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## NOT SEPARATISTS BUT RESTORATIONISTS

". Most of the thinking, non-treacherous, non-poojaperforming Ceylon Tamils, be they Ministers, MPs etc, have become "Restorationists"...

(Extract from an Open letter dated 22nd March, 1976 addressed to Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne, a former Minister of Sri Lanka by Mr. C. Suntharalingam, a pioneer leader of the Tamil Eelam cause)

#### PRESIDENT PRAYS

## Shells Kill Civilians

# Two Dead-Five Injured

As President Premadasa was participating in poojahs in a Colombo Hindu Temple praying for peace his army men at Palaly launched Artillery Shell attack directed towards civilian dwellings about 15 miles away killing two women and injuring five others.

The Sri Lankan Ar y stationed at Palaly suddenly launched artillery shell attacks about noon time on Friday the 12th April, 1991.

Four shells exploded in the Koiyathoddam area of Jaffna Town, a densely populated area. The distance between Palaly and Koiyathoddam is about 15 miles.

suddenly and unexpectedly. At Koiyathoddam a shell exploded in a dwelling house. A mother, Mrs. T. Koneswari and her daughter and her son were injured. The mother aged 51 died on admission to the Jaffna Hospital.

A. Theresammah another lady aged 56 also died when a shell exploded on their

The shells fell and exploded house. Three other inmates of the house were injured. The injured have been admitted to the Jaffna Hospital.

> Artillery shell attacks from Palaly Army camp directed towards Jaffna City's residential areas which were very frequent during the battle for the Fort, did not take

place after the Sri Lankan Army vacated the Jaffna Fort in late September, 1990,

Friday's artillery shell attack from Palaly is thus a completely unexpected turn at a time when President Premadasa is purporting to perform Poojah to Hindu deities praying for peace.

The injured include G. Anthonipillai 56). Loorthu Mary (55), Indyja (20) and T. Uthayarajah (17) all of Koiyathoddam in the same families.

### House breaking at Kathiraveli

Reports form Batticaloa state that after the Sri Lankan Army moved into the Vakarai A. G.A's Division in the Batticaloa Distirct large

### and theft

number of Tamil residents have fled their homes in fear of the Sri Lankan soldiers.

At Kathiraveli the Sri Lankan soldiers have broken houses abandoned by their owners and removed all belongings left behind by the owners in their hurry to escape the marauders.

The Army has put up a Camp at the Vakarai hospital and people are thus unable to go to the hospital for treatment when necessary.

A team of MNF-an NGOvisits the Kathiraveli village with medicines once a week and undertakes medical treatment of the sick still there.

#### Silavathurai - A Battle Scene major

A fierce battle took place between the LTTE and the combined forces of the Sri Lankan Government between the 19th and 22nd March, 1991 at Silavathurai in the Mannar District.

The battle started on the 19th March with LTTE launching an attack at the Silavathurai Army Camp, Simultaneously the LTTE also launched an attack on another Army Camp at Kokkupada-

yan about 2 miles away from the Silavathurai Army

The battle raged continuously for four days. When the LTTE launched the attack on the Silavathurai Camp, army reinforcements from Thallady and Vankalai Army camps situated North of the Silavathurai Camp and reinforcements from Kondachchi Army Camp situated South of Silavathurai Camp, were sought to be sent for the relief of the Army Camp at Silavathurai but the LTTE cadres met those armies and battle ensued between the LTTE and the marching Sri Lankan Armies from the North and South of Silava-

Lankan Navy started attacking from the sea on the West and attempts were made by the Navy to land from boats on the west coast and go to the aid of the Silavathurai Army, A fight ensued between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan navy also. Sri Lankan Air force too joined in the battle and continually attacked the LTIE. Bombers. Chinese made planes and other aircraft including helicopters were involved in the air straffing. The battle subsided after 4 days leaving

81 LTTE cadres dead and a number of Sri Lankan soldiers also dead and injured.

The exact figures of the dead and wounded amogst the Sri Lankan troops are not known. But it is estimated that about 50 Sri Lankan soldiers had died and a still larger number wounded.

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## Shot dead by Army

(age 24) was shot dead at Iruthayapuram in Batticaloa on 5.1.1991 by Sri Lankan

Yoganathan (age 35) was have not been identified.

A civilian named Theva shot dead by the Sri Lankan Army stationed at Palayadiveddai.

On 21.1.1991 two civilians were shot dead and burnt by the Army stationed at Another Civilian named Central Camp. The deceased

#### Jayawardene Democracy at work At the same time the Sri

A certain Kan pathipillai Srinivasan is reported to have taken oaths as a Member of Parliament for the Jaffna District.

Investigations reveal the following:

Kanapathipillai Srinivasan had contested the 1989 General Elections as a TULF candidate and obtained 5919

Jaffna District had 592,210 registered voters. 265,058 of these votes were cast. (Indian Army support is another matter) So Mr. Srinivasau polled a mere 1% of the total votes and a mere 2% only of the votes cast.

Judged by any standard, he could only be classed as a defeated candidate.

But Jayawardene democracy bas "elected" him M.P. and foisted him on a people who clearly don't want him.

## Tamil Eelam boundaries beyond dispute

The first British Colonial Secretary in a Despatch from Colombo in 1799 (Clerghorn Minute) wrote thus:-

"Two different nations, from a very ancient period, have divided between them the possession of the Island. First the Sinhalese, inhabiting the interior of the country in its Southern and Western parts, from the river Wallowe to that of Chilaw, and secondly the Malabars, who possess the Northern and Eastern Districts. These two nations differ entirely in their religions, language and manners"

Sir Robert Brownrigg, Governor of Ceylon in a despatch on 10th July, 1813 to the Secretary of State in Britain stated as follows:

"As to the qual fication required in the knowledge of the native languages - the Portuguese and Sinhalese only being mentioned (in your Despatch) excludes one which is fully as necessary in the Northern districts as the Sinhalese in the South. I mean the Tamil language, commonly called the Malabar language, with the mixture of Portuguese in use through all the Provinces, is the native tongue of the inhabitants from Puttalam to Batticaloa northward inclusive of both these district.

Your Lordship will, therefore, I hope, have no objection in my putting the Tamil Language on an equal footing of encouragement with the Sinhalese".

## Genocide on - But World Unconcemed Burden Greater on Freedom Fighters

In India, the Government Press too is distressed only forces do not resort to Aerial Bombing. Helicopter Straffing, Artillery Shell Attacks from their camps in either Punjab or Kashmir. The Indian Government whether that of Rajiv Gandhi, V. P. Singh or Chandrasekar takes it that the Punjabi Sikhs and Kashmiri Muslims are Indians, though they are fighting for separate States. But here in Sri Lanka, the Sri Lankan Government the Buddhist Clergy and even the Sinhalese Christian Clergy, take it that the Eelam Tamils are not Sri Lankans. (In a way they are correct).

Even though the Bana Preaching President Premadasa and his sycophants say that the war is not against the Tamil people but only against the LTTE. Each and every death of an ordinary Tamil evokes great satisfaction and happiness in most of the Sinhalese. Even Rev. Fr. Tissa Balasuriva, Godfrey Gunatileke and their ilk have now been silenced perhaps by what happened to the Attorenys who tried to champion Human Right Violation cases. Only one or two lone voices - those of Vasudeva Nanayakkara and Athauda Seneviratne are heard, now The Colombo

when Sri Lankan soldiers die in large numbers - example, the advice of the Daily News to the Government after the death of 48 soldiers in the Mannar District.

The audacity of the late Mr. Ranjan Wijeratne to warn the Tamil people of Jaffna to leave the Peninsula en masse, if they wished to live, cannot be allowed to go unchallenged by the LTTE and all the Tamils not only those in Jaffna but the whole world over. (Already the school girls of Jaffna had answered by pushing one another to be in the queue to donate blood for the LTTE's wounded at Silavathurai.)

#### A. SELLIAH

For Mr. Ranjan Wijeratne to say that the LTTE'rs are hiding behind old men and is to say the children least childish. It is the Sri Lankan Security personnel who are hiding in the safety of the skies and behind the fortifications in their camps. Every time these socalled Brave Soldiers leave their camps, By Jove, THE TIGER is there face to face inspite of their Air Force Bombers and Helicopters In

the sky and the Navy Gun boats in the sea. Why not single wounded soldier.

An yet again for President Premadasa to insist that all Tamil groups should be consulted etc. etc. This is a real JOKE. As someone said all the groups put together are not enough to fill a CTB bus for a rally. A mere 200 or 300 in the eyes of President Premadasa is a farce to be consulted, seven though these groups go behind the safety of the Sri Lankan soldier to kill Eelam Tamil civilians.

Here I would like to ask the handful of Tamils who even now wish "If only all the groups could act together"-'What happened at Thimpu?' Did this United group achieve anything at all? Even in Namibia there were several groups - and so it is the world over - in South Africa, in Palestine etc. etc. It is only the Tamil Eelam people who are fortunate to see with their own eyes boys and even girls carrying around their necks cyanide phials.

(Continued on Page 5)

#### come and fight to a finish instead of running back to the sefety of the camps at the fall of a few soldiers or sometimes at the sight of RED BLOOD oozing from a

#### Published in Jaffna. An Indirect Admission?

In the North / East war now being waged, the Sri Lanka Government is now considering afresh the use of aerial bombardment in the North East, according to Bradman Weerakoon the International Advisor of the Sri Lankan Government.

the Uthayan (A Tamil Daily)

But he has not stated what other alternative is contemplated in place of the present indiscriminate aerial bombardment.

Under the pretext of attacking specific Tiger Targets, that the Sri Lanka Government has indiscriminately attacked Tamil Homes, Schools, Places of Worship etc etc during the past ten months is an established fact. It is also an established fact that in the past ten months the damage to private property and civilian life has been ninety nine percent.

But this Sri Lankan Government denied this fact up to date and also hid this fact. We have been precise and accurate in selecting the Tiger Targets but nevertheless accidental bombing of civilian targets cannot altogether be avoided said the late unlamented Ranjan Wijeratne.

But the present admission of the International Advisor does in fact admit in an indirect way that the past aerial bombardcivilian population, without Jawans. openly admitting same.

permanently from the silver platter. outside world for all times.

could only have been a leading Asian Nation.

following is an committed against English Translation of the foreign enemy and not Editorial of the 6 April against its own people by 1991 which appeared in this present ploy.

THIS AND THAT

by Rambler

However, the armed forces who seem to think that they are above the law and the civil government, have refused to completely abandon aerial bombardment, possibly because they fear that they would difinitely loose this war, if they gave up their blind and indiscriminate bombing. Foreign Governments should take due notice of this development and bear in mind that all assistance rendered to the Sri Lankan Government, amounts to aiding and abetting this Government to completely destroy the Tamil population.

May I comment that of the foreign governments that should take due notice of the foregoing editorial, would primarily be India, whose representative here not so long ago had the audacity to publicly state - "That it is in order to employ aerial bombardment in the event of a rebellion, provided the targeting is accurate and precise".

What one would like to know is whether the Indian Airforce does so in the Punjab, Kashmir and Assam.

If as the Indian representative states that the Tamils are in a rebellion against the Sri Lankan Government, why then did the Indian Peace Keeping Force come to this country? Was it to put down this Tamil Rebellion? Is that why the Indians killed so many thousands of Tamil civilians and also lost a mert did in fact harm the few thousands of their

If they came to suppress Without losing interna- the Tamil rebeilion, then tional assistance and good- why the hell did they will, the Sri Lankan pretend to play the role Government is now though of the Tamil guardian and belatedly trying to endea- saviour? What the Sinhala vour to show that the war idiots should realise, is that is not against the Tamil by their prolonged vendetta population but only against against the Tamils, they the rebels. But the Govern- have offered to India the ment fails to realise that money spioning Tourist the truth cannot be hidden and Tea Trades on a

And the Indians should Is the Sri Lankan realise that by their Government trying to treacherous role, they have wriggle out of the bloody egged the sinhalese to atrocities committed by its butcher the Tamils and airforce, atrocities that that they are no longer

## BOOK REVIEW THE CONFLICT WITHIN

Within by Somasundaram Varniasingham. (Published by Lancer International, New Delhi and Sangam Books Ltd. London Fruit Exchange. Brushfield Street, London) Priced Rs. 200/- (Sri Lanka) 19;95 (U.K.) Pages-200 plus.

This book consists of six essays on inter-related aspects of the conflict in Sri Lanka. In the concluding portion of the preface, after observing that Fairplay and Justice are indivisible, the author does in fact warn that conniving at Adharma in Eeylom will soon result in the evil enveloping India itself. The book, it is claimed is intended to help with facts, data and analysis to anyone who is prepared or disposed to think on public issue - apparently a hint that the Sri Lankan ploicy of New Delhi does not take cognizance of these.

In Chapter I (Legal and Constitutional Aspects), the author challenges the legitimacy of the Republic of Sri Lanka to encompass the North and East on the ground that the Republic or Sri

Sri Lanka - The Conflict Lanka was not a successor Article 29 of the Dominion State to the Dominion of polity. Ceylon but a brand new State created on the authority directly derived from the people by means of a mandate called for to be granted at the General Elections of 1970. The response for the call for the said mandate was magnificient but only from the seven Sinhala Provinces; the Voters of the Northern and Eastern Provinces rejected the Call for a Mandate, only fourteen percent voting for the Mandate. The author further contents that the creation of the Republic of Sri Lanka in 1972 was mala fide act calculated to deprive the Tamils of the benefit of the provisions of Article 29 of the Dominion Polity which denied capacity to the Parliament to enact laws discriminatory in favour of or adverse to any one community which is not equally applicable to the other communities. A litigation challenging the Sinhala Only Act was on its way to the Privy Council praying that the said Act be declared

ultra vires in terms of

Apart from the fraudulent intent underlying the creation of the Republic, the said enactment deprived the Tamils the benefit accruing under the conditional Polity.

Article 29, an entrenched Clause, made the Dominion Polity a conditional polity. When the conditions of the conditional polity are violated, the junior partner is perfectly entitled to opt out of the said polity and that is exactly what the Tamils have done. They do not have the benefit of a liberal English education to propagate their cause in a sophisticated style bringing out the theoretical, constitutional and legal issues They however feel the righteousness of their cause in their blood and bones All over the world. the present day youths have no patience to listen to chicanery and argue against quibbling.

Chapter II deals with New Delhi's Sri Lankan policy and contends that the nebulous and tenuous stand taken by (Continued on Page 4)

Bakthi to the deity visualized as the guiding star of the epic. But beneath all these there

lies a skeletal truth of events

## Indo - Sri Lanka Accord

## An Eeylom Notarial clerk would have done a better job

Notarial Clerk can do stance. Sri Lanka's sovereia better job

There are in Eelyom Notarial Clerks who write various types of Notarial Instruments. They have no qualification in Conveyancing or Law. Their intellectual assets consist of nothing more than instinctive grasp and experience. They can straightaway draw up the "fine print" of any complicated indenture Agreement or other Notarial Instruments without wasting time or paper in drafting. If you had engaged one of these Eeryom Notarial Clerks to prepare the Indo-Lanka Accord you signed with J. R. Jeyawardene they would not have allowed a hiatus

gnty is something that could take shape only after a satisfactory settlement of the ethnic problem acceptable to the people of the North-East was achieved. To assert Sri Lanka's sovereignty long before the any settlement was sighted amounted to putting the cart before the horse.

#### Referendum Signatories not honest.

Referendum to determine an administrative district is irrelevant. A Referendum has meaning only when the configuration of the polity is involved. People deciding administrative districts is absolutely without meaning since administration is some-

inglorious exit of India from Sri Lankan conflict you appear to have developed an anti Tamil psyche and have been allowing imagina- fancies. tion to run wild against the

#### Nestor

Tamil Freedom Fighters of Eelyom. You have been imagining that the Liberation Tigers have infiltrated in Tamil Nadu and are about to cause insurgency there. You have also been imagining that they are assisting the Freedom Fighters of Assam. All this is nothing but morbid imagination of disappointed

mental make - up and driven T position to spare time, energy you virtually to behave as and resources to infiltrate a mad man. Since the into Tamil Nadu or give help to the Freedom Fighters in Assam. Only the morbid imagination of disappointed ambition can weave

> It is usual for people to try to forget their failures and abandon further attempts and thoughts in those spheres but you seem to be an exception. You seem to be harping on the Liberation Tigers and your animus against the Liberation Tigers and Eelyom Timils appears to have attained astronomical dimensions and your ire against Liberation Tigers and Tamil Eelyom has also enveloped Tamil Nadu and its duly constituted Government. You have, without an iota of reason and without any report from the Governor chosen to direct your protege Mr Chandrasekar to dissolve the State Assembly Tamil Nadu, dismissed the Government and imposed Governor's rule. Since the then Governor had not supported your move to dissolve the State Assembly you have proceeded to import a new Governor from Bihar the land from where the Sinhalese claim to have migrated to Lanka 2,500 years ago. You appear to have no qualms of conscience in destroying democracy. The concept of State autonomy has been rendered a farce in your hands and the principle of Federal Union converted into a high-brow Imperium from Duryodhanan Janma

and personalities. In Ramayana, King Ravana rulirg in the hills of Lanka and Rama entering Lanka with an Army to kill Ravana to vindicate his manhood do form the skeletal truth. Hanuman and others of his stripe are none but Lravidians from the southern tip of peninsular India. Several place names mentioned in Ramayana have been identified and Lady Ramanathan has really traced in a geograpical map the route of Rama and Sita and Lakshmana from Ayodhya to the place where Sita was abducted by Ravana. Sinhala folk lore specifies a number of place names associated with Sita's imprisonment and the Rama - Ravana yudtha and the route taken back in by Rama when returning to India. Sinhala folk - lore is very specific in these place names. Ravana did not have ten heads. He was just a personage much physical prowess. Hanuman and his associates are not monkeys. They are human creatures. No monkey could have performed the feats performed by Hanuman. It is nothing but Valmiki's Aryan arrogance that led him to describe Ravana as a Rakshasha and Hanuman and his associates as monkeys. Rama could not have raised an Army to fight Ravana if there was not already considerable enmity between the non - Aryan races in South India and Lanka. People of the Ravana race had been infilerating into Tamil Nadu. Similarly the persons of the Hanuman race had infiltrated into Lanka. There was much enmity between these two people and Rama was able to exploit this existing

## One can be a fool or knave but difficult to be both

to take shape in the agreepermitted which Premadasa interpret that the only condition that had to be fulfilled for the withdrawal of the Indian troops was the decision of the Sri Lankan President to that effect. Since the Agreement merely speaks of military assistance being given to Sri Lanka when the Sri Lankan President required it, the Indian Armed Forces had to quit the Island when the Sri Lankan President thought that such military assistance was not required. Any Eelyom notarial clerk would have inserted a sentence like this: 'The operations and the ultimate withdrawal of the Indian Armed Forces from Sri Lanka will be as mutually agreed upon between the Governments of India and Sri Lanka.'

No Eelyom notarial clerk would have allowed the word sovereignity of Sri Lanka to appear in the Agreement since India's claims to underwrite and guarantee the various arrangements in the sphere of mechanisms of Government becomes a mere mouthful of rubbish once India concedes Sri Lankan Sovereignity: all these arrangements internal are would India matters and have no locus standi after Sri Lankan sovereignity is asserted. When militant youths took to arms Sri Lanka's sovereignty stood impugned. Sri Lanka itself constructively admitted that its sovereignty was impugned when it sought India's assi-

thing to be carried out with professional detachment in terms of the Law of the Land. It is the polity at large that is concerned with making the necessary Laws.

Further a Referendum to repudiate or confirm the configuration of any political or administrative unit after it has taken shape is bound to create racial dissensions and blood shed. The provision for such a Referendum can hardly be considered to be an honest piece of thinking. It was meant to create racial dissensions and blood shed. Indeed both Presidents Jeyawardene and Premadasa had stated categorically that they would canvass the people to vote against merger at the Referendum.

It is commonly said that one may be a knave or a fool but it is difficult to think of one being both a knave and a fool. There was absolutely no honesty on the part of the signatories to the Agreement in relation to the provision for a Referendum to confirm or repudiate the temporary merger.

#### Morbid imagination of disappointed ambition.

Is it too much to assume that the volte-face you experienced in your adventure to effect a settlement of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka and achieve a glorious reputation of being an International peace - maker has completely upset any objeccivity or balance in your

ambition. The Sinhalese are about seven times as numerous as Eelyom Tamils. The Sinhalese have the organization of the Governmental machinery in their hands. Further they have managed to secure a flow of foreign funds over years under the euphemism economic aid': it is really used for purchase of weapons and financing the fight against. the Tamil Freedom Fighters. The Sri Lankan Army is organized It has a substantial Air Force and numerous naval units all supplied by China. The Tamil Freedom Fighters are Fighting against tremendous odds. Further

## An open letter to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, de facto Prime Minister of India

the Indian Peace Force had over two years weakened the the resources and capacity of the Liberation Tigers. Finally the Indian Peace Force brought about dissenamong the Tamil Freedom Fighters and secured about two thousand militants into the ranks of the Fifth Column against the Liberation Tigers and the Tamil public. The Liberation Tigers are so short of man power: indeed a large number of girls have volunteered to take up arms in the freedom fight. How could the Liberation Tigers functioning under such handicaps and disadvantages and facing such tremendous odds be in a

You did also preach at one time that the Sinhalese migrated from India and are of Indian origin or more exactly Aryan origin. A few words exposing this falacious claim is relevant when you have sought to create a war psyche against the Tamils.

No historical picture of Lanka could be construed without bringing into consideration the events and narrative of Ramayana. Epics are always exaggerated and a highly varnished picture of events and personalities is framed up because the poet wants to illustrate a philosophy or idealism he cherishes or to give expression to his devotion and

enmity to raise an Army to fight Ravana in the central hills of Lanka. Hanuman could not have performed the unbelievably successful espionage if persons of his own group were not already there.

Raman killed Ravana and his soldiers in the field of battle. He certainly did not commit a genocide of the Ravann race.

It is absolutely untenable to think that prince Vijaya and his 700 followers came in a ship or ships from Bihar or Bengal and landed in Lanka on the very day Lord Buddha attained Nibbana and

(Continued on Page 5)

## BY TALKS OR BY FORCE?

has ceased to exist, the probelms left behind by the Empire, afflict many people wever, soon realized that a all over the world. This Island was dividedly possessed by the Tamils and Sinhalese from very ancient times. The British imperialists in order to strengthen their stranglehold and in order to exploit the Island's wealth for their own benefit, lumped the Tamils and Sinhalese together and dumped them under one administration.

Nevertheless for the purposes of governance they required personnel As a matter or policy they tried to employ natives in subor-Natives dinate capacities. who acquired a knowledge of the English language, were able to find some petry offices which put such natives on a higher pedestal than the rest of their own people.

The natives began to study English more earnestly which resulted in more and more natives finding employment under Government. Some brilliant natives such as aul E Peires of P. Arunachalam were also able to acquire some higher postion in Government - but by no means the highest consistent with their own capabilities and intellectual attainments.

Nevertheless English Education did provide some status and wealth to some natives who migrated to Colombo and made a comfortable living there. Inevitably there were Tamils and Sinhalese in this new 'elite' class of the English educated.

Naturally the English educated were looked upon by the others of their peoples for leadership This English educated classes mostly centred round Colombo and largely influenced by the English masters, were for those very reasons cut off from their own peoples. They thought of themselves as people always owing allegiance to the British Empire.

The nationalist upsurge in the Indian subcontinent had some influence in this Island too - mostly among the Tamils. Still since the leadership of the peoples was left in the hands of the English educated settled in Colombo, there was no objective approach on the part of the leaders.

Sir P. Arunachalam was an intellect and patriot. Even he failed to appreciate the native genius and history of the Island and thought that a conglomerate 'Ceylonese' nation could be founded out of two peoples differing enti-

Though the British Empire rely in race religion, language and culture.

> Sir P. Arunachalam how-'Ceylonese' nation could not be developed when there was none such. Though he founded the Ceylon National Congress and was its founder president, within two years ot the founding of the Congress he left it and founded the Ceylon Tamil League.

As stated earlier, the leadership for the Tamils was provided by the English educated, Colombo - centred 'elite'. One fundamental flaw in their political thought was that they failed to see that English institutions and systems and values were bound to yield place to native institutions and systems and values.

#### Kumaran

However, it must not be concluded that they were unaware of the problems that could arise. So we find from the time of Sir P. Arunachalam onwards that Tamil leaders were trying to protect Tamil interests.

It is an irony of history that Sinhalese leaders who paid great respect at least in words to Tamil leaders ranging from Sir P. Arunachalam to S J. V. Chelvana yakam of recent times, never yielded a wee bit to any of these leaders but were bent on constructing and consolidating a Baudha - Sinhala state in the Island.

The Tamil leaders of the past were highly educated men who occupied high positions. They were very able men who could command great respect. Yet they failed before Sinhala chauvinism.

A classic example of Sinhala chauvinism and intransigence and complete failure of Tamil ability to protect Tamil interest by all the arts of logic, reasoning, talks and persuasion, is to be found in 1956 on the occasion of the passage of the Sinhala Only Act.

All the Tamils to a man and all Mulims of the East voted against the Sinhala Only Act. The Sinhala Only Act saw the outbursts of racial violence against the Tamils. The Tamils were subjected to attack in the city of Colombo. Sinhalese who were settled in Gal Oya valley in the Tamil area. started an attack on the Tamils there and only retaliation by Tamils kept them in good behaviour. In fact

retaliating attack undertaken

by the Tamils prevented any racial violence in the Valley. two years later in 1958 when there was again a racial attack on the Tamils on a wider and larger scale throughout the Island.

All the pleadings and persuasions of the very eminent Tamil leaders in Parliament failed to evoke any sympathy and the Government of S.W.R.D. passed the Bandaranike Sinhala Only Act with the support of the UNP also.

All Sinhala leaders pretended that they had solved the language problem and made assertion to that effect but the problem was never solved.

As late as 1987 - over thirty one years after the Sinhala only Act was passed, J. R. Jayewardene had his own Constitution amended by grudgingly providing for Tamil also to be an official Language. This can be described as the biggest victory the Tamils achieved after 31 years of fight, though by no means a complete victory.

But what is the price paid for this? All the oratory and arguments and persuasions of ronnambalam, all the arguments of Suntaaralingam, a highly placed man, who was an intimate triend of the Sinhalese, all the efforts of Chelvanayakam, reputedly highly respected by the Sinhalese also, did not win the language battle. It is tragic that the Tamils should have got this very small victory - which, however, is not complete and can always be defeated by administrative action, by the great sacrifice, by the great feats of display of their sinews by the LTTE. It is a tragedy that the Sinhalese should have waited for the display of might-of force - without yielding to persuasions and pleadings.

Force may settle some issues but it will cause suffering to both warring parties. The history of the language issue should enlighten the Sinhalese leaders that it is always better to yield to persuasion than to force. The language question is only one aspect of the

The Sinhala colonization of Tamil areas is another instance where Sinbala leaders have acknowledged the reasonableness of the Tamil demand, as can be seen from the Bandaranake - Chelvanayakam Pact and the Dudley-Chelvanayakam Pact.

The right of the Tamils to a homeland and their right to self-determination has also been accepted even by that Machiavellian perpetrator of political crimes -J. R. Jayewardene.

The Tamil cause as represented today by the LTTE. is Tamil birthright. Even recently Tilakar of the LTTE has said in Paris that they would agree to talks but without any pre-conditions.

Is it too much even now to expect that the Government fo Sri Lanka should prefer to talk than to rely on force?

pean Economic Community among whom real unity prevails.

This book is the most succinct account that presents the perceptions of the Tamila which has so far appeared.

Arul P. Nesan

#### Book ...

(Continuation of Page 2) Jawarhalal Nehru in his

dealings with D. S. Senanayake, pasticularly at the conference held in 1948, raised among Sinhalese politicians the hopes that the Plantation lamils could be disenfranchised and New Jawarhalal Delhi under Nehru (unlike the New Delhi of the Viceroy's Government) would remain indifferent The author lists a series of eight committed by blunders New Delhi which led to the disenfranchisement of the Plantation Tamils. Since these persons came to Ceylon on an agreement, New Delhi should have insisted on a joint authority to decide individual application for Ceylon citizenship as one whose application is rejected automatically becomes an Indian citizen. New Delhi instead of tacing this logical situation toyed with the idea of statelessness and really gave the green si nal to Sri Lanka to go ahead with the disenfranchisement/ de - citizenising

Chapter III deals with parameters for a viable political solution while Chapter IV deals with the Gandhi-Jeyawardene accord which predicts (in September 1988) that the Accord would be a total failure.

Chapter V is revealing in that it brings out into focus the Marxist contribution to the travails of the Tamils.

Chapter VI is an ambitious attempt at delineating the broad contours of the Constitution of Eeylom. The author contends that

the most that the Tamils could concede to the highly publicised concept of a united Lanka is a Customs Union with Sri Lanka (i.e) the seven Sinhala Provinces. He also visualises other agreements in the nature of the Euro-

#### Children undertake voluntary

service in village Children under the age of 12 living in St. Joseph's Church Parish in Atchuvely, have been organized to undertake

voluntary social service functions in the pari h. It is reported the children in the parish have enthusiastically involved themselves

in the week-end voluntary social service activities for the past five week ends and cleared a number of lanes, channels and an abandoned tank. It is interesting to note that these tiny tots in their enthusiasm have also established the age of the abandoned tank. A stone slab used for the construction of the tank when cleaned by the children showed the figures 1880 carved therein which shows that the tank had been built over a century ago.

Uufortunately this tank was abandoned and in disuse for several years now but thanks to the enthusiasm of the children, has been now rest-

Mr K Kanagarajah, the Proprietor of Milk White Industries, Jaffna has donated a number of plants, saplings and seeds to these children to encourage them also in growing trees and plants in their parish.

It is reported that the work of the children is en couraged also by their par. ents and with the active support of social service oriented men of the like of Mr. R. Stanislaus, Vice President of the Parish and Principal Emeritus of St. Joseph's College, Anuradhapura, the children of St. Joseph Parish in Atchuvely have an example for other set children to follow.

## Homely Home for Senior Citizens

Nallur Pensioners' Benefit Association plans to start Homely Homes for Elders in the Jaffna District. This type of houses are now a felt- need in the light of the present situation. The Association in its plan proposes to open up separate Homes for males and Females, the Aged and the "Well-to-do" persons including State Pen-

sioners with means for custodial care and companionship who do not want to be under obligation to their kith and kin.

A Sub-Committee of the Association headed by Mr. K. Satkunalingam former Superintendent Kaithady Home for Elders is en aged in efforts to open a Home on an experimental basis in Nallur for such Eiders.

OUR READERS SAY

The Editor

I listened to a News item over the Radio about a religious ceremony to be conducted on the 12th April on the eve of the Tamil New Year by all religious heads at the request of President Mr. R. Premadasa. These so called religious ceremonies have been very many since the assumption of this Government to power. What this shows? These are staged off and on by the Government to hide all their misdeeds, mass killings, the refusal of basic things to all Tamils and a peaceful life to all of us. Some might feel on our side too such wrong-doing is a common occurence. Who is responsible for this state of affairs? The state no doubt is solely responsible. There is a saying in Tamil "As the ruler is, the subjects follow his steps". Then how world leaders and aid giving countries are always misled by the Government whose news media mainly come out with false propaganda.

The modern phenomena is to accopt all that is false as true. Newsweek magaine once spoke of a growing modern phenomenon. It asserted: "The U.S. public is the most communicationglutted group of people in

Genocide...

(Continuation of Page 2) I think the LTTE' rs have more to do in their Diplo-

An Eeloyam... (Continuation of Page 3)

founded the Sinhalese race. The Sinhalese and Tamils are in Sri Lanka from the days the Ramayana. The present day Sinhalese occupied the Central Hills and the South and West of Sri Lanka while the Tamils occupied the plains North and East of the Central Hills and that is exacily what the Cleghorn minute of 1799 pinpoints. Had the Sinhalese come in ships from Bengal or Bihar ought to have there been among the Sinhalese a tea-faring caste and persons engaged in shipping operations. There is no such caste among the Sinhalese. The Sinhalese saw ocean going ships only when the Muslims from Arabia landed in Chilaw from their ships. The ships were a novel site for the Sinhalese. They the Muslims named Marakkala-minisu. To this day this name Marakkalaminisu is applied to the Muslims by the Sinhalese. Marakalam is a Tamil word meaning wooden vessel

ANACHRONISM TO TALK OF NEW YEAR

world history. Daily bomba- His will. It is an anachroof the same incidents, hopelessly incapable in this complicated world of sorting out the truth, a great many Americans have undoubtedly built a hard shell of skepticism around themselves." The same certainly could be said about most of the developed world today.

Feeling incapable of determining the truth in what they read, see and hear; most people have developed a skeptical, cynical attitude toward taking any warning seriously - even from God Himself. This attitude is one of the curses of our modern age. God's warnings for this end - time age have been recorded in the Bible and in the Gita. People and rulers simply assume these prophecies are irrelevant and of no consequence to them whatsoever. Thus some of these rulers and millions of people plod on like ignorant sheep heedless, careless, calloused and skeptical. The time is not far away, they need not have long to wait before astounding, earth - shaking events will begin to shake people out of complacency. It won't be long before the hard shells of skepticism are smashed and shattered by

matic Front. The so-called Democratic Governments of the West threaten Russia with stoppage of anv intended economic help unless Russia withdraws its army from Lithuania; China and Pakistan are horrified at the US bombing of Iraqi civilian targets and the US in turn warns lraq against the use of Helicopters. But here in Sri Lanka: Hats off to Sri Lankan Diplomacy.

every nation had allowed itself to be hood-winked by Sri Lanka. Even Britain which has a special obligation by its once Colonial people, gives more than what is asked for by a Government which did away with Clause 29 of the Constitution given by her when she left Ceylon.

And now to India. She came in with a Big Bang and cajoled for some geophysical advantages but left with her tail curled within the hind legs (again hats off for Sri Lankan Diplomacy)

So it boils down to the fact that the LTIE must do it alone; that they will, there is no doubt in the minds of .he majority of the Eelam Tamils.

rded by facts' which conflict nism to say Tamils are daily told opposite versions having a new year when most of them are living in fear, many of their relatives are dead and gone and are treated by this Government in an authoritarian way.

> Yours in the Lord, Swami Chidrupananda Swami - in - Charge

## Birth Certificates

The Editor,

Some 30000 birth certificate applications are being held up at the Kachcheri, Jaffna for a long time without the relevant froms to be used to issue the birth certificate copies filed of record at the said Kachcheri.

It is revealed that some birth registration have been sent by the Registrar General's office, Colombo. As a result plenty of birth certificate applicants are flocking to the said district office to obtain their certificates for various urgent requirements and the officers of the said registry are unable to pacify them. Some of them are boisterous with them demanding the issue the said certilicates at any cost, as they have been legally registered in their area divisional and town registrars. Most of them were born after 1954.

There are two types of birth certificates in use in the country. Those who were born before 1954; only one side of the certificate page is used. Those who were born after 1954 both sides of the certificates have to be used to furnish additional particulars. There is no harm if more particulars It is strange that practically are added to ensure the genuineress of the holder of the said certificate, in view of the dishonest practices which are increasing nowa-

> However, death and marriage certificate forms are available at the said registry, as only a few applications are made to obtain such certificates. We should be proud to say that our island was one of the first administration in the East, introduced to register the birth. marriage and death system by the Britishers. Inspite of that, there are still some ignorant and lazy people who seldom register their births marriages and deaths. As a reult, plenty of them are suffering a great deal now. There are various

birth and it is a labourious and expensive process as well.

are

Those who

married according to law. kindly requested to themselves married even if they are old with grand children. There should be some record in the administration. A mass civil marriage campaign should be launched to get all unmarried couples registered. The procedures to be relaxed to induce them to go to the registrars without any red tapism and shyness. In India this system is very popular and the people are voluntarily getting themselves married. Inter caste, religious marriages are also very pupular in l'amil Nadu state. Such couples are being amply rewarded and given various government concessions in public life. One day they solomnised more than one thousand inter caste marriages ranging from the very 4500 forms to write out the slow caste to the very high caste Brahmin. It is leally a commendable undertaking to wipe out castism and communalism with more

> It is sincerely hoped that the required birth certificate forms are made available to the respective district registrars to enable them to expedite the backlog of birth certificate applications as early as possible. The people will be very grateful for such

than 3150 castes.

It is also learnt that the photostat machine has been damaged. It is desired to get it repaired or some benefactors to donate a machine to clear the arrears of work very quickly, instead of mannual work.

J. Arulanandam

## Shape of things to come

I must in the first place avow that I am not an avid reader of 'Hot Spring', although I have had occasion to go through a few of your latest issues. However, please permit me to comment on 'This and That' (and not on your colomun either).

In your issue of 03 02.91 your colomunist Rambler has quoted Sir Ivor Jennings as saying on the First Independence Commemoration celebration in 1949 that Ceylon had a rosy future ahead provided it acted- with dignity and responsibility as otherwise he teard that India woild take over this country within fifty years.

In the same manner, very Rev. Fr. T.M.F. Long O.M.I. one of the great rectors of St. Patrick's College, Jaffna in whose

formalities to register a past honour the Government of Sri Lanka issued a postage itemp on National Heroes' Diy, 1990, had this to say in his Prize Day Report of 1942:

> "It is tempting to speculate on the shape of things to come, on Ceylon's, on Jaffna's part and place in the brave new world that is being fashioned now in the stress of war or that is being blueprinted for here, there and everywhere. One might even speculate on the possibility - of Ceylon's joining the eleration of the United States of India."

Now, I must congratulate 'Rambler' for telling some very hard, bold obvious and plain truths in that column of his especially the one about 'Had India done a Turkey'. What is enigmatid to me is why the Government of Sri Lanka and the Sinhalese people cannot see the obvious - the writing on the wall so to say. It is also puzzling as to why the Goverament is adamantly refusing to recognize the North and East as lamil areas since the two provinces have always been predominantly Tamil

The argument that

portion of the country belongs exclusively to any one community and that the entire Island belongs equally to all communities is only a subtle subtertuge to overawe and engulf the Tamil community and eventually make the Island's ethnic make-up unitary viz. a Sinhala Buddhist dominated one. What could have been easily solved by mutual agreement, recognizing each other's rights and privileges, has now been made ever so complicated by mutual mistrust and suspicion with its attendant destruction of life and property and unimaginable atrocities. Why weren't earlier pacts with the Tamil leaders not honoured? Wouldn't a federal form of Government have satisfied the aspirations of the Tamils and yet maintained the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka? Can India or Malaysia for instance with their federal system of Governments be called so many Indias or Malaysias as there are states? Can any Sinhala politician present or past deny that he or she never had the intention of making this Island entirely Sinhala Buddhist? No none of them can deny because that is the plain truth and nothing but the truth. And now there is precious little that anyone can do but watch the Island careering down inexorably to its inevitable end. Unless a miracle happens this 'pearl of the Indian Ocean' is sure to ba swallowed by India in the near future. God forbid it!

W. J. P. Gnanaratnam 9. Moolai lane. Chundikuli.

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## Good Government No Substitute for Self - Government

Mr. Premadasa has been heard to promise a just and virtuous Government to the Tamils.

The sanctimonious garb in which the Sinhala rulers prefer to clothe themselves is nothing new. Did not Premadasa's predecessor, Jayawardene, introduce even a word "Dharmista" into the political vocabulary?

We do not know the concept that is bidden in the term "Dharmista". But suffice to know that even the Sinhalese people who elected Jayawardene to power were so overawed by "Dharmista" that towards the end of bis rule they forestalled any lurking ambition, he could have had - which they feared he entertained in his own mind - to extend his period of office further. And thus ended a Dharmista rule with a spate of violence in Sinhata Rata. Violence in Sinhala Rata only subsidad, aft r Jayewardene an ounced his intention to quit and make room for a new incumbent.

Mr. Premadasa has a singular capacity to extract from various sources his own philosophies and guidelines in public life. He has been a follower of Gunasinghe, the Senanayakes and even Jayawardene.

It is Mr. Jayawardene who wore the Dharmista garb and rightly has Mr. Premadisa chosen to borrow it from Mr Jayawardene because without the garb their bollow claims will stand exposed to the whole

Mr. Premadasa, like his predecessor, promises a good and virtuous Government to the Famils.

But what we ask is what right has Mr. Premadasa to make such a promise.

Did the Tamils elect him to power to govern them also?

This is not a question we ask of Mr. Premadasa alone. This is a question that we ask of all the Sinhalese. Did old Mr. Senanayake- Father of the Nation as some preferred to call him - or Mr. Bandaranaike or for that matter any Sinhala leader ever receive a mandate from the Tamil nation in Eelam to govern it also?

Sri Lanka is supposed to have ob'ained her Independence in 1948. The Sinhalese leaders claim that the Island is one country and that the different peoples constitute one nation. In the 43 years of rule that the Sinhalese have been able to foist - claiming themselves to be majority with over 70% of the population, have the Sinhalese been able to win the confidence of the Tamil nation in Eelam even in a small measure?

The First Farliament of Ceylon was constituted in 1947 before Independence and after Independence in 1948 eight Parliamentary Elections were held.

Did any Sinhala Party at any of these elections get a mandate from the Tamil Nation in Eclam to rule them also? The loud sounding name of United National Party did not cut ice with the Tamils. Nor did the 'international' image of Marxist parties.

It is clear beyond all doubt that the Tamils do not want Sinhala rule of whatever description. It is there fore, puerite for President Premadasa to speak of good government because it is not a substitute for self-gover-

The English provided a government which was ef icient just and modern but nevertheless, the self - government was preferred to good government and all wanted the English to go.

So too the Eelam Tamils are not interested in any good government that the Sinhalese may be able to provide for them. But they want Self - Government and it is their inalienable right to have it.

## Sinhalese behaviour to Tamils Excessively Short - Sighted and Foolish

"... During my tenure of that the cause must be laid office as Governer - General of Ceylon, I never expected that there would be such a cleavage between the Sinhalese and Tamil communities and you (C. Suntharalingam) are quite right when you say

# ROUNDUP

26 - 3 - 91

At Akaraipattu - 20 Tamils kidnapped by Muslim Home Guards. One of them was killed.

28 - 3 - 91

At Keerimalai - Helicopter firing. Two people, T. Packiyanathan (6) and S. Sundaralingam (32) were severely injured.

30-3-91

At Valalai - Shell attack from Palaly Army Camp.

At Iyakachchi- Shell attack from Elephant Pass Army Camp. A young boy S. Thanga(13) sustained injuries

At Silavathruai - Bomber attack - 4 bombs dropped.

At Poonakari - Shell attack from Elephant Pass Army Camp. S. Sriskandarajah(28) admitted to Jafina Hospital with serious injuries.

31-3-91

At Vavuniya - Bomber attack. Houses damaged.

At Kayts and surrounding villages. Artillery shell attack form Karainagar Naval Camp. Helicopter straffing and cannon firing from naval boats. Houses and plantation damaged.

1-4-91

At Vavuniya, Thevakulam, Sasthiri Koolankulam, Periyadi Koolankulam - Bomber attack. Two civilians died. Another named S. Gnanapiragasam (26) seriously injured and admitted to Jaffna Hospital.

2-4-91

At Vavuniya, Poovarasankulam Bomber attack. Two civilians killed and two injured.

At Kerativu - Sangup'ddy. Bomber attack. Ferry damaged. are exact and

At Iyakachchi - Artillery shell attack from Elephant Pass Army Camp. Many houses damaged. A young boy aged 16, injured and admitted to Jaffaa Hospital.

at the door of Sri John Kotelawala and his Government. But if he chastised the Tamils with whips, the late Mr. S.W.R D. Bandaranike chastised the Tamils with scorpions. The Sinhalese behaviour to the Tamils has been excessively short-sighted and foolish. When as Chairman of the commission on the Reform of the Constitution of Ceylon in 1945, I studied the relations of the two communities, I was much impressed by the important cisms" by Lord Soulbury)

contributions that the Tamlsi had made and were making to the economy of Ceylon and I was aware that the Ceylon Tamils were better educated and more industrious

than the Sinhalese".

- Lord Soulbery

(Extracts from letter dated 28th April, 1964 addressed Soulbury to by Lord C. Suntharalingam published in the brochure entitled "Eylom: Beginnings of Struggles with Freedom Candid Comments and Criti-

## ICRC HANDS OVER DEAD BODIES TO LTTE

Mr. Fred Grimm, Head of the ICRC Sub-delegation in Jaffna in a press Communication issued on 9th April to the Newspapers of Jaffna and also to the media in Colombo states as follows:-

"On 6th April, 1991, the Sri Lankan Army handed

over eight bodies of LITE members to the International Committee of the Red Cross in Vavuniya. These bodies were brought to Mankulam and banded over to the LTTE on the same day"

## Army wrath Unabated

The Village Council of Paeyadikoolankulam in the Vavuniya District was demolished by the Sri Lankan

In the early part of Febuary when the Sri Lankan Army came to the village of Pacyadikoolankulam in the Vavuniya District, the villagers had left the village for fear of the Army.

The soldiers gave vent to their anger by destroying houses, shops and even the Village Council Office at

## Will the U. N. Take up this also?

While the U N. Security Council is now seriously debating a motion introduced by Turkey and suported by Britain and France for the creation of a Protectorate whithin Iraq for the oppressed Kurdish Nationality, here ia Sri Lanka, the Security Forces have forcibly entered the premises of the Camp in Mannar run by the UNH.CR, not heeding the objection raised by the Commission Authorities and arrested several Tamil refugees.

Will the U.N. Security Council concern itself with the plight of those arrested Sri Lankan Tamil Refugees

Paeyadikoolankulam. A number of improvised shops of petty traders were also burnt down by the Army. Each of the trader's shops is estimated to cost Rs. 5,000/-

The big shops in the village were also burnt down and reports indicate that the biggest shop at Pacyadikoolankulam belonging to Ponniah Kanthan was burnt down and the loss is estimated at Rs. 50,000/-. Another shop belonging to one Rasa was also burnt down and the loss is estimated to be Rs. 15,000/-

Finally the Sri Lankan soldiers placed inside the premises of the Village Council office and exploded the bombs which brought down the building. It is estimated that the Local Government Department has sustained a loss Rs. 1,000,000/- by the demolition of this office building.

Silavathurai...

(Continuation of Page 1)

The LTTE succeeded in recovering arms from the Sri Lankan adversaries and also destroyed the Kokkupadayan Army camp and brought it under their control.

The battle at Silavathural is regarded as a mojor battle in which the combined armed forces of Government were simultaneously engaged in battle with the LTTE.

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