

HOT SPRING

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"When a regime relies exclusively or mainly on fear to maintain itself in power, it becomes weakest when it looks strongest. For, in time people learn that even if they are afraid, they can nevertheless do what they should, and when they do fear's power over them is lost. . . . Fear is contagious, but courage is not less so."

Joe Dioko

Sean MacBride Lecture 1978

You are Responsible

Jaffna Citizens tell UK

"It is the wrongful configuration of the polity without the will of the Tamil people which is responsible for all the violence and enormous loss of lives and the far-reaching psychological effects on the rising generation. You have a moral responsibility, if not a legal responsibility, to intervene and determine the claims of rival parties". So states a letter addressed to the British Prime Minister, by a number of leading citizens of Jaffna.

The letter to the British Prime Minister is the sequel to a letter sent by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office of the Government of U.K. enclosing also a British Policy Statement to Mr. K. C. Adiapathan of Valvettiturai who had sent a memorandum earlier as first signatory to the British Prime Minister on the carpet bombing of Valvettiturai carried out in January this year.

Mr. Adiapathan told the 'Hot Spring' that British Policy Statement showed a complete misunderstanding of the Tamil cause. The British Government has apparently swallowed all the false propaganda of the Baudha-Sinhala government of Sri Lanka.

Mr. Adiapathan said that in order to bring home to the Government of U.K. and

to the British people the validity of the Tamil Eelam demand and the incompatibility of the Tamil nation remaining in a common polity with the Sinhalese, it is necessary for the common people of Tamil Eelam also to make their views known.

For this purpose a memorandum was prepared answering and in the process showing errors in the more important points in the British Policy Statement. The memorandum has been signed by persons in various walks of life. "Retired government servants, university dons, teachers, professionals such as lawyers, doctors, engineers, accountants and leaders of workers' organizations have signed the memorandum", said Mr. Adiapathan.

The memorandum is in the form of a letter with

five annexures. Each annexure constitutes a separate point. Mr. Adiapathan said that the woes of Eelam Tamils directly flow from British rule in the Island of Ceylon and that the memorandum seeks to impress on Britain her moral if not legal responsibility towards the Tamil people in the Island of Ceylon.

Mr. Adiapathan further said that annexure I, dealt with the hollowness of the Sri Lankan's claim to jurisdiction over the North-East on any ground whatsoever. Annexure II, sought to repudiate the point that the separatists are prone to violence and proceeds to show that the Tamils are only engaged in a defensive war. Annexure III, drives home the point that a "democratic system" does not prevail in Sri Lanka. In Annexure IV, it has been pointed out that the first shot in the current war was fired by the Government and Annexure V, denies that the LTTE has been responsible for the brutal massacres of Sinhalese or Muslims.

The full text of the Annexures will be serialised in the 'Hot Spring' from next week.

The Peoples of Ceylon

Up in the extreme North and away in the East, remote from the turmoil and strife of the heart of the Sinhalese kingdom, a new physical type, dark skinned thick-lipped, brachycephalic combining what ethnologists would call Mediterranean and Armenoid types, settled down and developed a separate race-consciousness, which has given us today a discriminated race-group which we call "Ceylon Tamils".

Extracted from the Report of Census of Ceylon, 1946 authored by A.G. Ranasinghe Superintendent of Census and presented to the then Minister of Finance, J.R. Jayewardene.

22 Trapped Tamils Released

Twenty two Tamils trapped within the army occupied areas of Valikamam North in Maviddapuram, Myliddy, Kankesanthurai and Thalayyiddu were re-united with their families on Thursday, June 4th, 1991.

It is to be remembered that nothing was known of several persons in the Valikamam North area who could not flee their homes before the Army surrounded their areas several months ago. Their relations, friends and neighbours had fled the area at the approach of the Sinhala Army. There was no contact between those who could not run away and the members of their families who had escaped and were living in other parts of Jaffna.

Those who had come over to free parts of Jaffna, kept on petitioning to the ICRC team at Jaffna and the ICRC has now been able to secure the release of these twenty two persons who are all ill.

Out of the 22 sick persons set free, two are small children, two are young boys and the rest are all old people both men and women. The ICRC team handed over these released persons to their relations at the ICRC office in Jaffna.

Both the released 'captives' and their relations broke down in tears, as they met one another after months of separation and not knowing what had happened to one another during the period.

Relief to Refugees

The second financial aid to refugees staying at the Kaddaikadu Refugee camp was paid to each refugee family at the office of the Tamils Rehabilitation Organization (TRO) office at Thalayady in May, 1991. This payment was made under the Self Employment Project for refugees under the auspices of the TRO for refugees in Vadammaradchy East.

Seventy four families have been benefitted under this scheme.

they have been identified as Murugesapillai Navanethan (19), Vallipuram Logeswaran (19) and Seenithamby Vellaithurai (18). Further Navanethan and Logeswaran have been identified as High School students. The fate of the other two persons arrested and taken by the Army is not known.

Extracts of the principles enumerated by the Representatives of the American Colonies on July 4, 1776

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal: that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed: that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Three young men shot dead Two students among them

Reports from Batticaloa reveal that three young men including two students have been shot dead at Palukamam by the Sinhala Army.

Reports received from Batticaloa state that on Monday, July 1st, 1991, the Sinhala Army stationed at Periyaporativu rounded up

the village of Palukamam in the Batticaloa District and arrested about 200 civilians of the village.

Later most of them were released but five were taken to the Army Camp where they were all subjected to torture. Of the five so taken, three were shot dead and

MUSING BY NESTOR

A Frustrated Contract

New Delhi appears to be unfamiliar with the elements of the Law of Contract. There can be no agreement without provision for consideration. In the Gaile Face Green Accord signed between Gandhi and Jayawardene, New Delhi undertook to disarm the Tamil militants in Tamil Eelyom. There was no consideration not even payment of subsistence to the Rice soldiers employed by Rajiv Gandhi. What might appear to be the consideration for India's performance was the undertaking by Sri Lanka not to allow the U. S. A. certain specified facilities. New Delhi was given ample time to perform its part of the agreement, viz., to disarm the Tamil militants. But New Delhi failed completely and miserably to perform its part of the contract. In other words, the Contract stands frustrated by the impossibility of performance of New Delhi's undertaking which is the consideration for Sri Lanka to be obliged to keep off U, S. A. The Accord is non functus. Even Nona Mahattaya Jaya Lalitha accepts that position.

The appellation

'Nona Mahattaya'

Nobody knows whether Tamil Nadu Chief Minister JayaLalitha is a Miss or Mrs. Indian journalists have got over the difficulty by giving the appellation M / S. Really it should be an apostrophe

as certain letters are omitted. Omission is represented by an apostrophe and the appellation should be M's. But India exercises freedom from norms and standards. Nestor got over the difficulty by borrowing a word from the Sinhala Language. It is also apposite from a political angle. The Sinhalese and Chief Minister Jaya Lalitha are agreed on one issue - the annihilation of Eelyom Tamils. Hence the appellation Nona Mahattaya is very appropriate.

Karunanidhi

The published reasons for Mr. Karunanidhi's resignation from the Legislature lacks logic and rationale. But he has other convincing reasons which are unmentionable. There is no reason to believe that he would not be physically assailed and man-handled if he were to attend the Assembly. He was man-handled and assailed even when he was Chief Minister with a large following and was in position to order the Governmental machinery. How would developments be when he is a loner in the Opposition.

It would be advisable for the few other opposition members also to resign and allow the reality, namely one - party State to function so that the country might have the benefit of experiencing what one - party State would be like. In fact the elimination of the entire Opposition would give more space for the faithful in Nona

Maha'taya Jaya Lalitha's party, to fall prostrate and worship, their 'Kula theivam'. The concept of 'Kula theivam' is unknown to the Western world. We can burrow a word again from the Sinhala Language the word Deviyo.

Kula Theivam or Guardian Deity of Clan

One of the faithful from the ranks of Nona Mahattaya's party wanted to take the Oath for Kula theivam, Jaya Lalitha. One hopes that the Tamil Nadu Government would give adequate land and funds to enable him to build a temple for Deviyo Jaya Lalitha.

Rajiv Gandhi

Several racist Sinhala women politicians have all along spoken admiringly of Pirabhakaran. Now even the seventy five year old Sirima has mellowed down to the extent of agreeing to grant a federal State to Tamil Eelyom, the homeland of the Tamils. The reason is simple. These racist Sinhala women have got overwhelmed by the man in Pirabhakaran. Rajive Gandhi is tall and had handsome personality with a youngish look; No woman and certainly no young woman, could make up her mind to do death to Rajiv Gandhi unless of course she was under tremendous emotional stress to wreak vengeance. Rajiv Gandhi brought his murdering troops (they did not know what they were fighting for) and caused the killing to about seven thousand innocent Tamils of Eelyom. He employed two malicious strategies a peremptory quit order involving about one lakh of people and declared an indefinite curfew for about one month and under this excuse and caused thousands of civilians to be killed. No census has been taken of these poor wretches killed with brutal violence by Rejiv Gandhi's murder troops. The investigators into Rajiv Gandhi's death would be best advised to take a Census of the thousands who were murdered by Rajiv Gandhi in Tamil Eelyom.

University of Jaffna Basket Ball Team

During the Academic Year under review, the University Basket Ball Team played three matches and were victorious in all three, viz.

Beat Green Field Sports Club 49 - 28 beat Centralite Sports Club 20 - 16 beat St. John's College 46 - 14

The players for the Basket Ball Team were selected after

a course of training given by our newly elected coach, Mr. P. Nanthakumaran.

Before relinquishing my duties as Captain of the victorious team, I am happy to place on record my unstinted thanks to our coach for his training and guidance during my tenure of office.

(Continued on Page 5)

Tiger Tiger Burning Bright

Tiger Tiger burning bright
Even in the day so bright
Whether in the jungles thick
Or in the cities big
You cause terror
To those who error
But to the pure at heart
You are next to the heart
To the needy and the poor
You are the one of the hour
Your name and fame
Spread like wild fame
This proves you are supreme
No doubt You are supreme

Adapted from Lord Byron's Poem
by - Pulavar.

Desultory Rambling by VADALI VELAN

Democracy! What a word to conjure with these days!!

It has never failed to cause a flutter amongst the elders of my village, even when referred to casually. This word has meant, and does continue to mean, different things to different people at various times. What is so desirable and noble in the abstract is found to be so abominable and repugnant as practised by most "democracies" of the world, today. Behind many a democracy of this nature, lurks an unscrupulous dictator with personal ambitions grossly inimical to the essence of democracy itself; and the bigger the "democracy," the more affluent you have to be attain even a small measure of leadership amongst the people; and however suitable and dedicated you may be to lead the people, you can have no hope at the hustings without agreeing to part with oodles of money and being ready to compromise long-cherished principles to satisfy various "lobbies". During momentous days when the destiny of a nation is to be decided, it is ludicrous to find the supposedly enlightened elite being able to persuade the common man to trade his birthright, his vote for a mess of pottage, particularly so in the developing countries. In

this respect the charge that politics is the last resort of the scoundrel, undoubtedly, gains much credence.

Whatever its outlook or ulterior intentions, a government needs only to hand the label "democratic" on itself. To make it look stronger in its assumed democracy, another "screwy" word "socialist" is often added the latter word being equally reprehensible as, in practice it allows for the decimation of a nation's own people who are not allowed even the freedom to think. All such democracies support one another on the strict mutual basis, "scratch my back and I will scratch yours," whilst, willy nilly, the poorer nations who do not belong to this club, look on helplessly. It is now well known that these two words denote convenience and not the intent in state-craft; used for duping the people and lulling them into a false sense of security and well-being whilst in reality, diabolical machinations are in motion at the same time to subvert what these words connote.

It was said that when Reagan as much as sneezed, Madam Thatcher hastened to his support even unasked. Perhaps she thought that the Great American Spirit - a type of democracy would not survive without her spontaneous support. On the other hand, she turned a blind eye to the need to usher in true democracy for the South African masses and stumped the efforts of the Commonwealth instead of fulfilling the residual colonial obligations of the British Raj.

Sometime ago the present head of a mighty democratic nation, who just then only the "second fiddle" for his

(Continued on Page 6)

WHEN...?

When
will
there
be
peace
and
no fear?

When he said

I was a 'para demela' (a Tamil Bastard)

I was frightened of him

When he says

I am a 'kottiya' (a tiger)

He is frightened of me

As long as

I am frightened of him or

He is frightened of me

We cannot live together

For we will not have peace

Both he from the majority

And I from the minority

Will live in peace without any fear

When he permits me to name myself

Amos Rajaratnam

What do the Tamils

want?

There is a true story behind this question; a story that reveals more about the choices forced on the Tamils of Sri Lanka today than any other snippet of modern Tamil history.

Mrs. Bandaranaike

It was 1973 or 74. Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike was the Prime Minister of the "Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka."

The "Suthanthiran", the main organ of Tamil opinion at the time, wanted to publish an editorial, opposing the state planned, state inspired and statefunded colonization of Tamil homelands in the Eastern Province, with Sinhala settlers.

The paper had to submit its story to a "Competent Authority" for permission to publish, because the Leader of the "Democratic" Republic decreed that nothing could be published without the approval of a "Competent Authority".

Mrs. Bandaranaike was shown a translation of the proposed editorial, "what do the Tamils want?", she raged. "They can buy land in the south, and they can settle anywhere they want; why can't the Sinhala people live in the Eastern Province?"

A fair enough question, all things being equal. But all things were NOT equal. The few Tamils who owned any property in the south of the country paid for it with their own toil and sweat. They were not being planted there under state planning, state encouragement and state funding.

The Tamils were taking their own risks, in person and property, as a small minority in Sinhala dominated areas. Most important of all, they were not changing the demographic character of these areas, either by design or by accident. The Sinhala settlers in the Eastern Province were as part of a government strategy.

The perfidy of it all was that Mrs. Bandaranaike knew the answer to her own question. She knew that all through the twenty-five years since independence, the Tamils had been deeply concerned about the systematic colonization of their traditional homelands, by every successive government, with Sinhala settlers.

She knew that she was herself carrying out a long-standing Sinhala master plan

which had one clear aim; to make the Tamils a minority in every province - even in their historic homelands - and so reduce them to a status of second class citizens.

The same thing - then and now

What, indeed, did the Tamils want then? And what is it that they want now? The same thing - then and now; Our dignity Our self-respect as individuals, and as equals in a country to which we could be proud to belong. Our basic human rights - nothing more, and certainly nothing less.

The disenchantment of the Tamils in Sri Lanka did not begin in 1973, or even in 1983 - the year in which their armed resistance to state terrorism and planned genocide began in earnest.

The disenchantment had set in more than a half century before. The late Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan, a Tamil and a founding leader of the independence movement, pleaded for a seat in the (pre-independence) "State Council", to be reserved for the Tamils in Colombo, the capital.

His Sinhala colleagues in the Ceylon National Congress summarily rejected that plea and formed the infamous 'Pan-Sinhala Cabinet' of the 1920s, without any Tamil participation.

Ramanathan wanted a seat reserved for Tamils because he had sensed the direction that Sinhala "patriotism" was taking. He had realized that the Tamils in the south of the country, needed a voice in the national legislature.

Sinhala agitation to assert that the country was a "Sinhala Buddhist" patrimony had begun about three decades before. It was spearheaded by Anagarika Dharmapala, a Buddhist priest who was promoting Sinhala racial and religious chauvinism under a thin veneer of religious and national revivalism.

The priest was preaching to entranced audiences that the Sinhala Buddhist had to be "protected" against 'Indians' and other 'foreigners',

'Indians' to preacher and listeners alike, meant anyone who was not Sinhala Buddhist.

The special venom was reserved for "Tamils, Muslims and Malayalees" - people whom the emerging Sin-

Expatriate Eelam Tamils all over are one with the Tamil at home in their struggle to restore the ancient Tamil Eelam State and this should be an encouragement to the struggling Tamils in Tamil Eelam. We publish an article written by N Vijayanathan, an expatriate Eelam Tamil in Ontario, Canada by courtesy of Tamil Nation, London.

hala business elite considered a challenge to their claim to domination over the country's economy. The Tamils were thus declared 'aliens' in the land of their birth.

This "national revival" was the inspiration for the sustained pursuit of political, economic and cultural genocide directed against the Tamils by successive Sinhala governments from the time that political power passed into their hands.

A fifty year belief

The irony of 1920 was not merely that colleagues who had only 12 years earlier hailed Ramanathan as a saviour of the Sinhalese, would now shunt him aside as irrelevant. The greater irony is that even for the next 50 years, generations of Tamils kept believing in a united country.

They kept faith in a united country, and kept negotiating political "accommo-

by **N. VIJAYANATHAN**

ONTARIO, CANADA.

dations" within a united country, only to be squeezed harder by each successive Sinhala government.

The first step in the process of squeezing the Tamils was the passage of the Citizenship Act of 1948. The sole purpose of this first Act of independent Sri Lanka was to deprive practically half the Tamil population in the country - the Tamils of recent Indian descent - of their citizenship and, by extension of their vote and political voice.

The second step was the so-called Gal Oya "multi-purpose" development scheme. Two of its stated "multi" purposes were irrigation and hydro-electric power generation. The more sinister and unstated purpose was to open up the Eastern Province to state-

planned and funded colonization of Tamil lands, with Sinhala settlers.

The more recent and much heralded Mahaweli scheme, in which the economic and technical aid of many friendly nations played a very significant part, was a natural successor to the Gal Oya scheme, both in intent and style of execution.

To this day, the government keeps trucking Sinhala colonists into Tamil lands.

The government statistics quoted in the Tamil Nation, in its November 1, 1990 issue, proves the success of this policy; according to these new statistics, the Sinhala people are today a majority in two districts in the Eastern Province - Trincomalee and Amparai - which, when the country gained independence in 1948, were distinctly Tamil homelands.

Having thus laid the demographic ground-work, the

Sinhala political leadership went on to the third and next logical step. The passage of the Official Language Act of 1956. That legislation declared Sinhala the sole official language of the country.

A double edged-sword

This was a double-edged sword. First, it hit at the economic base of the Tamils. Whether to conduct any business in any part of the country, or to find work in the public or private sectors, the language of the Tamils was now unacceptable. They had to learn the Sinhala language.

Secondly, it was a calculated design to erode the Tamil identity over the long term, by denying the Tamil language any role in the affairs of the country.

Mrs. Bandaranaike was a far greater enthusiast of this policy than any of her predecessors or successors. She made it next to impossible even to obtain Tamil publication, or to invite Tamil scholars, from abroad. The strategy was to starve the Tamil culture of any sustenance it could have derived from outside, particularly from India.

The fourth step was the calculated denial, to Tamils, of opportunities for higher education, through a system euphemistically called "Standardization". The actual and intended effect of standardization was to make it harder for Tamil children to secure admission to universities, regardless of how well they performed in the entrance examinations.

The fifth element of the same strategy was an undeclared quota system for appointments to the public service. In theory, the Tamils would be given jobs in the same proportion as that of their numbers to total population.

In practice, while the Tamils got some of the clerical and middle level jobs, they were progressively denied access to the decision-making levels.

A cover for the reality

The handful who do hold such jobs today are, in every sense of the term, a cover for the reality. What is much more, they are holding to these crumbs by the skin of their teeth, because they know how much the Sinhalese resent them.

The sixth element to this long-term strategy of destroying the Tamil identity and its economic supports was a series of pogroms against the Tamils, engineered by Sinhala politicians, sometimes of the opposition parties, but invariably condoned and often encouraged by the governments of the day:

First came the mob attacks against Tamils, in the Sinhala areas of the country, in the wake of the passage of the Official Language Act of 1956.

Then came rape, pillage, arson and murder, only two years later, in answer to peaceful protests by Tamils against the language policy.

The Tamils were at the receiving end of a more

(Continued on Page 4)

The VOA Affair in India — 1963

ON July 9, 1963 came an announcement from the United States Information Service (USIS) in New Delhi that raised a furore in the country.

The announcement said the two countries had signed an agreement under which a Dollars 2 million high-power transmitter was to be given to India by the U. S. in return for five years of free broadcast of Voice of America (VOA) programmes. A radio station in Calcutta would use this 1000 KW transmitter to beam VOA broadcasts to southeast Asia in the Burmese, Thai, Laotian and Malayan languages. All India Radio (AIR) would design, build and operate the station with the USIS supplying the transmitter and ancillary equipment, according to the agreement the full text of which was not published.

The six-hour broadcast time, according to the agreement, would be shared

equally by VOA and AIR. No VOA Programme would originate from India, the Calcutta station was to be merely a relaying centre for programmes from Washington. A VOA liaison officer would be stationed in New Delhi, and no VOA staff would function from Calcutta. The agreement would be valid for five years, at the end of which it could be renegotiated.

What was intriguing was the Government not publishing the full terms of the agreement. So the views expressed on this issue, and appearing in the press, were based on information that leaked out from the corridors of power in Delhi. One interesting question concerned the ownership of the transmitter. According to the agreement, technically India

would own the transmitter for the five years by buying it for a rupee. At the end of the

five years, if India wanted to discontinue the arrangement, the VOA would buy back the transmitter for a rupee. Or, the agreement could be extended by another five years and the transmitter would become India's property at the end of 10 years. But the assumption was that the transmitter would have a normal life of 10 years.

This controversial, and somewhat obscure, deal naturally raised a storm of protests. The common feature was the fear that by signing the agreement to relay the "voice of Cold War propaganda" from its soil, India had strayed from its policy of non-alignment.

The then undivided Communist party of India said the grant of broadcasting facilities to the VOA was a political act and no means a commercial transaction. Former Defence Minister V. K. Krishna Menon called

it a piece of national humiliation. As long as India remained non-aligned it could help reduce tension in the Korean and the Suez Canal. But now with the VOA agreement the country had lost its moral authority, he said. Protest demonstrations were held in Delhi, and in Calcutta the issue led to clashes between two groups of students.

Outside India notable were the views of the Soviet Union and Pakistan. Moscow, which had always identified the VOA as a Cold War weapon of the U. S. was "disturbed" by the news. Viewing the agreement along with the proposal for joint exercises by the air forces of India, the U. S. and Britain, Soviet officials took it as a sign of "the growing influence of the rightist forces in India."

In Pakistan, the Dawn newspaper, in an editorial,

"Calling the tune," said the agreement "exposes the hollowness of India's claim that its policy will steer clear of the conflict between the big powers. He Who pays the piper calls the tune"

The vehemence of the criticism in India surprised Washington as it came from non-Communists as well. The news paper Baltimore Sun said: "Indian politicians and publications seem to have realised belatedly the Cold War implications of abetting American propaganda effort in southeast Asia." According to the paper the transmitter proposal had been rejected by Thailand. American press reports played up the agreement as an indication of a change in India's non-alignment policy.

In the face of protests, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru admitted in Parliament on August 14 that the VOA deal did not accord with India's policies. Discussions were on with the U. S. to ensure that the

(Continued on Page 5)

What....

(Continuation of Page 3)

violent dose of the same medicine in 1970, following Mrs. Bandaranaike's landslide victory in the general elections.

By 1972 a Sinhala army of occupation had arrived in the North, bringing murder and mayhem right into the Tamil homelands; helping itself freely to Tamil property, Tamil womanhood, and Tamil lives.

The next visitation of Sinhala mass violence against Tamils in the South followed in 1977—on the heels of the victory of the United National Party under J.R. Jayewardene.

Under Jeyewardene's "astute" stewardship, the army of occupation was reinforced, with orders from the "Commander-in-chief", President Jeyewardene himself, to "wipe out terrorism". To the armed forces, this was license to arrest, rape, plunder, burn and kill at will.

The destruction of the Jaffna public library, with its rare book collection, was but an "incident" in this campaign of Vietnam-style "pacification".

The worm had turned

The "ultimate violence" of July 1983 was a natural sequence in this escalating war against the Tamils, but it was blamed on Tamil "provocation". The "Provocation" was that the worm

had turned; it had dared to resist the oppressor.

Since then, to date it has been a case of escalating hate, and a mindless Sinhala pursuit of a "final solution"—Hitler's version.

What the Tamils face daily today, is the indiscriminate bombing of homes, hospitals and places of worship. The nadir of human debasement was reached with the armed forces' resort to the use of human excrement as ammunition in the aerial bombing of Tamil civilian targets.

What should amaze any impartial observer is that through all this quiet and camouflaged in the beginning, and the violent turn taken by that policy since the 1970's, the Tamils kept negotiating with Singala governments, to the bitter end.

After the passage of the "Sinhala Only" Act in 1956, the Tamils negotiated an agreement with S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike—the "Bandaranaike-Chelvanayagam Pact" of the late 1950s.

That agreement promised greater autonomy for Tamils in their traditional homelands and a say in the policies on land settlement in those lands.

The "Pact" was torn up in no time, because the great "democratic statesman", Jeyewardene, led a Sinhala protest against what he called a "sell-out" of the Sinhala patrimony to the Tamils.

Bandaranaike killed

Bandaranaike himself wasn't spared. He was assassinated by a successor to Anagarika Dharmapala, a Buddhist priest, who was only the instrument of a Sinhala conviction that Bandaranaike was a traitor to the Sinhala-Buddhist "Cause".

The Tamils tried trusting the Sinhalese again six years later. They entered into an agreement with Dudley Senanayake, who led what he called a "National Government".

Like its predecessor, that agreement too promised more autonomy for the Tamil areas through the devolution of powers to "District Councils". Again like its predecessor, this agreement too was torn up by Senanayake, because this time the window of Bandaranaike led the protest against this new "sell-out" to the Tamils.

Dudley Senanayake also paid the political price for trying to reach some reconciliation with the Tamils: He was thrown out of office at the general elections of 1970.

The Tamils have tried the democratic political method in other ways too. When Mrs. Bandaranaike fresh from her overwhelming electoral mandate in 1970, set out to draft a republican constitution the Tamil representatives proposed a federal structure for the

constitution of the new republic.

'No' to Federalism

The were told in no uncertain terms: "We will never give you federal status. Not in a million years."

The Tamils tried again, five years later, when Jayewardene won a landslide, and set out to draft yet another constitution. That renewed faith in democratic accommodation fared no better.

The Sinhala majority in the Assembly gave them the same answer: No federalism. The unitary nature of the Sri Lankan state was not negotiable.

The Tamils tried the method of compromises twice more: Under Indian auspices in 1988/89; and again early this year through an agreement with the current President of the country: Premadasa,

What followed is contemporary history. The great tragedy about the past history is that Mrs. Bandaranaike first, and Jayewardene later, had massive enough mandates to carry through a solution to Tamil grievances and to unite the country. They both blew it.

It was not just political cowardice. They subscribed to the chauvinist Sinhala assumption that this is a Sinhala Buddhist country; anyone else who wanted to live there had to live on Sinhala terms—as second class citizens, grateful for the crumbs left to them by a contemptuous ruling race.

Now: What can the Tamils want? It would be much fairer to ask: "How much more injustice can the Tamils take?" Or, for that matter, "How much more can any self-respecting people put up with, before the civilized world would show some indignation?"

Choice is forced

Enough is enough. The Tamils have put up with 70 years of humiliation; over the last 30 years, they were also mad victims of maiming, murder, rape and robbery in their own lands.

The choice has been forced upon the Tamils. They have come to the inescapable conclusion that they can never again nurse any hope of living with dignity, in what the Sinhalese consider their country.

They have concluded that the only way to redeem their pride, their human rights and their dignity, is to be masters in their own land.

The Tamils are not inventing a new country. They want to be masters where historically they had been masters, before the colonial powers unified the country for administrative convenience.

They are paying for that resolve with their own blood, sweat and tears, because there is no reasonable alternative. And they hope the civilized world will, at long last, show real commitment to human rights and help secure justice for them.

VENKATESHWARAN'S INTERVIEW TO VIRAKESARI

Q. In January this year, the Sri Lankan government laid down three pre-conditions to have peace talks again with the LTTE, but now the Tigers have informed that they are prepared to have direct talks without any pre-conditions. What is your view?

Ans. Somehow both sides must engage in talks. Otherwise, the situation may become regrettable. Whatever that may be said in Sri Lanka regarding India, one should not forget the frequent proclamations made by India concerning its responsibility towards Sri Lankan unity and integrity as one of the blessings that Sri Lanka could count upon. As time lapses, this stand is liable to change. When such a change takes place without much effort being taken by India and without any direct involvement by her Eelam might become a reality.

The VOA

(Continuation of Page 4)

agreement was 'in consonance with our basic policies' he said.

"Immediately after the conclusion of the agreement it became clear that the agreement was not in consonance with our general policy and will. If further pursued, it will not only make Indo-American relations a subject of controversy in India but will prejudice our main objective of counteracting anti-Indian propaganda of Chinese radio. Unfortunately, I committed that fault of not going deep into the agreement," he said.

That was the Government reasoning. It needed a high-power transmitter to counter what Nehru called the 'vicious and venomous' propaganda of the Chinese broadcasting services against the Indian Government. And the transmitter readily available with the VOA."

But the significant questions raised were; was not there the danger of the U.S. using the transmitter for Cold War-type broadcasts carried on in Europe? Would it not endanger India's friendly relations with the Soviet Union and other countries?

The assessment in Delhi was that the relations between the Soviet Union and the U.S. were showing signs of improvement. So the Cold War propaganda too might change.

Q. Hence, do you say that Sri Lanka should engage in talks without putting forward any pre-conditions?

Ans. Yes. It should be like that. Even the government desires that Tigers too should come forward for talks without themselves laying any pre-conditions.

Q. One of the pre-conditions laid down by the government is that all other Tamil groups should participate in any peace talks but the Tigers have rejected that?

Indo - Sri Lanka Accord Less Effectual than Chelvanayakam's Agreements.

Ans. It is for the Sri Lankan government to decide whether that is practically feasible. Could anyone honestly say whether any

However, in its discussions with the U.S., India seems to have made some suggestions to make the agreement 'less one-sided.' While the details of India's modified proposals were not known, a report published in the Baltimore Sun said India wanted the agreement to be altered to give it the right of prior scrutiny of the content of the broadcast. Washington rejected it and was said to have indicated its willingness to allow scrutiny of the script after the broadcast and raise questions then.

Some other reports said U.S. Ambassador to India Chester Bowles was "putting up a spirited fight for the implementation of the pact" which, according to him, was "not yet a corpse."

But it became one on August 18 when Union Minister of State for External Affairs Lakshmi N. Menon, in a reply to H. V. Kamath and 28 others, said: "The Government of India has informed the U.S. that the only basis on which it can go ahead with the transmitter agreement is that there should be no broadcasts by the VOA. The U.S. answer was awaited."

But, there was no voice from America,

Courtesy- Front Line March - April 91. Issue.

other Tamil groups other than Tigers can actually be taken into consideration?

Q. Hence on that basis in order to prove the claim as to who the sole representatives of the Tamil people are, the LTTE must consent to the holding of free and fair elections?

Ans. I am sure that the LTTE will agree to that proposal after holding the talks. I consider that they have made a great mistake in not contesting the elections even earlier. But one should keep in mind that these elections were under very special circumstances. Firstly, there was the situation when a disruption was caused to the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord due to the suicide committed by 17 Tigers

by swallowing cyanide objecting to their being taken to Colombo. Hence, it had become difficult for the LTTE to contest those elections. But they contested the elections that came afterwards by putting forward substitute candidates and these substitute candidates did actually win the elections.

Q. You have said that the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement has now been dead. But the Indian government is urging that the Sri Lankan ethnic problem could be solved only within the limitations of the Accord. What is your view?

Ans. Even within India, the agreements signed by India whether it be the Punjab Agreement or the Assam Agreement, if the Government of India had resolved these problems under the terms of these Agreements, I would feel happy. The Government will have to go on saying that they have solved this problem and that. They may be correct in saying that the Agreement has contributed somewhat if not in full towards making the Sri Lankan accept the real necessity to provide autonomy to the Tamils and for the distribution of powers. But if one carefully examines the Agreement, then one will acknowledge that the provisions of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord are considerably less effectual than the provisions of the Agreements entered into by Mr. Chelvanayakam. The provisions found in the Peace Accord were already contained in the provisions of Agreements entered into by Mr. Chelvanayakam. Hence there should have been an advance made in the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord because 25% of the country's population is in a

state of agitation. It is not possible either to suppress them or oppress them. It is out of the question,

Q. Even while having talks with the Sri Lankan government, the Tigers accepted the Provincial Council Scheme but now they demand a federal set up with more powers than what the States in India enjoy. What have you to say on that?

Ans. I do not think that what prevails in one country will be the same in another country. It should be constituted on the basis of realities. If the Tigers say they prefer a federal form then it is the responsibility of the Sri Lankan government to decide as to how far it could concede that demand. My confirmed conviction is that it was wrong to construe that India will always adhere to its present stand as regards the ethnic issue.

Q. The government desires that the LTTE must lay down its arms. This is one of the most important issues. But the LTTE will never accede to the demand. So how to proceed further? While one group carries arms, the other groups will refuse to participate in any elections?

Ans. Here there is an issue which I could understand. Last time there were no pre-conditions until talks broke down on the question of carrying arms. They may start the negotiations. Later they may observe as to how the situation is developing. Why should we worry about something that is going to take place at the very end of the negotiations, a series of prolonged efforts and not at

Many Indians do not feel proud of IPKF Activities in the North-East

what takes place at the beginning? The most important thing is to initiate negotiations.

Q. Most politicians in India have alleged the LTTE is involved in the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. If the allegations against them are confirmed, will it give rise to hatred against the Sri Lankan Tamils in South India?

Ans. That might cause a bitter situation. It is certain that many in India cannot be proud of the activities that took place in the Northern and Eastern Provinces during the IPKF stay here in Sri Lanka. However, one should not look at issues by giving too much importance than is necessary to incidents like the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. The assassination is a despicable crime. But in the

relations between governments, we see states which were engaged in wars where thousands of people got killed making peace. We should not deny that. We should not over-emphasise matters by assuming that the LTTE is involved in the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi.

Q. Do you think the Tigers had a motive to kill Rajiv Gandhi?

Ans. Observing the circumstances, I think the Tigers do not appear to have had any motive to murder Rajiv Gandhi. I am aware that talks took place in March with Rajiv Gandhi. Further he had responded favourably for renewing the contact with the LTTE.

Q. It appears that there is no recorded evidence to prove that such a meeting ever took place. Only the Tigers have claimed that such a meeting took place.

Ans. "Madras Hindu", a newspaper very much recognised in India has confirmed it. It had reported emphatically that a meeting had actually taken place, between Rajiv Gandhi and the LTTE. We are obliged to accept it.

Q. But the 'Indian Express' has published a news item four days later stating that Rajiv Gandhi has described the LTTE to be a 'treacherous group'.

Ans. Rajiv Gandhi is entitled to express his own views. But as far as I know, Rajiv Gandhi is not known to have been consistent in his views on any issue.

I do not like to add anything further, for we don't speak adversely about a person who is no more. The eulogies showered on Rajiv Gandhi after his death, were found to be more based on goodwill than on a meaningful assessment of his contributions to Indian Politics.

University....

(Continuation of Page 2)

My gratitude also goes to Mr. Pathmanathan (IPE), Miss P. Sivagnanam, my deputy Ganeshanthan and of course my colleagues in the team without whose teamwork victory could not have been achieved. Thanks are also due to the ground staff for their invaluable service.

Regi Jeyapalan
Captain

HOT SPRING

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Mr. Premadasa's Republics

Baudha Sinhala President R. Premadasa is a man of inexplicable depth - only to be outdone by his more nefarious predecessor, J. R. Jayawardene.

Reports have it that when Colombo experienced the recent formidable bomb blast at Joint Operations Command Headquarters, the President was away in the deep South.

The inveterate preacher he is, the President had said so many things. He has expressed his abhorrence to the drawn out sword. He has said this and that of which the latest report is the scheme to have a separate republic for each of the local government areas!

At a reading of the first glance, we were tempted to hark back to the ancient days of the Greek City-States. Scholars and political philosophers are agreed that the ancient Greek City States provided the best form of working democracy the world has known yet.

But then musing over this ideal art of government - suddenly we were struck by the fact that the President had not mentioned about his own place and that of his government in the Scheme of things he has in store.

In Ancient Greece, we had Athens, Sparta and a host of others - all sovereign by themselves with a directly people's participating democracy. There was no place for a Super-State, republic or power. There was no Republic of Greece!

By Jove, shall we have such a situation in this Island too? Will there be no Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka? Will there be an end to the sufferings of the peoples of this Island by the super-imposition of a unitary state from Dondra to Point Pedro?

President Premadasa has not answered this question. He has left everyone to guess what he or she will or would according to his or her own fertility of imagination.

Well it does not take much time to see through President Premadasa's preaching. Of course, in this respect, in respect of speaking with tongue in the cheek he cannot outwit his predecessor, J. R. Jayawardene.

Mr. Premadasa states that he proposes to create republics for each local government area. But how do people forget the fact he said that he would withdraw the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution introduced by his predecessor but which Amendment, however, is still part of the Constitution.

Mr. Premadasa and government sources were heard to say that they didn't have the necessary two-thirds majority to amend even a word of the constitution of Jayawardene making. Then how on earth is he going to create so many republics as there are local government areas? If he can do that, he could well have withdrawn the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution, as he said, he would.

He did not do what he said in regard to the 6th Amendment to the Constitution. So how can people - whoever they may be - Tamils or Sinhalese - take him at his word? But if he does succeed in creating as many Republics as possible within the frame-work of the present constitution - then one can be sure that the 'Republics' of his creation would be mere loud sounding names - very much like the present Democratic Socialist Republic which is neither democratic nor socialist.

It is the singular ability of politicians who had climbed up the ladder just to say things which they never intend to act upon. When Mr. J. R. Jayawardene came to power in 1977 and was still holding the post of the Prime Minister under the 1972 constitution, he was heard in parliament to ask the then TULF members of parliament why they thought that he would not grant the Tamils the right of self-determination - implying thereby or at least intended to carry the implication thereby that he would grant the Tamils the right of self-determination. But he finally ended up by - disqualifying even the Tamil representation in parliament. But unfortunately for him, the Tamils did not lose anything greater by being denied parliamentary representation. In fact their determination to free themselves from an imperialist yoke strengthened and the Tamil freedom movement gained greater impetus.

Mr. Premadasa has a lot to learn from the misrule of his predecessor. Mr. Jayawardene said something but always did the opposite. Even the Sinhalese were disenchanted and they finally forestalled any lurking ambitions he may have had to retain himself in power for a further period. He left office being unable to cope up with the spate of violence let lose in the South and the violence only subsided after he announced his own decision to quit office and give room to another.

Mr. Premadasa must realize that pious preachings would convince none.

ETHNIC CONFLICT

Matter of Serious Concern to Sweden

Letter Conveys Swede Views

The ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka is a matter of serious concern to the Swedish Government and the Swedish Government has brought up the ethnic conflict and the violent situation on many occasions in discussions with representatives of the Sri Lankan Government.

This is contained in a letter addressed by Eva Heckscher.

Assistant Under-Secretary, Political Department Ministry for Foreign Affairs Sweden. The Under-Secretary's letter has been written on the directions of the Prime Minister of Sweden to Mr. S. Sribaskaran of Mallakam who had earlier made representation to the Swedish Government.

The Swedish Government's letter states further:

Will Sri Lankan National Flag Be Replaced?

"He who draws out the sword, shall perish by the sword". Baudha Sinhala President R. Premadasa is reported to have re-echoed the Biblical saying at Kamburupitiya recently.

Ironically, the Lankan National Flag has the emblem of a drawn out sword on the raised paws of a lion.

When the question of the National Flag came up for discussion in the first Parliament of Ceylon, Mr. C. Suntharalingam, then M.P. for Vavuniya, who opposed the flag called it a fraud flag and an abomination and forced a bye-election in his electorate by absenting himself from Parliament and causing a vacancy in parliament which had to be filled. Needless to say that Mr. Suntharalingam won the bye-election.

Mr. A. E. Goonesinghe, President Premadasa's mentor and then Minister without Portfolio advised the Sinhala Standard-bearers to role up the flag a little to cover two stripes and fly the pure Sinhala Flag.

Mr. J. R. Jayawardene along with his new constitution also introduced a new flag with four bo-leaves on the four corners of the flag within the lion background - thus making the flag not only Sinhala but also Baudha Sinhala.

Now, when President Premadasa speaks disparagingly of the drawn out sword, one has to think that like Emperor Asoka, attaining enlightenment after the Kalinga War, President Premadasa too is receiving enlightenment after the weary war with the Tigers - especially as

"The serious situation in Sri Lanka has long given cause for concern. It is with great distress that we learn of the increased suffering among the Tamil population as a whole"

"In the Swedish view it is essential that the negotiation process be resumed as soon as possible in order to obtain a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

"The Swedish Government has brought up the ethnic conflict and the violent situation on many occasions in discussions with representatives of the Sri Lankan Government. We have stressed that this is a matter of serious concern to us.

"The Swedish Government will continue closely to follow the situation in Sri Lanka and to urge the parties involved to try to bring about a peaceful solution"

the Government says that the Tigers have bombed J.O.C. at Colombo.

The lion with the drawn out sword on the flag, as stated earlier heralded the first battle cry against the Tamils and Mr. C. Suntharalingam accepted the challenge and won the bye-election too.

If Mr. Premadasa has after all the vicissitudes during four decades of independence, developed an abomination for war, he must have the intention of doing away with the Lion Flag with a drawn-out sword.

The question is, will he think of changing the so-called national flag with its ugly feature of a drawn out sword in the raised paws of a lion?

Desultory...

(Continuation of Page 2)

country, flashed the message over the ocean waves, "We love you Marcos" to another head of a "democratic" country. Scarcely had a few months elapsed when the said Marcos fell flat on his political face and was hounded out of his country along with the equally guilty Emelda, leaving behind a colossal debt and a ludicrous number of shoes, bras, and other items of lingerie. This mighty democracy would have certainly had teh wily Marcos regime under her surveillance, being always equipped with an adequate diplomatic corps and much talked of intelligence agency.

You cannot claim or pretend that because these "watch dogs" had gone on a long snooze, Marcos and his coterie were being continued to be recognized, nay, encouraged in their perfidy and criminality in the name of democracy. It wouldn't avail at all to

scratch Marcos after his fall and discover the spurious article underneath. It would be too late and Marcos would have done irreparable damage to his country and to human society in the meanwhile.

As to the Sinhala Government, who in his or her right mind would admire and condone its brand of "democratic socialism"? However, it is astounding to realise how other "democratic" countries have rallied round in support of Sri Lanka with advice and encouragement.

Advise the murder of 10,000 youths and thus be rid of at least 2,000 terrorists - shades of the Biblical Herod's strategy! Look the other way when the buffoon of a Head of State (Sri Lanka) is found carrying the undated resignation notices of his ministers - the sword of Domicles! - in his "democratic" pockets and also the numerous human bodies floating down rivers or

live human beings with burning tyres around their necks, trying to imitate funeral pyres. After all these could be accounted as natural phenomena of the mysterious Buddhist culture. Ignore as harmless pranks, his efforts to promote his vagabond son, of no account, to military and political eminence so that the son may be enabled to succeed the father as head of state. Pretend it is legitimate for the ruling government to uproot the minorities from their homelands and supplant them with the majority community; and cheer when the judiciary is mutilated to serve nefarious ends or when innocent civilians and their habitations are being inexorably bombed or shelled out of existence.

If "democracy" smacks of such goings on, we shall have no truck with it. We cannot entrust the well-being of our people and of future generations to such phoney words. They are, indeed, dirty!