

HOT SPRING

Vol. 1

15th. September 1991

No. 49

They [reckon the Tigers Could Go on
Fighting Indefinitely

"Tigers are not alone in believing that one day they will get their Eelam. Some of the Indian Officers fighting them believe so too. They have experienced the Tigers' tenacity in battle and have interrogated Tiger prisoners. They reckon the guerrillas could go on fighting indefinitely"

- British Weekly Economist -
October 22, 1983

TAMILS - THE PAWNS ON POLITICAL CHESS BOARD

As the strife within the UNP escalates, both warring groups are determined to draw the Tamils into their war of words. Reports from Colombo state that posters appeared in Colombo suggesting that the Lalith group is in league with the LTTE. On the other hand, the Lalith - Gamini group has started attacking President

Premadasa suggesting that he is accomodative of the Tigers.

The Lalith - Gamini group also draws the late Defence State Minister Ranjan Wijeratne's name to corroborate their version of the charges.

The LTTE has stated that they are not interested in the power-struggle now going on in Colombo.

Colombo Tamil sources stated that the involvement of the LTTE name by both sides, indicate that the Tamils would be the target

of attack of any politician amongst the Sinhalese, as they believe that anti-Tamil propaganda is good vote-catching tactics for the Sin-

halese leaders, as has been the case throughout the post independence period. The Tamils had always been the pawns of prev for Sinhala political leaders.

Over 20,000 acres of Paddy Cultivation Affected - Manal Aru war goes on

Over 20,000 acres of paddy land in the Kumilamunai area in the Manal Aru District have been affected by the war carried on by the Sri Lankan government there for the second week now.

The reports from Kumilamunai state that due to the combined attack of the three armed forces of the government of Sri Lanka, the farmers

have been rendered refugees. Aerial bombardment and cannon fire have damaged the cultivation in the area.

Many houses, shops and other buildings as also fishing boats in the area have been damaged by artillery shell attack also. It is reported that the attack is carried out all day and night.

French A.I. worried about 'Disappearance' in Sri Lanka - Govt. must invite UN Commission

In a circular letter addressed to the press, Rebecca Scholl, a member of the French Amnesty International has expressed the French people's concern about the human rights situation in Sri Lanka.

She has said that the Government of Sri Lanka must extend an invitation to the United Nations' Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances to visit the Island.

The letter reads as follows:-

"As a French member of AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, I am worrying about the 'disappearances' occurring in all parts of the country. I have already written to several members of the government, so that they undertake speedy and impartial investigations into the whereabouts or fate of the disappeared.

AMNETSY INTERNATIONAL welcomed the government's statement, made in November 1987 to the United Nations's Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances that it would allocate resources and personnel to accounting for the disappeared. We also request that the Sri - Lankan government extend an invitation to this commission to visit Sri-Lanka, and give the International Committee of the Red Cross access to Sri-Lanka to allow it to carry out its work of providing assistance and protection to victims of the conflict as stipulated in the UN Human Rights Commission resolution adopted on 12 March 1987.

We think that an independent and impartial body should be set up to investigate all cases. Its members should be known for their impartiality and integrity and and be representative of various Sri - Lankan communities.

Moreover, I would like to stress the following cases:

- (1) Sanjiva Singapuli Ralalage Ajith - arrested on 8 April 1989 in Matale District.
- (2) Wewliyadde Gedera Punchibanda - arrested on 24 July 1989 in Matale District.
- (3) Komala Witana Arachchilage Victor Virashingha - arrested on 12 December 1989 in Ukuwela, Matale District.
- (4) Ransirige Rohana Nishantha, and (5) Ransirige Susantha Janaka - arrested on 13 December 1989 in Ukuwela, Matale District.

They were all arrested by soldiers of the Sri - Lankan Army. We would like to have any information about the current whereabouts of these disappeared people. I think their families should also be informed of their fate."

MANAL ARU WAR GOES ON UNABATED

The Sri Lankan Government's use of violence as a method of achieving the political objective of the Sinhalese politicians of dividing the geographical contiguity of the Tamil homeland and

the unity of the Tamils which began with the Manal Aru War at the end of last month, has entered the third week with the Government employing its three armed forces to destroy

and make desolate the Manal Aru area.

Reports indicate that a fierce battle is raging unabated for the third week now. The LTTE have stated that 59 of its cadres died in battle at Manal Aru. The Government's casualty figures are being released to the Press in Colombo but the figures given by the Army High Command are believed to be minimised. At the same time it is believed that the Army High Command is exaggerating the losses sustained by the LTTE.

The war, however, has caused the civilian population heavily. Almost all the villages in the area have been deserted. People have fled to other areas for safety. Lots of damages have been caused to houses and other buildings in these areas. Large tracts of paddy lands have been abandoned and fishing has come to a completely standstill.

Batticaloa District

325 Places of worship damaged

It is reported that 325 places of worship in the Batticaloa District have been damaged after the war in the North-East began last year.

The damage in terms of monetary value to these places of worship is estimated to be around Rupees

Twenty two million seven hundred and fifteen thousand.

These figures, it is learnt, are contained in a report furnished by the Government of Batticaloa District to the Northeastern Provincial Council.

SINHALA ONLY PEACE

"...I was 12 years in power. Never was there a single racial riot. So if it is 'Sinhala Only', how is it that it didn't happen during our time? I asked the question (recently). Why is it that during my time there was no racial riots? Is it because of our 'Sinhala Only' policy? That may have been just one of the causes..."

- Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranayake in an informal interview to Mr. N. Ram of Front Line.

"Tamils would have won the war but for..."

The 1914 War, the 1939 War. The Cabinet was sitting at midnight to get the news that the Germans were offending. As midnight struck, the War began. Indian troops coming here, was like that. It was my personal decision. I take responsibility for that. And I feel that if I didn't do that, our opponents would have won the war."

- J. R. Jayewardene in an interview to N. Ram of Front Line.

The Kurds and Self-determination of Minority Groups

The Kurdish crisis is a moment of opportunity for the UN. It could take steps in the next weeks and months which take the world community a giant step forward in its capacity to deal with a class of self-determination problems - not only the Kurds but the Lithuanians, the Croats of Yugoslavia, the Quebecois of Canada, the Tamils of Sri Lanka, the Eritreans, the Kashmiris, the Tibetans, the East Timorese and so on which have grown dramatically in the last 5-10 years. It could develop the procedures we envision in the Box.

The UN centres being established for the Kurds in Northern Iraq are probably a step in the right direction. But they are no more than an emergency measure. And they deal with only a very small part of the problem.

What the Kurds of Iraq need is a breakthrough on political formulae. They need a far-reaching change in their constitutional relationship with Iraq.

That does not necessarily mean that they need a state of their own. A state of Kurdistan in which Kurds from Iraq, Turkey and Iran are united has often been dreamed of. And it seems to have given the Bushs and Majors of the world nightmares.

But the issue today is not Kurdistan in the sense of a major reassembling of boundaries. It is the demands of the Iraqi Kurds for freedom from oppression. What their leaders are demanding is genuine autonomy within Iraq, guaranteed by UN presence and enshrined in international law.

Refugees as a Catalyst of Change

The massive exodus of Kurds from Iraq since late March has highlighted a problem to which the UN High Commission for Refugees has persistently called attention. Refugee authorities have stressed for years that it is unrealistic for most of the world's 18 million or so refugees to hope for permanent resettlement either in the countries to which they have fled or in faraway places like Australia, Canada, the US or Western Europe.

Their best hope, these authorities contend, lies in voluntary repatriation to the countries they left, which requires the unmaking of the processes of ethnic, political and other repression which caused them to flee.

Refugee specialists have taken a similar view. The UN, they argue, must stop treating refugee problems by

How the UN could handle self-determination

How would a new process like this work? How would it help the Eritreans redefine their relationship to the Ethiopian state (or the Estonians dealing with the Soviet state or the Tamils dealing with the Sri Lankan state?)

Assuming that the Kurdish crisis catalyzes innovation in the capacity of the UN system to deal with "second generation" claims to self-determination (ones unconnected with Western European colonialism) a process something like the following would be in place:

Representatives of the Eritreans would be able to go a UN Committee for the Registration of Claims to Self-Determination (established by the General Assembly). There they would argue that a prima facie case exists that the Eritreans have been denied self-determination.

By this time a Working Group of Expert Body appointed by the U.N. Secretary-General would have been examining forms through which the aspirations of peoples who see themselves as having been denied self-determination could be satisfied.

This Group's considerations would have included a range of options other than separate state-hood, including "free association", a form authorized in the UN General Assembly's decolonization resolution of 1960 but hitherto still largely unexplored (The form of free association achieved by the Cook Islands in relation to New Zealand is often seen as honoring the spirit of self-determination, whereas the form achieved by Puerto Rico in relation to the US has often been said to violate that spirit.)

Assuming the Eritreans succeeded in the effort to have their claim accepted by the Committee for the Registration of Claims there would have been a great deal of discussion and argument, both in their ranks and within the Ethiopian government, on the terms of a settlement which might satisfy the minimal demands of both parties.

At that point the Security Council would establish an ad hoc body to mediate an appropriate outcome. Its composition might resemble that of the U.N. Commission for Indonesia which mediated the Dutch-Indonesian conflict in 1948-49. That was a three-member body consisting of Belgium (chosen by Holland), Australia (chosen by Indonesia) and the US (chosen by Belgium and Australia together).

bandaid methods which are obviously inadequate. It must begin to tackle refugee problems with a concern for "root causes" and must seek "durable solutions."

Frustrated claims to self-determination

What is needed is a breakthrough in the capacity of the UN system to deal with frustrated claims to self-determination. It is thwarted claims of this kind which lead people to join what they see

as patriotic movements of resistance to oppression, to cross borders en masse when their resistance is suppressed, and then to languish in refugee camps for years and decades while the rest of the world forgets them.

Why then have the world's major powers been reluctant to listen, either to the Kurdish leaders or to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees? Basically, it seems, for reasons of "oldthink", because a few of them see

no way of conceding self-determination to the Kurds of Iraq without breaking up Iraq.

President Bush and the other main leaders of the concert of powers are understandably frightened of Iraq's disintegration. It is partly their fear of the religious militancy of the Shiites of Southern Iraq, partly their anxiety that Iran will be greatly strengthened as regional power, partly their fear of persistent violence

between ethnic and ethno-religious blocs as in Lebanon.

More importantly perhaps, they are committed to the present system of borders world-wide because they feel worried that a change in one multi-ethnic state would set off falling dominoes in many others, including some very unstable ones like the USSR and Yugoslavia.

No need to break up Iraq

But the leaders of the Iraqi Kurds, or the great majority of them, have not been asking for the breaking of Iraq. All the major Kurdish parties are committed to a federal Iraq, as are the other major opposition groups, the Shiite parties, the Sunni Arab ones and the Communists. All of these are members of the Democratic Opposition Front of Iraq which wants the Saddam Hussein regime replaced by a federal state.

Self-determination: a second generation of claims

The self-determination of peoples is a central principle of the United Nations Charter. And the UN system worked creatively and effectively to realize that principle in the first decades of its life in relation to peoples struggling against colonial rule.

Between the late 1940s and the early 1970s it successfully mediated the decolonization of a large group of Asian, African, Caribbean and Pacific colonies. But it has failed almost completely in relation to the more recent class of claims to

(Continued on Page 5)

Cool Silence of an otherwise powerful Voice

The Editor,
Hot Spring.

Dear Sir,

The Christian Laity Front's Appeal (Hot Spring of 11.8.) to the conscience of the world leaders through their representatives in Sri Lanka about the miserable inhuman plight of the Tamil people in the North-East, is noteworthy. It would appear to have influenced the subsequent peace efforts by certain foreign missions.

While the people appreciate very much the efforts of Christian Laity Front in this regard, they also ask as to why the local section of the internationally influential Catholic ecclesiastical authorities are tongue-tied; while

everybody is yearning for peace and early settlement of the present conflict for which every one is contributing his/her mite one way or the other towards same, the cool silence of an

OUR READERS ARE

otherwise powerful voice cannot be understood.

Christ gave voice on behalf of the oppressed and the voiceless. Is it that they are not affected by the present hardship and hence they are not bothered about the sufferings of the common man?

Yours faithfully,
A. Jesuthasan

Railway Pensions

The Editor,
Hot Spring.

Dear Sir,

I have read with interest the exchange of letters between two railway pensioners. The reply of Mr. Thamby seems to reflect the official view of the Pensions Branch and seems to rest content with the penury of the deprivation of the June Pensions which have still not materialised! It may be that an interested party has made investigations and he appears to have been apprised of the position. It may be that there has been no wilful delay or discrimination as far as railway pensions are concerned. I have, however, first hand information of the callous treatment meted out to callers at the Pensions Branch.

I had occasion to meet two friends of mine, who

incidentally were both railway pensioners and had gone to the Pensions Branch in regard to their pensions. They not only came from the Branch without any definite information but also with the humiliation they received from Senior Officials of the Pensions Branch. They came out of the Branch not only embarrassed but regretted having ever gone to the Pensions Branch at all.

This is indeed a very sorry state of affairs. After all, pensioners are also members of the public who deserve courtesy and kindness by officialdom. It may be that the Pensions Branch is saddled with work but the callers there should be treated with the necessary attention they deserve. We hope a remedy will be found for the pathetic state of the Pensions Branch.

Yours faithfully,
R. Manoharan

VALAITHODDAM

Vs

CINNAMON GARDENS

What is the contribution that Bandaranayakes made to the politics of this island?

When the second State Council got elected in 1936 there was an attempt to form a political party which stood opposed to the clique headed by Jayatilake and Senanayake. The State Council set-up did not assume a two party system emerging but the twin leadership of Senanayake and Jayatilake developed a hegemony that quite naturally lead to a systematic opposition. In the first State Council the role of such an opposition was performed solely by Bandaranaike (Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe was a Communist and could be counted out of Parliamentary opposition). In the second State Council there were quite a number who could not tolerate the power hegemony of Senanayake and Jayatilake. A number of members including Bandaranaike, Bernard Aluvihare, N. M. Perera and Philip Gunewardena and the Tamil members including Vaithilingam Duraiswamy (of course E. R. Thambimuthu was in the clique lead by Jayatilake and Senanayake) wanted to develop something like a Party which should oppose the twin leadership of Senanayake and Jayatilake and the clique under them. At the first meeting of this conference, this group decided to put forward Vaithilingam Duraiswamy as Speaker. The voting resulted in a tie. A second ballot was called for and the tie was broken by one member who voted with the Senanayake clique turning over to support Vaithilingam Duraiswamy. Thus Duraiswamy was elected Speaker. D. S. Senanayake hurriedly got in touch with Bandaranaike, and managed to get him over with his clique. Bandaranaike, who was throughout the first State Council a staunch opponent of Senanayake - Jayatilake group quietly got into the band - wagon lead by Senanayake and Jayatilake. He secured the portfolio of Local Government with a view to be better able to build up a following in the country at large. He did not think of remaining opposed to Senanayake and Jayatilake but joined them - of course with a view to building up an all Island leadership.

He organized the Sinhala Maha Sabha and preached the communal doctrine although the Sinhalese were in the majority and the Board of Ministers was a Sinhala Only ministerial team. He embraced the Sinhala Only doctrine and stated in the House that there was no

Ceylonese Nation; there was only a Sinhalese Nation and that the word Ceylonese Nation should be expunged from the dictionary. When Senanayake formed the United National Party he joined that party while simultaneously heading the Sinhala Maha Sabha

He soon realized that he could not succeed D. S. Senanayake because Senanayake's kith and kin were dominant in the U. N. P. So he was planning an issue on which to break away from the Party. He first toyed with the idea of Buddhism as State religion and he resigned from the U. N. P. but only had a very small following and did not constitute a threat to D. S. Senanayake. Events took place quickly. D. S. Senanayake died; he was succeeded by Dudley Senanayake; Sir John Kotelawala gave immense headache to Dudley Senanayake who developed a stomach ache and resigned enabling Kotelawala to become Prime Minister.

Some Tamil politicians became favourites of Kotelawala, took him to Jaffna on a tour and at a famous reception at Kokuvil Hindu College, in answer to a question by Handy Perinpanayagam he replied that he would give parity of status to the Tamil Language and will enshrine it in the Constitution. This led to a furore in the South and although Kotelawala denied what he actually said at Kokuvil Hindu College the Sinhala public would not believe his denial. Bandaranaike made capital out of this pronouncement of Kotelawala and raised the Sinhala Only slogan and became Prime Minister.

Bandaranaike embraced his Buddhist Bhikkus for his political campaign. Apparently he did not go the full length in satisfying Buddhist demands. The Buddhist clergy organized an opposition to Bandaranaike and he was shot dead by a Buddhist Bhikku.

After a short interval Mrs. Bandaranayake headed the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and in association with the Marxist groups was able to win a substantial majority and was Prime Minister from 1960 to end of 1964. In response to Marxist support she wanted to take over the Lake House Press and on this issue she was defeated in the House and had to resign. Dudley Senanayake was Prime Minister

from 1965 to 1970 with the support of all the Tamil members. Mrs. Bandaranaike tried to demonstrate against Dudley Senanayake's policy of granting concession to Tamils. Her demonstrations failed because Dudley Senanayake, who depended on Tamil support instructed the police to take a firm stand against communal disturbances and within a few hours of the demonstration (which was heading to the Parliament) the police opened fire and a Bhikku was shot dead. Sirimavo Bandaranaike and her Marxist allies realized that demonstrations would be put down firmly and went about the country preaching an anti-Tamil slogan that Dudley Senanayake was controlled by the Tamils and that the existing Constitution which enshrined a non-discrimination Clause must be repealed and that a Republic of Sri Lanka should be created.

The J. V. P. elements which strongly backed the United Left Front felt that Mrs. Bandaranaike and her Government did not go to the full extent of the J. V. P. stand. Thus a coup d'etat was attempted by the J. V. P. in 1972. The J. V. P. attempt resulted in the killing of a number of policemen. The police therefore took a firm line with fullest approval of the Prime Minister and a large number of extra legal killings were resorted to by the Police. Extra legal killings and the now famous "disappearances" was begun by Sirima Bandaranaike's Government. Apparently strong Police action blunted the J. V. P. movement for the time-being. The J. V. P. movement was revived when J. R. Jayewardene signed the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement and Indian Armed Forces came into the Island. Jayewardene was then the President and the same technique of extra-legal killings and 'disappearances' was resorted to by the Government. Jayewardene's second term expired and he claimed that he had brought the ship of the State into the harbour from the turbulent seas and that he had no intention of steering the ship of State thereafter.

President Premadasa had stated that he was put forward as a candidate for the Presidential election of 1988 only because the U. N. P. hierarchy feared that it would lose the elections. President Premadasa who won the Presidential elections as well as the General Elections on his own steam pursued the

same technique of extra-legal killings and 'disappearances' first introduced by Sirimavo Bandaranaike and claimed to have brought the J. V. P. insurgency to an end.

Now we shall sum-up the achievements of Bandaranaike. Bandaranaike thwarted the initial attempt to develop a Party system against the hegemony of Senanayake and Jayatilake in order to secure a portfolio for himself.

(2) He founded the Sinhala Maha Sabha Party.

(3) He capitalized on Kotelawala's reckless statement and raised the Sinhala Only slogan.

(4) The Bandaranaike were responsible for bringing in the Buddhist clergy into politics.

(5) Mrs. Bandaranaike embraced the Marxists to secure the Prime Ministership and created an atmosphere of Socialism for the purpose.

(6) The Marxists controlled Sirimavo Bandaranaike for a good number of years and in 1977 the country realizing the Bandaranaike's strategies and tactics were solely a means to deceive the electorate in pursuit of political power, rejected the Marxists completely and the S. L. F. P. was only a shadow of its former self with the result that Amirthalingam was able to become Leader of Opposition. The electorate has realized that Bandaranaike's strategy is nothing more than the communal drum and a colouring of socialism calculated to deceive the voters.

(7) In the present Parliament she is engaged in an election petition case and now seeks to burden the Supreme Court with an impeachment procedure. The primary function of the Supreme Court is to determine issues of law referred to it from the lower courts. The political litigation which Sirimavo Bandaranaike has initiated really prevents the Supreme Court from performing its primary function of determining issues of law raised in the lower Courts. The Supreme Court has become an instrument used for political tussles and bids for power. In the United Kingdom there is no election petition for nearly a century. In the U. S. A. impeachment procedures are very rare and when an impeachment process is begun it is on specific issues and does not waste the time of the court. In the Nixon vs the U. S. A. litigation all the three senior lawyers finished their addresses within one day.

(8) The charges against President Premadasa are not known but obviously they are not in relation to any particular or specific offence committed by President Premadasa recently. It is really a political power hunt in which Sirima Bandaranaike is engaged.

WHAT IS INDIA UP TO?

It is reported in the Press that the Government of India has urged some Tamil M. P. s to support the impeachment motion. Assuming that the Press reports are not entirely baseless the question arises what is India up to? It has also been reported that the move for impeachment took shape in India. India is maintaining at a huge expense the former Chief Minister of the North-Eastern province and is obliged to move him from one State to another. This Chief Minister was really created by the Indian Peace Force through an election process which was completely controlled by the I. P. K. F. It is becoming clearer and clearer that India wants to have in the North-Eastern province a puppet Government functioning under India's own control. India spent nine hundred and twenty five million U. S. dollars, sacrificed the lives of nearly two thousand Indian soldiers and caused the killing of about six to seven thousand innocent Tamil civilians. India did not do all these merely to restore the genocidal Sinhala Imperium over Tamils. It is really a part of the strategy of the Congress (I) to make India play the role of regional Policeman in South Asia.

MISS JAYALALITHA

According to the latest Press reports four Indian fishermen who were fishing near Kachchativu were shot at and injured. The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu who spoke very recently about restoring Kachchativu to India appears to be climbing down. In her latest utterance she does not mention the restoration of Kachchativu to India. She has also learnt the art of climbing down.

PREMADASA'S OPTION

The only tenable allegation that could be made against President Premadasa is failure to reach any settlement on the ethnic problem. No settlement could be reached through bi-lateral negotiations. Any concession to the Tamils would be trumpeted as a sell out to the Tamils. Pirabhakaran has stated in an interview to the Press that any settlement can be reached only through the International plane. The obvious remedy is to ask the aid - Sri Lanka - Consortium countries to arbitrate on the matter. An arbitral award only will be accepted because it has the backing of aid-Sri Lanka countries. That is the only course opened for President Premadasa.

Musings by Nestor

U. S. Arms Makers' Post-Cold War Scenarios

As arms manufacturers churn out new war scenarios to justify post-Cold War weapons programmes, some of them are arousing alarm in diplomatic circles.

General Dynamics, one of the largest US arms makers, offers a case in point. In March it caused a major diplomatic flap between Washington and New Delhi after company analysts in briefing for key think tanks here - singled out India as one of the targets for the 'next generation cruise missile'.

General Dynamics is clearly looking to make up for a dip in sales to the Pentagon last year from dollars 7 billion to dollars 6.3 billion. The US Navy cancelled its contract for the A-12 jet and the company's production lines for the M1-A1 tank may have to close down unless foreign buyers come along.

General Dynamics' inclusion of India along with traditional enemies such as Libya and Iran surprised many South Asia experts, especially because US-Indian relations have been improving steadily for the past eight years.

In a 52-page briefing paper the company outlined a scenario for the year 2000 in which India and Pakistan are spoiling for a war over Kashmir. The US would intervene to prevent an Indian nuclear strike against Pakistan and use 307 cruise missiles to neutralise targets in India. No action would be taken against Pakistan.

Details of the briefing sent shock waves through the Indian embassy here. 'It is irresponsible to treat India as the enemy,' a senior Indian official complained. 'Scenario-building is a dangerous game and we can become victims of it'.

Despite assurances by the State Department and the Pentagon that General Dynamics was simply free-floating, officials in New Delhi are perturbed by the attempt to demonise India - even hypothetically.

Eric H Arnett, programme associate with the American Association for the Advancement of Science, warns that the inclusion of friendly countries in war scenarios can contribute to the 'Pentagon feedback' phenomenon where defence contractors present a line of thought that the Defence Department wants to hear.

'The Pentagon is a sort of closed intellectual community.

People who say things they don't want to hear can become persona - non - grata,' he points out. The Pentagon has denied that its officers were present at the General Dynamics briefings.

Selig Harrison, a South Asia expert at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, says the inclusion of India was a 'significant barometer of anxiety in foreign policy circles with the spread of missile technology'.

'There is an atmosphere in the Congress and in public opinion in which proliferation of missile technology can lead to ambivalent attitudes towards friendly countries,' Harrison believes.

India developed and tested its first medium-range ballistic missile, 'Agni', in 1989, sparking strong criticism in Washington. It also has modern, well-trained defence forces.

Michael Klare, an arms trade expert and professor of peace and security studies at Hampshire College, says arms makers are 'looking for a new Iraq' as targets for their computer-guided 'smart' weapons. Only a handful of countries offer legitimate threats - North Korea, India, Brazil, Taiwan, Israel, Pakistan, South Africa, Syria and Iran, says Klare.

'India got picked because it has capabilities akin to those of Iraq. It is alleged

to have nuclear weapons and it has tested ballistic missiles,' he adds.

The other four scenarios laid out by General Dynamics are: Indonesia seeking US help to curb rebels trying to close the strategic Sunda Strait between Sumatra and Java; US forces deciding to attack Libya's chemical plants; the US attacking Iran after Teheran closes the Persian Gulf to oil shipments; and the US threatening attack as the Soviet Union escalates its conflict with Japan over the disputed Northern Islands.

In the absence of a single credible enemy for the US, defence companies are clearly fumbling around in a mine-

field of complex regional conflicts, setting off politically sensitive booby traps in the process. The new scenarios 'no longer depict a "Star Wars" battle between good and evil, but an "Indiana Jones" type situation where all kinds of crazies and nuts are encountered. It's now a battle against chaos,' says Arnett.

In Third World capitals, alarm is growing that in the new unipolar world, such scenarios by arms manufacturers will only further aggravate regional conflicts that are already ominous enough.

Courtesy:-

Third World Network
Features/Pacific News Service.

OPEN LETTER TO NARASIMHA RAO, Prime Minister of India

Your Excellency,

It's cruel indeed! We are pained and constrained in mind that Your Excellency's Government has planned to forcibly deport the Sri Lankan Tamil refugees back to their own country. We shudder shiver at the very thought of this atrocious, ruthless act. No man who is cultured, cultivated, educated, civilized will ever have the heart to drive away the helpless people who have sought refuge in all earnestness in your kind hands. An inhuman act of this nature is not expected of a country which boasts of compassion, non-violence, ahimsa, Pancha Seela, culture and age-old much admired civilization. Any right-thinking man would construe an act of this nature as avising out of petty-mindedness, mean-mindedness.

Incidentally, it is said that India has agreed to sell arms to Sri Lanka. Most probably this arms deal is to help the Sri Lankan forces to massacre the Tamils en masse. Annihilation of the entire Tamils means a successful solution of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. We consider India as party to the mass murders of the Tamils here. This act of atrocity and brutality on the part of India would go down in history as a heinous crime committed on some innocent refugees.

Tamils of Indian origin are permanently settled down in Jaffna, Kilinochchi, Mullaitivu, Vavuniya, Mannar, Trincomalee and Batticaloa. Refugees in India include Tamils of Indian origin. Send-

ing away such refugees and selling arms to massacre those refugees is brutal and barbaric indeed. History has never witnessed a country which connives with another country to commit mass murder of its own citizens settled down here.

The murderers here do not draw a dividing line between the Tamils here and the Tamils of Indian origin here.

Your Honour may take lessons from the civilized, cultured nations of the world namely Canada, Germany, U. K., Switzerland, Norway etc. They have offered shelter to the refugees whose lives are in danger in their own countries.

The Honourable Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu says that she will follow the footsteps of her hero, the late M.G.R. Doesn't she know that M. G. R. was a staunch supporter of the freedom fighters. He had helped them by way of funding the freedom movement of the freedom-fighters but his faithful follower doesn't permit even the movement of the innocent refugees who have sought shelter to safeguard their lives only.

It's worth recalling that during the communal riots in 1977, when the up-country Tamils of Indian origin were massacred, it was the Sri Lankan Tamils who gave them shelter at Vavuniya, Kilinochchi, Mullaitivu and Jaffna, on the basic humanitarian and sympathetic grounds. They approached us because of the various links - religious, cultural and linguistic we have with them.

Your Excellency's Government has proposed even to send back the Ceylon Tamil students attending the various educational institutions in India. This is the unkindest

cut of all in the language of Shakespeare. This is in other words blasting the precious future of the Tamil students. They are supposed

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Lord Do You Accept That Sacrifice?

*It was in the Cathedral, their 'mother' church
The 'shepherds' of all those bear your Holy name
Along with the 'shepherd of the shepherds'
Performed very meticulously
The 'holy sacrifice', the celebration of 'the eucharist'.*

*The venue was consciously and carefully chosen
Else they would not have taken the trouble
To travel so far for the performance of
'The holy rite' that was to be
The climax of their annual 'holy synod'*

*The chief celebrant
Naturally the Bishop
For that is the only way they know
Took up the steering
To steer the rest through that is most 'holy' for them*

*Accidents do happen
It happens also in the Cathedrals
When the 'holy man' drops a few 'sacred hosts' on the ground
But there is still hope
As long as the rescue team is there*

*It did happen
The rescue team was quick
To consume the fallen 'sacred elements'
Not alone but with the dust on the 'holy ground'
Lest the 'sacred' is trampled under the foot*

*The sacrifice in the Cathedral was over
And they did not have to wait long
For that dark day
The 25th of July 1983
The day the hell was let loose*

*The poor Tamils
Who had lost their home and property
Some even their loved ones
Came running to the 'holy temple'
Where even the sparrow builds her nest for sake of security
Again the rescue team
Rescued the sacredness of 'the temple of the Lord'
By not permitting the 'cursed' Tamils
To enter into the 'sacred' precincts
The Bishop and the Priests thus completed the 'sacrifice'*

Amos Rajaratnam

Kokkatcholai Massacres

LIST OF DEAD PERSONS

Men, women and children have all died at the hands of the marauding Sinhala soldiers recently in Kokkatcholai area in the Batticaloa District.

We give below a list of the deceased victims from the Makiladitivu and Mutha-laikudab villages. Readers will note that the deceased Tamils include various age groups ranging from seventies to infants just a few months.

MAKILADITIVU

Males			
Kathiramappodi Ganamuthu	(70)	Selvarajah Bhavani	(11)
Ganamuthu Kurukulasingam	(32)	Arunachalam Thersana	(01)
Kurukulasingam Nishanthan	(06)	Shanmugam Puvnaeswari	(25)
Kurukulasingam Suganthan	(03)	Kurukulasingam Rubavathani	(09)
Sinnavappodi Sinnamuthu	(70)	Kurukulasingam Akalika	(01)
Sivagnanam Jeyaram	(13)	Mamankam Nagawari	(38)
Naitathamby Subramaniam	(73)	Kanapathiyar Nallammah	(66)
Kumarasingam Shanthalasingam	(22)	Kanagaratnam Yugayalini	(02)
Sabaratham Suthakaran	(06)	Alakippodi Kunamani	(20)
Sinnavappodi Yoganathan	(18)	Ramalingam Sivamani	(20)
Packiyarejah Suthakaran	(09)	Pillaiyankudi Rajani	(3 mths.)
Kupenthirarajah Sathakugan	(06)	Ponnampalam Seethevipillai	(30)
Nadarajah Yogeswaran	(07)	Nagalingam Vinothakumari	(07)
Thedchanamoorthy Sasikaran	(05)	Mamankam Jeyanthi Malai	(27)
Puvanakesari Venukaran	(6 mths)	Kupenthirajah Nirmalathevi	(02)
Yogarajah Skantharajah	(03)	Paramalingam Ganga	(04)
Subramaniam Sivanesarajah	(28)	Kanthappan Parameswari	(37)
Kanapathipillai Somasekaram	(34)	Nadarajah Subagini	(09)
Vairamuthu Moothathamby	(65)	Kanthappan Puniyawathi	(33)
		Elayathamby Thangammah	(50)
		Nallathamby Kamalathevi	(20)
		Krishnapillai Bhavani	(07)
		Karunanithi Malavili	(14)
		Arulampalam Brahmatala	(03)
		Arulampalam Brahmatala	(03)

Females

Velachchi Valliammai	(63)
Alakippodi Revathy	(28)

(Continued on Page 6)

More human skeletons recovered in Mandativu

Eight human skeletons were recovered from a closed well in Mandativu on Tuesday September 10, 1991 and

ten more were recovered on the following day too. Out of eighteen skeletons recovered on these two days, seventeen were recovered from two wells and one skeleton from a third well.

All these wells were in use for drawing water until last

Continued on Page 6)

Open Letter...

((Continuation from Page 4)

to stop their studies half way. It's pity that these students have paid their fees for the whole academic year. We consider this a heinous crime. It may be recalled that the late MGR had reserved special places in the Universities for the Ceylon Tamil students.

Your Excellency is no stranger to the plight of the Ceylon Tamils. You are aware of the things taking place here as you have visited this Island in your capacity as Hon. Minister of Foreign Affairs during the Indira Gandhi regime. We wish to recall how the Tamils of Indian origin in the up-country were massacred and man-handled by the communalists here.

The Tamil refugees didn't have even an iota of doubt in the cordiality and hospitality of the Indians. They felt that their Indian brethren would accommodate them and shelter them and enter-

tain them. When they were brutally butchered here, they didn't think of any country other than neighbouring India with which they have cultural, linguistic and ethnic ties.

Some of the refugees have lost their parents, some their brothers/sisters/husbands/wives and children. Some have lost their limbs. Losing all what they earned in their lives, they have been rendered homeless, desolate, destitute.

Added to agony, is that they were dying of starvation. Food supply has been cut off. Any person with a human heart would sympathise with them.

Sir, it's heartless to drive away the poor people who have earnestly approached you with a painful call - S. O. S. and push them into the jaws of death.

S. S. B. Balasubramaniam
Alampil, Mullaitivu.

The Kurds and Self-determination of Minority Groups

(Continued from page 2)

self-determination, most of which have nothing to do with the colonies of Western European states.

It was war rather than UN conflict resolution which settled the claims of the would-be secessionist Biafrans against Nigeria in 1967-70. And war was a major part of the process by which the Bengali nationalists of the province of East Pakistan created the State of Bangladesh in 1971.

The second generation of claims to self-determination, of which Biafra and Bangladesh were early representatives, has grown substantially in the last 5-10 years, and now constitutes a major world order problem. Witness the increasingly clamorous demands of the Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians, of the Georgians and other Soviet peoples, of the Croats and Slovenes in Yugoslavia, the Quebecois in Canada, the Eritreans, Tibetans, Kashmiris, West Papuans and East Timorese, and the Bougainvillians of Papua New Guinea. And, most immediately, of the Kurds.

UN machinery and principles

Happily the UN system is now somewhat better prepared to deal with these challenges. It has developed a lot of relevant capacities since the days of Biafra and Banglad-

esh, particularly as a result of its Human Rights Commission and various sub-committees of that body. And the three years before the Gulf War saw a major expansion in its conflict resolving and peace-keeping activities.

One UN body that has been coming to grips innovatively with the new generation of self-determination claims is the Working Group on Indigenous Populations, in which representatives of Australian Aboriginal organizations have played an important role. Another is the body drafting the Convention on Genocide.

Moreover the General Assembly has established principles, first developed in the period of decolonization, which are highly relevant to the present generation of self-determination claims. One particularly useful formulation is a 1960 resolution of the General Assembly which sets out three ways by which non-self-governing territories can become self-governing: independence, integration with an existing state and the apparently flexible but as yet largely unexplored range of options termed "free association".

What is needed now

The Kurds of Iraq are asking for a redefinition of their relationship with Iraq. Theoretically granted autonomy in 1970, they are de-

manding that Iraq become a federal state to give them the genuine autonomy they see as necessary for their security and self-management. They are asking that the UN should facilitate negotiations towards this end, and that it should create machinery to give their outcome recognition in international law.

Governments like Australia's and far-sighted people in states and non-government organizations everywhere should therefore be pressing the UN to a major initiative of political reconstruction.

Such an initiative would not only help the Kurds and other repressed groups in Iraq like the Shiites. It would also help the other "peoples of the second generation", peoples which have been struggling against what they see as oppression by outsiders. It would also help the governments of a number of multi-ethnic states offering them a way to get off the treadmill of repression, resistance and more repression, enabling them to stop wasting resources in fruitless efforts to maintain an untenable status quo.

The UN clearly needs to fashion new procedures by which self-determination claims of the second generation variety can be evaluated. And it would not be surprising if those procedures

generated some entirely new outcomes, not only the old ones of independent statehood, membership of a federal or confederal unit, "special regions" and "special autonomous territories", but also new forms of "free association" for which there are currently no precedents. Those could well involve new types of quasi-states, new types of international guarantees and new types of UN presence.

Is it too much to hope that the Kurds' tragedy will force the UN to act innovatively in ways which help not only the Kurds but also the other repressed peoples of the second generation?

It may not be, for what the Kurds are up against is not much more than a set of mental blocks. Most government leaders are cautious when there is talk of expanding the role of the UN and extending the scope of international law. Many of them especially those of multi-ethnic states, are worried about what they see as threats to the domestic jurisdiction of states.

But most of these leaders are also aware that the interdependence of states is here to stay and to grow, that global problems need global answers, and that the world community as a whole stands to gain from the settlement of violent contests between states and anti-state movements. Moreover they

are acutely aware that something needs to be done to prevent the refugee problem from getting further out of control.

Most immediately, they are conscious of the fact that millions all over the world are actively sympathetic to the Kurds.

Courtesy:
Tamil Nation

SPORTS NEWS

SOCCER

St. Mary's beat St. Nicholas by five goals to one and annexed the Kumariah Trophy at the knock-out soccer tournament. The final was played at St. Antony's grounds where S. Antonipillai officiated as referee. It was a well-deserved victory for St. Mary's Navanthurai.

CRICKET

Centralites (Choos), Johnnians and Shabra all entered the Semi-finals in the 30 over cricket matches conducted by the Kokuvil, C.C.C.

Centralites beat Kokuvil, C. C. C. and Jolly Stars while Johnnians recorded wins over Stanley and Mallakam. Shabra beat Point Pedro and Grasshoppers beat Centralites (Blues).

The matches were played at Jaffna Hindu and Kokuvil Hindu grounds.

- Vijaya Kumar

HOT SPRING

VOL: 1 SUNDAY 15th. September 1991 ISSUE 49

SCAPE GOATS

Many interesting things are taking place in the Sinhala capital of Colombo.

President Premadasa finds the ground cut under his own feet by his own men.

The original report was that over forty UNP members of parliament signed the impeachment motion against President Premadasa. Who they are all, is not known but the UNP has been able to identify eight of them and given them the boot also.

We are not concerned with scrambles for power taking place in Colombo. But what concerns us is the menacing way in which the Tamils are being brought into the scene by the power-hungry Sinhala politicians.

We have reports from Colombo which tell us that the Premadasa group put up posters in Colombo that the LTTE is with Lalith group. Lalith group decries the President as being accommodative of the LTTE. Both sides want to accuse each other of either covertly or overtly accommodating the LTTE.

Today the LTTE as representing the Tamil people is being drawn into the fanciful polemics of political power-seekers.

A few years back it was the Federal Party. Whether the veil was the Federal Party or now the LTTE, the real purpose of these allegations is to win the Sinhala sympathy by presenting the Tamil bogey.

The late Mr. Bandaranayake started his Sinhala Only cry in 1956 and from that time onwards, Sinhala politicians of all hues have selected the Tamil element to alienate mass Sinhala support from their own Sinhala opponents. For this purpose they represent their opponents to be in some unholy alliance with the Tamil leadership.

We know very well that the Marxist-oriented LSSP and CP also came out with 'Dudleyge Bade - Masala Vade' campaign in the mid sixties to discredit the Dudley Senanayake government of the day.

Gamini - Lalith group has now come out with the new story that one of the conditions laid down by the LTTE to talk over with President Premadasa in 1989, was that Mr. Dissanayake should be sacked. Mr. Gamini Dissanayake did not come with this allegation, when he was dropped from the Cabinet by President Premadasa. Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali has vowed to fight the LTTE.

They can go on saying anything - whether it be President Premadasa's group or the Lalith - Dissanayake combine.

What is clear to the Tamils, is that under the present political structure, the Tamils will always remain the scape-goats for political power-seekers amongst the Sinhalese.

Whether it be affairs of state or internal party wranglings, the Tamils are made scape-goats. Gamini Dissanayake group has alleged that Mr. Paskaralingam is always found attending Cabinet meeting from beginning to end. If Mr. Paskaralingam who is only a senior government officer, who incidentally has served other Ministers and governments as well, is not a Tamil and had been a Sinhalese, such an allegation would not have been made. Mr. Paskaralingam has to bear this up for the accident of his birth, despite his acknowledged seniority in government service.

But there is a lesson that the Tamils have to learn. The Sinhalese politicians will always make the Tamils scape-goats for their own political ends. They do this because it brings dividends.

In this context one has to understand that the tall talk of unity is nothing but sham - a calculated attempt to keep the Tamils suppressed under Sinhala hegemony. True colours come out when crises occur.

So let us Tamils learn that the only way by which we can live peacefully, is to free ourselves from this bondage.

It would also be good for the Sinhalese people to rid themselves of this Tamil element in their politics. They can elect any leader of their choice without fear or suspicion that such a leader is in league with or even accommodative of the Tamils. They can have a Baudha - Sinhala government which will never have to carry the burden of the Tamils - least of all be dictated to by the Tamils or at least have to 'accommodate' them.

'I would not like to name any Organization' - Chief Investigator

To a question posed as to whether he had enough evidence to substantiate official suspicions that the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) ordered Rajiv Gandhi's May 21st. killing, the Chief Investigator, D.R. Karthikeyan himself had responded "I would not like to name any organization" (Reuter)

But the police admit that the search to trace the conspirators has given them the evidence they very much needed to smash the Tiger network in its most strategic base, India's Tamil Nadu, perhaps the main purpose of the investigation!

When asked how entrenched the Tigers were in his State, Tamil Nadu Police Chief, Swarnabhadran Sripal said "We have to go deep into the matter and we are going there"

What is certain is that India is determined to flush the Tigers out of Tamil Nadu.

The Indian State's 55 million Tamils deeply conscious of their ethnic ties, were once unabashed in their sympathy with the Tiger goal for a separate State a Tamil homeland in Sri Lanka. What is actually happening

is that the authorities in the Central Government in New Delhi as well as those in the State Government of Tamil Nadu are driving the police investigators to use the opportunity presented by the assassination to destroy the Tiger base and flush them out. Government party leader and the Chief Minister of West Bengal, Jyothi Basu, an astute politician, who was able to see through all this police veil had said that the investigators were not looking for evidence to solve the murder but were being used by interested parties to gain political or diplomatic mileage.

- ANANDAN -

NEWS ROUND UP

30-8-91

Artillery shell attack by Navy from Mandativu. Many houses damaged and some persons injured. Two sisters Mudiappu Yogarani (18) and Pudiappu Pavalam (22) were injured and admitted to Jaffna Hospital.

2-9-91

Artillery shell attacks from Palali and Karainagar Army Camps at Tellipalai, Kadduvan, Veemankamam and Kupplan.

4-9-91

Attack by Avro at Mannar and Artillery shell attack from Elephant Pass Army Camp.

5-9-91

Artillery shell attack from Palali. Damages not verified.

At Pungudutivu- Cannon firing from Navy boat. At Vavuniya, Sri Lankan Army opened fire, killing two

persons, Rengasamy Ramalingam and Ponniah Kulanthavelu. Arrests of Tamils by Sri Lankan Army.

6-9-91

At Kadduvan- Artillery shell attack from Palali Army Camp. One house was burnt.

At Mutur, Peruvelli, Sri Lankan Army opened fire

killing one person named K. Rajan (38). Many houses were also burnt by Sri Lankan Army.

At Paranthan Attack by Avro. Damages not verified.

Artillery shell attack by Navy from Karainagar Navy Camp at Ponnalai and Moolai.

9-9-91

At Chulipuram- Cannon firing by Sri Lankan Navy.

More human...

(Continuation from Page 5)

year, when the Sinhala Army entered Mandativu village en route to the Jaffna Fort which was under siege. Though many people in the village fled Mandativu at the approach of the Sinhala Army, some people were caught in the village and nothing was known of them thereafter.

After the Sinhala Army left Mandativu, the villagers slowly returned to the village. A number of wells were found

closed by the people, when they returned.

The eighteen skeletons now found, have been recovered from these closed wells which the people tried to restore. Heaps of stones and rubbish had been used to close the wells.

Last month also 16 human skeletons were recovered from a closed well which the villagers tried to restore. With the eighteen human skeletons now recovered, the total has risen to thirty four. All these skeletons are feared to be all that remains of some of the persons who had "disappeared" in Mandativu, after the army occupied the village about this time last year.

British MPs call for unconditional negotiations on equal terms

It is learnt that five British Members of the House of Commons have given notice of an early motion to be tabled in the House of Commons.

It is further learnt that the motion calls for "imme-

diate and unconditional negotiations on equal terms to achieve a viable political solution on the Sinhala-Tamil conflict, and to end the killings".

The signatories to the motion are the following

members of the House of Commons:-

Dr. Dafydd Elis Thomas
Dr. Norman A Goodman
Mr. Thomas Graham
Mr. Keith Bradley
Mr. Alan Meale
Mr. Harry Barnes

Kokkati...

(Continuation from Page 5)

MUTHALAIKUDAH

Males

Sabapathy Santhosam (42)
Velappodi Aniyanyagam (42)
Vyrarnuthu Kulanthavel (47)
Krishnapillai Mahenthiramoorthy (32)
Thangammah Sinnathamby (36)
Thambipillai Kanthaiah (35)
Kanthaiyan Rajenthiram (27)
Velappodi Sinnakkili (30)
Subramaniam Theevanayagam (31)
Velappodi Thillaiyampalam (40)

Nagamuthu Kulanthavel (45)
Kulanthavel Santhirasekeram (17)
Ketharapillai Sounthirarajah (19)
Mylvaganam Balasubramaniam (48)
Kansapathipillai Kopalapillai (35)
Kanthasamy Raventhiran (27)
Elayathamby Thangavel (29)
Vyrarnuthu Kansapathipillai (60)
Pasupathipillai (22)
Vyrarnuthu Rajanayagam (42)
Elayathamby Velappodi (23)