

HOT SPRING

Vol. 1

21st. April 1991

No. 18

The Disastrous Accord

"Woe unto the Tamil-Speaking people of Sri Lanka, even unto those of whom in their innocence, have placed their trust and hopes in the July, 07 Accord"

Quoted from an EROS
Publication dated 8-9-1988

Rajiv - Jayewardene Accord

A COMPLETE FAILURE

A.D.M.K. CALLS FOR NEW AGREEMENT

A new Indo-Ceylon Agreement should be entered into to solve the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka and the Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam will work for the achievement of such an agreement.

The above policy declaration is stated to be contained in the Election Manifesto of the Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam for the forthcoming Tamil Nadu State Assembly and Loks Sabha Elections to be held next month in India. The Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam's election manifesto was released by Miss Jeyalalitha, the General Secretary of the A.D.M.K.

Political observers commented that the Sinhala-Tamil problem in the Island of Sri Lanka was very likely to be debated before the Tamil Nadu electorates because the very same problem, was strained to topple the Tamil Nadu government

headed by M. Karunanidhi, though the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) Government was elected just two years ago and continued to enjoy the confidence of the Tamil Nadu State Assembly. The A.D.M.K. along with Congress (I) was in the forefront of the campaign to topple M. Karunanidhi.

It is to be noted that the A.D.M.K. and the Congress (I) headed by former Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, form a single alliance. As a matter of fact, the Congress (I) has no strong base in Tamil Nadu ever since it was routed by the late Mr. C. N. Annadurai three decades ago and had been dependant for its sur-

vival in Tamil Nadu only by way of alliances formed with either the DMK or ADMK. Considered in this light, the position taken up by the ADMK which is the stronger partner in the Indira Congress-ADMK Alliance in Tamil Nadu, is significant.

The ADMK call for a new Agreement in regard to the Tamil problem in the Island of Sri Lanka envisages an appreciation and an acknowledgement on the part of a strong partner in Congress (I) coalition that the Rajiv-Jeyawardene Accord purported to have been entered into in a bid to solve the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka and so represented to the people of Tamil Nadu, has in fact failed to solve the problem in Sri Lanka.

The 1987 Accord between Rajiv Gandhi and Jeyawardene was entered into in spite of the objection of all shades

of Tamil opinion in Sri Lanka including the "moderate TULF". Finally the Accord did not achieve anything. It was rejected both by the Tamils and the Sinhalese and when the signatories to the Agreement - Rajiv Gandhi and Jayewardene went out of office, the Accord died a natural death without any mourners to lament.

The reference to fresh Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement in regard to the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka - coming as it does in the form of a policy statement in the election manifesto of a partner of the Congress (I) Coalition is very significant, as it is an indication that in the event of a victory for the Congress (I), it will be the policy of the new govern-

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Is Madu Refugee Camp the military Objective?

Are the Roman Catholic Church at Madhu and the Refugee Camp there run by the UNHCR, the military objectives of the Sri Lankan Armed Forces?

Just prior to his death, the former State Minister for Defence, Mr. Ranjan Wijeratne was very adamant that the UNHCR authorities

should close down the Refugee Camp. He insisted that all the refugees there - well over 20,000 - should be evacuated to Mannar or Vavuniya to enable the Armed Forces to conduct their military operations against the LTTE, as if the LTTE had taken refuge in a Camp abandoning its war against the Government.

All NGOs including the International Red Cross and the UNHCR protested against the Government's moves to have the refugees vacated from the Madhu Refugee Camp. But their protests were not heeded but the move to evacuate the refugees was only abandoned after the death of Mr. Wijeratne.

However, from the pronouncements made by the top brass of the Sri Lankan Armed Forces, it looks as if they have not abandoned their move as regards the Refugee Camp run by the UNHCR at Madhu. The ongoing battle in the Mannar District also points to that.

Will the UNHCR report the matter to the UN?

has decided to observe May 8th - the International Red Cross day - as the day for donation of blood. The members of the Society would set an example by donating blood themselves.

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★ Flash

Shift from Pagoda to Parliament

As we go to print we receive news of Baudh-Sinhala President Premadasa abandoning his usual inimitable style of making important announcements from the precincts of pagodas on religious ceremonial occasions and speaking in Parliament on the occasion of his Address to Parliament on the reopening of new sessions. As the President rarely makes important announcements in messages to Parliament some people think that the President's speech signals a dramatic change in the attitude of the Government towards the Northeast war.

But the Presidential address seem to be a mere drama than reality. While the President has stated that the LTTE should abandon 'force' - i.e. his concept of a defensive war in which the LTTE is involved - as a means to achieve its end he has not indicated his willingness to call back the Sinhala Army of aggression from the Northeast, which action would at once put to an end all war, death and destruction. And one cannot be unmindful of the position that as Mr. Premadasa speaks loftily of peace his forces are actively engaged in war in the Northeast.

Eighth May - International Red Cross Day

Jaffna Red Cross Society Members to Donate Blood

The Members of the Jaffna Branch of the Sri Lanka Red Cross Society will donate blood on 8th May, 1991 to commemorate the International Red Cross Day. This was revealed at a Press Conference held at the Office of the Society on Friday, 19th April, 1991.

The President, Secretary and Treasurer of the Red Cross Society were present at the Conference.

Speaking about the activities of the Red Cross Society in Jaffna, the President stated that the Society has to undertake various functions in view of the war conditions. Though primarily health was the chief concern of the Red Cross Society in view of the prevailing conditions, the Society is compelled to extend its activities to relief work as well as rehabilitation work.

For this purpose the Red Cross Society has formed

three sub-committees to undertake various programmes divided under three broad headings, viz. Health Programme, Social Welfare, Social Development Programme and Educational Programme. The President called for the co-operation of all to help the Society implement its various programmes.

At this Conference the President also revealed that there was acute shortage of blood in the hospitals of Jaffna for treatment of patients. In order to induce everyone to willingly donate blood, the Red Cross Society

A STATEMENT ON EELAM

CO-EXISTENCE; NOT CONFRONTATION

Two Nations

Ceylon, now Sri Lanka is the island home of two nations - the Sinhalese and the Tamils. They differ from each other by history, territory, language, religion, culture, and traditions. This is the undisputable fact of over two thousand five hundred years of Ceylon's history. The Cleghorn minute of 1797 records "Two different nations, from a very ancient period, have divided between them the possession of the Island. First the Sinhalese inhabiting the interior country in the Southern and Western parts from the river Wallouwe to that of Chilaw, and secondly the Malabars (Tamils) who possess the Northern and Eastern districts". From these earliest times the Sinhalese and Tamils have maintained their separate identities and territories. Particularly the Sinhalese always excluded the Tamils from their body politic in their struggle for existence and identity. Duttu Gemunu (2.0 B.C.) the national hero of the Sinhalese could not sleep in peace with the

and brought the whole Island under one unified administration. This was done in spite of the protests of the Sinhalese of the Kandyan State. Thus the Sinhalese and Tamils as enslaved peoples found themselves shackled together by foreign rule and remain to this day so shackled together, unwilling and in spite of Independence. Neither nation has accepted these British shackles, and today the shackles restrict the freedom and sovereignty of each and more particularly of the Tamils as the Sinhalese by virtue of their numbers in parliament and an army of occupation in the Tamil country are able to rule over the Tamils. The Sinhalese and Tamils as two peoples or nations have never mutually consented to become one people or one nation nor amalgamate the two territories into one state on any mutually agreed basis.

Sinhala Rule and Confrontation

The Sinhalese mind has not basically changed

effects and results of Sinhalese rule:

- (1) One million Tamils were excluded from citizenship and rendered stateless by the Citizenship Act 18 of 48.
- (2) These one million Tamils were by Act 48 of 1949 denied the right to vote which right they enjoyed before independence.
- (3) Tamil territory was colonised with Sinhala colonists by the State with State funds; and illegal squatting on Tamil territory by Sinhalese was encouraged and finally regularised while Tamil squatters on such Tamil territory were driven out by force and emergency regulations were framed for punishing them. Land is not given to registered Tamil citizens in colonisation schemes.
- (4) Tamils were excluded from the public service in large numbers to which they had access earlier on the basis of merit and also dismissed or not confirmed for lack of proficiency in Sinhala.

by

Late S. KATHIRAVELUPILLAI M. P. (Kopay)

Tamils ruling all around him. Even as late as the 16th and 17th centuries when the Portuguese came to Ceylon and conquered the Tamil Kingdom, the Sinhalese did not think that "Ceylon" was being invaded by a foreign power nor did they even go to the help of the Tamils as a neighbour might have, saving their own security and that of the whole island in mind. Rather they appear to have had a secret satisfaction at the conquest of the Tamil Kingdom. A Sinhalese historian of today Dr. G. C. Mendis writes "The Tamil Kingdom in the North grew in power until it extracted tribute from the South. Further, fifteenth century Tamil influence over the Sinhalese court was considerable and Ceylon may have come under the rule of Madura of Tanjore but for the timely arrival of the Portuguese".

Shackled Together

After the Portuguese the Dutch took over the Sinhalese and Tamil Kingdoms of the South and North leaving the Kandyan Sinhalese Kingdom free. The British succeeded the Dutch and finally in 1815 took over the Sinhalese Kingdom of Kandy. In 1833 the British erased the boundaries between the Sinhalese and Tamil States

even today. Rather it has progressed from fear and exclusion to discrimination, aggression, genocide and the creation of a neo colonial empire over the Tamils and the Tamil country. The Tamils are still referred to as "Para Demila" and "Kallathoni" and even the Marxists who sport international philosophes are quick to march the streets of Sinhala country shouting slogans as "Masala Vadai apotttaeppah". Our twenty five years of independence have seen the expansion and domination of the Sinhala rule over the Tamils and the Tamil country.

To the Sinhalese too, the Tamil presence, is a larger restriction of their freedom and sovereignty than was the link with the British Crown imposed by the Soulbury Constitution now overthrown. Nevertheless the Sinhalese by legislative and administrative acts explicated the new philosophy of one state, one nation, one language, one religion. A permanent and irremovable Sinhalese majority ruled in the name of democracy so that the effect of all decision enured to the benefit of the Sinhalese majority and to the detriment of the Tamil minority and not equally to both majority and minority. Thus the following may be listed as some of the major

- (5) The use of force on the Tamils as a political weapon to obtain subservience.
- (6) The stationing of an army of occupation in the Tamil territory.
- (7) Sinhala alone was made the official language of the whole island including the Tamil country.
- (8) Buddhism alone was given State patronage under the new constitution.
- (9) Tamil students qualified on the basis of merit were excluded from admission to the university by racial discrimination and manipulation of marks.
- (10) Deliberate neglect and refusal to develop the Tamil territory.
- (11) The neglect of Tamil education particularly of the students in the estate areas and the closing down of Tamil streams and schools in the Sinhalese territory.
- (12) The imposition of the Sinhala language as the medium of instruction for Tamil students even in the Tamil territory together with unconscionable conversion of Tamil Hindus into Buddhists in return for education and schooling.
- (13) The neglect of the Tamil workers in the

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THIS AND THAT

by Rambler

Colombo (Sinhala) RAG

I called on my friendly Grocer for my supplies and in addition to the goods supplied, he also gave me as a bonus, some back numbers of the English newspapers published by the Sinhala owned press in Colombo. As I had not sighted these rags since June 1990 they were accepted with both arms and avidly read.

What struck me as strange was the fact that there was not a single news item in them about the North/EAST. To a foreigner they would have given the impression that everything was calm and peaceful in this island.

Nevertheless I was not altogether disappointed, because I did find an article relating to JHA senior the father of the present Indian High Commissioner. This eighty three year old senile imbecile, is reported to have been most apologetic about his country's doings in the recent past and had gone on to describe the INDIAN FOOD DROP violating this country's airspace, as just an unfortunate hiccup in the otherwise cordial relations between the two countries. What JHA senior (who appears to be a prize buffoon like his son) should realise, is that this Indian hiccup, has resulted in the deaths of thousands of innocent Tamils as well as Jawans and if such a calamity is to be described as a mere hiccup, then one must conclude that it has been a bloody expensive hiccup.

The article also went on to assure the Sinhala reader that from now on India would be a good friend of Sri Lanka.

What one would like to know is whether the Government of India approves fathers of serving diplomats, even though such fathers may be ex-diplomats, to make such public statements.

Some Passing Thoughts

In the thirty five years of Sinhala butchering of us Tamils, we Tamils as Hindus have looked up to

India for assistance since Independence in 1948. We have taken great interest in every major event that has taken place in that country such as the General Elections.

When Indira Gandhi died in 1984 we waited with anxiety for the ensuing elections and hoped fervently that Rajiv Gandhi would win, so that he may continue the promised assistance commenced by his mother. But came July 1987 and all our hopes were dashed. We found that the so called assistance was a Trojan horse that almost tried to wipe us off.

Again despite the eye opener of 1987, there were Tamils such as yours truly, who took a deep interest in the Indian elections of November 1989 and hoped that Rajiv Gandhi would win but were sadly disappointed.

But today with another Indian election in the offing, do we Tamils care? Surely the answer is Definitely Not. We Tamils in Sri Lanka do not give a damn as to who wins, be it Chandrasekhar or VP Singh or Rajiv Gandhi or even an ass like Advani.

At this juncture we also remember some notorious Tamils like Ramasamy Vekkam ketta Raman, Krishnaswamy Sunder Chee, Pandu Sithamparam, Mistress Jeyalalita, Thonda Thrukira Man and all the rotten Tamils in the Sinhala parliament as we do so, we do certainly and lovingly remember the baby faced teen agers both girls and boys of our community who so bravely gave their lives, so that we may live with dignity and without fear.

Would Bandaranayake have ever dreamt

Would Oxford educated Bandaranayake have ever dreamt that his rotten Sinhala only policy, would have brought to the top of political ladder in this country a man like Ranasinghe Premadasa from Kehelwatte.

I do wonder

International Agitation Necessary for Peace

Mallakam R. D. S. states its case

The Mallakam Rural Development Society states that international agitation is the only way to make the Sri Lankan Government see reason and come down to earth to accept the minimum demands of the Tamil people.

It has sent out a Memorandum to all Heads of Governments of Foreign countries and solicited their support to bring peace by taking solid steps in this regard.

The Society's memorandum reads as follows :-

Foreign Governments will forgive us if we are forwarding further memoranda on our pitiful plight as we are of the opinion that international agitation is the only way to make the Sri Lankan Government see reason and come down to earth to accept the minimum demands of the Tamil People.

At the outset let us make it clear that the Sri Lankan Government cannot achieve any result if it fails to understand that any talks or negotiations for settlement of the TAMIL PROBLEM should be with the L.T.T.E. only and with no other group of splinter self-styled freedom movements.

The L.T.T.E has announced that it is prepared to sit with the Government for talks but without being bound by pre-conditions.

It is highly amusing to find that the Government is repeatedly harping on three impracticable conditions, the first in order of priority being laying down of Arms by the L.T.T.E.

Let it be made clear to the World that we Tamils are surviving here in the North East of Sri Lanka only because the Armed L.T.T.E. is protecting us from more serious ravages by the Armed Forces.

To call for laying down of the Arms by the L.T.T.E. would mean that the Government wants to remove all protection of the Tamil People and ensure safety for its Armed Forces. This is as meaningless as it is mischievous.

President Premadasa should be reminded of his earlier bid to engage in talks with the Armed L. T. T. E.

And the second condition is as childish as the first. The anxiety of the Government to play a hook shot as in cricket-world parlance, by inducing the L.T.T.E. Leader Mr. V. Prabhakaran to lead the L. T. T. E. delegation for TALKS.

The wide-world well knows that the Sri Lankan Armed Forces have been openly accused of killing budding

Sri Lankan Government will have to accept the suggestions and send its Representatives to sit down at the same table with the L.T.T.E. representatives.

The enclosed photostat of a letter from the Department of Posts makes us think that you might not have received our memoranda with the following captions:

- (1) Why did the Tamil Youth in Sri Lanka take up to Arms?
- (2) What are the aspirations of the Sri Lankan Tamils for a settlement?
- (3) Should the world watch the Tamils in Sri Lanka being destroyed.
- (4) Photostat of a letter to us from the Commonwealth and Foreign Office in London and our reply to it. If any of these have not been received we would endeavour to send those somehow or other.

The other photostat on the reverse is that of a newspaper clipping showing how the Sri Lankan Government is starving us.

It may appear that our further representations are

growing ad infinitum. We expect some solid step from you and thus bring peace to this war-torn part of the country immediately.

Thank you.

Yours in service,
S. SRIBASKARAN
President

Note by Editor :-

1. See separate news in this issue in reference to the

Postal Department letter referred to above.

2. The newspaper clipping referred to above is from 'Hot Spring' of 24.3.91 detailing food items sent by Government and contained in a letter addressed to President Premadasa by the Jaffna Citizens' Committee.

Homage to Mother Poopathy

Mother of Mothers! thou art more alive than
[dead in our hearts;
That death that brought thee fame inspires
all the Arts!
Ghandian guideline - the path of willing self-destruction
To attain peace - to firmly erect it by
sound construction,
To avoid gory mass destruction - for Tamils' resurrection.

Shame to Bapu's country of birth;
Shame to us who considered it worth
To rely for help, when help most needed:
Alas! the disappointment and peace much receded.

Oh Mother, thou hast held the lamp of peace!
We saw your resolve daily increase.
We know your painful past that bereft
You of your sons, who in heart, you dearly kept.

The sanctity of the peaceful approach,
Has given the knaves the most needed reproach.
In the eyes of the wise and that of the world
Thou hast shown that Tamils are made of
the right mould.

Oh Mother! thy hallowed spiritual presence,
Redoubles our courage, and is the essence
Of all our actions to achieve the aim,-
Of Eelam -, the world tomorrow will proclaim.

K. Vadivelu.

Letters to Foreign Government detained Government scared of World Opinion

Six letters sent to Foreign Governments by the Mallakam Rural Development Society have been detained by the Customs Department at Colombo.

The Mallakam Rural Development Society had been addressing several letters to various Governments and other Non-Governmental humanitarian organizations bringing out the plight of the people in the North-East consequent to the war since June, 1990.

Some Foreign Non Governmental organizations have rendered some aid to the suffering people through the agency of the Mallakam Rural Development Society.

The Mallakam Rural Development Society had made known the reliefs it provided from donations from abroad to the public through Press Notifications. The Society has also worked tirelessly for world awareness of the sufferings of the people of the North East.

The Asst. Superintendent (Foreign Mails) of the Postal Department has informed

Mr. S. SriBaskaran, President of the Mallakam Rural Development Society, that six letters sent by him have been detained by Customs.

He has also asked Mr. SriBaskaran to call over at the Postal Appraiser's Office, Sri Lanka Customs at Colombo. 12 on any working day (except Saturday and Sunday) for an examination.

Mr. SriBaskaran has said that some of the mails thus detained may include memoranda sent by the Society under the following captions

to Foreign Heads of Governments:-

1. Why did the Tamil youth in Sri Lanka take up to arms?
2. What are aspirations of the Sri Lankan Tamils for a settlement?
3. Should the world watch the Tamils in Sri Lanka being destroyed?

Mr. SriBaskaran has also said that he does not propose to oblige the Postal Department by calling over at the Postal Appraiser's Office at Colombo for an examination.

UN Peace Force And Indian Peace Force - a Contrast

The UN Secretary-General as stated that a UN Peace Force consisting of 1,400 men is to be constituted to be sent to Iraqi-Kuwait border to monitor the withdrawal of the Allied Forces from there and to be engaged in patrol duty. Initially the proposal is to send a contingent of 300 personnel.

This news bring to memory the sharp contrast between the UN Peace Force and the presence in Tamil Eelam of nearly 100,000 Indian Soldiers also for the avowed purpose of keeping the peace between the Sri Lankan Army and the LTTE after July, 1987

Thoughtless Arguments upset Meaningful Geopolitical Interests

J. N. Dixit, former Indian High Commissioner in Colombo came out with a novel defence for the failure of Rajiv Government in India to support the Eelam Tamil cause. He said that India cannot support the demand for a sovereign State of Tamil Eelam because there were prospects of a similar demand being made in Tamil Nadu in India, if Tamil Eelam became a reality.

Dixit said this when the Indian Army was on our soil embroiled in a battle against the LTTE. When I read Rambler's Column on the Indian Buffoon Service (Hot Spring of 24-3-91), I just could not dismiss Dixit as 'the Daddy of the Buffoons'.

If Dixit had said only this in his inglorious career as India's High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, perhaps Rambler's description of the man, would have been apt. But Dixit said so many other things also, while he

was in Sri Lanka. To be very precise, he thought he was Indian Viceroy and strutted about with all plumes up. Nevertheless his theory that the emergence of a sovereign Tamil Eelam would be a forerunner to the emergence of a sovereign Tamil Nadu in India is not only comical but desparately mischievous. I am wondering why Dixit did not allow his imagination to run riot further and say that the emergence of a sovereign Tamil Eelam will also result in the emergence of a sovereign Keralam. For after all, even the strongest community in Kerala is the Eelavar community there and the Eelam Tamils have been described by western imperialists as 'Malabar inhabitants' and the Tamil language as the 'Malabari language'. When one wants to do a buffoon, why not go to the full hog and try to draw as many idiotic parallels as possible?

Anyway Dixit put forward the argument so unconvinci-

ngly that no one seems to have taken it seriously in India. Though Indian politicians do not hesitate to raise the LTTE bogey for limited purposes of power politics, none of them has the courage to say to the Tamil people of Tamil Nadu that they fear the loyalties of the people there or even suspect that Tamil Nadu Tamils would prefer to follow Pirabakaran instead of their own leaders.

But Dixit said so. He probably was sure, he was not a politician but a career diplomat who need not depend on popular votes but only be sure he is in the good books of the powers that be and so came out with the novel defence stated above.

But before he did this, did he pause to look back for just a few years at least? Evidently he did not do so.

The Indian sub-continent was divided into India and Pakistan before the British left. The partition of India

also left Bengal divided. Bengal was divided into West Bengal and East Bengal. West Bengal has a Hindu majority and East Bengal a muslim majority. Nevertheless West Bengal has a Muslim minority and East Bengal a Hindu minority.

West Bengal went to India and East Bengal to Pakistan at the time of the partition. Still Mrs Indira Gandhi and her Government even provided direct military aid and acted virtually as the midwife who helped in the delivery of the new born sovereign state of Bangala Desh.

Mrs. Gandhi and the Congress or for that matter no other Indian ever thought or gave expression to their feeling that the birth of a Sovereign Bangla Desh would be detrimental to the interests of India. No one said that the creation of sovereign Bangla Desh would spread the same nationalist sentiments in West Bengal which too would opt to secede from the Indian Union.

It must not be forgotten that the only difference between West Bengalis and the East Bengalis is religion. Otherwise, they are united by language, culture, common heritage and habitation. It is to be noted that Rabindranath Tagore himself a Bengali, is the poet whose two different poems have been accepted as the National Anthem of India and the National Anthem of Bangla Desh. It is also reported that Tagore's birth place is in Bangla Desh.

Nobody seems to ask the question what prevents the two Bengalis uniting under a common language, and heritage forming one sovereign State of Bengal. Dixit never thought so. But he did not hesitate to say that Tamil Eelam is bad for India because there was a prospect of Tamil Nadu following Tamil Eelam.

Perhaps Dixit was emboldened to say so because he thought the Eelam Tamils were a powerless lot hoping entirely on India. Well if the Eelam Tamils did misplace their hopes in India, Dixit and the like have opened their eyes.

— Rajkumar

NSSP CRIES HALT TO AERIAL BOMBINGS

The Nava Sama Samaja Party led by Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara, M.P. has sent a protest letter to Mr. D.B. Wijetunge, State Minister of Defence of the Government of Sri Lanka against the indiscriminate aerial bombings in the North.

The protest letter states that the latest round of indiscriminate aerial bombings carried on in the North has also claimed several lives. Also many have been injured and immense destruction caused to property. The letter also contains a list of persons killed between the 19th January to 5th March, 1991 at various places in the Jaffna, Mullaitivu and Kilinochchi Districts by aerial bombing.

All the six persons killed belong to one family at Thondamanare on 5-3-91. On 3rd March alone 28 persons were killed in various places at Jaffna as a result of indiscriminate bombing. The letter further states that almost 100% of the casualties are innocent civilians.

The letter also states that even official statistics clearly show that not even a third of the food requirements of the North East have been provided by Government. Medical supplies and services are woefully inadequate. Electricity remains cut off

and economic activity has been excruciatingly dislocated. Even Kerosene oil is not available in Jaffna.

The NSSP has urged that aerial bombing be stopped completely and the process

of peace set in motion with out further loss of lives.

The letter has been signed by V. Thirunavukkarasu, NSSP Representative in the Ministerial Co-ordinating Committee on Food, Health, Security and Rehabilitation in the North East.

RICHARD DE ZOYSA - A POST MORTEM

The Review of December, 1990 published under the auspices of the International Commission of Jurists, spotlights the Magisterial Inquiry into the 'homicide of Redhard de Zoysa'.

The I.C.J. Representative, Mr. Anthony Heaton-Armstrong attended the Court Proceedings on 5th and 16th July, 1990.

Here are some excerpts from his observations, commentary and conclusions:-

(i) During his meetings with the Attorney-General and the Inspector General of Police, Mr. Heaton Armstrong observed that no credence had been attached to Dr. Manoranil Saravanamuttu's identification of the alleged suspect;

(ii) The I.C.J. observer is of the view that an identification parade should have been held immediately it had been known that Dr. Sarava-

namuttu claimed to have identification of the alleged suspect;

(iii) The observer alleges that there was a 'collusion between the police investigators in the case and the lawyers representing the alleged suspects';

(iv) He alleges that the whole Police Proceedings

have proceeded on the assumption that the alleged suspect could not have been involved;

(v) I. C. J. observer has stated that he had 'no reason to believe that the Court Proceedings were not conducted fairly, judiciously and in an atmosphere of ostensible independence'.

— Law Reporter

Free English Lessons for orphans

Nallur Pensioners' Association has arranged to provide free English classes for orphans residing at the Children's Home run by the Hindu Board of Education at Thirunelvely.

The General Secretary of the Pensioners' Association states that the President of the Hindu Board of Education has welcomed it as a kind gesture and has in his letter expressed the Board's

gratitude to the members of the Pensioners' Association and the Blessings of God. The Secretary further states that there are several retired trained English Teachers who are willing to undertake this project for mutual advantage and to the orphans with their long experience and knowledge in their teaching services even in their retired life. The classes will be started shortly after the commencement of the April School holidays.

AGE OLD TAMIL EELAM

"As early as about 324, 323 B. C. - i. e. 2,300 years ago, Alexander the Great sent his chief pilot Onesicritus to circumnavigate this Island and submit an account.

Onesicritus compiled the first cartographical map of the Island with all the names

of places, ports, rivers etc. in Greek letters. In that map with the legend (name) Thampirabranai (Thamil: Thambiranpannai latter Pali Thambapanni) are finds indicating the areas occupied by:-

1. Yarl people - i. e. Yarlpana Tamils North of Man'hai, Maathoattam and Thiruketheeswaram;
2. Sonaals in the Puttalam area;
3. Anuragrammon and Anuragraminini in Greek to indicate the area inhabited and ruled by the descendants of Vijaya and his 700 followers.

There is no mention of the name Sinhala. In that map the Tamils are shown to occupy what is now demarcated in the Arow Smith's Map, 1st January, 1803, as traditional homelands of the Tamils: The Eastern Coast is shown as Eeylon Karai.

It is in this Coast your Government has now decided to rebuild Ilankai Thurai for the benefit of trade and shipping... Right through the whole course of history, up to date, except for the small portions Amparai, Padavielkulam and South Vavunia, in which the Sinhala have been planted against the laws of the land".

Extracts from Open Letter dated 22nd March, 1976 addressed to T. B. Ilangaratne (then Minister in the Government of Mrs S Bandaranaike) by C. Suntharalingam.

NEWS ROUND UP

3-4-91

At Nanattan. Army killed three and kidnapped another three. The killed were Jesupaiva (28), A. Sebamalai (52), A. G. Croos (42). Three others missing are - Arulvasagam (40), Thimingu (63), and J. Ratny (16). A woman who was raped, is hospitalised in Mannar.

At Karainagar. Bombing, shelling and firing from helicopter. Houses and shops damaged.

At Mutur - 6 Tamils who went to Alioluva from Verugal reported missing. They are - Arumugam (48), Marugam (36), Vijayan (35), Velautham (60), Gopalapillai (40) and Theivendram (25). There is a Sri Lankan Army stationed at Alioluva.

At Trincomalee - Poonagar. Two Tamil ladies were shot dead by the Army at Ichilampattai. They are Rukmani (28) and Thangamani.

4-4-91

At Karainagar - continued bombing, shelling and firing

from helicopter. Damages to houses and shops.

At Vavuniya. Bombing and helicopter attack by Air Force at Poovarasankulam, Salampaikulam, Pampaimadu and Skandapuram. Many houses damaged. Many people were forced to vacate their houses and run for safety.

At Alikamparai in Amparai. 5 Tamils who went to collect firewood were killed by Muslim Home guards.

5-4-91

At Verugal - Alioluva. Main Road at 52nd milepost in Trincomalee District. Houses belonging to Tamils were burnt down by Army stationed at Ichilampattai.

At Karainagar. Bombing and helicopter firing by the Air Force. More than 10 houses damaged.

6-4-91

At Pungudulivu. Bombing from Air Edwardammah (67) and I Balasingam (33) injured.

At Tharukimurai in Trincomalee district. Three Tamils

were killed by Sri Lankan Army. They are Kataiyan, Arumanayagam and Konalingam.

7-4-91

At Karainagar, Ponnalai. Causeway bombed 8 times. Some portions of the bridge were damaged.

At Kerativu Bomber attack on ferry. The ferry was completely damaged along with a fibre glass boat. Helicopter firing from 50 calibre gun.

At Karainagar. Bombers and other Air Force planes engage in indiscriminate attack. Shops and houses damaged. Cannon fire from Navy. Many houses and RDS building damaged.

Nochchimoddai, Vavuniya - shell fired from Ghandikulam Army camp, V. Antony (27) injured.

8-4-91

At Sastirikulam - Vavuniya. Bomber attack. 2 houses damaged.

9-4-91

At Kayts. Bomber attack. M. Packialuxmy (55) and Ramathy (17) killed. Injured are - S. Muthulinkam (58), Kalamani (24), Vanithaman (17), Nagulawaran (15), S. Kandasaamy (15), K. Pus-

paleela (41), K. Ranjithagowri (21), K. Parwathipillai (90) and V. Sovanammah (45).

10-4-91

At Karainagar. Cannon firing from gunboats. Many houses damaged.

11-4-91

Between Palamadu and Periyamadu. Planes and helicopter attack two lorries. One lorry was burnt down and the other heavily damaged.

12-4-91

At Madduvil, Chavakacheri. A school and some houses were damaged.

Air Force planes bombed Puthukudiyiruppu in Mullaitivu District. 3 people killed: Vaithy (70), his wife Indradevi (60) and J. Mariadas (45).

13-4-91

At Kanagarayankulam, Vavuniya. Bomber attack. Mr. and Mrs. Viyakumar aged 30 and 27 respectively were injured. Five houses were damaged.

A POINT OF VIEW

In all countries and among all peoples liberation movements have to content with traitors from their own ranks. Tamil Eelam and Tamil nation cannot be an exception to this rule altogether.

S. Vanniasingam's article under title 'Quest for Swaraj on the Constitutional plane thwarted by treachery' serialized in the issues of Hot Spring of 31.3.91 and 7.4.91 is very instructive. It has reminded the present generations of Tamils that all previous leaders betrayed the Tamil cause - knowingly or unknowingly is another matter. But what do we learn from this?

Where one sacrifices one's basic principles for whatever reasons, one is bound to go wrong. This perhaps is a lesson that we must learn at least from the political lives of Mr. G. G. Ponnampalam and Mr. S.J.V. Chelvanayakam who at least for once did try to protect the Tamil interests.

If this is a lesson that we can learn from our recent history, what have those who oppose the LTTE views to say. Isn't Eelam the combined demand - the whole demand - of the Eelam Tamils? Nobody can deny that the Tamils as a whole did demand and do demand Tamil Eelam as their sole objective. If some people want to give up that demand but retain

the name Tamil Eelam for purposes of cheating the public, will posterity not classify them as traitors, as indeed Mr. Vanniasingam has chosen to call the leaders of yester years. It is time that those who cannot stand by Tamil Eelam, give up the pretence of Tamil leadership-based in Colombo and backed by alien governments;

Mr. Vanniasingam has made one omission in regard to facts. While he has rightly criticised Mr. Chelvanayakam and the Federal Party members for failure to boycott the Constituent Assembly proceedings in 1972, he has not criticised the Tamil Congress Trio in the Constituent Assembly for continuing to be in the Assembly even after Mr. Chelvanayakam belatedly chose to leave the Assembly. The fact that Mr. Ponnampalam had earlier been defeated in the elections and so did not personally find a place in the Constituent Assembly, does not absolve him of his responsibility. For he was still the leader of the Tamil Congress and very much alive in politics. May be that Mr. Vanniasingam has chosen to omit the reference to the Tamil Congress treachery because of his own affiliations with the Party but in an objective assessment facts should not be ignored.

M. Thillainathan

Co-Existence ..

(Continuation of Page 2)

estate to the point of starvation and death.

(14) An agreement with India to repatriate Tamils from the estates in the Sinhalese territory to India which agreement was unilaterally interpreted as providing for compulsory repatriation even against the will of the Tamil worker.

(15) The Tamils have no share in the Government of the country.

Against all this is now emerging a new militancy among the Tamil youth who say that the programme of their elders has not brought the desired results. This youth believe in confrontation which will inevitably become an international problem in the future.

Pancha Sila or Co-existence

For over twenty five years the Tamil people committed to non-violence based on the Ahimsa of Buddha, Christ and Gandhi have sought understanding, dialogue and adjustment: but all assurances agreements and pacts have been dishonoured. This has awakened the Tamils to the reality of their history of over two thousand five hundred years. The Tamils have come to realise that their "right to life, liberty and

pursuit of happiness" now depends on the restoration and reconstitution of the Tamil State of Eelam in Ceylon. Two subject peoples shackled together only since 1833 by the British have not really come together as one people or one nation. The last hundred years of British rule saw the unconscious creation of a myth by the English educated Sinhalese and Tamils who entered the political arena, that there was one country, one nation and one people, though multiracial, but struggling for freedom from British rule. The British left this country in 1948 but the shackles and the myth remain. Full freedom, independence and the mutually unrestricted exercise of sovereignty for both people, the Sinhalese and the Tamils, now depends on the restoration and reconstitution of the Sinhala and Tamil States.

Wise Sinhalese leadership should understand the problem in its full magnitude. The Sinhalese would not really desire to rule over and run an empire over the unwilling Tamils and be guilty of neocolonialism and aggression. The restoration of the Tamil State by mutual agreement will be a triumph for both people and for human values. On the other hand a confrontation between the two nations can defeat the very security and there-

fore the existence and identity of the Sinhalese nation, particularly as foreign intervention is such confrontation will become inevitable. A restored and reconstituted Sinhala State which excludes the Tamil presence is to the best guarantee of the existence identity and security of the Sinhala Nation. So also of the Tamil Nation. The Sinhalese will cease to have problems of illicit immigration, citizenship language, religion, competition in employment, trade, industry, higher education etc. In short, the Sinhala ideal of one country, one nation, one language etc. can only be realized in a restored and reconstituted Sinhala State. So also, by the restoration and reconstitution of the Tamil State alone will the Tamil nation survive and preserve its identity and the Tamils secure their "right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness" and be masters of their own destiny. Pancha Sila or Co-existence is thus the only solution to the problem of the two nations in Ceylon. It recognises not merely the facts of two thousand five hundred years of Sinhalese and Tamil history; but also the fundamental right of the Tamil people to self determination; of Tamil Eelam to separate Statehood. It unshackles the two nations and sets them both free.

Rajiv - J. R...

(Continuation of Page 1)

ment to try fresh avenues rather than follow the beaten track of 1972 Accord to contribute Indian mite to the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka.

But there are others who think that no meaningful change in Indian attitude can be gathered or is discernible from the ADMK election manifesto, as it speaks of a new Indo - Sri Lanka Agreement and not of a Sinhala-Tamil Agreement. Any solution to the ethnic problem by third party interference cannot succeed, unless the warring parties themselves

are agreed. One of the causes of the failure of the Accord of July, 1987, was that neither the Tamils nor the Sinhalese wanted it.

Political commentators in Jaffna dismissed the reference in the election manifesto of the ADMK that Tamil Nadu territory will not be allowed to be used as a base for operations against Sri Lanka, as merely an attempt to justify the false allegations made by the ADMK and Congress (I) to secure dismissal of the Karunanidhi Government.

More light will be thrown, when the DMK manifesto is released.

HOT SPRING

VOL: 1 SUNDAY 21st. APRIL 1991 ISSUE 28

Is Peace Round the Corner?

For about 2 to 3 weeks some of the Local dailies hinted at a possible peace prospect ending the North East war.

Foreign teams were being mentioned as possible mediators and even clergymen from Colombo were said to have come to Jaffna to discuss peace initiatives with the LITE. The clergymen mentioned, however, are all Eelam Tamils now resident in Colombo.

While on the one hand these papers were carrying stories - shall we say scoop stories - of a peace round the corner in the North East war, they were also reporting almost daily of increased war activities from almost every part of Tamil Eelam. LTTE was attacking the armed forces of Sri Lanka here or there and the combined Sinhala Forces were attacking the civilian Tamils here and there in retaliation. There were also a few instances of LTTE cadres being attacked by the Sri Lankan forces reported in the columns of the dailies.

The matter did not end there. There were reported speeches of some VIPs in government echelons. Some would talk of peace but there were others - especially those connected with the Armed Forces, as for example Hamilton Wanasinghe or Cyril Ranatunge, blowing the war bugle.

As a matter of fact, one is inclined to think that the news published during the last two or three weeks were so utterly confusing as to the likely course of events that one would have preferred not to have read these stories at all so that one may at least be free from having to conjecture this and that and everything.

To cap it all, the daily papers of Jaffna have now published a reported speech of President Premadasa delivered at a function at Deraniyagala. According to this report President Premadasa has said that the Government was taking efforts to end the North East war and without elaborating further has relapsed in to his pet sermons - the uselessness of war, the three C's and so forth.

May be it is too early for the President to take into confidence his people and say what his plans of peace are. He is facing the Local Government elections in his land and according to reports, spearheading his party campaign in a scale and intensity which normally no Head of a Government undertakes in relation to Local Government elections. At least one foreign correspondent in Colombo has so commented about President Premadasa's active campaigning for his Party at the forthcoming Local Government election in Sinhala Rata.

But if it is too early for President Premadasa to give some hints of his peace proposals (if any) now, he does not even seem to have taken any steps in the direction of peace by restoring the confidence of the people of the North East by realxing at least some of the hard economic and other blackades still in force.

As at today the Tamil man in Tamil Eelam does not have even a cake of soap. The Army prevents soap being transported to Jaffna. What military significance - dangerous potential - soap can have in the present war is beyond anyone's comprehension.

Tamil Eelam is suffering from want of all essential foodstuffs and medicines. Off and on, the Army is gleefully announcing curfew here and there, which it is unable to enforce. The war has really escalated during the past two or three weeks. Yet people are being told of a likely peace round the corner. Well there seems to be no justification to hope for peace, when one looks round to see what is happening.

There is no sign at all that the war is receding in action. Still less is there any indication that the Government or the Sinhala Political leaders have begun to have fresh thought in the matter of Sinhala - Tamil conflict in the Island. Deceit and treachery with the object of imposing Baudha - Sinhala rule on the Eelam Tamil Nation is only augmented by military power.

We, Tamils are not carrying on a war against the Sinhalese in Sinhala Rata. It is the Sinhalese who are carrying on a war of aggression against the Tamils in Tamil Eelam. Therefore, we have no alternative but to bear the brunt of a defensive war which is likely to go on for a long time, as it is.

"Black Shirts" Cause Disappearance of Tamils

— Newsweek Reveals

Terry Emerson with Steve Le Vine in Trincomalee, writing in the Newsweek of March 25th, 1991, gave a picture of what is happening in Trincomalee.

Newsweek reporters seem to be the first foreign journalists to visit Trincomalee and report happenings there for the outside world to know.

A band of "black shirts" appear to roam at night and take Tamils for questioning. Later nothing is heard of those taken for questioning and they fill the list of "disappeared persons". A number of Tamils from Trincomalee have "disappeared", though no one knows how many. Even persons in refugee camps are arrested and taken and later some of them are reported missing.

Extracts from Newsweek are being published by courtesy of Newsweek.

— Editor

In the beautiful harbor of Trincomalee, Capital of Sri Lanka's northeastern province, ethnic Tamils whisper of security men who come at night, wearing black shirts and pants, and announce that "you are wanted for questioning". No one knows how many Tamils have disappeared from Trincomalee, apparent casualties of a new phase in Sri Lanka's eight-year-old civil war. The Sri Lankan Army is pressing a campaign to purge civilian areas of rebels from the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, who are fighting for an independent state in the northern and eastern regions. From Batticaloa, south of Trincomalee, human rights observers report that in the last nine months, 2,000 Tamil youths have been arrested on unknown charges and have not been seen since. In Trincomalee an estimated one fourth of the 350,000 residents have fled the fighting and Army manhunt - not always to safety.

Soldiers have searched for rebel suspects in some of the 30 refugee camps that now ring Trincomalee. A leader of one of the camp, near the village of Nilaveli north of Trincomalee, said that 84 men were detained in a series of Army sweeps last year. One refugee who returned said he was locked in a prison that held about 350 men. "They tied my hands behind my back and kept a blindfold around my eyes. I hardly ate for two weeks," he said. "I was finally released with 15 (men). We don't know what happened to the others". The camp leader, who requested anonymity, said only 45 of the 84 detainees are accounted for. The others "disappeared or have been killed. We don't know".

The apparent Army crackdown on civilians has not improved its position on the battlefield. The rebels still hold sway over much of the northern and eastern provinces, except in big cities where government forces guard roadblocks by day

and usually retreat to barracks by night.

Diplomats in Colombo say President Ranasinghe Premadasa, considered pragmatic but occasionally ruthless, has given Army hardliners until June to gain the upper hand, or he may attempt to reopen peace talks.

An Army surge seems unlikely, but so is a Tiger victory. In the Trincomalee District, the army estimates that the rebels are outnumbered by at least 10,000 to 800.

Most Tamils in Trincomalee won't discuss the disappearances, even under the cloak of anonymity. "I've stopped working in human rights because it's not wise anymore," says a formerly outspoken advocate. A local relief official said he seeks an escort from international organizations just to deliver medicine to the refugee camps. Another added "We don't get involved with human-rights issues. Our lives literally depend on it." A citizens committee set up by the military to represent refugees directs inquiries about missing persons back to the Army. Brig. Siri Pieris, Army Commander in the Trincomalee District, said he had received no official complaints of disappearances, but was investigating the reports nonetheless. On March 2nd the day on which Defence Minister Ranjan Wijeratne was assassinated five Tamils were brutally beaten to death in a village near Trincomalee.

Typical of Sinhala Politicians

Sinhala President Premadasa in a desperate bid to retain the tottering fabric of Sinhala hegemony, is reported to have called for the inauguration of a "national" New Year on April 14th and has exhorted the various religionists to invoke the blessings of God (Let Lord Buddha forgive him) to bring about national reconstruction, peaceful co-existence and brotherhood among all.

It is also reported that he participated at many functions where priests of various faiths joined in the hypocritical game.

For, do you know that as President Premadasa talked of a "National New Year", the new year in the North East was not celebrated with the usual bursting of chinese crackers but with the exploding of Sri Lankan Air Force Bombs Artillery Shells?

No doubt there was some speculation in gullible quarters that the occasion of the Hindu New Year on April 14 would be made use of by Government to announce a ceasefire and to start political negotiations. Mr. Premadasa only talked piously and sanctimoniously without taking any meaningful action and his Armed Forces carried on war activities against the Tamils and both Mr. Premadasa's Defence Secretary, Gen. Cyril Ranatunge and Army Commander, Gen. Hamilton Wanasinghe, pooh-poohed all ideas of a ceasefire on April 14th.

Mr. Premadasa is not the first - nor is the Present occasion first time - the Sinhalese political leaders speak with their tongues in their cheeks. Nor will Mr. Prem-

adasa be the last, if the Tamils prefer to remain gullible.

Well by the way, will Mr. Premadasa hit at another new idea of a "national religion" - now that he has propounded the idea of a "national new year"?

Jaffna...

(Continuation of Page 1)

It was also revealed at the Conference that a very large number of persons - almost everyone in Jaffna suffered from war trauma in various degrees. Even new born infants are less than the average weight expected of infants and this situation would have adverse effects on the community for more than one generation. It was, therefore, essential that public awareness in maintaining health standards and efforts to provide minimum nutritional food should be encouraged and fostered.