

HOT SPRING

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No. 40

France celebrates her 202nd National Day, to-day 14th July, 1991. This date is very significant in the history of France and her people, as it was on this very day 202 years ago in 1789 that the fall of the Bastille occurred resulting in the success of the French Revolution which spread the gospel of "Liberty Equality and Fraternity" all over the world.

We extend our greetings to the French people on their National Day.

Elephant Pass Army Camp Under

Heavy Attack

The LTTE started attacking the Elephant Pass Army Camp on the night of Wednesday 10th July, 1991. Battle is still raging night and day for the fifth day in succession.

On the second night of the attack, one Sinhala Army Camp situated at the Guest House of the Elephant Pass salterns was captured by the LTTE. Some Sri Lankan Army personnel died and others abandoned the camp and ran away for safety to the Main Camp. The LTTE also recovered arms and ammunition from the Guest House Camp.

The Elephant Pass area was subjected to heavy aerial bombardment almost daily for about two weeks before the LTTE launched its attack on 10th July.

Apart from the Guest House Camp which lies to the South of the Elephant Pass Bridge, the LTTE also attacked army positions to the North of the Bridge and a number of Sri Lankan

sentry points have fallen to the LTTE.

The exact figures of casualties are not known yet. The LTTE has announced that 27 of their cadres lost their lives in the battle. It is learnt that the Sri Lankan Army deaths could be well over the LTTE casualties.

Reports from the battle area also state that the Sri Lankan Air Force is not able to provide assistance to the Sri Lankan infantry men on the ground as the LTTE keeps on firing at the planes and helicopters. The planes and helicopters are compelled to fly at a higher elevation and are unable to target bombs. Reports also state that two helicopters sust-

ained damages from the firing of the LTTE.

The battle is still raging. Meanwhile in Jaffna large numbers of people have

donated blood necessary for the victims of the war. Also people were seen carrying pillows and mattresses to LTTE camps donating them for use of the injured LTTE cadres.

Elephant Pass Camp is strategically situated. It cuts off the Peninsula from the mainland. Earlier in the sixties the government posted

police officers at this post under the pretext of checking contraband goods and has now built a massive army camp which cuts off Jaffna Peninsula from the adjoining Kilinochchi District. Because of the Army there people take devious routes to reach Jaffna from Kilinochchi.

Elephant Pass Camp is one of the biggest Sinhala Army Camps in the North

History Seminar at Jaffna University

A full day Seminar on the History of the Tamils in the Island of Ceylon was held on Sunday, June 30th, 1991 at the University of Jaffna.

The Seminar was jointly sponsored by the Jaffna Science Association, Department of History of the University of Jaffna and the Education Department, Jaffna. The morning session was presided over by Dr. S. K. Sitrapalam, Head

of the Department of History. Dr. Sitrapalam outlined the work done under the auspices of the sponsoring organizations and stated that the Academics of the History Department have prepared papers under six different heads outlining the History of the Tamils and their Country. In preparing the texts, the authors have taken into consideration the special needs of the schoolgoing children. Present text books do not treat the subject adequately. The invitees present at the Seminar were divided into six groups to discuss the texts prepared under six different heads, viz.

1. Prelude to civilization
2. Ancient civilization
3. Peopling of the Island
4. Political History
5. Economic and Social History
6. Cultural History

At the Group Level, the texts were read and discussions ensued. Each group was chaired by an Academic.

At the end of the discussions at Group Level, all the participants met in General Assembly in the afternoon

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Shot Dead

Sinnathamby Thangarajah (37) of Periyaporativu in Batticaloa was shot dead by the Sinhala Army and a group of Tamil gangsters working with the army. The incident took place at Periyaporativu on 29th June, 1991. It is learnt that the killers tried to extort money from the deceased. As the latter had refused to pay the extortion, he was shot dead.

TRINCOMALEE

In the Trincomalee District, one person was shot dead and five persons arrested. 35 houses were burnt down by the Army.

INJURED

At Tellipalai, artillery shells fired from Palaly Army Camp injured S. Tharmarasa (15) who was admitted to General Hospital, Jaffna

Famine Fast Approaching Stepon For Food Production

Jaffna Citizens' Committee in a press note states as follows:-

One year has elapsed since the Government of Sri Lanka let loose the war of destruction in areas of Tamil occupation. The economic blockade is the most heinous of the war strategies adopted by the Government. In the past all food and essential commodities were brought down from Colombo by private traders, Multi Purpose Co-operative Societies and Government institutions utilizing road and rail transport and distributed amongst the people. But from the time economic embargo was placed, commodities are scarce and what is available is prohibitively priced, as lot of money has to be paid as bribes for

transport of goods by lorries. In these circumstances it would be useless for the Government to express sympathy towards the Tamils. In order to avoid pressures from foreign countries, the Government started sending some food by sea transport as a mere eye-wash. But the consumer goods so sent is being distributed amongst the displaced persons for three weeks for a month. For the other persons only six weeks rations have been provided for a period of 56 weeks. The food so far received is just 20% of the normal requirements of the people. Last consignment of goods received were in the majority of cases found to be stale and unfit for human consumption. It is also to be noted that the goods

unloaded in Jaffna fall short of the quantities alleged to have been shipped at Colombo.

The crux of the matter is that while the Government shown the rest of the world that it is regularly sending food to the people, it is in fact starving the people. Conditions imposing death by starvation is fast approaching. Therefore it becomes essential that each of us engage in food production to the best of our ability. Farmers must engage themselves in cultivating grains. Any delay in this regard would result in quickening the famine situation. Government institutions and Non-Governmental Organizations should engage themselves in providing all facilities for farmers to step up food production.

Muslims Attack Tamils

Reports received from Batticaloa state that on the 7th and 8th of this month, some muslim hoodlums from the villages of Natpittimunai and Kalmunai entered the Tamils village of Navithanveli with deadly weapons such as swords and axes and attacked the Tamils.

The Muslim hoodlums were accompanied by Sinhala Army personnel. After carrying out attacks on the Tamil people of Navithanveli, the hoodlums were reported to have burnt about 50 houses in the village. The reports further add that the hoodlums took away six Tamil captives whose fates were not known.

SRI LANKA REPUBLIC ILLEGITIMATE

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JAFFNA CITIZENS APPEAL TO UK

IT would be necessary for us to state briefly the historical background at least from the time Britain came into this Island.

Treaty of Amiens 1802 & Arrow Smith Map

This Island, then known as Ceylon, was ceded to the British Crown in 1802 by the Treaty of Amiens of that year. We would invite HMG's attention to the map of Ceylon attached to the said Treaty of Amiens called the Arrow Smith Map of Ceylon. This map depicts the Island of Ceylon as two (if not three) different countries—a Tamil country composed of the Northeast and a Sinhala country composed of the South West and central parts.

Cleghorn Minute

We would now invite your kind attention to what Sir Hugh Cleghorn wrote in June 1799 to HMG which is well known to this day as the Cleghorn Minute which reads as follows:

"Two different nations from a very ancient period have divided between them the possession of the Island. First the Singhalese, inhabiting the interior of the country in its Southern and Western parts, from the river Wallouve to that of Chilaw, and secondly the Malbars who possess the Northern and Eastern Districts. These two nations differ entirely in their religion, language and manners." (Malabar meaning Tamil).

Please note, "divided possession of the Island by two different nations."

Sir Alexander Johnstone

Also an illustrious Chief Justice Sir Alexander Johnstone wrote on 01.07.1827 to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland thus:

".....I think it may safely be concluded both from them and from all the different histories which I have in my possession, that the race of people who inhabited the whole of the Northern and Eastern Provinces of the Island of Ceylon, at the period of their greatest agricultural prosperity spoke the same

language, used the same written character, and had the same origin, religion, castes, laws and manners, as that race of people who at the same period inhabited the southern peninsula of India:...."

The Cleghorn minute of 1799 and the Arrow Smith Map of 1802 are official proofs that the Island of Ceylon consisted of two separate countries. We have quoted Sir Alexander Johnstone's letter merely to show to what conclusions even a Chief Justice had come to on the basis of evidence he had.

It is important to remember that the British Government became masters of the whole Island only after the fall of the Kandyan Kingdom in 1815 and the Vanni Chieftains in 1818 and looked at this Island from the distant West as a geographical unit and not as political or national states.

Administrative Unification in 1833

It was only in 1833 that the administration was unified under a single machinery. It would be appropriate here to mention that though the British Government unified the administration in 1833 it incorporated the different native administrative structures that existed earlier, with the Kachcheri system which it introduced. This shows that the British did not want to make a break with the past. Local and customary laws were allowed to govern relations amongst members of the community. The Roman Dutch Law, introduced by the Dutch in the maritime areas, was continued as the common law of the Island. This is very instructive. No system of law that existed before the RDL could cover the entire Island. This is again testimony to the fact that the Island was not one country.

The new class of English-educated elite could not bridge the differences between the two peoples in the Island and convert them into a homogeneous single nation. In our view this is an impossible task.

Lord Soulbury

The proceedings before the Donoughmore and Soulbury Commissions are an eloquent testimony to the failure of attempts to create a homogeneous single "CEYLONESE" nation. Needless to say with the departure of the British in 1948 the Tamils in this Island were left to the mercies of the Sinhalese, thanks to the inequitable constitution that was adopted. It is also relevant to mention that Lord Soulbury who headed the last Royal commission on constitutional reforms, regretting, said that, had he had the experience which he later acquired in regard to the affairs of Ceylon, he would have made other recommendations.

pose not visible on the surface. The Sinhalese could not thereby develop a racist consciousness, a collective ego, because their ethnic majority would not help to enact a racist legislation.

All of them had to regard themselves as members of the legislature of Ceylon. A Sinhalese would not regard himself as a Sinhalese member. Similarly no Tamil nor Muslim could regard himself in terms of the community. The integration of the Legislature was thus ensured.

Donoughmore & Soulbury Constitutions

The Donoughmore Constitution, for reasons best known to itself, made a declaration that territorial representation promoted national thinking

equally applicable to the other communities.

This provision in the Constitution was accompanied by a solemn assurance from the floor of the House by the then undisputed leader of the Sinhalese, the late Rt. Hon. D. S. Senanayake, that no harm would befall the Tamils by their joining the Sinhalese in working the constitution.

Conditional Polity

The Privy Council had held that this article 29 was an entrenched clause and rendered the constitution and not the parliament sovereign. This provision together with the assurance by Rt. Hon. D. S. Senanayake makes the polity of the Dominion of Ceylon a conditional polity. The condition is obviously an assurance of the ethnic majority that they will not avail themselves of

Our Readers would recollect the lead news in our last issue which stated that a number of citizens from various walks of life in Jaffna had signed a petition addressed to the British Prime Minister that Britain had a special responsibility towards the Tamils in this Island.

Five annexures were attached to the letter which sought to explain that certain views expressed by the British government required fresh consideration. The first annexure dealt with the question of respect for "unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity" of Sri Lanka and said that the sovereignty claimed by Sri Lanka over the Tamil Eelam is illegitimate and that foreign governments will have to derecognize Tamil Eelam as part of the Sri Lankan territory. Britain owed a special moral and legal responsibility to the Eelam Tamils in this respect. Annexure I is being reproduced in full. The rest of the annexures will be published in the coming issues.

Devonshire Formula & Communal Representation

Apart from incorporating the native administrative system of the different areas into the Kachcheri system introduced by the British, they were careful not to disturb the existing power balance between the different racial groups. In the Legislative Council membership was based on Communal representation and there was an agreed proportion between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. Over the times this was changed and during the days of the Legislative Council (1924 to 1931) the proportion between

Sinhalese and Tamils was 2:1. There were 16 Sinhalese members to the 8 Tamils. Further, the representation in the Legislature was subject to the Devonshire formula that no single community should be in a position to out vote all the others combined. This constitutional safeguard served a very tangible pur-

but community based representation promoted thinking along communal lines. Very curiously Governor Sir Andrew Caldecot and the Soulbury Commissioner, as well as the Colonial office, thought in identical terms. They never gave an explanation for dropping the clearly enunciated Devonshire formula adopted for multi-racial colonies as well as proportional representation agreed to between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. Nevertheless British justice persisted and the British Government persuaded the Sinhalese-only Board of Ministers to accept the principle of a non-discrimination clause in the Constitution. Accordingly article 29 of the Soulbury constitution granted powers to the Parliament to make laws for peace, security and good Government and specifically denied capability to the Parliament to make laws discriminatory to, in favour of or adverse to any one community which were not

the numerical superiority to discriminate against the Tamils.

However on innumerable occasions this condition was violated and serious acts of discrimination did take place. That definitely gives the junior partner, the Tamils, right to opt out of the polity.

Violation of Condition

In point of fact, an ingenious device was resorted to default the Tamils of the constitutional safeguards and the characteristics of the conditional polity when three Sinhalese political parties acting in coalition called upon the people to give them a mandate (in the 1970 General Elections) to scrap the dominion polity and agreed on a brand new Republic of Sri Lanka. Of course the response of the voters to the

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Territory the issue - Not Multi-Ethnicity

Most governments in the world - cushioned as they are in power - show very little originality in dealing with Dissent, whether it be militancies, insurgencies, trade union tussles or liberation wars. They tend to employ the same, standard, stereotyped formula - the Carrot and the Stick, the traditional technique tried on mules which refuse to 'co-operate'; the stick is applied on the back and the carrot dangled in front.

Successive heads of government in Colombo who fancied themselves as mule drivers in the seats of power have over the years been employing the same technique with Tamil leaderships. Forty three years of cumulative failure of that policy - whatever short-term dividends that it paid off - have now brought the country into the present impasse where the issue is not jobs, not language rights, not opportunities for higher education but LAND in the language of governments. It is a problem of 'preserving the territorial integrity of the country.'

The first Prime Minister of the Island, Don Stephen Senenayake, had no need for the 'stick'. He merely dangled the 'carrot' of a Cabinet portfolio to the then Tamil leadership, and Mr. G.G. Ponnambalam got comfortably settled down into the ranks of the government. Thirty years later, the first Executive President of the country dangled the 'carrot' of the post of the Leader of the Opposition in the Sri Lankan Parliament, and the then TULF leader Mr. Amirthalingam made a grab for it. By alternatively getting the Tamils to get a beating through mob attacks and state terrorism and offering Amity talks, District Councils and Round Table conferences, Jayewardene kept the TULF leadership in a state of perpetual political paralysis. It worked. But the turning point came when in an act of aberration he rammed in the Sixth Amendment of the Constitution in Parliament. It had a two-fold, counter-productive result; it drove the TULF leadership into the hands of Mrs. Gandhi and opened the floodgates into what Colombo has always feared - 'Indian interference', also it paved the way for the politics of the gun. Little did old Junius Richard Jayewardene realise that now he would have to do business with a new set of Tamil customers - other disparities

apart - who in terms of sheer age difference separated him by a near - sixty years.

A recoil from Passivity

The eighties had already seen the ascendancy of the new Tamil generation, a re-orientation of Tamil attitudes, a recoil from the past Tamil passivity, and the birth of a strong Tamil leadership that neither feared the stick nor had any use for carrots what the Sinhala leaders had always assumed to be Tamil mule had instead turned into a Tiger. It is coping with this new phenomenon, a legacy of the past, that the present President is struggling.

It must be said to the credit of President Premadasa, that unlike his predecessor, he is a politician

taken from them. Mr. Premadasa also cannot be unconscious of the dramatic developments that are taking place around the globe today.

The winds of change are blowing with such devastating effect that the smug assumptions of yester year are being blown away. Soviet leader Gorbachev might not want to let go his hold on the Baltic states, but the leaders of those states are talking to President Bush. Eyebrows were raised in western capitals when Chinese Communist Party leader Jiang Zemin arrived in Moscow the other day, the first visit by the senior most Chinese leader after the late Mao Tse - Tung met Krushchev in 1957. In Yugoslavia, Grouitcha has warned that it would withdraw from the union if Serbia blocks its nominee

Jewish state and Arab states had narrowed. In India, whichever government comes to power, it would not only have to contend with hitherto unexperienced domestic compulsions, but would also be compelled to review its stances in external relations, not excluding the Tamil question in Sri Lanka. In short, new permutations and new combinations are emerging in inter-state relations all over the world. The oft-repeated truism that no country has permanent friends or permanent enemies, but only permanent interests, takes on a heightened relevance in the light of all these current developments.

An obsolete issue

Sri Lanka cannot afford to be left out in the cold at a time when some development somewhere on a part of the globe is beginning to produce chain reactions everywhere. It is for President Premadasa to grasp the hand that History is offering him. But no leader gets away by trying to retrace history. If we give Mr. Premadasa the benefit of the doubt, it would seem that he would go as far as to share power with the Tamils in a multi-ethnic one nation state. But that is not only not the Tamil

demand now, but it is also an obsolete issue, thirty five years at least behind time. The liberation struggle that is now being waged is not being fought on Sri Lankan soil but on Tamil soil. Sri Lankan planes are not bombing Sinhala territory but Tamil-populated areas. The people who are getting killed are not the Tamils who yet continue to live in Sinhala territory but those who live in their own traditional areas of habitation where they have lived for centuries. Whatever solution therefore that has to emerge out of this painful phase of history has to reflect the tendencies that are relevant here and now, and has to involve the question of territorial integrity of the Tamil nation as well.

The war in the meanwhile has intensified in the past weeks. But even the officers of the Sri Lankan armed forces have begun to state publicly that the military objective is not to attempt to hold territory but to 'marginalise' the Tiger: an objective which was claimed to have been achieved four years ago when President Premadasa forced the IPKF out. What Henry Kissinger once said is worth recalling: 'The guerrilla wins if he does not lose; the army loses if it does not win'.

Courtesy: Tamil Nation.

by S. Sivanayagam

with his ears to the ground, and hence has the perspicacity to understand and respect the nature of the new Tamil phenomenon. This is what perhaps gave him the courage in May 1989 to admit armed Tigers into the city of Colombo and host them in 5 star Hotels, over which, his Sinhala critics have not stopped taunting him. If his recent convincing win in the local bodies elections has given him the confidence to go back to his original track, he now has the added benefits of two experiences - a one-year old pointless dialogue between May 1989 and May 1990 that came to nothing and the one-year old fruitless war between June 1990 and now, which had come to nothing either; but had left the country weaker economically, and more exposed to strong-arm pressures from western donor countries. In fact, he has fewer options now than what he had in May 1989.

'Ellam' but not Eelam

President Premadasa is reported to have told a Sinhala audience recently, - in a bilingual flourish - that while he was not prepared to give 'ellam' (all, in Tamil). That we think is a good beginning. After all, one should be pragmatic enough to understand that no ruler anywhere can concede anything that is not in his power to give. New nation states are never given, they are always taken. The General Yahya Khan and Bhutto could not have given Bangladesh; it was

for Presidency. The long-forgotten question of Chinese occupied Tibet is being revived by the Americans. Kurdish leader Massoud Barzani says that he and Iraqi President Saddam Hussein had agreed to key points in a proposal to end the rebellion against the Baghdad regime. Israel says that the gap between the

FORGETTING ONE'S OWN CASE

It is interesting to note that Mr. M. S. Ashraff, the Leader of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress, is still very keen to show that he is politically still very much alive. If Mr. Hisibullah laughs, he wouldn't be the proverbial person who 'laughs best who laughs last!'

Mr. Ashraff has come to the fore again - no doubt through the press only!. He is reported to have written to Jayalalitha, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu.

The subject matter of his letter to Jayalalitha is that which will not open him to the charge of treason by President Premadasa. In fact he would be patted on the back by President Premadasa who is in a quandry. After all, isn't Mr. Ashraff still trying to serve his Sinhala masters even though the ground has been cut under his feet considerably.

Well, Mr. Ashraff has chosen to write to the Chief

Minister of Tamil Nadu on a subject relating to international tripartite agreements as between a state and another.

Mr. Ashraff may even delude himself into thinking that he has an opening to raise himself to the position of a world leader instead of remaining a local politico whose own men have begun to repudiate him.

But whatever that may be the motive that prompted Mr. Ashraff to write to Jayalalitha, what he wrote, makes him a laughing stock.

Jayalalitha has said that a fresh Indo-Sri Lanka Accord or Agreement should be entered into. She said so even before the hustings which have put her on the top of the ladder. She said so even when Rajiv Gandhi was very much alive - not realizing that it would embarrass her electoral ally, the Congress (I) and more particularly Rajiv Gandhi himself! All the same the Congress (I) was in a pathetic state not only all over India but also in Tamil

Nadu. It had to put up with all the hysterical outbursts of its ally in Tamil Nadu and so kept mum in this case, it had to be so because Jayalalitha was at least speaking a half-truth.

When Jayalalitha said that a fresh Accord had to be entered into. She perforce admitted that the infamous Rajiv Gandhi - Jayewardene Accord of 1987 had failed and been abandoned. But it was too much of a self-critical admission for the Congress (I) to make, particularly when facing the elections, relying on the personality of Rajiv Gandhi and so the Congress (I) said something in the way of a meander that the Tamil problem could be solved on the basis of the Accord and proceeded to drop the matter there without getting into further difficulties both at home and abroad.

Jayalalitha, on the other hand, passionately clings on to her best cards. We have enough evidence of that. She threatened to commit

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An Open Letter to Sri Narasimha Rao

Prime Minister of India

Your Excellency,

It is an indisputable fact that New Delhi's policy, pursued since about 1986, 87 in relation to the Sri Lanka Eelyom Tangle led India into a debacle.

Edmund Burke made the pertinent observation that bureaucrats will fight to defend their errors as tenaciously as if they were fighting to defend their patrimony. This truth applies not only to bureaucrats but to all mankind including politicians and their advisors. Only a great mind, like Mahatma Gandhi would admit his error.

There was clear and definite differences between Prime Minister Indra Gandhi and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in their outlook and approach to the problem in Sri Lanka, at any rate in two respects.

Prime Minister Indra Gandhi maintained statesman-like silence about her intentions and thoughts in relation to this problem. She lived for about 18 months after she intervened in Sri Lankan problem but never uttered a single word which would reveal her minds and thought on the matter. That was

Statesmanship but Rajiv Gandhi, within a short time of assuming power started bleating out asserting Sri Lanka's sovereignty and territorial integrity over the whole Island. When Sri Lanka approached India to help her in reaching a settlement Sri Lanka's sovereignty stood impugned. Sri Lanka's sovereignty and territorial jurisdiction over the North and East was the very subject matter of the dispute. A pronouncement on this can come only at the end of discussion and settlement.

This pronouncement on Sri Lanka's sovereignty and territorial jurisdiction over North and East made out of turn and quite unthinkingly was the basic cause of India's debacle in Sri Lanka.

Another feature of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's faulty approach was to have allowed too much access to Sri Lankan Ministers and officials to talk to him and his officials and advisors. A Prime Minister of a country of the stature of India should be sparing in giving audiences to party's in a dispute in which India was to do some sort of umpiring. The Sri Lankan Ministers and officials in their

rather frequent conferences or confabulations with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and his officers dinned into their ears a certain manthram of strategic significance - that 'an independent state of two millions Tamils would mean, a fortiori, another independent state of some sixty million Tamils'. The incantation of this insidious manthram led to India's foreign policy on this matter taking a right about turn. Rajiv Gandhi swallowed this manthram and his read-the-mind-of-the-boss officials followed suit. This notion or preconception is totally unfounded and results from superficial thinking of those who have never studied the history of Eelyom Tamils or the psychology of that group of people. The Eelyom Tamils are emotionally one with India and feel proud of India's culture, heritage and India's great men. In almost every middle class home in Tamil Eelyom pictures of Indian leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru, Rajaji and Indra Gandhi would adorn the sitting room. Eelyom Tamils are ideologically and emotionally integrated with India. The emergence of an independent state of Tamil Eelyom would

really, if not become part of India, establish some strong ties with India. When Chelvanayakam, the first leader of the TULF began his politics - which may be considered to be the first cry of Eelyom - stated that the Tamils should separate and federate with India. An independent state of Eelyom Tamils would be an accessional strength to India in the region.

Although Rajiv Gandhi caused immense loss of lives and property for Eelyom, Eelyom Tamils are still emotionally one with India. They assume that Rajiv Gandhi's policies were an aberration and deviation from India's ideology and political philosophy and resulted from a complete misunderstanding of the thinking of the Tamils.

Eelyom Tamils hope that under your leadership India would return to her policy pursued under Indra Gandhi's Prime Ministership. In a small booklet issued by the TULF Leader Amirthalingam he states that he had an opportunity to meet Indra Gandhi and on that occasion Indra Gandhi told him that Eelyom Tamils should not confine themselves to India

but should get about the Western world and seek to create public opinion in the West. That reveals Indra Gandhi's mind; she wanted to await developments and the trend and shape of world opinion before taking any action.

There are plenty of defects in the Gandhi - Jeyawardene Accord. These cannot be examined in a short letter. Suffice it to say that the Accord did not contain a clause laying down that the performance and final withdrawal of the Indian Armed Forces shall be as mutually agreed upon between the two Governments. This defect gave President Premadasa an opportunity to issue a quit order to the Indian Peace-keeping force. India was estopped from saying that it came into the affair to effect a viable settlement and cannot quit without achieving a viable political solution solely as a result of having asserted Sri Lanka's sovereignty and territorial jurisdiction over the whole Island.

Yours obediently

S. Vanniasingham

(A citizen of Tamil Eelyom)

Forg...

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'Suttee' - i.e. the barbaric act of suicide committed by Indian women by falling alive on funeral pyres of their deceased husbands and burning themselves to death! This practice was not prevalent in Tamil Nadu though it was practised in some remote parts of North India and the Government of India was forced to bring legislation prohibiting 'Suttee' altogether.

In the case of Jayalalitha, she only threatened to commit 'Suttee' hoping to reap the benefits of any fruits such a threat might yield. Perhaps she did not cut much ice with the electors then and had to content with staying at home alleging that if she did venture to go to the legislature, she would have to re-enact the role of Drowpathai of Mahabaratha fame.

However, Jayalalitha has been able to make a comeback humbling her opponent Karunanithi. She has repeated her election credo "Enter into a fresh Agreement" with Sri Lanka. And Mr. Ashraff has found

in this credo an opening for himself and thought it best to write to her.

He has written to Jayalalitha saying that the Muslim question must also receive her consideration. Perhaps Mr. Ashraff probably does not know that Jayalalitha presides over the destinies of a state in India - Tamil Nadu which has not known any Hindu - Muslim conflict. Still less does he seem to know that the Muslims in Tamil Nadu regard themselves as Tamils and are so known elsewhere too. True, no doubt, they follow Islam so much so that it does not make them any less Tamil.

Of course, Mr. Ashraff does not know or pretends not to know that a Tamil means a person who speaks Tamil and does not refer to a religious community. Perhaps he has not heard of Cassius Clay, the American Negro, who later became a convert to Islam and was named Mohamed Ali. Cassius Clay by becoming Mohamed Ali has not ceased to be an American or still more an American negro.

But the perfidy of all is this, Mr. Ashraff wants to

protect the Muslims in the NorthEast only who constitute only a third of the Muslims in the whole of the Island. It is a pity that the Leader of the All Ceylon (Sir Lanka) Muslim Congress is not bothered about the two thirds of Muslim population in the Island of Ceylon. How can a man who betrays two-thirds of his co-religionists serve only the balance one third, when that other balance one-third has lived hitherto without any difficulty in Tamil Eelam until he thought it fit to join this side or that, as the occasion demanded to suit his own interests and create religious discords hitherto unknown in Tamil Eelam.

Or is it that Mr. Ashraff in his 'zeal' to champion a 'minority' thinks that he will be true to himself only if he purported to champion the minority of Muslims who have no problems with their fellow-citizens of Tamil Eelam. Of course, it must be conceded that Mr. Ashraff has not the capacity to espouse the case of the Muslims against Baudha Sinhala tyranny.

All are well aware of the treacherous role played by

Mr. Ashraff during the period the Indian Army occupied Tamil Eelam. Then he was with the Indians. He has now crossed over to President Premadasa's side. There is no doubt that he will cross over to someone else, if it will suit him personally. And when one thinks of the acrobatic talents of Mr. Ashraff, one is constrained to agree that 'politics is the art of the possible' - i.e. possible for the actor and

not the possibility of performance of the act itself.

As I write this, I hear the whispers of persons following the Islamic faith and living in Puttalam, Beruwela Galle etc. 'What about our case?' Though I can hear these whispers, Mr. Ashraff does not hear them. If he has heard it, he cannot play the act of the possible. So he chooses to be deaf and dumb.

— Meanderer.

Seminar Cum Exhibition on Palmyrah Products

A Seminar and Exhibition on palmyrah products was held on the week end of 29th and 30th of June, 1991 at the University of Jaffna.

The Seminar was sponsored by the Jaffna Science Organization, Co-ordinating Organization for Palmyrah and Coconut Products Development, Palmyrah Development Board and the Northern Province Palm Products Co-operative Society.

The exhibition contained articles such as food prod-

ucts, handicraft items, fibre products, etc. and also models to explain some processes such as Palmyrah Distillery and sugar production. The exhibition was open to the public from 9.00 a.m. to 5.00 p.m. on both days and was highly commended by the visitors. The exhibition was opened by Mr. S. Mahendrarajah, the President of the People's Front of Liberation Tigers.

The Seminar was held from 9.00 a.m. to 1.30

(Continued on Page 6)

Should the World watch the Tamils in Sri Lanka being destroyed?

Union Appeals to World Governments

Mr. S. Sribaskaran, President of the Union of Valikamam North Pradesha Thrift and Credit Co-operative Societies Ltd has sent an appeal addressed to Heads of World Governments seeking their intervention to help resolve the conflict between the Government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE. He says that this is necessary to prevent the annihilation of the Eelam Tamils.

The letter reads as follows:-

Pressed on to the breaking point of our nervous system by the persistent air borne attacks and artillery shelling directed against us, civilians, by the combined armed forces of the Sinhala Sri Lanka Government, we, the most miserable people on earth, the Tamils of the North East of Sri Lanka, have begun to feel that the wide world, all around us, has failed in its obligations to mankind and is only watching with folded arms

the withering away of a very ancient Ethnic entity the Eylom Tamils

Yet, in our desperation, we cannot but look forward to lingering hopes that the worthy nations of the world, around us, would be moved to make fresh attempts even at this eleventh hour, to compel in the name of Humanity and in the cause of elementary justice, the Sri Lankan President to order a cease-fire to take immediate effect.

Our appeals, memoranda and other circular communications on this, our most pitiable plight, have exhaustively explained the serious situation in the North East Province of Sri Lanka, graphically indicating the irreparable loss that have been inflicted on us-in life, limb and livestock, factories, fields, massive buildings, major industries, agricultural output and in short all human endeavours.

What is more painful and bitter is the methodical

economic strangulation of the North East of Sri Lanka calculatingly manouevred by the administration at the Sri Lankan metropolis whereby we are being driven to miserable poverty without even the barest minimum of the necessities of life.

Rice and all cereals, sugar and allied glucoses, liquid inflammable substances, lubricants, illuminants and all other miscellaneous articles necessary for human beings to be alive are not available.

Even the NGO like Red Barna, Red Cross, SCH, Sarvodaya, NORAD who have been supplying us food and medicines have been asked by the Government not to supply these as the government is making adequate supplies. But the NGO working here have told the government of the real situation that all essential articles are in very short supply in the North and the East.

Oil - that all-powerful item all the world over - has now

triggered the most frightful of wars drawing in its embrace the leading Super Powers and allied nations. World attention has been quickly drawn to it. But in the case of weaker people, this worm that is known as Eylom, inattention is what is glaringly observed.

All of us have been told, (to use a slang term) umpteen times that there is a chapter of human in prerogative whereby the majority community can maul the minority-maul not mauls and yet move about in the comity of nations as a pious observer of the charter of human rights.

We call upon you all to be courageous enough to declare here and now that you do not have the power to point out the injustice done to us by a nation that has taken the oath of allegiance to the charter of human rights.

If however you feel that you have been negligent of your duty you may yet act manfully to champion the cause of the Tamil race that is facing collapse in the north east of Sri Lanka.

The mass media throughout this globe have not merely published in graphic detail the innumerable acts inhuman torture inflicted on the Eylom

Tamil ethnic entity but also have unreservedly condemned the Sri Lankan government's glaring violation of human rights.

However we hope that the several acts of gross violation of human rights, the seriousness of this senseless offensive on an innocent civilian population launched deliberately by the Sri Lankan Sinhala Govt. with determination to decimate it, and you, true to the basic concept of human qualities will surely be awakened from your vigilant slumber to veritable awareness that calls for your performance of bounden duty.

Here we would invite your attention to the attitude in similar predicament of a nation that is fast displacing the big powers as a real super-power. India, true to the elegance of Oriental culture, has not thought to subdue the militants in Assam Punjab and other States by resorting to aerial attacks or artillery shelling.

To you, our brethren, we make this representation not to embellish your records of world affairs but to bring home to you the fact that oppressed minorities are often left to their own fate.

Sri Lanka Republic...

(Continuation of Page 2)

call for a mandate was magnificent but only from the seven Sinhalese provinces.

The voters of the Northern and Eastern Provinces summarily rejected the call for a mandate. The voting figures are given below:-

THE RESPONSE FOR THE CALL FOR THE MANDATE GENERAL ELECTIONS - 1970:

	Total Votes Polled	Votes Granting Mandate
Northern province (13 electorates)	334,360	16,179
Eastern Province (9 electorates, 11 seats)	342,518	79,323 *
TOTAL	676,878	95,502

Percentage secured for the mandate - 14%

* Includes Sinhalese voters who were brought into colonization schemes after 1948.

Republican Constitution Illegitimate in NE

It will thus be seen that the so called Republic of Sri Lanka, created in 1972, has no legal validity to encompass the Northern and Eastern Provinces. The alleged territorial jurisdiction and sovereignty for the whole Island claimed by the Sri Lankan Government are constructed on a false premise. Sri Lanka has no legitimate or legal validity to encompass the North and East, the

homeland of the Tamils - Tamil Eelam.

We trust that the British Government would give adequate cognizance to the legal and constitutional deficiencies in Sri Lanka's claim to encompass the North and East.

Sri Lanka is no successor to the earlier politics of the British dominion. It will be recognised that the Tamil freedom fighters have raised the standard of revolt with the Sinhalese. Sri Lanka was constituted without the authority of the people of the North and East.

Ballot Power frustrated

In conclusion we wish to refer to a popular impression retailed about - that the Liberation Tigers have never got

a backing at the polls, that they were not elected by the people. When they raised the standard of revolt they challenged the legitimacy of the Sri Lankan constitution. When you challenge the legitimacy of the constitution, you cannot go for elections held in an impugned constitution.

The Sri Lankan Government has ignored the ballot of the Tamils rejecting the call for a mandate. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher has herself told the Television viewers in Ceylon that when the ballot is frustrated the bullet is resorted to. That is exactly what has happened to the Tamils of Eelam. The suggestion that the Liberation Tigers do not have the people's backing is sometimes retailed about. This suggestion about an election is really begging the question. The only hope by which the Tamils can assert their right is by guerilla war. A guerilla war leader can never be elected by the voters. HE comes to the fore by performance.

The racial violence against the Tamils unleashed in 1956, 1958, 1974, 1977, 1981-83 and sporadic acts of violence against the Tamils since 1956 in various parts of the Island coupled with the behaviour of the Sinhalese Armed Forces in occupation of the Northern and Eastern provinces (Tamil Eelam) is un-

bearable. Their atrocities which are well documented in several publications including reports from Amnesty International, the Alert, an organisation for human rights and other international agencies establish beyond any shade of doubt that the Sinhalese never considered the Tamils as fellow citizens or developed a sense of fellowship.

President Premadasa's claim that the Sinhalese and Tamils are children of the same mother, Sri Lanka, is hypocritical in the extreme. It is significant that no Sinhalese intellectual or the Buddhist clergy has come forward to tell the countrymen that the Tamils have as much right to self government as the Sinhalese and that they cannot force the Tamils to be in the same polity with the Sinhalese. The polity is configured by a voluntary and willing resolve of all the peoples to be associated together for purpose of government. The complete absence of intellectual honesty on the part of the Sinhalese intellectuals and the Buddhist clergy is an index of the collective ego of the Sinhalese and the depth of the racism in which they are engulfed. We submit that unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity are abstract principals which have to be applied to different situations. British sovereignty extended to the Island of

Ceylon until 1948. We believe that Britain does not regret the loss of her own sovereignty over the Island of Ceylon. Scotland and England became united, and territorially integrated only after the Act of Union and did not Britain lose her sovereignty over Southern Ireland? What has happened to the vast colonies of Britain? It is therefore clear that boundaries of States are not permanent, states themselves do not encompass for all time peoples of different nationalities.

De recognize NE as part of Sri Lankan Republic

As stated earlier, our submission is that the Government of Sri Lanka is suffering from want of legitimacy over the Northern and Eastern provinces and the ongoing war is one born out of the legitimacy crisis. So it is our submission that liberal and democratic forces of the world must begin to realise the incompatibility of keeping the Tamil Nation and the Sinhalese bound together and accept the position of the Tamils and decide to de-recognize the Northern and Eastern provinces as part of the Republic of Sri Lanka. We hope that in the circumstances you will agree that insistence by the international community on "unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka" is untenable and works against the legitimate aspirations of the Eelam Tamil Nation.

HOT SPRING

VOL: 1 SUNDAY 14th. JULY 1991 ISSUE 40

Sovereignty resides in the Peoples

The annexures to the letter (of which we publish the first one in our issue this week) addressed by some citizens of Jaffna to the British Prime Minister, place the case of the Eelam Tamils on a sound footing. The petitioners seek the intervention of the Government of the U. K. to end on-going war in the Island.

History records two World Wars. Perhaps the name World War for these two wars only becomes appropriate considering the extensive coverage of the war to various parts of the world. It is to be noted even after World War II was brought to a close, war rages on in other parts of the world for various causes though not involving all the world powers on one side or other.

What is most distressing is that though World War II is now over for almost half a century, the number of human deaths and destruction all over the globe in the isolated wars may really exceed even the deaths wrought during World War II.

The war that is affecting this Island, can be directly attributed to the effects of British imperialism. Though the British government has left the Island, it had left behind legacies which are the causes of the conflict. It is not that we allege that Britain did a deliberate act to sow seeds of war in her former colonies and imperialist possessions. But the imposition of a super-state structure over different and distinct peoples have now brought about this result and therefore the call now made to the U. K. government is not mere propaganda.

It would appear that the solemn sentiments expressed by world powers re-iterating their respect to national sovereignty and integrity does not in fact lend support to the promises of respect for national sovereignty and integrity. Rather it seems that this respect is not for nations but only for states. Unfortunately all the states are not nation-states, especially those that were imperialist possessions. The best example is this Island. Two nations were lumped together to form one state and we witness war as a consequence.

In this context it would not be correct for the international community to continue to help liquidate unfortunate nations which have come under foreign rule under the pretext of respect for "Sovereignty" and "integrity of other states" and persist in providing aid for the new imperialists and colonialists. We do not suggest that world powers must intervene in wars with their own military.

Our position is that world powers must analyse case and where they find wars taking place as between nations brought under one state structure, they should lend their more support to the peoples trying to achieve nationhood. Such a gesture on the part of the world states would greatly contribute to the ending of the carnage.

A people fighting to achieve nationhood as the Eelam Tamils have all the necessary will and spirit of sacrifice to achieve their goal. But unfortunately they have not only to fight their oppressors but also have to contend with the massive aid pumped into their oppressors' hands, manifestly for other development purposes but are in fact utilized by the donee oppressing state to liquidate nations fighting for independence from them. The whole problem so far as world governments are concerned, is that they fail to realize that sovereignty resides in the people and not with the state. Once it is appreciated that under a democratic structure sovereignty resides in the peoples, then it would become apparent that illegitimate claims to sovereignty vociferously put up by oppressive states, would become no longer tenable.

Desultory Ramblings of Vadali Velan

Attempts at instituting commissions of inquiry are in the news again and it is the hope of yours truly that the latest such attempt regarding the heinous atrocities at Kokksdicholai will bear fruit, spiny or otherwise! In the event of any slimy explanations being trotted out again by the Sri Lankan government in the defence of its armed forces, as was done in the inquiry pertaining to the unprovoked attack of the Sri Lankan air force on the French MSF medical mission of succour, we shall at least know the disease is chronic and that honourable Premadasa is contuning to be a goat, just as his field commanders, to the consternation of the entire rational world. It would also indicate alternate and more drastic steps on the part of the would-be victims to, secure their lives and their property. Like the Jewish nation, Tamil Eelam shall neither forget this pogrom inflicted on her people nor excuse perpetrators of these crimes, however highly placed or just only their minions; and there is bound to be a day of reckoning for everyone of them responsible for those fell deeds, even as they flee justice to the very ends of the Earth, at their retirement from their formal tasks of murderers.

Seminar....

(Continuation of Page 4)

p.m. on both days and included papers by specialists drawn from the Palmyrah Development Board, Northern Province Palm Products Society, University of Jaffna and Co-ordinating Organization for Palmyrah and Coconut Products Development.

Fresh Sweet Toddy was served for all the participants at the seminar. A lively discussion on the papers presented took place at the end of each session.

On the final day Mr. S. Kanagarajah distributed the prizes to the persons who won places at the various competitions organized by the sponsors.

The first day's sessions was presided over by Prof. V. Navaratnarajah, President of Applied Sciences, Jaffna Science Association and Professor of Engineering, University of Jaffna.

The Second day sessions was presided over by Mr. J. Sabaratnam, Assistant Commissioner of

Not that Ceylon was unacquainted with commissions even during her colonial past. Our village cynic, who is moderately versed in constitutional matters, has referred extensively to the goings-on in this fair Isle in this context. After a few decades of the Island becoming a crown colony (in 1802), there arrived an individual from England with the injunction to hold a commission for reforms in the administration of the country. At that time Ceylon had consisted of seventeen districts with as many highly paid foreign civil servants and their staff members. Year after year the government's expenditure had exceeded its revenue so that the commission's slogan could well have been, "Brook no delay. The Empire is losing money". This was known as the Colebrook Reforms of 1833 which was instrumental in reducing the number of districts to five, with the capitals at Jaffna, Trincomalee, Galle, Colombo and Kandy. The salaries of officials were also curtailed and their pensions abolished. The McCallum Reforms commission of 1912 paved the way for a reformed legislative council with the representative membership of two each for the Ceylon Tamils, the Low Country Sinhalese and the Europeans; and of one each for the Kandians, the Muslims and the Educated Ceylonese.

Again, in 1921, the Manning Commission made it obligatory for membership in the Council to be on the basis of mainly, communal representation. This was all changed, in 1924, from a communal to a territorial representation, with no specific safeguards for the different communities of the Island, as a result of a British lord of the realm visiting on another commission. Perhaps, he was sent on his errand with instructions, "Proceed thus far and no further" or "Do-nough-more". Just before the so-called "Independence" another British lord was sent over to bury the soul (the very independent spirit and aspirations) of the Tamils in exchange for the of continued use of select-air and naval facilities by the British, allowed by a preposterously Sinhala-Ceylonese

Co-operative Development-Palmyrah Products.

Dr. S. Mohandas, Head of the Agro-Chemistry Department of the University of Jaffna, proposed the Vote of Thanks.

government Some soothsayer or other must have had a hand in choosing a title for this man, for he was aptly named, Lord Soul-bury.

Our cynic further avers that these colonial commissions, with all their faults, were fairly clear in their intent and purpose. The colonial administrator was endeavouring to probe the psyche of those of the "mysterious East" in the absence of a regular dialogue between the people he governed and himself, especially in the absence of the Parliamentary system as of today. But present-day commissions, in the hands of our unscrupulous friends, the Sinhalese, are quite a different kettle of fish altogether. These commissions serve only to sweep their malfesance under the carpet and to help offer a raison d'être for their despicable and dishonourable behaviour. None of these commissions has yielded any palpable results and has a strange allusion to what happens daily in our lives before we partake of our morning ablutions: there is a sitting, then a deliberation; there is a report and then the matter is dropped.

What astounding naivete it is for honourable Premadasa to expect the people to believe that he is sincerely endeavouring to uncover the various atrocities committed against them. With his unruly soldiers swarming all over, he knows that no evidence of the truth will be forthcoming. In fact any such evidence could embarrass him, as he is frightened of his armed forces. Without evidence given, as required by law, the commissioners could dismiss the complaint of course, with a sense of relief, as they are also afraid of the armed forces.

Give up Mr. Premadasa! You have no ability to govern the country. Be more useful to society and keep some poultry instead!!

History..

(Continuation of Page 1)

which was presided over by Prof. S. Pathmanathan of History Department of the University of Jaffna.

At the end of the sessions it was decided to bring out a comprehensive History of the Tamils in the Island in Three Volumes divided into Ancient, Medieval and Modern History. The Seminar participants were entertained to lunch by the Sponsors of the Seminar.