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The 'National' Press!

"The English newspapers, the Daily News and the Sunday Observer are state-owned; the other English Daily; the Island, tentatively functions as an opposition paper, but it is constrained from reliable objectivity by a Sinhalese nationalist bias, and has limited access to accurate information."

Excerpt from the Report of the Canadian Human Rights Mission to Sri Lanka
January, 1992.

MURUNKAN UNDER LTTE CONTROL

LTTE - Leader Refutes Govt. Claim

"There is no truth in the propaganda let lose by the Government that its forces have captured the Murunkan area. It is not true. Murunkan area is continuing to be held by the LTTE" So said Mr. Subhan, the Special Commander of the LTTE in the Mannar District.

The government declared curfew in the Mannar District week before last and launched a massive attack by air and land. At the end of the fourth day Government forces retreated to their camps, the war was suspended and curfew lifted.

The Government claimed that in the military operations it undertook in Mannar District, it had retrieved the Murunkan area from the Tigers.

Refuting the Government's claim, Mr. Subhan, the LTTE's Special Commander for

Mannar said that the Government's claim was not true and that the area continued to be held by the LTTE.

Commenting further Mr. Subhan said that consequent to the launching of operations code-named Operation Greenbelt by the Government Sri Lankan Army men moved out of their camps at Manthai, Thallady and Vankalai.

LTTE cadres engaged the Sri Lankan soldiers in three separate battles close to the three Army Camps and thwarted the attempts of the Army to move further.

Following this failure Sri Lankan soldiers at Kondachchi and Mannar island moved out of their camps. The Sri Lankan forces moved up to Karunkandal, Vattakandal, Uiyilankulam and Thirunavatkadu. The LTTE launched its attack on the

advancing Sri Lankan soldiers and battle continued for four days.

Mr. Subhan also said that three heavy vehicles belonging to the Sri Lankan Army were destroyed by land mines and many Sri Lankan soldiers lost their legs being caught

in booby-traps laid by the LTTE.

Mr. Subhan said that the Sri Lankan Army's military aims and objectives were defeated by the LTTE and the Sri Lankan Army retreated to its camps.

Mr. Subhan also said that the LTTE did not lose even one of its men in the long battle at Mannar.

Students & Civilians arrested at Palugamam

Sri Lankan soldiers accompanied by a group of Tamil gangsters are reported to have rounded up the villages of Palugamam and Navatkuda and arrested hundreds of Tamil civilians in these areas.

It is reported that the Sri Lankan soldiers camped at Kaluvanchikudi and Periyaparthivu rounded the villages

of Palugamam and Navatkuda and carried out search operations. Hundreds of persons arrested by the army were taken to the Palugamam Kandumony Maha Vidyalyam where they were detained for many hours.

Seven of the arrested including two students were taken by the army to their camp at Kaluvanchikudi. The

arrested persons are Veerakuddi, Kathiramalai (20) of Palugamam, Thankaraja Ranjitharaja (19) of Palugamam both students, Rajathurai Puvanasingam (20) of Palugamam, Kirishnapillai Kulendran (20) of Palugamam, Velmuru Nagaraja (20) Palugamam, Subramaniam Sivanokkan (23) Palugamam and Nagamani. Paramanandam (26) Veerancheni.

Following the search and arrest there was tension in the whole area.

The schools in Palugamam Thumpankerni, Thikoddai Ghandipuram 38th 39th and 40th colonies, Ampilanthurai and Katchenai were deserted by the students and they remained closed.

Mass Scale Killings in Polonnaruwa Para - Military Personnel Missing

Mass news media, quoting Sri Lankan Government Security sources said that on Wednesday, April 29, a group of unidentified persons carried out massacre of 55 persons in the Muslim village of Alunchipothanai in the Polonnaruwa District. Immediately following this attack three Tamil villages in the area were attacked and the number of Tamils dead is now said to be 78.

Army Sources have also told newsmen that para-military personnel estimated to be 57 who were in charge of security of the area are missing!

It is generally believed that the attack on the Tamil villages were carried out by Muslim Home Guards and members of the 'Jihad' movement amongst the Muslims. It is not known who carried out the attack on the Muslim village. Though as usual efforts have been made to put the blame on the LTTE, the LTTE sources have said that the hidden hand behind these

killings are those of the Government.

The sudden disappearance from the area of para-military personnel of government becomes intriguing in this context.

Reports of abduction of Tamils including young girls by Muslim Home Guards have also been received.

Another report says that in a separate incident 40 Tamils were taken away by the Sri Lankan Army and the dead bodies of 19 of

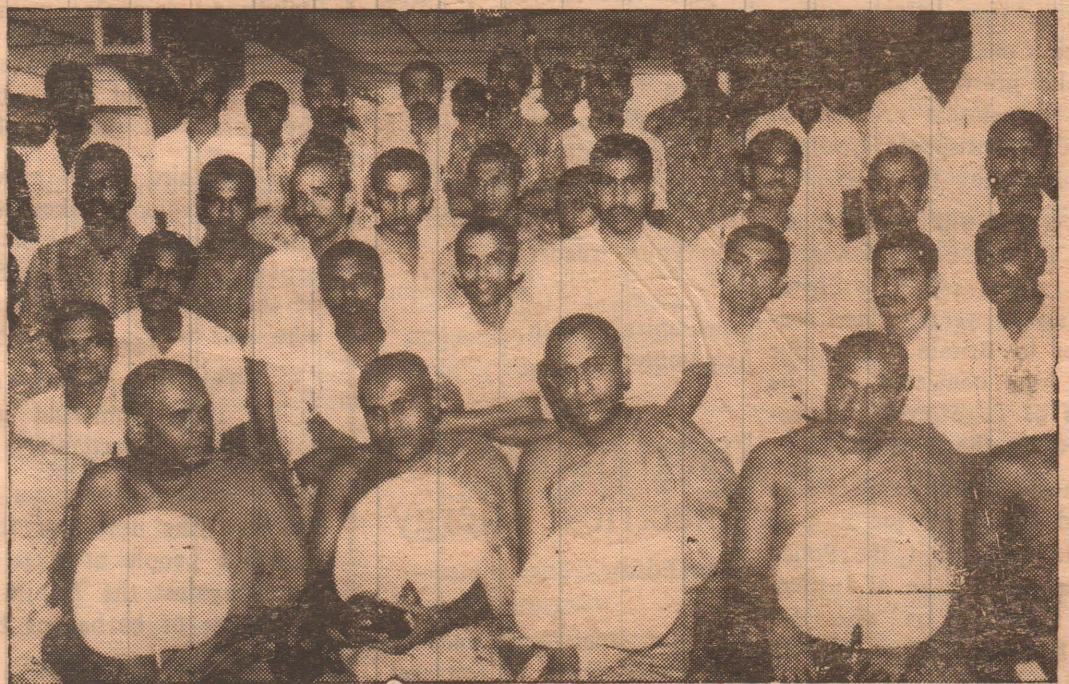
them were later found. The fate of the others is not known.

The latest report says that the Government has appointed a Commission to inquire into the incident at Alunchipothanai.

Two Tamils Shot Dead at Mannar

Two Tamils, Sritharan (30) and Palaniyandi (70) died when Sri Lankan Army rounded up Karukai kulam area in the Mannar district and started indiscriminate firing there, on Thursday, April 30. Seven houses in this area also were burnt down by the Sri Lankan soldiers.

Very much alive and hale



Sinhala Police and Army men in LTTE custody photographed along with Sinhala Buddhist clergymen who recently visited Jaffna. The LTTE arranged for the clergymen to meet the men in captivity

Photograph : Courtesy - Eelanatham.

Workers must join the National Liberation Struggle

PIRABAKARAN'S MAY DAY MESSAGE

May Day was celebrated in a grand scale in Jaffna by the LTTE. Similar May Day Rallies were organised by the LTTE in Batticaloa, Mannar and Manal Aru Districts. The LTTE leader Mr. V. Pirabakaran issued a May Day message to all Tamil Eelam workers. Mr. Pirabakaran's May Day message is as follows:

Today is workers' day. This is the day of the resurgence of workers of the world. This is the revolutionary day which reiterates the solidarity of the working people.

The work ability of the working people is the life force of a country. It is the worker who produces wealth. He is the person who satisfies the fundamental requirements necessary for human life. It is the workers' hands that activate human life.

We are today celebrating the day of the working people. We are celebrating this workers' day in the midst of a war situation, when the enemy has undertaken an invasion against our country and we are suffering under

the burden of economic pressures.

The working class of Tamil Eelam is today facing a crisis the dimensions of which had never been known to it at any time before. Our working people are facing a life and death struggle imposed on them by the unsympathetic policies of a racist government. Our enemy is determined to make the daily life of our people a hell by cutting off the working hands of our people. A cruel economic war has been directed against our working class.

It is the scheme of the Sinhala ruling class that if work ability, which is the source of economic life of a people, is brought to a standstill, the determination

of those people, their spiritual force, their determination for struggle can all be broken up. This is the oppressive scheme followed through out the ages among all societies by all oppressors. Our enemy too is following this approach for a long time. It is not possible to describe by words the tragic story of our people brought about by the impact of this approach.

I applaud the Tamil working class which is bearing the burden of the war on one shoulder and the economic burden on the other. I applaud our people who stand like a mountain unassailed by a whirlwind oppre-

ssion and pressures imposed by the enemy.

I applaud the attachment of our people to an ideal born out of their love for a free and honourable living not caring for death and destruction or for hunger and famine or caring for a life of luxury based on selfishness.

Our freedom movement is marching through a difficult path strewn with pebbles and thorns and ups and downs. The enemy can put more impediments on this path. He can create difficulties in our journey to make us tired and fatigued. Whatever impediments or sufferings may be caused so long as we believe in our ideals and so long as we have the determination based on the belief in our ideals, and so long as we have the fire of our ideals burning in us determinedly, our march towards the ideal will end in success. This is certain.

The share of the working class in a liberation struggle

is important. Tamil Eelam working class is on the one hand facing exploitation by capitalism and on the other is facing oppression by racism. In this two fold conflict it is the racist oppression that is important.

The Tamil Eelam working class which faces racial oppression as its principal enemy must take up the struggle against racial oppression as its primary duty because racial oppression seeks to destroy the life of the Tamil working class. Therefore the need to fight against racial oppression has become unavoidable as a historical process. This struggle has assumed the role of a national struggle, the struggle of a nation wherein all classes of the nation have joined. It is only by joining a national liberation movement, Tamil Eelam Working class can contribute a tangible share to the national struggle. This alone will open the path for the awakening and emancipation of our working people.

OUR READERS SAY

Police Force

The Editor,
Dear Sir,

For a long time I have been of the view that a Police Constable and Grama Sevaka must be a graduate for the simple reason it is they who dispense JUSTICE and not the JUDGES.

Everyone will remember the case of the Four IRA men who were set free after serving 11 years' Prison sentences in Britain. These four men were convicted on the basis of false evidence produced by the Police.

Those of your readers who heard the BBC on 30-4-92 would agree that the Police cause miscarriage of Justice. For those of us who did not hear the BBC on 30-4-92 in Los Angeles, USA, curfew had been imposed as the Blacks had gone on a rampage, when four Policemen who had beaten up a Black Driver even after he had gone unconscious were found 'not guilty'. This in spite of

a Video Tape by a passer-by showing the four Policemen beating the Black Driver lying motionless on the road, was shown to the Jury.

Even the Mayor of Los Angeles in his interview to the BBC Correspondent was saying 'I do not know how the Jury brought in a verdict of 'Not Guilty''

I would very much like this subject to be debated by your readers.

S. Alagaratnam

Urumpirai South,
Urumpirai.

Distribution of Electrical Energy

The Editor,
Sir,

I am really grieved to learn that there is frequent power cuts for long hours in down south. To augment the hydro-power it has become necessary to operate the power plants at heavy cost. It is imperative that the

(Continued on Page 5)

Chinese Artillery Used to Terrorize Tamils on May Day

The genocidal intentions of the Sinhalese government and the indiscriminate killings of Tamil civilians by Sri Lankan Armed Forces are not anything new. Provocations of any sort are not necessarily required for the Sinhalese army to fire heavy artillery shells into Tamil residential areas. They do it at regular intervals. The way they exhibited their sadism on this May Day, with a joint operation of their Air Force, Navy and Army is indeed typical of their cowardly disposition and low morale.

Helicopters and a spotter plane were flying over the Jaffna Peninsula for hours together and informing of targets to which the artillery unit of the Army stationed at Palaly was to fire shells. One such target picked out was a house at Kadupulam, Valvettiturai where an annual alms-giving function in memory of a departed member of the family was in progress and meals were being served at noon. Artillery shells landed in and around this house of Mr. N. Nagasothylingam, seriously injuring a number of people of the large gathering at the function. The shells also landed at Thondaimanaru, Mailyathanai, Valvettiturai, Valvetty and Polykandy damaging a number of houses.

Another target was a Temple at Mathagal where devotees had congregated for a Pooja and over which a spotter plane was flying. Over six shells landed in the vicinity of the Temple injuring a number of people.

A third target picked was the house at Thondaimanaru where five refugee children from Kankasanturai were living with their grandparents in which the grandmother and one child were killed by the artillery fire. These children were orphaned earlier by the Sri Lankan Army when their parents were killed in one of the senseless Sri Lankan army operations. Now they have killed the grandmother who was looking after the orphaned children.

This is typical of the genocidal war the Sinhala government is carrying on in the Tamil homeland getting aid and military hardware from a number of countries and particularly from China.

Some of the naval gunboats were seen along the beach adding their share to the terrifying noise of the Chinese artillery fire. It is a good thing for the Sinhalese people at large to get to know the deplorable activities of their armed forces against the Tamils and make up their minds as to whether they endorse these acts of barbarous behaviour of their soldiers.

In spite of all these firings the Tamil people in hundreds of thousands marched through the streets to the venue of the May Day meeting organised by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam at the Medical College ground at Thirunelveli, Jaffna demonstrating their solidarity with the Tigers. It is clear that the Government has misjudged the mood of the Tamils and flexing its military muscle in a vain attempt to terrorize the Tamils into submission but surely and steadily heading towards its own eventual doom.

THE ISLAND IS ANGRY

'The Island' is angry - very indeed!

We in the North are happily relieved of having to scan through the 'national' press based in Colombo - though occasionally they do make their incursions into the North and curiosity makes some of us read the trash printed in the name of a free press. We do not know how free they are all - but certainly they are all free to emit any amount of communal venom and like the Sinhala politicians they vie with one another to get the better of the others in the matter of anti-Tamilism in the name of Sinhala patriotism.

SELFISH CRUSADER

The other day I had occasion to scan through some past copies of the Island - they are not so past and really much present to those of us in Jaffna. I was struck by the title 'SELFISH CRUSADER' given to the editorial of the Island of April 6 - because, for aught I know, the Crusaders were not 'selfish' at any rate - whatever the other charges that may be made against them. I was also reminded of the Children's Crusade and wondered who this old selfish crusader could be. My curiosity did prompt me to read the editorial and nothing surprised me when I found that it was Mr. Thondaman who has been given the title of the 'Selfish Crusader'.

MR. THONDAMAN

Mr. Thondaman we know, is very much disliked by all Sinhala politicians. He is not only a Tamil and a Hindu but an 'Indian'. His forefathers had been planted in the Kandyan Districts - shall we also add depriving the poor Kandyan peasantry of their lands? Don't be silly to ask the question whether the Kandyan peasantry owned any lands on hill tops. 'Kandyan Peasantry' is only a synonym for Kandyan feudal chiefs. The addition of the word 'peasantry' only makes the Sinhala claim - shall we say socialist, progressive or humanitarian or what not.

Poor Mr. Thondaman. He has always to guard himself against any slips. In this case Mr. Thondaman has said that Sinhala and Tamil plantation workers live together in amity but added that there are some selfish peo-

ple who want to keep the workers divided and warned both Sinhalese and Tamil workers not to fall a prey to such selfish crusaders.

Facts apart there seems to be nothing wrong with the sentiments expressed by Mr. Thondaman. He wants the Tamil and Sinhala workers to live in amity and also warns them not to fall a prey to those who would drive a wedge between them - a sentiment perfectly acceptable to anyone. But Mr. Thondaman has angered 'The Island' by his speech.

The Island's editorial contrives to make the speech of Mr. Thondaman severable and whilst it complains nothing of the first part of his speech has taken to task severely Mr. Thondaman for the second part of his speech giving him the title of 'SELFISH CRUSADER' as if the same words used by Mr. Thondaman fit The Island best. The Island has chosen to wear the cap as it fits it well.

POLICE STATE

The Island has taken to task Mr. Thondaman because according to the Island he is keeping the Tamil workers inaccessible to Police Investigations! One could have understood the criticism against Mr. Thondaman if he was preventing any type of civil administration in the plantations. The criticism is against Mr. Thondaman trying to prevent Police action called investigation. Can anyone blame Mr. Thondaman if he tries to safeguard his people against the excesses of the Police and other armed forces of the Sinhala government - knowing fully well the activities of the armed forces of the government both in the South and in the North east. Even Mr. Udugampola has now joined the ranks of the people to tell all about the Police.

It seems clear that 'The Island' is worried that the Police State of Sri Lanka is not yet sufficiently entrenched in the hill country too. It has already laid waste Ruhuna; it is depleting Tamil Eelam; why not trample the Up-country also under its iron heels?

THOTTAM OR WALAWA

The Island also has criticised Mr. Thondaman for not

getting Government to rehabilitate Sinhalese victims of Walapane landslide in the 'thottam'. Did he by any chance try to rehabilitate them in a 'walawa'? Will Sinhala 'nationalist' transform their 'nationalism' to action without all the time trying to grab others' dwellings?

CATHOLIC GROUP

The Island's anger has by no means died down after its outbursts against Mr. Thondaman. Two days later its anger turned against the Catholics - and that too against the group of clergymen who visited Jaffna.

The Island's editorial of April 8 has far more invective than the tirade against Mr. Thondaman and is based on falsehoods too!

The Island has taken to task the group of Catholic clergymen for saying what they said after their return

PUNCH

to Colombo from Jaffna. The Catholic clergymen visited Jaffna for no other reason other than to see the war-torn country and also speak to the LTTE. They are not the Government. Nevertheless as residents of the South and members of the Sinhala community (If they are anything less Sinhalese because they are not Buddhists - then oh God! neither they nor anyone else is responsible for it) who do not have the governmental power they can do no more than undertake only good will missions and a 'responsible national free press' should find no sarcasm in such good will mission. Yet that is what the Island has done in its anger.

GUN RULE?

So the Island sees a totalitarian country in the North where Pirabakaran rules with his gun. Of course we know that the Sinhala chauvinists want to rule us with their guns and are very angry that they are not able to do so because of Pirabakaran's gun. As far as we in the North are concerned we are not ruled by anybody's gun but it wouldn't be too bad to say that if the choice before the Tamils is only the gun and nothing else we would prefer Pirabakaran's gun to Premadasa's or Srima's! But we find Pirabakaran's guns protective guns.

DISMAY

The Island is very angry that the group of Catholics have been repeating what he (Pirabakaran) has always been saying. Well if the Catholic group repeats what Pirabakaran says the obvious inference is that the group has begun to understand, appreciate and perhaps approve what Mr. Pirabakaran has been saying. Is he not entitled to win over others by persuasion? Will it be 'undemocratic'? However who told the Island that Mr. Pirabakaran has indicated his 'readiness' to accept the Unitary State but with reservations? Surely he did not secretly put the words into the Island's ears. If the Island and others of the same ilk think that the Tamils would ever reconcile themselves to a unitary state then all we can say is that there is a long way to go before a negotiated settlement is reached.

CATHOLICS TURNING COMMUNISTS?

The Island is very angry that all the falsehoods it has been selling the Sinhala people are falling to the bottom after the visit of the Catholic

group to Jaffna. So apart from dubbing the Catholic group as having been brainwashed by the LTTE it sees a dangerous growth among the Catholic clergy. The Catholic group seems to the Island to resurrect communism even after its fall in the birth of its motherland - the Soviet Union! Very sarcastically the Island has commented on the use of the words 'fraternal solidarity' instead of 'brotherly love! Is there a vocabulary apartheid?

In its anger the Island has called Pirabakaran all sorts of names. It would be better to allow the Island to exhaust itself. But there are two points on which the Island must know that it cannot cheat everyone.

PROTECTIVE AND DEFENSIVE P GUN

It says that half the Jaffna population is living amicably all over the South. Perhaps what it does not know or does not want to admit is that those Tamils in the South are safe because the LTTE holds the gun in the North east. No body is not aware of the periodic pogroms from 1956 and if today it has ceased after 1983 haven't the LTTE guns been a contributory cause?

Again the Island has kindly reminded its readers the old saying that he who takes the sword shall perish by the sword. Will the Island pause to ponder how true the saying is to the conduct of Baudha Sinhala chauvinism? After all the Tamils took to the guns only after Sinhala guns began to fire in Tamil Eelam and therefore the Tamil gun is only a defensive weapon and not an offensive and aggressive weapon.

Over 30,000 Rendered Refugees

Mannar, May 2

Over 30,000 Tamils from various villages in the Mannar District have taken refuge at the Refugee Camp at Madhu, since Sri Lankan Army operations started in the Mannar District on Tuesday, April 28.

Artillery shell attacks are being launched towards many villages in the District from the Sri Lankan Army Camps at Vankalai and Nanattan. At the same time Sri Lankan Air Force planes and helicopter gunships are strafing a wide area. Several people have been injured and some injured persons have been admitted to the Jaffna Hospital.

Another report says that fighting broke out between

the LTTE and the Sri Lankan Army at Uiyilankulam and is continuing. The Sri Lankan Air Force is engaged in supportive strike against the LTTE but the battle is continuing for five days now. Also fighting broke out between the Sri

Lankan Army and the LTTE at Cheddikulam when the latter moved out of camp at Cheddikulam.

The Sri Lankan Army is reported to have said that the battle to take control of the Vavunia - Mannar Road had started.

Land mine Explodes

A land mine exploded at Mannar on Monday, April 25.

It is learnt that an army convoy proceeding from the Vankalai Army Camp towards Nanattan observed a land mine and tried to remove

it. The land mine exploded and many soldiers reportedly died or were injured. Casualty figures are not known.

Following the explosion Air Force bombers are reported to have extensively bombed the area.

Indian Self-reliance Policy Buckles under U.S. Pressure

After a brief flirtation with the Nehru government in the 1960s there has been a silent stand-off between India and the United States. Gradually, the Soviet Union became the principal supplier of arms to India. It also became one of India's most important trading partners via the oil shipments paid for by a rupee escrow account used to purchase Indian goods for export to the Soviet Union.

The US always showed displeasure at this situation. Massive loans from the IDA (the soft loan affiliate of the World Bank) were substantially reduced and India was made to borrow on the international market at commercial rates of interest. The 'Green Revolution' which was funded primarily by IDA funding had now to be sustained by expensive borrowing, as mounting fertiliser, seed and pesticide import costs were incurred to maintain yields.

In addition, India's burgeoning nuclear programme also came under US criticism. This further reduced the country's access to aid and other concessionary flows from the US. The financial time-bomb thus set ticking was bound to explode sooner or later.

As long as India continued to protect its internal market and control its foreign exchange borrowings, the situation was manageable. But with the advent of Rajiv Gandhi's 'liberalisation' measures, the flood of imported consumer goods into the market swamped the economy. The foreign debt burden multiplied manifold. The political paralysis which followed Rajiv's defeat at the elections by V. P. Singh's Janata Dal-led coalition was compounded by Chandrashekar's lame duck government which followed when the Hindu fundamentalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) brought down the coalition.

As a result, on the eve of the election which saw the tragic murder of Rajiv Gandhi, the country was effectively bankrupt. Indeed, during Chandrashekar's time as Prime Minister, the scene had already been set for the shape of things to come. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait had crystallised the flaw in India's shaky relationship

with the Soviet Union. An increasingly hard-up Soviet Union was unable to support the rupee-oil exchange scheme. Lately, the Soviet Union was shipping Iraqi oil to India as payment for massive Soviet arms supplies to Iraq. Indeed, with the halt in Iraqi oil shipments, this cosy arrangement could not work any more.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) World Bank boys had already started to make frequent trips to New Delhi. Chandrashekar in a departure from precedent allowed US B-52 bombers, to refuel in India en route to the Persian Gulf. While Rajiv Gandhi as leader of Congress (I), seized upon this as a publicity issue, subsequent events were to show that the deal with the US was already struck. Chandrashekar was merely opening the bidding. Earlier, Rajiv Gandhi had already upgraded relations with Israel, and the

Mohammed Hassan

Israeli Consulate in Bombay was functioning more or less like an Embassy.

After the elections, the Congress (I) government of P. V. Narashima Rao moved with lightning speed to fall into the lap of the IMF/World Bank duo, agreeing to a humiliating set of conditions to keep the economy afloat and service the US dollars 60 billion foreign debt. Further, 'liberalisation' of the economy on the pattern of Rajiv Gandhi was set to increase the need for foreign currency borrowing even further. Manmohan Singh, India's Finance Minister, became the ideal partner for the IMF and the World Bank to deal with.

The economic price to pay for this salvage operation will become evident in years to come, but the political price is already becoming glaringly obvious. India's stance as a champion of the Third World in the on-going Uruguay Round of trade negotiations has become much more feeble. India's formidable expertise in complex General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) negotiations has been horned in and fundamental objections to multinational hegemony of

global resources, watered down. As a result the USTR (United States Trade Representative) has shelved proposals to institute retaliatory measures against Indian imports into the US under the latter's notorious Super 301 clause.

The next target was India's foreign policy. Hints were dropped by the US that the country should normalise relations with Israel. As a start, President Bush 'persuaded' Prime Minister Rao to vote for the UN resolution setting aside the earlier UN resolution equating Zionism with racism. Then India was 'prevailed' upon to establish diplomatic links with Israel.

This was mere window dressing. Several months prior to that Israeli agents posing as tourists had been captured by Kashmiri freedom fighters.

The 'rewards' were tangible. The US stopped calling for India to respect UN resolutions on Kashmir. The US and UK began to make excuses for the brutal behaviour of Indian forces in Kashmir.

As the *Guardian* reported on 6 January 1992 after a visit by the British Home Secretary, 'Most of the Delhi newspapers have approvingly quoted Mr. Baker's condemnation of terrorism, and his apparent endorsement of Indian police and army tactics in the bloodsoaked states of Punjab and Kashmir, where at least 6,000 people were killed last year alone by separatist extremists and the security forces.'

'In fact, according to the best available official sources, not a single member of any branch of the security forces has been punished for any offence committed in the ugly anti-terrorist campaigns in Punjab or Kashmir. A handful of soldiers and police have been suspended or transferred, but innumerable official inquiries have never resulted in any court action'.

While pressure began to mount on Pakistan over its nuclear plans resulting in a cutoff of US aid, the Indian programme was more or less exonerated. After a January 1992 visit by Senator Larry Pressler, who is the author of the amendment barring US aid to Pakistan because

of evidence of a nuclear weapons programme, to India he said that he did not think that the country had a nuclear weapons programme!

This at the time when the Norwegians have obtained conclusive evidence that India was the recipient of a diverted 12.5-tonne shipment of heavy water to Romania in 1985. Heavy water, or deuterium oxide, is used to produce plutonium which in turn is used in nuclear weapons and atom bombs.

For official US purposes, however, India now has no nuclear weapons programme!

India, on its part, has now lost interest in the non-aligned movement, and started to vote with the US on issues like the demand to extradite the two Libyans alleged to have carried out the Lockerbie bombing.

The sudden collapse of the Soviet Union and India's exposed position has enabled these U-turns to be presented as vital to the country's long term interests. This has also helped deflect any serious criticism inside the country. The only protest has come from the large Muslim minority and this primarily on re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel.

The US, having cowed down a desperate Congress (I) government, has an even more sinister agenda. While the BJP President M. Manohar Joshi was leading his Akta Yatra (Unity March) across the country to divert attention from his party's inability to deal with the Ayodhya Mosque/Mandir issue, the senior BJP parliamentarian, LK Advani, was touring the US.

As *India Today* reported, '(L K Advani's) 10 day American ya'tra could have been the envy of any blue chip Washington lobbyist. For there he was, this high flying doyen of the Indian right wing, hobnobbing with State Department officials like Assistant Secretary of State T Schaffer, palavered with board members of the powerful, conservative Heritage Foundation, rubbing shoulders with top leaders of the American Jewish community, attending banquets in Chicago, Boston, Los Angeles, and holding forth on the party's ideology at

a packed meeting at the Washington Press Club.....

'During his American peregrinations, Advani played down the Ayodhya issue while eulogising secularism in which all religions would flourish. But here was the bite that left the BJP's indelible teethmark on the American: it was Advani's message - mostly directly delivered - that his party, which has now emerged as a formidable force in India, is one with which the United States can do business. It has a history of anti-communism, being soft on Israel, worshipping private enterprise, opposing Nehruvian socialism and staunchly resisting fundamentalist Islamic groupings. This was a welcome diversion to American ears inured to being lectured by visiting Indian statesmen on the moral superiority of socialist Third Worldism, and especially during a time when images of a new Islamic bloc, armed with a nuke, are exercising the minds of policy planners in Washington.'

Developments in India itself lead to an even more worrying scenario for Muslims. There is talk of a Congress (I)/BJP alliance to preserve the upper caste Hindu hegemony of the country's power structure. Indeed, the RSS - a key mass movement instrumental in mobilising the Hindu vote for the BJP - has already begun to gravitate away from the BJP and towards Congress (I). If this happens, India's minorities would be effectively disenfranchised.

A heavily indebted Hindu fundamentalist India in tow of the US could wreak havoc on the region in the service of the New World Order. The fact that the Indian polity would also suffer a mortal blow in the process needs to be grasped rapidly by Indians if catastrophe is to be avoided.

Courtesy: Third World Network Features.

Best Bank Branches

The Nelliady Branch of Bank of Ceylon has been adjudged the best branch in the Northern Province for the year 1990 by the Head Office of the Bank at Colombo. Manipay has secured the second best branch award in the Province.

Manipay was adjudged the best branch for 1989 too.

It is learnt that managers and other employees of these two branches have been honoured by the Colombo Head Office with awards of individual certificates.

Jayewardene Buddhism

"India has betrayed Mr. Jayewardene who had dedicated his life in following the policies of Mahatma Gandhi", so said Mr. Ananda Tissa de Alwis, a close friend and a Cabinet colleague of Mr. Jayewardene on 10-4-92 at a ceremony where the book "Men and Memoirs" written by Mr. Jayewardene, was released.

These impressions of J. R. which had been recorded in his book, are in bad taste. I have not got this book as yet but according to newspaper reports it could be presumed that what is recorded is on the basis that India has betrayed him.

There is also a report that J. R. has described himself as a practising Buddhist.

"Gandhian", "Practising Buddhist", "Indian Betrayal". These phrases which appear in J. R.'s book, should be carefully analysed.

Out of these phrases, "Gandhian" and "Practising Buddhist" are amusing, and to be laughed at. Two years back when referring to Gandhi in an interview given to the Sunday Times, J. R. described him as a person who is not to head a nation and that any head of government cannot rule with the gun. By his statement he justified his use of arms against the Tamils. Not only did J. R. decry Gandhi but he also declared that he was not Gandhian. It is strange to note that J. R. has categorically stated that he is not a Gandhian. In contrast, Ananda Tissa de Alwis's statement that J. R. is a Gandhian sounds like the comedian on the stage in Old Nadagams dramas. A correspondent brought this statement to the notice of Mr. Jha, the High Commissioner for India in Sri Lanka who shrugged it off as the comment of an individual.

BUDDHISM

"Practising Buddhist". This claim is rejected by the Buddhists themselves in the South and their rejection is on a different ground. It has no political bearing. How can J. R. being non-vegetarian, be a practising Buddhist? The content of this opinion runs on these lines. If we construe J. R.'s politics and his conduct and concede that these are the characteristics of a practising Buddhist, then the corollary is that the concept of Buddhism is torture and death. A bad example of Buddhism projecting that as the primary characteristic of Buddhism

and reflects the state of Buddhism in Sri Lanka. If there is a true Buddhist in Sri Lanka, he will be ashamed to ascribe this characteristic to himself as a practising Buddhist!

BETRAYAL

We must make a deep analysis about "India's Betrayal" of J. R. There is a political truth in it. Indo-Sri Lanka Accord and its after-effects were the causes

that precluded J. R. from coming to power for a third term and also discredited him among the Sinhalese masses. That is why this position should be analysed. The Constitution he ushered, projected every thing to be centred round him and also saw to it that every thing was favourable to him. It was thus his intention to bring about an amendment which would enable him to continue in office for a Third Term. Such an amendment was possible because JR had Two Thirds majority. In the General Election of 1977 JR had acquired a three fourths majority in Parliament. He realised that he could not obtain a two third majority in the event of a General Election in 1983. Instead of holding a General Election in 1983, he resorted to the mechanism of his own creation, viz. The Referendum. This Referendum was so drafted that it was riddled with holes and could be interpreted according to his whims and fancies to suit his own time and needs. He, therefore, held the Referendum instead of the General Election. He obtained 52.1% in the Referendum and safeguarded over 75% of the seats in Parliament. Thus according to this plan, if there had been a General Election, JR could have obtained only 52% of the seats which would have prevented him from making any changes, as he wanted. But through this Scheme, viz. the Referendum which had loopholes, he had the ability to bring in the necessary amendments to enable him to continue in office for a Third Term.

RISE OF THE JVP.

By obtaining undated letters of resignation from his Members of Parliament (including the Cabinet), JR maintained his Two Third majority in Parliament and this measure

also gave him a lease of life for remaining in Office for a Third Term. The Indo-Sri Lanka Accord gave added impetus to JVP activities. The presence of the Indian Army served a filip for the JVP to resort to killing of UNP members of Parliament and their close supporters. JR was powerless to accord protection to each and every MP and his supporters. The Hand bomb aimed at JR took the lives of some but JR him-

not Theravada Buddhism

self had a hair breath escape. UNP supporters had, therefore, no protection. In this climate of fear, the UNP members of Parliament began to oppose JR and were not bothered about losing their positions.

One section of the UNP attempted to safeguard their lives by opposing JR, while another section exploited the situation to come to power themselves by defeating JR. Such a predicament prompted

M. Thirunavukarasu

JR to give up the idea of coming to power for a Third Term. If by joining forces with Indian Army he could destabilise the Tigers and simultaneously ensure his return to power in the South, JR would not be holding the view that India betrayed him. He entered into an Accord with India in the belief that he could make use of India. It is true that after the Accord India endeavoured to

safeguard JR at every turn but the stark realities in South Ceylon did not permit. He was helpless, when Communalism which he had fostered, turned against him. When anti-Indian and anti-Tamil sentiments rose against him, even in inspite of the fact that he had India's moral support, he was forced to presume in despair that it was the Indian Army that caused him the loss of his position. What JR meant by 'India's betrayal' was that history and consequent developments had frustrated him from continuing in power.

TULF BOYCOTT

This statement of JR was not made in a state of

Amirthalingam. Thus Amirthalingam was coaxed into calling a boycott of the election. This plan helped JR. Prof. Arasaratnam has brought this aspect into focus in one of his books. Further statistics prove that had the Tamils voted at least for Kumar Ponnampalam, JR would not have obtained over 50% of the total votes polled in the First Round.

The preferential votes in the Second Round would have enabled Kobbekaduwa to win because in South Ceylon all votes polled by other candidates would be

exasperation that a foreign army had come into occupation of a part of Sri Lanka. At heart he was not averse to foreign intervention. It would be interesting to compare an incident involving JR and Amirthalingam in the context of his statement that "India had betrayed". JR knew that if the Tamils voted against him in the Presidential Election of 1982, he would not be able to win. He, therefore, thought that if the Tamils abstained from participating in the voting, he would be able to obtain more than 50% of the votes. He, thus decided that his primary task was to ensure that the Tamils abstained from voting. Accordingly, he entered into an understanding with the then Leader of the Opposition, Amirthalingam that the TULF should boycott the election. By this boycott, if he succeeded, he promised to act favourably towards

the Preferential Votes in favour of Kobbekaduwa - being anti-JR votes in the main.

J. R. hoped for his victory mainly from the Tamil people - by their abstention and non-participation. In this respect Amirthalingam did J. R. a good turn. But J. R. never shielded Amirthalingam who had trusted him. On the other hand, Amirthalingam was stripped of his position. In this instance I am not looking at Amirthalingam from the People's point of view. J. R. had betrayed Amirthalingam personally, JR may thus be seen as an adept at betrayals. Instead of explaining betrayals in personal terms, it may be seen that JR had betrayed people, individuals and friends. JR's assertion of 'betrayal' should therefore be viewed from the perspective of his personal loss of power and does not concern a country at large.

Our Readers say

(Continuation from page 2)

Electricity Board will have to pass on the additional cost to the consumers. This is rather unfortunate. We in the north, have now become accustomed to live and manage our affairs without electricity for the last 18 months or so. For how long this situation is to continue God only knows. The northerners are experts in adjusting themselves to any circumstances. They have learnt to live without electricity, gas, petrol, diesel kerosene and so on. Surely, if such a situation is to happen in down south, *The Hon. President, Hon. Prime Minister, Ministers and M.P.S.* would have been stripped naked and chased along the streets. In contrast, the northerner is feeling sorry for the plight of his big brothers,

for the temporary discomfort they are subjected to, on account of the failure of the seasonal rain. Now isn't it pertinent to ask from our big brothers, whether they have ever thought of the sorry plight or question the powers that be, as to why the younger brothers be subjected to such cruel treatment by completely curtailing

very essential necessities including electricity, for the last 18 months. Dear elder brothers, though late please learn at least from now onwards to treat your younger brothers with due respect and affection and as equals in every respect.

M. Kanagalingam.

Meesalai.

SPORTS

Cricket

Donald Ganeshakumar Limited Over Tournament

Centralites (Chocs) beat Shabra by One wicket.

Jolly Stars beat Skanda S. C. by 29 runs.

Skanda S. C. 192 all out in 42 overs.

Patricians S. C. beat Malakam S. C. 81 runs-

Kokkuvil C.C. beat Ariyalai S. C. by Four wickets

Ariyalai S. C. 155 all out in 43 overs

Kokkuvil C.C. 157 for 6 in 40 overs

All matches were played over the week end at the Central College and St. Patrick's College grounds respectively.

Vijayakumar

HOT SPRING

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NOT NEGOTIABLE

A Colombo newspaper is reported to have carried a news item to the effect that representatives of the ruling UNP and representatives of the Opposition SLFP and MEP had met and decided to oppose the acceptance of a merged North eastern Province, for the resolution of the national question.

We are not going into the truth of the news item. However, we do know well that none of the Sinhala chauvinists want the Tamils to live unitedly in their homeland though they speak glibly of the unity of Sri Lanka which to their own knowledge is not a homogenous country.

It is well known that neither the ruling UNP nor the SLFP presented any formula of its own to the Parliamentary Select Committee - now said to be working on a settlement scheme though the selection of such a Parliamentary Select Committee was suggested by the SLFP and enthusiastically supported by the UNP. It's being headed by SLFP's Mr. Mangala Moonasinghe and a majority of its members are from the UNP.

The fact that these two parties did not place any proposals for consideration by the Committee demonstrates the scant regard these parties have for the Select Committee. Unlike the Sinhala politicians and the so-called 'national' press the Tamils do not attach any great importance to this Committee and are certain that it is only a device to postpone any negotiated settlement of the war that is taking place in the Northeast.

According to the news referred to the Sinhala parties have reached an understanding on what should not be granted to the Tamils but they don't even open their mouths to say what could be recognised as due rights of the Tamil Nation.

The so-called Colombo based 'national' press has contributed a big share all the time in aggravating the conflict between the Tamils and Sinhalese. If they want to continue to play that role we can only regret their role.

However, we would like to impress on all Sinhala politicians and the 'national' press that so far as Eelam Tamils are concerned the integrity of their Tamil Eelam homeland is not negotiable.

While Ceylon was still under British rule the Kandyans suggested a three-fold division of the Island federated to one centre. They suggested that Northeast should form the Tamil territory.

More recently when Mr. Chelvanayakam entered into a Pact with Mr. Bandaranayake there was provision for amalgamation of the regional councils. The Dudley-Chelvanayakam Pact secured Northeast for the Tamils for all time. The Rajiv Gandhi - Jayewardene Accord provided for a merged Northeast.

All political parties in the Island - accepted one or other of the three pacts referred to. It is therefore now futile for Sinhala chauvinists to re-agitate the question of the territorial integrity of the Northeast. In fact they are all estopped from denying that the Northeast is the homeland of the Tamils or from being heard in opposition to a single Northeast Province.

No Solution by Military Means - Canada Emphasises

The Canadian government has emphasised that a solution cannot be achieved by military means to the situation in Sri Lanka and states that it has encouraged both sides to enter into negotiation and dialogue states a letter sent by J. J. Scott, Director, Asia Pacific South Relations Division to Mr. K. C. Adiathan of Valvettiturai.

Mr. Scott has sent the letter on the directions of the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Barbara Mc Dougall in reply to Mr. Adiathan's letter to the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Brian Mulroney. Mr. Adiathan had earlier written to the Canadian Prime Minister describing the atrocities committed in Valvettiturai by the Sri Lankan Air Force.

The full text of Mr. Scott's letter reads as follows:-

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Barbara McDougall, has asked me to reply to your letter of July 1, 1991 to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, regarding your concerns about the situation in Sri Lanka.

You may be assured that the Government of Canada shares your concerns about the violence in Sri Lanka. We are appalled at the deaths, injury, high level of human rights abuses and displacement of a significant proportion of the population in the North and Eastern provinces resulting from the actions of both sides in this tragic conflict. It is our hope that adequate food, medicine and shelter will be made available to the affected civilian population and that distribution will not be hindered by either side.

The Canadian government has emphasized that a solution cannot be achieved by military means. We have consistently encouraged both sides to enter into negotiation and dialogue as the only means to achieve a durable peace, to assure human rights and to address legitimate ethnic aspirations. To this end, the Canadian government welcomes the establishment of the Parliamentary Select Committee as a useful vehicle by which to develop and encourage a peace process. In addition we acknowledge and support the establishment of the Human Rights Commission in Sri Lanka, and await a demonstration of its objectivity and impartiality.

Canada worked closely with like-minded countries at the 48th Session of the

United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva in late February to introduce a Chairman's Statement on Sri Lanka. This statement, while acknowledging initial steps taken by the Government of Sri Lanka, calls for a substantially increased effort in the future to address the need for a cessation of fighting in the northeast and the achievement of a durable peace and restoration of respect for the law and

for the civil and human rights of all Sri Lankans. It specifically calls on Sri Lanka to take action to implement the recommendations of the United Nations Working Group on Disappearances and to re-admit the Working Group to Sri Lanka in 1992 to monitor the process implementation of the recommendations.

Thank you for writing to express your concerns about the situation in Sri Lanka.

Yours sincerely,

J. J. Scott
Director
Asia Pacific South
Relations Division

JUBILARIAN TWICE OVER

The Right Rev. Bastiampillai Deogupillai the Bishop of Jaffna, celebrates the Silver Jubilee of his episcopate on May 11, 1992. It was only in December last year that he completed the GOLDEN JUBILEE of his priesthood.

Born on April 9 1917 he was ordained priest in Rome. Nominated Auxiliary to the then Bishop of Trincomalee on May 11, 1957, he was transferred to the present SEE on December 18, 1972.

Between the period 1945 and 1962, he held the posts of Rector in different Schools in the Island. For the most part of his term as Bishop of Jaffna, he had to contend with the ever changing political drama in the North, coupled with the scourge caused by the conflict between the Armed forces of the Sri Lankan Government and the Tamil youths.

The constantly changing Scenario, first with the military occupation of the Northern Province by the Sri Lankan forces and then by the Indian Peace Keeping Forces (I.P.K.F.) and presently the on-going war between the Sri Lankan forces and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (L.T.T.E.) would probably have taxed the energies of a weaker man, but the prelate has always kept his cool and with absolute impartiality, has endeavoured many a time to bring the warring parties together. He may have

failed so far but peace makers always succeed.

However his influence over the Catholics and others has not waned. During the mon-



ths of June to November 1990, when the war was at its peak and Jaffna was straffed by land, sea and air, and bombs and shells fell on Bishop's House and St. Mary's Cathedral, the Bishop refused to leave his residence and was a source of consolation to his flock. At the Bishop Deogupillai Felicitation lecture delivered at the Jaffna University recently, which marked two important events - namely the setting up of a New Department of Christian Civilisation and to felicitate the Bishop on his Jubilee, the Vice-Chancellor referred to the very significant contribution to the Church and Society made by Bishop Deogupillai and hailed him as an exemplary educationist, devoted scholar and an articulate humanist.

Louis A. Paul

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