

HOT SPRING

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Thalikody Adorns Naval Rating

Dead bodies of two Naval ratings of the Sri Lanka Navy were washed ashore at Velanai with uniforms on.

A gold Thalikody (chain tied by Tamil bridegroom to his bride on the occasion of marriage) adorned the neck of one of the dead Navy men. Obviously the dead rating had looted or robbed the Thalikody from a Tamil woman but fearing that he may be relieved of his coveted loot by his fellow-looters in his camp, had preferred to wear it on his person.

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SWEDEN

Expresses Concern -

Prime Minister Replies Personally

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

This is contained in a letter written by the Prime Minister of Sweden to Mr. K. C. Adiapathan of Valvettiturai.

Readers of "Hot Spring" will recollect the news about a memorandum signed by Mr. K. C. Adiapathan and several other senior citizens of Valvettiturai and sent to various Heads of Governments the world over. The Prime Minister of Sweden, Mr. Ingvar

Carlsson has sent a reply signed by him personally to Mr. Adiapathan expressing his great concern and distress and has assured his Government's firm support for endeavours to obtain a peaceful settlement of the Conflict.

The Swedish Prime Minister's letter reads as follows:-

"I wish to thank you for your letter concerning the serious ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka.

I am greatly concerned and distressed to learn about the increased violence and

suffering among the Tamil population and of the civilian population as a whole.

The Swedish Government has brought up the ethnic conflict and the violent situation on many occasions in discussions with represent-

atives of Sri Lankan Government. We have stressed that this is a matter of serious concern to us.

In Sweden's view, it is essential that the negotiation process be resumed as soon as possible. Endeavours to obtain a peaceful settlement of the conflict will have my Government's firm support.

Finally, I wish to inform you that a copy of your letter has been sent to the Swedish Embassy in Colombo

Yours Sincerely,
Ingvar Carlsson

Elephant Pass Battle on for 25 days Curfew Disrupts Civilian Life

The Elephant Pass battle has entered the twenty fifth day. The siege of the camp continues and the newly landed Sinhala Army numbering 8,000 according to Government reports is battling to relieve the besieged army.

According to LTTE sources over 350 of their cadres have died so far in this prolonged war. Government

casualties are not known and figures given by government are usually unreliable. It is, however, estimated that a like number or more could have died on the Sri Lankan government side.

The Government has also acknowledged damage to their Air force planes and helicopters. Besides the war at Elephant Pass and

Vadamarachy East, reports have also been received of bomber attacks away from the war theatre. One such report is that Sri Lankan planes bombed areas in Keerimalai. Also artillery shell attacks from various army camps are directed towards areas where there is no war.

In the meantime the curfew imposed by the government continues and this has caused lot of difficulties to the civilian population.

The G.C.E.(A/L) Examination which commenced yesterday all over the Island, could not be held in the Jaffna, Vavuniya and Kilinochchi Districts. Admission Cards, question papers and other documents sent by the Commissioner of Examinations are reported to be in Vavuniya. They cannot be brought to the North because of the curfew.

In the meantime consumer commodities have become scarce or are completely out of the market. Jaffna is completely in the dark because no oil of whatever description is available. A bottle of kerosene was sold for Rs.250/- about two days back. Soap is not available at all.

Premadasa Calls for Plans from Buddhist Clergy

Mr. Ranasinghe Premadasa, President of Sri Lanka is reported to have asked the Buddhist clergy to present to him a plan to resolve the Sinhala-Tamil conflict, when he addressed a Buddhist religious ceremony held at Galkissa, near Colombo recently.

Mr. Premadasa is reported to have further said that the Tamils face discrimination. The language discrimination against the Tamils has been

removed. Still there are other areas where the Tamils are discriminated against.

He has exhorted the Buddhist clergy to present to him a plan to resolve the dispute and has promised to implement such a plan, if it was acceptable. He has specially stressed that there are Muslims and Sinhalese in the Eastern Province and that their interests must be kept in mind in evolving any formula for the settlement of the conflict.

Starvation sets in

No Rice for Jaffna Consumers

No rice will be distributed through the Co-operatives under the existing ration scheme for the people of Jaffna this month. This is because the Government

Agent of Jaffna has no rice stock with him.

This was revealed at a Conference of officials and Co-operative Societies personnel held at the Jaffna Government Secretariat on July 31, 1991.

Consequently the consumers in Jaffna have to be without rice - their staple food for the first time in the history of Jaffna.

It is further understood that Mr. S. Sivamaharajah, a former M. P. and presently President of the Jaffna District Co-operatives Union stated at the Conference that the hitherto distributed to consumers was of sub-standard quality and inadequate. But the consumers will not have even this sub-standard quality rice for the month of August.

It is to be noted that the supply of rice from Colombo is arranged with ICRC participation.

Parliamentary Select Committee NSSP Participation Depends on Ceasefire

Dr. Vickremabahu Karunaratne, the Secretary of the Nava Sama Samaja Party has said that his party would not serve in any Parliamentary Select Committee to discuss and arrive at ways and means to solve the Sinhala-Tamil conflict, unless the Government declares a ceasefire.

It will be recalled that the Government accepted a private member's motion in

Parliament calling for the resolution of the Sinhala-Tamil conflict. The motion was in the name of Mr. Mangala Munasinghe, an SLFP Opposition M. P.

Arising from the acceptance of the Private Member's motion by the Government, the next step was to appoint a Parliamentary Select Committee to formulate proposals for ending the conflict.

Now the Nava Sama Samaja Party, represented in Parliament by its leader, Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara, has said that it would serve no purpose to discuss any proposals to end the conflict, if the Government persists in its war efforts. The Party Secretary, Dr. Vickremabahu Karunaratne has called for a ceasefire, if the Parliamentary Select Committee work is to have any meaning.

A MAHABHARATA STORY AND THE TAMIL EELAM STORY

by — Sachi Sri Kantha

The demonstration lesson for the day was to pluck a hanging mango with an arrow from a big tree located 100 yards away. Both Pandavas and Kauravas were assembled at Guru Dhronachariyar's archery camp. The first student archer to be called for the test was Duchchadanan. The Guru pointed at the mango, hanging in the top branch of the tree and asked Duchchadanan to take aim. Before the release of arrow, the Guru directed a few pointed questions at Duchchadanan.

"Can you see the mango?"

"Yes sir".

"Can you see the twig on which the mango is hanging?"

"Yes sir".

"Can you see the numerous leaves in that branch?"

"Yes sir".

"Can you see the two birds sitting on that branch?"

"Yes sir".

"Can you see the big trunk of the tree?"

"Of course sir".

"Can you see me?"

"Definitely sir".

"What else can you see?"

I can see the grasses under the tree as well as my colleagues near me". Guessing what will be the outcome, the Guru asked Duchchadanan to release his arrow. As the great Guru expected, the mango did not fall. Then Dhronachariyar called Bhiman to take a shot and asked the same questions. Bhiman also answered in the similar fashion as done by Duchchadanan. And the outcome was also same. Bhiman was followed by Duriyodanan and the Guru's son Aswat-hama. All repeated the same answers to the same questions posed by the Guru. But they were not successful in plucking the mango with the arrow. Finally, the Guru called his beloved and brilliant student Arjunan to take aim at the mango. And he posed the same questions to Arjunan too.

Only the stalk

"Can you see the mango?"

"No sir".

"Can you see the twig on which mango is hanging?"

No sir".

"Can you see the numerous leaves in that branch?"

"No Sir".

"Can you see the two birds sitting on that branch?"

"No Sir".

"Can you see the big trunk of the tree?"

"Definitely no sir".

"Can you see me?"

"I cannot see you sir".

"So, what can you see now?"

"I can only see the stalk by which the mango is hanging from the twig". Pleased with his answers, the Guru asked Arjunan to release his arrow. And, as the Guru expected, Arjunan brought the mango down. To his other dumbfounded students, the Guru then taught the moral of that day's lesson.

When you are aiming for one thing, concentrate only on your aim and do not be concerned by the surrounding objects and distractions. Then, and then only, you will succeed in your aims.

This simple story from the epic Mahabharata still holds true to the current environment in Sri Lanka. A cursory glance of the liberation struggles around the world in this century should reveal that they are not "100 yards dash runs". In contrast, they are "marathan runs", lasting 26 odd miles. Here, we can confidently equate miles to years. The Indian independence struggle, after Gandhi gained leadership in 1919, took 28 years to reach its fruition. China's liberation struggle (for the same end, but with different means) under the leadership of Mao Tse Tung took almost the same amount of time.

Eelam Starters

Considering this fact, how many of the Eelam starters are still in the field of liberation struggle? In 1983, there were half a dozen runners. The TULF was the first to lose its steam. It believed in the "Bangladesh model" of liberation carried out by Indira Gandhi. After Indira Gandhi's assassination in late 1984, the TULF had nothing to show for their liberation struggle aim. The next five years (1986 - 90) saw the pathetic fall of quite a number of Tamil militant groups due to their lack of precision of the original aim. Militant groups such as the TELO, EPRLF, PLOTE and ENDLF behaved just like Guru Dhronachariyar's mediocre students of archery. In contrast, only the LTTE has the unblemished record of not faltering in their ori-

ginal aim. They have yet to bring the mango down but have gained the grudging admiration of their adversaries for their persistence and tenacity of their struggle.

Just a few months before his death, Jawarhalal Nehru was asked, "what in Mahatma Gandhi's thinking most impressed you and your countrymen?". The Indian statesman replied as follows: "His (Gandhi's) analysis of the situation in India was essentially that we were suffering terribly from fear, so he just went about telling us, 'Don't be afraid. Why are you afraid? What can happen to you?' In essence, according to Nehru, Gandhi's prime motivational contribution to the Indian free-

dom struggle was dispelling the sense of fear among the Indian natives. Similarly it can be said that only the LTTE has dispelled the sense of fear which prevailed among the Eelam Tamils not long ago.

A forgotten word

Even a decade ago, when addressing Tamils, derisive epithets such as 'Panamkottai' were so common among the average Sinhalese. The LTTE's strategy in the political struggle of Tamils made 'Panamkottai' a forgotten word in the Sinhalese lips.

Some cynics may also ponder how on earth I can compare the LTTE, with Gandhi, the apostle on non-violence. Again no one other than Nehru himself (in 1963) has commented on the futility of non-violence as an effective tool for liberation struggle in the latter half of this century. Nehru had noted, "The efficacy of

non-violence is not entirely convincing. None of us would dare in the present state of the world, to do away with the instruments of organized violence."

Though the cyanide capsule of the LTTE rebels has become a subject of derisive comments among many "analysts" (which include the so-called Tamil intellectuals), in my opinion, it symbolises in one way as subscription to Mahatma Gandhi's cherished ideals of a freedom fighter; abandonment of the fear of death. For those who do not possess the will-power to concentrate on the aimed target, the cyanide capsule symbolises suicidal tendencies. But only those whose aims are not crooked can answer Gandhi's ultimate challenge to a freedom fighter; abandonment of the fear of death.

Courtesy:

Tamil Nation, London

An Open Letter to a Sinhala Friend

My dear Narangoda,

Your letter to my hand to-day and I am replying your letter to-day itself.

In your letter you have stated that you and your neighbours are having sleepless nights since the bomb blast took place in Colombo. As I could remember, there were only two bomb blasts in Colombo. But in the North and East there were so many blasts in the Past, there are so many blasts at present and there will be so many blasts in future. So the entire population in the North and East are having sleepless nights since the day war started. But, I feel very sorry for your plight and that of your neighbours as well,

As I am a Tamil and there is a saying in Tamil which runs thus:-

'Thamilanukku karunai Ullam Thayin Palil Thanthethu'

Viz. 'Tamil is fed kindheartedness through his mother's milk'

It does not mean that Sinhalese do not feel sympathy. I know so many Sinhalese gentlemen had given food and shelter during the past communal troubles. But, majority of your people who are led by the Politicians with callous mentality, do not feel sympathy towards the innocent Tamils who are being butchered daily by your Security Forces in quite large numbers. Most of them are young boys and girls. This is being done

with the idea of wiping out a future Tamil generation.

Have you ever heard that your Maha Sangha has suggested reasonable and democratic way to solve the Ethnic Problem? I know that you will agree that the reply will be in Negative. Your Maha Sangha had time to time suggested ways and means to curb the rights of the Tamil and had requested the Government to continue the war, as they want One Nation and One Language in Sri Lanka, i.e. the Sinhalese Nation and the Sinhala Language only.

In my previous letter I have clearly stated as to how democratically and non-violently the Tamils of the North and East had been fighting for their 'rights', since the passing of the Official Language Act in your Parliament. But, your Government and your Politicians had tried to solve the problem by granting some 'concessions'

We were fighting for our 'rights' and not for any 'concessions'

My dear Naran, you know pretty well that the Government of India headed by the Late Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi who was mainly worried about the interests of India, had tried his best to send in the 'peace Accord' forcibly down our throats and studied a 'Bitter Lesson' from our Boys - 'Tigers' through the IPKF.

Now our Excellency the President is trying his

'politricks' on Tigers and very shortly he will learn 'Bitterest' Lessons from the Tigers. President Premadasa says that he is waging war with the Tigers only and not the Tamils. If it is so, why is that he has stopped the people through his Security men at Vavuniya from bringing Panadol tablets to Jaffna? As a human being, don't you feel ashamed of this very mean thing? Don't you agree that he doesn't have an atom of humanitarian feeling?

You have asked me to comment about the 'war' at Elephant Pass.

I could remember that your Defence Minister, late Mr. Ranjan Wijeratne had mentioned in an Interview with an Editor of a leading Magazine, 'India Today' that when the 'Baby Group' of Tigers see his troops in action, they would through fear urinate. But I am very proud of mentioning here that the very same Baby Group made your Troops at Elephant Pass now, not to move an inch and they are trapped like Rats, and not in a position to answer their call of nature properly.

Now the time is 8.30 p.m. and this is the time for the News from "Tigers' Voice". I am anxiously waiting to hear the latest news of the E.P. war. I shall write something more about the war in my next letter.

Please convey my kind regards to your family.

Sincerely yours,
'Amba Yabaluwa'

This is the fourth and fifth annexures to the memorandum sent by the citizens of Jaffna to the British Prime Minister, Mr. John Major.

Annexures 1-3 have already been published in our previous issues.

It is a fallacy to state that President Premadasa was honestly trying to reach a peaceful solution to the Tamil problem. It is true that the 13 months negotiations were a very good opportunity to reach settlement, if there was political will, to do so and all the Tamils hoped and prayed for a settlement. Alas, it turned out to be another of those gimmicks of the Sinhalese politicians. What proposal did Mr. Premadasa present during the thirteen months of negotiations for solution of a problem that has been festering the Island for 43 years to justify crediting him with an honest intention to arrive at a settlement accommodating Tamil demands.

It became apparent that true to the character of the Sinhalese politicians, President Premadasa was continuing talks with the LTTE only to fulfil his election pledge of getting rid of the Indian army and at the same time using the time gained to strengthen the Sinhalese armed forces.

As the Indian Army left, it was apparent that President Premadasa was keen to have his Sinhalese army in those places to serve as a bastion of Sinhala imperialism. The strength of the Sri Lankan Security Forces in Tamil areas was increased in a menacing manner. In a number of places skirmishes between the security forces and the LTTE were reported. The government had in the meantime started hobnobbing with those Tamil groups that were acting as quislings of the Indian army against the interests of the Tamils. Even before the talks broke down it became apparent that the Government was not honest in reaching a settlement.

Sinhalese colonization of Tamil areas was also taking place at a hectic pace. The Provincial Council failed to function even in name after the welcome departure of the Indian army.

The government did not remove the 6th amendment to the constitution which was agreed to with the LTTE. Even while the discussions were going on, important government ministers were making contemptuous remarks about the ongoing discussions which revealed the lack of sincerity on the part of the government.

When all the facts are taken into consideration one can understand the compulsion to the LTTE to call off negotiations and resume the armed struggle. But we must here emphasize that the LTTE did not resume the war on its own initiative. The war broke out in Batticaloa on the 11th June 1990 and the government said that the LTTE could have refrained from attacking the Batticaloa Police Station because the incident which preceded the attack - an attack by the Police on a Muslim who had gone to the Police Station - was a trivial matter. This statement of the government puts an end to propaganda that the LTTE resumed war.

Perhaps, being the weaker side, having been convinced of the lack of sincerity on the part of the government

LTTE did not re-start war

Fallacy to think Premadasa wants peace

and futility of continuing with the talks the LTTE had to preempt the government in good time rather than wait too long and suffer total annihilation when the ominous signs were so clear. The Tamils who have been watching these developments and know the true position are fully convinced that the LTTE had no other option in the circumstances.

The propaganda machinery of the Sri Lankan Government has been exaggerating the few and isolated instances of counter violence by the LTTE while the large scale violence indulged in by the Government itself against the Tamil civilians are not at all even mentioned by the official media.

Because of the continuing war and also since the government prevents foreign correspondents from visiting the north and east the magnitude of the needless State violence let loose on the Tamil people is not made known to the world at large.

A complete appraisal of the situation will reveal that the root cause of the violence is the refusal of the Sinhalese government to concede the legitimate political rights of

the Tamils in this Island and its attempts to use the military to cow the Tamils into submission.

The magnitude of the Terrorism indulged in by the Sri Lankan State is such that hundreds of thousands of Tamils had been compelled to flee as refugees to neighbouring and foreign countries. Thousands of civilians are being killed in cold blood by the deliberate and indiscriminate aerial bombings, artillery shellings and other military operations which have taken genocidal proportions. Tens of thousands of Tamils had to abandon their homes and live as refugees in their own homeland elsewhere. The damage done to lives and properties of the Tamils by the Sinhalese armed forces is colossal. The main targets for aerial bombings are the places where people congregate such as markets, temples, refugee camps and built up areas; even hospitals are not spared.

As we reported to you in our letter, the town of Valvettiturai was bombed for four consecutive days and what were destroyed were

unity on lands within our region. But they have allowed themselves to be manipulated by a wily Government through their city resident influential Muslims for the ultimate benefit of the Sinhalese and to the detriment of the Tamils and the Muslims themselves. Besides, most Muslims in the North-East were playing it safe. If they did join the political struggle of the Tamils, they would presently have been massacred by the government soldiery along with the Tamils. Being in a combat area and being in tacit support (both overtly and covertly) of the Sinhalese soldiery, the Muslims posed an insurmountable security risk to our life-and-death struggle and, especially, as they continued to be guided from Colombo by persons who did not understand the very ethos of the Muslims living in our region. Besides, armed youths of the Muslim community began to make their appearance and were found, in many instances, to have links with Jihad and other fanatical religious (Mohammedan) international agencies which were not

We appreciate the various efforts your Excellency's Government is making, as mentioned in your statement, to get the Sri Lankan government to conduct its military operations responsibly and with full respect for the human rights of all its citizens. We regret to note that the Sri Lankan government has totally ignored your advice and is continuing to indulge in indiscriminate killings of civilians. You have stated that you are urging the Sri Lankan authorities to take all necessary steps to ensure the welfare and the well-being of the people displaced as a result of the war, and to give every assistance to the international agencies and NGOs which are working for their relief.

Even in this regard the record of assistance given to the refugees will show the scant respect that is being given to your urgings. The manner in which Medicines Sans Frontiers Doctors and staff were fired upon and wounded by the Sri Lankan Air Force again shows the contempt shown by the Sri Lankan Armed Forces to the

the houses of the civilians, schools, temples and a church and the entire town is in ruins. There was absolutely no military significance to this wanton destruction. Thus it can be seen that it is the Sinhalese government that is causing the brutal massacre of civilians and causing displacement (under threat of violence) of hundreds of thousands of Tamils.

Muslim collaboration with government.

The Sri Lankan Government by its nefarious activities has set the Muslims against the Tamils. Muslims in the eastern province collaborating with the government forces as home guards have been indulging in widespread murders, arson and rape against the Tamils. With a large influx of Tamil refugees from the eastern province into the north, the LTTE has made it known that to avoid retaliatory violence against the Muslims they have escorted the Muslims out of the north and there is no report of any violence having been used on them.

We have always considered the Muslims to be part and parcel of the Tamil comm-

only inimical to our just struggle but would also prove fatal to any form of genuine nationalism in the Island. The fealty of Muslims to other foreign powers, based on religion alone is well known the world over. The Muslims cannot have it both ways and will be welcomed back to our fold when they have realised the folly of their ways and been shorn of tendencies inimical to our struggle. There hasn't been a mass elimination of the Muslims as the soldiery would have resorted to, if they found the Muslims noncooperative. Meanwhile, it is not advisable for them to run with the hare and hunt with the hound. We shall win their rights for them too whilst they desist from working meaninglessly against us.

It is clear that your Excellency's Government's support to the Sri Lankan government will only aid and abet the Sri Lankan government to continue with its genocidal state terrorism against the Tamils and will not help reduce the violence. Only a satisfactory political arrangement can halt the violence and bring about a durable peace.

civilians and international agencies that render humanitarian assistance to the affected civilians.

While we appreciate the concern of HMG to uphold human rights we are constrained to state that HMG has greater responsibilities to uphold the national rights of Eelam Tamils as a nation entitled to all freedoms including the freedom to determine their own political future based on their inalienable right of self determination.

SPORTS

Jaffna Central came winners by (30-13) in a Basket Ball match against the Jaffna University girls in a friendly match played at the Campus Court recently.

Kokuvil C. C. C., Centralites, Johnians, Jolly Stars Point Pedro, Mallakam and Grasshoppers entered the Quarter Finals of the tournament. Point Pedro scored a surprise win over Shabra. Kokuvil got the better of Stanley, Centralites beat Green Gold and Manipay beat Centralites Blues in the preliminary rounds.

(Continued on Page 5)

Devolution Vs Autonomy

We regret to observe at India's involvement with the package now offered by the Sri Lanka Government of President Jayewardene as a political solution to the ethnic crisis. India's involvement places the Ceylon Tamils in an unenviable position. The scheme is rotten to the core but the Tamils are inhibited by India's involvement from making a critical examination of the Provincial Council scheme and thereby inhibiting the Tamils. These organizational arrangements are based not on the principle of *autonomy* but on the concept of *devolution*. Autonomy and devolution are diametrically opposed concepts. The word autonomy is derived from the Greek

is in accordance with the law and the law-making legislature directly elected by the people ensures democratic government by the observance of the principle of the Rule of Law. This, in a nutshell, is how democracy or self-government or republic- whichever word may be used is immaterial - functions.

A built-in conflict

A built-in conflict arises when devolution, i. e. delegation of powers to an elected body, namely the Provincial Councils, takes place. Authority or powers necessary to carry out the functions and discharge the responsibility entrusted, is given by the very party choosing and appointing the

interested in furthering the interests of his political party. The Councillors may belong to a different political party; their interests can be in direct conflict with the interests pursued by the President as head of his political party. In such circumstances the performance of the Provincial Councils will be rather poor.

In the case of Provincial Councils in the Tamil areas, there is the further cause or pre-disposition for conflict. The President is one who is elected by the Sinhalese. The electors and elected Councillors are Tamils. Even if persons with broad vision and far sight are at the helm of affairs at the Centre, it will take several generations for inter-racial feelings to get back to normal; and let us not forget that inter-racial feelings have been deteriorating ever since Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam and the bulk of the Tamils resigned from the National Congress in 1921.

An impoverished image and poor performance inevitable

Incompetent Councillors, it is in the nature of things, will seek to place the blame for their own shortcomings on the Centre. Provincial Councils will always be beset with the problem of insufficient financial resources; that is a consequence of their limited powers. The Central Government by virtue of the unlimited powers vested by the sovereign people is in a position to pursue development and expansionist policies and thereby achieve simultaneously an expansion or growth of the economy, an increasing national product, a broadening tax base as well as a borrowing base. In modern times, a sovereign Government has vast scope and potentialities for effecting economic growth. In the context of technological and scientific advances constraints set by limitation of physical resources have receded to distant horizons. The Government has virtually limitless powers to determine the credit base when it embarks on a programme of growth and consequently finance is not a limiting factor. International collaboration re-inforces domestic resources in many fields. The real limits are set only by the liberal character of the leaders whom the sovereign people choose for positions of leadership. Perhaps lack of circumspection and objecti-

vity might land ambitious leaders into serious misadventure. But such opportunities are not open to the Provincial Councils which receive from the sovereign people only tasks and responsibility but not authority and power. Such limitation of resources will eternally condemn the Provincials to poor performance and an impoverished image.

A much more important aspect which has a base in human nature ought to be noticed. It is only with men with a lot of ambitions and energy that seek to enter into politics. The notion that men with a keen social conscience seek to serve society and enter politics is fallacious in modern times or more exactly in the East. Such persons are compelled to shun politics because of the forbidding atmosphere. If society is to avail itself of the energy and ambitions of persons who aspire to politics some challenging tasks must be set before them; if that happens, these men of energy and ambitions would be attracted by the sense of achievement, recognition and esteem that would be their reward and concentrate on performance. When such challenging tasks is not before them, the best in them is not drawn out; they divert their energies and abilities in the direction of self-aggrandisement, selfish gains and pursue domination tracks to derive a sense of satisfaction from dominating others. If society has a low opinion of politicians as a whole, it is largely due to

administer medicines or pursue other treatment without making a viable diagnosis. If politicians would follow the same policy as medical men, there would be much less strife and conflict; there would be greater harmony, peace and prosperity. It is perhaps a curse of the Tamils in Ceylon that outsiders have determined our fate time and again. The Britisher determined our fate for long and ultimately delivered us to the Sinhalese with our hands and feet securely tied. When we tried to untie the knot, we appear to have got into a situation in which we may have to cry "God save us from our friends" all because in modern politics there is a strong tendency for most people to seek to solve problems or find a solution to without diagnosing the problem. In this era of jet planes, computers and other modern gadgets scientific analysis guides our conduct and life. The cause and effect sequence is carefully studied and action proceeds from such analysis but in the world of politics we completely ignore the need to study the cause and effect sequence. The Sinhalese and Tamils are two different nations with considerable antipathy towards each other. The Britisher lumped them together for his own benefit. Since under the British power was exclusively exercised by the British, there was no occasion for the antipathy of Sinhalese to Tamils to find expression in action or governmental policies.

Somasundaram Vanniyasingam

the environment in which politicians operate. Churchill who pursued a lonely furr-ough and was critical of everybody in the era before the war displayed an excellent teamwork with an assorted crew, developed an admiration for Ernest Bevin, the Labourite, got out the best from every one in the cabinet and served his country in a unique manner solely because a challenging task was before him and his team. When one is faced with a major task, he develops a task-oriented approach and becomes a good team-worker. The Provincial Councils offer no such scope and will undermine the character and outlook of aspiring politicians. Already the tone of public life is very low and the Provincial Councils will lower it still further.

The basic cause of ethnic conflict

No medical practitioner would want to prescribe or

A polity in which the Sinhalese and Tamils are lumped together under Independence the majority decision is always an ethnic majority decision on main issues. Inevitably there is serious ethnic conflict and today there is real war between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. The simple and obvious solution is for the creation of separate polities for the Sinhalese and Tamils.

In India, the term Province was in vogue during British times. Even in the Co-operative movement there were Provincial Co-operative Central Banks. With Independence the word Province was replaced by the word State what Rajiv Gandhi planned for the Eelam Tamils was an Imperial power structure with the power wielded by the Sinhalese. But in making his plans he reckoned without Pirabhakaran.

This Memorandum was prepared in 1987 by the author while he was in India. Roneoed copies were issued to the Press and Periodicals and other Institutions but one of them published it. Apparently the value of an Article is viewed from considerations of interests or the status of the author.

word *autonomos* meaning own law. It is founded on a doctrine which Kant phrases thus: *the human will carries its guiding principle within itself*. The rational of self-government, democracy and other allied notions stem from an acceptance of this philosophy. The term *devolution* is derived from the Latin words *de* meaning down and *volvers* to roll, stands on an entirely different plane. Devolution is associated with delegation of power from the source of power situated at the top or the hierarchic structure; autonomy, on the other hand, signified power being granted from the grass-roots by way of trust to a collective body which exercises the legislative, executive and judicial powers through appropriate machinery. Devolution is appropriate for the business world where power is derived from ownership, from the shareholders to the Board of Directors and from there to the Managing Director and from him down to the Executive of the lowest level. In affairs of state it is appropriate to a monarchy or empire where the source of power is at the top. In a democracy, in a republic sovereignty or power resides with the people at the grass-roots and moves up to the collective body, the legislature (sometimes a legislature and an elected President) to be exercised appropriately. The exercise of all power, whether executive or judicial

relevant functionary. In the business world, the Managing Director chooses the recruit, appoints him to the specific post and delegates to him the necessary authority.

In the Provincial Council set-up envisaged by Mr. J.R. Jayewardene, the functionary, i. e., the Councillors are chosen and appointed by the voters but the voters give them no authority. The authority devolves from the President. Since these Councillors are elected, their performance should correspond to the expectations of the voters. Since the President delegates the powers, the President and his agents will necessarily monitor the activities of the Council and the Councillors. Considerable conflict is bound to arise. When authority is delegated, a certain corpus of instructions, procedures and limitations would also be imposed on the activities of the functionaries; these would necessarily be restrictive. On the other hand, voters' expectations would be expansive. Such conflict arises from the simple fact that expectations and appointment emanates from one end while the necessary authority and consequent monitoring stems from quite a different quarter. But there can be, and would necessarily be, much more cause for conflict. The President is not a constitutional Head; he is really the Head of a political party keenly

A Friendly Eeylom is the best Safeguard and Security for India

Your Excellency,

Your Excellency is now faced with a problem of gigantic dimensions, i. e. the irreconcilable position adopted by Karnataka Congress (I) governing that State and the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu who is your ardent supporter in Tamil Nadu, over the sharing of Cauvery waters.

The problem would never have arisen had first principles being given their due weight by those who considered this matter.

River water is a scarce commodity in India and as such economical use on a priority base is a sine qua non. The most important human need for water is for drinking requirements and irrigation purposes. All other uses of river water are subsidiary. Generation of electricity can be provided by other means. Most countries in the Middle East do not have river waters to produce hydro-electric supplies but they have enough electric current for all manner of requirements. Hence it follows that the insufficient Cauvery waters must first be allotted for drinking and irrigation purposes. The solutions of the problem is not to shuttle the matter between the courts and the arbitrator while the paddy crop dries off.

An amendment of the Constitution specifically laying down that in the matter of sharing river waters flowing through more than one State only water surplus to drinking requirement and irrigation purposes can be used for other purposes such as generation of electricity would solve the problem. Your Excellency has an immediate and imperative need to invite all political parties to agree to a Constitutional agreement embodying the aforesaid first principle on reconciling conflicting interests. One hopes that real politics will give way to principled politics and that the aforesaid Constitutional amendment is pursued and placed in black and white in the Indian Constitution.

In part I of this letter which I sent you earlier, I have been dwelling on the grave errors of judgment in drafting the Agreement by the non inclusion of a Clause to lay down that the performance and ultimate withdrawal of the Indian troops would be determined by mutual agreement between the two Governments. This omission gave an opportunity to President Premadasa to hold India to ridicule, pompously proclaiming his intention to issue a quit

order to Indian troops at a temple ceremony and carry it out without any consultation with India. There are a number of errors and it would be futile to refer to them. However a reference may be made to item 2.14 of the Agreement in which India claims to underwrite and guarantee the implementation of the agreed proposals namely the Provincial Councils set up and devolution of powers to the Provincial Council. When India has conceded that Sri Lanka has sovereignty over the whole Island including the homeland of the Tamils i.e. the North-East, how can India intervene in the matter of Provincial Councils and devolution of subjects which would become

Had New Delhi adhered to the basic first principles of political science such stupidity would not have been committed and India thrown into disgrace and ignominy.

There was no Sri Lanka in the Map of the world prior to 1972. The Republic of Sri Lanka is claimed to have been created on the authority of a Mandate granted by the people to the Coalition of the three Sinhala political parties to create the Republic of Sri Lanka by voting for any one of them at the 1970 general elections. But the voters of the North and East rejected the Call for a Mandate to create the Republic of Sri Lanka; only

are fighting for a lawful cause. The failure to recognize and adhere to this basic position in Constitutional law is what led Rajiv Gandhi to such misery. New Delhi and the Congress (I) would be best advised to adhere to the basic legal and Constitutional positions in regard to the Sri Lankan Eeylom tangle.

Human nature does not like to admit errors. One hopes that Your Excellency and the present Congress (I) would, follow in the footsteps of Mahatma Gandhi, to readily admit the errors and effect a reversal of the Rajiv Gandhian aberration in the Sri Lankan Eeylom policy and act in adhering

Rajiv Gandhi of asserting Sri Lankan sovereignty over the whole Island and Tamil Eeylom is suppressed, New Delhi should visualize a date in the not distant future when Chinese naval forces occupied Trincomalee and Chinese Air Force operate from Palaly aerodrome. None of the Western countries have agreed to sell (perhaps rather belatedly) arms and ammunition to Sri Lanka because it is a Civil War within the country. Sri Lanka has therefore been forced to obtain supplies of arms and ammunition, planes and naval-crafts, bombers and transport planes from China and it is said that China had supplied these at cheap rates. Perhaps China has supplied them free as an investment for Sri Lankan goodwill and future subservience.

An open letter to Prime Minister, Narasimha Rao of India (Part II)

internal affairs of Sri Lanka? Once India concedes Sri Lanka to be a sovereign State with territorial jurisdiction over the North-East how can India have a locus standi to intervene in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka? It is necessary to call a spade a spade in order to draw attention to stupidities of this sort. The Gandhi-Jeyawardene Accord has been based on gross stupidity.

14% voted for the three party Coalition. The Sinhalese claim that the Republic of Sri Lanka is not a successor State to the Dominion polity of Ceylon. The Dominion of Ceylon was a conditional polity, and when the condition of non-discrimination was violated the Tamils had perfectly legitimate rights to opt out of the polity in which they were associated with the Sinhalese. That is exactly what the Tamil youths did and they

to basic legal position, de-recognize Sri Lanka's sovereignty over North and East as a first step. This will bring the war which is effecting a large toll of civilian life to an immediate end, solve the refugee problem in India and place India on a stature of moral eminence on the International plane.

If, on the other hand, India were to persist with the wrong headed policy of

Tamil Eeylom is India's closest neighbour in the South and the long sea frontier is of great value in India's security. A friendly Eeylom is the best safeguard and Security for India on the South in the context of any International conflict.

Yours Obediently

S. Vanniasingham

(A citizen of Tamil Eeylom)

Pensioners' Unions Form Federation

Representatives of Pensioners Welfare Association in the North (Jaffna District) met at the Nallur Thiviya Jeevana Sangam Hall and discussed various problems relating to the formation of a Pensioners Federation.

Mr. S. Sivagnanam the former Jaffna Municipal Council Commissioner and

the present President of Local Government Pensioners Union, as convenor presided and Mr. P. S. Thiruchelvam, General Secretary of the Nallur Pensioners' Benefit Association helped him as Secretary at this meeting. Mr. Sivagnanam, while explaining the need and the importance of forming Feder-

ation, stated that a general meeting of all pensioners Unions in the North is being arranged at this hall on the 28th July 1991 at 9-30 a. m. to form the said Federation. All Executive members of the participating Unions will be ex-officio members and the Office bearers will be duly elected from those present.

Mr. Thiruchelvam, while thanking those members present at the meeting said that the time has come for the Pensioners to seek the support of the Trade Unions to demand the Cost of Living Allowance of Rs. 260/- promised by the present President when he was the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka in 1987. This allowance is paid to all the state officers from 1-1-1988. He further requested the participating Unions to bring with them a list of names of their respective Office bearers and those who cannot attend to send them by post after certifying by their President and Secretary.

Vocational Training

The Rotary Club of Jaffna has decided to inaugurate training schemes for the benefit of the youth of Tamil Eeylom in industries connected with Palmyrah Fibre and Banana Fibre. This was revealed by Mr. K. Sivarajah, the newly elected President of the Rotary Club of Jaffna at an Installation Ceremony held recently at Hotel Gnanams, Jaffna.

Sports

(Continuation of Page 3)

Centralites entered the semi-finals beating Malla-kam by 71 runs. The match was played at St. Patrick's College Grounds with Shanmugalingam being the Man of the Match and was responsible for the side's victory.

Manipay Parish beat Jolly Stars by 37 runs in the limited 50 over match with Weerasingam guiding the team to victory with a painstaking 66 runs. Both Manipay and Centralites are in the Semi-finals.

To A Brave Chum of Mine

Dear brave chum of mine,
I remember the love of thine:
This lovely red flower,
Washed by my eyes' shower
I planted on your grave
Forgive me
For such a little gift I gave.

The sound of our friends' gun
Has begun from the horizon;
For I've to depart from the place
Forgive me
We may be here in a few days.

— Vasantha Thambiratnam —

HOT SPRING

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Beaten Track

Mr. Premadasa has done it again.

In his usual style of making important political speeches in purely Buddhist religious functions, he is reported to have made important pronouncements at a Buddhist function at Galkissa.

According to reports, President Premadasa has sought the Buddhist clergy to present a plan to resolve the present Tamil-Sinhala conflict. The President has promised to implement any such good plan.

The reports also add that President Premadasa has further said that the Tamils are being discriminated against. According to the President's language discrimination had been done away with but still there are other areas in which discrimination exists. He is also reported to have said that the problem is further complicated by the fact that large numbers of Muslims are resident in the Eastern province and that there are also Sinhalese people living there.

The President's 'discovery' that the Tamils are being discriminated against and his public acknowledgement of that discrimination do not in themselves seem to indicate any bold political step the President proposes to take to end the war of destruction.

At the same function Mr. Premadasa is reported to have expressed his concern about the racial complexity in the Eastern Province. This is the beaten track of every Sinhala politician. That the Northern and Eastern Provinces together form the Tamil homeland, is not a matter on which Mr. Premadasa or any other Sinhala politician can retrace their steps.

The Bandaranayake - Chelvanayakam Pact the Dudley-Chelvanayagam Pact and even the Rajiv Gandhi-Jayewardene Accord have confirmed that the Northern and Eastern Provinces are the traditional historical homeland of the Tamils. Nobody can be allowed to retract on this clear acceptance made by all shades of political opinion amongst the Sinhalese. These Pacts and Agreements work as an estoppel preventing the Sinhalese from denying the obvious truth whatever they may nefariously do to change the demography of the Tamil homeland. It would, therefore, appear that even when Mr. Premadasa makes a public announcement of his 'discovery' that the Tamils are discriminated against we cannot forget the fact that he too wants to continue the same old policy of the Sinhala political leaders of dividing and destroying the Tamil homeland and its people.

It is also unfortunate that Mr. Premadasa with so much political experience and the mantle of the Presidency with him should ask the Buddhist clergy for a plan to solve Sinhala-Tamil dispute.

Does he not know recent history? Hasn't the organized Buddhist clergy been the group most responsible for disturbing attempts to resolve the dispute peacefully? Mr. Premadasa cannot pretend ignorance.

If Mr. Premadasa wants to retain his political base on the support of the Buddhist clergy, we can safely predict that Mr. Premadasa can never resolve the present conflict, though, however, compelling it may be for a person who represents a government to resolve conflicts amongst his own people or with other peoples, as in the present case.

All in all Mr. Premadasa's 'important' speech does not show any important change in the attitude of the Baudha-Sinhala rulers of Tamil Eelam.

Cey-Nor Foundation-Jaffna

Minister Proposes Closure - Employees' Wages Not Paid from Sept. 1990 Union Protests to Minister

The Minister of Fisheries of the Sri Lankan government contemplates closing down Cey-Nor Foundation establishments at Karainagar and Gurunagar in Jaffna. The employees in these establishments have not been paid their salaries from September, 1990. The Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU) protested to the Sri Lankan Minister of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources in this regard.

The CMU in its letter addressed to the Minister has stated that salaries have not been paid to the Cey-Nor employees of Karainagar and Gurunagar after August 1990. Following the Union intervention with the Managing Director, these employees were each paid Rs.3,000/- lump sum on 7th March, 1991 as part of salaries due from September, 1990. No payments were made thereafter.

The Managing Director of Cey-Nor Ltd has stated on March 28th, 1991 that the Minister of Fisheries had directed the Cey-Nor establishments at Karainagar and Gurunagar be closed down and had ordered the Deputy General Manager of the Jaffna Region to transfer all relevant documents including Personal Files of employees to Head Office, Colombo.

The CMU has further told the Minister that the Managing Director had told the Union that the Deputy General Manager of Cey-Nor (Jaffna Region) had not

been able to go to Colombo to take the money due to the employees as salaries.

The Union has further said that it is unable to accept the position that payment of wages to employees of the Cey-Nor at Jaffna could not be made because the Deputy General Manager has not been able to go to Colombo and points out that employees of government and other government Corporations such as the Paranthan Chemicals Corporation and the Ceylon Cement Corporation have paid the employees at Jaffna their salaries and wages.

The Union has further called upon the Minister to refrain from seeking Cabinet approval for the closure of the Cey-Nor Foundation in Jaffna, since the machinery and equipments are undamaged and resumption of production is possible both at Karainagar and Gurunagar, if the electricity supply is restored.

The Union has also stated that as President Premadasa has repeatedly stated that the Government is willing to come to a settlement with the LTTE to end the present armed conflict, there seems to be no good reason why the Government should close down the establishments of the Cey-Nor Foundation Jaffna and thereby throw 210 employees out of employment for no fault of their own. The Government

should instead bear in mind the need for a resumption of normal economic activity in the North. This should include the resumption of production of the Cey-Nor Foundation, especially as its products have been and will be essential to the development of the fishing industry in the North.

JAFFNA ONLY 2.5% RICE FOR ONE YEAR

The Jaffna officials have estimated the number of families resident in Jaffna including families that have come in as refugees from outside the District to be 232,787.

Rice is the staple food of all peoples in the Island. The Kachcheri officials also estimated the annual requirement of rice for these families at 792,000 metric tons.

It is learnt that the Government Agent of the Jaffna District has received a total of 20,256 metric tons of rice for the period 11.6.90 to 21.6.1991 that is a period of over one year.

The requirement for one year is 792,000 metric tons. The rice sent for a period of one year and eleven days is only 20,256 metric tons. In other words the Government has provided only 2.5% of the rice required for its Tamil Population in the Jaffna District for one year but does claim the Jaffna Tamils also its citizens.

Expat. Tamils Demonstrate in London

Large number of expatriate Eelam Tamils living in London, staged a demonstration in London on 20th July to commemorate the 8th Anniversary of the July, 1983 carnage of Tamils in Sri Lanka. Large numbers of men and women participated in the demonstration.

It is learnt that the demonstrators proceeded to No. 10 Downing Street, where they handed over a petition to the British Prime Minister. It is learnt that the

Thalikody...

(Continuation of Page 1)

The dead bodies were highly decomposed and were buried by the people.

The Thalikody has been taken charge of by the PFLT.

demonstrators decried the continued aerial bombardment of Tamil Eelam by the Sinhala government and sought British intervention

to stop the on-going war. The demonstrators also called upon Britain to stop all aid to the Government of Sri Lanka.

J. R. the Evil Genius

J. R. happens to be the only politician of the forties still left. J. R. has come into his eighties: he would have liked to go on for some more years - whoever gave up power willingly? - But his assistant was waiting in the wings, impatient and even threatening. The old man had had a miraculous escape earlier when a few of his ministers were hurt by a bomb meant for him. He had come out of it without even a scratch. He may not be so lucky a second time. So he has bid good bye to politics and gracefully handed over to his next in line, a plebian nous homo, compared to the aristocratic J. R. The old warrior will go into history as Sri Lanka's evil genius.

Cynthia Kariyawasam
Quoted from an article in
Tamil Nation, London.