

# HOT SPRING

Vol. 2

29th March 1992

No. 25

"There is a common temptation to trace the orgy of violence that Sri Lanka has been going through to the onset of Tamil militancy and Tamil separatism. Behind that assumption lies not only an absence of awareness of the past history of the Island and its peoples, but also a conceptual confusion in mixing the CONSEQUENCE with the CAUSE."

S. Sivanayagam

Former Editor of Saturday Review - now in Indian jail.

IN VANNI

## A.F. IN BOMBING SPREE

The Sri Lankan Air Force was out on a bombing spree in the Vanni District last week causing death to civilians and destruction to civilian property apart from the heavy bombing at Manal Aru. According to the reports mostly civilian dwelling houses have been destroyed. Also a Hindu temple and a school were damaged.

Eight incidents of aerial bombardment have been reported from the Vanni District.

### WIFE KILLED HUSBAND INJURED

The first report is from Thanneerotru in the Mullaitivu District. According to this

report two Sri Lankan Air Force planes bombed the thickly populated village of Thanneerotru on Thursday, March 19 killing on the spot a young married woman and injuring two others including the husband of the woman killed.

The two bombers dropped bombs on civilian dwelling and three houses were heavily damaged.

A young married woman Sumathy (25) was killed on the spot when a bomb hit her house at Thanneerotru. Her husband Sounthararajah (28) and another girl Subhasini (16) were seriously injured by the bomber attack.

### AT VILAKKUVAITHTHA KULAM

A house was completely destroyed and many others heavily damaged when Sri Lankan Air Force bombers bombed Vilakkuvaitthakulam, near Omathai in Vavuniya District on Friday, March 20. The report says that extensive damage was caused to civilian property but people escaped unhurt by taking shelter in safer places.

### AT ODDUSUDDAN AND MUTHU IYANKATTU

On Saturday, March 21, Sri Lankan Air Force bombers carried out bombing operations in Oddusuddan and Muthu Iyankattu in the Mullaitivu District causing extensive damage to civilian property.

At Oddusuddan the houses of two civilians were completely destroyed. One house belonged to Sivapathasudaram Balasubramaniam and the other to Nigaratnam, both of Oddusuddan.

At Muthu Iyankattu yet another house belonging to a civilian named Mathiaparam was completely damaged.

At both villages a number of other civilian dwelling houses were partly damaged.

### TEMPLE, SCHOOL DAMAGED

A Hindu temple and a Government school named Sinnathamby School at Oddusuddan were damaged when two Sri Lankan Air Force bombers bombed Oddusuddan again on Sunday, March 22

In the same operations at 14th Mile post the house of S. Alagiah was damaged.

### VILAKKUVAITHTHA KULAM

The village of Vilakkuvaitthakulam was again bombed on Monday, March 22. One house was badly damaged. Several others were partly damaged.

### MAN DIES

A person named Varatharajah of Palampasi near Nedunkerni died on the spot when Sri Lankan bombers bombed Nedunkerni in the Vavuniya District on Tuesday, March 23. Several houses were damaged.

## HIS ACHIEVEMENT

What was Mr. Chelvanayakam's achievement? About 450 years before the Christian era the Carthaginian armies had invaded Italy and defeated the Romans in every battle; but Cincinnatus, the Roman Dictator, would not give up. And the Roman Senate passed a resolution thanking him, because "he had not despaired of the republic". The logic was, "If he did not despair, why

should we?" The Tamils of Ceylon, in like manner, looked upon this gaunt and haggard man, stricken by disease, who could hardly walk and could hardly speak above a whisper, who through a life of continued failure and disappointment, yet had not despaired; and they asked themselves, the question, "If he did not despair, why should we?" This then is Chelvanayakam's achievement: That he has taught the Tamils of this country to believe in themselves.

late Rt. Rev. S. Kulendran,  
Bishop of Jaffna,  
Church of South India.

## Lightening Attack at Chenkaladi

### 22 Sinhala Soldiers killed - Arms Recovered

Fifteen Sri Lankan soldiers died on the spot and seven others died after admission to the hospital when the LTTE intercepted a Sri Lankan Army contingent at Chenkaladi in the Batticaloa District and carried out a lightening attack. The LTTE also recovered a haul of arms and ammunitions from the Sri Lankan soldiers.

The incident occurred on Wednesday, March 25.

The LTTE also gave battle to another Sri Lankan Army contingent from Karad-

iyar Aru which tried to go to the rescue of the Sri Lankan Army at Chenkaladi and foiled its attempts at rescue.

One LTTE fighter died in the battle.

### Musings of Mr. Meddle



All activities of the Parliamentary Select Committee suddenly suspended.

News.

How come this to be a news item? Did anyone expect anything else!

The Sri Lankan Army which sustained heavy loss at Chenkaladi indiscriminately fired at students and teachers in a school nearby. Two students died and three teachers were injured, as a result of the Army firing

### LTTE Attack at Polonnaruwa

In an attack carried out by the LTTE on a Sri Lanka Army convoy at Singapura in the Polonnaruwa District, 7 soldiers died. The LTTE recovered some arms and ammunitions.

The army convoy numbered about 60 soldiers and heavy armoured vehicles.

The LTTE said that three of its cadres died in the battle.

This incident took place in the Polonnaruwa District on Saturday, March 21.

### Events

### Homage to Thanthai Chelva

The Jaffna Christian Union will conduct a Thanksgiving Communion Service at St. John's Church, Chundikul, Jaffna on Tuesday 31st March at 4.30 p.m. for the Life of Thanthai Chelva.

### Manal Aru War Recedes

The Sri Lankan Army returned to its camp after seven days of fierce fighting with the LTTE in Manal Aru.

The three armed services of the Government of Sri Lanka were engaged in a pitched battle with the LTTE

for seven days before the army returned to its camp.

The government has said that 40 of its soldiers including an officer died in battle. The Army also lost some heavy weapons to the LTTE.

The LTTE has announced the names of 43 of its cadres who died in this battle.

# Give Up Dharmacracy! Support Thondaman's Peace Moves

Professor Peter Schalk of the Uppsala University in Sweden, made an impassioned appeal for peace to President Premadasa in a letter. Professor Schalk addressed the letter to President Premadasa after he had visited Jaffna and had acquired a first hand information of the situation

Professor Peter Schalk's letter is published here in full.

I appeal to you to give all necessary support to His Excellency, Mr. Caumiyamurti Tontaman, in his efforts to start negotiations about peace with the LTTE in January 1992.

During my visit in Yalpanam in December 1991, I met the leadership of the LTTE. It was receptive and sensitive to the approaches by Mr. Tontaman. The preconditions for talks are therefore excellent, only the open support from you and the opposition parties is lacking.

## Battle Against People

These talks between Mr. Tontaman and the LTTE may be the last chance to establish a cease fire as a prelude to peace. Missing this chance,

your army will have to fight not only the well trained LTTE cadres in Yalpanam, but also parts of supporting civilians, among them mothers, grandfathers and children.

The support for the LTTE is still very strong from civilians. The politics of economic boycott and terror bombing of the North to the extent of starvation and malnutrition of civilians, has not turned the population against the LTTE. It is too evident who is the culprit. The bombs are dropped by Sri Lankan bombers and troop carriers belonging to the Sri Lanka Air Force. The artillery shells are fired from the Sri Lanka Army Camp at Palali. The gun-boat launched shells are fired from the Sri Lanka

Navy. The machine-gun firing comes from Sri Lankan helicopters. The home-made napalm bombs fall on temples, schools and private property. Seldom an LTTE camp is hit. The people know exactly from where the bullets come and even those who do not share the views of the LTTE are making it their refuge against the attacks of the army. The whole world knows that the battle against the "terrorists" is directed also against the Tamil people. How else can one explain the fierce combined air-raids, long artillery shelling, helicopter strafings and gunboat shelling indiscriminately all over the villages and towns

at all times of the day and night? The economic embargo makes all the Tamil people in the North suffer, not the LTTE alone.

## Belfast

In case of an invasion of Yalpanam in January 1992 or later, a belfastlike situation will be created with a protracted devastating guerrilla war. It may last for decades. Hundreds of young Sinhala soldiers will be killed in ambush, by mines and by snipers. No efficient civil activity will be possible. The whole economy of Lanka will suffer a severe blow. Do not believe that the army can stabilise the situation in Yalpanam within three months. This is a false and dangerous misconception which can be made evident by looking at "liberated" areas like Tirukkonamalai and Mattakkalappu. These towns are now Lankan versions of Belfast and will remain war towns for a long time to come. The hate against the army and the government is increasing day by day among Tamils in these towns. The long lists of disappearances from the East are now given priority to the lists from the South in offices of human rights organisations in many parts of the world.

## War History

Yalpanam has its own war history. You have rightly pointed out in a speech the cultural genocide that has been intended by

some Sinhala politicians by the burning of the Public Library of Yalpanam in 1981. Thereafter, Yalpanam has suffered damage to the public transportation sector, to banks, to the health sector, to the fishing industry, to schools, to co-operative society outlets, to municipal council property, to buildings owned by JMC, to buildings within the AGA divisions of Yalpanam and Nallur, and to buildings within the Grama Sevaka Division. The total cost to replace the damage caused to the city of Yalpanam only is calculated to Rs. 401468468.

Through the war, traditional wealth creating, small scale industrial activities in Yalpanam have come to a halt or are run at low intensity, like canning, bakery, food production, tobacco manufacture, spinning and weaving textiles, apparels, saw mills, grain milling, furniture manufacturing, printing and publishing, soap manufacture, tools manufacture, prefabricated metal products and

## Professor Peter Schalk

SWEDEN

metal working, jewellery, professional services, construction, vehicle repair and services, electric and electronic goods repair and handicrafts.

Four local newspapers, Uthayan, Eelanatham, Eelanadu (daily) and Hot Spring (English weekly) are still coming out but they are printed on paper from exercise schools-books. Radio and television news cannot be received because of lack of electricity and ban of batteries that may be used for exploding mines. Petrol has been replaced by kerosene. A characteristic, faint smell of kerosene from the streets of Yalpanam will stay in my nose and memory for a long time. At army check points even the finest Cognac and Whiskey bottles are confiscated by hysterical army people from Tamil civilians who are suspected to use it as fuel for cars! Soap is banned because it may be used for sealing mines!

## Peoples' War

It is the right moment now that you put an end to all this suffering by supporting the peace proposals initiated by Mr. Tontaman. But please remember that the Tamil people will not accept a Sinhala Samaya (Sinhala peace). They want a peace with justice and they want above all security, and be sure that they will fight for it. About 4000 young boys and girls of the LTTE have already died since 1982 in military confrontation with the Lankan army, IPKF and

LTTE opposing Tamil groups. You call these youngsters "terrorists", but remember that they also have a mother, a father, a sister and a brother. They are not an anonymous lot, a demonised mass. Each of them has a tragic and unique life story. They died for a conviction after a conscious choice exactly like Sinhala soldiers. They are not victims of a Polpotian propaganda machine and they are not uneducated barbarians as depicted by the Sri Lanka Army. To these 4000 come all the supporters and civilians killed, about 15000, the crippled and the maimed, about 50,000, and all the widows and orphans as the result of the war. The individual suffering that humans have gone through cannot be expressed quantitatively. Your army will confront the relatives and friends of these youngsters on the battlefield, the fourth generation of LTTE fighters and determined civilians, ready to die for justice and security of coming generations of Tamils. The many ninaivu cinnam "token of commemoration (of great heroes)", in many road junctions of Yalpanam concern not only past, but also the future of armed resistance.

## Healthy Signs

You have already stopped some months ago the indiscriminate bombing of the city Yalpanam and you have thereby demonstrated a good will to protect the civilians. I saw now schools, libraries, hospitals, banks, kovils, churches and the university functioning in Yalpanam city. The ICRC also can do a tremendous job. In January 1991, when the bombing was still going on, I could witness that nothing functioned. Now in December 1991, city police cadres dressed in blue uniforms with white bobby helmets tried to bring order at the junctions in the chaos of cyclists of hundreds of school children in their white uniforms. The school examinations could be completed without interruption. I even could change dollars in a bank, the first dollars for years to appear in a bank in Yalpanam.

## Hope for Tamils

I was also very happy to see that the statue of goddess Caracuvati (Sarasvati), of the Hindu goddess of learning, although badly injured, is still standing upright outside the ruins of the Public Library in spite of all shooting and bombing around her. She is addressed as Kalaimakal, 'daughter of arts.' She is a symbol for the ultimate concern of seemingly each family in Yalpanam, to assert itself

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## Lift up the Lowly

The rich are arrogant  
Trusting in their wealth  
That they robbed from the poor  
In a variety of most decent ways.

Lord, make the poor resent  
Resent very effectively  
Until the rich go empty  
And the poor filled with the riches.

Lord, make the poor impatient  
With all kinds of aid  
Including the live and sport aid  
Until the poor aid themselves

The rich tell us  
That the bounty they have  
Is the bounty of the Lord  
Never realising that it is the bounty of the poor.

Lord, make the poor reject  
All the Holy Heresies  
That are always substantiated by the Holy Bible  
No matter whether they come from the Ordained or the Lay

Lord, make the poor awake  
To the raw realities of history and politics  
Also to religion  
That keeps the poor always asleep. Amen and Amen.

Henry Victor

# - SITUATION SOLUTION -

## Benelux Type - The Political Solution

It is meaningless to ask what is the political solution the Government has to offer or the S. L. F. P. Opposition has to offer or the Select Committee has to offer or Pirabhakaran has to offer. Politics is really a Science - the Science relating to the management of the Polity. The objective in the management of a polity is of course the attainment of the highest good of the largest number. Unlike in the management of inanimate objects, the management of the polity involves human beings who have a will of their own. The human will carries within itself its own guiding principle. In other words, man wants to manage his own affairs; he does not like his affairs being managed by others. Certain animals, a dog for instance, relishes in its affairs being managed by others. Bees, ants and some others rely on a communistic type of social organization which enables the affairs to be managed on a collective basis. It was this type of management which Marx and others envisaged for mankind as these run counter to certain basic traits of human nature, the most elaborate Soviet communist imperium broke down after being a nightmare for some seventy-five years. We are not pursuing an analysis of communism but these observations have to come in by way of an obiter dicta in the analysis relating to the Political Solution for the ethnic Problem in the Island called Ceylon in modern times.

Mary Parker Follet a thinker on Management Science brought forth the concept of the Law of the Situation. Stated very briefly, this emphasises that the situation is the over-riding factor and the various parties involved in the situation ought to study the parameters, the human factor involved, objectives and ideals aimed to be upheld and the resources available and relevant operating factors when such an examination is carried out the appropriate course of action, which in reality, is THE SOLUTION which will emerge. Every one concerned should explore and seek out THE SOLUTION instead of proffering 'my solution', 'your solution' or 'his solution'. Search for the correct solution dictated by

the LAW OF THE SITUATION.

## The Political Solution according to the Law of the Situation

What are the parameters?

1. The Sinhalese and Tamils have lived in this Island from a very ancient period and their geographical focus is distinct. The Northern and Eastern Provinces were possessed by the Tamils, the other seven Provinces were inhabited by the Sinhalese.

2. The two nations have never thought of merging together. The Britisher put them together in one Colonial administration for more effective Imperial control. This administrative unification was without any consultation with the people concerned. It was an Imperial fiat.

3. A Legislative Council was established in 1833, Towards the end of the first

World War, the Britisher announced in respect of the colonies the Montague Declaration according to which Britain's Imperial policy was formulated to be one of progressive realization of full responsible government. This reformulation applied to all colonial territories also.

4. At this stage, the elitist Ceylonese politician also got awakened to nationalism. In reality it was the response to the repressive methods adopted by the Britisher to quell the racial aggression against the Muslims by the Sinhalese and the collective levy against the Wealthy Sinhalese to compensate the Muslims. The Muslims did not get interested in the Nationalist movement for this reason. Only the Tamils and Sinhalese got interested in a move to found a Ceylon National Congress following the pattern in India. Sir P. Arunachalam played a major part in sponsoring the Ceylon National Congress. He was therefore elected the Founder President of that body. But it soon became clear that the Sinhalese viewed nationalism not as Ceylonese nationalism but as Sinhalese nationalism. In fact the same Sinhalese leaders who were in the

## ONLY WAY OUT

National Congress also became members of the Lanka Maha Jana Sabah, the proceedings of which were in Sinhalese. The proposals on Raforms put forward by the Sabah differed materially from those put forward by the Congress. Even the most moderate of moderate Tamils, viz., Waithilingam Duraisamy had pointed out this feature as evidence that the Sinhalese were thinking communally. As a result of this feature - the Sinhalese thinking of nationalism as Sinhala nationalism - Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam found it necessary to resign from the Ceylon National Congress. When Arunachalam left the Congress, the bulk of the Tamils also left the Congress.

5. Even president Jayawardene has frankly admitted that the Tamils were not in the mainstream of national politics after Arunachalam

left the Congress. That is the clearest possible evidence that the Sinhalese and Tamils could never form one people or one nation. A political set-up in which majority decision-making is the modus operandi, is impossible and unsuitable, if the Sinhalese and Tamils were to be put into the same polity.

6. The Sinhala Only Board of Ministers of 1936, the Sinhala Only Act of 1956 and the Republic of Sri Lanka giving the foremost place to Buddhism, are only current expressions of a Sinhala Only concept prevailing among the Sinhalese from an ancient period.

7. The political solution must bestow the substance of Swaraj to the Sinhalese as well as to the Tamils.

8. British India fell to three pieces. British Ceylon can and should fall into two pieces. A Sinhala State and another Tamil State in the Island is an inevitable

thing. The Sinhalese have never regarded the Tamils as fellow-citizens. Unless a fellow-citizenship concept prevails, there cannot be a single polity. The nature of the military operations pursued by the Sinhala Armed forces demonstrate beyond doubt that the Sinhalese can never entertain a sense of fellow-citizenship towards the Tamils.

The only concession to the unification of the administration which the Britisher imposed and which have certain consequences is the offer of a confederal union. A confederal Union of Sinhala Sri Lanka and Tamil Eelyom can ultimately embrace India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and other members of the SAARC into a reality as the European Economic Community.

A Confederal Union of South Asia will replace the SAARC which has been beset with many ill-omens.

In the Shape of the Confederal Union of Lanka.

1. There will be at least two States: Tamil Eelyom and Sinhala Sri Lanka.

2. Certain specified subjects will be administered by the Confederal Union., e.g. Inter-State Transport, Disciplinary Control of the Professions, External Tariff

3. There will be no legislative power for the Confederal Union and there will be no Parliament at the Centre. The legal authority for the authority administering the subjects of the Confederal Union will be a series of Agreements and legal effect to these agreements will be given by statutes enacted by each of the States.

4. There will be a common external tariff but no internal tariff within the Confederal Union.

5. The States will reserve the right to terminate any of the agreement of the Confederal Union.

6. Each State will look after its own defence.

7. The existing Legislative Enactments will hold good in each of the Confederal States until and unless these are revised or repealed.

8. The Supreme Court can be common for both the States. (The Privy Council was common for all British Colonies and for the U. K. also) There is nothing lost for either State by having a common Supreme Court.

The creation of two States in the manner aforesaid will not result in any bitterness or violence as occurred, when British India was partitioned in the forties.

- Crito -

## S. Vanniasingham

## Lament of Bard

*Man's inhumanity to man  
Makes countless thousands mourn,  
Thus lament'd a bard of yore,  
Who was no doubt a human to the core.  
The brutal forces of states  
That commit crimes of all sorts,  
Thrive or pilfer, loot and bribe,  
Derive pleasure in arson and rape.  
Torture and murder,  
Massacre and slaughter.  
Terrorise the people to flee,  
And thus have a spree,  
Have neither the head nor the heart  
To understand the words of the bard.  
They are human only in form,  
But in content they are brutes.  
Hence countless thousands mourn,  
For no fault of their own.*

# Homeland Basis Firm

## HENANAYAKE REFUTED

Dr. Shantha K. Henanayake writing in the Island of 29-2-92 under the title "Tamil Homeland versus Sinhalese Homeland", tries two methods viz. deception and intimidation to denounce the cry for Tamil Eelam. He cadjoles the Tamils that in as much as the Sinhalese have a homeland of their own which they call Sri Lanka, likewise there is nothing wrong in Tamils identifying themselves with Jaffna and the territories adjoining it in expounding their concept of "Tamil cultural Homeland." When in fact the Tamils are by all right and tradition entitled to call the North and East of Sri Lanka and other territories lying contiguous to them as their homeland, Dr. Henanayake is only recognising the Tamil Homeland consisting of Jaffna and its adjoining territories. That too on a cultural, basis - He also urges the Tamils to reconsider their exclusiveness even to this small bit and to accommodate the other communities as well to co-exist.

### INTIMIDATION

The other method viz. intimidation, is more direct. He says that, if circumstances and incidents force the Sinhalese to politically determine a Sinhalese Homeland envisaging the entire Sri Lanka exclusively for them, it is only bloodshed and strife that will determine who the winners will be. Does this learned Professor not know that the Tamils have passed this stage long ago and are in the midst of a civil war to obtain for themselves what is legitimately due to them i.e. Tamil Eelam comprising of North and East and other contiguous territories which they consider as their traditional homeland.

### DISTINCTIVENESS

It is beyond any question, from the evidence of Sinhalese chronicles themselves and other historical documents, that the connection of Tamils with the island is very old - as old as that of the Sinhalese. The most revealing is the fact that the Tamils wielded independent political power in the North and East of Sri Lanka till it was deposed by the Portuguese in Tamils acquired for

themselves a territorial homeland which served to underline their attribute of nationality and distinctiveness from the Sinhalese and not being assimilated by them like their counterparts who had their settlements in the Western Seaboard and the North-Central districts. The possession of independent political power and a clear demarcated geographic area are the two props of Tamil identity. That is how the Eelam Tamils are able to put up a stiff resistance to the advance of Sinhalese nationalism with state aided colonisation. The fact that the Tamils have a well demarcated geographical area should be considered a plus point. Contrast this with the position of the Chinese and Indians in Malaysia. In spite of the fact that population wise their ratio is 40% and 10% respectively of the total population they are unable to take a firm stand for language and other ethnic rights against the Malays largely because they do not have a part of the country where they can establish their own cultural institutions.

### COLONIZATION

Dr. Henanayake laments the fact that the Tamil nationalists decry the shift of the Sinhalese to dry areas which are devoid of any facilities. On the contrary, he says that the Tamils shift to the wet zone which is full of facilities and that the Sinhalese do not object to it. Does this learned professor not know the meaning of the word colonisation? For his edification, the shift of the Sinhalese to facility-less dry zone with state aid is called colonization to deprive the Tamils of their traditional homeland. Does he also not know an area called Manal Aru an area comprising of Tamil inhabitants who were recently chased out by the Sri Lankan armed forces and forcible Sinhala colonization effected with riff-raff elements from Sinhalese areas. In spite of heavy subsidies the State failed to achieve the expected result of colonising this area and to put up an artificial Sinhalese human barrier between the North and East. It is because of this, the State is engaged in wholesale destruction of this area by repeated continuous bombing. This Tamil Manal Aru

area is re-named by the State as Welioya. The Sinhalese nationalists know very well that the shift of the Tamils to the wet zone is not colonization. It is temporary. Further the systematic pogroms of violence deprive the Tamils of their earnings and even their lives.

### CENSUS

Dr. Henanayake says that the Tamil nationalists have extended their concept of Tamil Homeland to the Eastern Province in the post 1970s. census, population etc. are studies related to geography, if not part of it. It would be advisable for purpose of elucidation to find out who

### S. Thyagarajah

were living in the East and in what percentage prior to 1970. This will give a clear convincing answer. Here is the census data of Ethnic Distribution of population in the Trincomalee, Batticaloa and Amparai areas percentage-wise.

	Trincomalee				Batticaloa and Amparai			
	S	T	M	O	S	T	M	O
1921	3.0	55.2	38.1	3.5	4.5	53.3	39.7	2.3
1946	20.6	44.5	30.5	3.7	5.9	50.3	42.2	1.6
1971	28.8	38.2	32.0	1.0	17.7	46.4	35.1	0.6

S - Sinhalese  
T - Tamils  
M - Moors  
O - Other census categories.

Without indulging in history and saying that historically there is no legitimate right to extend the Tamil homeland to the East, it is better to look at the above table and geographically and population-wise come to a conclusion whether East is the Tamil Homeland or not.

### THESAVALAMAI

While re-iterating the fact that colonization of Tamil areas in whatever form should be fought against, the argument put forward that Thesavalamai or the laws prevailing in Jaffna regarding land prevent outsiders from buying land in Jaffna should be repudiated.

In spite of the fact that there are iniquities regarding certain social aspects pertaining only to the Tamils, the 'Thesavalamai' is a practical common sense law. It does not prevent outsiders from buying land in Jaffna. It is a fact that so many Sinhalese bought and owned lands in Jaffna. They have, of course, alienated their lands, not through force, but for money. The 'Thesavalamai' only prevents sale of undivided shares in land,

co-owned by two or more, without going through a process by which provision is given to the co-owner to buy the share. If the co-owners or owners do not take advantage of this and do not buy the said undivided share, it could then be disposed to others. This is the law.

### MAJORITY CONCEPT

Professor Henanayake speaks of the 'majority concept' prevailing in Switzerland, which country, he says the Tamils point out as a model to copy. He makes a point that the Sinhalese are a magnanimous race who do not practise this 'majority concept', as prevailing even in Switzerland. The 'majority concept' in Switzerland means that the minorities should adhere to the ground realities of the majority in such provinces where such majority predominates. This is a reciprocal condition which parties agreed to honour in the Constitution itself. There

is no force or compulsion applied by the majority. It is strange that this good Doctor had forgotten the repressive legislations forced down the throats of minorities by the Sinhalese - Deprivation of the franchise to the persons of Indian origin; infamous Sinhala Only Act; taking away Section 29, the entrenched safeguard to the minorities, from the Constitution and the discrimination meted out to the Tamil students by standardisation. Were these done with the consent of the minorities?

### MALAI NADU

The learned Doctor has not spared the people of Indian origin also. He says

that people are beginning to identify the 'Malai Nadu' or 'Hill Country' as their homeland. The emergence of this concept is a historical development. These persons of Indian origin are living in a demarcated territory for a long time. They speak the same language which is Tamil. Their basic cultural and religious practices are similar to that practised in the North and East. They are occupying a contiguous territory immediately adjoining the Eastern Province. Like the Ceylon Tamils in the initial stages, they had notions of a United Sri Lanka. They were led by their own leaders as well as the 'leftists' to fight for economic relief along with their Sinhalese counterparts. They were led up the garden path with anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist slogans. At the 1988 Elections they voted for the left parties. But the Sinhalese did not take them to their fold because they voted left. The UNP deprived them of their votes. This treatment by the Sinhalese as worse than Second Class Citizens and periodically getting beaten up, when communal clashes occur, resulted in shaping their minds. In every society there are classes and class struggles. Everything takes place alternately. Now the immediate problem of the people of Indian origin is to fight against oppression by the Sinhalese. Instinctively in their fight against oppression the so-called persons of Indian origin now want to identify themselves with the Tamils in Sri Lanka. There is nothing wrong in it. They must join forces with their own ethnic group to achieve their aspirations.

It is always good if learned people adhere to facts and facts alone. One can mislead himself but it is intellectual dishonesty to deceive others knowing very well that what one says is wrong or that one does not understand a hang of what one says.

## UNION CONDEMNS PRIME MINISTER

The Ceylon Bank Employees' Union has in a Press release stated that it is totally opposed to the conversion of the Bank of Ceylon and the People's Bank to private companies or even government owned - companies.

The Union has stated that the World Bank and IMF exert pressure on the Government in this regard.

The Union has denied the truth of the statement made by Prime Minister D. B. Wijetunge, that the two banks have become insolvent and reiterates that the Banks are solvent.

In regard to Rs. 6000 millions identified as bad and non-performing loans identified by the Prime Minister, the

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# HOMELAND ACCEPTED

Thanthai Chelvanayakam signed two different agreements with two different Prime Ministers, S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake and Dudley Senanayake for Regional and District Councils respectively as a step in arriving at an interim solution of the National Question.

Although the units envisaged in the two agreements for the devolution of political power differed from each other, yet the principle involved was the same. Every

major political party in the Island has supported one or other of these two agreements, excluding the LSSP which alone opposed both these agreements. Bandaranayake - Chelvanayakam Agreement for Regional Councils was concluded between the Federal Party and the M. E. P. Coalition Government of which S. L. F. P. and V. L. S. S. P. were partners. The Communist Party too supported this agreement. Whereas the Dudley - Chelvanayakam Agreement was sup-

ported by the UNP, Muslim League, the break-away group from the SLFP and the Tamil Congress. It must be said in fairness to Mr. G. G. Ponnampalam that he had supported the National Government formed by Dudley Senanayake on the basis of the said agreement even when he did not hold any ministerial office

## VENTHAN

during that period. As for Thondaman's Ceylon Workers-Congress it had supported both agreements.

The LSSP which opposed the two agreements faced defection among its ranks at various times and the break-away groups led by Edmund Samarakody, Bala Thampoe and later Vasudeva Nanayakara have all recognised the right of the Tamil people to self-determination. The J.V. too recognised this principle.

So at one time or another, all major political parties in Ceylon excluding the LSSP have recognised in principle the policy advocated by Thanthai Chelva for the resolution of the Tamil National Question. What then is hindering a peaceful negotiated settlement of the issue and why prolong the on-going

war? The answer to the above question is the Baudha Sinhala chauvinists. It was they who prevented the implementation of the two agreements. It was only after finding out the intransigent attitude adopted by the Baudha Sinhala chauvinists that Thanthai Chelva came to the conclusion that there was no alternative left for the Tamils for their survival as a separate and distinct entity other than by restoring and re-constituting the lost state of Tamil Eelam. Let all Tamils resolve on this 95th Birth Anniversary of Thanthai Chelva to achieve his vision of a Tamil homeland and that is how one could pay homage to Thanthai Chelva.

## GIVE UP...

(Continuation from Page 2)

through learning and study, maintaining thereby also Tamil culture, in spite of the fact that schools were bombed and no light is available after sunset. What Caracuvati symbolises, refined and sophisticated culture and civilisation interpreted in the Tamil way, is the very ultimate concern that the Tamils defend by taking up arms. Say Yalppanam and I shall think of Caracuvati as Kalaimakal. Even if the palmvra breaks, as long as Caracuvati stands, there is hope for the survival of the Tamils in Yalppanam. Please tell the army that the Tamils of Yalppanam are highly sophisticated in their culture.

### Army threat

Yalppanam is nourished by the co-operative stores filled by the government via the ICRC, but only with about 25% of the actual requirements. The real suppliers are thousands of cyclists who like a chain of ants undertake the difficult travel over the lagoon down to Vavuniya and back, pushing and pulling overloaded bicycles on their way back. They roll barrels of kerosene on the hot dunes and push them through the water of the lagoon. These ambitious ants are the real lifeline for the survival of Yalppanam. They are not only carriers of food, but also creators of a very important human quality, of solidarity. I was very astonished to find that the army with or without your knowledge had threatened to close the passage over the lagoon some few miles east of Anaiyiravu. A closure would lead to an immediate starvation of the people in Yalppanam as long as Anaiyiravu and Punakari also are closed.

### Refugees

My first superficial impression of a dyami: Yalppanam that stubbornly maintains itself in spite of the

war, was of course questioned by the information about the army's threatening expansion to the northern border of Atchuvelli from Palali in December 1991. That created a new wave of refugees. They have to be added to the already many refugees in Yalppanam. There are now 150 camps for displaced people dispersed over Yalppanam in the different AGA divisions.

16 camps in Tellippali,  
4 camps in Karavetti,  
10 camps in Chavakachcheri,  
30 camps in Marutankerni,  
10 camps in Paruttitturai,  
9 camps in Yalppanam,  
14 camps in Nallur,  
15 camps in Kopay,  
11 camps in Chantilipay,  
18 camps in Uduvil and  
13 camps in Chankanai

Ten national and international NGOs provide to these people shelter, nutrition, clothes, kitchen utensils, pre-school assistance, health education, vocational training, widow assistance, self-employment, trade training, medical assistance, etc, under extreme difficulties. They are very much dependent on national and international donors. In the present situation their efforts are limited to give mainly relief, although their ambition is to start rehabilitation programmes like shore fishing.

### Prices

The walking through the totally destroyed Mainroad in Yalppanam, the paying of impossible prices for groceries, the brain drain of the local elite, the suffering of the dying and wounded fighters in the hospitals and the evocation of many traumatic memories of death, destruction and social injustice when speaking to civilians, questioned also the foreign observer's first superficial positive impressions of Yalppanam in December 1991.

Here follows a price list of common goods available in Yalppanam with the normal prices in brackets.

Kerosene oil  
Rs. 300 per bottle (8)  
rice Rs. 38 per kilo (18)

sugar Rs. 75 per kilo (38)

coconut oil

Rs. 125 per bottle (18)

soap Rs. 45 per soap (7)

box of matches

Rs. 6 per box (1)

### Indiscriminate Attacks Unabated

Outside the city of Yalppanam, the indiscriminate bombing goes on. Only in the end of November there has been continuous shelling at Ponnalai where the historic Visnu temple was damaged among other buildings and there were air raids at Ariyalai. The lack even of fundamental medicines and medical equipment can be disastrous. I know of a two year old child that died because of a lack of vaccine against rabies. Diabetics may die, not because of the lack of insulin but because of the lack of fringes-

### Dark Shadow

But the darkest shadow was thrown by the expectation of the remaining brave people of a coming apocalyptic disaster in January, ironically at about Thaipponkal, the festival of renewal of fertility and prosperity, when the rains are over. The disaster is expected to be like that in Tirukkonamalai and Mattakkalappu, caused by the army and LTTE opposing Tamil groups, in connection with an invasion by the army of Yalppanam.

Some L.T.T.E. opposing Tamil groups will do the raping, robbing, revenge killing and treachery, and the army will do the rest under the label of chasing terrorists. It will do the killing of armed "barbarians", the abduction, torture and detaining of innocent civilians. Villages will be emptied of people that will be driven like cattle from camp to camp. Youngsters may be executed and thrown into wells like it happened in Mandaitivu during the "liberation" of that island in the North Sarvodaya under the leadership of Dr. Ariyaratne in Colombo will organise Sinhala settlers in these empty villages like it did in

the area of Manal Aru and Tirukkonamalai.

### Mandaitivu

Why not have a look at a 'liberated' island like Mandaitivu? There, in August 1991, local people who had abandoned their land due to the occupation by Security Forces, returned later and found a number of wells filled with sand. While cleaning one well, they discovered the skeletons of 16 young men with their hands and eyes tied. They are deeply anguished and alarmed at their discovery as the skeletons were in all probability those of some of 75 young men who were taken away earlier from their refugee camp.

Knowing from the East this traditional pattern of the development of violence and establishment of a dharmacracy, and now even from an island in the North, you can prevent its implementation in Yalppanam city itself.

### Dharmacracy

I now appeal to you not only as a rational and pragmatic politician, but also as an ardent Buddhist who also venerates Caracuvati. I would not write to you if I had not been impressed by your good will to create peace. This goodwill has been proclaimed so often in public. Your goodwill has already resulted in a constructive communication with Amnesty International.

I suppose that we can agree on a universal wisdom: there is no peace without a sacrifice paid by both sides. If you as the leading Buddhist layman of Lanka, can sacrifice the demands for a dharmacracy by really giving ellam (everything) to the Tamils as you promised in a famous statement, then the LTTE may sacrifice the demands for Tamileelam.

I can assure you that economic support for development for all parts of Lanka will be given from many corners of the world if you

implement the Buddhist vesantararole in practical peace politics of Lanka. A strong international support of your peace politics will also make you strong in your poverty alleviation programme. Make Mr. Tontaman's peace initiative an official mission by the government of Lanka by giving him the expected 'green light'. This is the last chance to prevent a holocaust now in Yalppanam.

## Union Cond....

(Continuation from Page 4)

Union states that most of these loans were granted to Government Corporations at the instance of Government. The Government is subsidising state corporations like JEDB and SLSPC through the Bank of Ceylon and People's Banks and then blaming the Bank for having such enormous debts on their books.

The Union further states that almost all debts considered "bad debts" could be recovered. These debtors are millionaires, who own good many palatial houses, countless stocks in local and foreign companies and fabulous accounts in other Banks. They distribute large sums for charity and for political patronage, go about in luxurious limousines, and are frequent guests in the most lavishly expensive hotels! No judge would ever be able to declare them bankrupt.

The Union has stated that an independent commission headed by a retired judge of the Supreme Court should be appointed to probe these loans and determine whether the lending policies of two banks are based on sound banking principles or whether they are influenced and shaped by extraneous pressures.

In a separate note issued to customers the Union has exhorted the customers to carry on business with the two Banks as usual.

# HOT SPRING

VOL: 2 SUNDAY 29th March 1992 ISSUE: 25

## ABOUT TURN BY PSC

The Parliamentary Select Committee's (PSC) stand that the LTTE must give its written proposals for the resolution of the ethnic conflict before the gentlemen (perhaps ladies too if there are any in the committee) could visit Jaffna to study the situation here and have dialogue with the people concerned, is laughable in the extreme.

The solution, not only the LTTE but the Tamil people as well, have decided upon for the resolution of the conflict in the Island is the restoration and reconstitution of the state of Tamil Eelam. This decision of the Tamil people has been unambiguously and clearly stated a number of times.

It is equally true that Sinhalese opinion as represented by the Sinhala political parties is that they should continue to have in themselves the right to rule the Tamils, clothed in euphemistic terms such as 'unity and integrity'

It is because of this irreconcilable position of the two peoples that a war is continuing for several years now. Of course the Tamil people tried to keep out Sinhala imperium over them by democratic and peaceful methods but their attempts were thwarted by thuggery and armed oppression.

The battle in the Northeast is but a sign of Tamil refusal to allow themselves to be ruled by the Sinhalese.

The Tamil people fully appreciate that in as much as they are entitled to their own homeland within the island the Sinhalese are also entitled to their own state. The history of the island clearly shows that both peoples will continue to live in this island as hitherto. Because of the appreciation of this cardinal fact the Tamils want a settlement of the conflict in a peaceful way. The choice in favour of peaceful solution should not embolden anyone to believe that the Tamils are willing to accept the legitimacy of the Sinhala government or its constitution. In fact the Tamils have rejected the various Sinhala constitutions and governments.

It is particularly audacious for the Parliamentary Select Committee to misguide itself into thinking that the LTTE of all is recognising the legitimacy of this committee.

The Tamil people know well that the Parliamentary Select Committee is a device to put off recognising Tamil rights. Nevertheless the LTTE invited this committee so that some sort of dialogue could be had and the Sinhalese people assured that the Tamils would always be willing to talk over matters.

We should like to know whether the Parliamentary Select Committee called for specific proposals from the Government and the Opposition. If it did not by what logic can it ask the LTTE which has raised the standard of revolt against an illegitimate regime to put forward proposals.

It should be clear to every one including the members of the Parliamentary Select Committee that the Tamils will not willingly or unwittingly allow the Sinhalese to rule over them also.

It is up to everyone therefore to evolve a scheme by which the Sinhalese will rule the Sinhalese and the Tamils will rule the Tamils and the aspiration achieved by means which do not include death destruction and bitter memories for ages.

# Cease Fire Stop Sinhala Colonisation

## N. C. C. Makes Appeal

The National Christian Council has called for an immediate ceasefire and cessation of all Sinhala colonisation activities in the North-east.

A delegation from the National Christian Council which came to Jaffna, after discussions with various people including the LTTE

leadership, has on its return to Colombo made an appeal to the government calling

for an immediate ceasefire to the on-going war.

The delegation has also called upon the government to stop all Sinhala colonisation activities in the North-east.

The delegation has called upon both the Government and the Tamil leadership to quicken a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

The delegation members stayed for three days in Jaffna, meeting various people before they returned to Colombo.

## Arrested by Army

Kanarasabai Navaratnam of Kattaiarachchan in Mutur was arrested by the Sinhala soldiers on Thursday - March 12 and taken. Nothing is known of him.

The Sinhala Army rounded up that village on the day. K. Navaratnam was arrested from his house.

## In the Canadian Parliament

The plight of Eelam Tamils echoed in the Canadian House of Commons.

Mr. Bill Attewell, M.P., speaking in the Canadian House of Commons on December, 12, 1991 stated:

"Amnesty International has condemned Colombo for carrying out indiscriminate campaigns against the Tamils. We must organise a UN

sponsored Commission to investigate the killings and to bring to an end the violence and tragic abuse of human rights. Also the Tamils in the Northern Province especially the Jaffna District, are in dire need of food and medical supplies. People are starving to death. We must offer assistance."

Tamil Eelam plight is slowly drawing the concern of the international community in spite of the Sri Lankan Government's efforts to hide or explain away the tragedy in Tamil Eelam.

## PENSIONERS NOTE

The Director of Pensions, Mr. R. W. Pivasena has invited the attention of all Government Pensioners and requested them to furnish their service particulars on

a Prescribed Form available at the Department of Pensions, Catham Street, Colombo, 1.

This information was brought to the notice of the delegation of Northern Pensioners' Federation, when they met Mr. S. Junaid, the Secretary, Public Administration, Provincial Councils and Home Affairs at the Ministry Office in Colombo on 9.3.92. Mr. P. S. Thiruchelvam, the General Secretary of the Federation stated that the Conference was held to apprise the Ministry officials of the plight of the Northern Pensioners and take suitable remedial action.

The Director of Pensions further stated that particulars of service of Pensioners were necessary to enable the Department to consider welfare measures, medical facilities and other Insurance Schemes.

## Arrested in Refugee Camp

Three civilians have been arrested from the Refugee Camp at Pallikudiyiruppu in the Trincomalee District by the Sinhala Army. The incident occurred on Monday, March 16.

The report in this connection states that the Sinhala Army rounded up the Pallikudiyiruppu Refugee camp. They assaulted the refugees and also arrested three families civilians.

The arrested persons are: Ariyathamby Manoharan (38) Punniam Kanapathipillai (28) and Kunasegaram Kanapathipillai. (40)

## SPORTS

### Football

In a match played at the Deogupillai Stadium on 19.3.92, Singing Fish annexed the Dr. Philips Memorial Trophy by beating St. Mary's by three goals to nil. It was good teamwork which enabled them to beat St. Mary's.

### Cricket - Big Matches.

The two big matches played at the week end, ended in a draw.

The match between St. Patrick's College and Jaffna College played at the Deogupillai Stadium was a tame draw.

Scores:- St. Patrick's - 226 and 54 for 5 dec.

Jaffna College - 186 and 26 for one at close. The match between St. John's College and Jaffna Central College played at the latter's grounds ended in an exciting draw.

Scores:- Jaffna Central College - 344 for 9 dec. St. John's College - 226 and 132 for 8 at close.

Vijaya Kumari

## Like Moses Himself

*"He died like Moses himself without reaching the Promised Land but the vision he saw, he leaves behind as the heritage and challenge to his people"*

Rt. Rev. D. J. Ambalavanar  
C. S. I. Bishop of Jaffna  
at the funeral of Thanthai Chelva.