs required for a constitutional amendment before implementing any agreement based on it. But insofar as it was the first set of proposals for peace put down on paper after the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement of 1987, it merited serious consideration.

The CWC proposal aims to provide autonomy "*in a real and substantial sense*" to an unbifurcated North-East Province (NEP) through an "*Institution for Autonomy*" to be created by constitutional amendments. The Provincial Government (PG) would be administered by a Board of Ministers under a Chief Minister (CM) who will be the leader of the political party winning more than half the seats in the Institution at an election. There would be a Governor for the NEP's PG appointed by the Island's President with the concurrence of the CM. There would be a High Court for the NEP, and a single Police Force reflecting NEP's ethnic ratio. An initial 10,000 strong force was to be recruited in the first three months. The PG would have authority to establish a Provincial Land Commission (to administer, control and use NEP's State land which would be vested in it), a Provincial Planning Commission (to formulate public & private sector investment programmes), schools and universities (with certain provisos), ports & harbours, TV & radio stations, and similar institutions.

For the Muslims, Pradeshiya Sabhas were recommended, in areas where they predominate, with the possibility of a Union of Pradeshiya Sabhas (to co-ordinate dispersed Sabhas) to which authority would be devolved from the PG. A Sinhalese DIG would be appointed to the NEP to ensure the protection of its Sinhalese citizens, who themselves would have the right to State land in any part of the NEP, complying with ethnic ratios. Also any Sinhalese from anywhere in the Island would enjoy the right to own property anywhere in the NEP, according to Mr Thondaman's CWC proposal. Further aspects of this proposal are discussed overleaf.

The PG was to have full control over provincial public finance, and the power to negotiate foreign aid and foreign investments. The provincial boundaries could not be changed without the consent of the NEP's PG. Mahaweli Project lands were to be alienated according to the 1986 Draft Proposals Formula, as envisaged in the Thondaman-CWC Proposal.

Certain functions were reserved for Central Government, including Defence & Foreign Affairs, Customs, Pensions, Post & Telecommunication, Currency & Coinage, Foreign Exchange, Civil Aviation, Passports & Visas, National Highways, and Elections. The Provincial Police Force was to have National as well as Provincial components. The situation of the formation of armed forces, and their composition did not appear too clear in the Proposal. But it was stressed that what matters is the substance of the devolution of powers to the NEP's PG, and not the framework.

It would seem implied that functions such as Education, Health, Collection of Rates and Taxes, Transport, Roads and Licensing, Building & Construction, Industry & Commerce, Agriculture, Food and Fisheries, Power Generation & Supply, Tourism and other such matters within the NEP would fall fully within the administrative control of its PG, all of which largely agree with the natural expectations of the Tamils.

The Proposal was laudable for the sincerity and spirit with which it had been formulated and for recognising the fact that only an unbifurcated territory with a real and substantial autonomy is likely to satisfy the aspirations of the Tamils. The provisions made to safeguard the interests of the Muslims and the Sinhallas in the NEP are again praiseworthy, in principle. The measures for land administration, control, usage and allocation as well as for public finance control and negotiation of foreign aid, are all positive aspects on which the Tamils are unlikely to compromise otherwise. But this Proposal still had several restrictive aspects.

The PG had yet to work with devolved authority under a Governor appointed from the Centre—with tight central grip on several matters. It was unclear why Internal & Territorial Defence, Pensions, Post & Telecommunications, Customs, Elections, and Civil Aviation too could not come under the PG, in co-ordination with the Centre. Also, passports and visas could well be issued by the PG, for its citizens on agreed lines, to strengthen its autonomy. Primary Highways within the NEP could be constructed and maintained by its PG, with a financial contribution from the Centre. The PG should have power to establish diplomatic links with other countries and to seek affiliation with the UN and the Commonwealth. Also the CWC Proposal did not clarify the language/s usable in education and administration, and places its police and armed services outside the PG's control. Such aspects have been more acceptably incorporated in this author's plan.

APCs and PSCs

The first All Party Conference (APC) with the declared objective of finding a solution to the Tamils' ethnic problem was convened by President J. R. Jayewardene in January 1984. The second APC (along with an associated Northeastern Provincial *Peace Committee*) with the same aim was called by his immediate successor, President R. Premadasa in September 1989, during his 13 months of direct talks with the LTTE, after it was agreed that the IPKF would be withdrawn in full from Eelam soil.

Both these APCs, however, were gradually abandoned after about an year of deliberations each, since they were becoming unwieldy, and failed to reach any consensus. Persons with experience and expert knowledge of conference organisation & management would have predicted even before they started, that these APCs were going to fail. Many ordinary citizens of Eelam, with little technical knowledge and experience with conferences, also predicted that nothing tangible was going to be achieved from these APCs. The majority of such forecasters were either Tamils or members of political parties in the opposition, who either kept away totally or withdrew from the APCs at crucial stages. Both the above Presidents were from the ruling UNP. There are several obvious reasons why the APCs failed, which must be carefully eliminated beforehand, if any future APC or similar consultation exercise is ever embarked upon.

Similarly two Parliamentary Select Committees (PSCs) were appointed in recent years with similar objectives of finding a generally agreeable formula to solve the current ethnic crisis. The first one was formed in late-1991 on the initiative of Mr. Mangala Moonesinghe, M.P. (who became its Chairman) backed by President R. Premadasa (see also p-68).

The second PSC was appointed on a cabinet decision in mid-1993 after President Mr. D. B. Wijetunge was sworn in following President Premadasa's assassination, to examine further amendments to the constitution (see also p-71). The first PSC started with good intentions but after over two years of deliberations its recommendations have only worsened the problem for which it set out to evolve a solution. And it seems necessary that the terms of reference of the current PSC will have to be modified, and its powers widened, if it is to be the agency which is going to steer the process of a new constitution as recommended in this author's plan. In comparison with the first PSC, however, the present one has certain intrinsic merits. It is chaired by a Minister (hence enjoying the President's confidence) who is also a lawyer with long experience in the bar (which should immensely help in achieving the aims of his Committee). Additionally he belongs to a minority ethnic group, which fact should elicit the co-operation & confidence of all participants. Let's hope this PSC secures the eluding peace.

Mr. M. Moonesinghe's 1992 Option Paper

The framework and proposals in the paper are based on the following considerations:

1. The question of the merger or non-merger of Northern and Eastern Provinces is a major contentious issue in the negotiations. Therefore, a solution acceptable to all parties without endangering the aspirations of all ethnic communities living in the two provinces, needs to be worked out. The framework proposed in this paper represents such a compromise.
2. The proposed framework also embodies the possibility of further strengthening of devolution in the sense that it envisages devolution within the devolved unit.
3. It also envisions ethnic integration through co-operation and consultation within the North-East region while further strengthening devolution.

The Framework and Proposals

I. There shall be two separate Provincial Councils for the Northern and the Eastern Provinces. The two Councils shall be elected on the basis of an electoral list agreed upon by all political parties. II. Each Provincial Council shall be headed by an Executive Minister. The Executive Minister shall also be the head of the Board of Ministers of the Province. III. There shall be a Regional Council for the entire North-East Region, and the Regional Council shall be constituted by the two elected Provincial Councils. IV. When the two Provincial Councils meet together on matters pertaining to the entire region, they shall constitute themselves as the Regional Council. V. The Regional Council shall be headed by a Chief Minister for the entire North-East region. The two Executive Ministers shall each year alternately function as the Chief Minister of the Region. When one Executive Minister is the Chief Minister, the other may function as the Deputy Chief Minister. VI. When the two Provincial Boards of Ministers meet on matters relating to the entire region, they shall constitute the Regional Board of Ministers. VII. Legislative functions shall be jointly and separately exercised by the two Provincial Councils. When the two Councils meet in joint session to exercise legislative functions jointly, they shall do so as a single legislative body for the entire region, constituted as the Regional Council. When the Councils meet separately, they shall do so for the respective Province. VIII. For the purposes of legislative and executive action, there shall be a Regional List and a Provincial List. IX. The Provincial Councils shall have legislative power in respect of matters (such as land, finance, and law and order) specified in the Provincial List and the Regional Council on matters (such as planning, economic development) specified in the Regional List. X. In the case of subjects specified as regional subjects, legislation passed by the Regional Council and having a direct bearing on a given Province shall not be operative until it is approved by the relevant Provincial Council. (This measure will in effect safeguard the rights of minority communities, particularly in the Eastern Province.) XI. There shall be one Governor for the entire region. XII. In each Province, the rights of ethnic and religious minorities shall be guaranteed by Constitutional arrangements.

Broader Issues Concerning Devolution

To strengthen devolution, for better center-province relations and for the promotion of national integration, the following measures relating to the national polity are proposed:

1. The creation of an Upper House of Parliament at the Center, consisting of 50 members. Each province shall elect three members to the Upper House. The province shall be the constituency for such elections. Of the remaining 23 seats, some will be nominated by the political parties represented in the Lower House in proportion to their numerical strength while the remaining seats shall be reserved for distinguished citizens (such as professionals, academics and developmental specialists) to be appointed by the President with the concurrence of the Leader of the Opposition.
- II. The establishment of a Devolution Commission to co-ordinate and mediate in matters relating to centre-province relations. The Commission shall consist of nominees of the Central Government and Provincial Councils.
- III. The establishment of an independent Finance Commission, consisting of members nominated by both the Central Government and Provincial Councils.

Provincial Councils & 13th Amendment

The 13th Amendment to Eelam's 1978 Constitution was passed in November 1987 as a result of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement of 1987. It was intended to grant limited autonomy to, but in reality it simultaneously restricts, the rights of Tamils in the Northeastern Provincial Council (NEPC) structure. This opportunity was seized to also devolve similar powers to the other seven provinces of the Island. The first elections to the NEPC took place on 19/11/ 1988, without the LTTE participating, and that Council was finally dissolved on 07/07/1990, when it became impossible to carry on administration in the face of Tamil opposition, since it did not satisfy even their minimum aspirations. Four of the other seven Councils had their first elections on 28/04/1988, and a second round of elections took place on 17/05/93 to these seven Councils, but the NEPC remains dissolved under a Governor's rule to-date, and one of the others too has been dissolved recently. Six are functioning but with problems of iron-fisted central control, without even proper offices & furniture.

The 13th Amendment was denounced by Tamils and Muslims in the Agreement of 1988 (p-62) since it does not satisfy their aspirations, and was held to contravene the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement itself. The Amendment has also been discussed in great detail in papers by eminent lawyers presented at two international seminars organised in UK and USA. This author has had the benefit of a critical study of these papers.

The divided judgement of the full Supreme Court Bench which considered whether the Amendment could be passed by Parliament by merely a two-thirds majority, or needed a referendum as well, as per Article 83 of the Constitution wherever there appeared to be a conflict of intending legislation with other Articles of the Constitution, renders its base weak. And, although the "4 vs 4+1" judgement against the need for a referendum was interpreted to be a "4+1 vs 4" judgement because the dissenter had introduced a proviso (showing an escape route by which the Amendment was finally passed, and the Provincial Councils set up), the legislation is weak because any change to it could similarly be challenged again.

Also the entire Amendment could well be thrown out by a future Parliament. Besides, the powers it devolves could be revoked by a future President or Parliament, and any Provincial Council legislation could be challenged by anyone at any time. Also, for the Tamils & Muslims, it falls short even of the B-C Pact (1957) and D-C Pact (1965) on land policy, education, finance, development, etc. This Amendment is hence unsatisfactory. It must be replaced very early, in the interests of all Provincial Councils. An ideal way of doing so is to enact a brand new constitution to create fully autonomous Provincial State governments, as elaborated in the following pages.

Who or What Are The Real Enemies?

The real enemies of the Eelam Government are not the LTTE or Tamils, but the personal lust for power within its own political leaders, which manifests through day-to-day manouverings towards that end. It doesn't seem to be realised that the power, prestige and popularity which are thus sought will invariably be short-lived, even among one's own race.

So also, the real enemies of the LTTE are not the Sinhalese people (as the LTTE itself has reiterated again and again) and not even the power-seeking Sinhalese politicians, but misunderstanding, among the Sinhalese in particular, and even among a good many Tamils as to the LTTE's basic demands and intentions, on behalf of the Tamil nation. This is multiplied by a lack of communication and two-way dialogue. How can dialogues be initiated and conducted when the Tamil people are being harassed and hunted daily by the Sinhala police and government forces by air, land and sea, and arrested, molested, starved and strangled in every way?

This is the main reason why the above two principal parties to the conflict should get round the table as equals as soon as possible. And that is what the specific plan described in this book seeks to promote, in the absence of other known all-embracing plans, available to start the talks.

At the head of the list of common enemies to both the parties are the Ills of Centralised State Power, and a Lack of Appreciation of a Basic Fact—that the Sinhala-speaking and Tamil-speaking peoples have to co-exist in the Island of Eelam as neighbours for many more millenia, even under separate governmental structures. Among the other visible and invisible common enemies to both, could be listed: Under-development and Poverty, as compared with the modern progressive nations of the world, in contrast to the Island's level of literacy and anxiety to become a full part of the developed world almost overnight; Diplomatic Lethargy aggravated by Personal and Group Egos; and Unjustifiable and Inflated Expectations as to what would happen under the possible results.

For example, the Government and many Sinhalese seem to believe that if the Tamils become free, their own survival will be jeopardised. On the other hand, the Tamils seem to believe that once Tamil Eelam is liberated, all their problems are going to be solved overnight. Neither is the truth and, in fact, both the above beliefs are grossly erroneous. It is virtually impossible for the Tamils and the Sinhalese to live in the Island without mutual interaction even for one year, under any forms of government whatsoever. Once this fact is fully realised, it cannot be difficult for a suitable constitutional framework to be peacefully worked out, within which all ethnic groups could enjoy maximum practicable levels of freedom to govern themselves, within the unifying structure suggested here.

The Need for a Brand New Constitution

After independence from Britain in 1948 based on Soulbury's Constitution, Eelam's Constitution has been changed twice. The 1972 Constitution initiated and steered through by Mrs Bandaranaike's SLFP/LSSP/CP United Front Government moulded the Island into a Republic, with the guidance of two lawyer-ministers, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike and Dr. Colvin R. de Silva. Then, the 1978 Constitution led the Island Republic into an Executive Presidentship system, in which, Prime Minister and later President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, a lawyer, had a big hand.

It is a credit to Eelam that, despite their shortcomings, both the above constitutions were enacted with local expertise alone. Their two-stage transformations themselves are prestigious feathers in the cap for the progressive nature of the people of the Island though, sadly, both these constitutions have been unfair to the Island's minorities, while the 1978 Constitution has raised an unexpected number of problems which have involved several amendments within its short span of existence.

President D. B. Wijetunge, Premier Ranil Wickremasinghe and Constitutional & State Affairs Minister K.N.Choksy, realising the need for further changes, have already initiated a Parliamentary Select Committee to go into the matter. Appropriate constitutional reforms should certainly change the currently stagnant civil war situation and lead to peace by guaranteeing ethnic minority rights. It will be well and good if we could manage with a few amendments, but it seems obvious and more practical that a new era could only dawn with the enactment of a brand new constitution with the participation of all political parties & ethnic groups.

The new constitution could retain all the desirable old aspects, with any needed modifications, but remove the disabilities imposed on the minorities in provisions such as the Sinhala Only Act, the obnoxious Prevention of Terrorism Act and Sixth and Thirteenth Amendments, streamline and include the provisions of the several other amendments within the main clauses themselves, re-introduce the protection to minorities from Section-29 of the old Soulbury Constitution, incorporate a Bill of Rights which is justiceable, as well as define the framework of operation of a new system of government, such as that of eight autonomous provincial states linked by a central structure as recommended by this author (see pp 72-95).

Between WW-1 & WW-2 and in the post-war years France changed its governments and constitutions many times, and gained stability and a leading position in the world thereby. Eelam, indisputably a leading country in Asia though small in size, would not only earn international prestige but also usher in a lasting peace within, with a brand new constitution enacted by a National Government and endorsed by the people at a referendum.

THE 1994 MAHADEVA PLAN FOR LASTING PEACE IN EELAM

Preamble

This plan, the result of years of dedicated study and thinking by the Author, considers the legitimate aspirations of all of the ethnic groups in the Island including, of course, the Tamils who have suffered most. It aims to satisfy almost all of each group's legitimate aspirations & desires, with minimum hardship and heart-burning to anyone. It incorporates as far as is practicable and relevant, the latest and futuristic concepts based on current world trends, and is aimed to include the best elements from Eelam's previous proposals, pacts and agreements, constitutional provisions, and so on, to satisfy optimally, the criteria given on page-9 for a lasting peace. It is an outline, minimum-change maximum-results plan.

Most Tamils seem to feel at this stage, from the way events have taken place especially during the past 10-20 years, that Tamils would be happiest and could best rebuild their future under a separate autonomous state of Tamil Eelam. They would guarantee that they will never invade or interfere with the rest of Eelam, to whom they would reciprocate goodwill and utmost co-operation as brotherly neighbours sharing a common past. If this arrangement could be negotiated through mutual agreement, trust, goodwill, objectivity and confidence, this arrangement will perhaps be the best — not only for Tamils but for the Sinhalas as well. In fact there is a significant number of Sinhalas, even among the political leaders, who sincerely feel within their hearts that this could be the best solution. But there exist some emotional and irrational factors which prevent them from initiating, advocating or openly accepting this ideal solution.

The second possible solution would be based on some federated structure, as the LTTE leader himself has publicly agreed to consider recently. An allied alternative would be a 'confederation' of two linguistic states as some leaders from friendly nations abroad have suggested. But details of such structures have yet to be worked out at least in outline (as this author has done with his plan described hereafter) then negotiated, agreed upon and implemented. If the first solution is the ideal, the second would be a compromise. This author would support either of the above, and live in Tamil Eelam quite happily under either of the above structures. If these solutions are what both parties wish to explore, let there be an immediate ceasefire and halt to killings and destruction, and let the talks begin *now*, without trying to create 'auspicious' or 'tactically advantageous' moments.

This author's plan is a third, practical alternative, keeping the Island as a whole, building upon the existing Provincial Councils set-up, offering complete autonomy to all the provincial governments, incorporating the better parts of the earlier District Councils proposals, and furthering the current moves to introduce a Senate and to change the 1978 Constitution. It eliminates the generally unpopular executive presidentship, but finds a continued and respectable role in the new structure for not only the present President but also for the present Leader of the Opposition and the Prime Minister. And, it ensures complete autonomy for the Tamils in the combined Northeastern Province to rule themselves as they deem fit, with their Muslim brethren and the few long-settled Sinhala cohabitants, retaining their arms, army, police force, legal system, and so on. The only major change, apart from the role of president is the abolition of the central parliament, which has really killed true democracy in the Island.

The underlying basis of this plan is described here, and some of the principal advantages are highlighted. Further details are unfolded one by one in the pages which follow, including the time-frame for its implementation, step-by-step actions to be taken by various parties for de-escalation of the present war and gradual return to normality, the governmental structures and law-and-order mechanisms suggested for the future, policies relating to languages, religions and cultures of the Island's peoples, constitutional reforms needed, the new bases for power-sharing, and so on. The finer details have, of course, to be worked out, ideally within the Island, once overall agreement is obtained from all concerned for the outline proposals contained in this plan. Assistance may be required from willing member countries of the UN and the Commonwealth for finalising and underwriting a two-stage Peace Accord based on the plan. So much the better if outside help is found unnecessary.

Essentially, this plan is based on the principle of decentralisation of power, autonomy and sovereignty to eight provincial states linked together at the top by a democratic, non-executive presidential structure, which co-ordinates and advises the provincial states rather than controls and governs them. The plan eliminates, streamlines and simplifies obstructive beauracratc structures and practices, to promote efficiency and speed of action, with just three levels of organisational decision-making, thus making it easier for the people to obtain services from the states.

The constitutional model suggested is an original one, which suits the particular context of the Island, combining all those features with proven workability track-records, from the other advanced world nations. The ensuing union could be named the United Republic of Sri Lankan Democratic Socialist Sovereign States, still called Sri Lanka in English and Sinhala, but re-named *Eelam* in Tamil, instead of *Ilankai* as at present.

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Other important features and advantages offered by this plan are as follows: There will be no separate central government and local government bodies—which system really confounds administration and promotes delays and inefficiencies in serving the people, due to party politics. Instead there will only be three-layered provincial state governments; There will be no governors for the provincial states appointed by the centre; Their functions will be shared by local Justices-in-Chief and a new Republican Vice President; The integral image and structure of the Island will be maintained, with complete autonomy to the eight provincial states, eliminating the current type of conflicts; The sovereignty of the people which was vested with but misused in the past by the central parliament will pass on to the states, closer to the people; All the aspirations of the Tamils will be met effectively within a united framework, removing the deleterious unitary structure of the dark past; The plan's provisions remove the fears of Muslims and Tamils of the Eastern Province under a Northeastern State of Tamil Eelam, and would assist the Up-country Tamils too, to gain their rights rapidly; The new constitution proposed gives a golden opportunity to eliminate the errors and inefficiencies of the past and start a new era with a fresh outlook, with an advisory Senate; The inter-ethnic problems imposed by the policies and practices on official languages, colonisation, university admissions, recruitments and promotions in the state services would all be solved under this plan; And, it could start being implemented straightaway and advanced in stages as recommended, with no loss but only gains by all sections of the people and also to the main actors in today's political arena, daily saving Rs. 70m in money and 100s in deaths. The plan has real potentials to lead the Island to lasting peace in 2-3 years.

It must be realised that what has been going on in Eelam during the past decade is a revolution by the Island's youth against the social injustices of the 46 years since independence. It started with the JVP's youth uprising of 1970, and is today led by the LTTE who must be accepted as the current leaders of the Tamil nation. This revolution is posing a real challenge to the present political leaders who learned the art of politics based on the old system, as had been practised in Eelam in the past, and who are finding it difficult to adjust to the radical methods and aspirations of the youth. But they must accept this challenge in a healthy and objective manner and display open-mindedness, maturity and wisdom in assisting the youngsters to achieve the better aspects of what they aspire for themselves and their progeny, by ceasing to fight or compete with the youth but winning them over with compassion and understanding, and collaborating in building a secure future for all. The formation of a National Government would be necessary to steer through the recommendations herein, the brand new constitution suggested, and the national referendum involved. *This plan is designed to usher in a new era for the entire Island—if we start acting now!*

Proposed System of Autonomous States

The present 25 districts, reconstituted where necessary with new boundaries to maintain ethnic clusters, and broken up and re-combined as needed to keep to roughly the same total number of districts, will form the executive centres for all production, developmental and service-orientated work in the Island. Each district will have an elected District Council (DC) with 10-15 Village Councils (VCs) under it (for 10-15 villages each), managed by elected members, but assisted by public servants, like the DCs. The DCs will, in turn come under a new structure of eight provincial states.

The Island will be a union of these eight autonomous states, each with a State Parliament (SP) and a few DCs under it, and will be run by Cabinets of Ministers led by Chief Ministers and Deputy Chief Ministers. The Chief Minister of State (CMS) will be the leader of the political party obtaining the maximum number of seats at elections to be held every five years, say, from 1997. The CMS will then select his (or her) Deputy Chief Minister/s of State (DCMs) and the Cabinet. Each Minister will be in charge of one or more Ministries, administered by Secretaries of State (SS), Deputy Secretaries of State (DSS) and Assistant [Departmental] Secretaries of State (ADSS), with their subordinate staff.

The departmental divisions of the Ministries will be carried down to the levels of DCs and VCs, where Chairmen of Committees, appointed from among the elected members, will be in overall charge of specific functions, again administratively supported by full-time public servants.

State Parliaments will have absolute powers over all matters relating to their own states. On common subjects affecting other states as well, they will be advised, co-ordinated and minimally power-shared by a Republican Secretariat. The Republican organisation will be as follows:

There will be no central parliament but only an advisory Senate. The Republic will be headed by a President (RP) and a Vice President (RVP). After the five-year term, or prior demise, or resignation for personal reasons, or impeachment, of the first RP, the first RVP will be sworn in as President, and the most senior person among the seven non-NEP CMSs & Leader of Senate (LS) will automatically be sworn in as RVP. Seniority will be based on the total periods in office and, in the case of a tie, based on age. But the CMS of the NEP State will have a guaranteed right to be the 4th, 8th, 12th, 16th, 20th...RVP, and so on. The successions to these offices will continue uninterrupted in a similar manner. If the most senior CMS declines the office of RVP, the next most senior CMS becomes the RVP, but the declining CM, if still continues as CM, would be eligible later on.

The RP's role will be more ceremonial, and the RVP's more advisory, co-ordinative and mediatory, and limitedly executive, normally. If an SP is dissolved, the RVP will administer that state until a new SP is elected.

Goodbye to the Central Parliament

An important aspect of this author's Peace Plan is the abolition of the central parliament. The eight state parliaments will carry out the functions currently performed by the central parliament, with the advice and assistance of a non-political central Senate to be created by a new constitution. Thus, the provincial states will have the autonomy to govern their own territories, eliminating the past harmful effects of centralised power.

Successive Presidents will still be the nominal Heads of the Republic, but their executive powers will be much reduced. They will attend neither the Senate nor any of the State Parliaments when in office, unless invited, but ex-Presidents will become Honorary Members of the Senate for life, and will be able to contribute to the issues before the Senate, thus continuing to use their experience and expertise for the country's benefit.

The Vice President will, like a prime minister, be the personal liaison between the CMSs and the President, and chair their fortnightly consultative meetings. The Leader of Senate (LS) will rank equally with the CMSs and would be eligible to be considered for the RVP's office with them according to seniority, subject to the once-in-four times right of Tamil Eelam's CMS to become the RVP, and then President (RP). The RPs, RVPs and LSs will hold office only for a maximum of five years each, but the same persons could be re-elected as CMSs every five years.

The abolition of the central parliament will automatically elevate the status of the State Ministers and State Parliamentarians, of whom there would be many times the number as in the present central parliament, thus giving greater opportunities and avenues for fulfilment to many more individuals through political service to their own people, and also greatly reducing the evils of competition for a few top political positions.

The current ills faced by the Island are largely attributable to the inherent inefficiencies and disadvantages of centralised power, resulting in desperation among the regions and provinces that they have to take circuitous paths and suffer undue delays and inadequate understanding of their local problems, when ruled by a central parliament. Also, the existing Provincial Councils, which will in effect become autonomous State Governments, will find that in the proposed new structure of this plan, they have freedom to collect their own taxes and revenues from their regions and formulate and execute their own welfare and developmental programmes for the people of their provinces with only guidance, advice and assistance from the centre, routinely and whenever they seek help.

The existing buildings, facilities, and staff of the present Parliament will be handed over to the proposed Senate, and all similar assets of the Provincial Councils will be taken over by the State Parliaments.

A New Central Non-political Senate

The old Senate of the Island was scrapped in 1972 with the introduction of the Republican Constitution. It was found to delay and obstruct the passage of progressive legislation. The main reason why the obstructions and delays took place was because it was structured on the basis of a significant proportion of members who were yet active in party politics.

After twenty years of functioning without one, the need for a Senate seems to be now felt badly, as is evident from Mr. Mangala Moonesinghe's Option Paper (p-68) and Ven Siddhaththa Thera's Peace Proposal (p-33).

Under the Author's Plan described in this book for constitutional reforms based on eight decentralised autonomous states, the need yet for a central advisory, governmental link-structure could be productively met by a reintroduced Senate at the centre, without a House of Representatives. The only houses of elected representatives would be the provincial State Parliaments, District Councils, and Village Councils, thus also taking the governments much closer to the people than what presently exists.

The proposed Senate is recommended to be composed of non-political leaders of the communities selected from various walks of life and belonging to all parts of the Island, such as businessmen, engineers, medical doctors including *ayurvedic* and *unani* practitioners, lawyers, professors and teachers, trade unionists, social workers, and retired politicians. Both Sinhala and Tamil would be equally usable in the proposed Senate.

Ideally, the Senators would be educated or experienced at least to the first degree standard, because they have to perform an advisory and active function, and also be reasonably fluent in both national languages. Their appointments will be made by the President, on his own accord from his personal knowledge, as well as on recommendation from other leaders, for periods of 30 months (half of them, only initially) and five years (as the standard term thereafter), one half of the Senators thus retiring every 30 months. The Senators would not be members of political parties for the duration of their service, so that they will be free to make speeches and decisions independently on any issue, guided only by their own intellect, experience and conscience, with the country's welfare alone in mind. All retired Prime Ministers, Presidents, and Chief Ministers will become Honorary Senators for life and may speak on any issue, but not vote.

A Senate of 100 non-honorary members seems adequate, 10 to be appointed by the President on his own, and the rest on recommendations: 5 each from the RVP and each CMS, and 45 from leaders of registered political parties in proportion to their total votes obtained at the latest general elections. The Leader of Senate and a Deputy will be elected at its first meeting when a vacancy occurs, chaired by the RVP who will be an Ex-officio Senator.

Central Government Structure & Roles

The Central Government will play more of an advisory, co-ordinative, and diplomatic role than at present, and let the provincial states take the entire responsibility for almost all of their own affairs, interacting with one another as they deem fit, under this author's suggested plan.

There will be a Republican Secretariat, nominally under the RP and RVP, with Ministries headed by Republican Secretaries (RSs) and their Deputies (RDSs) and subordinate staff who will all advise, assist and co-ordinate the work of the corresponding Ministries of the eight states through Republican Ministerial Committees (RMCs) made up of all the State Ministers performing the same functions, who would elect their own Chairman, with their RS acting as the Committee's Secretary.

The President would see at monthly meetings, the Vice President, the CMSs and Chairmen of RMCs routinely, followed by a lunch or dinner, whereas the RVP will see the CMSs fortnightly at similar meetings.

The functions of the Central Government will be Advice, Mediation, Co-ordination, Training, Research and Standardisation on state matters with special focus on Legislation (through the Senate & Supreme Court), Diplomatic Missions, Visas & Passports, Finance & Banking, Railways, External Trade, Shipping & Defence, Deep-sea Fishing, Civil Aviation, and Tourism. These will be performed only with the states' participation.

The President will be the CIC, and the Vice President his Deputy of the Republican central pools of the Police, Army, Air Force, and Navy. These units will be of similar size to those in the Provincial States and not bigger, and will likewise assist in civilian duties during peace time. They will advise and train, but not have any authority over the states' units unless there is external aggression, when their top brass assume command over combined forces deployed from the states. The CMSs will be the CICs of the armed services units and the police in the states. The states may have units of any of the services, if they can afford it, but the highest ranks in the states will be Inspectors General for the Police, Lieutenant Generals for the Army, and equivalent ranks for any Navy and Air Force Units. The chiefs from the states will have equal opportunities for rotary promotions on seniority to the Republican units, with one rank higher, as will also the top personnel of the administrative & professional services, with the once-in-four assured right, as in the case of RVPs, to Tamil Eelam's officers.

All the central services, personnel, projects, buildings, etc. will be paid for equally by the eight states from their revenues, foreign aids and other incomes and assets, as agreed by discussion at the RMC for Finance.

The President, RVP, LS and others working at Republican & Senate levels will be expected to underplay their political and ethnic affiliations when in office.

Top Leadership & Two-stage Referendum

Under the plan proposed in this book, the Island will become the United Republic of Sri Lankan Democratic Socialist Sovereign States, commonly called, for convenience and continuity, *Sri Lanka* in English & Sinhala, and *Eelam* in Tamil, instead of *Ilankai*. The present system of Executive Presidentship, which has unexpectedly proved, in reality, perhaps worse than even the earlier parliamentary system, will cease. But, so as to effect a smooth transition from the old order to the new one proposed, it is suggested that the present President becomes the first Republican President (RP), the present Leader of the Opposition becomes the first Republican Vice President (RVP) to automatically succeed as President after a few years, and that the present Prime Minister becomes the first Leader of the Senate (LS), all as a part of the proposed new constitution to be placed before the Island's citizens in the second of a two-stage Referendum. In the first stage of the Referendum, to take place before the end of 1994, it is suggested that after an Interim Peace Accord signed by the President, Prime Minister, Leader of the Opposition, and the LTTE (ideally also by Chief Ministers/Governors of the eight Provincial Councils), that the peoples' consent be asked for to extend the terms of today's President and the current Parliament for a further three years, so as to usher in lasting peace to the Island through the formation of a National Government for enacting a new constitution as recommended in this author's plan, without presidential or parliamentary elections being held at this stage.

It is hoped that the present parliamentarians, provincial councillors and the people will ungrudgingly agree to this proposal in a gesture of magnanimity, compromise, and recognition of the services rendered in good faith by today's top statesmen, even if one might not agree with all their policies, actions and pronouncements of the past. The senior statesmen from the other parties should have ample opportunity to get elected to the highest positions in due course, once democracy is preserved and peace established with justice to all, by this transitional process.

In the new structure, the RP and RVP will be formally invited to take their positions and will be sworn into office by the Chief Justice (CJ), who will also receive their resignations (if the need occurs), when advised by the appropriate Republican Ministry. The LS will be sworn in by the RP, along with the Deputy Leader of Senate (DLS), a day after they are duly elected by the Senators at their first meeting chaired by the RVP. The Chief Ministers of State (CMS) will be sworn in by their respective states' Justices-in-Chief (JIC), on advice from the states' Election Commissioners, to whom their resignations will also be submitted as and when needed. State Ministers will be sworn in by their own Chief Ministers.

Justice and Legislature for Lasting Peace

A cornerstone of good government is fair and just laws, and their impartial and speedy application nearest to their locations of breach, when the breaches are discovered or reported. Justice must, of course, be done without fear or favour, and also be seen to be done. Both the victims and the guilty parties must see and be satisfied that they have received justice.

Disputes among private individuals could best be first heard by a five-member Village Tribunal (VT or *Panchayat*) under a Foreman, before cases are taken to District Courts. Each village should have a Tribunal. Its Members, appointed for five-year terms could be the five most popular candidates as decided by secret votes by the villagers. The person with the maximum number of votes could be the Foreman. Sexual equality must be maintained at these elections, and minimum educational qualifications and crime-free records should be required of candidates. The objective of the Tribunals should be to persuade the parties towards compromise and settlement, rather than punishments. Punitive verdicts of VTs, if any, should be limited to fines, as compensations and/or state revenues. VC officers would act as the VT's clerks who will record details of the case and the verdict, to be signed by the VT's Foremen.

The VT could pre-advise the parties to take any dispute to the District Court, or the latter may do so on their own, if they are unhappy with the VT's verdict. Each district will have a District Court, and each state, a High Court. At the apex of the Island's judiciary will be the Supreme Court. These courts will function freely as at present, with attorneys-at-law, magistrates, judges, Justices-in-Chief (for the states) and a Chief Justice, following the laws which are locally in use, except that the predominant language of each state will be used for trials and records, with translation facilities where needed. In the Supreme Court (SC), the cases will be tried and recorded in that language in which the case is filed, with English also permissible as a language of the SC till the end of 1999. Cases beyond the SC may perhaps be taken to UK's Privy Council. And, the system of Magistrates Courts may be continued, to function between the VTs and District Courts, near Village Councils, only if absolutely needed.

The proposed Senate will advise on state legislation, and approve Island-wide legislation. This would not be seen as an undesirable feature by the states, since the Senate will comprise of persons recommended and appointed from all over the Island, from among professionals, academics, businessmen, and only retired politicians with lifelong experience in law and government, all with affirmed non-affiliation to any political parties.

The translation of existing laws etc, into Sinhala & Tamil should be expedited so that justice can be fully dispensed in the peoples' languages.

The North-Eastern Provincial Merger

The Northern and Eastern Provinces of Eelam were merged in terms of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement of 1987, because "*the Northern and the Eastern Provinces have been areas of historical habitation of Sri Lankan Tamil speaking peoples, who have at all times hitherto lived together in this territory*". The words "*Since the Government of Sri Lanka proposes to permit adjoining Provinces to form one administrative unit...*" indicate that a merger was not solely intended for the above two provinces but also, in time, for other provinces in any future multi-state structure.

The words "a referendum to separate as *may be permitted*" [and not "*as must be permitted*" nor "*as will be permitted,*"] in the 1987 Agreement indicate that the merger was, more than not, meant to be permanent.

The Tamil speakers, in majority in the Eastern Province, are almost entirely Ceylon Tamils and Muslims. The 1988 Tamil-Muslim Agreement between the MULF and LTTE accepted a merged administration in the contiguous homeland composed of the Northern and Eastern Provinces (pp 62-64). The Accord of 1990 between five Tamil and three Muslim parties accepted the framework of a merged North and East with constitutionally devolved power under one Provincial Council (p 40). Seven top Tamil political parties and the CWC had, in 1992, recommended a permanent merger of the Northern and Eastern Provinces, to the Parliamentary Select Committee (p 40). The LTTE has reiterated a permanent merger of the two provinces, inter alia, as a basis for promoting peace, to the 1992 Delegation of Buddhist Monks (p 34). Thus, the Tamil speaking people of the Eastern and Northern Provinces want the merger to remain permanent, with ethnic power-sharing for the Sinhalese citizens too.

The specific time limit provided in the Agreement for any referendum was "*on or before December 31, 1988*". But all three Presidents have used their discretion and postponed the referendum several times so far, which was only meant as a possibility anyway. The merged province has been administered continuously by a Governor for six years, without any requests from its citizens for a de-merger. Also the referendum has been effectively invalidated by the course of the 1987-1994 events.

Considering all the above facts, the proposed N-E Referendum must be abandoned once and for all, since it will impede the intended peace process and will never be acceptable to the Tamil speaking people. To do this, it is strongly recommended that President Wijetunga should take the initiative and postpone it "indefinitely and irrevocably," with immediate effect as an opening diplomatic gesture, and thus pave the way for the commencement of a chain of responses to trigger a speedy and fruitful peace process to start again within the next few months of 1994.

Provincial Police and Armed Services

One major cause of ethnic unrest in Eelam in the past had been developed by Sinhala police & armed forces men operating in Tamil provinces, who did not have emotional ties with the population, culture or language of the areas in which they were deployed. They saw the local population as foreigners, and vice versa. It will be much more conducive to peace if such personnel are recruited for service within each state, from the local population itself, whom they will then treat with respect and care.

It will thus be necessary for every one of the eight states to have a local Police Force. The centre also needs a small pool. In the northeast, there exists the nucleus of a Tamil-speaking police unit belonging to the LTTE which is best expanded as TE's Police Force, and the existing Sri Lankan Police Force divided between the other states, when the proposed new eight-state constitution takes effect. Similarly it will be necessary for each state and the centre to have a local Army Unit of a few regiments, to assist the local police during emergencies including in times of floods and gales, as well as to work on construction projects. States with sea-line boundaries would benefit by having their own Navies, which could assist in the states' fishing industries as well as to guard the Island's sea-coasts. It will be useful for each state to have its own Air Force also, which could participate in civil aviation and agricultural infection-control, etc. But it would perhaps be unaffordable for individual states to own large numbers of even small aircraft. Hence the bulk of the Air Force and Aviation Services of the Island would be owned jointly by the states, with each state having its own small units. Standards for recruitments to the different ranks in all the above uniformed services, training, salaries, methods & procedures would be similar, as co-ordinated by their central organisations, but each state's units will be responsible ultimately to their own Chief Ministers. Only in the event of external aggression, will the states' units serve under the command of the most senior officer at the centre from a state.

A fair basis ought to be adopted for the material assets which are now owned by the common unitary state, when the new provincial states start. Formulas need be agreed upon for buildings, machinery, and industrial and manufacturing equipment as well as for military and armed services hardware. The most practical basis would be for the immovable items to belong to those states in which territories they now lie (e.g., land, factories, buildings & infrastructure). Financial assets and movable type of Air Force, Naval, Shipping and similar craft, equipment and hardware will become jointly shared equally by all the states. Due to the present unique circumstances, LTTE's arms will be donated to the TESS, and Sri Lankan Army's arms will be divided between the other seven states.

Professional & Administrative Services

Under this author's Plan for Peace in Eelam, all professional and administrative services will work independently in the different states, responsible to their own elected governments, but would collaborate at the centre for purposes of seminars, conferences, training programmes, holding of examinations, validation of qualifications, and so on, on a voluntary basis. But it would be necessary for smooth transition and continuity that, to start with, the same structures and standards as those which exist at the moment be followed in all the states. Any modifications in procedures and practices to suit the differential needs and problems of each state should ideally be implemented only after due consideration, based on actual experience and objective assessments, after a few years.

The existing professional bodies such as the Institution of Engineers, Sri Lanka, Ceylon Medical Council, Associations of Chartered and Cost & Management Accountants, Ceylon Law Society, and Ceylon Institute of Architects would probably reorganise themselves so as to have a co-ordinating office and library each, in a central location (not necessarily Colombo), with independent associations in the eight states functioning in one, two or all three of the locally operative languages. When professional activity starts thus in all the states, standards are bound to rise in the Island as a whole, with new methods, practices, medicines, materials, etc being invented, promoting more efficient local applications to suit indigenous needs. Complacency and lethargy of rural life will soon die.

The same will also naturally apply to managers, administrators, clerical officers, surveyors, nurses, and persons practising various trades. Local associations in the different professions and trades will increase the levels and spans of spare-time activities linked to wealth-creating skills even in the villages and districts—not merely the provincial centres. This, coupled with the economic development plans of the states, will no doubt increase the employment opportunities and productivity levels of states, and automatically improve the GNP of the Island as a whole.

The Administrative Services Commission plays a special role in the current public service structure of the Island. It has created the scope for favouritism in recruitments, appointments to high positions, transfers, etc., and given rise to a group of exclusive elites who dominate and not-uncommonly bungle the management of all of the Island's activities, due to their lack of professional education and training. This deficiency is best rectified in the new eight-state structure by treating the administrative service as just another professional field, and giving equal chances to all the professions in higher appointments. It would be necessary for higher officers to know both national languages, and also perhaps English.

Structure of The State of Tamil Eelam

The Northeast Provincial Council will, under this author's plan, become the Tamil Eelam Socialist State (TESS), with its own Parliament, Chief Minister & Cabinet, Chief Justice, IGP, Commanders of Army, Navy & Air Force Units, Secretaries of State as heads of Ministries (each with several departments and departmental heads), and eight District Councils (DCs) with several Village Councils (VCs) under each DC (See pages 75,78, 82,83, 85-89). The TESS, and the other seven states in the Island which would be appropriately named, with similar rights, will be linked at the centre by a Presidential Secretariat with Ministries but no Ministers, a Senate, and Police, Army, Navy & Air Force Centres with cadres pooled from the states, on advisory, co-ordinative, training & diplomatic roles.

The TESS Cabinet will be structured in order to ensure democratic rights to all its ethnic groups, as follows: There will be three Deputy Chief Ministers assisting the Chief Minister. At least one of the above four will be from the Eastern Province (EP) Districts, and one Muslim. In the Cabinet there will be a Sinhalese Minister whose special function will be to advise the Cabinet on all problems differentially faced by TESS's Sinhala citizens. The other states should have similar and reciprocal provisions to ensure the rights of their own ethnic minorities. Each state will choose its own language of administration with reciprocal facilities for those citizens without proficiency in that language. At the centre, the official order of linguistic precedence will be: Sinhala, Tamil, and English. Both national languages will be equally usable. Each state will have an ordered protocol list of religions, based on ethnic proportions. The central order will be: Buddhism, Hinduism, Christianity, Islam & c.

The Chief Minister of TESS will have once in four chances to become the Island's Vice President, and then President—the other three chances being offered to the other CMs & Senate Leader, on seniority (See p-75). Similarly, the top officials of TESS will have once in four chances of being promoted to the centre to co-ordinate the work of the entire Island, in their respective specialities and professions. Naturally, when working at the centre, it would be necessary that personnel know all three languages,

As described in pages 86 & 89, TESS will decide on all matters relating to education, land allocation, taxation, employment, and so on, within its territory, as will the other states, who will all have the right to negotiate foreign aid and to apply for affiliation with the UN, Commonwealth and other international agencies. TESS will decide how best it will absorb those now serving with the militant groups, within its armed, administrative and judicial services. TESS will also have to contribute equally, like the other states, to maintain the Senate and all the central facilities.

District Councils and Village Councils

District Councils (DCs) have been proposed before, in different forms, to democratically decentralise administration and to develop the Island. Devolution of limited autonomy to the DCs in order to satisfy some aspirations of ethnic minorities was also a secondary objective. E.g., in 1963/64, the SLFP Government aimed to establish DCs to replace the Kachcheries and to take over some of the functions of Revenue Districts. The UNP Government of 1965 produced a Draft Bill in 1968 for the DCs to increase efficiency and harness the co-operation of all classes of citizens in the administration, functioning under central control and direction. In 1979, UNP President J. R. Jayawardene initiated District Development Councils (DDCs) which were presented at the 1985 Thimpu Talks with his 1983 Proposals. All these proposals were duly considered and rejected by Tamils.

Yet, in essence, the DCs have several merits from which the entire Island would benefit in the long term, if the DCs function under the eight states as in this author's plan, with their own Village Councils (VCs), which will together replace Kachcheries, Municipalities, Urban & Town Councils, and DRO's Offices. Under the State Parliaments and Ministries they would form a two-layered simplified structure for proposals, decision-making and administration, thus facilitating improvement of government efficiency, enhancing the scope for democratic policies and decisions (*peoplisation*) with maximum autonomy for all ethnic groups to govern themselves at the grassroots levels.

The buildings, personnel, equipment and other assets now owned or occupied by Provincial Councils will be taken over by the State Parliaments, Ministries and Departments, along with any as required, from the Municipalities & Urban Councils. Also, all other government buildings and personnel in each provincial state will be taken over for the DCs and VCs. More buildings will be constructed as required, and additional personnel recruited.

As many functions as possible should be delegated to the VCs and DCs by the states, so as to achieve the above objectives in practice. The earlier proposals of all the former governments should be examined without political prejudice, and their best recommendations picked out, amended or expanded, and integrated into the new structures, for peoples' benefit.

Particular care must be taken to eliminate political or personal favouritism, bribery, corruption, and discrimination on grounds of race, sex, caste or religious faiths at all levels, from the very outset, in all states. DCs and VCs should be able to work in the language of the majority of their citizens and specially promote their religions and culture, without violating their state's policies, and to opt to join adjoining DCs or states. If these principles are built into the organisation and procedures of the DCs and VCs consciously during the legislation and planning stages, it shouldn't be difficult for Eelam to soon become, in reality, a Paradise Island.

Policy on Colonisation & Decolonisation

All the land within each state which is not owned privately, like all other immovable assets, will come under that state's ownership and jurisdiction. It will be up to each state to decide how it is to utilise its own land for the benefit of its citizens, but in order to provide a uniform policy for all the states, it is suggested that allocation of state land should follow the overall ethnic proportions in each state as at 1948, or closest applicable proportions, with top priority being given to those without any land-holding at all and with maximum number of years of residence in each state. If there is a surplus of unproductive lands available, renewable leases might be considered, even for those who already own land but with proven financial and organisational capability, to utilise the lands in a manner that public welfare will not be jeopardised in any way, but will somehow be served. Past colonisation schemes implemented, especially in TE, would have to be very carefully reviewed, and a fair and just decolonisation policy implemented.

Finance, Banking and Foreign Aid

The present Central Bank of the Island will continue, but as jointly owned equally by the eight states. Each state will have a nominee in the Board of Directors, which will appoint a qualified Governor responsible to itself, for the Bank's day-to-day management without undue interference from the Board or anyone else, advised and assisted by full-time staff and ad-hoc consultants including from international banks and agencies, and in consultation with the Republican Ministerial Committee (RMC) on Finance.

The existing commercial banks too will continue to operate in the same way as they are now functioning, but also as equally and jointly-owned companies of the eight states. New private-sector banks will be allowed to start in competition to the now-monopolistic Bank of Ceylon and Peoples Bank, with branches in one or more of the states, at the discretion of each state. Also, Building Societies will be allowed to be incorporated as in UK.

Taxes will be collected by each state from its citizens & businesses, and from each other for services rendered, to meet the expenditure of governing their states. The President, Vice President, Senators, and central government officers and activities will all be paid for by the states equally. All central government buildings and infrastructure will be owned by the states.

Each state will have the right to apply for and obtain foreign aid from friendly governments and international and private organisations abroad without in any way jeopardising the sovereignty of their own state, other states or the Island as a whole. Such aid may also be used to develop the central government facilities jointly. The Central Bank will manage all matters related to currency, foreign exchange, etc., guided by the RMC on Finance.

Policy on Proportional Representation

The concept and principle of proportional representation, as currently practised in Eelam for electing people's representatives to Parliament, is a step in the right direction, worthy of careful review and application to future elections (to State Parliaments, DCs & VCs) and in other suitable fields. But its flaws which have so far shown up, e.g., in successions to Independent MPs resigning their seats mid-term, need to be further examined and rectified before continuing or widening its application.

Thus, as contemplated by President Premadasa, it should promote better ethnic harmony if the principle of proportional representation is applied, *in general*, to appointments to all state departments, corporations, etc, and also to colonisation schemes, throughout the Island in the future. This could be incorporated into the new constitution being recommended in this author's plan. In selections for jobs, however, it must be remembered that the principle can only be a general guideline. In higher appointments, for example, personal merits of candidates would carry higher weightage, in the greater public interest, than his or her ethnic, religious, or any other grouping. In recruitments for the lesser positions such as manual workers, clerks, police constables, and privates in armed forces, it would be practicable to fully enforce proportionalism.

It is considered unwise to apply this principle in the field of education, since it would impair the principles of fair-competition & results-based-on-efforts, creating unhealthy attitudes in our future citizens' minds. In fact, the current war started due to the unfair application of this rule. But any attempts at favouritism and corruption in selections to schools and universities must, of course, be vigilantly guarded against and stopped. Also, it is unwise to apply the proportionality principle to castes as is done in India, for example, because it is felt that firstly casteism is almost dying in Eelam, even in the conservative Jaffna society; secondly, the more we talk of castes even for the purpose of positive discrimination, the more it will tend to survive; and thirdly, if one's caste grouping is not asked for in application forms, as has been the case all along, any caste prejudices will be personal to recruiting officers—who could be duly dealt with.

Why then apply the principle to races? This is indeed a pertinent question. Unfortunately, the way politics had been played during the past five decades or more, people have been compelled to think in terms of Sinhalas, Tamils, Muslims, and so on, and hence the problem we are now facing. If the problem is solved at this stage, on the lines suggested in this author's plan, after another five decades it should become possible that our grandchildren will only think of themselves as Sri Lankans or *Eelavar* living in the different states, and not as Sinhalas, Tamils & so on.

SPECIAL COLLECTION
JAFFNA

PUBLIC LIBRARY

Nationality, Passports and Identities

All citizens of the Island have been generally referred to as Sri Lankan nationals in recent years, officially. In identity cards and passports, however, dates & places of birth are also given. In some cases, the type of citizenship was identified, e.g., citizen by descent or by registration. These latter details enabled government authorities to know, with a high probability, the holder's racial origin, and the usual place of residence, frequently with undesirable results & dire consequences for the holder. In documents like birth & marriage certificates, the person's race was also required.

Much could be said against the concept of race in these civilised times, and about its scientific fallacies. E.g., What is the race of an Eelam citizen born to Tamil-speaking parents, who knows only Sinhala and behaves like one, or of someone born to a Tamil-speaking man and a Sinhala-speaking woman who knows only English and follows western culture? One's racial identity could have been omitted and everyone considered as Sri Lankans, if absolute equality had been given to Sinhala and Tamil languages quite early in the post-independence years. Then, all citizens could have been treated equally in respect of recruitment for jobs, promotions, university placements, colonisation schemes, etc., and, by this time it would have been possible to dispense with any need or requirement to identify or record one's race. And the present war wouldn't have started.

But now that things have come to this unexpected and unfortunate stage, it seems necessary that at least for another 25 years or so, the racial origins of citizens of the Island have to be elicited and recorded, even with possible errors, injustices and malpractices, to try to ensure that justice is done to all ethnic groups in terms of the peace agreements hoped to be reached. It has however also to be recognised and accepted at least now, that the Sinhala and Ceylon Tamils are culturally two distinct nations, and that Muslims, Up-country Tamils, and certain others, are also distinct ethnic groups, all together constituting the Eelam or Sri Lankan Nation.

Hence, in identity cards, and also in application forms, for the near future at least, it would seem vital to identify each Eelam citizen's race and state, so as to apply and monitor the principle of proportionality. In passports, however, it would appear unnecessary to identify one's race. The state to which the person belongs, would be the residential location for, say, the previous five years; i.e., a person's state could change from time to time, needing new ID Cards to be issued. As regards racial identity of children of mixed parents, fair rules will have to be formulated and applied.

The documents could be issued both in and by the states and by the centre, as per standard requirements and procedures jointly agreed by the states—passports for travel abroad, and identity cards for other purposes including, when absolutely needed, for inter-state travel within the Island.

A Peaceful Language & Education Policy

Under this plan for an Eight-state Republic where equal opportunities will be available for members of any ethnic group to work their way up to the highest offices in the Island, there will be a greater willingness and also the need to study each other's language. It is on the above basis that the following Language Policy is formulated and recommended.

In primary schools, the teaching will be only in one language — the so-called mother tongue, but with a difference. There will be no ban if a parent wishes to educate an offspring in the other language. A Tamil man decides to teach his girl in Sinhala, for example, and a Sinhalese woman could decide that she wishes to teach her boy in Tamil at the primary stage, i.e. up to 11 years. Education will be compulsory, up to 18 years in secondary schools. Up to GCE/OL (16 years), the second national language and English too will be taught in schools, but optionally. For the next two years, the language of instruction will be the students' choice between Sinhala & Tamil, when they will either prepare for the GCE/AL, with or without the idea of entering universities or other institutions of tertiary/technical/professional education, or follow craft-type courses enabling them to seek employment or start self-employment. At universities, education will be either in Sinhala or Tamil, but all three languages will be available to be offered as additional, optional subjects. The states will naturally decide on whether Sinhala or Tamil takes precedence in their own schools, universities, and offices, and up to what levels.

Recruitment to public service will be in either language, for work in either language, but the states would reward those voluntarily obtaining higher proficiency in both languages, with monetary incentives (which would increase with increasing grades) and also job promotions.

Any state where more than half the population speak a particular language could adopt that language as their main administrative language, but provide assistance for any member of the public to transact business with government offices in the other language. There will also be limited facilities for tourists and visitors to obtain services in English.

In the Republic's affairs at the centre, both languages will be equally usable, but on ceremonial occasions, Sinhala will take precedence over Tamil. The Senate will use both languages, with simultaneous translation facilities, and any Chair-person will rightfully speak in the language of his/her choice. All papers and documents will be in both languages, at the centre. The language of courts will be the official language of the state, but there will be translation facilities to enable any member of the public to give evidence in his or her language of greater proficiency. Thus, both Sinhala and Tamil will be officially usable languages throughout Eelam.

Stages of Progress to Normality & Peace

This section contains an outline of suggested major stages of progress towards normality and peace in Eelam, for consideration by the Government, LTTE and all others— some for immediate action, and the rest to be discussed & processed through a two-stage Peace Accord, say, in October 1994 and December 1996:

TIME FRAME: One Month (Target Limit: 31/05/1994):

- * **Indefinite and Irrevocable Presidential Postponement**, of the proposed Demerger Referendum for the Northeastern Province (NEP) as an opening gesture.
- * **Reassurance** by LTTE of their desire to participate in a direct peace process.
- * **Freezing** of all the current initiatives and plans on NE Colonisation Schemes.
- * **Assurance** by the LTTE, that if the Armed Services and Police pull out of the NEP's districts, the LTTE would take full responsibility for policing during negotiations, and guarantee peace and order — in particular, the safety of all civilians including unarmed members of other political groups and their families.

TIME FRAME: Further Two Months (Target Limit: 31/07/1994):

- * **Withdrawal** of all Government Armed Personnel and all Police from NE areas.
- * **LTTE bans carriage** of arms in the NEP, except by LTTE's uniformed police, and assumes full responsibility for peace & order in the NEP, where disputes and complaints during the entire negotiation process until a *Final Accord* is signed, will be settled by Citizens' Courts with members of Eelam's official Judiciary and Attorneys-at-law advising and observing the conduct of all trials & mediations.
- * **Negotiation Visits** of the Parliamentary Constitutional Select Committee (PCSC) to the NEP now commence on a regular basis, escorted by LTTE's Police.

TIME FRAME: Further Three Months (Target Limit: 31/10/1994):

- * **Signing of an *Interim Peace Accord*** by the Government, Opposition & LTTE incorporating the following and related aspects after due discussions in Jaffna, with observers from ICRC, UNHCR and a few local NGOs, e.g., MIRJE & CRM.
- * **One aspect of the Interim Accord** will be that the Eelam Government will meet the cost of salaries of officers and of supplies & maintenance of all offices and administrative centres until the *Final Accord*, including for LTTE's police duties.
- * **Presidential General Amnesty** to members of all militant groups in the Island and the release of the 20,000 or so political prisoners & detainees in the Island.
- * **LTTE releases** all its own prisoners and detainees held anywhere within NEP.
- * **Removal** of all economic and food blockades, curfews, no-go-zones and government restrictions, Naval and SLAF patrols in or over areas in the Northeast, and resumption of educational, health, banking, agricultural & industrial activities.
- * **Setting up of facilities** for safe & faster transport by land, sea and air to the NEP for returning inland refugees, relatives, diplomats and officials (assisted & coordinated by UNHCR and ICRC); also internal transport services within NEP.

TIME FRAME: Further Two Months (Target Limit: 31/12/1994):

- * Recall of NEP's Governor, his essential duties taken over by PCSC Chairman.
- * LTTE/PFLT irons out, with the other political parties operative in the NEP, a constitutional governmental structure for TE's proposed Socialist State (TESS), and also for the entire Island so as to ensure fair and practically equal rights for the Tamil, Muslim and other ethnic groups including the Sinhala, and submits its proposals to the President by 30/09/1994. The author's proposals in this book may be considered as a starting point and adopted in outline, in order to save time.
- * Arrangements for postal voting through Diplomatic Missions, of all refugees resident abroad, for the *Stage-1 Referendum* proposed to be held by 31/12/1994.
- * *Stage-1 Referendum* to extend the terms of the President & present Parliament to form a National Government to promote lasting peace by a New Constitution.

TIME FRAME: Further Nine Months: (Time Target: 30/09/1995):

- * The President consults all political parties represented in Parliament on the above LTTE-led proposal through the PCSC, and forges a final set of proposals through discussions with the Provincial Councils on the planned new Island-wide structure, and submits it for parliamentary approval by, say, 30/09/ 1995. In the above will be incorporated, the *Stage-2 Referendum* for, say, 31/12/1996.

TIME FRAME: Further Three Months (Target Limit: 31/12/1996):

- * Draft of the New Constitution to be processed by the PCSC before 30/09/1996.
- * Once the final proposals and the New Constitution reach a form which satisfies them, LTTE announce their consent to accept the new order and to donate their arms under agreed conditions to the proposed TESS Army once the New Constitution is passed by the Parliament and accepted in the Island-wide Referendum.
- * Approval of the New Constitution by the National Government & Parliament.
- * *Stage-2 Island-wide Referendum*, with postal votes from overseas refugees, to accept the New Constitution approved by the National Government & Parliament.
- * Signing of *Final Peace Accord* by the President, PM, Opposition Leader, Chief Ministers of PCs, LTTE & all Political Party Leaders, the UN and Commonwealth.

TIME FRAME: Further Four Months (Target Limit: 30/04/1997):

- * New General Elections for the Provincial State Parliaments, possibly under international supervision, appointments of President, Vice President, Senators, Senate Leader & Deputy, formation of State Governments, and related matters.
- * Formation of Provincial Police Forces on co-ordinated & standardised basis, including the absorption of LTTE's Police Force into TESS Provincial Structure.
- * Formation of armed force units in Provincial States; donation of LTTE's arms.
- * Organisation, co-ordination, and reception of returning refugees from overseas.
- * Seeking and acceptance of aid from friendly nations and international agencies.
- * Commencement of Rehabilitation, Reconstruction and Developmental activities by the Provincial States, on the first of two successive Five Year Plans, with assistance from UN and other International Agencies, and world's friendly nations.

Some Basic Human Considerations

Violence provokes counter-violence. Surreptitious actions promote similar actions in opposing camps. Acts of injustice always breed conflict, and varieties of resistance. Violence, injustice, cheating, cruelty and similar practices are all decried by the world's religions including those of the Island of Eelam. The Island's warring parties must never forget these facts.

Also, organised large groups and governments in power generally assume an air of superiority over minority groups, and their perspective of what is just and fair is usually obscured by misplaced faith in their numerical strength, assumed superiority and a sense of indestructibility. This has happened, to everyone's detriment, in the case of Eelam too.

No race, nation or country likes to be ruled or dominated by another. All individuals, irrespective of their races, positions or social groups attach greater values to their own languages, religions, cultural heritage and freedom. Though most people may tolerate infringements in the above matters to differing limits, some, particularly under severe and sustained deprivation and injustice, become hardened and prepared to defend such rights with their lives, although all persons are born equal, with more or less equal levels of intelligence, desires, aspirations, self-esteem, and bravery. These facts apply to all humans including those of Eelam, and it is wrong for one group to want to rule over the others.

The most civilised way, in the long run, and the one which always causes least amount of strife and suffering all round, while ensuring dignity, self-respect, lasting satisfaction and peace for all concerned, is to resolve grievances and conflicts by sincere, non-violent, open-minded and frank negotiations. Such methods promote international sympathy for the victims and minimise losses. But killings and destruction create further hatred, counter-violence and indifference. Gandhi demonstrated this, but unfortunately Gandhian methods have failed in Eelam.

In today's world of fast and efficient communications, millions of intelligent, fair-minded people in all the continents watch the actions of leaders of even Eelam-like small countries and groups almost daily, and make their own judgements on every action of those leaders, whatever the leaders' propaganda machinery may portray. And, the leaders' own people also can lose faith in them, when made to suffer endless hardships.

Eelam is a literate Island with enormous resources and potentials, now made poorer by the racial conflict. Two hundred thousand lives and numerous homes have been lost, industries, morale and infrastructure destroyed, disorder and confusion created, and the people are disorganised and despondent. It is hence vital that peace be pursued in Eelam without dealy. It is primarily the government's responsibility to initiate this.

Four Possible Questions and Answers

Q: Has this Peace Plan been so far discussed with the Government of Sri Lanka or the LTTE or any other political party in Sri Lanka, any foreign diplomats or international organisations? *A: No, it is being offered for the first time in this book, with the hope and expectation that the Government and the LTTE would firstly hold direct discussions briefly on the Plan, then muster the support of all others concerned, and finally, as a National Government with all political parties, develop, streamline and implement it.*

Q: What would happen if the Plan is considered, and then not accepted? *A: The Plan, as presented in this book is in fact an outline formula, meant as a starting point for discussions, negotiations, expansion and final acceptance by all the parties. But it contains several radical and original basic features which are fair and attractive to all groups, with a real potential of leading to lasting peace. If this Plan does not trigger off peace talks at this stage, and if it fails to contribute even later to the forging of peace through the Tamils regaining their birth-rights, the logical result can only be continued economic strife, deaths, starvation, turmoil and suffering in the entire Island, possibly followed in due course by the Island's disintegration, with perhaps some form of foreign intervention and domination.*

Q: Would this Plan not lead to the Island's disintegration any way, when autonomy is given to the eight states, with no iron-fisted parliamentary control at the centre? *A: No. On the contrary, it should promote real democracy at the provincial, district, and village levels, and also lead to better and lasting inter-ethnic understanding and harmony based on equality, if it is implemented faithfully in all its aspects and facets. The Tamils, for instance, will not want to exercise their right of self-determination and break away from the union because their aspirations will be satisfied under the proposed structure, with equal opportunities for Tamils to rise to the highest positions in the Island and play an equal part at the centre & internationally.*

Q: The areas and coast-lines claimed as Tamil Eelam (TE) are considered by many Sinhalese to be unduly large in comparison to Tamil population ratio. Is that fair? *A: It's NOT UNFAIR, viewed from all angles, and in all its facets: 1. That is the way settlement has occurred over the centuries, and the Tamils aren't claiming all they could; 2. Most of TE is infertile, with little rainfall, water sources & power potentials, no gem-mines, tea & rubber estates, etc; 3. When TE becomes a state, many Tamils will move out from Sinhalese areas into TE, easing competitive pressure for the Sinhalese; 4. Under this Plan, boundary villages are fairly exchangeable between states, to maintain natural ethnic settlements; 5. Muslims and some Sinhalese too will live in TE—not only Tamils.*

Conclusion

The current problem in the Island of Eelam is, without any doubt, political and ethnic-based. It started soon after the Island's Independence in 1948. Only because, and when, non-violent democratic methods failed to solve it during the 30-35 succeeding years, did it turn violent, as an ultimate form of Tamil national revolution for survival, born out of the frustration faced by our younger citizens of Tamil origin. The young Tamil freedom fighters are not terrorists by nature, upbringing or culture. They have been forced into this violent form of protest, having been cornered by the oppressive and unimaginative methods unfortunately followed by all succeeding Sinhala-dominated governments since 1948. The Island is now on the brink of permanent disunity and economic chaos. But it is still possible to solve the ethnic dispute and put the Island back on the long road to reunion and recovery without further bloodshed, if the political leaders now in power take immediate steps, with suitable initiatives, to resolve the problem through negotiation and compromise. This book outlines a plan to solve the complex issues involved, in a permanent & lasting manner with minimum hardship to all, by peaceful negotiation and compromise, within 2-3 years.

What is firstly required is a decision by the current leaders with power: President Wijetunge, Premier Wickremasinghe, Opposition Leader Sirimavo Bandaranaike and LTTE's Leader Pirabakaran, to fully solve this problem in 2-3 years, with justice to all, and minimum losses & hardship all round. To do that, actions must be taken from now on, from Day-1. The first action should be to stop any further deaths, bloodshed, tensions and the unnecessary expenditure on warfare. This only requires the announcement of an unconditional ceasefire, and confinement of all fighters to barracks. It does not matter who does it first. Let whoever wants to win that honour announce it first. The other party should, and will, follow suit, and still earn the peoples' salutes and world-wide applause. Other actions to follow are clearly outlined, as guidelines, in the immediately preceding pages of this book.

There are significant advantages to be gained, if the process of negotiations could be initiated, conducted, concluded and followed-up to execution without any external intervention, through direct contact and participation of the parties to the conflict. It is best done by ushering a fresh breeze of Island-wide reconciliation among the different ethnic and political groups, ideally spearheaded by the same persons at the helm today, continuing in leadership positions for another 5-8 years at least. This has to be done with the approval of the people through a two-stage referendum, with a new constitution to change the present unitary, centralised governmental structure to an eight-state union of autonomous provincial governments, with democratic district-level and village-level participation in governing the provinces.

This opportunity is also best seized, as far as possible, to simultaneously rectify most other existing major social, constitutional, economic & related problems (which may not have direct links with the ethnic issue), and to consolidate all the beneficial policies already implemented by all previous governments, irrespective of which political parties really initiated them; e.g., Free Education Scheme and Ceiling on Private Land Ownership.

The creation of peace involves three important stages: 1. Knowing what to do (in clear-cut terms, to bring about peace as acceptable to the warring parties); 2. Knowing how to do it; 3. Doing it. The third stage can't be reached without passing through the first two stages. What exactly this author's plan does, as presented in this book, is to facilitate these first two stages to be cleared expeditiously, within a matter of months rather than years.

The plan describes what the Author firmly believes is a fair and practical solution which will bring the long-overdue peace to the Island, with equality, freedom, and opportunities for all—also ensuring smooth transition, continuity, and minimum of further loss of lives and material wealth and potentials. It does not go into all the details involved. It couldn't have. It may even contain an imperfection here, and a loophole there, to be re-examined and rectified. While no apologies are offered or intended for the way in which this book has been written, it is worthy of mention (as will no doubt be appreciated by those with experience) that the attempt made in presenting a complete plan, even in such outline, is a stupendous task which would have normally involved several thousands of man-hours of consultation, research, correspondence, discussion, explanation and publicity before being presented in writing, as a complete plan in book-form. The plan is a starting point for peace talks. It is a New Year Gift for Eelam, to be realised through its political leaders. It is hoped this gift is well received.

The Author has watched with optimism, the peace initiatives recently concluded in Somalia & Eriteria, ongoing dialogues for peace in Palestine, N. Ireland, South Africa & Bosnia, and also the Soviet Union's break-up.

Let us derive wisdom and new hope from the above world trends. Let us all make a united effort in 1994 to pave the way to restore our Island back to even beyond its fullest past glory, so that when 21st Century dawns, Eelam will be a model of flourishing third world democracy and lead the world in fine arts, literature, religion and science, if not in technology. Let 's make the world flock to our Buddhist, Hindu and other shrines for peaceful prayers and meditation, and to enjoy nature's harmony and spiritual tranquillity. Let 's not miss this probably last chance to save the unity of the Island and to end the inefficiencies, injustices and tensions of centralised power. It is really a choice between: LET-US-REUNITE-NOW-AND-LIVE-TOGETHER, or CONTINUE-FIGHTING-AND-DIE-SEPARATELY. The choice is ours!

ஈழமும் சிங்கள மக்களும்

[ஆக்கியோன்: பேராசிரியர் கோபன் மகாதேவா, 1991]

சிங்களர் எம் சோதரர்கள். சிலோன்முழுதும் ஈழம் தான்.
எங்கள் இடம் தமிழ் ஈழம். எஞ்சியது அவர் ஈழம்.

சிங்களரின் நற்குணங்கள் சில அன்று, பல உண்டு.
இங்கு சிலவற்றை நாம் எடுத்துரைப்போம், சுருக்கமாய்:

பண்பாக விருந்தினரைப் பலவிதமாய் உபசரிப்பர்.
உண்மைசேர் நண்பருக்கு உயிரையுமே கொடுத்திடுவர்.

கண்போல் தம் கலை, மதங்கள் காதலுடன் பேணிடுவர்.
திண்ணையில் வசித்திடிலும் துப்புரவாய் இருந்திடுவர்.

சமத்துவத்தைத் தமிழருக்குச் சாதனையில் மறுத்திடிலும்
தமக்குதவும் தமிழரையோ தோள்களிலும் சுமந்திடுவர்.

வண்ணம் சேர் சித்திரங்கள் வடிவாக வரைந்திடுவர்.
எண்ணில்லாக் கைத்தொழிலில் எழிலான பொருளமைப்பர்.

புண்ணியங்கள் தேடுதற்குப் புத்த மதம் பேணிடுவர்.
துண்டினைத்தான் உடுத்தாலும் துவைத்தலம்பி உடுத்திடுவர்.

புதுவருடத் தினத்தன்று பெற்றோரை வணங்கிடுவர்.
பொதுநலங்கள் பேணிடுவர்; போற்றிடுவர், நற் சேவை.

எந்நாட்டு அநீதிகளை எதிர்ப்பதற்கும் சிலர் கூடிச்
சிந்துக்கள், பைலாக்கள், சிருஷ்டித்துப் பாடிடுவர்.

மதக்குரவர் மார்களுக்கு மரியாதை கொடுத்திடுவர்.
விதம் விதமாய்த் தளபாடம் வீட்டுக்குப் பொறித்திடுவர்.

எதிரிகளே என்றாலும் ஏளனமாய், மேடைகளில்,
மதிகெட்டு ஏசாமல் மரியாதை கொடுத்திடுவர்.

தமிழரின்நற் திறமைகளைத் தமக்குள்ளே போற்றிடுவர்.
இமியளவும் தயங்காமல் இணைந்தோர்க்கு ஈய்ந்திடுவர்.

சிங்களவர் நற்குணங்கள் சில எனினும் எடுத்துரைத்தோம்;
எம் உரிமை மதித்திட்டால் ஏன் அவரை நாம் விரும்போம்?

[Origin: "Poems in Tamil" by Kopan Mahadeva,
ISBN 1-873265-03-4, CENTURY HOUSE, U.K.]

EELAM AND THE SINHALAS

[Translation by: Prof. Kopan Mahadeva, 1993]

The Sinhallas are our kith and kin; all of Ceylon, our so-named Eelam of yore,
Tamil Eelam being our homeland — Eelam's bulk being their own, old abode.

With several classical talents and traits are the Sinhallas divinely showered,
A dozen and a half of which, we've now picked out and briefly considered:

Home-guests, in many magnanimous ways they treat, kings-and-queens-like,
And to genuine friends, individually, they would even gladly give their lives.

They love and cherish their arts, and faiths, and culture as their eyes,
And even humble peasants who live in huts keep their dwellings nice.

Though in practice, to Tamils, effective equality they have thus far denied,
Those Tamils who help them, they support and even heave on shoulders high.

The Sinhallas are talented artists, who create colourful masterly paintings,
And in countless, cottage handicrafts, make breath-taking beautiful things.

They fondly cherish Buddhism as the chosen means to boons and beatitude,
And even the poorest, in worn rags, show to cleanliness a positive attitude.

By tradition they prostrate before and pray to parents on New Year's eves,
While most Sinhallas work for public welfare and give praise for good deeds.

Against even the smallest of injustices in world's nicks and nooks remotest,
There are Sinhallas who string lyrics and bailas and sing in sincere protest.

The Sinhallas, as a race, punctually pay to priests obeisance and homage,
And creatively make various types of comfortable furniture, for all ages.

Even when speaking of rivals, from political and other varied platforms,
They never let loose their tongues in denegrating, but in dignified terms.

They admire and appreciate the goodness in Tamils in their private talks,
And give without slightest of hesitation, anything at all to agreeable folks.

We do acknowledge, and pay tributes thus to even some of Sinhallas' traits;
Why wouldn't we love them if only they'd respect and recognise our rights?

[Origin: "Poems in Tamil" — ibid.]

MY HEART WEEPS AND BLEEDS (1987)

[Origin: "The Pearly Island & Older Poems" by Kopan Mahadeva,
ISBN 1-873265-00-X, 60pp, CENTURY HOUSE, U.K., 1991]

My heart weeps and bleeds for the youth of my land
Of birth. They have been led into hate
And to kill and destroy. Was this caused by fate?
Or by the will of some big-headed man-gods?

How different are you, young ones, from each other?
You have indeed a thousand and one things in common
And just one, or maybe two, points one could summon
Which are not same, yet pose no real cause for bother.

My heart weeps and pleads for the bewildered youth
Of my so-called race, whatever may be the truth
Of the concept of race in these otherwise blessed
Civilised times — considered in the scientific sense.

They are well-born and well-bred children, God's creations,
Driven to the courting of death and destruction —
Sadly, seemingly madly, their motivation
Being a convinced sense of self-preservation.

Do our ancestral faiths preach to kill and hate? If they do,
Then I opt not even to glance in the directions
Of those bloody beliefs. And I will not poke
The corpses of the disciples of such sickly religions
With a million million metered pole.

*O, you men with power, silent sinners in the saddle,
Do something, soon, to solve the Island's muddle.*

My heart weeps when of hard-built, hand built homes I hear
And public buildings with savings and belongings set on fire —
The infra-structure of our impoverished, developing lands
Incinerated, demolished, destroyed — by our own hands.

Will the world give aid and assistance in view of
such wanton waste?
What for aid? To burn and break and bury again,
in hate and haste?

If 'A' wants to be free and himself rule,
Is it wrong if 'B' aspires to do this too?
If 'C' seeks to secure her and her people's future,
'D' could do so too. The same applies to culture,
Language, religion, health and life and kin and kith.
Others' rights and liberties are wrongful things to play around with.

*O, men of reason, justice, right and honour, wake up!
To open all eyes and minds, the leadership you must take up!!
Do find the keys to the kingdoms of peace and love
And teach the youth of brotherly, sisterly, mutual love.*

*O, men with power, use it now and well. Be fair
To all the different sections in equal share.
Stop the killings, arson, rape, and usher amity
Or else abandon and proceed, forthwith, into history.*

Don't make me feel ashamed to claim I was born
In the Pearly Island — with all her moral glory shorn.

My heart weeps and bleeds for the youth of my land
Of birth. They have been led into hate
And to kill and destroy. Was this caused by fate?
Or by the will of some big-headed man-gods?

ON PRIDE

Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall. — Solomon

Of all the causes which conspire to blind
Man's erring judgment, and misguide the mind,
What the weak head with strongest bias rules
Is pride, the never-failing vice of fools.

— Alexander Pope

LOVE & HATE IN BUDDHISM

The pursuit of the doctrine of hate is not good for anyone. Hate may or may not injure the person against whom it is directed, but it does definitely injure the person who hates...If Buddhism is love and compassion, who in this world can touch it, let alone destroy it? But if Buddhism is merely an empty shell devoid of the essence of love, the earlier it disappears the better it is for the world. — Dr. E. W. Adikaram.

WARS

Wars are sores in our peace-decked souls,
Inflicted by pre-conceived goals
Of selfishness in leading roles.

Wars are venomous snakes, nightmares
Into which a misled nation dares —
Unheedful of real needs and cares.

Wars are spores in old wormy gapes
Of human hearts which suffer rapes
By men who look like moustached apes.

Wars are torture, tricks, and cruelty,
Sickness, hunger, pain, poverty,
And wicked weapons of novelty.

Wars are games of chance and choice
Where the generals are those who rejoice
With their peoples merely pawns in the maze.

Wars are made 'to end wars all'
And for many other motives tall
By those who shirk true human call.

Are wars safety valves sent by gods
When world's population explodes
And optimality erodes?

[Origin: "The Pearly Island & Older Poems" — ibid.]

ON FORCE, FOES & WARS

Who overcomes force, hath overcome but half his foe. — **Milton;**

War loves to seek its victims in the young. — **Sophocles**

War is the business of barbarians. — **Napoleon**

There never was a good war, or a bad peace. — **Franklin.**

THE MEANING OF TAMIL'S EELAM

[National Liberation Song of Ceylon Tamils]

"Eelam is our craving
to regain our past.
Eelam is the Goddess
enshrined in our hearts.
Eelam is wise easement
of neighbourly strains.
Eelam is the nectar
which mitigates our pains.
Eelam is our great mother
who feeds our souls.
Eelam is franchise
for each nation's goals.
Eelam is a boost to all
ethnic groups' prospects.
Eelam is mutual love,
dignity and respect.
Eelam is elbow room
for everyone's own fates.
Eelam is freedom
for all to become greats.
Eelam is our mantra
more soothing than 'Om'.
Eelam is tomorrow's calm
after today's storm.
Eelam is fresh breath
and constitutional tact.
Eelam is not divorce
but a marriage contract.
Eelam is the most precious
future we could find.
Eelam is everlasting peace
in every Lankan mind."

[Origin: "The Pearly Island & Older Poems" — ibid.]

UNITY

Unity is a unique and sane human quality
Born when genuine liberty loves and weds equality.

Unity is an oiled machine with varied components
Needing each one of them, even to function for moments.

Unity is a delicate bloom destroyed by the heat
Of selfishness, power-hunger, discrimination, deceit.

Unity is Give-and-Take, Forget-and-Forgive, pity,
Live-and-Let-Live, Love-Thy-Neighbour, and magnanimity.

Unity is compassion, consideration, kindness,
The will to sink or swim together, and oneness.

Although unity is what some might say they have in mind
When flirting with short-sighted goals of every kind,

Unity is not merely for other people to be preached,
But firstly for ourselves, in our lives, to be reached.

[Origin: "The Pearly Island & Older Poems" — *ibid.*]

ON UNITY AND HOPE

Behold! How good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!
— **The Bible**

United we stand, divided we fall. — **U.S. Kentucky State's Motto**

Liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable! — **D. Webster**

All your strength is in your union, all your danger is in discord. — **Longfellow**

To me the future seems full of hope because, although there are many conflicting tendencies, and although some of these tendencies of our present life are for evil, yet, on the whole, the tendencies for good are in the ascendancy.

— **Theodore Roosevelt.**

ON LOVE, HATRED, JUSTICE & INDIFFERENCE

He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen
cannot love God whom he hath not seen. — **St. John**

Love levels all inequalities. — **Dr. Samuel Johnson**

Hatred is as blind as love. — **Shakespeare**

Love rules his kingdom without a sword. — **Prof. H. Drummond**

1. Justice is love's order. 2. Nothing but love has ever reigned on the throne
of creation; nothing but love ever will reign. — **Rev. J. M. Gibson**

The worst sin towards your fellow creatures is not to hate them, but to be
indifferent to them: that is the essence of inhumanity.

— **George Bernard Shaw.**

WE SHALL OVERCOME

*"We shall overcome, we shall overcome,
We shall overcome some day;
Oh, deep in my heart I do believe
We shall overcome some day.*

*"We shall walk in peace, we shall walk in peace,
We shall walk in peace some day;
Oh, deep in my heart I do believe
We shall walk in peace some day.*

*"We shall all be free, we shall all be free,
We shall all be free some day;
Oh, deep in my heart I do believe
We shall all be free some day.*

*"We shall learn to love, we shall learn to love,
We shall learn to love some day;
Oh, deep in my heart I do believe
We shall learn to love some day."*

[Origin: Authorship Unknown]

THE AUTHOR

Kopalapillai Mahadeva was born in Sri Lanka (then called Ceylon) on 05/01/1934, as the middle son of cigar manufacturer, building contractor and shop owner Kanthar Velauthar Kopalapillai and his wife Appah Ponnamma, of the Madduvil South and Kaithady Nunavil villages in the District of Chavakachcheri of the Island's Northern Province. He is known to his older friends and colleagues as **Maha** and, in later life, particularly to Western associates, he is better known by his abbreviated first name **Kopan** (believed to be the world's first such name, ironically meaning, in Tamil, 'The Angry Man'. In real life, however, he has never shown his anger, at least in public).

Mahadeva's early education was in his ancestral Tamil language at the school founded by an uncle (Ayurvedic Physician Mr. Appah Vettivelu) and at eight he joined Drieberg (Methodist) College for English education, which he continued at Chavakachcheri Hindu and Jaffna Central (Methodist) Colleges. In 1951 he won selection by University of Ceylon, Colombo, for an engineering **BSc**. In 1955 he graduated with **Honours in Civil Engineering** and joined Ceylon's Public Works Department which he left in 1961 as Executive Engineer (Sewerage & Water Supply Designs) and with a British Charter in Civil Engineering. During 1956 to 1961 he was also a Lieutenant in Ceylon Army's Volunteer Engineers Squadron, being Assistant Adjutant when he sailed to U.K.'s University of Birmingham to join **Prof. Norman Dudley, CBE** for post-graduate studies and research in Engineering Production & Management.

He was awarded his **MSc** in 1962 and **PhD** in 1964 at Birmingham where he was Research Assistant, Research Fellow and later Lecturer & MSc Course Tutor before returning to Ceylon in 1966 as Director of United Nations Development Programme's Small Industry Service Institute at Velona, after a year as freelance Industrial & Management Consultant in Birmingham. In 1968 he founded the private-sector **MITE Organization** in Colombo (of which he was Chairman & Executive Director) and provided consultancy services in the fields of **Management, Industry, Technology and Engineering**, published a few books, constructed the Model Markets at Jaffna and Chunnakam on contract for the Local Government Councils, and held several public offices such as Director of the Ceylon Industrial Development Board, Chairman of North Ceylon Chamber of Commerce & Industry, Member of the 1971 Mahaweli Project Committee of Inquiry, Chairman of **ARANGHU** Fine Arts Society, Chairman of the Colombo Management Centre, and President of **UNESCO Club** of Jaffna.

MITE Organization ceased business in 1978 when Mahadeva returned to U.K. and re-joined University of Birmingham as Honorary Research Fellow & Lecturer to the MSc Course in Industrial Management before he was invited to take up the Chair and MSc Programme Leadership in Production Engineering & Management at the University of the West Indies in the Trinidad Campus in 1980. He left as Professor at Trinidad in 1984 and returned to U.K. as Visiting Professor to the Birmingham Polytechnic (now University of Central England in Birmingham), which title he holds to-date, while serving as self-employed Consultant, engaged as Editor & Publisher at Century House, and simultaneously pursuing ways for peace in Sri Lanka.

Mahadeva was never in electioneering politics (nor does he wish to enter it now) though in Ceylon he had joined the United National Party in 1968/69 during Premier Dudley Senanayake's leadership, and then the Sri Lanka Freedom Party for seven years from 1970. Also for a brief period in 1969/70 he founded and ran the Ceylon Justice & Progress Party (**JPP**) from Colombo, without the party fielding any candidates.

A
Plan
for
PEACE
IN
EELAM

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Kopan
Mahadeva

