

## HOT SPRING

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No. 4

Right to Self-Determination  
Justified

.....there are two ways in which the application of the right to self-determination becomes justified in Sri Lanka..... (1) the long-standing virtual intransigency of the Sri Lankan Government by its refusal to respect the human rights of the Tamil people in spite of continued international pressure and (2) the internationalization of the armed conflict by the entry of the armed forces of India.

M/S. Karen Parker,  
U. S. Attorney & Human Rights Worker.

## RAPID SINHALA COLONIZATION

## POTTUVIL'S CHANGING DEMOGRAPHY

Rapid Sinhala Colonization of Tamil territories is taking place in most areas of the Tamil homeland in the East. The Colonization programme is being sponsored by the Government of Sri Lanka. In addition to the provision of various incentives Army camps and Homeguard units are being set up in these new colonies.

In the Amparai District, Pottuvil has become a special target for Sinhala colonization. At Lahugala in Pottuvil, the Tamils were all driven out of the village. The Tamils of Lahugala are living as refugees elsewhere. Sinhalese have been allocated the lands that were occupied by the Tamils. New Sinhala colonists have taken up residence in this area.

Similarly, Sinhala colonization has taken place at 4th Mile Post Pottuvil.

Pakkiyawathai in Pottuvil was also a village where

Tamils lived. After the Tamils were driven out, Muslims have been settled in that area.

So also Kottukkal in Pottuvil which was a Tamil village. The Tamils in this place have been ousted and Muslims settled there. There is a Navy Camp at Kottukkal.

All places in Panama where Tamils lived earlier, have now been settled with Sinhala colonists.

At Meeragala, a new Sinhala colony has been set up. Apart from Sinhalese

people being allocated lands, 50 houses have been built and handed over to Sinhala colonists under the Gam Udawe Scheme of the Government. New roads have been constructed and irrigation facilities provided for Sinhala colonists. An Army Camp and a Home Guard unit have been set for the protection of colonists.

Sinhalese colonists have also been settled in the Tamil villages of Malwathai, Valathapitti and Mallikai thivu..

At Uillai in Pottuvil, Sinhalese fishermen from outside have been settled.

At Ward 2 in Pottuvil, Sinhala Buddhist priests have been settled. In the Tamil villages adjoining Akkraipattu,

such as Thiraiakerni, Palamunai, Attapallam and Oluvil, Muslims have taken the opportunity to take over the lands of the Tamils who have been driven out of their homes.

To ensure complete militarization of the Tamil homeland, an Air Force Camp has been set up at Komari.

S. L. Soldiers set fire to  
Houses of Tamils

The Sri Lankan Army set fire to three houses belonging to Tamils at the 78th Colony near Pullumalai in the Batticaloa District.

The report in this connection states that on Saturday, October 26th, the Sri Lankan Army stationed at Pullumalai went to the 78th Colony and opened fire at random. Later they set fire to three houses and also took along with them some looted property which included three bicycles and some goats.

It is also learnt that on Sunday 27th October, the Sri Lankan Army stationed at Karadiyan Aru went to

the village of Malapalam and looted properties belonging to Tamils. One person is reported to have been arrested and taken away by the soldiers.

Fisherman Arrested by  
S. L. Army

Two Fishermen who were fishing in the seas off Mandativu were arrested by the Sri Lankan Army stationed at Mandativu. They are Sylvester (35) and Sunthar (20).

Similarly four other fishermen were arrested by the army when they were fishing in the seas off Kalmunai. Those arrested were Nesan (40), Anton (45), Pattukili (36) and Saverian (65).

Nothing is known of the arrested fishermen.

## FISHERMEN FIRED AT

The Sri Lankan Army stationed at Mandativu opened fire on fishermen engaged in coastal fishing at Siruthivu.

The fishermen who had set out for fishing were thus forced to run away and escape injuries.

As a result of Sri Lankan army taking up positions at

Mandativu, fishermen from Gurnagar, Passaiyoor, Kottadi, and Navanthurai are unable to engage themselves in fishing operations for their livelihood.

Artillery Shell  
Attack

Kadduvan, Telipalai and Kurumbasiddy in the Valigam North were subjected to heavy artillery shell attack from the Army Camp at Palaly on Saturday October 26.

At the same time naval ships in the seas off Karainagar directed cannon fire towards residential areas of Ponnalai.

MILITARIZATION OF  
TAMIL HOMELAND

Government clings on to power at the point of the gun

Tamil Eelam, the homeland of the Tamils, is kept under subjugation by the iron heels of the Sinhala Armed Forces. In the Amparai District there are:

(a) 29 Special Task Forces Camps

(b) 9 Police stations

(c) 1 Navy Camp

(d) 22 Home Guards' Camps

(e) 7 Army Camps. all totalling 68 Camps.

## Smaller Than Eelam But Free

At present there are at least 37 recognized countries and territories with areas smaller than Eelam, (Consisting of a joint North-East province of Sri Lanka). The total area of Eelam would be 18,323 sq. km. Those countries smaller than Eelam (in decreasing size) are as follows:

- |                         |                     |
|-------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Fiji                 | 3. Vanuatu          |
| 2. Swaziland            | 4. Jamaica          |
| 5. Bahamas              | 6. Gambia           |
| 7. Lebanon              | 8. Qatar            |
| 9. Cyprus               | 10. Brunei          |
| 11. Trinidad & Tobago   | 12. Cape Verde      |
| 13. Western Samoa       | 14. Luxembourg      |
| 15. Comoros             | 16. Mauritius       |
| 17. Hongkong            | 18. Tonga           |
| 19. Sao Tome & Principe | 20. Dominica        |
| 21. St. Lucia           | 22. Bahrain         |
| 23. Singapore           | 24. Andorra         |
| 25. Barbados            | 26. Seychelles      |
| 27. St. Kitts - Nevis   | 28. St. Vincent     |
| 29. Grenada             | 30. Malta           |
| 31. Maldives            | 32. Antigua Barbuda |
| 33. Liechtenstein       | 34. San Marino      |
| 35. Tuvalu              | 36. Nauru           |
|                         | 37. Monaco          |

Nineteen of these countries (represented in the United Nations) are each made up of territory not larger than that of the district of Jaffna, which has a land area of 983.6 sq. km. What is interesting is also the fact that San Marino, Tuvalu, Nauru and Monaco are in the same size range of the eight inhabited islands which cluster around the south-western region of the Jaffna peninsula.

Courtesy: Tamil Update



# 'ELLARM' AND 'EELAM'

It was reported in the media recently that President Premadasa is willing to give 'Ellarm' but not 'Eelam'. Well and good.

What constitutes 'Ellarm' for the Tamils of Northeastern Province are given below. It is hoped that President Premadasa will take immediate action to amend the Provincial Councils Act to embody these provisions and make them effective only for the Northeastern Province and not for the other seven Provinces. It is also hoped that President Premadasa will not eat his own words or backtrack.

If President Premadasa means what he said he should without delay convert his words into deeds. He should not attempt to lead the Tamils up the garden path or take them for a ride. He should have the guts to put down with a firm foot any repercussions that may arise as a result from his race, the Sinhala race. The Tamils are eagerly waiting to see what action President Premadasa will be taking in the matter.

1. (a) The Northern and Eastern Provinces should form one unit.

(b) Trincomalee harbour should be under the control of the Northeastern Province.

2. There should be no post of Governor or Official to be appointed by the President.

3. The Head of the Northeastern Province should be directly elected by the people of Northeastern Province.

4. NEP should have full control over its economic and cultural development.

5. Central Govt. revenue should be allocated to the Northeastern Province on a direct population basis.

6. Subjects under the exclusive Jurisdiction of the NEPC shall be:-

a. Internal security including Home Guards.

b. Justice, Law and Order including the prevention and detection of crime.

c. Local Administration including elections.

d. Financial Institutions and Banks.

e. Ports, Harbours, Sea Transport, Airports, Air Transport, Roads and Road-transport.

f. Broadcasting and TV.

g. Rivers, Lagoons, Waterways, Foreshore and Territorial Waters.

h. State Lands, Land Development, Minerals and Underground Resources.

i. Agriculture, Fisheries, Trade and Co-operatives.

j. Health, Education including University Professional & Technical.

7. Tamil regiments should be raised in the NEP to provide security to the people of the area. The Tamil militants now under arms will form the nucleus of these regiments.

— K. C. Adiatham

Valvettiturai.

The Editor,  
'Hot Spring'

Dear Sir,

When I read the suggestions made by Mr. Seenithamby of Vathiry I was tempted to write to you to add Health Education to the topics given by him. But I refrained from doing so considering the acute shortage of paper. Mr. Thiruchelvam's letter, however, gave me some courage to appeal to you to make this valuable journal a bi-weekly publication so that some space could be set apart for topics like Health Education, community Organization etc.

Long before your appeal to increase the sale of this most informative paper, I had started some propaganda work by talking to friends about subjects of topical interest that appeared in the paper and sometimes lending my paper to them. Once an interest is created, I am sure, they will start to buy their copies. The progress in this endeavour of mine has been rather slow.

This is the only paper available to disseminate

## OUR READERS SAY

Correct information about our plight to the English educated Sinhalese people and to foreigners. It is therefore necessary to enlarge its scope to embrace all aspects of our struggle. The need at the moment is to at least publish it twice a week.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,  
S. Ponuampalam

Karaveddy

## Dhanu! Who she is?

The Editor,  
Hot Spring  
Sir,

I have read with interest Mr. Alagaratnam's letter in your Issue of 13-10-91. Even though Mr. A. assures that Dhanu is not the daughter of Mr. A. Rajaratnam, Frontline in its Issue of August 31st - September 13th, states that "Well-informed Sri Lankan Tamil sources who do not for obvious reasons wish to be identified say 'Dhanu', the belt-bomb assassin was the daughter of A. Rajaratnam"

The Uthayan of 17-9-91 for its part says "From Frontline Magazine published in India reports as follows- 'Sivarajan's Driver cum body-guard when arrested recently, he was repeatedly questioned by the Indian C. I. D. At this inquiry he came out with several truths. Of this an important one is that of Dhanu when Sivarajan brought Dhanu and Subha to India this Rangan also came to India in the same boat. When the final plot to assassinate Rajiv Gandhi was being

discussed, Dhanu came forward and said 'I will fasten the bomb to my waist and finish off Rajiv Gandhi' says Rangan.

I came across a copy of this Frontline Magazine and in the entire 25 pages (104 to 128) there is no mention of Rangan or anything as ascribed to Rangan by Uthayan. As a local paper I was sure that Uthayan would have checked on Mrs. Rajaratnam before publishing the said summary of the Frontline article and if Mrs. Rajaratnam had denied that Dhanu was her daughter, Uthayan would not have published this summary. Again, you too as a local weekly would have checked with Mrs. Rajaratnam before publishing Mr. Alagaratnam's letter.

## Purported Relief to Public Officers After 35 Years

The Editor,  
Hot Spring

In your issue of 6 10-91 you published the Circular that will give relief to the Tamil Public Officers.

Officers in the public service when Ceylon was under the British Rule contributed 4% of their salary for the W. & O. P. If any of them retired from the Public Service before they completed their 35 years' service, they continued to make this contribution from their pension. On their retirement, they received only 2/3 of the last salary drawn as their pension.

Recently this act was amended giving full pension rights to every officer who completed ten years service. The pension that they draw will be the last salary that they drew, when they retired. They too contribute 4% of their salary to the W. & O. P.

The former class continues to draw 2/3 of the last salary that they drew as their pension. The Government which thought of giving benefits to those who entered public

Whom are we to believe (1) The Sri Lankan Tamil sources referred to by Frontline or (2) The Rangan Story etc. as per Uthayan or (3) Mr. Alagaratnam.

We would like to have something positive on this.

Yours faithfully  
Thondamanaru. R. Vadivale

Editor's Note:

We stand by the version published in our journal. The facts as stated by Mr. S. Alagaratnam were verified and they were found to be correct.

Reader will note that Mr. Alagaratnam has also sent letters to the foreign English magazine and to the local Tamil daily paper concerned.

Service recently, has completely forgotten about those who were in public Service before that date and this has created a glaring anomaly.

Will the Government rectify the anomaly or allow the sleeping dogs to lie?

Officers in the public Service were given a Rs. 260/- allowance in 1987. The present all-powerful President, when he canvassed for election from public platforms said that he would give that to the pensioners as well.

It is now more than two years since he became President, up to now nothing has been done and the pensioners are helpless because their Union cannot do anything trade-union wise.

Will the President do anything substantial at least before he retires from the Presidency?

If he cannot get them paid this allowance from 1987, cannot he get it done from the date he became President?

K. Thuraiajah  
Thondamanaru.

## NVDAG's REHABILITATION PROJECTS

The NVDAG Report which gives account of the activities and programmes of the Non-Violent Direct Action Group (NVDAG) states that it has selected 108 widows whose husbands died during the war days in the Northeast from twenty villages in the Jaffna District to be beneficiaries of its Animal Husbandry Programmes for widows.

According to the Report 84 widows were given goats

and 24 widows were given cows and the recipients are looking after the animals carefully. NVDAG volunteers visit the houses of the beneficiaries to inspect the animals and progress of the programmes. The NVDAG has requested each beneficiary to donate the first product of the animal to them so that it could in turn be given to other affected women in the villages.

The NVDAG has also an income-generation project

for women by which an interest-free loan of Rs. 2000/- each has been granted to 30 women in ten villages. The recipients of these loans, according to the NVDAG report have all started different kinds of programmes. These loans are repayable by the recipients in monthly instalments of Rs. 100/- each.

The NVDAG projects have been funded from assistance provided by the New Society Educational Foundation (NSEF)

## 'No' 'No' 'No'

Sri Lanka has not signed -

(i) The Optional Protocol to the Covenant of Civil and Political Rights.

(ii) Additional Protocol II relating to the protection of victims of internal Armed Conflict.

(iii) UN Convention against torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment



# Who burnt the Jaffna Public Library?

## President Premadasa's letter

The Chief person who brought about the present situation in the North-East, was Mr. Gamini Dissanayake himself, accuses President Premadasa in a letter addressed by him to former Minister Gamini Dissanayake.

Earlier Mr. Gamini Dissanayake had written a letter to President Premadasa regarding the burning of the Jaffna Public Library on 1st June, 1981.

In reply to that letter the President has stated as follows:-

The burning of the Jaffna Public Library was the single regrettable incident which tainted the inter-relations of the Communities of the Island.

When the District Development Council system was brought to Parliament and an attempt was made to devolve powers, it was Mr. Gamini Dissanayake who opposed it.

He took a lot of persons and went to Jaffna just the day before the District

Development Council Elections in 1981. On his arrival in Jaffna, he collected the ballot boxes and indulged in impersonation of voters.

Tamil militants came to the conclusion that they cannot obtain justice through the ballot. If their leaders could not obtain justice, they thou-

ght they could achieve it through the bullet. This is what made them to indulge in terrorist actions.

Extracts from proceedings in Parliament. Hon. A. Amirthalingam, Leader of the Opposition:-

"..... with the I. G. P. in Jaffna, with the Hon. Ministers in Jaffna, these policemen go and set fire to the public Library in Jaffna. If any one is trying to find excuse for the policemen who did all this. I think one has only to sympathise with such a person..... about 300 men brought and housed in the Duraiappah Stadium, palpably for election duty. It was this army that moved into action."

Mr. Gamini Dissanayake, Minister of Lands and Land Development and Minister of Mahaveli Development:-

"I do not want to contradict in any way. I wish to say that therefore, these people who were responsible for the activities complained of on the 31st and on the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd were people who were not within the category mentioned by the Hon. Leader of the Opposition in the

debate which took place in this House on 6th May. In other words they were not men of the Jaffna local police. They were men who were brought from outside thereafter for whatever reason was ... Let me assure you, Sir, and Hon. Members of this House that there is no doubt whatever there was a serious situation in Jaffna because the police force was on the verge of a virtual mutiny. On the 2nd and 3rd virtually 200 policemen had deserted their posts, and since they were responsible for some very serious events which needed an answer, His Excellency the President ordered - one possibility was that these people were going to attend the funeral of police Sergeant Punchi Banda who was shot in the head - that any of these constables or Police Officers who were proceeding to this funeral should be apprehended so that they would be made to answer as to what happened in the course of the 31st and the 1st. Not all were apprehended. In fact some have got the news that the I. G. P. did give such an order, and we still do not know of their whereabouts."

*The contents of a letter written by President Premadasa to Mr. Gamini Dissanayake and extracts from the proceedings in Parliament on June 9th, 1981 are reproduced here without addition.*

*We believe that these could help to establish the identity of those who organised the gang of thugs and hooligans with or without uniforms.*

*It is also relevant to mention that the Lionel Fernando Commission appointed by the Government of Sri Lanka recommended payment of Rs. 10.2 million as compensation for the burning of the Library which compensation was, however, not paid.*

I am not saying this. Late Mr. Amirthalingam said so on the Floor of the House in the very presence of Mr. Gamini Dissanayake himself. I retain with me a copy of the speech made by Mr. Amirthalingam on that day.

After the rigging of the District Council Elections and after the burning of an international library, the young

men who were responsible for the activities complained of on the 31st and on the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd were people who were not within the category mentioned by the Hon. Leader of the Opposition in the

mentarians appear to have signed simultaneously the motion for the impeachment of the President as well as to express confidence in him. Such persons who have signed

to opposing requests at the same time are not fit and proper persons to be members of Parliament. Hence an immediate and an imperative need for a General Election.

## MUSINGS BY NESTOR

### Indian Ambitions

The Sinhala Government and the Sinhala nation fondly believed that they could mesmerize New Delhi with the manthram 'an Independent sovereign State of two million Tamils would mean a fortiori another independent State of sixty million Tamils'. They thought that they could get the Indian Armed Force to crush the Eelam Tamils because New Delhi suffered from the illusion that the emergence of a sovereign State of Tamil Eelam will automatically result in Tamil Nadu seceding and becoming a separate State. Hence they should crush the Tamils of Eelam in order to teach a lesson to the Tamils of Tamil Nadu.

But it would appear that New Delhi has not only an interest in acting in defence to prevent secession in India but also it has a vaulting ambition to be a muscleman of South Asia and regional super power ordering affairs in the small States of the region. It is obvious that New Delhi wants to interfere not only in the affairs of Eelam but even in the affairs

of Sinhala Sri Lanka. According to Press Reports the concord between the malcontents of the U. N. P. and the S. L. F. P. and other opposition ranks took shape in India. The conference between Sirima Bandaranaike and the malcontents of the U. N. P. took place in India House.

The Speaker who accepted the impeachment motion on the 28th of August subsequently decided to reject it after his return from India.

### Secret & open ballot

The principle of secret ballot is quite simple. The voter must be able to vote without fear, or risk of consequence or even exhibiting his partiality to a person who has to officiate in the position more or less of a judge. That is why the election of Speaker is by secret ballot. Hence ipso facto it follows that the voting on a motion to remove the Speaker is also by secret ballot. The constitution and the Standing Orders has allowed a gap without specifying that a vote for the removal of the Speaker is also

by secret ballot. The opposition must make it an election plank to amend the Constitution to provide for secret ballot when an impeachment motion against the President or a motion to remove the Speaker are taken up in the House. Voting on issues can and should be by open ballot but not by open voting where personalities are involved.

### Human Weakness

Hamilton Wanasinghe, it appears wants to get the credit of having killed the largest number of Tamil Civilians before he retires by the effluxion of time and before his retirement after an elongated tenure. It is perhaps a human weakness in the pursuit of the genocidal war.

### Neither here nor there

A General Elections is an imperative and an immediate need. Some 40 persons from among Parlia-

## What Chances There Could Ever Be?

"The Sinhalese not only got the major benefits but also a dominant position by reason of their numbers from the Donoughmore Commission.

The minorities, who had enjoyed a parallel status under Colonial rule, found that in future they must be content with something less.

Even the more progressive leaders among the Sinhalese did not seem to realize the traumatic impact of the Donoughmore Constitution on the Tamils

They did not stop to ask themselves what chances there could ever be, under the new constitution, of there being a Tamil Governor - General or a Muslim Prime Minister.

A single Tamil in a cabinet of twenty, as at the time of writing, has all the appearances of a calculated concession.

The Tamils of Ceylon have always been proud of their distinctive culture, jealous of their ancient language and in general given to plain living and high thinking. Their industry, thrift and the high priority they give to the education of their children have enabled them to hold their own in a competitive world.

All this was in doubt if not actually threatened"

From:- "The Life and Times of Don Stephen Senanayake Sri Lanka's First Prime Minister"

by H.A.J. Hulugalle



'The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in June 1992 will be a landmark event. It will mark the climax of many international environmental negotiations'. That statement was part of the final communique issued by the leaders of the world's seven most industrialized nations (the G-7) in July 1991. In the same communique, the G-7 leaders committed themselves to working 'for a successful conference and to give the necessary political impetus to its preparations.

#### Communique :

'We aim to achieve the following in time for UNCED

(a) an effective framework convention on climate change, containing appropriate commitments and addressing all sources and sinks for greenhouse gases. We will seek to expedite work on implementing protocols to reinforce the convention. All participants should be committed to design and implement concrete strategies to limit net emissions of greenhouse gases, with measures to facilitate adaptation. Significant actions by industrial countries will encourage the participation of developing and East European countries, which is essential to the negotiations.

(b) an agreement of principles for the management, conservation, and sustainable

# G-7 Pledges to Support UNCED

use of all types of forests, protected and sustainably managed. leading to a framework convention. This should be in a form both acceptable to developing countries where tropical forests grow and consistent with the objective of a global forest convention or agreement which we set in Houston.

We will seek to promote, in the context of UNCED:

(a) mobilization of financial resources to help developing countries tackle environmental problems. We support the use of existing mechanisms for this purpose, in particular the Global Environmental Facility (GEF). The GEF could become the comprehensive funding mechanism to help developing countries meet their obligations under the new environmental conventions.

(b) encouragement of an improved flow of beneficial technology to developing countries, making use of commercial mechanisms.

(c) comprehensive approach to the oceans, including regional seas. The environmental and economic importance of oceans and seas means that they must be

protected and sustainably managed.

(d) further development of international law of the environment, drawing inter alia (among other things) on the results of the Siena Forum.

(e) the reinforcement of institutions concerned with the environment, including the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP), for the decade ahead.

The G-7 communique goes on to say that it supports the negotiation of an 'acceptable framework convention on biodiversity saying' it should concentrate on protecting ecosystems, particularly in species-rich areas, without impeding positive development in biotechnology. 'Then the communique argues for the strengthening of the 'international capacity to prevent and respond to environmental disasters' saying the events in the Gulf show that such a capacity is necessary.

The G-7 also noted how trade and the environment are interlinked and argued for debt reduction and increased energy efficiency by 'seeking to price energy from

all sources so as to reflect costs fully, including environmental costs.' As far as trade is concerned the communique said that they 'look towards the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) to define how trade measures can properly be used for environmental purposes,' because 'open markets help create the resources

needed to protect the environment.'

All in all, G-7 communique is full of commitments that, if carried out, are sure to make UNCED a success.

- from the desk of -

Dr. Nagules Kathirgamanathan

28 October 1991

## THE SAARC CONFERENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY

The SAARC Conference is scheduled to begin on November 7 at Colombo.

The SAARC Conference was earlier scheduled to be held at Colombo in the year 1989. But a problem arose.

President R. Premadasa as President of the host country said he was unable to host the visiting dignitaries as foreign troops were stationed in his country. He was referring to the presence of the Indian Army in the Northeast - under a different nomenclature - Indian Peace Keeping Force.

It was a well-known fact that Mr. Premadasa did not approve of the Rajiv Gandhi-Jayawardhene Accord of 1987. In fact he was a conspicuous absentee at the ceremonial signing of the Accord which took place with great grandeur and pomp at Colombo - marred by the attempt of a naval rating to deal a lethal blow to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi with the butt of his gun but which too was explained away by Mr. J. R. Jayeward-

dhene as the symptoms of some mysterious form of disease caused by 'sun stroke'.

In 1988, Mr. R. Premadasa, became President in spite of some leaders of his own UNP. At least Mr. Premadasa himself has said that. It was an election pledge of Mr. Premadasa that he would get of the Indian army out if he was elected President.

On Mr. Premadasa's election as President he called upon India to withdraw her troops and India had ultimately to withdraw her troops because even the Tamils did not want the Indian Army in their homeland.

It was President Premadasa's contention that the presence of the Indian Army was an impingement on the sovereignty of his country. That is what exactly the Eelam Tamils are also saying in respect of the presence of the Sinhala Army in the Tamil Eelam homeland of the Eelam Tamils is another though meaningful matter. In

(Continued on Page 5)

## Authoritarianism (or something worse) in NGO's too?

At the last meeting of the Consortium of NGOs in Colombo held at the Red Cross Society Hall at Colpetty in the last week of September, 1991, Mr. S. Dayaladev, Secretary of the Consortium

and representative of the Red Cross Society walked out of the meeting as a mark of protest against the Chairman of the meeting, the Co-ordinator of the Consortium, Mr. Sothirajah refusing to grant permission to the members of the Red Cross Society of Jaffna (who were present outside the meeting

hall) to brief the Consortium on the ground situation at Point Pedro jetty. Earlier Mr. Dayaladev had moved that the Red Cross members of Jaffna be heard in person about the situation.

The Red Cross Society in Jaffna is directly involved in unloading operations at the Point Pedro Jetty and has repeatedly pointed out that at least 8 barges were required to carry out unloading operations at the jetty speedily. Only four barges were available and even one of these 4 had been destroyed on October 17th, when the jetty warehouse at Point Pedro was bombed.

Mr. Sothirajah, Co-ordinator of the Consortium and representative from the Red Barna works from Colombo but he had told that the meeting that 4 barges were sufficient, when the Red Cross Society in Jaffna was urging for 8 and has refused permission for the members of the Red Cross Society, Jaffna to brief the members of the Consortium on this matter.

#### PAN - SINHALESE MINISTRY

### Permutation and Combination of the exercise worked out by Dudley Senanayake

Jayatilleke, Senanayake and their supporters had contrived to obtain a majority in each Executive Committee and to elect a Chairman of their choice for the formation of a Pan - Sinhalese Ministry. Dudley Senanayake for the first time in the legislature, is said to have worked out the permutations and combinations of the exercise. They had succeeded, only too well, to capture all the ministerial posts to form what was called a 'homogeneous' Board of Ministers.

The Soulbury Commission in 1944 condemned the manoeuvre. They said that it was ill - advised and that it had resulted in further arousing the suspicions and resentment of the minorities.

From: The 'Life and Times of Don Stephen Senanayake'  
Sri Lanka's First Prime Minister  
- by H. A. J. Hulugalle

### This Island Fair

The dark clouds that hover  
Over this doomed Island fair,  
Portend imminent danger  
Of a torrential down-pour.  
Sporadic showers and lightning  
With thunder so deafening.  
Terrorising the populace  
To flee from their birthplace,  
Causing havoc immense  
That have no precedence  
This gloomy tell-tale picture,  
Of a bleak horrifying future,  
Opened the eyes hitherto closed  
To the reality vividly exposed.  
Booming sounds and zooming noises,  
With crashes and flashes,  
Now fill the native air,  
Of This Island Fair.

- Crito -



# Dilemma of Imperialism

Imperialism can never be at peace with itself. Imperialists are always an agitated lot fearing everything and banking only on militarism, deceit and false propaganda.

Though the Sinhala State is a small one, it has been proved to be an imperial state trying to keep under subjugation Tamil Eelam. Sinhala imperialism persists in this foolery in spite of the fact that it should be patent to anyone that this Sinhala ambition can never succeed. But it will certainly succeed in killing both Tamils and Sinhalese who but for this imperialist ambition can co-exist happily as good neighbours and friends.

The Sinhala imperialist state causes death and misery not only to the Tamils and Sinhalese but is itself troubled by its own machinations and finds itself with no friends and suspected enemies all round it. This unhappy situation troubles the imperialists so much that they are in a dilemma.

The Sinhala imperialist dilemma has best been portrayed in the speech of Mr. Tyrone Fernando, Minister of Law and Prison Reforms delivered at the 37th Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Conference recently held in New Delhi.

According to Minister Tyrone Fernando, the attempted coup in the Maldives sometime back by a group of Tamil youths 'was to obtain a strategic toe-hold, as an arms base to wage war against Sri Lanka. According to Mr. Tyrone Fernando, the security of the Maldives was intertwined with that of Sri Lanka and India.

One can understand Mr. Tyrone Fernando's speech in a limited way at least, if he had confined that Maldivian security to Sri Lankan security only, on the basis that a group of Tamils from Eelam was involved in the Maldivian coup - though the same group is a very hot favourite of the Government of Sri Lanka now and its members are even deployed along with Sri Lankan soldiers especially in Vavuniya. Some were freed and armed by the Government of Sri Lanka. The Male mercenaries have now turned Sinhala mercenaries.

But Mr. Tyrone Fernando has gone further than that. He has said that the attempted coup in Maldives posed a security problem to India

as well. One does not know whether Mr. Tyrone Fernando hopes to justify his argument on the ground that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, rushed Indian troops to the Maldives to suppress the coup attempt there. It has, however, to be borne in mind that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi sent the Indian troops to Male at the request of Maldivian President Mr. Abdul Gayoom. Certainly there is nothing surprising. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was all the time intent on building up his image which had had a big fall locally in India with the Bofors scandal.

His first attempt to redeem himself by marching the Indian Army into Tamil Eelam at the "invitation" of the President of Sinhala Rata-J.R. Jayewardene had already run into difficulties, when the Rajiv Gandhi government treacherously decided to attack Eelam Tamils whose security Rajiv Gandhi falsely assured the Indians, his army was going to protect in Sri Lanka. So Mr. Rajiv Gandhi sent Indian troops to Male - not because Indian security was at stake - but because

Rajiv Gandhi required to build his image up. The Indian troops, of course, succeeded in defeating the coup attempt. In any event, it was bound to fail from the beginning because it was being carried out by a gang of foreign mercenaries who would never be supported by the people of Male.

So why is Mr. Tyrone Fernando dragging India's security into the picture. Not without reason. Sinhala

## — VENTHAN —

imperialism knows that it should keep the Indian establishment on their side. The Indian people are sympathetic to the Tamil Eelam people. The Sinhala politicians are, therefore, very anxious to keep the Indian establishment on their side. But that does not solve the problem of the Sinhala imperialists.

The Indian establishment can always be treacherous. Wasn't it India that trained

and armed Tamil militants? And when things became hot for the Sinhala government, did not India compel J.R. Jayewardene to extend an "invitation" to the Indian Army? India's role in this region is not viewed without suspicion by any of the states in the region. That is the stature that the ruling elite in India have built for the Indian state whose motto, however, is curiously 'Truth alone triumphs.'

So Mr. Tyrone Fernando who shed crocodile tears for Indian security seems to have been bothered whether he was doing the correct thing or whether he was cutting the ground under his own feet.

Perhaps to ensure that he was not doing any such foolish thing, he went on saying that individual countries could not be policemen on behalf of their small neighbours. Obviously the Rajiv Gandhi - Jayewardene Accord was terrifying him. He, therefore, said that a neutral and multi-national

mechanism was needed to deal with such situations.

One cannot but laugh at this strenuous exercise of diplomacy by the Sri Lankan Minister. He wants to woo India, remaining all the time suspicious of her and also ensuring that she does not in any way try to poke her fingers in the happenings in the Island. Greater and more famous men have tried the art of diplomacy and military build-up to deny other peoples their rights and build their own imperialists' ambitions but all have come to grief. This is a fact of history.

Eelam Tamils do not wish to be ruled by the Sinhalese under any pretext and they know that this cannot be avoided except by re-establishing their now lost state. If the Sinhalese leaders realize this and come to an agreement to leave the Eelam Tamils severely alone, neither the Sinhalese nor Eelam Tamils need be worried about the security of either. Till this realization dawns on the Sinhalese, they will always find themselves in a dilemma.

## Bishop's Anxiety Over Tamils' Fate

The Right Reverend Owen Dowling, Anglican Bishop of the Diocese of Canberra and Goulburn, Australia in a letter to President R. Premadasa has expressed anxiety about the fate of the Tamil people in Sri Lanka.

The Bishop's letter is reproduced below:-

Dear Mr. President,

I write as leader of the Anglican community in the national capital of Australia, where our Government is

based. Anglicans here and in other parts of the country are exceedingly anxious about the fate of the Tamil people in Sri Lanka, especially the many Anglicans among them. Some here who have relatives in Sri Lanka have spoken

to me personally about their distress.

We hear continuous stories of human rights abuses and note that you yourself appointed a special task force on human rights in 1990. We have heard nothing of a report from that task force, and hope that it may lead to a regularising of relationships in the troubled areas of Sri Lanka.

We are disturbed to hear a report that the world-renowned work of Amnesty International is treated with contempt in Sri Lanka and it has been called a 'terrorist' organisation by your Foreign Minister. We are aware that the European Community has deplored the human rights record of Sri Lanka, as did Canada recently. The Australian Government has made representations, which we support.

As you know, a considerable amount of foreign aid moneys is given by Australia to help in your difficult situation. However, the Australian community cannot continue to support that while such internationally documented human rights abuses continue. We urge you to take immediate, obvious and clearly communicated action to bring these abuses to an end.

Yours sincerely,

Sgd. Owen Dowling  
Bishop of Canberra and Goulburn

7th June 1991

Courtesy: Tamil Update

## THE SAARC CON....

(Continuation from Page 4)

any event the SAARC Conference was not held at Colombo in 1989 because the Sri Lanka President R. Premadasa, as President of the Host Country did not want the Conference held in Colombo when his country's sovereignty had suffered a set-back because of the presence of the Indian Army.

That India could not have taken kindly to the stand taken up by President Premadasa needs no explanation.

Now that the Indian Army has gone and Colombo is going to be the venue of the meeting President Premadasa is all too enthusiastic, to host the visiting leaders and has in fact written to Prime Minister Narasimha Rao inviting him to attend the Conference. Earlier there were doubts cast whether the Indian Prime Minister would attend. At least certain sec-

tions of the Press did cast doubts on the possibility of Mr. Rao attending the Conference.

However, that doubt or misgiving has now been removed and Mr. Narasimha Rao is expected to attend the conference. But that is not all. Mr. J. N. Dixit, who was then High Commissioner is also expected to accompany Mr. Rao. Mr. Dixit's name is well-known. In fact he was referred to by sections of the Press in Sri Lanka as India's Viceroy in Sri Lanka.

But that is not the matter now. Indian diplomats seem to relish embarrassing Sri Lankan leaders. Mr. J. N. Jha, the present Indian High Commissioner has said that the Government of Sri Lanka should show its respect to the Indian soldiers who were killed in the Northeast because they gave their lives

to safeguard the territorial integrity of Sri Lanka.

Mr. Jha timed his statement to suit the SAARC Conference date. "Here is a President who didn't want to hold the SAARC conference because of the presence of the Indian Army. Let him now eat a humble pie paying tributes to the Indian Army". This could have been Mr. Jha line of, thinking. That is why he did not say anything about Sri Lanka's sovereignty but talked of the Indian soldiers protecting Sri Lanka's territorial integrity.

But another friend tells me that India must have feared the possibility of any rapprochement between the Government and the LTTE following the destabilization process in Colombo beginning with the impeachment motion against President Premadasa.

Diplomacy seems more disgusting than interesting.

— THIRAVIAM —



# HOT SPRING

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## Baudha Sinhala Imperialism and Plight of Tamil Eelam

Ever since the current war broke out in June, 1990 there were always talks of some peace formula being worked out. As a matter of fact at the early stages of the war, Minister A. C. S. Hameed flew into Jaffna to talk peace with the LTTE. And when the LTTE group went to receive the Minister at Palaly, the Sinhala soldiers fired at the LTTE leader, Mr. Dominic. Fortunately Mr. Dominic escaped by ducking himself and later Minister Hameed expressed his apologies to Mr. Dominic. These are old stories at the beginning of the war.

The talks of peace - or the hopes of some sort of peace being worked out - were always advanced but peace never came.

At the beginning of this year the LTTE announced an 'indefinite unilateral ceasefire' but there was no response from the Government of Sri Lanka. And war continued.

For about one and a half years now the war is going on unabated. And during this period of one and a half years peace was always talked of but in action it was a case of escalation of war.

It appears from the gap between the words and the deeds that the Government of Sri Lanka is hell-bent on war as a means of achieving her political objective.

We have repeatedly pointed out in the columns of this paper that no government of the Sinhalese that came to power in the Island after the British left ever had the consent of the Tamils to govern the Tamils and their country. Where the Government succeeded by deceit in drawing some Tamil leader to its side after he won the election independently of the ruling party, that misled Tamil leader later left the Government in utter disgust - as in the case of the late Mr. C. Suntharalingam.

We have pointed out that the Government of Sri Lanka is illegitimate as far as the Tamil Northern and Eastern Provinces are concerned. It is this illegitimacy crisis that is the cause of death and destruction in the island.

In spite of its illegitimacy the Government of Sri Lanka is determined to extend its authority over an unwilling people and their country. It is so power hungry that it has decided to perpetuate its illegitimate and imperialist rule over Tamil Eelam and its people by the power of its bullet.

Last week we reported news about military operations of Government in certain parts of the Jaffna peninsula. Wherever the Sri Lankan Government forces forced their way through the people of those areas fled their homes and reached places outside the control of the Government.

This is the situation that prevails all over Tamil Eelam. When the Armed Forces entered parts of the East, the Tamils fled their homes. They went to areas which were not in the control of the Government or to the forests. Some even fled to foreign countries. Even those who were trapped are either in refugee camps or are living under Sinhala hegemony. They have no freedom.

The government is making use of the opportunity to colonize Tamil homeland with Sinhalese.

It is clear from the actions of the Government of Sri Lanka that it is not interested in ending the carnage and restoring peace. It speaks of peace only to hoodwink international opinion which has not been on the whole favourable to the Sri Lankan Government. The Sinhala Government of Sri Lanka is determined to foist its illegitimate imperialist rule on Tamil Eelam and its people by military means. There is no doubt about this.

It is time that the more liberal western democracies appreciate the plight of Eelam Tamils - especially Britain which has a moral and legal responsibility to prevent from genocide the Eelam Tamils who but for British rule in the island would not have become subjects of a Baudha Sinhala Imperialist Government.

## Tamils in Refugee Camps Sinhalese on Tamil Lands

Trincomalee District has come under increased pressure from militarisation and Sinhala colonization than any other part of Tamil Eelam territory. There are in all 121 military camps inclusive of Navy and Air Force bases and 50 Police stations in the District making a grand total of 171 army and police positions.

The entire Trincomalee District is comprised of 1010 square miles area. A very large number of the native Tamil population has left the District as refugees and are in refugee camps and elsewhere in Tamil Nadu in South India, Mullaitivu District, Jaffna District and Batticaloa District. Some are living as refugees in Refugee Camps in the District itself.

### Allai & Kanthalai Colonization Schemes

The Government is only interested in changing the demographic pattern of Trincomalee. It wants to make this District a Sinhala majority District. This policy of the Sinhalese government has been a permanent feature from the time of the Government of the late Mr. D. S. Senanayake, the first Prime Minister. He opened up the Kanthalai and Allai Colonization Schemes which brought in large numbers of outside Sinhalese into the District. Even the then Muslim Member of Parliament for Muttur electorate, Mr. M. E. H. Mohamed Ali, expressed his disappointment in Parliament with the manner in which colonists were selected for settlement in the two colonization schemes. Lands under both schemes came under the then Muttur electorate.

### Other Colonization Schemes

The Allai and Kanthalai Colonization Schemes were soon followed by other colonizations schemes in the District. Sinhalese from outside were settled in these colonization schemes too. The colonizations, took place in Padaviya, Muthalikulam (Morawewa), Periyavilankulam (Maha Divulwewa) and other places.

### Settlement of Sinhala Urban Population

Not satisfied with settling Sinhala farmers in the District the Government proceeded to settle outside Sinhalese urban workers in the District. The port of Trincomalee, the Prima Flour Factory, Cement Factory, the

Mineral Sands Factory and other government Departments and Corporations were utilized to induct large numbers of Sinhalese into the District.

### Settlement of Sinhala Fishermen

Also the Government provided lots of incentives for Sinhala fishermen to settle along the coasts of Trincomalee. The Premadasa Government has gone further ahead by siting the Fisheries Ministry itself in Trincomalee.

### Sinhalization Accelerated

Making use of the current war the Government's armed forces have driven away large numbers of Tamils and are settling Sinhalese people in Trincomalee. In the programme of Sinhalization of Trincomalee the Government and its armed forces are working in close liaison with Baudha Sinhala organizations, the Buddhist clergy and the SARVODAYA - a social service organization headed by a Sinhalese Dr. A. T. Ariyaratna, whose political ambitions have already been the subject of comment in public.

Whilst the Government goes on with its programme of Sinhala colonization of Trincomalee - even settling Sinhala Buddhist in private lands belonging Tamil Hindu temples, the Government has not taken any action to resettle displaced Tamils. On the other hand by opening up new Sinhala Army camps and Police stations it frightens away Tamils who wish to get back to their villages.

### Kattukulam Pattu East Division

The village of Thennamaravady in the Kattukulam Pattu

East Division of Trincomalee was a hundred percent Tamil village. Today no Tamil lives in this village. They have been driven or frightened away. There is an army camp at Thennamaravady. Similarly there are 12 army camps in all the villages of Kattukulam Pattu East in addition to 5 Police stations in the Division. The Tamil people have been chased away from their villages and Sinhalese are being settled in their places.

Quite apart from settling refugees who have left the District or the Island altogether as in the case of refugees in Tamil Nadu, the Government has failed to rehabilitate even those unfortunate Tamils who are in Refugee Camps within Trincomalee District itself.

### Nilaveli Refugees

It is understood that there are 2013 Tamil persons belonging to 573 families in three Refugee Camps at Nilaveli - a village in the Kattukulam Pattu East Division. The Government has not taken any action to rehabilitate these people in homes though it has enthusiastically plunged into the task of colonizing Trincomalee with Sinhalese people.

### International bodies must take charge

Similarly there are large numbers of Tamils as refugees in camps at Trincomalee and also outside Trincomalee. As the Tamil people have no confidence in the Armed Forces of the Government or its Thug Squads called the Home Guards, the Government must hand over the work of rehabilitating Tamil people to international bodies,

## Bhutan Out of SAARC

It is learnt that neither the Prime Minister nor the Foreign Minister of the Government of Bhutan will participate at the forthcoming SAARC Conference scheduled to be held at Colombo Thursday, November 7th.

A crisis has developed in Bhutan threatening the Government in power in that country. The Opposition has arisen from dissidents of Nepali origin in that country.

The Prime Minister of Bhutan has informed his country's inability to attend the SAARC meeting at

Colombo to the President of the host country, Mr. R. Premadasa.

## SPORTS Volleyball

### St. Antony's the winners

St. Antony's S.C. Beat Avarankal S.C. at Volleyball by two set, to nil.

In a well-contested final played at Ariyalai, St. Antony's became champions.

The scores were 15-9, 15-6 in favour of St. Antony's S. C.