

HOT SPRING

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Sinhala Nationalism Writes
Revisionist History

Sinhalese nationalism plays a key role in inhibiting resolution of the conflict, as ethnic distrust is exploited by politicians and senior Buddhist clergy. This nationalism takes several forms, from subtle racism to writing revisionist history. While rooted in fears of being a minority in the Indian-dominated region, Sinhalese nationalism is used to justify terrible racism.

Extract from: Report of Canadian Human Rights Mission to Sri Lanka.

Continue Peace Efforts

LTTE tells Buddhist Clergymen
Bhikkus to revisit Jaffna

"The armed struggle of the Tamils was the direct product of state oppression and violence. Our armed resistance is legitimate and necessary. This is not terrorism. The LTTE will consider favourably a political framework based on the principles enunciated at Thimpu talks.

Though your proposals are unsatisfactory your pilgrimage of peace to Jaffna will have a positive and constructive role in creating a congenial condition of peace and goodwill and understanding between the two peoples. We hope that you will continue your peace efforts on the Noble Path of Lord Buddha" - So states a letter handed over by the L.T.T.E. on Saturday, April 25 to the team of Buddhists clergymen that visited Jaffna last week.

The letter signed by Mr. V. Elankumaran on behalf of the Political Committee of the LTTE and handed over to the visiting Buddhist clergymen by the LTTE team that had talks with the clergymen was in response to certain peace proposals handed over by these clergymen earlier to the LTTE. These proposals of the clergymen were published in our last issue.

The LTTE note whilst observing that the clergymen's proposals fail to meet the basic demands and aspirations of the Tamil people has exhorted the clergymen to continue their peace efforts.

Here is the full text of the letter:

"On behalf of the Tamil people, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam wish to express its appreciation for the mission of peace and goodwill undertaken by you amidst obstacles and opposition in the South. While we praise your bold decision to visit Jaffna, we fervently hope that your mission may open the doors of understanding, goodwill and peace between the two nations.

It is very sad and tragic to note that the wider sections of the Sinhala masses have failed to grasp the basic issues underlying the national struggle of the Tamils, though the ethnic conflict has a prolonged history extending to more than four decades. Furthermore, the historical origin of the Armed struggle, its emergence as a legitimate mode of a political struggle,

is also totally misconceived. Such a misconception has arisen as a consequence of a long history of chauvinism that still dominates the political world of the Sinhala nation.

It is a tragic irony that Buddhism, which advocates a profound ethical philosophy of humanism and compassion, which stands for an egalitarian society based on social justice, has given rise to reactionary chauvinistic ideological formations which has entered into political discourse and has been instrumental to various forms

of oppressive and discriminatory policies against the Tamils. One has to reflect, very deeply, as to how, and why, this politics of violence, oppression and inhumanism has given rise in a society that has for more than two thousand years pursued the spiritual path of the Noble one, the enlightened Buddha.

We wish to emphasise that the armed struggle of the Tamils was the direct product of state oppression and violence. We took up arms to defend our right to existence when decades of non-violent struggle has been

specific political aims and objectives.

Understanding the LTTE in this perspective is crucial and fundamental to the comprehension of the ethnic conflict and the national struggle of the Tamil people.

We are very sad and distressed to note that there is a total lack of understanding among wider sections of the Sinhala masses of the nature and structure of the LTTE, its aims and objectives and the cause for which it is fighting. The politicians the clergy and the media in the south characterise the armed struggle of the Tamils as none other than blatant terrorism and brand the LTTE as a bunch of terrorists, anarchists and fanatics. Such

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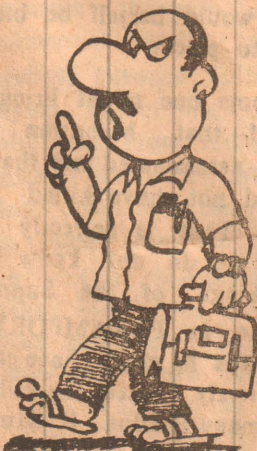
Artillery Shell Attack

Five persons suffered injuries when the Sri Lankan Army at Palaly launched indiscriminate artillery shell attack in and around Valvettiturai on Friday, May 1.

The attack took place at about 11.30 a.m. and the shells exploded in Thondamannar, Kattupulam, Maiyiyathanai, Valvettiturai, Valveti and Theeruvil all areas in and around Valvettiturai.

Nadarajah Shanmuganathan (40) Visakaperumal Kuganathan (38), Pasupathy Annaladchumy (60), S. Balasubramaniam (70) and Mrs. P. Jeevaratnam (66) suffered serious injuries and were admitted to hospital when a shell hit the house of N. Nagasothilingam of Kattupulam.

A number of houses in the areas were damaged.

Musings of
Mr. Meddle

"Any Sri Lankan, Sinhalese, Tamil, Muslim or Burgher, can visit any part of Sri Lanka"

Defence Secretary General
Cyril Ranatunge.

"Provided they have the Army permission" - Parents of Sinhala Police and Army Captives in Jaffna may be heard to lament!

MAY DAY MASS RALLY

A mass rally to celebrate May Day was held at Jaffna on Friday, May 1.

Over a lakh of people participated in the procession that started at 2-00 p.m. from the Maruthanadam junction. Processionists from various parts of Jaffna congregated at Maruthanadam junction before the procession started. Decorated vehicles and floats depicting local enterprises formed part of the procession. It took four hours for the procession to pass one point. Men, women and children participated in the procession along with school children and members of various trade unions and other workers' organisations.

The procession was headed by a division of the fighting unit of the LTTE, the Tamil

Eelam Police Force both males and females, the Student's Organisation of Liberation Tigers all of whom marched to the play of band music, followed by leaders of the People's Front of Liberation Tigers and other organisations of workers, students and other people.

The procession reached the grounds behind Medical College where a public meeting was held presided over by

Mr. Elamparithi, the head of the political division of Jaffna LTTE.

Various leaders of the LTTE addressed the meeting including Mr. V. Balakumar, Selvarajah and Miss Jaya. May Day Rally this year was one of the biggest rallies ever held in Jaffna.

The meeting at which over a lakh of people participated ended at 9-00 p.m.

BURIED ALIVE - BEATEN TO DEATH

Two Tamils are reported killed by Muslim Home Guards in Valaichchenai in the Batticaloa District.

The report in this connection states that Thigamparajah Sivakumar (23) and Rajalingam Maheswaran (25) were taken away by Muslim Home Guards from their houses on April, 19. As the two did not return their

parents reported to the Police on April 22.

Consequent to the search operation the bodies of the two Tamils were recovered buried near Muslim Home Guard Camp at Meera Odai.

The report adds that the post-mortem examination revealed that while one victim had been beaten to death the other had been buried alive.

OUR READERS SAY

The Editor,
Hot Spring

Proselytization

Adverting to a news item in your issue of 19-4-92, of a proposal by Rev. Matham-pagama Asgiri Thero, urging President Premadasa, who is in charge of the Buddha Sasana Ministry to proselytize 100 Tamil youths into Buddhist faith, and his offer to co-operate in this mission, reveals the mind of the Pre-late as one who does not have the regard and respect for the Message of the Master.

"Abstention from all Evil.

Practice of all that is Good,
Purification of Mind and Heart"

- Quote from
Dhammapada

The main objective of the Buddha was to mitigate, if He could not eliminate, the sorrows of mankind. All His works, all His preachings, were centred upon the practice of virtue. Lord Buddha was, first and foremost, the greatest of humanitarians, the first to fathom the true cause of human suffering, and the first to offer a solution for its alleviation. The true priesthood or superiority, asserted Buddha, lay not in birth, but in right conduct. A true priest is one who is rid of passion, hatred and pride - who is restrained in body, speech and mind, profound in intellect and wise - mellow as the moon, pure, serene and unperturbed.

Lord Buddha, in the Noble Eightfold Path expounds His system of ethics. In His single ethical code, He taught love and brotherliness as dominant in thought, word and deed and from which hate and selfishness in their every mood and tense must be resolutely excluded. The Eightfold Path teaches men how to behave, if they would live at peace with each other. In the Dhammapada the Buddha exhorts men to submerge the "Enmity Code" and regulate their life by the "Amity Code". One must allow no thoughts of hatred, anger and revenge to enter the mind; one must not requite evil with evil, but must overcome evil with good.

There are fundamental precepts forming the back bone of every penetrative system of morality set for a true Buddhist. The primary demand made upon the follower is: "if thou shalt live in this world, make this world a something which is worthy of life."

Lord Buddha in his noble edifice of thought observed

that there is no path to peace except as the will of the people may open it. The path to peace is through agreement not through force, the question, then, is not of any ambitious general scheme to prevent war, but simply of the constant effort, which is the highest task of statesmanship in relation to every possible cause of strife to diminish among peoples the disposition to resort to force and to find a just and reasonable basis for accord.

Ceylon was under alien rule before independence. The Portuguese had made use of education for purposes of proselytization. When the Dutch came education was made available for pioneering the way for Christianity. The natives both adults and the children were initiated in the first principles of Christianity. Baptism was administered and marriages solemnised in the village school houses, and in order to confer every possible importance on these rural institutions, the school masters appointed by the Scholarchial Commission had charge of the "thombos" or registers of the district. The number of these "converts" were very large, for they ordained that nobody could get employment unless he professed Christian faith.

At least in the above exercise, the converts had the privilege of decent education and the prospect of employment facilities. Merit was their motto. There was no compulsion involved. A subject had the option of being a convert.

When the Tamil public servants gained proficiency in Sinhala and performed their duties, there were mixed receptions amongst the Sinhalese. The chauvinists resented the move and remarked - "you may gain proficiency in Sinhala, but you are a parayah Tamil". During the communal riots Tamils who had married into Sinhalese were at the receiving end and they had no place for salvation.

The move to convert the Tamil youths into Buddhism may be a ploy to defeat the concept of Eelam. By this offer, the Ven. Thero must be of the wrong notion, that all the rest of the detentes may volunteer, embracing Buddhism. Assuming that they have given expression to the above move, how will the State view them. Absolve them and release them! By this move, the prelate has submitted himself to interference with justice. The youths are under detention for their purported

acts of violence, against the State. What a mockery of justice, for the wrong doers to make a quiet getaway under the pretext of proselytization?

If prelates in robes can import religious sentiments in the affairs of the State, a nation wedded to equity and justice among the law abiding citizens has failed in its duty in the interpretation of the Rule of Law. This can give rise to lawlessness among the law abidings, and give birth to a state of anarchy.

Unlike in the past the reverence with which the prelates are held by the lay people is getting defiled. They have been branded as rogues in robes. They have figured in crimes that would blush the under worlds. These wandering mendicants have imposed themselves among the lay people as the representatives of Lord Buddha, and have begun to exploit the situation. They have also imposed themselves into politics and history records of how they have ruined an orderly State.

Renunciation from worldly affairs is the pledge with which they are ordained. One of the principal teachings is that they are above material lust "Thannawa". But for their robes and shaven heads, all their words and deeds are parallel to laymen.

Lord Buddha observed that greed "Thannawa", is corruption, because it imposes its will upon others, it involves tyranny, oppression and exploitation.

Politically it stands for dictatorship and in the life of an individual it means fear and intolerance, self-seeking and the ultimate domination of others. As one dedicated to the propagation of Lord Buddha's message, a prelate must have self-control, tolerance and discipline.

Prelates, generally must be tolerant and not to interfere with other people, even if they think they are wrong, but prepared to let them think what they like or to profess, but will not try to force them.

Proselytization, here, in every sense means interference with other people. This very thought stands defiled the Noble Thoughts of Lord Buddha and if Rev Matham-pagama Asgiri Thero is a true follower of His Noble thoughts, will renounce the idea and true to his conscience dedicate himself to the stricken youths in the North and East so that they may get a decent chance of happiness.

D. Jeevananthan

Vathiry

Sri Lankan Currency Notes

The Editor,
"Hot Spring"

Sir,

Sri Lankan currency notes are printed by the Central Bank of Ceylon under the signature of the Minister of Finance and the Governor of the Central Bank. When these notes are worn out, torn, dirtied or otherwise disfigured, it was possible to tender these notes at the banks and obtain fresh notes. For some reason or other, banks in the Jaffna District are refusing to accept these notes and as a result currency notes of various denominations are kept out of circulation. In certain instances the currency notes are very dirty and fungus too has set in and they have become very unhygienic. The banks should take all possible steps to ensure replacement of spoilt notes. I am constrained to presume whether this is another form of torture to the residents of North-East. Can this action be termed magnanimous, inglorious or discriminatory?

It is to be noted that permitting the circulation of spoilt notes reflects very badly on the image of the island and bad reflection on the signatories of the currency notes. Whatever said and done this merits the immediate attention of the Central Bank and the Commercial Banks.

M. Kanagalingam.

Meesalai,

Musings of Nestor

THE MODERN DRAUPATHY

Prime Minister Narasimha Rao has given excellent evidence of Statesmanly tact and detachment when he observed - and that at Thirupathy - that the death of Rajiv Gandhi was the result of FATE. This observation leads to two sensible lines of popular thinking. In the first instance, it leads popular thinking to realize that Rajiv Gandhi was guilty so as to suffer such a death at an early age in the prime of his life. Fate is really the divine response to what one did in the previous births plus what one has done in the past in the present birth. Rajiv Gandhi caused the slaughter of more than 5,000 innocent Tamils in Eelyom for the simple fault of seeking Swaraj from the genocidal imperium of the Sinhalese. Another line of popular thinking is that a woman could not make up her mind to kill Gandhi unless she was bent on wreaking vengeance. The personality of Rajiv Gandhi would definitely deter a woman from

thinking of doing death to him unless acted in revenge. The slaughter of Tamil civilians in Eelyom was in such crude manner that a young woman - if at all a young woman from Eelyom was ever involved - who must have lost her near and dear ones wreaked vengeance fully conscious of the consequence that she would herself be blown up to pieces.

Some one might bring to mind that Mahatma was also assassinated and that he could not have killed any one. That is perfectly so. But we do not know the workings of the Supreme Force or PARAMPORUL. Perhaps he might have constructively caused the killings of many Hindus. If Muslim violence was met with violence straightway, Muslim violence against Hindus might have been much less. Who knows? It is not for us to analyse the workings of Paramporul.

The voluminous talk in Tamil Nadu against Liberation Tigers by connecting them with Eelyom Tamils

is entirely due to the modern Draupathy who is Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu.

(Continued on Page 5)

SPORTS

Cricket

The Donald Ganeshkumar Limited Over competition gets back in full gear after the Easter recess.

The matches to be played are Shabra Vs Centralites (Chocs) and Mallakam Vs Patricians. These matches are scheduled to take place on 2nd and 3rd, May respectively at Central College grounds commencing at 9.00 a.m.

Soccer

Singing Fish beat Greenfield by five goals to one in the Jaffna Soccer League Semi-finals played at St. Antony's grounds, Passaiyoor on 25-4-92. The match was officiated by Mr. Pilendran and assisted by Messrs. Marianayagam and Francis.

Vijayakumar

Premadasa's Government in a dilemma

The question today is what is that the Sinhalese government is prepared to bestow on the Tamils by way of a solution to the ethnic conflict?

A controversy arose in the South that the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam should put forward their own proposals for a solution. There was also a request that the LTTE should appear and give evidence before the Parliamentary Select Committee headed by Mr. Mangala Munasinghe. With regard to these the LTTE in its official organ "Liberation Tigers" (April Issue) editorially commented that the Tigers need not put forward proposals for a solution. The editorial stated as follows: "That the Tigers who are waging war for the rights of the Tamils, have definitely their own set of proposals. That proposal is the separate State of Tamil Eelam. Ruling Sinhalese race is not going to accept this. Therefore, it is their - Sinhalese - duty to put forward alternative proposals to see whether such proposals will be acceptable to the people of Tamil Eelam. This is the stand of the Tigers".

The editorial pointing out the external pressures and internal crises leading to a resumption of negotiations, has stressed that it is the responsibility of the Sinhala Government to find a solution.

We shall consider the way in which the Sinhala Government dealt with the Tamil problem in general in the past and also understand the nature of the political situation in the South and in that context find out what the position of the Tamils will be.

ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS

The Tigers who are leading the Tamils have publicly stressed that the Tamil people want peace. In furtherance of this objective, it has adopted several goodwill measures. It is up to the Sinhala Government to make use of this opportunity and find a solution. The Sinhalese do not give what the Tamils demand. Therefore the Tigers cannot now ask what they want. It is the Sinhalese who should come out with what they will accede to. The Tigers can, thereafter, state whether such proposals will meet the aspirations of the Tamils or not. Tigers have already reiterated their demand, that is, Tamil Eelam. But if the

Government could put forward an alternative proposal that could satisfy the aspirations of the Tamils, the Tigers are prepared to consider such proposals. In the context of these circumstances to ask the Tigers to present their proposals, is against reality and beyond any logic.

PACTS

To understand the background of this problem and the prevailing political trend, one should analyse the past political history. Sinhalese rulers from time to time entered into agreements with Tamil leaders to solve the problem of the Tamils. At every turn in which such agreements were entered into, the Sinhalese leaders did not place proposals of their own. On the contrary, when Tamil leaders put forward proposals, the Sinhalese leaders agreed to certain concessions based on those demands. Even such concessions they refused to honour, when their own political positions became stronger, e.g. Bandaranayake - Chelvanayakam Agreement, Dudley-Chelvanayakam Agreement and the Indo - Sri Lanka Accord. It is necessary to examine these agreements in this background. The fact that the political background of these agreements, the manner in which these agreements were entered into, the objective of the persons involved in the agreements, the views expressed by them, when the agreements were formulated, have not been subjected to scrutiny by the Tamils, is very unfortunate. We shall examine these agreements now.

BANDA - CHELVA PACT

When Mr. Bandaranayake came to power, he was faced with the formidable problem of safeguarding his government and state machinery which was at that time pro-UNP. Bandaranayake was against Christian missionaries and against foreign capital and institutions. He had thus to face opposition both internal and external. He exploited anti - Tamil politics to overcome these pressures. By such tactics he thought he could win widespread support from the Sinhalese. After coming to power in 1956 he passed the Sinhala Only Act. As a protest the Tamil Arasu Kadchy indulged in a Nadai Pavani (Pada Yathra) to Trincomalee. Under cover of this protest, Mr. Bandaranayake recruited one lakh volunteers to fight "Tamil invasion". There was

even a proposal to give these volunteers a training in use of fire arms. It was his purpose to gradually absorb them into the Police and Army to oust the original state machinery which to all intents was pro - UNP. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene described this volunteer force as the "SLFP Army". The UNP opposed this move vehemently and as a result Mr. Bandaranayake abandoned the plan.

He could not achieve his objective. By this time, the grace given by the Tamil Arasu Kadchy to the Government to take direct action, was nearing an end. Opposition to Mr. Bandaranayake was at its peak in South Ceylon in various fronts. Differences were surfacing within the MEP Government. The UNP, Christians and foreign institutions stepped up pressures on him. In these circumstances, Mr. Bandaranayake decided to enter into a Pact with Mr. Chelvanayakam. This was the background

M. Thirunavukarasu

to the Bandaranayake Chelvanayakam Pact. Mr. Bandaranayake was inclined to satisfy the Tamil Arasu Kadchy by granting certain minimum demands. This agreement did not meet all the demands and aspirations of the Tamil Arasu Kadchy. Mr. Bandaranayake agreed to this Pact not from the point of view of granting the demands of the Tamils but to ease his own political crisis.

DUDLEY - CHELVA PACT

The agreement entered into by the UNP with Mr. Chelvanayakam in 1965 was also to gain political advantage. It was not done with the desire of solving the Tamil problem. In the General Elections of 1965, the UNP did not get a clear majority. Therefore it sought the support of the Tamil Arasu Kadchy to govern the country. Even the UNP's agreement did not satisfy the aspirations of the Tamils and the demands put forward by the Tamil Arasu Kadchy. When the UNP stabilised its position, it too tore the Pact.

INDO - SRI LANKA ACCORD

The Indo - Sri Lanka Accord of 1987 too has a similar background. When J. R. Government was in dire straits, in order to prevent India's direct intervention and also to deceive both

India and the Tamils, J. R. entered into a Pact with India. He wanted to hoodwink all. But the Tigers or Tamil people could not be deceived. They were very conscious politically.

In general all these three agreements were entered into by the Sinhala governments in order to overcome their crises. When they were able to stabilise their positions, they observed the agreements in the breach.

It is in such a context that President Premadasa also entered into negotiations with the LTTE. It is not from the point of view of the Tamils but because of the crisis in the South created by the presence of Indian troops in Sri Lanka. As a result of these negotiations, he was able to reduce the prevailing tension. The editorial asserts that the Sinhala government is facing several political pressures and therefore talking of negotiations but at heart it is not prepared for a solution. We have to consider these contradictions in Sinhala politics.

THE DILEMMA

After the Cold War, East Europe disintegrated. This created an opportunity for Sri Lanka to buy arms at a cheaper price. China which carries on the arms trade on a commercial basis, also started supplying arms to Sri Lanka and that too with political motives. The end of the Cold War facilitated this move of China. The death of Rajiv Gandhi and the Indian Government's accusing finger on the Tigers also politically and militarily favoured Sri Lanka. It is on the basis of a militaristic point of view that the Tamil problem is viewed in South Sri Lanka. Mr. Premadasa is forced to soft-pedal his moves both because of external pressures and his eye on future elections. This is the predicament - Mr. Premadasa is facing - on the one hand growing military outlook and possibilities and on the other, the necessity for peace to assuage political pressures and necessities. The question 'which way to go', is reflected in every action by the Government.

Viewed in this background, the Government should not use the Tamil problem to escape from the difficulties of its own creation but should come forward and solve the problem in a statesman like way, with a clear-cut formula. If the Government desires to solve the problem,

it should place its own proposals.

The Tigers have indicated that the solution arrived at through the Indo - Sri Lanka Accord did not satisfy the aspirations of the Tamils. Hence its opposition to it and the subsequent war. At this stage the Government opted to negotiate with the Tigers who were waging a war against the Indo - Sri Lanka Accord. This stance indicated that the Sri Lanka Government was prepared to give the Tamils more than what was envisaged in the Agreement. It is the duty of the Sri Lanka Government to put forward proposals giving a better deal than the Indo - Sri Lanka Accord which was rejected by the Tigers, and whose maximum demand is Tamil Eelam. If, however, the Government desires a peaceful solution to the problem, it could put forward alternative proposals which they are prepared to consider. It is thus incumbent on the Government to put forward a solution.

The continuing war for the last twenty years has established the fact that it is not possible to defeat the Tamils militarily. The armed forces have now become a strong force to be reckoned with in Sri Lankan politics. Its 'Top Brass' is using the "Tamil Homeland" as a prop for their promotion. Bickering and competition are prevalent among the forces. They are entirely wrong in their approach and outlook. It is thus the responsibility of the Government to approach the problem positively with responsibility. Unless the Tamil problem is viewed from the point of view of the Tamils, no positive step could be taken to solve the problem.

Courtesy - Eelanatham

24 - 4 - 92

(Translation from Tamil)

S. L. Soldiers forced to retreat

Reports from Mannar state that Sri Lankan soldiers tried to move out from Mantai (Mannar) Army camp on 26th April around 8.45 a.m. They were attacked by the LTTE within 500 yards from the camp. After many hours of battle during which there was simultaneous shell firing, the army retreated to the camp about 2.00 p.m. Thereafter there was heavy shell firing from the Navakirikul Model village Army camp and Nanattan army camp respectively.

Who should place proposals for Solution?

Government or Liberation Tigers?

Viduthalai Puligal (*Liberation Tigers*) the official organ of the LTTE editorially said in its March-April 92 issue that the Govt. should place proposals for a political resolution of the Tamil national problem. We have translated the editorial for the benefit of our readers as it conveys the LTTE's position on the subject.

If a political solution to resolve the national problem of the people of Tamil Eelam is sought for, on whom does the onus for placing proposals for such political solution lie? The Government stresses that the Liberation Tigers should place their proposals for a political solution. The LTTE on the other hand says that it is ready to consider constructive proposals aimed at solution if placed by the government. This contradictory stand has apart from creating a controversy in the political world also slowed down the attempts at a negotiated settlement. We are here clearly explaining the position of the Liberation Tigers on this complicated question.

The political aim and objective of the LTTE is the establishment of separate, independent and sovereign state in the Tamil homeland on the basis of the Tamil people's right to self-government or national right of self-determination. This is a fact well-known to all. It is not that the Sinhala ruling class does not know this.

The objective of a separate and independent state for the Tamils is not an LTTE invention. The claim for a separate and independent state was born as a historical necessity as the sum total effect of a long and complicated political agitation of the Tamils and the height of controversy that has been reached. The older Tamil leadership did not have the ability to realize the claim and make feasible the establishment of a separate and independent state. This historical hiatus was filled by the LTTE with the emergence of the Tigers the agitation changed form. The struggle for self-government was accentuated. The freedom struggle of the Tamils transformed itself into a revolutionary, blood-shedding struggle.

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The Tiger movement is fighting with determination to make feasible the attainment of a separate state for the Tamils which is the national aspiration of the people of Tamil Eelam born out of historical process. Therefore no one need have any doubt in regard to what is the political ideal of the LTTE.

That the ruling class of Sinhala imperialists would under no circumstances grant justice to the Tamils is the bitter lesson we have learnt from history. We do well know how the earlier leadership of the Tamils had been betrayed. Facts and agreements had been torn to pieces. The Tigers will therefore never lend themselves to be caught in political traps styled talks, compromises and agreements.

Even so it is impossible to avoid facing political and diplomatic chess games if we want to prosecute successfully a national liberation struggle. It is necessary to make political and diplomatic moves to win over world approval for the sake of ensuring our national interests without slipping from the path of our ideal.

Our liberation struggle has gone beyond internal and sub-continental boundaries and has reached an international political status. It has now reached a complicated development in which the geographically strategic position of the island, India's desire for regional hegemony and the market extension concerns of world capitalism are all interwoven. Because of this there will be impediments in getting international approval for our people's struggle for our right to self-government. We have got to meet this challenge.

It is the desire of the international community that the Tigers should not close the doors for peace talks to arrive at a reasonable solution to the national problems

of the Tamils and that the Tigers should utilize all opportunities and avenues to find a negotiated settlement before they reach the final stage of parting of the ways. On this basis world states are exerting diplomatic pressure on the Liberation Tigers. The West is pressurizing us to consider the possibilities of a tangible scheme of self-government as an alternative to a separate state. At the same time it is possible that international support may turn in favour of the Tamils, if the Sinhala government refuses to mete out justice to the Tamils and oppression is accelerated and a situation arises where it would not be possible for the two nations to live together and a crisis arises where a political solution becomes impossible. World states have not failed to indicate this indirectly. The international community is well aware of the cruel oppression let loose against the Tamils for a long period of time, the military oppression and the unrelenting attitude adopted by Sinhala imperialism in the matter of finding a political solution. Even so the West believes

that there are possibilities of finding an agreeable political solution under a united Sri Lanka. On the basis of this false belief and considering only its commercial interests it is exerting pressure on both sides. We have in our minds this international external pressure in formulating our political approach. We have to continue to show to the world that the Sinhala ruling class and the imperialist forces that stand in support of it would not grant justice to the Tamils and would not agree to a reasonable solution.

It is by continuing to make the world realize that the Sinhala rulers are not prepared to grant the fundamental political aspirations of the Tamils that we can muster world support for the struggle for the right of self-government. It is on the basis of this aim that the LTTE has opened its doors of peace and is ready for talks. If any tangible scheme for settlement is placed by the government it is ready to consider such a scheme.

Up to now, neither the governing party nor the opposition has made bold to place any scheme for solution of the national problem of the Tamils. It is not even their aim to place such a Proposal. They are not ready to place any progressive scheme which would satisfy the Tamils and thus earn the opposition of the Sinhala imperialist forces. How can, those who for years conducted politics injecting racial hatred preaching that patriotism was the denial of rights to the Tamils now grant justice to the Tamils?

The All Party Conference convened towards the end of 1983 to drag the Tamil problem without solution died in infancy. Another All Party Conference that was reborn in 1989 as the heir to its predecessor is inactive and is at the point of death. In this situation another all party amalgam in the name of a parliamentary select committee has been nominated. This committee which was nominated to study the problems of the Tamils and find out a solution refuses to come over to the Tamil homeland and find out directly the position of the Tamils. This committee which is carrying out researches in Colombo is asking the Tigers for a solution scheme in writing.

In this situation the question arises as to who should place a scheme for settlement.

It is those who committed injustice towards the Tamils—those who denied rights to the Tamils—who should come forward to grant justice and rights to the Tamils. They must propose a scheme for solution.

It is not that the Liberation Tigers who are struggling for the rights of the Tamils have no scheme for solution. Their solution is the establishment of a separate and independent Tamil Eelam state. The Sinhala ruling class is not going to accept this solution. It so, it is their duty to place the alternative solution scheme. The Liberation Tigers are prepared to consider whether such an alternate scheme can be accepted by the people of Tamil Eelam. This is the stand of the Liberation Tigers.

Day Care Centre and Home Nursing Services

The Nallur Pensioners' Benefit Association held its 10th anniversary meeting on 18.4.92 at Tirunelvely Saiva Maha Vidyalayam. Mr. A. Sellathurai presided.

The meeting resolved to open a Day Care Centre and to provide Home Nursing Services for the needy pensioners in the area.

Two Arrested in Sampoor

Reports from Trincomalee state that two Tamil youths named Adaikalam Thiruchelvam (20) and Chitravel Puvaneswaran (21) were arrested by the Sri Lankan Army on 22nd and 23rd of April, 1992 respectively at Sampoor, Mutur.

They were taken to the Army Camp and nothing has been heard of them since.

Retired Government Agent, Vavunia, Mr. S. Sivagnanam was the Chief Guest Dr. K. Kanagarajah, J. P., Mr. C.V. K. Sivagnanam, President of the Federation of Northern Pensioners, Mr. S. Linganthan, ACCD, Dr. S. Arunasalam, Retired Eye Surgeon and Mr. S. Ganeshamoorthy,

A. R. M. Bank of Ceylon Jaffna were the special invitees.

Messrs. S. Sivagurunathan, P. S. Tiruchelvam, and S. Nadarajah were elected President, Secretary and Treasurer respectively for the ensuing year.

Who is To Do?

This is the story of four people named, Every Body, Some Body, Any Body, No Body.

There was an important Job to be done and Every Body was sure that Some Body would do it.

Any Body could have done it, but No Body did it.

Some Body got angry about that because it was Every Body's Job.

Every Body thought Any Body could do it, but No Body realised that Every Body wouldn't do it.

It ended up that Every Body blamed Some Body when No Body did what Any Body could have done.

-- D. A. M. Gunasingham.

Restore Places of Worship from Army Control

Priest and Sabhai make joint Appeal

The immediate and indispensable requirements of the Saiva Public for their daily religious practice, their periodical dedications and charitable duties in the sacred areas of Thiruketheeswaram, Thirukoneswaram, Naguleswaram and Maviddapuram are denied to them.

The said Sacred areas are, at present, in the direct control of the Armed Forces. The Governing Authority and Chief High Priest of the Maviddapuram Kandasamy Kovil and the All Ceylon Saiva Maha Sabhai, for and on behalf of the Saiva Public have appealed to His Excellency the President, Republic of Sri Lanka, through the Government Agent, Jaffna, for redress by taking necessary and adequate steps to enable the public to have access to the sacred areas now in the control of the Armed Forces and to perform their daily religious practices and discharge periodical obligatory ceremonies, particularly because these sacred areas are the vantage points of positional pre-eminence for the Saiva Public.

The appeal further states:—
“It is evident from the findings of historical researchers that Sivan Temples, Muruga shrines and similar places of worship that shower blessings on religious devotees of Belam, have been in existence even prior to the period of five thousand years from now. Of these Sacred Shrines, Koneswaram temple in Trincomalee in the East, Naguleswaram Temple in Keerimalai in the North, Thiruketheeswaram Temple in Mannar and Muneswaram Temple in Chilaw in the West and Chandrasekaran Temple in Galle in the South, take precedence. Likewise, Shrines consecrated to Lord Murugan at Kataragama, Selva Channathy, Nallur, Maviddapuram and Verugal are pre-eminent. So is Mamanga Pillaiar Kovil in Batticaloa. All these sacred shrines have findings of researchers testifying to the fact that they are of positional prominence as vantage points for the worship of God by by Saiva Devotees.

There are several records of the governmental recognition and benevolence accorded by all the Ruling

Authorities, but with the exception of the Portuguese and the Dutch Governments. It is of significance that, even during the periods of World War I and II, the Government saw to it that there was no hindrance to or delay whatsoever in the functioning of these places of worship.

In the North - Eastern province, the Sacred Area encompassing Naguleswaram, Keerimalai, has been much sought after by the Saiva Public. Though this area is sparsely populated yet the places of worship therein are many; the Samathis (Tomb Temples) consecrated to Sages are quite high in number. Also there are several charitable rests (Religious Inns) for the convenient discharge of religious duties and obligations by devotees from far and wide. What ‘Kasie’ and ‘Gaya’ are to the people of India, Keerimalai in Belam is to those of this country, as a vantage point of religious pre-eminence. The area that bears the name of “Keerimalai” has been considered to be the appropriate site for paying homage to departed souls and

for the performance of Charitable Acts.

It is apposite to this memorandum, that the several acts of the Government and the plans designed for the Hell for the Holy Bathings and the Structure for the performance of obligations to departed Souls, at a cost of several Lakhs of rupees, all in the name of Charitable Functions and in recognition of the pre-historic importance of this vantage point, should be remembered with gratitude.

In the present state of abnormal activities and distressing circumstances, the Sacred Area referred to above is under the direct control of Armed Forces. The situation is so grim and perilous that none dare enter this Sacred Area. To the Saiva Public, this development is a great blow creating mental agony. The Saiva Public who had been performing their obligations, charitable duties and traditional practices have become distressed owing to this denial of religious rights. For, there is no other site so adequately convenient as the

Keerimalai area for this performance of these religious and traditional duties and practices.

The people here, are in general, very much affected by this restraint. And above all the several shrines in this area remain closed with no chance of poojahs being performed. This decadent development is due to the Armed Forces taking control of this area. This account is also applicable to the state of affairs in the sacred areas of Thirukoneswaram and Thiruketheeswaram. And furthermore, the Sacred area encompassing the ancient “Maviddapuram Kanthaswamy Temple”, one of the most important and popular shrines consecrated to Lord Murugan, also has been occupied by the Armed Forces. This situation is such that none can enter this area except at risk of life.

Here in this Maviddapuram shrine, the devotees all over the northern Peninsula, used to congregate for discharge of religious duties and performance of spiritual practices. The several Saiva Priests, Chief High Priests and their attendants, all of them, have had to withdraw from this area and seek shelter in distant places devoid of adequate facilities for their rituals and religious practices. Hence they are all heartbroken. Such a woeful situation as demand-

ing evacuation had never arisen earlier at anytime.

The belongings of this Temple are varied and valued at several lakhs of rupees. They include the rare religious manuscripts (Pathathis) chronicles in olas, printed Agamas, Commentaries, Sanscrit Literature and similar invaluable publications. The richly decorated chariots of sculptural magnificence belonging to this Temple are of rare design and execution and worth in several slabs of gold. The idols, the several and various ornaments, and the structures, composing the shrine, require to be protectively guarded against loot, damage or decay. If something happens amiss, God Forbid it, the resulting losses would be irreparable as the value would be several lakhs of rupees. Restoration thereafter would be a question mark and even if effected would take several years for completion.

Hence our humble request is that these areas be removed from the control of the Armed Forces, and made clear of the danger of Armed Activities, so that the Saiva Public may be afforded security to enable the functioning of these Temples for the purpose of offering prayers at these Temples and performing their traditional religious practices and obligations.”

The appeal has been signed by S. D. Sharmuganatha Kurukkal, the High Priest and by Nama Sivapiragasam, the President of the Saiva Maha Sabhai Mallakam.

Musings of...

(Continuation from Page 2)

WHY EELYOM TAMILS ARE IN INDIA

The presence of many Eelyom Tamils in Tamil Nadu is easily explained. There were four ports in the Peninsula through which commercial traffic passed regularly between India and Eelyom. In fact long-horned white bulls from India were regularly imported into the Island through these Northern ports. Tanjore paddy was really marketed in Jaffna. Mangalore tiles and bricks and even Pondichery earthenware were imported in large volume to the North of Ceylon. The regular trade between Ceylon and India through these Northern Ports was suddenly cut off by the British around 1828. The reason is obvious. Gandhian nationalist Struggle might permeate into Ceylon. Hence the Britisher wanted to cut off ties between Tamil Nadu and the Tamils in Ceylon. There were no

passports or visas in those days and consequently Eelyom Tamils moved in and out of India for trade, pilgrimage, medical services etc. When these were cut off by the closure of the ports and the connected Customs Department those engaged in merchant shipping resorted to smuggling. Smuggling requires much by way of contact. Hence a lot of Eelyom Tamils used to be in Tamil Nadu.

LONELINESS OF VARAHA RAJA PERUMAL

New Delhi must have felt very keenly about the loneliness in the cold Himalayas of its protege whom New Delhi made Chief Minister of North - East Ceylon without calling it Eelyom. One can recall the tremendous opposition New Delhi evinced to get the Tamil Nadu adopted. Najibullah was the protege of both Soviet Russia and India. But today there is no Soviet Russia to offer him patronage. It is significant that India was the sole supporter of Soviet Russia

when the United Nations resolved that foreign troops (of Soviet Russia) be withdrawn from Afghanistan. Since the other patron of Najibullah had disappeared from existence, it has fallen to the lot of New Delhi to give him protection when the people of Afghanistan drove away the protege of the joint patrons. New Delhi must have felt that he would be a good companion to break the loneliness of former Chief Minister, V. R. Perumal. Had the conspiracy fostered in India House at New Delhi progressed to some greater extent, New Delhi would have a Sinhalese protege also to be patronized. When will New Delhi situated in Duryodhanan's Janma Bhoomi learn to remain neutral in the politics of its neighbours? In case of Eelyom, it is prepared to such an extent as would prevent the Tamils from publicly participating in poll-politics in the Island.

BIRTH-PANGS OF A NATION

When the agitation for the creation of Pakistan

was at its height, some Muslims living in Hindu majority areas went and complained to Jinnah the hardships they were undergoing. Jinnah told them bluntly that these sufferings were the birth-pangs of a nation and that the generation which lives through the period when a nation is born must take in its stride such birth-pangs of a nation for the glory of the emerging nation and the welfare of generations unborn. Will Tamils think of the generations unborn and the sufferings undergone by those who are yet to be liberated?

BENELUX TYPE OF POLITICAL SOLUTION.

Eelyom Tamils can never accept a political solution in which the ethnic majority can determine the governance of the island. Under such circumstances the only feasible political solution is that of a Benelux type of political and economic organization. Why do not the people of Eelyom think along these lines?

HOT SPRING

VOL: 2 SUNDAY 03rd May 1992 ISSUE: 30

Welcome Again

The team of Buddhist clergymen who visited Jaffna have returned to Colombo promising to come back to Jaffna again with more concrete proposals for further talks with the LTTE.

The departing message of the clergymen that they will come back again for discussion is indeed a hopeful sign.

The Buddhist clergymen who were here discussed matters not only with the LTTE but also visited many places and listened to and talked with various people in Jaffna.

At the outset at their first meeting with LTTE leaders to discuss a political settlement, they placed certain proposals. We had our own comments to make on those proposals which we did in our last week's editorial.

This week we publish the LTTE's reply to the proposals placed by the Buddhist clergymen.

The LTTE's reply is self-explanatory. It is after receiving the LTTE reply that the Buddhist clergymen have made known their decision to re-visit Jaffna for further discussions.

It should be clear to every one that the Sinhalese cannot and should not continue to desire to rule the Tamils under pretext of unity. The Tamils are not willing to have it that way anymore.

It is reasonable to presume that the Buddhist clergymen who visited Jaffna have appreciated the fact that the Tamil demand for nationhood, their claim to their homeland and the right of self-determination is the Tamil people's demand. We repeat and stress that these demands of the Tamils spring from the heart of every Eelam Tamil.

It is equally reasonable to presume that the clergy men also appreciate the fact that the Tamil people's struggle is not directed against the Sinhala people or their country.

Presumably because the clergymen have appreciated the point of view of the Tamils that they have promised to continue their efforts and come back to Jaffna with new proposals even though their original proposals were totally unsatisfactory.

We wish to welcome these clergymen to Jaffna again and we sincerely hope that they will be able to convince their brethren in Sinhala Rata that Tamil Eelam and its people are not enemies of Sinhala Rata or the Sinhalese people but that the Tamil people only desire what other peoples all over the world placed in like conditions desire.

It is clear that the visit made to Jaffna by these clergymen has helped to make them understand the position of the Tamils. It is our fervent hope that these clergymen will help to elucidate the Tamil stance to their people and help in the process of realizing the Tamil aspirations without hatred and bloodshed.

We look forward to the Buddhist clergymen re-visiting Jaffna with meaningful proposals to solve the Tamil National problem.

THANTHAI CHELVA COMMEMORATION MASS MEETING AT NALLUR

"Thanthai Chelva was the elder statesman who let open the path for the present struggle of the Tamils. He had to carry through the Tamil struggle under great difficulties. He had very sincere volunteers as well as some opportunist followers. We of the LTTE accord Thanthai Chelva and his sincere followers a respected position in the struggle for Tamil Eelam liberation". So said Mr. Yogaratnam Yogi, the General Secretary of the People's Front of Liberation Tigers addressing a mass public meeting held at Nallur in commemoration of the 15th anniversary of the passing away of the late Mr. S.J.V. Chelvanayakam, the founder leader of the Federal Party and later leader of the TULF.

The meeting was held on Sunday, April 26 chaired by Mr. P. Kanapathipillai a retired teacher.

Continuing Mr. Yogi said that even as late as 1985, they of the L. T. T. E. requested TULF leaders, A-Amirthalingam, M. Sivasithamparam and R. Sampanthan to insist at least on a federal solution for which the Tamil Arasu Kadchi (Federal Party) was working when these people were invited by the Sri Lankan government for

talks. The TULF men who went to Colombo for talks instead of at least pressing for a federal solution - returned to Madras and reported how they yielded on many matters and according to them were able to secure only five percent of their demands. It was clear that they were willing to betray a cause for which the Tamils had shed blood for a number of years.

"We respect Thanthai Chelva and his sincere volunteers who made sacrifices for winning the rights of Tamils. Thanthai Chelva kept alive the Tamil freedom movement and today - at a time when some who were with him

have deserted and betrayed the cause a new generation of youngsters are carrying on the freedom struggle shedding blood. This new and young generation of fighters salute Thanthai Chelva" - concluded Mr. Yogi.

Several others including Rev. Fr. A. Jeyakumar, Sivalamil Chelvi Thangammah Appakutty, LTTE members Para and Vanchinathan also spoke.

Earlier in the day at 8.30 in the morning flowers were laid at the foot of the memorial column of Mr. Chelvanayakam near the Jaffna esplanade, Mr. Yogi and several others laid flowers.

Ten S. L. Soldiers Killed

The LTTE carried out a lightning attack at Alamb-uoothani in the Polonnaruwa District and destroyed four sentry points of a mini-camp in the area on April 29. The reports state that the Tigers killed ten Sri Lankan soldiers and recovered a quantity of arms and ammunition in the attack which lasted only for seven minutes. One of their cadres was killed in the action.

The report further states that the remainder of the

Sri Lankan soldiers manning the sentry points escaped with injuries.

Artillery Shell Attack

The S. L. Army at Kadduvan launched artillery shell attack directed towards civilian dwellings in Valikamam North.

A woman named Packialledchumy aged 44 sustained severe injuries when a shell exploded on her house at Kollankaladdy. The house was also severely damaged.

Five others including a priest were injured when another shell exploded also in the same village.

Army Sentry Point destroyed

The LTTE fighters destroyed a sentry point of the Sri Lankan Army at Thatchankadu near Maviddapuram on Thursday, April 30 and recovered some arms and ammunitions.

The Sri Lankan soldiers who suffered injuries abandoned the sentry point and escaped to the Army Camp. The Tigers lost four of their men in the battle at Thatchankadu.

Continue...

(Continuation from page 1)

distorted perceptions based on false premises will always be a stumbling block to a proper understanding of the national conflict and to the resolution of that conflict.

We should make it absolutely clear that the problem of the Tamil people is a national problem and their political struggle is a national struggle based on the right to national self-determination.

This struggle for self-determination has evolved through several decades of concrete historical conditions. That the Tamil people constituting themselves as a distinct nationality and that they have a historically given homeland with a geographically contiguous well defined territory are indisputable facts.

Therefore, we are firmly committed to the view that

any meaningful solution to the Tamil national question should be based on the recognition of the Tamils as a national formation with an inalienable right to a homeland and to self-determination. These were the basic principles enunciated at Thimpu talks.

The LTTE will consider favourably a political framework which addresses these basic set of principles that underlie the national problem. But so far the Sinhalese ruling elite has persistently refused to recognise the Tamil problem as a nationality question, nor do they recognise the concrete reality of a historically constituted Tamil homeland.

It is within this context that the LTTE has given careful consideration to the set of proposals submitted by you. While we appreciate your earnest effort, in working out a set of proposals, we find your framework very sketchy,

limited and inadequate failing to address the complex dimensions of the nationality issues. The idea advanced by you on a common, all embracing, multi-ethnic homeland is unacceptable since it contradicts historical reality and contravenes the inalienable right of a people to their homeland. We do not wish to make a detailed criticism of the proposals. But it is suffice to observe that the framework fails to meet the basic demands and aspirations of our people.

Though these proposals are unsatisfactory, your pilgrimage of peace to Jaffna will have a positive and constructive role in creating a congenial condition of peace, goodwill and understanding between the two peoples.

We hope that you will continue your peace efforts in the Noble Path of Lord Buddha."

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