

# HOT SPRING

BBC has reported that Sri Lanka has granted permission for re-fueling facilities to American War Planes in the current Gulf War.

It was not long before that Sri Lankan President hit press headlines by writing to the Chairman of the Non-Aligned countries calling for a conference to plan out peace in the Gulf.

Why this sly support now for one side?

## TRINCO REFUGEES KILLED

### Puthukudiyiruppu Bombed

Musing of Mr. Meddle



Ranjan Wijeratne who claimed to have suppressed the LTTE in Tamil Eelam is now pleased that Delhi has dismissed the Tamil Nadu Government - News

About 19 persons were killed on the spot at Puthukudiyiruppu in the Mullaitivu District, when on 30th January, 1991 Sri Lanka Air Force planes bombed indiscriminately the Puthukudiyiruppu town.

Reports received in this connection state on the 30th January, 1991 at about 5 p. m. three Sri Lankan Air Force bombers were sighted which started bombing the area.

The bomb exploded in the Puthukudiyiruppu school killed many refugees from Trincomalee who were housed in this school.

Apart from these two some other refugees also died whose identity has not yet been established.

Apart from those who died a number of persons suffered serious injuries.

Thirteen persons with serious injuries were rushed to Jaffna and admitted to Jaffna Hospital.

A number of injured persons were admitted to Kilinochchi Hospital.

The report says that over 20 persons suffered serious injuries.

#### At Mankulam

#### GOVT. DESTROYS GOVT. BUILDINGS - LOSS Rs.20 MILLION

In the confusion that followed the SriLankan Army defeat at Mankulam, the Sri Lankan Air Force engaged itself in indiscriminate bombing of all buildings in the area.

Government buildings, temples, churches, shops and business establishments and houses of civilians were indiscriminately bombed.

others were severely damaged.

The loss incurred by the wanton destruction is estimated to reach a sum of Rupees twenty million.

As the IPKF failed to suppress the LTTE, why not Ranjan help Delhi by sending Sinhala Peace Keeping Force to Tamil Nadu.

#### Acts of Sacrilege in Mankulam

Five religious institutions including places of worship were damaged and destroyed by the Sri Lankan Air Force after the war broke out between the Sri Lankan Government and the LTTE.

estimated to be Rs. 1,500,000/-

The Church, School and quarters belonging to the Jaffna Diocese of the Church of South India (known as American Mission) are Completely destroyed and the loss sustained by the mission is estimated to be Rs.1,000,000/-

Altogether 27 buildings belonging to the Government were destroyed by bombardment - apart from the Bank of Ceylon Office and the Office of the Assistant Commissioner of Co-operative Development which were housed in rented out premises were also bombed and destroyed.

#### JAFFNA CITIZENS' COMMITTEE ESTIMATES

The Jaffna Citizens' Committee in a letter addressed to His Excellency, President R. Premadasa on 7th January, 1991 gives an estimate of the wanton damage to person and property caused by the

Sri Lankan Armed forces in the current war up to the end of December, 1990.

According to the Citizens' Committee's estimate the death, damage and destruction are assessed as follows:-

The damages sustained by these institutions are estimated to be well over Rupees four million.

The Catholic Church at Kandy Road, Mankulam was completely destroyed. The loss is estimated at Rs. 50,000/-

The Government buildings destroyed or damaged housed a number of State institutions such as the Post Office, Highways Department, Agriculture Department, Police Office, Health Department buildings, schools and many others.

No. of persons displaced	1,200,000
" " " Killed and Missing	6,000
" " " Arrested	2,000
" " " Disabled	3,000
" " " Traumatically affected	200,000
Houses and Shelter destroyed over	50,000
Public places of worship	200
public buildings such as schools and markets including business buildings over	20,000
Paddy lands and farmlands rendered uncultivable	75%

The Hindu temple known as Mavadi Sithi Viniyagar Temple at Mullaitivu Road has been completely destroyed and the damages sustained by this temple are estimated to be Rs. 1,500,000/-

The Catholic priests quarters at Kandy Road was completely destroyed. The loss is estimated at Rs.50,000/-

Some buildings were completely destroyed, while some

Similarly the Roman Catholic convent for Catholic nuns situated at Mullaitivu Road has been completely destroyed and the loss is

#### DESTRUCTION TO CIVILIAN HOUSES

#### LOSS: RS. 5 MILLION

About 260 private dwelling houses have been damaged, destroyed or burnt by aerial bombing and shelling undertaken by the Sri Lankan Air Force in Mankulam at various times between June and December, 1990.

mud houses and all of them belonged to the ordinary Tamil civilian population of

Mankulam. Most of the these houses have been completely (Continued on Page 6)

#### Damage to shop and business buildings Loss Rs. 28 million

The houses include stone built houses as well as

About 78 private shop and other business buildings in Mankulam were destroyed

and damaged by aerial bombing undertaken by the (Continued on Page 5)

It is to be noted that these figures do not include the death and destruction committed during 1991.

Districts and refer to massacre of civilians and molestation of civilian women.

The Citizens' Committee has further stated that the atrocities Committed on the Tamil people were worst in the Amparai and Batticaloa

Letter also states that what was purported to be a war against the LTTE had turned out to be a war against the Tamil speaking people.

## THIS AND THAT

by Rambler

### HAD INDIA DONE A TURKEY

Cyprus like Sri Lanka is an island - Cyprus like Sri Lanka was a British Colony - Cyprus like Sri Lanka was granted independence by the British, though much later in 1964. And this Cyprus like Sri Lanka had two races, the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots. And the Greeks were in a majority and like the Sinhala majority they began to make life for the Turkish Cypriots a veritable nightmare. The Turkish minority fled the country very much like the Tamils and the Greeks were thus encouraged to increase the pressure and in their racist onslaught they were encouraged by members of the clergy of the Greek Orthodox Church such as the inamous Archbishop Makarios, who like the Maha Nayake Theros here whipped up the racist frenzy in the name of God and religion.

All of this beastly drama enacted by the Greek Cypriots was being watched with active interest by mainland Greece and Turkey just across the Mediterranean sea. Whilst mainland Greece felt and quite rightly that the Greek Cypriots were at fault and chose to adopt an indifferent attitude, mainland Turkey felt enough was enough and moved in with fifty thousand troops into Cyprus, split the country in to two and gave the minority Turks the larger slice and stayed put in Cyprus. And with the Turkish army to support them, the once bullied Turkish Cypriots now live in complete peace, whilst the Greek Cypriots keep whining and pining like beaten curs.

But India which moved into Sri Lanka with the aim of protecting the oppressed Tamils ended up by pandering to the Sinhalese and in the process failed miserably and had to leave with humiliation after losing over a thousand of its jawans and killing just as many innocent Tamils whom they came to protect. Of course one appreciates that India unlike Turkey was not made up of just one race and one religion but several races and several religions, which were broken up into separate federal states and some of whom were demanding separation from

mainland India. She therefore had her hands tied to some extent in what she could do here for the Tamils. But she could have at least insisted that the Tamils be granted a Regional state as in India, which like the states in India would have been independent to the extent, that they would have been able to manage their own affairs in all spheres except foreign policy and defence but for some reason or the other she failed miserably.

Maybe if history should repeat itself and give India and the Tamils here a second chance, she would do a Turkey and so allow the wounded Tamils to live in peace forever.

### HAD PREMADASA DONE SO

When Premadasa was Prime Minister under the mafia godfather he threw out a pathetic challenge to India to invade this country if it could and when it finally invaded Premadasa along with Athulathmudali did the vanishing trick. But then later as President of this country he began asking India to quit but India stoutly refused to do anything of that kind.

So what did Ranasinghe Premadasa do? He began making passionate advances to the Tigers and enticed them into a pow-wow and in the course of this pow-wow he made such statesmanlike speeches, so much so that the AL-TEE-TEE-E as well as the Tamils were swayed - why not when he said that there would be no further armed intervention by the Sri Lankan government to settle the national problem.

But no sooner the IPKF pulled out, Premadasa began to show his true colours and so did his side kick. He wanted the AL-TEE-TEE-E to lay down their arms or else face the music. But on the contrary if he had done otherwise as he ought to have and told the Sinhala hoi polloi that they the Sinhala hoi polloi should be grateful to the Tigers and the Tamils for having saved the country from the eternal grip of an alien and therefore the Tamils should be granted their just dues, then it is most likely that the Sinhalese to a man would have readily agreed and the

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# Friendship and Fellow - Citizenship

A number of Tamils who have lived and moved with the Sinhalese feel a sense of mental discomfort when the Tamil youths (including their own sons and daughters) make a strident demand for Eeylom and sing with rapturous enthusiasm martial tunes extolling the brave freedom-fighters. They have lived among Sinhalese friends and found them quite amiable, courteous, helpful and friendly. They have moved with them on very chummy terms.

The initial reaction of such Tamils who have had such friendly relations with Sinhalese is one of bewilderment. Probably a number of Sinhalese with similar experience with the Tamils do feel such a reaction. The inevitable response of such persons is to blame the politicians for raising the communal cry. But no Sinhalese who feels along such lines would stand up before the Sinhalese public and say somewhat as follows:-

"The Tamils are entitled to swaraj as much as the Sinhalese are entitled to. We cannot force or compel the Tamils to be in the same polity with us. People must voluntarily and willingly associate themselves to be in the same polity. Ever since Sri Ponnampalam Arunachalam resigned from the National Congress in 1921, the Tamils have not been in the mainstream of the Island's politics. If the Tamil youths do not want to be in the same polity with the Sinhalese, we cannot force them to be in the same polity with us by aerial bombing and shelling. The people in one polity must be there willingly and voluntarily and feel a sense of fellow ship - a sense of fellow - citizenship. The Sinhalese do not regard the Tamils as fellow - citizens. A sense of fellow - citizenship never finds a place in the minds of the Sinhalese people"

The collective personality of the Sinhalese got conceived, when the Britisher reform veered the imperial policy as one of progressive realization of full responsible Government. It was in its embryonic stage at that time and forced Sir Ponnampalam Arunachalam to resign from the Ceylon National Congress. While Arunachalam pioneered the concept of Ceylonese

nationalism, the Sinhalese members in the Congress began to propagate Sinhala nationalism.

The Sinhala nationalism which was then in its infancy got a fillip through the Donoughmore Constitution. The collective personality of the Sinhalese developed rapidly and the Sinhala Only Board of Ministers of 1936 gave it an assertive tone.

With the entry of the Japanese in 1942, the Britisher wanted greater co-operation from the people primarily to secure a steady supply of Ceylon produce for the Allies. D. S. Senanayake,

fellow-ministers and party men in regard to the Citizenship Issue of the Plantation Tamils. The Citizenship Registration of Indian residents cannot be considered harsh. It gave liberal terms for condoning absences from the Island. Any number of absences not exceeding one year could be condoned. Other provisions of the Act provided for exemption from Stamp Duty and a statutory obligation for Estate Superintendents to furnish extracts from check-roll free of charge made the Act a liberal piece of legislation.

There was no provision for deportation. In fact it was

### By Nestor

the then undisputed leader of the Sinhalese got into close association with the Britisher and gave a sugar-coating to the collective personality of the Sinhalese by recruiting a certain Mahadeva into the Board of Ministers, thus making it (in late 1942) no longer a Sinhala Only Board of Ministers. From about this time D. S. Senanayake gave the appearance of having matured from being a racist politician into a national statesman. It is very difficult to say whether he did really mature into becoming a national statesman or merely gave such an appearance. Evidence available to the public is not very conclusive. He gave an assurance on the floor of the House that no harm would befall the Tamils by their joining with the Sinhalese in working the Soulbury Constitution. He invited after the Dominion Status was achieved, both the Tamil Congress and the Ceylon Indian Congress to join the Government G. G. Ponnampalam joined the Govt. but could not carry the entire Congress. Chelvanayakam and two others went into Opposition. The Ceylon Indian Congress became bed-fellows with the Marxists and engaged in a boycott campaign and a litigation on citizenship. Within the ranks of the Sinhalese, Bandaranaike was threatening a break from the very day he joined the UNP Cabinet. The Aide-Memoire of Senanayake's Conference with Nehru at New Delhi reveals that he told Nehru of the heavy pressure he had from his

this piece of legislation which induced the Privy Council to dismiss the appeal against the de-citizenizing provisions of the Ceylon Citizenship Act.

One thing should be said to the credit of D. S. Senanayake: he allowed a completely free hand to G. G. Ponnampalam in pursuit of his vigorous development policies in the field of Fisheries and Industries. D. S. Senanayake was the undisputed leader of the Sinhalese at that time and it is but natural that the Tamils felt (as assured by Senanayake in the House) that no harm would befall them by joining the Sinhalese in working the New Constitution (Soulbury) which with some formal amendments became the Constitution of the Dominion of Ceylon.

Finally to cap it all was the Non-discrimination Article in the Constitution to which Senanayake and other Sinhalese ministers willingly gave their unqualified consent - Article 29 of the Constitution was an Entrenched Clause; the Parliament could not repeal or amend it. The Parliament under the Constitution was not sovereign; the Constitution had the elements of sovereignty. In other words the polity of the Dominion of Ceylon was a conditional polity. When the conditions are violated, the junior partner is entitled to opt out of the polity.

The conditions of the conditional polity were violated by the Sinhala only Act of 1956. They were unequivocally violated when in 1972

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# The Tamils have been betrayed

*This is the final instalment of the Speech delivered by the late Prof. C. Suntharalingam in Parliament on the debate on the Sinhala Only Bill in 1956.*

*Prof. Suntharalingam was actively engaged in politics for a long time - and with the Government too till 1949 - so that he had intimate knowledge of many things that happened during his days and his speech amply demonstrates his personal knowledge of matters.*

*Prof. Suntharalingam's experiences with the Sinhala leaders finally led him to conclude that they were untrustworthy and to place before the Tamils the concept of an independent and sovereign state, Eylom to which concept he remained true until he breathed his last.*

Mr. Deputy Speaker, that was the first, sly, sneaky, surreptitious method by which the Kotelawala Cabinet sought quietly to give preference to Sinhalese as the official language by administrative act. The Member for Vavuniya, with his usual vigilance, discovered the cloven hoof of the Sinhala Basha wolf. He started playing the deuce in this House in the last Parliament - if you will pardon the colloquialism. He shouted "wolf, wolf". My good friend the Prime Minister, who was then the leader of the Opposition, saw excellent fun in this trouble between the Kotelawala Cabinet and the Member for Vavuniya. It was in that connection, Mr. Deputy Speaker, that for the first time in this House I introduced a motion asking for a Tamil Ilankai. It was in that connection that my good friend the Member for Jaffna introduced the motion about parity of status to both Tamil and Sinhalese. It was in that connection that there was a very recriminatory Debate. I admit, in which I used very vitriolic language to describe the conduct of the Kotelawala Cabinet. I know I used very hard words about Vijaya - the founder of the Sinhalese dynasty. I used all those words. Why did I use those words?

When I examined the position more closely I found that since this controversy started all kinds of discrimination were quietly being practised by administrative acts against Tamil speaking people. I did not mince my words against the policy of the Minister of Agriculture. I did not fail to tell him how in a shabby fashion he was taking Sinhalese to colonize Gal Oya, Kantalai and Allai. It was a most acrimonious debate that took place last year and on the Third Reading of that Bill I announced my intention to absent myself from Parliament so that the country may know how the Tamils were being tricked.

I issued a statement to the press the day after I ceased

attending Parliament. In that statement I pointed out to specific acts of discrimination of the Kotelawala Cabinet:

1. It robbed, it deprived the Tamil language of its equality of status.
2. It depressed the standard of living of the Tamil Speaking people.
3. It divested the Tamil Speaking people of their homelands.
4. It denied the Tamil Speaking people their liberty.
5. It debased the Tamil Speaking people of their civic rights.

I issued that statement with the consent and concurrence of my good friend the Member for Jaffna and the Member for Kopay, one the President of the Ceylon Tamil Congress and the other the President of Tamil Arasu Kadchchi. When that statement was referred to in this House what did the Acting Minister of Education say? "The naya, the polonga and the mapilla had got together and what was the poor sinha to do?" Yes, the naya, the polonga and the mapilla had got together.

## M. E. P. Resolution

In the country you can understand how the storm burst. Paper after paper had nothing else but this controversy. It was on that occasion my Friends thought that there was an excellent problem before the country which they could turn to their own political advantage and in the December Sessions of their party - it was a new party, Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna - they passed a resolution about the language. I have the resolution here and it was in these terms. I have got here the Sinhalese equivalent which was tabled on the floor of the House today. The English equivalent was in these terms - I want to quote the very words:

"Official languages - immediate provision must be made in the Constitution Order in Council declaring

## Prof. C. Suntharalingam in Parliament

Sinhalese to be the only official language of the country and immediately thereafter the necessary steps be taken for the implementation of this provision. This will not involve the suppression of such a minority language as Tamil whose reasonable use will receive due recognition".

My good Friend went to the country on that basis. The Sinhalese portion of the manifesto has exactly the same words though my good Friend the Member for Nikaweratiya (Mr. M. Tennakoon), our beloved Podi Putha, suppressed the very first sentence. Whenever our Friends referred to this manifesto they suppressed this very first sentence - the amendment of the constitution of Ceylon. They got a mandate for the amendment of the constitution of Ceylon.

The Hon S.W.R.D. Bandaranayake: No. For legislation, man,

Mr. Suntharalingam: Legislation man - Mr. Prime Minister. "Immediate provision must be made in the Constitution Order in Council declaring Sinhalese" - why did you not use simple words. "Legislation must be introduced"?

The Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake: That is what it meant.

Mr. Suntharalingam: Further prevarication from you.

The Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake: No Prevarication.

Mr. Suntharalingam: Your first resolution at the first session of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party has now been changed by your third somersault, the third "kuthukaranam". You went to the country for an amendment of the Constitution Order in Council. You have got a mandate for that purpose. You have not got a mandate for any other purpose. A number of Tamil Speaking people wrote to me and I told them to vote for your party as against the U.N.P. because as a politician I felt that neither party would ever get 68 members to amend the Constitution. You have practised a confidence trick on your own people and a dirty trick on the Tamil Speaking people of this country.

The Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake: Shame on

you for that type of statement. A man of some intelligence and a man of some sense.

Mr. Suntharalingam: A man of intelligence, a man of sense.

The Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake: You are insane.

Mr. Suntharalingam: Yes, I am insane but who is speaking the truth? In my insanity I am speaking the truth and nothing but the truth and the whole truth.

The Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake: You do not understand the meaning of the words too.

Mr. Suntharalingam: I do not understand the meaning of the words. Yes, my new Sinhala scholar from Oxford speaks about amending the Constitution Order in Council and now brings a Bill of Jayasuriya creation to be passed by just a majority vote.

## Issue to the electorate

I went to the hustings in Vavuniya for a bye-election on this one issue - Sinhala Only as the State language. My good friend, the Prime Minister Sir John Kotelawala sent a special candidate from the U.N.P. though he did not give him the U.N.P. ticket to contest me. What was their slogan?

Your General Election was fought later. The Vavuniya bye-election was fought on that slogan. Some of the Bhikkus from South Ceylon came and worked there. They hoped to get votes of the Sinhalese 100 per cent. No - The Sinhalese people of my area - one whole - D.R.O.'s Division is Sinhalese, Kandyan Sinhalese - They know what honesty is: they know what gratitude is and they will not let down their Member. I have been duly elected Member for Vavuniya at the bye-election held on 14th February this year. My Friend Sir John Kotelawala, had told my rival that he would see to it that I do not take my oath and that I do not get even the refund of my deposit money. Mr. Clerk is smiling. He knows the history of the deposit money. Within five days of that election, my good Friend Sir John Kotelawala dissolved Parliament. On what grounds? He wanted a mandate from the country to amend the Constitution to make Sinhala Only the official language of

Ceylon. Sir John Kotelawala was caught up in the agitation of the country. Sir John Kotelawala was caught up in the agitation of the country. He wanted not merely to follow the footsteps of my friend, the Prime Minister. He wanted to pinch his shoes and top hat - (Interruption) - Why is my friend wiping his eyes? I hope he is not crying.

The Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake: I am rubbing my nose,

Mr. Suntharalingam: Mr. Prime Minister, please listen.

The Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake: I am listening.

Mr. Suntharalingam: You deliberately .....

The Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake. Mr. Speaker, he is addressing Members as "you"; he must address the chair.

Mr. Suntharalingam: I am addressing the Prime Minister, through you, Mr. Speaker. You of all persons, were trying to use this language question as one that could evoke emotion among your Sinhalese people and return you to power.

The Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake: Did you not do that there?

Mr. Suntharalingam: Where?

The Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake: Vavuniya.

Mr. Suntharalingam: Never. At no time did I indulge in somersaults. That was your fourth somersault on the language question. Your now have an explanation. You are speaking of a mandate you have received from your people. You have received no mandate on the language question to implement anything of this type by a mere counting of heads. You have degraded democracy. You have disgraced democracy. Your friends must know that democracy means the counting of heads within certain limits. Beyond these limits, it is a cracking of heads and the cracking of heads is going on all over the Island today at this very minute, Mr. Prime Minister.

The Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake: Do not be silly.

Mr. Suntharalingam: History will tell for all time

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## The Tamils.

(Continuation of Page 3)  
that if the partition of Ceylon took place, it was because of a Sinhala Solomon and a Top Hat.

The Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake: You will never get a top hat.

Mr. Suntharalingam: I do not want it at this price. But remember this. You think you will implement this law. make no mistake, every Tamil man, woman and child would prefer to lose the last breath in their body before you seek to implement the law. I was grateful to my old pupil His Lordship Dr. Edmund Peiris for inviting the attention of the people to the Declaration on Fundamental Human Rights.

The Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake: Now you are searching for Dr. Peiris?

Mr. Suntharalingam: Yes, why not? I shall quote only three of its Articles - Article 2:-

"Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms

set forth in this Declaration without distinction of any kind such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status".

Article 21 (2):-

"Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country".

Article 22:-

"Everyone as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realisation through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organisation and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality".

Article 27:-

"Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific literary or artistic production of which he is the author."

And above all, Mr. Speaker I want hon. Members also to listen to the Preamble:-

"Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world; Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people.

Whereas it is essential if man is not to be compelled to have recourse as a last resort to rebellion against

tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law."

Yesterday, you, Mr. Speaker, read a communication from His Excellency the Governor General, referring to the words "rebellion, insurrection" They are there today in this country. Rebellion is already there in connection with this Bill. My friend does not agree to that.

The Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake: You, admit that, do you?

Mr. Suntharalingam: Yes, and you contributed to it, of course.

The Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake: Thank you.

Mr. Suntharalingam: You admit it. The rebellion is there. Yes, what is the cause, Mr. Prime Minister? The language problem. Who is the author of the problem? Mr. Solomon W. R. D. Bandaranayake. The blood and tears of his people will lie on his head for all time.

The Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake: Do not worry about them.

Mr. Suntharalingam: I am not worried. I know you are worried. I am worried because of the blood and tears of my people.

The Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake: So am I.

Mr. Suntharalingam: Yes. The Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake: All due to people like you.

Mr. Suntharalingam: All due to people like you who want to wear Prime Ministerial top hats.

The Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake: Do not be comic.

Mr. Suntharalingam: You are tragic? If this indictment can be answered by you, answer it. In a free country you will be impeached for what is going on in Ceylon. Remember that. Remember also that Ceylon history will say that if this country was divided into Sinhala Rata and Tamil Ilankai it was because of the misconduct of this Government and of the Prime Minister of Ceylon in the year of Grace 1956.

## Friendship...

(Continuation of Page 2)  
the Dominion Constitution itself was scrapped and a brand new polity called the Republic of Sir Lanka was founded on the strength of an alleged mandate.

The action of the Tamil youths is perfectly legitimate. They have the right to opt out. They have opted out and the Sinhala Government is really waging a war for IMPERIUM.

How do we reconcile the cordial relations between in-

dividual Sinhalese and individual Tamils. The Tamil youths have no grouse or cause to complain against the individual Sinhalese. It is the collective personality of the Sinhalese or more exactly the collective ego of the Sinhalese that gets into confrontation with the collective personality of the Tamils.

The confrontation arises because of the incompatibility of the aspirations of the collective personality of the Tamils and that of the

Sinhalese. The collective personality of the Tamils seek Swaraj, i. e. to manage their own affairs; the collective ego of the Sinhalese seeks imperium over the Tamils. The Tamils do not naturally relish it; they do resist the pursuit of the aspirations of the collective ego of the Sinhalese. The term collective ego is used in respect of the Sinhalese advisedly because the collective personality of the Sinhalese is on the

offensive, while that of the Tamils is on the defensive. The correct solution to achieve peace is to separate the two groups and leave each of them to manage its own affairs. That is the diagnosis and prescription for the problem. Once this is effected and each group is left alone, individual Sinhalese and Tamils can be free to establish such relations, as they wish. Individual Frenchman and individual Englishman do have such relations and dealing as they choose.

## This and That...

(Continuation of Page 2)  
island problem would have been settled for all times and this island spared further bloodshed and all the attendant misery but he chose not to do so, possibly because he believes that he is a reincarnation of an ancient Sinhala king who fought a twenty six year long battle and his worthy spouse the very reincarnation of Vihara Maha Devi.

But if that should be the case, then he and his cohorts should remember what Sir Ivor Jennings the draftaman of the British Constitution granted in 1948 had to say, when asked by a journalist at the first independence day celebrations as to what the future held for this island, Sir Ivor said that he believed that this country had a rosy future ahead provided she acted with dignity and responsibility, as otherwise he feared that India would take over this country within fifty years. What the sinhala politicians should realise is that by 1998 this whole island could go under India.

After all this island is physically situated at the bottom of India and if this island continues to annoy India, then she could be compared to a fistula in the arse of India that, the Indians may well consider total surgery as the only way out.

## FOOTNOTE ON THONDAMAN

Since my column on Thondaman it is observed that he has flown out of the country once again. One hopes not to India to brief Chuckla, who was here on the 29 January.

## CURFEW

It's a blessed word  
in Gray's elegy.  
It tolls the knell of parting  
day,  
As the ploughman homewards plods  
his weary way.  
Alas! today, it's in our blood -  
stream,  
In waking dreams,  
and sleepless nights.  
But why Oh Why?  
We know not,  
There's a curfew on.  
For our radios are minus cells.  
Our Lamps are without oil  
and bulbs to light,  
No current have we.  
All because of Government decree  
Let there be no light!  
So the fiat goes  
for six months and more.  
Our street is deserted,  
A lone passer answers,  
It's a curfew, my dear.  
Then it dawns,  
As sky is alive,  
with zooms and screams  
Those deadly Avros,  
and diving Marchettis

To boot the ninety calibre Hellis.  
They fly above,  
and stoop below,  
to drop their lethal charges.  
That man sitting there  
is minus head,  
The child playing,  
has no legs,  
The mother with suckling babe  
is bored to death,  
with a bullet in her head.  
Her babe still in love's embrace,  
But bathed in blood.  
Their deadly task is done,  
They fly away as birds of prey.  
proudly they announce,  
Tiger hideouts and bunkers burnt,  
Ammunition dumps a flaming  
inferno!  
To us alas a stricken race,  
A world of dubious death!  
A husband gone,  
The child a limbless one,  
Babe an orphan made  
A mother dead.  
So this is curfew.  
The Government knows,  
Lord forgive them,  
'cause they know what  
they do!

(By a citizen in Curfew's  
midst, with apologies to  
Gray's Elegy.)

# AN OPEN LETTER TO Mr. PRESIDENT ISN'T YOUR PATRIOTISM SINHALA NATIONALISM?

Dear Mr. President,

You did well to give us a new year message on 29. 12. 90 filled with some faint hopes of a bright future. But your key statements at the heart of this message are so incredible, at least, to us Tamils (because they are all in contradiction to what we Tamils have experienced in the last few decades and more so are experiencing during the last few years!) that even that faint hope you try to give needs clarification from Your Excellency.

1. "No patriotic Sri Lankan should be satisfied until the flames of violence are extinguished."

Long before the Tamils, as a last resort, took to military means to express their protest the flames of Sinhala violence had eaten up thousands and thousands of Tamil lives and properties. Even today after 4 decades of violence (in spite of a unilateral offer of cease fire, from the Tamil side) the state - violence continues unabated in the form of aerial bombs dropped on innocent civilian targets day and night - (on 20th Jan. alone 78 bombs were dropped by the Sri Lankan forces on Vadamadachi!)

I venture to ask, Mr. President, are you and your forces patriotic when you set fire to us Tamils and to our land at this rate? Is your patriotism compatible with the genocide of the Tamils?

Don't you think that this violence can cease only by granting the just rights to the surviving Tamils?

2. "No patriotic Sri Lankan should allow the territorial integrity and the unitary character of our beloved motherland to be destroyed."

During the last few years, you and your government have sanctimoniously spoken of unity; integrity and sovereignty of Sri Lanka!

But, dear Mr. President, did you and your government ever, for a moment, live or practise these realities? In name we were of one land, Ceylon / Sri Lanka but in life, we Tamils were treated during the past few decades as aliens and second class citizens 'if not. Kallathonis' Under the British we had a unitary form of government. True, but soon after independence from them, you and your majority decided that the whole island be possessed by you and those who live in the North and East be treated as second class "tenants", (paying rent, rendering service) and that their regions be left underdeveloped and undeveloped in spite of foreign aid. And in recent times, you have labelled the whole Tamil population as terrorists and decided to kill and destroy all the Tamils because they claim the right for self-determination and dignity. In the light of these, what is the meaning of territorial

integrity, sovereignty and unity of Sri Lanka? You want to possess the whole land including the undeveloped barren back - yard of the Tamils and also hold us to silence and slavery. Sovereignty, integrity and unity are all empty phrases today of Sinhala politicians for which the lives of innocent youths - both Sinhala & Tamil - are sacrificed. Integrity does not mean the majority to be owners and the minority to be mere tenants and servants.

Unity does not mean a centralised possession of authority and funds in the hands of the few. Sovereignty does not mean oppression of the minority by the majority.

A decentralised federal autonomy has nothing against the integrity of the land, sovereignty of the people and unity of the nation. Are not the civilised nations of Europe and India with federal constitution not united not integrated and not sovereign? You are fooling the people by polarising these terms and rousing the people to a war-hysteria. In fact, unity, integrity and sovereignty of Sri Lanka can have meaning and strength only within a federal autonomy which you refused to consider.

3. "No patriotic Sri Lankan should be satisfied until we can take our children from one end of our country to the other and say 'This is all

our land and these are all our brothers and sisters'

Before the flames of Sinhala communalism was ignited in June 1956 by the introduction of Sinhala Only and the consequent 2 streams in education, both Sinhala and Tamils moved between Pt. Pedro and Dondrya Head without any fear or danger. How many Sinhala students from the deep south studied in Jaffna schools? How many Tamil officers and businessmen moved into the Sinhalese villages for a living?

It is nice to dream of taking present day Sinhala children up to Pt. Pedro and say that "all this is our land and our people". But certainly they will ask you sir, - why then Thaatha, have you destroyed the land and the people? Do you really have to destroy this part of the country so that you can bring your children "safely as into a graveyard" and show it as their property. Instead of clearing the way for your children by destroying lands and people here, by forcing state aided Sinhala colonisation or grabbing of lands, please, sir create a genuine atmosphere of freedom and trust, so that all people can move about on their own with security and breathe that air of freedom and fraternity!

4. "No patriotic Sri Lankan must be satisfied, until there is enough economic advancement to benefit all."

How is this possible Sir in the face of open economic discrimination of Tamils even now by the state? All foreign aid for development and even relief funds have been spent for years mostly for the Sinhalese. In recent times, when questioned by the donors as to why no aid flows into Tamil areas, not even food and medicine to stop their hunger and bleeding your Government has tried to blame the political unrest of these areas as reasons for your discriminatory policy. But is it not the long economic discrimination of the Tamils, the very root cause of the present unrest? How long can you sir fool us Tamils and also deceive the western donors?

Are you not aware of the present economic blockade imposed by your forces on the movement of food and medicines to the North. Your army is not only harassing the passengers and blocking the flow of essential food-stuffs and medicines to the North, but also imposing heavy bribery on lorries and plundering at least a part of the items they carry. Our surviving with food in darkness and amidst aerial bombs is the miracle of the millennia. The palmyrah of the North stands through all adverse conditions; sir.

Hence, my dear President, the Tamils, who have experienced and who continue to experience the evil consequences of your false patriotism that is identified only with Sinhala nationalism, cannot be satisfied unless they experience a genuine freedom for self-determination self-development and self-respect.

Jaffna S. I atnarajah

## SARVODAYA ACTIVITIES COME UNDER SCRUTINY

Forty seven houses were built in Palaiyootru and Mud Cove areas in the Trincomalee District by the Sarvodaya from funds provided by foreign funding agencies for Relief, Rehabilitation, Reconstruction and Development work in the North Eastern Province but 46 of these houses were given to Sinhalese and only one house was given to a Tamil. This Tamil is a sickly person.

It is an open secret that the Sinhala Government of the Island is making use of the current North East war to convert the demographic pattern of the Eastern province as well as some Districts in the Northern province into Sinhala majority areas. In this matter the Trincomalee District has received the special attention of the Sinhala Government. Recently

the Fisheries Ministry office of the Government has been shifted to Trincomalee from Colombo, though Colombo is the political and commercial capital of the Island even today.

The entire Trincomalee District is spread with Sinhala Army camps and while these Sinhala soldiers keep under subjugation - the Tamils - or more correctly those of the Tamils who are still left behind after many were forced to flee their homes, Buddhist Sinhalese from outside are brought into Trincomalee and settled in State lands, private lands and even lands owned by Tamil (Hindu) temples by the concerted efforts of the Government and Baudha Sinhala organizations in the South.

In these circumstances the activities of the Sarvodaya

is intriguing. While the Sarvodaya seems to be very active in areas like Trincomalee, Vavuniya and Amparai where lot of effort is put by the Government and Baudha Sinhala organizations to settle Sinhalese, the Sarvodaya is almost dormant in a place like Jaffna where there are no Sinhalese.

It is learnt that a comprehensive plan for developmental work involving many projects prepared as early as 1989 for implementation in the Jaffna District was not accepted by the hierarchy of the Sarvodaya - though the plan was drawn up by an ex-official of the Planning Department. But the activities carried on by Sarvodaya in Trincomalee, Amparai and Vavuniya seem to augment the Sinhala colonization of these Districts - though such colonization is bitterly opposed by the Tamils.

It is also learnt that foreign funds specially meant for programmes in the North East have been transferred to another organization of which the wife of a leading man in the Sarvodaya is the Secretary. Ostensibly

a National Relief Committee has been appointed but this Committee is headed by the same person.

In the light of these activities of the Sarvodaya, reports in some newspapers state that certain foreign funding agencies have suspended contributions to the Sarvodaya.



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# HOT SPRING

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## Political Gimmicks

Even in the present despondent mood in which the people of Tamil Eelam live, they are bound to be stirred up to a jovial mood by the gimmicks - nay pranks - of that branch of the human species - called the professional politician!

The Tamils here are dying in their thousands; their properties have been destroyed; they don't have food and medicines. All these are due to an utterly debased Sinhala Imperialist government - carrying on a genocide of the Tamils when it is unable to fight the LTTE.

The other day we had report of the Sinhala Air Force carrying on carpet bombing of Valvettiturai killing non-combatant civilians and destroying almost entirely the whole Valvettiturai, including Temples and a church.

Now we have received news of the war veterans of the Sinhala Air Force dropping bombs at a school turned refugee camp and killing refugees at Puthukudiyiruppu in Mullai-ivu District.

In the midst of these woes - the Tamil people are still liable to be stirred to momentous hilarity and joviality.

Politicians do need to have parleys, if not for anything at least to hit headlines in the papers. Of course President Premadasa turns Pastor Premadasa and preaches sermons too!

We hasten to tender our apologies to the President for the use of terminology invariably used by Christians. No Catholic or (Christian) Action prods us.

So we had this week a parley between President Premadasa and V. C. Sukhla, the Indian Foreign Minister - pro tem we suppose.

That a-ide.

We had this week the dissolution of the Tamil Nadu State Legislature, the removal of the elected DMK Government there and the imposition of President's rule in Tamil Nadu.

These in themselves are domestic matters which do not interest outsiders. But the reasons given for the dismissal of the Tamil Nadu government and the State Legislature did evoke some interest.

According to Delhi the LTTE is controlling many coastal areas of Tamil Nadu. They are a law unto themselves and 'create law and order problems' there. Not only that the LTTE is supplying arms and ammunitions to the distant Assamese.

When these statements are made by the government of a super regional power, one is inclined to believe them and pat the LTTE boys on the back and say "Bravo Boys"! After all it would be a miracle for "the baby brigand" to achieve such distinctions. Lest we be mis-understood - we say we would imaginarily pat the boys only and only for the reported 'ability to accomplish miracles'.

But of course having heard Sri Lankan Government's own official communiques as well as All India Radio's News Bulletins, we can assume that statements when coming from top official quarters can also well be stuff and nonsense.

But what is intriguing is this. India, having lost its role in the affairs of the Island by its own folly, is certainly trying to make its presence felt by making overtures to the Baudha Sinhala Government of Sri Lanka.

Whenever India tried to talk to Sri Lanka - the latter always demanded that the Indian Government do assure to Sri Lanka that Indian territory shall not be allowed to be used to carry on military activities against Sri Lanka. India too has always obliged Sri Lanka by giving that promise over and over again.

In the present plight in which India is placed with her coastal areas almost in LTTE hands and the LTTE supplying arms to Assamese rebels, would it not have been a more sensible thing for India to have demanded from Sri Lanka an assurance that Sri Lankan territory would not be allowed to be used for anti-Indian activities. After all such a demand would have been nothing more than a quid pro quo.

Or does the Indian Government disbelieve the Sri Lankan Government's claim that Eelam territory is an integral part of Sri Lanka?

## COME TO VALVETTITHURAI

# Sinhala Air Force

# Does Dirty at VVT

Everyone knows that the Sinhalese leaders deceived the Tamils and usurped power when the Britishers granted independence to Ceylon. Now they are in possession of the state machinery. They are abusing their majority and their hold on the government machinery and illegitimately using the Air Force, Army, Navy and a number of other armed gangs to terrorise the Tamils and keep them in subjugation, denying their inalienable rights and their right to secede - a justifiable right to be exercised under the existing circumstances. Against heavy odds Tamils are waging a liberation struggle and they have achieved supremacy on ground.

But how does the Sinhala Air Force behave? Everyone in Tamil Eelam knows that Tamil civilians are their targets. But their behaviour at Valvettiturai this time was somewhat different. They decided to destroy the entire town and kill as many Tamils as possible. True to their character they deceived the people of Valvettiturai by dropping leaflets from a helicopter at about 12.30 p.m. on Sunday 20th January 1991, ordering them to leave their town with all their belongings within 48 hours and started bombing within 3 hours, at about 3.30 p.m. the same day.

The Sinhala Air Force used all sorts of bombs in their wicked mission. In addition to the Marchetti bombers, the Avros and the huge Y 12 planes dropped bombs of various sizes and composition. Some of them were designed to ignite and incinerate. Some others created huge craters of about 10 feet deep. Some were emitting dense clouds of dark smoke. All of them were dropped on the defenceless civilians and caused immense damage to life and property. Valvettiturai is one of the most densely populated areas in the entire Island and each bomb dropped demolished the optimum number of houses. In all over 250 bombs were dropped during the relentless bombing from 20th to 23rd January. The entire town has been reduced to heaps of debris and there are hundreds of bomb craters over the length and breadth of Valvettiturai.

In one instance a bomb fell directly on an underground shelter and five persons sheltering there died instantly. In a number of instances people buried in their underground shelters were rescued and had to be hospitalised. The entire operation was a cowardly exercise of bombing the civilians without any military significance.

In addition to destroying all of the houses of the residents of Valvettiturai, the Sinhala Air Force had indulged in the despicable act of bombing Hindu Temples and the Church in the town. The two main temples in the town, the famous Sivan and Amman Temples located side by side have received no less than 30 bombs and have suffered immense damage. The Sinhala Buddhists who make a big show of their reverence to Buddhism had shown utter contempt to the Hindu Temples and had disfigured and desecrated them. Another motive for this wicked act may have been to kill as many civilians as possible, because in times of military operations people take refuge in Temples. Since the people fled the town by nightfall after surviving the first day's onslaught, the deities seem to have saved the people from suffering heavy casualties. Even fleeing from the town was made difficult because of the helicopter firing and artillery shelling from the Palaly Army Camp sited about 10 km. away.

Again Government Schools and the private tutorial college have become the targets for concentrated bombing attacks. This again shows the evil intentions of the savages.

Terrible damage had also been done to the plantation of vegetable plots and to the fishing vessels and fishing gear.

May be, the Sinhala fanatics in their chauvinism derived sadistic pleasure in ruining Valvettiturai and inflicting immense suffering on the people of Valvettiturai. However the people of Valvettiturai seem to view the whole matter in a different perspective. It is true they had undergone very difficult days and had suffered colossal damage. Their mood appears to be one of defiance and greater resolve to fight oppression.

The general feeling is that the liberation struggle should be accelerated so as to gain sufficient fire power against the bombers as a prelude to obtaining adequate number of war planes to prevent enemy planes from entering the air space of the Tamil Homeland.

Like the Pearl Harbour attack during the second world war it appears that attack on Valvettiturai will prove to be the turning point in accelerating the process of establishing independent Tamil Eelam.

Citizen Siva

### Dest...

(Continuation of Page 1)

destroyed or burnt. Some have been partly damaged.

A survey undertaken in Mankulam reveals that the ordinary civilian population of Mankulam had lost a sum of Rupees five million by the destruction and damage caused to the dwelling houses of the people by the Sri Lankan Government's - NO WAR AGAINST THE TAMIL PEOPLE-war efforts.

### Dam...

(Continuation of Page 1)

Sri Lankan Air Force at various times between June and December 1990.

It is estimated that the owners of these buildings have suffered a grand total loss of Rupees twenty eight million by the destruction and damage caused to their buildings:

While most of these buildings were completely damaged, a few were partially damaged.