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No. 06

Not a Single Tan

Of the 42 persons selected appointment to Class II / II of the Sri Lanka Administrative Service from examination held in 1989 and published in the Government Gazette in 1993 there is not a single Tamil. There is one Muslim. The rest 41 are all Sinhalese.

State Terror-War Crimes

Secretariat, Places of Worship, Hospitals targeted

The military complex built by the Sri Lankan Government at Poonakari an Nagathevanthurai to economically strangulate Jaffna peninsula by blocking all communications between the peninsula and mainland, was completely over-run by the LTIE in the early bours of the morning of November 11.

In retaliation, the Sri Lankan Air Force targeted other bomber planes attacked purely civilians targets miles the seat of all governmental away from the scene of

battle. Super-sonic Jets, and activity in Jaftna, the Government Secretariat comprising the Kachcheri and other government offices, churches and temples and hospitals. The continued attacks on selected targets where public converge prove beyond all doubt that the Sinhala Government has let loose a reign of terror in the Tamil areas and is indulging in war crimes prohibited international law.

tions, the Air force has

used its supersonic bombers

to bomb the Jaffna Secre-

tariat killing and injuring -

several - the Government

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Govt. Has Abdicated Responsibility It is State Terrorism, say Religious Heads

Nallai Thirugnanasambanthar Atheenam, Bishop D. J. Ambalavanar and Bishop Thomas Savundaranayagam in a joint statement condemned the Sri Lankan Air Force bombing of the Jaffna Secretariat, St. James' Church and hospitals calling it State Terrorism. The Air Force cannot pretend innocence about the targets struck and the Govt. appears to have abdicated its responsibility for administration and for the safety and security of the people. The statement says:

We, Religious Leaders from the North, belonging to Hindu, Christian and Catholic religions are grieved and disappointed that the ethnic conflict which took a very violent turn from the

ROFS

Elaborate arrangements have been made all over Jaffna to observe the Heroes' Week from 21-27 November.

(Continued on Page 4)

1983 rogrom against the Tamils has not shown any change of direction towards a permanent settlement of the problem. Those engaged in the military conflict on both sides will obviously seek to justify their actions based on their own principles and goals.

We, however, would like to strongly protest against the actions of the Shri Lankan Air Force which seems to be guided by the sole motive of revenge and striking terror among the Tamil People. Following on the recent Poonakari opera-

Secretariat Damaged & Govt. Agent Injured On the morning of No-

vember 12 about 8.30 Sri Lankan Supersonic planes bombed the Jaffna Secret-The first ariat premises. bomb hit the Kachcheri and splinters caused injury to Mr. K. Manickavasagar, the Government Agent, who was at his desk attending to his duties. As the sharpnel hit Mr. Manickavasagar, he ran ou. of his room to reach the down stairs. While he was still on the stairs, a second bomb was dropped which hit his office and it came tumbling down. Mr. Maniekavasagar told pressmen that it was fortunate that he ran out of his of the downstairs because had he delayed, he would have been killed by the second bomb which brought his office down. Mr. Manickavasagar was admitted to hospital for treatment.

One man was killed and over 25 injured by the attack on the Jaffna Secretariat. Some of the injured were staff attached to the hospital, while the others were members of the public who had gone to the Kachc eri to attend to their work there.

Roman Catholic Church Bombed

Sri Lankan supersonic jet bombers bombed St. James Church at Gurunagar in Jaffna town about 7.20 a. m. the following day, November 13. St. James Church is one of the oldest and largest Roman Catholic churthes in Jaffna. The Church was completely damaged. A nursery school nearby, two shops and ten houses in the neighbourhood were also damaged. Ten persons were killed on the spot and over 30 injured. Of the dead, three belonged to the same family. The blown up parts of the dead were collected and all buried together becau e not even a single whole body could be assembled from the several pieces. as the bodies been torn and charred.

Hindu Temple Targets

In the evening of the same day the supersonic targeted the Nanthavil Amman temple at Kokkuvil but bombs feel into a land on the rear side of the emple. Damage to the temple was thus averted but six houses in the neighbourhood were damaged one of which was completely destroyed. Eight persons suffered injuries one of whom lost one of his legs and a hand.

On November 14, evening again Sri Lankan Air Force bombers attacked the Vairavor temple at Varany. The temple was completely des-

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Call a Spade a Spade It is State Terrorism

The explanation given by Defence Secretary, Gen. Hamilton Wanasinghe, that the bomber attack on Jaffna Kachcheri, and St. James' Church, Jaffna was unfortunate is puerile and silly after the Hospitals at Kilinochchi and Mulliyawalai have been bombed subsequently.

The targets bombed at Jaffna town are the Secretariat (Kachcheri) Complex, the Roman Catholic St. James' Church and a place well within the Safety Zone around Jaffna Hospital near its entrance. This area is under ICRC control. Elsewhere, the Kilinochchi hospital and the Mulliyawalai hospital have also been bombed.

The Government Agent of Jaffna, Mr. K. Manickavasagar, who is the chief Government civilian official in the District and who is in charge of entire Government machinery was injured and narrowly escaped death when his office, the Kachcheri, was bombed. He was so confused and confounded after the injury he suffered that he asked the question why his office about 25 miles away from Poonakari (where the Sri Lankan forces suffered the worst loss so far) was bombed forgetting the fact that he himself had the obligation to explain the Government's conduct to the people of Jaffna.

Nobody can say that the places bombed were difficult to identify. They are too well known and occupy large areas and well marked by identity symbols to admit any confusion. The places attacked by the Super-Sonic Jet bombers of the Sri Lankan Government are the places considered most safe and where people least expect an attack.

The Jaffna Secretariat Complex is the nerve centre of all government activity. The Government Agent who functions from this office is the Government's chief civilian administrative official. Yet this place has been bombed by the Government's own Air Force.

A Church is the place where people instinctively run for safety and the Government usually advises people to take shelter in churches and temples when its forces go on murder mission. In spite of the sanctity attached to places of worship, the oldest Roman Catholic Church in Jaffna, St. James' Church, has been bombed and ten civilians have lost their lives.

The bombing of hospitals is a war crime. At Jaffna the bomb did not directly hit the hospital but exploded within about 50 yards within the safety area under ICRC control. At Kilinochchi and Mulliyawali the hits were direct on the hospitals and reports said that pregnant mothers who had been warded for delivery and infants died at Kilinochchi, apart from injuries many sick persons and staff attached to both hospitals.

We repeat that the bombing of hospitals is a war crime. The Government of Sri Lanka has carried out bombing on three hospitals within one week and it cannot pretend that this was not a retaliatory attack on innocents to avenge its loss at Poonakari.

In fact these bombings are threats conveyed to all Tamils showing the Government's capability of killing everyone of them wheresoever they may hope to find safety. In other words it is state terrorism augmented by barbaric war crimes.

Acts of wanton murder, destruction and desecration of places of worship in the reign of terror unleashed by the Government in Tamil Eelam has now openly become defiant of even international law by the perpetration of war crimes.

D. B. Wijetunge speaks of 'terrorism' surely the events following Poonakari attack should clearly help to identify who the terrorists and war criminals are. Independent and international opinion will have to call a spade a spade and identify the Sri Lankan Government as terrorist and criminal.

NO NEED TO DESPAIR - DYNAMICS

MUST BE UNDERSTOOD

All that concern manifested by Mr. Gamini Fonseka, Deputy Speaker of the Sri Lankan Parliament, to the effect that there was no proper leader to lead the country and that the LTTE would even walk into Colombo, arises from his failure to understand and appreciate the dynamics of the present situation. Certainly Mr. Gamini Fonseka is not to be blamed. He is one of the very few Sinhala leaders still under the illusion that the Sinhalese and the Tamils can live under the same polity as friends and equals. On his own admission, Mr. Fonseka is not a politician but had been drawn into the UNP by the late President Mr. Premadasa and Mr. Fonseka believed he could serve the people and especially Ruhuna from where he hails. Already Mr. Fonseka is experiencing difficulties within his own party in his quest to serve the people honestly. He is now further troubled by the swiftness with which the LTTE smashed up the Sinhala Military complex at Poonakari.

Lucian Rajakarunanayake's Question

Mr. Lucian Rajakarunanayake, the well - known journalist has laid bare another falsehood which receives its echo everywhere not because of its content but because of the elevated position of the speaker of that falsehood. Mr. Rajakarunanayake in an inimitable way has challenged the validity of the statement of President D. B. Wijetunge that there exists no ethnic problem but only a terrorist problem. In an interview to the B.B.C. Mr. Rajakarunanayake posed the question whether a band of terrorists cou'd act with motivation as such high giving their own lives to smash up military positions. Mr. Rajakarunanayake in effect denied the President's assertion. He also said that the LITE's attack on Poonakari had brought concern, anger frustration and all sorts of similar feelings amongst the Sinhalese. It is the same feeling that is said to have enveloped the Sinhala populace that has generated anxiety in Mr. Fonseka and led him to despair that there is no proper leader among the Sinhalese to lead the country and fear an LTTE march on Colombo.

Mr. Fonseka may well try to find the answer to the question posed by Mr. Rajakarunana ake and then be will certainly find himself in a contradictory position to Mr. D. B. Wijetunge. He will find that the Tamil

youths who brave to fight the armed forces of his government are motivated by the spirit of liberty and are not in anyway enamoured by the power of the weapons they carry - much less do they want to terrorize anybody.

Baseless Fear

Mr. Fonseka must realize that the armed resistence to Baudha - Sinhala chauvinism is not anti - Sinhalese or anti - Buddhist. It is purely and simply a manifestation of the will of the Tamil people to free themselves from the rule and overlordship of the Sinhalese and this armed resistence arose because all arguments, and pleadings were ignored and completely peaceful civil disobedience to win rights were trampled under government's military boots and Tamils taught to behave

KUMARAN

through the agency of thugs and hooligans. Even today the Tamil aim is to get rid of the Sinhala Army from the Tamil homeland. In this context Mr. Fonseka's fears of Tiger troops marching into Colombo seems to be one engendered by the Sinhala politicians with whom he had made the mistake of aligning in order to serve undoubtedly the altruistic motive of serving the people, especially those of Ruhuna. It certainly can be the fancy of the Sinhala politicians but Mr. Fonseka being intrinsically no politician of the traditional type can do a little re - thinking which can lead him to a proper understanding of the dynamics of the situation.

Conflict of Interests and Aspirations

Mr. Fonseka will no doubt understand, that all the Sinhalese people - irrespective of party affliations grieve at the smash - up of the Poonakari Military complex. Whether it be the leaders of the Government or of the Opposition - all are very angry and the so-called 'national press' leaves no stone unturned in retaining and maintaining the racial bigotry. What Mr. Fonseka may not know is the reaction of the Tamil man - the ordinary Tamil man going about in the streets of Jaffna - to the Poonakari smash - up. Every Tamil is happy and pleased with the LTTE's achievement and this will be true of even the quisling Tamils in Colombo, though they cannot make any public admis-

And this different and mutually contradictory feelings between the Sinhalese and Tamils over one incident is a clear indicator of the fact that the aspirations of the Sinhalese and Tamils are different and contradictory. There is no need to remind Mr. Fonseka that not a single Sinhala Party-UNP, SLFP or any other left - party - had ever been able to win the confidence on the Tamil people during all these years.

There is no community of interest between the two peoples. In fact there is a conflict of interests and aspirations. In this context what honest people amongst the Sinhalese have to do is to ask themselves the question, 'How can two peoples with so different and conflicting aspirations and interests be kept in one polity without conflict?'

Of course, a rational answer to this question cannot arise, if one allows oneself to be moved by the hysterics of the Baudha Sinhala clergy, or the hypocrisy of the Sinhala politicians and press. People who do not want to make politics a living or who are not power hungry can, if they reason out, arrive at only one conclusion and that is that Tamil Eelam is a nation by itself. The day some honest man sees this fact he will tell the Sinhala people that Tamil Eelam is entitled to be independent and that Sinhala Rata shall be Tamil Eelam's closest friendly neighbour and all the military expenditure and shedding of blood and tightening of belts are unnecessary.

No Need to Despair

If such a leader is found. there is no room for despair. Let us hope that the honest among the Sinhalese do not despair but come out of the grips of the hegemonists and chauvinists of both Government and Opposition and tell the Sinhalese the true dynamics of the situation which will make Tamil Eelam a reality sooner or later. That would be better for both peoples and we believe that Mr. Gamini Fonseka can himself begin to think afresh which will dispel all despair and instil

Sir. P. Ramanathan Remembered

The Hindu Association of the Jaffna University conducted a special poojah at Sri Parameswarar temple within the University premises on Friday, November 19, to mark Guru - Poojah of Sir P. Ramanathan.

Prof. A. Thurairajah, Vice-Chancellor of the University garlanded the life-size portrait of Sir P. Ramanathan placed in the Board Room of the University,

IF THIS IS NOT STATE TERRORISM,

THEN WHAT IS 17?

What we have seen with our own eyes, what we have heard with our own cars and what we have witnessed in person, is truth, and nothing but the truth.

Terror struck mercilessly hard in the heart of the Jaffna peninsula and other thickly populated centres. Clearly and convincingly it struck not once but five times within a short period of 72 hours beginning from Friday the 12 th. of Nov. 93. On each occasion it struck not any military camp of the Tigers, but 100% innocent

thousands of poor fisher families around. The third was the premises of the Government Teaching Hoswithin the security zone declared and supervised by the ICRC. A fourth was the attack on Vairavar Hindu Temple at Varani and the fifth was a second Hospital at Kilinochchi-the only hospital for a whole district. There is no sign of government stopping this rage of madness and terror, but the voice of the innocent dying and the cloud of dust rising from

confrontation between the State forces and the Tigers.

Running away from the battlefield and attacking an innocent population elsewhere by aerial bombings and random shelling-can only be the savage and barbaric acts

S. RATNARAJAH

of co vards in uniform. But, can this form of retaliation done with arrogance and hatred, disrespecting all international laws of war, be in any way be justified by any civilized government? A shameful and inhuman act



What is left the name - board of Jaffna Secretariat
Courtesy: Uthayan

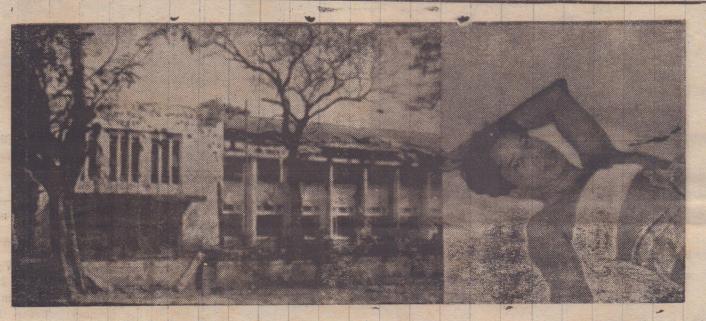
Government attacks its own citizens and loyal servants

On the morning of 11th. Nov 1993, a day before the Tamilfestival of Deepavali, During the few seconds between the sound of ejection of the shell and that of the fall, the few lakes of innocent survivors put their hands to their breasts, hold their breath and pray their gods that they be spared from the blast shell.

Harly moning rumours reached Jaffna that Tamil Tigers have made apsuicide attack that night on the big maval and army camps that scaled the Jaffna peninsula into a prison-peninsulaffor the last three years. Considering the inhuman suffering the whole monulation was undergoing as a result of this army and maval camp, the people were happy that at last the hindrance for survival has been removed and a passage for the rest of the Tamil areas of Kilinochchi and Mannar districts have been opened

But with a sigh of relief they all went to their schools and to their offices to do their duty. The government officers of the Juffna Kachcheri with their able leader the G.A.Mr. Manickavasagar were on their desks for work. Unlike their fortunate counterparts in the south, they had no air-conditioned rooms nor lights nor fans to do their services. The public of Jaffna, a half alive and undernourished population, who have either cycled over five miles or walked over two miles from different parts of the penin sula were gathered hopefully inside and outside the Kachcheri to get their woes redressed. The silent and sorrowful crowd had come seeking aid for survival-Salaries belated, pensions not given for months, relief not granted, unable to get a place among the 20 for the next ship to Trinco, and so on. They were all replied, and with supersonic speed not by the officers of the Kachcheri but by the Government's Air Force of D. B. Wije.

The time was 8.35 a.m.
The Pukkara and Super(Continued on Page 4)



The Jaffna Secretariat after attack by Super Sonic.

The injured G.A. Mr. K. Manickavasagar Courtesy: Eelanatham

civilian and sacred targets killing innocent people and destroying government and sacred buildings. Why is this horror against the innnocent?

At first it was directed against the only Secretariat of the Sri Lankan Government in the North the Jaffna Kachcheri, housing the Government Agent and other government servants. The second target was the Catholic church of St. James' at Gurunagar, which was the sacred refuse for the

the debris of these crumbling buildings cry out for justice.

The death, destruction and the hundreds seriously wounded in these five incidents-these alone-go to prove beyound doubt the clear intentions of the Sri Lankan Government and its Armed Forces. These attacks were taking place in the heart of the densely populated city of Jaffna and other places which were more than 20-30 miles away from Poonerynthe place of the military

to attack innozent civilians, worshippers and even its own loyal servants!

A brief description of at least two of these incidents will unmask the barbarous acts of a government that accuses all its Tamil opponents as terrorists and at the same time descend to such low depths of cruelty to very poor innocent civilians who are either worshippers, refugees, patients or helpless public.

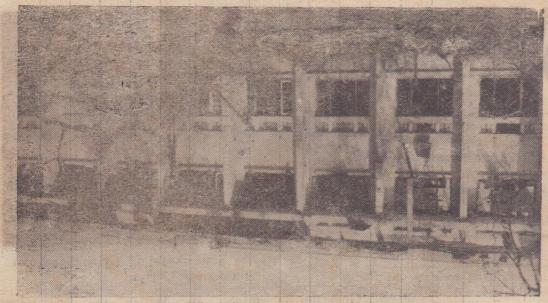
the roads of the Jaffna city were lined with hundreds of bicycles, children going to schools, men going to work and women going to the few co-operatives to get the provisions for the festive Deepavali week - end.

The silence and security of the night was broken for several hours by shells and mortars fired off from Mandaitivu army camp merely as a retaliation for some attack going on elsewhere and simply in the direction of the population.



Inside view of St. James' Church, Jaffna deliberately bombed by Super Sonic Jet Bombers. Courtesy: Uthayan

Pictures Spotlight STATE TERRORIS



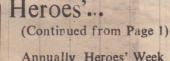
A view of the bombed Jaffna Secretariat - Courtesv. Uthavan.



Side View of St. James Charen. People are busy removing debris and collecting mutilated parts of human bodies of the dead. Courtesy: Uthayan



Picture above shows the damaged office of the Govt Agent. Picture below shows the damaged Conference -Courtesy: Uthayan Room at the Secretariat.



Annually Heroes' Week is celebrated during 21 - 27 November to commemorate the memory of the LTTE heroes who laid their lives in the fight for independence and freedom for the Tamil homeland. November 27 marks the day when a Tiger fighter for the first time laid his life in the altar of sacrifice for the Tamil Eelam cause.

The streets have been gaily decorated and portraits of Tiger martyrs exhibited at various places. Voluntary social service activities too have been planned for a whole week.



Frontal View of the damaged Jaffna Secretariat - Courtesy. Uthayan

If this is not. (onlinued from age 3) sonic jets of Sri Lanka, bought on aid given to uplift the poor, sud enly "growled, grunted and dived into the large mahogany trees of the Old Park, send-

ing two huge bombs on the only government secretari t housing all the loyal, but Tamil, servants of the government of D.B. Wije in Jaftna. The young girls dire ting cycle - traffic at the junction and some poor civilians died on the spot. The G.A, who did so much on beh I of he government and the poor people of Ja ina and his assistants were badly wounded.

The fear-struck population flying over Jaffna. Nov. gasped for breath and exclaimed, "Is this not Terrorism of the State against its own children and loyal servants?" And a Cristian paster exclaimed, "if that be the fate of the green wood, what would happen to the dry ones?"

Government destroys and desecrates Church with Refugees, and worship-

The shock of the previous day has not yet subsided and the victims were not ye buried, almost at the same time the killers started

13th, being a Saturday, a day for the Jaffna Catholics to honour Mary, the mother of Jesus, there was no public worship that morning at St. James. The Parish Priest was away for a week at Pandaterruppu to make his annual spiritual exercises. Rev. Fr. R. Jayaceelan conducted the worship in the neighbouring church of Our Lady of Miracles. The service was over by 7.10 a.m. The Deacon Rev. G. Arulnesan who assisted him was back at St. James' Priest's house, the cook was around, some of the relugees were inside and on the verandah of the church.

characteristic noise of the supersonic jets were heard, people ran inside the church and towards the church, but the Pilot targeted his bombs right therein. He was the devil that rushed in where angels fear to tread. Two bombs ripped open the central part of the church and of the priest's house, blasted that massive structure, 50 meters tall pillars and 3 meters thick walls crumbled into a heap blasting many into titbits and burying other worshipping refugees underneath. The cloud of dust out of those century old structures rese up for miles above

Sharp at 7.20 a.m. the like incense to the Almighty. May the blood and ash of these innocent victims keep tising to Him for mercy and justice. Only that pouring rain. minutes after the attack, could settle down this cloud as a sign of answer to the anger of the popu-

> In pouring rain people stood for hours digging the heap of rubble for maimed bodies. The large crowd around including the Bishop and the representative of the ICRC stood shocked and grieved.

Where angels fear to tread in, the State forces rush in!

Pooneryn Debacle and Disaster

War is the highest form of struggle between nations, states, classes or political groups and all the laws of war are applied by them for the purpose of achieving victory for themselves. A revolutionary war should be in the offensive. It cannot be conservative. At the same time it should, while being offensive, involve the tactics of defence and retreat. Velupillai Pirabakaran has exhibited these principles of war in no uncertain terms and has even excelled great military leaders like Mao Tse Tung.

True to the words of Karl Marx that when once an armed uprising is started, there must not be a moment's pause in the attack. Pirabakaran has taken the war to the enemy by his well-planned and organised attack against the Sri Lankan government's well-fortified military complex at Pooneryn as well as to the Nagathevanthurai naval base revamped with modern equipments and facilities like Central Monitoring Radar After 'Operation System. Yarldevi' Cecil Waidyaratne boasted that the Sinhila army had taught a lesson to the Tigers that it could walk into any part of the Peninsula, if it wanted. Tigers allowed the Sinhala army to walk in towards Kilaly and carried out an attack at Pulopalai that forced the Sinhala army to retreat with heavy loss.

Coup darger

Since the attack on Pooneryn, President Wijetunge is silent and has not said anything about his recent discovery that there is no ethnic problem but only a terrorist problem in the North East. Cecil Wiadyaratne too, who was boisterous and threatend journalists who reported correct facts about his Kilaly debacle, has not uttered anything. Contrary to army regulations and codes of conduct of officials the army comhad given an interview to a newspaper touching on political ques-This interview, he caused to be printed in large numbers and dropped from helicopters. Unlike of his predecessors, Cecil has revealed his inclinations towards politics in his interview. This is a new trend in Sri Lankan politics. The army has grown up in size and the politicians have been feeding it with power and more power. With a weak President like Wijetunge and the UNP terribly divided within itself, even though it is not publicly exhibtied, the SLFP

sans Anura and the left wing parties in disarray, Cecil might have the idea of a coup, as had been done in many South Asian countries.

Sinhala Concept

Pooneryn disaster and debacle (according to the Army Chiefs) have opened the eyes of the Sinhalese. Even the government - owned Daily News and the Sunday Times commented editorially and have said that negotiations for a settlement of the ethnic issue should commence forthwith. Journalist Mr.

S. Thiagarajah

Amal Jayasinghe in his interview to the BBC has said that Pooneryn attack is a turning point and that it has revealed the limitations of the army and shown to the government what could be expected from the army. Former Air Force Commander, Harry Gunatileke has said that the Sinhala army cannot defeat the Tigers and has advocated a settlement through foreign agencies like SAARC, if not UNO or the Commonwealth. Can the Tamils be satisfied with these sentiments? It is not that these people are lovers of Tamils and statesmen to grant the lost rights of the Tamils. They are all in some way or other influenced by Majority Sinhala Buddhist Chauvinistic Concept. They want some form of devolution under a federal set - up to be given to the Tamils. Is this enough for the Tamils after all the sufferings and devastations received from the Sinhalese?

What have the Sinhalese not done to the Tamils to

eradicate them from Ceylon? All possible atrocities were meted out to Tamils. Have the Sinhalese treated the Tamils as their equals? Successive governments in Sri Lanka engaged or encouraged political genocide of the Tamils by various means and methods. Recently, when the war was going on about twenty five miles away. Pooneryn, the Sri Lankan Air Force bombed the Jaffna Kachcheri and St. James Church, one of the oldest Catholic Churches in Tamil Eelam. If the government is bent on destroying its own admintstrative centre just because it is in Jaffna, one can imagine to what extent it will go in its attempt to annihilate the Tamils. So, can the Tamils accept anything less than Tamil Eelam? Tamils were never allowed to live in peace and harmony by the Sinhalese. Separation is the only solution.

Tamil Eelam

Even after the Pooneryn debacle, the government leaders, SLFP leader Sirimavo and left party leaders are bent only on a military solution. All of them lament the lack of a proper leader to lead the Sinhalese to victory. Sirimavo wants the country to be placed on a war footing. Gamini Fonseka fears that Pirabakaran may lead an army into Colombo itself. Sunday Island has editorially commented that compulsory military training should be given to all, if the Sinhala nation is to be saved from the Tamils. In this context what else is there for the Tamils, except to establish their own Tamil Eelam government?

President Wijetunge and Admission to Universities on Ethnic Ratio

EUURRIANDERS ESTE

In your esteemed issue of 31. 10. 93, you are blaming the President very severely. So do all the three Tamil publications coming out in Jaffna.

I very strongly feel that the President has done the greatest service to the cause of Eelam.

Earlier by denying ethnic problem and pointing out that there is only terrorism, he alienated all the Colombo Tamils too. Now he is alienating the entire Tamil student population. This is bound to swell the ranks of the LTTE heavily and very fast as well. This means Eelam can be achie-

thought.
S. Alagaratnam
Urumpirai

ved much faster than we

No Relief to Victims of War

The Govt. Agent has informed that instructions have been received from the government to stop all relief payments to affected persons resident in Jaffna and other areas not occupied by the Sri Lankan forces.

Relief payments were made to the families of persons who were killed or to persons disabled by the war from the Relief and Rehabilitation Fund. In terms of the new instructions no payments will hereafter be made to families and persons in areas where the war rages.

Media Diew

UNO and the Nationalities Problem

With the end of the Cold War, the struggles of nationalities have gained momentum the world over. Increasing number of armed liberation struggles all over the world and the electoral victories scored by political parties which demand self-rule, show this clearly. Now this fact has even been accepted by Butros Butros Ghali, the Secretary-General of the United Nations and he has sounded a warning.

"The reason for the civil wars taking place in the world at present, is due to the non-resolution of the nationalities' problem in the respective countries. International peace and harmony is being threatend on this account. Hence no state could ignore nationalitiesproblem. If these countries fail to resolve the nationalities' problem even now, it might lead the United Nations Organisation to intervene to resolve the nationalities' problem in those countries". This is the warning sounded by the Secretary-General of the UNO in reference to the Nationalities' problem.

This warning by the Secretary - General of the UN is applicable to those governments which have created disharmony and threat to international peace by their endeavour to find a military solution to the nationalities' problem. But it is a moot point as to how far this is practicable and to what extent the UN could pursue the matter.

This arises because, following the termination of the Cold War, it is being alleged that the United Nations' Organisation is functioning as a tool of the United States of America. It cannot be said that there is no truth in the accusation. The measures taken by the UNO too, conform to the foreign policy adopted by the American administration. It is now well known that UNO's position as a common world body has changed and that it follows different approaches in respect of different regions or states.

Again, the UNO has not succeeded in achieving tangible results where it recently intervened in the cases of nationalilies' problems. Bosnia alone is sufficient example for this. Although some years have lapsed, the UNO is not able to prevent the genocide being committed on the Bosnian

Muslims by the Serbs and Croats and the intervention of the UNO in Somalia too, has developed into a great crisis.

Hence the past as well as the present experiences show that the direct UN intervention has not succeeded whether it be on nationlities' issues or conflicts between states. These interventions only resulted in the UN confronting economic crises as well as incurring loss of human lives. Under these circumstances, the UN should arrive at a general policy in regard to nationalities waging struggles, before it contemplates on direct intervention on the nationalities' problem.

Accordingly, the UN should first recognise the right to self - determination of those nations struggling to achieve their liberation. Such recognition will not only raise the status of struggling nationalities but also impose a compulsion on states indulging in oppression and force them to seek a political solution to the Nationalities' problem. If that too fails to yield results, then the UNO may impose an economic embargo on such states.

If the UNO adopts such measures, then the UN itself will be able to avoid several problems including huge economic crises. Further, this problem is not something new to the UNO. When the Soviet Union got, dissolved, the UNO not only recognised its fifteen states individually as separate states, but also admitted them as its memberstates and the recognition already granted to the Palestinian people's right to self - determination, could be clted as examples in this respect.

If the United Nations' Organisation takes such decision, not only the charge being levelled against it, as being a tool of the USA will vanish, but will reduce its great economic burden as well. Otherwise, if it continues to be a body implementing American foreign policy, as is presently alleged, UN intervention will be regarded as American intervention and American forces. Instead of solving problems, this will complicate problems further. This is patent from history.

EELANATHAM
Editorial of 11.11.93

Abide by International Law

Compensation to Victims and Church

R.C. Bishop writes to President D.B. Wijetunge on bombing of St. James' Church

The big and uncient St. James' Church, Jaffna is not smaller than any Catholic Church in Colombo or Negombo. It was reduced to a heap of rubble burying underneath several mutilated bodies by Air Force bombing. The Defence Secretary's explanation that the bombing of the Church was an unfortunate miss is unacceptable to any sanz citizen of Jaffna The Government must pay compensation to the victims and the Church So states Rt. Rev. Dr. Thomas Savundaranayagam, Bishop of Jaffna (R. C. Church) in a letter addressed to Mr. D. B. Wijetunge, President of Sri Lanka in connection with the Air Firce bombing of St James Church. Jaffna.

The Bishops letter reads:

We have already informed Your Excellency, by a message sent through the 1. C. R. C. on Saturday 13.11.93 about the death and destruction caused by the aerial bomb - attack on St. James' Church, Gurunagar, Jaffna Town on that morning at 7.20.

Of the two supersonic jets flying over the Town, one dived suddenly above the Church and released two heavy bombs which directly hit the main body of this big Church. Poor and helpless people filled with fear of aerial and shell attacks usually take refuge in the Church, trusting that the Forces will respect the sacred places of worship. The massive explosion of two heavy bombs at its centre was too much and in a split second this big and ancient Church, not smaller than any catholic Church that you see in Colombo or Negombo, was a heap of rubble burying underneath several mutilated bodies and injuring seriously several who were inside the Church and in the adjoining house of the Priest.

It was not only this big Church but also the big Mission house, the Parish Hall and the Nursery which were completely damaged. Limbs of the dead were strewn all over the area. When I rushed to the scene along with some priests, I was shocked to see that beaut ful and ancient Church reduced to a huge mass of rubble. On seeing a cloud of smoke rising above the Town, a large crowd of parishioners and people of the Town had gathered around that place. They stood dazed, shocked and grieved at what had become of their dear ones and their dear Church.

The Victims

In pouring rain and without proper utensils or machines, people struggled hard to dig the heaps in search of the dead bodie. It took several hours of very hard labour to recover the mutilated persons and the dead bodies. Ten are already confirmed dead and among those 30 persons seriously in jured, there are elderly women, girls and children who are still in hospital.

pital were shattered. Two pital staff, there were a Security guards of the hospital a Red-Cross Volunteer worker, and an infant in the hands of a woman who rushed into the hospital for safety were injured.

Again Sri Lankan Supersonic jets targeted the Government hospital at Kilinochchi on Monday, November 15 about 11.15 a.m. The hospital came in for direct hit. All wards in the hospital were badly damaged. A pregnant woman who had been admitted to hosp tal for delivery and two infants died. They were in the maternity ward. Six others were seriously injured. Apart from patients and hosthis sacred place from miles away. Besides there were

stood so

How was it possible?

majestically with three huge

domes, any pilot with normal

sight would have easily seen

The Church

neither Tiger camps nor any suspicious activity anywhere near this Church. Hence all of us are convinced beyond doubt that the attack could not have been a miss of some target. It was a direct and clear hit at the Church and all that was around it. We can only conclude that it was probably a retaliation to what had happened 25 miles away at

The Responsibility

Pooneryn.

Your Defence Secretary, Mr. Hamilton Wanasinghe has tried to explain it away as an unfortunate miss of target. But it is unacceptable to any sane citizen of Jaffna who knows how it happened and where it happened. It is our sincere and humble opinion that the Government should accept full responsibility for this dastardly act of the Air Force which has caused much loss of life, destruction of a huge place of worship and other buildings of public services to poor children.

Remuneration for the **Victims**

All those dead and seriously wounded are very poor people who had not even the means to bury their dead. We have tried to meet a part of those expenses. We vouch that these victims are innocent and very poor civilians and we request Your Excellency that the familie

number of other passengers

to Jaffna held up at Kili-

nochchi who were in the

houses close by when the

bombing took place. Many

suffered less serious injuries.

On the same day about 2.30 p.m. Supersonics bombed the Mulliyawalai Hospital in the Mullaitivu District. According to reports from Mullaitivu several people were injured and the hospital suffered damages. The hospital was completely deserted as the staff and patients took to their heels in panic.

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of the victims be given a reasonable compensation to survive in their handicapped situation.

Reconstruction of the Church

The damage to 132 year old Church comparable to any of the biggest churches in Colombo is irreparable. A Church of that beauty and size cannot be built by us even for Rs.50 million today. But for the thousands of believers around this destroyed Church, we need to put up immediately at least a fairly large hall of prayer, a small house for the priest, a shed for the school etc. No hing, not even a window was spared in this destruction.

Hence we need at least ten million rupees to do this

work. Here too, we appeal to Your Excellency for the maximum possible compen-

Our fervent appeal to the Air Forces of the Government

Though the Armed Forces have expressed their intentions only to hit at Tiger targets, more than often the hit has been on innocent civilians and refugees. Our main Cathedral, many other churches and people inside them have often been the victims in the past. As I write this letter, I get the sad news that another Catholic Church-St. Theresa's at Kilinochchi and its adjoining Priest's house has been heavily damaged by aerial bombing.

Hence our appeal to the Air Forces, through the good offices of Your Excellency, to stop these aerial bombings which have gone on in spite of our protests. Please instruct your Forces to abide by International Laws which respect areas of civilian p pulation and especially sacred places of worship.

Govt. Has..

(Continued from Page 1) Agent of Jaifna Mr. K. Manickavasagar - being cne of those in ured. It has bombed a place worship-the St. James Catholic Church on the Main Street, Jaffna - destroying that large a.d vene ated house of God and killing and injuring several innocent citizens. It has dropped its bombs within the protected zone around the Jaffna General Hospital damaging the hospital and striking panic among the patients and the public. We have reports that the Government Hospitals in Kilinochchi and Mulliyavalai have also been bombed. The market block in Chavakachcheri has also been bombed and destroyed.

All these buildings, used exclusively for sacred worship and public services, are such large and prominent structures that no Air Force can pretend innocence about the targets being struck. When a Government permits its own Secretariat to be bombed we cannot but conclude that it has agreed to abdicate its responsibility for the administration of the region and for the safe'y and security of the people. The Hospitals which are there for the sole purpose of caring for the sick have always been protected and safeguarded even among countries at war. It is therefore all the more shocking when the Shri Lankan Government permits hospitals to be bombed. We wonder how a Government,

which claims to respect all religions and describes itself as a "Dharmista State", can premit the bombing of of places of worship.

These events are not just sporadic occurrences but have been rep ated so often in the recent past that we cannot but conclude it is part of state policy against the Tamils. A close statistical study of the Air Raids carried out by the Shri Lankan Air Force in the North will show that the victims of the raids have almost always, and been without exception, innocent helpless civilians and civil property. this is the case how could anyone avoid concluding that this is organised "State Terrorism"?

We wonder whether massacring innocent civilians can bring any honour or credit to an Air force. We would therefore appeal to the Government to control its Air Force and not permit it to be an instrument of "State Terrorism".

Our desire is for Peace and a just Peace. We are encouraged by the recent statement of the Prime Minister that the doors are open for negotiations. If the doors are really open, we would urge the Government and the LTTE to show a readiness to walk through the doors and take their seats at the Conference Table. We are convinced Peace can ultimately be achieved only by peaceful means.

State Terror...

(Continued from Page 1) troyed. Seven persons were injured. A number of houses were also damaged.

Hospitals bombed

Sri Lankan Supersonic jets also bombed the safety zone around Jaffna Hospital on November 13, Saturday about 2.30 p. m. The bombs were dropped within 50 yards of the main entrance to the Jaffna Hospital. This area is under ICRC control. Doors, windows and tiles of the Jaffna Hospital were broken and fell to pieces. Outerwall of the Out Patients Department came tumbling down. Glass shutters of some vehicles within the hos-