

HOT SPRING

Vol. 2

02nd February 1992

No. 17

Real Life situation As Existed in 1961

Suddenly, Jaffna found that it had become an isolated place, completely cut off from the rest of the world. With the postal services, telegraphic and telephone communications fully disorganised, with the train, bus and air services

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KOKKATTICHOLAI MASSACRE

On the Eve of Aid Consortium Meeting Govt. Releases News of Interim Report

The Presidential Commission appointed to inquire into the Kokkatticholai massacres of June 1991 has submitted an interim report to the Government.

It is learnt that the Commission has held the Army responsible for the massacre of civilian Tamils in Kokkatticholai. It is further learnt that President Premadasa sub-

mitted the Report to the Cabinet and the Government of Sri Lanka proposes to commit the involved army personnel to stand trial before military courts. In the meantime it is reported that Mr. Joseph Pararajasingam, a Member of Parliament appointed to represent the Batticaloa District from the TULF list has asked for trial before the normal courts.

The Government of Sri Lanka was compelled to appoint a Presidential Commission of Inquiry due to the adverse criticism made by the International Community. International Human Rights Organisations also condemned the delay in publishing the Report.

The Aid Consortium Meeting of Donors to Sri Lanka is scheduled to meet in Paris

on February 7 and Presidential Adviser on International Affairs Mr. Bradman Weerakone promised that the Report of the Presidential Commission would be published before the end of January this year. But what has now been released is an interim report, which it is understood holds army personnel responsible for the massacre.

Another Presidential Commission, appointed to inquire and report into the incident where the Sri Lankan Air Force was involved in the attack on the MSF (an International Humanitarian Organisation) came out with a report absolving the Air Force from guilt and the MSF termed the Report of that Commission as an 'eye-wash'.

Since the Sri Lankan Government's flagrant violation of human rights had come in for severe criticism from international agencies and the Aid Consortium countries had twice postponed their meet-

ings without making decisions, the news release of Government on the basis of the Interim Report of the Presidential Commission on the advice of the Presidential Adviser on International Affairs is seen as a desperate attempt by the Government of Sri Lanka to retrieve its badly shattered image in the world.

It is understood that the Commission has rejected the story of civilian death being caused by being caught in 'cross-fire' and has referred to 67 Tamil civilians being deliberately killed by army excesses. Independent sources also claim that the actual number of deaths is more than 67.

Political sources say that news release by the Government on the advice of the Presidential Adviser on International Affairs is to secure financial aid from foreign donors and nothing meaningful will be done to punish the guilty.

ARMY TERRORISATION UNABATED

News Reports from Trincomalee indicate that the Sri Lankan Armed Forces are engaged in surrounding Tamil villages, arresting Tamils and keeping them incommunicado, and torturing them. A number of such incidents are reported from the East.

One report says that 9 civilians were arrested at the 42nd colony in Mutur by the Sri Lankan Army and taken to the Army Camp on January 22. Nothing is known of the arrested persons. The report also says that the persons concerned were assaulted before they

were taken by the Army to their Camp.

The arrested persons are Marimuthu Manickarasa (26) Nagarasa Yogachandran (22) Sinnathamby Kanthasamy (30) Saravanamuthu Ratnsasingham (24) Pakkiam Daya (17) Sabapathipillai Eeswaran (20) Chitravel Konasingham (22) Thamotharam Ratnam (34) and Kalikutty Vyrarnuthu (40).

SECURITY PERSONNEL CREATE RUMPUS

At Matara, an Exhibition organised by the Citizens' Committee with pamphlets and photographs depicting Human Rights Violations by the State, was attacked and disrupted by Security Personnel in the early hours of Monday, 27th, January, 1992.

Armed men in civil, entered the premises by force and destroyed the exhibits which had been displayed to enlighten the public on violations of human rights.

Investigations conducted into military excesses or violations of human rights appeared to have incensed security personnel.

It may be recalled that last week security personnel were summoned to appear before the Presidential Commission of Inquiry investigating incidents which took place at Kokkatticholai in the Batticaloa District in the

East of the Island. They failed to appear before the Commission and the only officer who gave evidence did not do so on Oath with a view to avoid any cross-examination by Counsel looking after the interests of those affected and the deceased. This refusal to give evidence on oath was stated to be on legal advice.

69 Year Old Civilian Shot Dead

Kanagiah Chitravel (69) of Kadatkarachenai in Mutur was shot dead by the Sri Lankan army.

The incident occurred on Sunday January 26, at Kadatkarachenai, according to reports reaching Jaffna.

Musings of Mr. Meddle



Gamini Dissanayake has lamented that if the Chinese had come to Ceylon instead of the Indians, now Thondaman will not be existing in Ceylon.

I wonder if Vijaya's 'Kallathoni' had not arrived in the shores of this Island whether Gamini Dissanayake would be existing today in Ceylon.

HEAVY AERIAL ATTACK IN VAVUNIA

Reports from Vavunia state that three Sri Lankan Air Force bombers and a helicopter launched heavy attack from the air at Panrikkeethakulam in the Vavunia District.

Apart from bombs being dropped from the bombers

rocket attacks were made from the helicopter. The bombing and rocket attacks according to the reports were intense.

A number of houses in the area are reported damaged. Two houses are reported completely damaged.

The attack took place on Tuesday, January 28, morning.

Tamils' Woes will be Presented to U. N. - Assures Canadian M. P.

A Canadian Member of Parliament and member of a Human Rights group is reported to have consoled some Eelam Tamils in Batticaloa saying that he would bring to the notice of the UN Human Rights Commission the trials and tribulations of the people of Batticaloa.

A group of Canadians who came to the Island also visited Batticaloa - though not Jaffna.

The reports in connection with the views expressed by the Canadian group indicate that the team had expressed dissatisfaction with the Sri-Lankan Government's handling of the Northeast war and problem.

CHINA BAY EXPLOSION— A STRANGE CO-INCIDENCE

Dear Sir,

The Sri Lanka Air force planes indulged in the carpet bombing of Valvettiturai from 20th to 23rd January, 1991 for four days and nights. The whole town was destroyed in this dastardly attack. The places severely damaged included the famous Sivan and Amman Temples and the Church in addition to other Temples in the town, schools, markets and a large number of residential houses. A large number of people escaped death narrowly and miraculously and the low death toll

OUR READERS' CLUB

in the midst of such intense bombing (only ten people were killed) was attributed to Providential help of the deities by taking many of the blasts on the temple buildings themselves.

People wondered as to why powerful deities themselves have kept aloof and allowed the people to suffer the genocidal attacks of the racist Sinhala Government.

The Editor
Hot Spring.

While reading the report of a speech made by the learned Rev. Father A. Singarayer at the Seminar on the plight of the elders today, my memory flew back to a discussion we had in our mental Health class in an American University, on the mental health of the elders. The discussion centered round this: Should the elders be kept in Homes with all the modern facilities or with their children. The discussion virtually turned out to be one between the Eastern students and the American students. There were two students from India, and one each from Thailand, Formosa, Nepal and Ceylon. All the foreign students except from Nepal and Ceylon were Medical Officers. Various arguments were put forward by the American students in support of exclusive homes for elders and counter arguments were raised by the Eastern students. To cut a long story short, we won the debate, when our professor finally gave his verdict. He said that the eastern system of elders living with their children was better than the American Homes for the aged (they are not charitable institutions as in our country) They are fully equipped with all the modern conveniences and occupants have to pay for their food and lodging. However, they lack one important factor and this is the LOVE and affection. Lack of affection, in children, leads to two extremes - Fight or Flight. They either fight with society or shun it. In the elders, lack of affection causes mental illnesses.

I knew how some American parents are yearning for the love and affection of their children. I was asked to address a Church congregation on "Christmas in Ceylon."

In the course of my talk I mentioned that married children visit their parents to pay their respects and receive the parents' blessings. I received a number of post cards and a few letters congratulating me on my talk, with pointed reference to my mentioning about the visit of the children to their parents. This clearly indicates the anxiety parents have about their children's love and affection to them.

China Town is part of New York city. It has been found that there are very few criminal delinquents in China Town and the number of elders mentally ill is negligible. The reason for it is that, even though they have lived in America for generations, they continue to follow their eastern way of life. This was pointed out by our professor after our class discussion, which really, turned out to be a debate.

The explosion at the China Bay Air Force Base at Trincomalee took place exactly one year later on 21st. January, 1992. Now the talk of the town is that the date is not a mere coincidence and that the explosion is not accidental, after all!

People wonder whether the planes destroyed and the Air pilots killed were those who took part in the dastardly bombing of Valvettiturai.

S. Selvarsajah
Valvettiturai

Respect to the elders is nothing new even to the west. I was standing in a crowded town bus in London. An old lady got in at bus halt. An elderly lady who was seated got up to give her seat to this old lady. Then, the lady who got in said, "please sit down. I can stand" and added "as a matter of fact, you are elder." What does this conversation indicate?

Our own culture gives pride of place to parents, teachers, priests and ELDERS. Let us not make the mistake some others have made and are regretting it. Let us inculcate the correct values in our children in an acceptable way. There are ways and means of doing it. One of them is, as Clair Turner puts it, DIFFER GRACIOUSLY.

S Ponnampalam

"Nimalaham"
Karaveddi.

Delayed Monthly Pensions

Dear Sir,

During the recent past payments to Government Pensioners have been subject to long delays to the extent that during 1991 Pensioners had even to wait two months to draw their pensions. It is significant that in the recent past payment of pensions has not been made on the due dates thus causing severe hardships to pensioners and their dependants.

When action has been taken to make prompt payments of monthly salaries to state employees in Jaffna, why is that similar action has not been taken to pay monthly pensions on the due dates?

Several representations have been made to the Government Agent, Jaffna and conferences held with him by various Pensioners' Associations, yet delay in payment of pensions continues.

It is hoped that the authorities concerned will take meaningful action to iron out their problems and ensure payments of pensions on the due dates at least in the New Year so that the hardships of pensioners could be eased. By way of example it may be cited that the Pensions of January, 1992 have not yet been paid, although the month of January is ending.

Frustrated Pensioner

AN ACT OF GOD?

Dear Sir,

I heard over the SLBC that some Buddhist priests had come by plane and visited all the armed forces camps and blessed them. You are aware, we are aware and the priests are aware that 90% of those who have been killed and whose properties were damaged, have been Tamils. So in other words, these priests have blessed the armed forces to carry on regardless to kill more Tamils. Since the Government has provided them with transport, this trip has met the approval of the President, Cabinet of Ministers and other UNP members of parliament. Since no Opposition MP's have raised any objection, I believe they gave their tacit approval. So it is apparent that the representatives of the Sinhalese have approved the blessings of the priests. So what justice can you expect? Nothing whatsoever!

In what country in the World have you heard priests going about blessing the armed forces to kill their own people. Nowhere in the world except in Sri Lanka which is unique - Not even in darkest Africa.

The day after the blessings of the priests and they had left, we heard over A. I. R., B. B. C. and Veritas that 20 soldiers had died at Trincomalee and that at an Air Force base an ammunition dump had exploded killing 40 air force men and injured over 60 (it does not give us pleasure) but even the Gods are angered, when priests deviate from their accepted roles.

The explosion at the China Bay Air Force base and the bombing of Point Pedro on 21-1-92 took place almost simultaneously. Could the explosion at China Bay Air Force base be an Act of God?

A. R. Rajan

Meesalai

MIRJE Calls upon Govt. to put forward Political Scheme

The Movement for Inter Racial Justice and Equality (MIRJE) has called upon the Government of Sri Lanka to put forward a political scheme for the resolution of the national question and canvass support for it amongst the Tamils.

The MIRJE in its statement has further said that it would not be feasible for the All Party Conference and the Parliamentary Select Com-

mittee to arrive at a consensus resolution of the national question though people may expect these bodies to come out with such a resolution. Experience has taught us that the national question cannot be resolved by such procedures.

It is therefore necessary for the government to put forward a political scheme of its own and canvass support for it amongst the Tamil people.

We will win our rights
And live merry hay!

Oh, the PM of India!
The Gulliver of
South East Asia,
So you presume
The ardent supporter
Of human rights,
So you claim everywhere!
You praise and respect
From Gandhiji to Mandela;
But you have no
Atom of sympathy on our
Tamil Eelam struggle.
You tried your best,
With your iron fist
To crush our struggle
And miserably failed.
We never asked for your 'rice',
We wanted you to support our 'rise'
Against the violations of human rights
In this tiny Island
Of nasty Sinhala regime.
But we are thankful to you,
For your military intervention,
As our struggle,
Knowingly or unknowingly internationalised.
We all take a 'pledge'
On this Human Rights' Day
And live merry hay.

- Manian Bhutto -

Solution to Ethnic Problem: Establishing Independent States

- Says Jaffna Citizens' Committee

The Jaffna Citizens' Committee in a memorandum addressed to donor countries of foreign aid to Sri Lanka has outlined the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka and stated that the only viable solution to the ethnic problem is the establishment of an independent and sovereign Tamil state and Sinhala state. The letter reads as follows :-

The Tamils and Sinhalese have been living in this Island for more than 2,500 years. However, there is evidence that there was a Tamil Kingdom encompassing the present Northern, Eastern and parts of North western and Southern Provinces around the year 150 A. D. Accordingly, there were two nations of different religions, languages and manners. It was in 1833, the whole Island was brought under a single rule by an imperial fiat of the British. When granting independence in 1948, the British also prohibited discrimination against ethnic and religious groups.

Sinhala Colonization of Tamil homeland.

A major Irrigation Scheme, the Galoya Scheme, was formed in Batticaloa District where Sinhalese were settled, carving a new District of Amparai. Similarly a Sinhalese settlement was formed to form a new Sinhala Electorate, Seruwila.

De-citizenization and Dis-enfranchisement of Plantation Tamils

The Ceylon Citizenship Act of 1949 and the Ceylon (Parliamentary Elections) Amendment Act of 1949 rendered the Plantation Tamils stateless and voteless for whom the British rulers gave the rights. Thus the Tamil representation in the Parliament was reduced by almost 50% in the subsequent elections.

Sinhala Only

The major blow against the Tamils was the introduction of Sinhala as the Official Language of the country by Act No. 33 of 1956 by the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandanayake.

As a result of the Sinhala Only Act, the Tamils were discriminated against in education, employment, promot-

ion and industry. The economic development started to dwindle in Tamil areas.

Standardisation

By the final blow to the Tamils came as the racial discrimination for the entry into the Universities in 1970. The Tamil students had to score a higher percentage than their Sinhala counterparts. This system of standardisation caused the birth of 'Students' Forum' then the 'Youth Forum' and finally the 'Militant Groups', the last one to survive as the strongest 'Freedom fighters', the LTTE.

Failure of mediated measures of self-Government

Although steps were taken to improve the Tamils' problems, through the Bandaranayake - Chelvanayagam Pact of 1957, the Dudley-Chelvanayagam Pact of 1965, all failed miserably. Even peaceful parliamentary methods have not found any answer, instead, they were answered in communal violence in 1956, 1958, 1977, 1981 and finally in 1983.

Upto now from July, 1983, the Tamils are not being represented in the parliament to voice the Tamil problems, except a few parliamentarians who do not have any contact with the ordinary Tamil people but look after themselves for their own good.

Ever since Sri Lanka attained Dominion status the legislature and the executive machineries of the state have been overtly and covertly employed by successive Sinhala Government to deprive the Tamils of their rights and status in the island of Sri Lanka and make them a defenceless and subservient people who could, in the course of time be assimilated into the Sinhalese race and their religion, thereby oblite-

rating the Tamil Nation from Sri Lanka.

By the adoption of the Sinhala flag as the National flag, dis enfranchisement of the Plantation Tamils, State aided Sinhala Colonisation of Tamil territory, Sinhala only act of 1956, media-wise standardisation for University admissions, deliberate economic neglect of the Tamil homeland, State terrorism against Tamils through administrative actions and non-allocation of funds the Tamil homeland is starved of all developmental activities. Infrastructural facilities such as roads, water supply electricity, airports and harbour facilities, telecommunication and other services such as medicine, education etc are in a sorry and unsatisfactory state. Industries are discouraged from being set up through various ruses and non-issue of licences to private entrepreneurs. Though the scope for development of the fishing industry is greater in the North-East it is deliberately neglected. The Island of Sri Lanka is composed of two main racial groups - Viz. Tamils & Sinhalese with own traditional homeland. When in 1948 Sri Lanka was granted independence by Britain it was under a tacit understanding that the Government would continue to be secular and free from racial and linguistic bias. Subsequently by various devices and manipulations the Island's Government was progressively converted to a Sinhalese - Buddhist machinery, backed by predominantly Sinhala armed forces to be employed in the suppression if not the annihilation of the Tamil ethnic group.

The Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement of 29th July, 1987 signed to solve the Tamils problem without the participation of the Tamils failed to provide a solution to the Ethnic conflict as the Sri Lankan Government continued with its policy of racism and deception.

Military atrocities and Embargo

Repeated military operations are being carried out in various parts of the Tamil

homeland. Hundreds of thousands of Tamils have been rendered homeless and have had to flee to foreign countries as refugees. Many hundreds of thousands are living as refugees in all parts of the Tamil homeland itself. In addition to the military atrocities the government has imposed a seige on large portions of the Tamil homeland where it is unable to open up army camps. All supplies of food fuel, electricity and all other essential items including machine have been out off thereby terminating all industrial, farming and fishing activities and subjecting the Tamil people in these areas to malnutrition and starvation.

The Tamils have their own separate homeland in the Island as much as the Sinhalese theirs. The Tamils have the right of self-government as the Sinhalese and they cannot force the Tamils to be in the same polity with the Sinhalese. Due to these acts of violence thousands of Tamils have lost their lives, many thousands have been wounded and maimed, hundreds of our women-folk have been raped and millions of rupees worth of property destroyed due to the ethnic riots of 1956 to 1991. The Tamils had to flee from annihilation to their homeland and hundreds of thousands had to

leave their own homeland to seek refuge in foreign lands.

A reasonable solution to the ethnic problem in this Island cannot envisage power to be devolved from the Sinhalese people to the Tamil people. The Tamils have the right and are entitled to autonomy and statehood and not for the devolution of some powers at the sufferings of the Sinhalese. The Tamils never gave their sovereignty to be exercised by the Sinhalese. Thus it would be clear that the Tamils in this Island are not a minority but people constituting a nation and are entitled to the right of national self-determination. In this context it would be relevant to reiterate that the Tamil nation had its separate independent rule for centuries in the past and the present war that is taking place in the Tamils Homeland, which makes it evident as a war of aggression and the Tamil people are only engaged in a defensive war of liberation.

So in the interest of both ethnic groups it is necessary to find a viable solution. It is evident that a Federal set-up will not be a practical solution to the problem against recurrence of ethnic strife in the future and no Federal Government can work in the absence of Unity.

Viable Solution - Establishing Independent State

Hence, the only viable solution to end ethnic strife in the Island is to establish an independent, sovereign Tamil State and an independent Sovereign Sinhala State where each could feel secure and content. The present humiliation of the Tamils having to flee to foreign lands losing their own identity and culture, will cease.

A REFUSAL TO OFFER GOD

O God the creator and sustainer of all life
They say that they are taking hat collection for you
Though I had been informed you are beyond all wants
O God I am sorry I cannot give you that money

O God sometime I wonder whether you are too selfish
If it is you who expect money
Every time we come to visit you in your temple
O God I am sorry I cannot give you that money

O God merciful and life giving
In your house what frightens me most is the collection plate
It comes around more than once in some of the churches
O God I am sorry I cannot give you that money

O God of the poor and the malnourished
They collect money in your temple
To polish the pews and decorate the walls
O God I am sorry I cannot give you that money

O God should you possess so much of money
When my brother and sister are unemployed
And my people are dying of starvation
O God I am sorry I cannot give you that money

Amos Rajaratnam

While Sri Lanka Celebrates Eelam Struggles for Independence

The Island of Ceylon was granted independence on 4th February, 1948 by the British Crown under the Soulbury Constitution. Prior to that, elections were held to elect a Parliament under the new constitution. By defeating the former State Council members who had voted for the Soulbury Constitution, the Tamil people implicitly rejected the Constitution. On being elected to the new parliament, the Tamil members were given a public reception at the Colombo Town Hall and on a resolution passed at that reception, a telegram was sent to the Secretary of State for Colonies that the people opted to exercise their right of self-determination. So when the Sinhalese celebrated their newly won independence, the Tamil people resolved to continue their struggle for liberation.

On February 4th, 1948 after the opening of Parliament in a specially constructed Assembly Hall, Mr. D. S. Senanayake, the first Prime Minister of the Sinhalese in the presence of a vast concourse of people, hauled down the Royal Ensign and unfurled the Kandyan Flag.

A hundred and thirty three years have passed since the Kandyan Lion Flag was hauled down at Kandy by the British Conquerors and a little more than one hundred and fifty years have lapsed since that part of the country had become a British Colony. As far as the rest of the Island was concerned, the Kotte Kingdom was donated to the King of Portugal by King Dharmapala, the Jaffna Kingdom was captured by the Portuguese by defeating King Sangiliyan in combat. These two Kingdoms which came under the Portuguese at different times and by different means, passed under Dutch rule before they became British Colonies but were continued to be ruled separately according to local custom. It was only after the capture of the Kandyan Kingdom, the British unified the three separate territories into one entity for their own administrative convenience and much against the opposition of the local inhabitants of the three regions concerned.

The flag that was unfurled on the so-called Independence Day at Torrington Square has later undergone changes at two different periods. When the first Prime Minister D. S. Senanayake attempted to

move a motion in Parliament for the acceptance of the Kandyan Flag as the new National Flag, the Tamil Congress under its Leader, Mr. G. G. Ponnampalam and his lieutenant Mr. K. Kanagaratnam by an astute move, thwarted the attempt by moving for an adjournment. It was the practice of the House to adjourn the House for the week end at 4 p. m. on Fridays. Therefore, the Speaker, Mr. A. F. Molamure had no alternative but to allow the motion for adjournment moved by Mr. Kanagaratnam and seconded by his leader, Mr. G. G. Ponnampalam.

On Independence Day the Flag that was hoisted was not the National Flag but the Kandyan Flag which was used by the last Tamil King of Kandy, Sri Wickramaraja-

VENTHAN

singhe. That Flag was later changed for the first time on the recommendation made by a Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament - House of Representatives and the Senate. Senator Nadesan submitted a dissenting report. The so-called New National Flag included in addition to earlier ensign of the Lion, two stripes, one orange and the other green to represent the Tamils and Muslim respectively. The stripes

which were so included were separated by a broad yellow border, thus effectively keeping the different peoples apart. Subsequently the Flag underwent another change by the introduction of the Buddhist religious symbols - Bo leaves - on its four corners during the Presidency of J. R. Jayewardene with the promulgation of the New Constitution in 1978.

The Tamil people who had rejected the Soulbury Constitution likewise rejected the Lion Flag as well. Thanthai Chelva flew the Nandhi Flag on his motor car to register his opposition to the Lion Flag. Mr. Handy Perinpanayagam suggested the incorporation of Adam's Peak as it was considered sacred by all four religions instead of a bird or a beast of prey. But his suggestion fell on deaf ears. Prof. C. Suntharalingam resigned his seat in Parliament to create a bye-election on the Flag Issue in his electorate at Vavuniya. He won this election and proved to the world that the Tamils rejected the Flag.

So to this day when one part of the Island celebrates its Independence, the Tamil country has been observing it as a day of mourning by hoisting black flags instead of the Lion Flag - thus continuing its struggle for

liberation in its first phase under a 'Federal Union' from 1956 to 1976 and since then opting for an Independent Sovereign State of Tamil Eelam.

The national liberation struggle waged by the Eelam Tamils has now attracted the attention and concern of the International Community. Yet the International Community considers the Tamil National Question an internal civil struggle confined to the boundaries of a single country. But it is not so. This fact is amply - proved by the Indian Armed Intervention in the so-called civil conflict in October, 1987. India openly waged war on the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam on the Sri Lankan Government side. Thus India by its armed intervention has internationalised the conflict between Sri Lanka and Eelam. The UN member states need not, therefore, worry any more about interfering in the 'domestic affairs' of a member state. If the European Common Market countries could have recognised Croatia or the countries which earlier formed the United Soviet Socialist Republic, what stands in their way of recognising the new state of Tamil Eelam, when the Baudha Sinhala masses and

government refuse to grant even regional autonomy under a Federal Union to the Eelam Tamils?

Although the Tamils of Eelam observe February 4th as a day of mourning, they are yet grateful for this day which introduced a new element of commitment towards the freedom movement. Eelam Tamil people saw a youngster who was to become a martyr. On that February 4th, the principal of a big school in Trincomalee ordered a student to bring the Lion Flag so that he might unfurl it in the presence of a distinguished gathering. The boy did as requested of him. Alas! when the flag was hoisted it burnt up in flames. That boy was detained and cast in prison with other Tamil youths who were already languishing in prison for opposing the Republican Constitution of Sri Lanka of 1972. This youth was Charles Antony Seelan who on release from prison joined the LTTE. He was a typical example of youth who put the movement and the cause it represented before self. When he was injured in a sudden confrontation, in a bid to save the weapons of the movement and its manpower, he commanded a person in the group to shoot him and escape, when earlier the latter had politely declined his request to do so.

No wonder today, Tamil Eelam possesses a regular army bearing this martyr's name.

MUSINGS BY NESTOR

The omnipotent Sri Lankan Air Force has been the most cocky of Sri Lanka's Armed Forces because the Liberation Tigers have no air arm to meet them in the skies. The Tigers do not have any anti-aircraft weaponry. Hence the cockiness of the Sri Lankan Air Force. They could with complete impunity, bomb any place in Eelam and kill any number of Eelam Tamil civilians and go scot-free. J. R. Jayewardene has reminisced in his retirement that it was at the insistence of the Air Force Command that he pressurized Rajiv Gandhi to order the Commander of the Peace Keeping Force to allow the seventeen senior cadres of the LTTE to be handed over to the Sri Lankan Air Force to be taken to Colombo for torture contrary to the General Amnesty and the Cease-fire in operation. The public are perhaps not aware that Diplomat Dixit offered to transport all the interrogating personnel and

their equipment by Indian Air Force planes to enable the intended interrogation to be conducted in Jaffna but the cocky Air Force would not agree and Jayewardene telephoned New Delhi and Rajiv Gandhi who suffered from a terrible bias against Pirabhakaran agreed to violate the Accord and offer the seventeen LTTE cadres to the wolves and brought about the renewal of hostilities.

Whoever thought that Hitler would bring to an end Western Imperialism known in intellectual circles as European Expansionism? Whoever thought that the elaborately organised Communist Empire of Soviet Russia would crumble and split into a number of Independent Nation-States? History would find a niche for the rise and fall of the Sinhala Empire.

There is a false but popular impression that Jinnah was the cause of the partition of

what was British India. Jinnah really offered through Lord Mountbatten, a Confederal Union of the Indian sub-continent.

But Jawaharlal Nehru who suffered from a communist bias and admiration for the Communist political structure, was obsessed by a notion of a powerful Centre and Central Planning, would not have anything other than an all-powerful New Delhi-based political structure. That is how British India got partitioned. A Confederal Union as exemplified under modern conditions is the European Economic Community. Had Nehru and Congress consented to the Confederal Union, the non-starter SAARC would have been a reality long ago and comparable to the European Economic Community.

The concept of Sovereignty is really an obsolete illusion. Are any of the powerful member countries of the EEC really sovereign? They have

got to abide by the Community's decision in a number of vital economic and fiscal policies. No country in the world is really independent and sovereign. Everyone is heavily interdependent on the Comity of Nations with which they are involved.

SPORTS

Cricket

Jolly Stars became champions by defeating Kokuvil, C. C. by four wickets in the finals played at Kokuvil Hindu College grounds on 26-1-92.

In the earlier matches in this triangular series, Jolly Stars beat Shabra C. C. and Kokuvil C. C.

School Cricket

Centralites figured in a terna draw with the present boys in match played on 25-1-92.

Scores

Centralites 183 & 83 runs
Jaffna Central 163 & 89 for 7 at close.

- Vijayakumar

SHANTHIYAGAM IS NO MIRAGE BUT A REALITY

Today we give below the Instalment of the Convocation Address delivered by Rev. Dr. S. M. Selvaratnam on the occasion of the Second Graduation ceremony held at 'Thodarpaham' on 18th January, 1992.

Are we busy surviving that we are necessitated not to lose ourselves over deaths and losses by entering a grieving process? Or, is it that deaths and losses are so overwhelming that we are lost as to which loss to grieve for? Would not long years of unresolved grief bring about a *pathological grief reaction*?

The constant war cry, the threat of renewed bombing, the constant questioning of traditional values, and promoting one-sided value system, are bringing about a frustration, and 'anger-turned-inward depression', a withdrawal from involvement, and an aloofness and social isolation among many of us. An apathy has set in. Some of these signs do sound like psychosomatic symptoms of an Ongoing Traumatic Stress Disorders (OTSD).

The displacement of people and villages in their own districts, robbing them of an identity and calling them refugees are all causing tremendous psychological problems for these people. The thousands who have fled the region either owing to threats to their lives, or out of total frustration and despair, or for economic prosperity are causing *separation anxiety* especially to the aging parents.

The flight of young people in thousands, and the deaths of young men and women also in the thousands are leaving behind an *elderly* community to linger on in *loneliness and depression*. We meet pain and suffering in these people day in and day after. Thus, over the three years, our goals expanded to include anyone who needs our help. We have learnt to interpret 'Trauma' in the wide psychological sense, and include many more people under the title of Post Traumatic Stress Disorders: for example, victims of child abuse and battered women.

It is this experience of touching pain, suffering, and violence that led us to reflect deeper about our educational and formative systems.

Oppressive Systems

A forced revolution is not a revolution. A forced educational system is not an enlightening system. A forced religious structure is not re-

demptive. The third world educationalist-Paulo Freire (1970) spoke of the pedagogy of the oppressed. We don't need to talk about a pedagogy to oppress. The present educational system is an outdated banking system or an information transmitting system, where knowledge is poured down the throats of students, and the undigested knowledge is vomitted out at the examinations for grades. This type of system makes *objects* of most of us, and subtly programs us into conformity to the logic of its system. To the degree this happens, we are submerged into a "new culture of silence" which indeed is a pedagogy to oppress. Anyone - be it in religion, or in politics, or in education professes or proclaims to have found the truth, he/she can easily turn a tyrant or a dictator, or aggressor and an oppressor. Such closed people tend to speak of pure religion, or pure race or pure language which does not exist.

"The failure of modern knowledge", writes Parker Palmer a sociologist (1983), "is not primarily a failure in our ethics, in the application of what we know. Rather, it is the failure of knowing itself to recognise and reach for its deeper source and passion, to allow love to inform the relations that our knowledge creates - with ourselves, with each other, with the whole animate and inanimate world..... It is easy to be curious and controlling. It is difficult to love" (emphasis added).

Integral Education

We need to devise an educational system where both the teacher and the learner are in search of truth together.

"The purpose of education", wrote Thomas Merton a journalist turned mystic (1979), "is to show a person" how to define himself authentically and spontaneously in relation to his world - not to impose a prefabricated definition of the world, still less an arbitrary definition of the individual himself" (emphasis added).

Search for truth is a lifetime process. Truth is larger than one's life. Such a search needs to be by the whole person, mind and heart, cognitive and affective.

We need to humanize science, medicine, and technology so that the educated are also liberated. We need to humanize education so that the educated do not form a class of their own and become an elite removed from the community, but be in the community helping to free them too.

Ours is a *wholistic approach* to education, where we facilitate the process so that the participants can search for the truth in love. Love presupposes knowledge of a person, acceptance and openness to one's growth. This openness comes through experiencing the inner freedom where we touch the transcendent and begin the process of transformation. It's an intra and interpersonal approach. Here lies the liberation of education, and education for liberation. Here lies the philosophy, the psychology, even the spirituality of our educational paradigm. We pursue this integral approach in our academic and professional training, and also in our Clinical Supervision.

We create the ambiance for the participant to touch the transcendent in him/herself, and thus we vision towards building a global spirituality which is beyond the institutional and structural reifications of the world. Yes, we would like to speak of a religionless human spirituality - which in fact is a necessity in a pluralistic society.

Visioning in terms of action

(01) A University in a community cannot stand aloof, and form a class and caste of its own. It's part and parcel of a community. It cannot use the people just as guinea pigs for its experiments and research surveys, but it must strive to meet the needs of the community at all levels, help the community to develop, and free the people towards growth. From this point of view, we would eagerly look forward for that day when our university establishes a Department of Psychology. Psychology with a human touch needs to be introduced as a discipline, and it can form the axis for many other disciplines to open their doors for interdisciplinary research and development.

(02) Conscientize teachers in Colleges, Schools, and Training Colleges to the integral educational process. They need to experientially understand and accept that education is both cognitive and affective. Emphasizing the cognitive approach alone - as we have done all along in the past - is one-eyed view of the world, and it

has only produced knowledge, power, control and violence.

(3) Introduce counselling psychology into Schools, Colleges, and University where the students can be counselled. We know it for a fact that our students are very much affected by this war, affected by broken families, affected by the competitive stressors, and affected by the uncertainty of the immediate future. High is the suicide rate among the young in our region.

(4) Introduce counselling into the community - where it is accessible to families, and premarital couples. Many are the broken families in our region. Our definition of the "broken family" is broader than the phrase sounds. Family is the hub of a society. Family is the place where the initial formation of the child takes place.

We see psychotherapy and counselling in a broader view as growth productive, as learning process, and as an ongoing formation of a person. Thus, all of us who experience the psychopathology of the average (in Freudian terms), who experience stresses in our marital and interpersonal relationships can immensely benefit by counselling. In fact, our counselling staff at Shanthiyagam is encouraged to get counseling either individually or in a group.

(5) From a media communication perspective, group media is far more effective than mass media, and this is especially true in our socio-cultural background where mass media is non-existent. Let's concentrate on groups,

and various groups can be formed: grief groups, widow groups, children's groups, adolescent groups, families into groups, medical students who are increasingly feeling the stress of their curriculum into groups, alcoholic groups, drug addicts into groups, and elders into groups.

We are aware as you are that all these cannot be achieved overnight or even in a short-time. We don't feel the need to be impatient. But, we need to begin somewhere, and we can tell you today that at Shanthiyagam we have begun. Since, we feel that we are in the right direction, we thought of inviting you all - the cream of our society - to share with you our reflections and our vision.

We hope those who graduate from our institution will continue to co-operate with us. If and when you choose to go on your own, it's our wish that you take this message of integral education wherever you go. Congratulations and goodluck to you - our Graduates. It was a pleasure studying, searching, and working with you all.

To you, our invitees - ladies and gentlemen - we would like to tell you that together we can help our people towards growth. Together we can begin to introduce the integral educational process into our community. As for me, I am personally committed to this cause. As we tell our reluctant and resistant Clients, we tell you too - we are not pushing you, nor do we want to take you where you don't want to go: but we will gently challenge you to see, and to learn. If you are still reluctant, we say, we are here to help, and we are ready: tell us, when you are.

Who can floor him?

Excerpts of an Interview by
Indian Prime Minister, Narasimha Rao
to N. Ram of the FRONTLINE

N. Ram: ... That our post 1983 policy was a flawed policy because there was something schizoid about it. On the one hand no truck with Eelam; we supported the unity and sovereignty of Sri Lanka, never had any vacillation on that.

Prime Minister: Yes.

N. Ram: - On the other hand, we built up militarily or helped to build up militarily the various militant groups to put pressure on the political process, the negotiating process. And this policy has proved costly?

Prime Minister: I don't agree that we built up any one.

N. Ram: Despite all the evidence on the network, the arms?

Prime Minister: I couldn't agree that we have deliberately built up any one. In fact, we have always been at the receiving end, with so many refugees going and coming back. Out of them if there have been these people also, it happened that way ...

Courtesy - Frontline 27th September,

HOT SPRING

VOL: 2 SUNDAY 02nd February 1992 ISSUE 17

A Positive Role Needed

Mr. Thondaman's proposals evoked hysterical protests from Baudha Sinhala chauvinists.

The Parliamentary Select Committee has decreed that Mr. Thondaman's proposals should not be discussed in public and has sabotaged Mr. Thondaman's move to visit Jaffna and discuss his proposals with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

It would be futile for anybody to think that any meaningful proposals would be worked out by the Parliamentary Select Committee. In fact the committee would be utilized to silence any serious attempt by anyone to work out any solution. This is amply demonstrated by the fate that befell Mr. Thondaman's proposals.

If President Premadasa thinks that he can fool anybody by reference to the so-called All Party Conference (APC) and the Parliamentary select committee (PSC) he is sadly mistaken.

It is he who has a duty to solve the problem and he claims he is the peoples representative - Sinhala people of course. So he must solve it in the way he thinks it should be done.

Any talk of arriving at a consensus is only an attempt to postpone solution.

The misfortune that befell Mr. Thondaman must be an eye-opener to the international community.

All Tamils are united on certain fundamentals which had time and again been reiterated.

They are :-

- (1) Recognition of the Tamils of Sri Lanka as a distinct nationality.
- (2) Recognition of the Northeast as the Tamil homeland and the guarantee of its territorial integrity
- (3) Recognition of the inalienable right of self-determination of the Tamil nation.
- (4) Recognition of the right to full citizenship and other fundamental rights of all Tamils of the island.

The Government of Sri Lanka cannot dismiss these fundamentals as the "dreams of LTTE terrorists."

The Tamils have been fighting for the vindication of these fundamental rights for over four decades.

By a strange coincidence the UNP which decitizenised the Tamil plantation workers in 1949 was compelled in 1987 to agree to recognise their citizenship. The UNP and SLFP which dislodged the Tamil language in 1956 from official status had to agree to Tamil being made an official language in 1987.

Both the UNP and SLFP agreed that the Northeast was traditional Tamil homeland and agreed to guarantee its territorial integrity by the Bandaranayake-Chelvanayagam pact of 1957 and the Dudley-Chelvanayagam Pact of 1965.

Though both parties agreed to this in principle in practice both violated it.

Current political history of the island should make it clear to everyone that the fundamental demands of the Tamils are just and reasonable and all Tamils are united on these fundamentals.

The muzzling of Mr. Thondaman and continued talk of consultation, compromise, consensus and APC and PSC are nothing but attempts to hoodwink international opinion and establish Baudha Sinhala imperium over the Tamils.

The international community has a positive role to play in thwarting the attempts of Baudha-Sinhala imperialism at a period when imperialism is regarded by the whole world as an unfortunate and discreditable trend in the annals of humanity.

PEOPLES OF SRI LANKA Iriyagolle's Distortions of History

An article by Mr. Gamini Iriyagolle appearing in the Island of 7th December, 1991 has provoked the writer of this article to raise some questions on the very facts stated by Mr. Iriyagolle in his article.

The politically-minded historians of the Baudha Sinhalese, right down from the days of the author of the Mahavamsa to the present, have always contrived to distort history to suit Baudha-Sinhala chauvinism and in the process have brought upon an ancient people - the Sinhalese - a beastly ancestry. But in spite of them facts prevail over fiction.

In any event the attempt to re-write history distorting facts to suit political aspirations have to be exposed especially when such distortions affect the Tamils in this Island.

Mr. Gamini Iriyagolle's article, in the Sunday Island of 7-12-91, was interesting reading, at least for his erroneous effort to paint the Eastern Province a Sinhala territory. According to him 'the modern Eastern Province was never a historical Tamil homeland. If so how is it that the 1921 census figures show the Sinhalese population as a mere 4.5% there? Surely if the modern Eastern Province had been a homeland of the Sinhalese, it could not be that the entire population had deserted their homeland by 1921.

Again he is worried that the Paravas and Mukuvus, though speaking Tamil, were Roman Catholics and yet they were counted as Tamils in all census figures. Surely there are Sinhalese speaking Goigamas, Karavas and what not, practising the Protestant or Catholic religions. Yet they are counted as Sinhalese in the census figures. And why not? We Tamils are not worried on that account.

Just saying 'there are no 2000 year old Tamil settlements in this country' is not going to take any one anywhere. It has to be supported by unassailable evidence. I would like to refer Mr. Gamini Iriyagolle to the 'Cleghorn Minute' of 1799, which reads: 'Two different nations (please note nations not races) from a very ancient period have divided between them the possession of the Island. First, the Cingala inhabiting the interior of the country in its Southern and Western parts from the river Walouve to that of Chilaw, and secondly the Malabars, who possess the North and Eastern Districts. These two nations differ entirely in their religion, language and manners.' Does the words 'a very ancient period' signify just five or ten decades or even generations?

Again his sweeping statement, without any evidence whatsoever, 'The ancient

Tamils are all now Sinhalese, is not only misleading but mischievous too. Referring to the 14th century Jaffna ruler (the word ruler is significant) Mr. Iriyagolle says 'they were powerful enough to dictate terms to the Sinhala King, But the Sinhala King was even at this time recognised as the ruler of the entire island'. What fool of a man was this Jaffna Ruler!

S. Alagaratnam

Now let us turn to his 'Indian Tamil population which until about 1950 was a floating population'. He puts the annual arrivals for the period 1923 to 1951 (inclusive) as 1,996,026 and annual departures as 1,783,135. This would mean a daily arrival of 5468 and a

daily departure of 4885. I was in Colombo from 1938 to 1942 and again from 1945 to 1951 and beyond. There was only one train to Talaimannar and back from Colombo and I am sure Mr. Iriyagolle will agree with me that this single train could not have carried up and down 10,000 passengers daily. And what of the excess arrivals over departures? On the basis of the figures provided the figure will be 6,173,839 more than half the population of the Island in 1951. Therefore, I should think the figures given by Mr. Iriyagolle is for the entire 29 years. This would mean an excess arrivals over departures of 272,891. We have to now account for the balance of the 1951 Indian origin Tamil population which was roughly 1,000,000. This is 727,109. Surely these would be arrivals before 1923. Therefore his assertion 'The belief that the present Indian Tamil population has been here for two or three generation is a myth' falls flat.

We would like people like Mr. Iriyagolle refrain from misleading the Sinhala people. If instead he continues to mislead the Sinhalese people he would definitely delay peace in this Island which would also mean a delay in the economic advancement of the ordinary Sinhalese people.

"If only the Chinese had come..." - Gamini Laments

"If the Chinese had come to Ceylon to work on the plantations and not the Indians, today there will be no Thondaman here" - Mr. Gamini Dissanayake, former Minister is reported to have lamented thus when speaking at a propaganda meeting of his party at Bandarawela.

Mr. Dissanayake had further complained that Mr. Thondaman had become the hero, when he himself who

was born and bred in this country has no place here.

According to Mr. Gamini Dissanayake he was elected first M.P. for the Nuwara Eliya District but he finds himself kept out of parliament whereas Mr. Thondaman is the hero.

"If the Chinese had come to work on the plantations and not the Indians there will be no Thondaman here today," - Mr. Dissanayake reported to have concluded.

Pensions Non recipients asked to contact Pension Dept. Direct

"Government Officers who retired on or before October 31, 1991 and who have not still received their pensions have been requested by the Director of Pensions, Colombo to furnish to him full particulars of their pension applications direct," - states Mr. P. S. Thiruchelvam, Secretary of the Federation of Northern Pensioners' Association.

According to Mr. Thiruchelvam the particulars should also contain the name of the Bank or Post Office at which each pensioner

desires his pension payment to be made.

Real Life...

(Continuation from Page 1)

suspended, the external communications cut off and a general black out and curfew imposed. Jaffna was plunged in utter darkness and isolation, devoid of light, freedom and freshness of life! News of any kind could not be sent out of or received in Jaffna.

S. Ponniah, B.A (Lond)
Advocate of Supreme Court,