

A Solution
for the
Ethnic Problem of
SRI LANKA



V. Anandasangaree

A Solution *for the* Ethnic Problem of SRI LANKA

Submitted for serious consideration of the
International Community drawing the special attention of-

Heads of States

Secretary General United Nations

Heads of Diplomatic Missions

Religious Heads of all faiths

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Published by
THE DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT INFORMATION, SRI LANKA
July 2007

foreword

When Rome was burning Nero was playing fiddle. This proverb suits some of our people well. As pointed out by the Mahanayakes of the four Chapters, "Some parties are attempting to capitalize on this opportunity to gain political mileage and this cannot be accepted by right thinking people". A meaningless war has cost the country a fabulous amount of money. Over seventy thousand had been killed and over thirty thousand had been widowed and many orphaned. Thousands lost their eye-sights and much more became disabled. Yet the war goes on with many dying at the battle front and a few innocent ones die everyday due to claymore mine and hand grenade attacks. Daily three to five persons are shot dead with identity of the assailants not known. Violence has now become a part of our culture and the country is fast losing its credibility and prestige.

Human Rights violations in Sri Lanka had been severely condemned by the whole world but unfortunately all condemnations are relating to incidents in Government controlled areas and nothing related to incidents in the L.T.T.E. controlled areas where such violations take place with impunity. Deprived of their fundamental and democratic rights, people live under the subjugation of the L.T.T.E. and want to be liberated. They are even prepared to welcome a friendly army that will liberate them without causing damage to life and property. Parents who resisted conscription of their children are mercilessly assaulted and some parents who failed to save their children had committed suicide. Since no one has access to the L.T.T.E's Iron Curtain area, these matters do not come to light, to reach the outside world.

All World Leaders want the Sri Lankan Government to start talks with the L.T.T.E without realising the consequences. Talks with them, still armed and keeping all people living in their areas under their subjugation, will never help to solve the problem. Talks with them without disarming them, will give them added strength and certain degree of legitimacy. At the same time demolishes all hopes of the people in their areas, of liberating themselves.

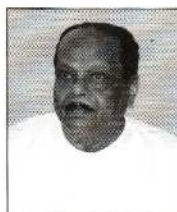
If disarming the L.T.T.E will be difficult, they should be insisted on to pool the arms in their possession, and leave them in the custody of a neutral country, with an undertaking not to use them during the peace talks.

The International Community's role in this matter is very vital. It should pressurise the Government to come forward with a proposal which it accepts as reasonable and then pressurise the L.T.T.E to accept it. Annexed hereto is a brief history of the Ethnic Problem and two appeals, one addressed to the L.T.T.E leader to give up their atrocious activities and to return to the negotiating table and the other soliciting the support of the Patriotic Citizens of Sri Lanka to give their full backing to the Government for a reasonable solution. Both the appeals give enough relevant facts to help to find a solution.

24. 6 2007

V.Anandasangaree
President, Tamil United Liberation Front

VERY BRIEF HISTORY *of the* ETHNIC PROBLEM



I am a Tamil and a Sri Lankan, 74 years old and with more than a five decade involvement in democratic politics. I was a Member of Parliament for 17 years out of which 14 were spent representing the electorate of Killinochchi – where the LTTE headquarters is currently located. I know through experience the immense suffering of the Tamil people and have done my utmost to increase the awareness of the outside world, of the true situation in the North East. For this effort I have earned the undying enmity of the LTTE and the UNESCO's Madanjeet Singh Prize for the Promotion of Tolerance and Non-violence (2006).

Over the years many solutions have been proposed to solve the ethnic problem; none

has been successful in allaying the fears and fulfilling the aspirations of the minorities. I believe that this failure is partly caused by the incorrect understanding of the history of our ethnic problem. Therefore I have tried to trace the history of Sri Lanka's ethnic problem, for the benefit of both Sri Lankans and the international community. Since the Sinhala Only Act of 1956 was a landmark in the history of the ethnic problem, it requires special clarification.

Sri Lanka gained independence from the British in 1948; until 1956 English remained the official language in Ceylon – as this country was known then. In 1956 the newly formed alliance Mahajana Eksath Peramuna, led by Hon. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike adopted a new language policy, promising

to make Sinhala the sole official language in 24 hours; contested the election on this platform and won.

This move came as an unpleasant shock to the absolute majority of Tamils who regarded themselves as equal citizens of this country and trusted the country's leaders to protect their rights. This trust was such that upon independence Tamil politicians did not make a serious effort to win from the British the due special safeguards for themselves. The Tamils could have asked for regional autonomy, federalism and even separation. They did not. When one Tamil leader asked for equal representation for the majority community and the minority communities, most Tamils remained uninterested. If the minorities had made a strong demand for special consideration, the British would have been responsive; in fact independence itself may have been delayed in order to accommodate such a request. But the minorities trusted the majority to treat them with justice. When a majority of the majority community backed the Sinhala Only demand, the Tamil speaking minorities were disappointed and alarmed.

Many right thinking members of the majority community were embarrassed by this development. They backed the minority leaders in the efforts to win some recognition for the Tamil language. As a result Prime Minister Bandaranaike came into an understanding with SJV Chelvanayagam; the Banda-Chelva Pact gave a degree of regional autonomy to the

Tamil majority provinces and granted some recognition to the Tamil language. Sadly some Lankan politicians, for their narrow partisan gains, opposed this pact and organised a march to the Dalada Maligawa in Kandy in protest. A section of the Prime Minister's own coalition opposed the Pact as well. The outcome of this opposition was the abrogation of the Pact by the PM. An opportunity to settle the grievances of the Tamil people was lost. A similar fate befell the next attempt to solve the language problem – the Pact between Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake and SJV Chelvanayagam.

Both Pacts gave certain undertakings to the Tamil people; any successful attempt to solve the ethnic problem will have to begin by accepting these undertakings. These included a provision for North-Eastern merger (by dividing the Eastern province into two or more regions and permitting the Northern province to merge with one or more of these regions) and a promise to make Tamil the language of administration and record in the Northern and Eastern provinces, with adequate safeguards for non-Tamil speaking minorities within these provinces. Therefore the acceptance of the province as the unit of devolution and the acceptance of the merger of the North with Tamil majority areas of the East are nothing new. Can the Tamil people be faulted for demanding that any political solution should include these early concessions? Is it reasonable to expect the Tamil people to be satisfied with less than what they were promised more than four decades ago?

Annexed are two letters, one addressed to patriotic citizens of Sri Lanka and the other addressed to the LTTE leader, Mr. V Prabakaran. Both letters contain very vital information about the ground situation in the North East. The letter to Mr. Prabakaran sets out how he has brought the entire Tamil race to the verge of complete ruination. The letter to the patriotic Lankans detail the history of the ethnic conflict – as no solution can be found without the knowledge of the history of the conflict and a solution acceptable to minorities can be found only in the history of the conflict. This is the only path to peace. And it is the responsibility of those of us who lived through the tragic events of the past fifty years to educate and advise the present generation.

The country is fully aware of the risk that I face for taking this stand. The repeated threats and intimidations I get from various

quarters could not deter me from doing so. I could not even concede to the request of my close friends and relations to retire from politics or to keep silent on controversial issues, because I love my country more than anything else. I want the present generation of Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims to mix up and know each other. The Yarladevi and Ultharadevi must run once again to and from Jaffna and take children of Sinhalese parents to their Tamil friend's homes in Jaffna, to enjoy a bath in the historical Keerimalai Tank, visit Nagadeepa etc. The Tamil children in turn must make friendship with Sinhalese and Muslim children of the friends of their parents and enjoy the hospitality of each other. This is what we did and how we lived in the good old days and exactly what we want to happen again in the future.

V. Anandasangaree

President, Tamil United Liberation Front

25. 6 2007



I wish to assure you all, that I and my supporters, from the Tamil United Liberation Front, will not give up on our struggles in striving for the legitimate rights of the tamils in Sri Lanka, to achieve peace with dignity and as a dignified race, through peaceful and non violent means, so that our future generations, will be able to say "never again" and that our children and grandchildren belonging to various multi ethnic communities, the Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims and Burghers, living in Sri Lanka, will soon be able to say **WE ALL ARE BUT ONE**

at the UNESCO Headquarters

16 November 2006

தமிழர் விடுதலைக் கூட்டணி
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TAMIL UNITED LIBERATION FRONT

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30/1B, Alwis Place,
Colombo - 03, Sri Lanka.

Mr. V.Prabaharan,
Leader – LTTE,
Kilinochchi.

My Dear Thamby

THE ONLY WAY OPEN

It is very unfortunate that you had not replied any of my letters sent to you during the past three to four years. I do not expect a reply for this letter either but I will be satisfied if you would kindly take the trouble to read it carefully, although it may appear to be bitter. Please understand my concerns, for the Tamil Speaking people in particular and of all Sri Lankans in general. Since things seem to be going out of control, please take suitable remedial measures to bring back peace and tranquility to a suffering nation, with-out any further delay.

Some of the matters I am referring to here were not brought to your attention in any of my previous letters. The time has now come for you to take full responsibility for the present precarious condition in which our people live. Although unpalatable, please act with responsibility and caution, forgetting all what had happened in the past and work for a prosperous future of all the people of Sri Lanka. Like some others who project the LTTE as

the sole representatives of the Tamil people, I will not do so because you are not considered by the Tamil people as such, mainly due to your ruthlessness. You know very well that you have earned the name as the most ruthless person in the world. Are you not aware that you are fast losing your credibility day by day, by causing terror and tension to the people. By your reign of terror you have silenced every Tamil voice except a few of which I am one. If you are not going to help to find a solution for the ethnic problem during my life time, you will never find one. Please give up your demand for separation and accept a federal solution within a United Sri Lanka, which will receive very wide support, surprisingly even from unexpected quarters.

Please permit me to bring back to your memory some incidents of the bitter past, not with a view to insult or embarrass you but to help to open the eyes of some who still think that the Tamils can be treated as second class citizens. This is contrary to the thinking of a large majority of the Sinhalese who are very fair and reasonable and want to live as equals with all the others.

People are changing day by day. Some come out with fantastic ideas and new theories. History is getting distorted. Some say that Portuguese brought Tamils to Jaffna to plant tobacco. Some even say that this land of ours belong only to the Sinhalese and only Sinhalese can live here. I am not going to stoop low to meet these arguments. It is enough for one to know that only 20 miles of Palk Strait separate Sri Lanka from Tamil Naadu in India where 60 million Tamils live. There are many who had swam across from Tamil Naadu to Jaffna and from Jaffna to Tamil Naadu and some of my classmates used to tell me that their brothers and close relatives got across to India after an early dinner in a country boat and returned before dawn after seeing an M.G.R. film. Further more the five Easwaran Temples Vishnu Devala in Devinuware and Lord Murugan at Kataragama are a few ancient temples existing from pre-historic times. I always look at our problem as a patriotic citizen of Sri Lanka and never as one who belongs to a particular community or group. That is patriotism!. By making any irresponsible statement I don't want to provoke or insult any moderate Sinhalese and thereby aggravate the situation at a time when calm and patience is needed most to solve our problem.

Taking the passage of the Sinhala Only Act as the Starting Point, the ethnic problem is now 50 years old. There was absolutely no need for that new Law because all schools in Jaffna that had classes up to Senior, present day G.C.E(O/L) had graduates in their academic staff to teach Sinhala for Tamil students. You were either not born then or must have been a toddler. At that time the Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims and many other small groups lived in absolute

peace and harmony with mutual love and respect for each other. Except over one minor incident relating to a temple festival in the South, that too long ago, communal riots was unheard of in our peaceful country. I don't want even to mention as to who and who clashed at the time.

It is only the passage of the Sinhala Only Act that brought ruin to our country, where all communities lived peacefully. That too could have been saved if the remedial measures taken were not disrupted by some chauvinist forces which you find atleast in small numbers in almost every group all over the world. Left alone, under the renowned non-violent leadership of the Late Hon.S.J.V.Chelvanayagam Q.C. the newly formed alliance the T.U.L.F. would have sorted out the Tamil problem peacefully but it is you who aggravated the situation by taking drastic steps, never heard of in the history of Jaffna till that time. Things took a violent turn with your introduction of gun culture by gunning down the Late Hon. Mr. Alfred Duraipappah Ex-Mayor of Jaffna who became the M.P. for Jaffna by defeating the nominees of the two major political parties the All Ceylon Tamil Congress and the Federal Party led by two prominent Queen's Councils the Late Hon. G.G.Ponnambalam and the Late Hon. S.J.V.Chelvanayagam. The only known crime Mr.Duraipappah committed was defeating the nominees of both the Leading Tamil parties in Jaffna. I wonder whether even you knew as to why you gunned down Mr. Alfred Duraipappah a popular political figure, while he was praying before Lord Vishnu at the Ponnalai Varadarajah Perumal Temple, another name for Lord Vishnu. People believe that the high toll of death and loss of properties among the Tamils were inflicted as retribution for assassinating Mr. Alfred Duraipappah right in front of the deity Lord Vishnu and for driving away the Muslims from the North, depriving them of all their possession and preventing them from taking even the ear-studs of Muslim kids. You should be held responsible for the deaths of over 70 thousand people of all faiths, of all age groups, of both sexes of all communities in Sri Lanka not only at the battle front but also in land and claymore mine attacks, hand grenade and bomb attacks and also massacres of innocent ones in buses, trains, etc. The Kepitigolawa and Aranthalawa massacres, attempt to sink the ship carrying 700 service personnel in mid-sea, the killing of the hundred odd Navy personnel going on leave and returning for duty and many other massacres in the Mosques etc. cannot be justified. What harm did the 31 innocent Buddhist Priests you slaughtered at Aranthalawa did to you? Can you cite one single incident of this nature in which a Sinhalese civilian got involved. Further more please take it for granted that up to now not one Tamil life was taken by any one of those so called Buddhist Sinhala Chauvinist although some talk irresponsibly. I am not unaware of the "Kumuduni" Ferry massacre, the Velanai, Suruvil and Mankumban incidents, and the mass burial of Tamils at Navatkuli by the forces. The Sinhalese civilians had never been implicated in any one incident of this nature but as far

as the civilian killings are concerned your hands are bloody. The curse of the victims will not spare anyone responsible for these heinous crimes. That is why I say, "Let us now forget everything and turn over to a new leaf and earn the admiration of all Sri Lankans and the International Community, all of whom are yearning for peace".

One of your most cruel actions was the assassination of the Ex-Prime Minister of India the Late Hon. Rajiv Gandhi with which you lost the support of all Indians. Those who still support you in India are only pretenders. The next thoughtless step was your decision to eradicate all the other Tamil groups without realizing that rightly or wrongly they came forward to fight for a cause like you and your cadre. You by being so selfish and greedy brought only ruin for yourself by hunting for them and thereby lost the public support that you had, if any. By your latest action you have made things worse. Please do not expect any government to help you or to supply you with equipment for aerial attacks. As far as I am concerned your attack can only be taken as an air-display and not as a serious aerial attack. You are only tightening your noose by engaging in such activities and also earning the wrath of the International Community, which will never give any support to strengthen you.

I now wish you to cry halt to everything and look-back at your achievements. Please assess for yourself the damage you and your cadre had caused to your own people and to the country as a whole in various ways. I will deal only with a few matters, may be just a fraction and leave the rest for your guess. The following list, with my comments, should open not only your eyes but also the eyes of those who want to keep the issue dragging without finding a reasonable and immediate solution, whether they are from the Government or the opposition side. As for the ordinary people they all want peace at any price.

I have a special purpose in writing this lengthy letter to you. I do not imagine that the average Sinhalese, having come to know the shabby and the degrading manner in which your cadre had been treating the Tamils and the Muslims for almost quarter of a century, will expect them to be satisfied with a half baked solution which will never bring permanent peace for them and instead leave it open for further agitation in the future too. I am sure the Sinhalese will struggle hard to solve the problem once and for all, to the satisfaction of the minorities, under a Federal System within a United Sri Lanka, since no relief had been found for over fifty years in a Unitary Constitution.

EDUCATION

I was present in Parliament in 1970 when the tragic decision to standardize marks for the admission of students to the Universities was taken, which prevented a large number of qualified Tamil students from getting admitted to the prestigious courses like Medicine and

Engineering. The charge was that entry of large number of Tamil students would be out of proportion to their ethnic composition. This being an unjustifiable move, it precipitated a lot of heartburn among the Tamil students that ultimately turned out to be the immediate cause for all the evils of today. However the next Government in 1977 successfully introduced a new scheme to the satisfaction of students of all ethnic groups but it was too late. This was between 1970 and 1972. What is happening today?. Are Tamil children allowed to attend school regularly by your cadre. Last year during the 1st term the children lost about 27 school days why?. They are being used off and on for demonstrations, hartals, and to antagonize the forces by defying them, casting insulting remarks, throwing stones at them etc. We should realize that we do not have Gandhis in our forces to observe non-violence. Much more can be said but I leave it at that and conclude by saying that admission of Jaffna students to Universities on merit basis have reduced considerably and it is a shame that some batches of students take ten years to complete their course due to the compulsions they had to cut classes and attend demonstrations and hartals. Where do the Tamils stand in Education after 35 years of constant struggle. Are you not aware that over 200 school going children had been handed over to the H.R.C. for safe keeping in Jaffna today to save them from being recruited as child-soldiers.

INTELLECTUALS, ACADEMICS GOVERNMENT AGENTS AND GOVERNMENT SERVANTS OF ALL RANKS, ENGINEERS, DOCTORS HEADS OF SCHOOLS, TEACHERS ETC.

In the history of the ethnic issue of fifty years can you give one instance in which any one person of the above category was ever killed by the Government forces or by any Sinhalese or Muslims. Contrary to that such killings were by your own cadre. To mention a few, a Medical College Lecturer Mrs.Rajani Theranagama, Principal Jaffna St.John's College Mr.Anandarajah, Principal Central College Mr.Rajadurai, Government Agents Mr.Mcbool, Mr.Panchalingam and Mr.Gnanachandran and hundreds of others. Why did you allow them to be killed?.

BUILDING MATERIALS - K.K.S. CEMENT FACTORY

All the building materials required were available at our door-step in Jaffna. Cement Factory at K.K.S. produced cement much more than required to meet the local requirements and a large quantity was sent regularly to the south and to other parts of the country. How many thousands of lives depended on it for their survival?. What happened to the Factory?. The employees have become paupers and their families suffered a lot. When hundreds of thousands of Tamils were working in the south amongst the Sinhalese you go and gun down the Sinhalese Production Manager Mr.Bogolagama which resulted in the closing down of

the factory. A bag of cement that cost less than 100 rupees then now cost about Rs.1000.00. How many crores of rupees will be needed now to rebuild a factory like that?

ASBESTOS CEMENT INDUSTRIES OF PUNNALAIKADDUVAN

This factory had been producing asbestos roofing sheets and could have met the local requirements. Where is it now?. What is the difference in price between now and then. How much will be needed to re-establish a factory like that?. What did you gain by destroying that factory?

SAND

An important requirement for building construction is sand, available in large quantities sufficient to last for several generations at Kudathanai, Amban, Manalkadu, Nagar Kovil etc. It is entirely in the Government's cleared areas. Are you not aware that one University student who loaded his Tractor trailer with sand for his personal use was burnt alive with his trailer by your cadre which incident his university colleagues pretended to be not knowing anything about it. Why?. Because they don't dare to demonstrate against you. If you allow normalcy to return to the North the cost of building a house will be much less than 20% of what it now costs.

INDUSTRIAL ESTATE

There were 36 units at the Atchuvēly Industrial Estate, producing varieties of items including materials required for buildings, etc. You removed the Lathe Machines, Motors and also cut and removed all parts of the 36 Units. Not one was spared. How much will be needed to re-establish another Industrial Estate?. How many people were employed in these factories then?

PARANTHAN CHEMICALS CORPORATION

This Factory in Paranthan gave employment to over 1000 people and several thousand mouths were fed. Today it is difficult to trace even the site in which it was located. More than 100 officer's quarters are in ruins. How many crores of rupees are needed to put up a factory like that now?. Why didn't you prevent its destruction?

TILE FACTORY AT ODDISUDAN AND ILMENITE FACTORY AT PULMODDAI

What happen to these factories and their employees?

SALTERN AT ELEPHANT PASS

This Saltern could produce the entire requirements of the country. With the extension work that was in progress we would have been exporting salt. Now every-thing had been

abandoned with all the infra-structure washed off. How much money will be required to re-start the three salterns at Elephant Pass, Navatkuli and Kallunda. How many employees were thrown out of employment, you may not know.

THE ECONOMY OF JAFFNA WAS COMPLETELY DESTABILIZED BY YOU AND YOUR CADRE

From my house at Kilinochchi on the A.9 road I used to count 60 to 70 lorries speeding to Colombo with their loads of fish, vegetables, grapes, plantains etc every night and a similar number to Jaffna with varieties of goods from Colombo. Your keeping the A.9 closed to traffic completely destabilized the economy of Jaffna. Sea foods and vegetables did not fetch good price. The people of Jaffna were virtually starving. The C.F.A. brought some relief for them which too has now stopped. Your illegal taxes increased the cost of production and imported goods were much cheaper in the Market than those produced in Jaffna. They hardly get any income these days, because they were compelled to stop production.

TRAIN SERVICE

Everyday we had five trains to Colombo and five from Colombo of which three were express trains and one was the mail train. On Saturdays we had an extra air conditioned coach. Sleeperettes and berths were available in every train and journey to Jaffna took only seven to eight hours. Today there are no trains to Jaffna and journey to Jaffna takes more than one full day by ship. Your cadre had completely removed the rails, sleepers and metal on the main line to a distance of 160 Km and about fifty km on the Thalaimanar track. The Indian Government was generous enough to re-lay these lines by air-lifting the materials required but today once again nothing is left on the tracks. Letters that reached their destination within 24 hours are today rotting in the mail room in Vavuniya for months. This is what you have done to the people. Every-thing was removed from the rail tracks for the construction of bunkers for your cadre.

SUSPENSION OF FERRY SERVICE TO INDIA

You must take full responsibility for the suspension of the ferry service to India which I am sure will never be re-installed again. A trip to Chennai which cost less than 300 rupees then, now cost you 20,000 rupees. Thanks to your cadre.

PLANE SERVICE TO TRICHIRAPALLY IN INDIA

We had regular flights from Colombo to Palaly and from Palaly to Trichirapally in India. By this time Palaly would have become an International Airport. Thanks to your cadre for disrupting this service which I am sure we will never enjoy again.

ELECTRICITY

Almost 80% of Jaffna including Kilinochchi, Mullaitheevu and Mankulam had electricity. You did not spare a single electricity post all of which were removed broken and the reinforcements used for the construction of bunkers. Telegraph posts also met with the same fate. For several years you deprived the people and the farmers of their electricity and allowed them to suffer. Please tell me whether you ever lived without electricity even in your bunkers and how much inconvenience you caused to the people.

Atleast now realize the amount of harassments, embarrassments, mental-tortures and humiliations you caused to the people whom you say that you represent. Apart from the loss of lives and damage to property you had caused to the people for over quarter of a century, what good have you done to your people. They faced only misery.

KILINOCCHCHI

16

I as Member of Parliament for the Kilinochchi Electorate got the entire electorate carved out from the Jaffna District to form the District of Kilinochchi. I lived and grew with the people of Kilinochchi. I developed their education. It is due to my untiring efforts you find Doctors, Engineers and Graduates in large numbers in Kilinochchi from where not one student entered the University till it was made a separate District. I had my own plans for its development. I was their Village Council Chairman and later become Chairman of the Kilinochchi Town Council and finally as their Member of Parliament. I taught at Poonakari Maha Vidyalayam. I knew most of the people by their names. I knew each and every nook and corner of the Kilinochchi Electorate and knew the location of each school. What have you done for the people of Kilinochchi?. You deprived them of their voting rights, deprived them of a good Member of Parliament and a social worker for whom Kilinochchi was his life. You have sown landmines all over Kilinochchi and made thousands lose their lives and limbs. You gave me only 187 votes in the electorate which I won with a majority of over 11,000 votes defeating a Minister.

We had in Kilinochchi bi-weekly fair where products from all parts of Jaffna were brought for sale. Sinhala Traders from all parts of Sri Lanka came in their thousands with their products to sell. The people of Kilinochchi were flourishing. What is now left there are

ruins and land mines planted all over. You have given them a rule behind the iron curtain. They had been deprived of their fundamental rights and democratic rights. Their human rights had been very seriously eroded. You are treating them as slaves. You have detention camps, and darkroom chambers where people are tortured for even trivial offences. What right you or your cadre have to torture them?. Who gave you permission to do so?. It is with the power of guns you are ruling them. Many people had been killed during your torture. You have sent your children abroad for higher education, while children of poor parents are compelled to send their children to join your fighting cadre. The people will never pardon the countries that had given facilities for the children of the LTTE leaders to study abroad. The whole world talks about human rights violations in Sri Lanka. If there are such allegations against the Government or against any group, it is their business to clear their name. But I would like to know why the International Community is not taking any notice of the conscriptions, abductions, killings and such other human rights violations that are taking place in abundance, under your subjugation, about which I had been repeatedly complaining during the last few years

You have some paid agents or agents who enjoy many benefits through you for lobbying among the British Parliamentarian and of the European Union. Why did it not strike them that they should visit not only Kilinochchi and Mullaitheevu but also many other areas under the control of the LTTE in the North and the East to see for themselves as to what is happening there and how people are being treated. There had been a number of instances in which parents who had taken serious objection to their children getting recruited by the LTTE, assaulted and killed. Some had even committed suicide protesting against conscription. Most children are living in hiding and such children had been hunted for by your cadre and taken away by force during nights. If the International Community cannot have access to your areas can't they at least bring pressure on you to open your gates to let the people, dissatisfied with you, to escape. Ask your foreign agents in Europe, Nordic countries and from Canada and America to return to your Head Quarters without misleading the International Community. The people whom you have under your subjugation want to be free. They want their children to see the outside world. Their children had not even seen or travelled by train. They had not seen a Sinhalese or a Muslim person. They do not have any entertainment. Why should you keep them under your subjugation denying them all their rights?. You are imposing restrictions on their travels, on their marriages, on their education, and on their way of living.

You have a set of proxy Members of Parliament whose only duty is to glorify you and to speak only on your behalf. Most of the Tamil Media both print and electronic, not only in Sri Lanka and in India but all over the world also, glorify you and your cadre. No one dares

to write or say one word against you. They hardly write the truth and mostly engage in demeaning writings against those who do not support you or your cadre.

It is not my intention to ridicule you or to expose you. I want you to improve and mend your ways. You know fully well that Tamil Eelam is not achievable or feasible. Neither the International Community nor India will ever allow it. It is not possible without their concurrence. Hence forget about it. You can't make the people believe that Tamil Eelam is achievable. Those who are acting as your agents and claiming to be promoting your cause are not genuine persons. They do it as a business for personal gains. They give the best of education for their children and are leading lavish lives abroad. It is the same with the Tamil Naadu politicians who support you. The few British Parliamentarian who support you don't do so out of conviction but only with selfish intentions of getting Tamil votes. They must learn from their colleagues who have a better knowledge of the happenings in Sri Lanka.

Scope for employment in both the Public and the Private Sectors is becoming more and more limited for the Minorities. After 50 years of non-violent agitation and about 25 years of armed struggle we are now back to square one. The economy of the Tamils and the Muslims is in shambles. Lack of transport facilities and excessive taxation on the A.9 road by you brought agriculture and fisheries to a grinding halt. Disruption of electricity supply and destruction of factories and the Industrial Estate also brought industry to an end, leaving the people at the mercy of the Government's Social assistance. Without much recruitment of Minorities to the Public Service, it is being run mostly with retired officers on extension. You have also successfully prevented recruitment of Tamil Officers for the Army, Navy, Air Force and the Police by your threats. In a situation like this what do you expect the Tamil speaking people to do?

Knowing fully well that Tamil Eelam is only a day-dream why are you unnecessarily causing the death of more and more people and creating more and more widows, and orphans whether they are Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims or people of other ethnic groups and causing destruction to private and public property. Considering all what I had said why don't you agree to accept a Federal Solution within a United Sri Lanka by declaring to give up the demand for separation. If you do so I am sure that a large majority of the Sinhalese and many others will fully support you. The Indians too will back you and the International Community will pressurize the Government to agree for a Federal Solution. I know the thinking of the Sinhalese people. If you agree for such a solution even those who now oppose a Federal Solution will certainly reconsider their position.

Please sit down peacefully for a short while and total up the financial losses you have caused to both the people and the Government by your destructive activities. You will be shocked to know that the value of the destruction you caused is sufficient enough to re-construct the infra-structure the country needs, the high-ways and motor-ways, schools, factories and many other activities and also to provide employment for all the unemployed in the country. Aids from various countries will flow in. We will have a fully contended society with every-one loving and respecting each other in a newly found paradise. Further-more you will certainly be given a proper share in the Administration so that you can fulfill your dreams the way you want by peaceful means within a United Sri Lanka. Above all our people scattered all over the world will come back with the wealth they have acquired to help to build a new nation.

The intention of writing this letter to you is also to open the eyes of the Sinhalese brothers who do not understand the real hardships the Tamils underwent these many years apart from the immense loss of life and property they sustained.

Thanking You,

Yours Sincerely,



V. Anandasangaree,
President – TULF.

'People want peace and only peace first, at any cost. If remedial measures had been allowed to take place for certain acts, over one hundred thousand lives and several billions of rupees worth of property could have been saved, during the last 50 years. It is the arrogance shown by certain political leaders that had resulted in so much of loss to our country.'

தமிழர் விடுதலைக் கூட்டணி
ද්විධ උක්සත් විමුක්ති පෙරමුණ
TAMIL UNITED LIBERATION FRONT

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30/1B, Alwis Place,
Colombo - 03, Sri Lanka.

My beloved peace loving and Patriotic Citizens of Sri Lanka.

THE ROLE OF THE PATRIOTIC CITIZENS IN PROMOTING PEACE

I hope that I do not need any introduction to you all. I am in Politics for over 50 years and I am 74 years now. I am very much devoted to my country and its people and striving hard to bring back peace to Sri Lanka. I am also the winner of the 2006 UNESCO's MADANJEET SINGH Prize for the promotion of tolerance and non-violence. During the last four years I had been bringing to the notice of the people of Sri Lanka the best way to bring back peace to our country. In the process I had written to various organisations, Heads of States, Heads of the Diplomatic Missions in Sri Lanka, H.E. The President of Sri Lanka, Religious Dignitaries of all faiths and many other V.I.Ps in Sri Lanka and abroad. I have had lengthy and useful discussions with Leaders of various Political Parties as well, with a view to arrive at a reasonable solution for the ethnic problem acceptable to all. Being not fully successful in my Mission I thought of drawing in a wider section of the population to study, understand and to endorse or to support a reasonable solution, without taking this opportunity to make political gains.

Sri Lanka known as Ceylon in the good old days was such a beautiful country in which we Sri Lankans, the Sinhalese, the Tamils, the Muslims, the Malays, the Burghers and many others belonging to various ethnic groups lived in peace and harmony with mutual love, respect and understanding for each other and with malice towards none. The present day generation witnessing or hearing of the atrocious activities going on will hardly believe what I now say. We were infact proud of our nation. There was no enmity among us and we did not envy each other. Observing the new trend that is developing in the country, promoting discord and hatred among various communities, I felt it as my moral duty to tell the present generation as to how we lived in the past and what we should do to regain our lost glory.

In the very same country where we all lived peacefully, death and destruction is the order of the day now. Hardly one day passes without some innocent people also getting killed, discovery of headless and bullet ridden bodies on the road side and in marshy lands, sometimes in a highly decomposed state are very common. The casualties at times exceed one hundred in one instance alone. They include men, women and little kids including babies. The people are living in constant fear and tension. People want peace and only peace first, at any cost. If remedial measures had been allowed to take place for certain acts, over one hundred thousand lives and several billions of rupees worth of property could have been saved, during the last 50 years. It is the arrogance shown by certain political leaders that had resulted in so much of loss to our country. Should we not put a stop to the killings?. The young generation should find the answer.

Some of us are quite safe in our homes with the security provided. But the ordinary man has no security at all. It is he who dies on the road. It is he who should look after his wife and children. It is about him we should also bother.

We have in our midst the LTTE leader who will not hesitate to sacrifice one thousand lives merely to glorify himself. Two letters, one addressed to Mr.V.Prabaharan and the other one is this letter addressed to my countryman, both appear together for all to read and to arrive at their own conclusions. If we want peace my letters give the solution.

The letter addressed to Mr.Prabaharan deals with the manner in which he ruined the Tamil community and brought misery to everyone of us. It also deals with how he gradually brought the entire Tamil community under his subjugation. Any right thinking non-Tamil reading the letter will only have tears for the suffering Tamil Community and will want to liberate them and live with them equally and peacefully. Are we as children of mother Lanka, prepared for it?.

This letter addressed to the Patriotic citizens deals with the ethnic problem, how and when it originated and how the issue dragged on without a solution for over 50 years. Any right-thinking person will feel for the wrongs that had been done to the Tamil speaking people and will want to find a reasonable solution without any further delay.

The Mahanayakes of the four chapters Most. Ven. Udugama Sri. Rathanapala Mahanayake of Asgiriya Chapter, Most Ven. Thibbatuwawe Sri. Siddhartha Mahanayake of Malwatte Chapter, Most. Ven. Veveldeniya Medhlankara Mahanayake of Ramagnna Chapter and Most Ven. Davuldena Gnanissara Mahanayake of Amarapura Chapter had in their joint statement said "President Mahinda Rajapakse and his Government is doing its utmost to solve the National crisis to bring peace where all communities and religious groups could co-exist harmoniously and this attempt should be wrested in order to open the doors for the development and good governance of the Country". They also said, "Some parties are attempting to capitalize on this opportunity to gain political mileage and this cannot be accepted by right thinking people. Therefore we request the Nation to forget their narrow differences and petty gains and to give their unstinted support to the Government to solve our national problem".

The joint statement of the Mahanayakas gives a lot of encouragement. I am sure that all of you will give serious consideration for the plight of the widows, orphans and the disabled created by the war. You will also have sympathy for those thousands who had lost their limbs and eye-sights, for the death of over 70,000 people belonging to various communities and for the destruction of their property, caused by those unscrupulous elements. I hope all the people will throw their full weight and find a lasting solution acceptable to the minorities without leaving it for the future generation to take the struggle forward, if a final solution is not found now.

I am one who had lived among the Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims, for a long time. I had studied with Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim students. Apart from being taught by Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim, Teachers, I had also taught students of all these three communities. Hence I say with confidence that we can live together peacefully without any difficulty.

I plead that everyone should read both the letters to know the real truth. Extreme caution had been taken to draft these two letters, limiting to facts that I am personally aware of and without any exaggeration.

The age old ethnic problem of Sri Lanka is now half a century old. Whether we are trying to solve it or making it more and more difficult to solve, is the question now widely asked by many, including the International Community. Today in our midst we have many capable

people who have very wide knowledge of various modern constitutions and are capable of drafting one to suit our local conditions. Many academics and analysts are also available to help to draft one. To what extent they can help us is in great doubt. One such proposal already drafted, by the experts committee, comprised of Legal Luminaries and experienced Constitutional Lawyers was very much acceptable to the minority communities and the International Community. It came almost near to meeting the aspirations of minority communities, but have been rejected by unexpected quarters for reasons best known to all. The entire scenario would have completely changed, if we were asked to accept that proposal but it will not do any help if such a proposal is going to be meddled with by others. As we accept a court verdict we must also learn to accept proposals of men of high integrity and dignity reposing confidence in them. For them country's interest is foremost in their minds. Didn't we accept the Soulbury Constitution?. Unfortunately we are not allowed even to consider the Report of the Experts Committee. Why was that Committee constituted?. I am at a loss to understand as to why it was formed, if we are not going to accept their report or even consider it.

Another missed opportunity was the rejection of the 1995 Proposal of President Chandrika Bandaranayake Kumaratunge, acclaimed as the best solution ever offered and very well received by many. If those proposals had been accepted and implemented, apart from avoiding the destruction of innumerable valuable properties, unimaginable sum of money spent on the war during the past 10 to 12 years and thousands of lives lost in the battle front could have been saved. Thousands of today's widows would be living happily today with their husbands, children and grand-children. Who will take the responsibility for the loss of life and property during this period.

Hence what is needed today is for a team of experts to go back to the origin of the problem and move forward making provisions to meet the aspirations of the minorities as at that time. Fifty years have passed, since the problem started and the grievances that existed at that time have neither been redressed nor any remedial measures taken to meet the aspirations of the minorities. Most of them who now deal with the problem are those who are not fully aware of the problem as it existed then. They are only trying to show to the world their own capacities with all types of proposals, fully deviating from the original issue.

The country is not looking for experts merely to draft a new constitution but is only looking for specialists to cure a deadly disease, fifty years old and in a very advanced stage, along with the new problems. There is no justification for the inordinate delay in finding a solution because some remedial measures had been taken after the Sinhala Only Act was passed in 1956. The Bandaranayake – Chelvanayagam Pact signed on 26th July, 1957 envisaged a solution to

the Ethnic Problem but unfortunately it got abrogated unjustifiably, merely to satisfy a group of people. The problem remained unresolved not only for the next eight years, with the signing of the Dudley – Chelvanayagam Pact but continued for many more years thereafter, since the UNP failed to implement it even after getting the Federal Party's assistance to rule the country for four years. The UNP refused to implement it and got the pact abrogated in 1969. The provisions in the B-C Pact and the D-C Pact being so relevant and important, few extracts are reproduced from those pacts below for the benefit of those who are confusing the issue with new proposals. What is needed is a solution for the problem as it existed in 1957. The younger generation should know how the two major parties let down the Tamil speaking people and brought dishonour to the Nation, which has now resulted in the loss of over 70,000 lives and destruction to property worth several billions.

We all must work together to regain the lost prestige which had become worse with tremendous false planned propaganda by the LTTE all over the world. The influence they used on some British Members of Parliament bear testimony to my charge.

BANDARANAYAKE - CHELVANAYAGAM AGREEMENT OF 26TH JULY, 1957

Part A – Paragraph 10

" After discussion, it was agreed that the proposed legislation should contain recognition of Tamil as the Language of a National Minority of Ceylon, and that the four points mentioned by the Prime Minister, should include provision that, without infringing on the position of the Official Language as such, the language of Administration of the Northern and Eastern Provinces be Tamil, and that any necessary provision be made for the non-Tamil speaking minorities in the Northern and Eastern Provinces".

Part - B

- 1) Regional areas to be defined to the Bill itself by embodying them, in a schedule thereto.*
- 2) That the Northern Province is to form one regional area whilst the Eastern Province is to be divided into two or more regional areas.*
- 3) Provision is to be made in the Bill to enable two or more regions to amalgamate even beyond provincial limit, and for one region to divide itself subject to ratification by Parliament. Further Provision is to be made in the Bill for two or more regions to collaborate for specific purposes of common interests.*

DUDLEY - CHELVANAYAGAM AGREEMENT OF 24TH MARCH, 1965

1. Action will be taken early under the Tamil Language Special Provisions Act to make provision of the Tamil Language of Administration and of record in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. Mr. Senanayake also explained that it was the policy of his Party that a Tamil-speaking person should be entitled to transact business in Tamil throughout the Island.

2. Mr. Senanayake stated that it was the policy of his Party to amend the Language of the Courts Act to provide for legal proceedings in the Northern and Eastern Provinces to be conducted and recorded in Tamil.

3. Action will be taken to establish District Councils in Ceylon, vested with powers over subjects to be mutually agreed upon between Two Leaders. It was agreed, however, that the Government should have power under the Law to give directions to such Councils in the National Interest.

Even now I maintain that I view all National Issues of the country as one of the patriotic citizens. I always take pride in saying that I am a Sri Lankan. Those who believe in re-birth will accept that a man's birth in a community is only an accident. Recently a School Boy born to Sinhalese parents suddenly started talking in Tamil and claimed that he was a Tamil in his previous birth.

The purpose of quoting some relevant portions from the B-C and D-C Pact in this letter is to tell the country that devolution, unit of devolution, amalgamation of regions are nothing new. They are 40 to 50 year old proposals of very prominent Leaders like the Late Hon. S.W.R.D. Bandaranayake and Late Hon. Dudley Senanayake both of whom were very responsible Prime Ministers of Sri Lanka. The Provincial Councils issue and the merger issue too are also 40 to 50 years old although the 13th amendment came only on the 14th of November, 1987. The Late Hon. S.W.R.D. Bandaranayake's proposals made provision for the amalgamation of regions beyond the Provincial Units and also provided for the division of the Eastern province into two or more units. Ironically Late Hon. Bandaranayake who was the founder President of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party was the first person to pronounce Federalism as the best solution for Sri Lanka. He said that even before we gained Independence. Some of these proposals may appear to be new to some but not for all. Let those who are aware of these matters not confuse the issues. That is the greatest respect we Sri Lankans can pay for a great Leader like Hon. S.W.R.D. Bandaranayake.

One should not fail to realize that the Tamil speaking minorities were let down by the successive Governments by their failure to implement both the B-C Pact and the D-C Pact signed by both Prime Ministers. The two Pacts they had signed were with no less a persons than the Late Hon. S.J.V.Chelvanayagam. I am sure if these gentlemen had lived longer they would have honoured their respective commitments and saved the lives of several thousands.

The People's Alliance that came to power in 1970 with 2/3rd majority drafted and adopted a New Republic Constitution in 1972 which made things worse as far as the minorities are concerned. The safeguards the minorities had in the out-going Soulbury Constitution such as the Second Chamber, appeals to the Privy Council and provision like Sec. 29 did not find any place in the new one. In my view, this is the only occasion any interference by the British Government could have been, to some extent, justifiable, because they had a moral right to safeguard the rights of the minorities that had been tampered with, within 10 years of the adoption of the Soulbury Constitution. They could have atleast brought to the notice of the Sri Lankan Government, that the British Authorities might have considered giving a Federal Constitution to Sri Lanka if such a demand ever came from the Tamil speaking people. The Sinhalese people should have appreciated the fact that the Tamil speaking people wanted to live with the Sinhalese in a United Sri Lanka and did not support separation or even balanced representation as proposed by the Late Hon. G.G.Ponnambalam, Q.C which was misunderstood as if Mr.G.G. was demanding 50% representation for the Tamil speaking people. If the Governments in the past had been a little thoughtful the country would not have come to this state to-day and Mr. Prabakaran and the LTTE would have been non-entities.

The 1977 Elections brought Hon. J.R.Jeyawardene to power with 4/5th majority in Parliament and with a mandate to solve the ethnic problem. He even had the resignation letters of all his Members of Parliament with him. Yet he could offer only District Development Councils as a solution and even refused to drop the word "Development" and to call it District Council. The efforts of the Late Hon. J.R.Jeyawardene also failed because he was not very serious about finding a lasting solution, which now stands proved by the order of the Supreme Court. He made things worse by taking over the Leadership of the Tamils from the moderates and handed it over to the Tamil Armed Groups, by the sixth amendment to the Constitution of Sri Lanka. Strangely enough at retirement he declared that Federal Solution would be the best for Sri Lanka.

Failure of the Successive Governments to offer a satisfactory solution to the ethnic problem left the Tamils and the Muslims at the mercy of the L.T.T.E. leaders like Mr.V.Prabakaran who had taken

advantage of the situation for himself and for his cadre. With threats, intimidations and firepower he had, he brought the Tamils gradually under his subjugation and now they live under him without any Fundamental or Democratic Rights and with their Human Rights seriously eroded. As far as the Tamil speaking minorities are concerned it is a question of "from the frying pan to the fire".

I am today releasing to the press a copy of the letter I sent to Mr.V.Prabaharan on 22nd June, 2007. This letter had become a lengthy one because I had to deal with a number of matters that I had not dealt with in detail in any of my previous letters to him. The purpose is to make him open his eyes and look back at his achievements from the time he assassinated the Ex-Mayor and M.P for Jaffna the late Hon. Mr.Alfred Duraipappah. I have given him a long list of his activities that had brought utter ruin to the Tamil people and to the Nation at large. If he has tears let him shed them now. I want him to repent for all what he had been doing and to turn over to a new leaf, giving up all his atrocious activities. I am advising him to give up his demand for a separate state and to accept a reasonable Federal solution within a United Sri Lanka. I will not dare to ask him to accept a solution within a Unitary set up since I am of the opinion that a solution that could not be found for over fifty years under a Unitary System cannot be found now after the problem had become more and more complicated. This is one of the reasons as to why I had been campaigning for the Indian Model which is silent in the matters of "Unitary" and "Federal" Systems. Further more some of our people are very allergic to the terms "Unitary and Federal" The Indians take pride in saying that their constitution is based on the principles of "unity in diversity". During the last two to three years I have met a number of our people Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims, both here and abroad and convinced them that the Indian Model will ideally suit our country. I had pointed out that India the largest Democracy in the world and having a predominant Hindu population has a well respected and loved Muslim dignitary as its Head of the State. I am sure it will not happen here but we must make it happen one day in the future in Sri Lanka also. We should not forget that India occasionally has problems with neighbouring Muslim Countries and from Muslims within, as in Kashmeer. Yet the President is a Muslim. The Sikhs form only two percent of the Indian population and a much respected Sikh Dr. Manmohan Singh is the Prime Minister of India. The Ex-P.M. of India Smt. Indira Gandhi's foreign Daughter-in-Law is the Chairperson of the ruling Alliance. Could it be possible in our country as it is today especially when one section wanting the non-Sinhala Buddhist to leave the country. We have many things to learn from India.

There are some more very convincing points in support of my view but to avert embarrassment to any body I refrain from doing so. I further referred to the Languages, Religions and Cultures of Sri Lankans. They all came from India for both the Sinhalese and the Tamils and also to some extent for the Muslims. No one disputed the fact that all our ancestors had been from India. Above all there is an overall guarantee that India will never support separation and this position had been made very clear off and on by every party that came to power in India and by every Prime Minister on assumption of office. I have also said that agitation for separation first started in India over 50 years back and ended up even before Pandit Nehruji's demise.

Today no one talks about it. They don't want separation in any form. The students all over India voluntarily study the official Language. The various states have their own Language for administrative purposes with link Languages. The moment the National Anthem is heard playing everybody joins. They respect their National Flag as a sacred object. I saw a documentary film, once in the Indian T.V. A beggar woman characterized, I believe, by the famous I.P.S. officer Ms. Kiran Bedi picking up a torn Indian National Flag in a dust bin on the road-side. With tears in her eyes, she tears off a piece of her own ragged saree and patches up the torn portion. It was a half an hour documentary and opinions obtained from a variety of people came mixed with tears in the eyes of everybody. I do not think that we Sri Lankans give so much of respect for our National Flag except at functions. If I have hurt anyone, I beg their pardon. We must have a contended society to be in a mood even to respect the national anthem and the National Flag, which cannot be done under compulsion.

Why is India like that and we are like this? My frank opinion is that in spite of all the problems India has including poverty, discrimination, landlessness, homelessness etc India's various groups lead a contended life among themselves as citizens of United India, while fighting within their respective groups for other issues.

Until we Sri Lankans cure the 50 years old cancer that is in an advanced stage we will not have a contended society for the people to live happily. Strangely enough ours is the only country in the world where people invoke the blessings of the Gods to harm people and not to relieve people of their problems. The famous March to the Dalda Maligawa in Kandy protesting against the implementation of the B-C Pact in 1957 is a good example.

If the B-C Pact had been implemented in 1957 over hundred thousand lives and very many billions worth of property, both private and public, could have been saved. The 1983 riots known as "Black July" that brought utter disgrace to the country and caused the death of thousands and loss of property could have been avoided. The present war that caused the death of over 70000 people also could have been avoided. There won't be so much of widows and orphans in our country. Who should take the responsibility for all these losses? It is a pity that our country has so much of selfish politicians who should be held responsible for these unfortunate deaths and loss of property and for such occurrences in the future too.

I am a small sprat in Politics. If only I had cast a favorable eye towards Mr. Prabakaran, I would have been the Parliamentary Group Leader of the 22 fraudulently elected Members of Parliament of the T.N.A and would have enjoyed all benefits of a Parliamentarian. I forgo everything without any regrets-only because, I love my country and its people. One who can't do this have no honest place in politics. Such people must honourably quit politics.

I have seen references made to me in a number of articles appearing with varieties of proposals every week. I have studied politics. I am a Lawyer and I had done Constitutional law. I know which is good and which is bad for the country. The Modern world has very many up to date constitutions, very much suitable to us. The most recent one is that of South Africa. The Swiss and the Canadian ones are very good. Many others have very good features. The District level devolution is good and also the Panchayath System in the Gandhian style which I like most. But what we want to-day is a cure for our disease. All good features in other constitutions can be adopted if and when necessary.

India is our immediate neighbour separated by the Palk Strait of 20 miles with 60 million Tamils living across. Every day 1000 – 1500 people travel to Tamil Naad and from there to various destination on various business including pilgrimage. There is a branch of the Mahabodi Society in Chennai for the benefit of the Buddhist pilgrims. The Sinhalese brothers are well received there. There are a lot of things to do in Tamil Naad where once Buddhism flourished. From time immemorial Tamil Buddhist Monks had come to Sri Lanka for Missionary work. I am not blaming anybody for any lapses but I take my hats off to Dr. Jeyalath Jeyawardena. M.P, a strong Catholic doing his best to propagate Buddhism in Tamil Naad. He has obtained the lands for establishing three Viharas. The tallest Budha Statue is installed in Andra, another South Indian State. I was shocked to see a propagator of Buddhism claiming Sri Lanka as belonging to the Sinhala Buddhist and that others must get back to India. I don't want to get involved in a controversy by trying to teach history or geography to any one. But I should atleast say that 20 miles of a strait is nothing for a person to swim across. Many had done it even in recent times both to India and from India. In the good old days a Catamaran would have brought one in a couple of hours to Sri Lanka. They would have come for fishing or even to escape arrest or for fear of life or could have got drifted due to heavy blowing and settled here. Are these arguments relevant at this juncture?. I heard somebody claiming that the Portuguese brought the Tamils from Kerala to Jaffna to plant tobacco. I don't think one need to come all the way from Portugal to show a Keralite the way to Jaffna and to plant tobacco or even grass. I think this is too much of an insult for anyone to bear. Let no one meddle with history to suit themselves.

What we need today is first to liberate our-selves from the Tigers under whom one group suffers untold hardships directly and the other group suffers indirectly in many ways. How ever the losses on both side are unbearable and involves death, disaster and destruction of properties. A couple of Sinhalese soldiers burnt the Jaffna Public Library but who burnt the thousands of mini-libraries every educated Tamil had in his possession?. The LTTE accuses the others involving in the genocide of the Tamils. But the number of Tamils killed by the LTTE directly is many times more, than those Tamils killed by the Forces, without taking the combatants into account. Likewise the number of Sinhalese killed by the LTTE is innumerable without taking the combatants into account. The Sinhalese people cannot have any grievance against the ordinary Tamil people for these atrocities

perpetrated on them. They know fully well that it is the work of the brain-washed LTTE cadre who under-go brutal training from the LTTE before inducted into their cadre. I hope no one will dare to challenge this statement

I had been repeatedly complaining about the atrocious activities of the LTTE in areas under their control to which no one has access. Can't the U.N. enter the LTTE controlled areas to liberate the unfortunate young ones who are detained by force and given training as combatants. Do Human Rights violations apply only to the Government controlled areas and not to areas under the control of the LTTE where it takes place in abundance and without being checked by anybody.

I have given in detail in my letter to Mr. Prabakaran how he had ruined our people in all respects and how he had reduced them to the level of beggars. If the Sinhalese brothers are not going to view the condition of the Tamils living under the subjugation of the LTTE, with the sympathy they deserve and find a remedy for their sufferings, with a solution acceptable to the International Community, they can very well join hands with the LTTE and destroy the Tamils totally and find the Ethnic Problem solved without any difficulty. This is perhaps what some people want to happen.

I have read with interest numerous references made to me in various articles and editorial comments relating to my suggestion of the Indian Model as an ideal solution. I have already made my position clear on a number of occasions. I very well understand various aspects of the Law. I wish to quote what I told His Excellency Mr. Mahinda Rajapaksa one day when I discussed this matter with him. I told him that if two packages are offered, one on the Indian Model and another with more powers than the Indian Model, I will still prefer the Indian Model for the simple reason that the Indian Model could be easily sold to our people. It will meet our requirements. It will silence 60 Million Tamils across the Palk Strait whose thinking is disturbed by a small group of LTTE activists. There is nothing wrong in adopting the Indian Model which itself has some features of the Westminster System like the Soulbury Constitution that we had for about 25 years. Most Constitutions today embody some features of the Westminster system

A number of recent events in which the LTTE is involved clearly show that it is only India that had saved us up to now. The swiftness with which the Indian Navy acted and the alertness of the Tamil Nadu Police saved us from great disaster. It is advisable for some of our local politicians to observe extreme caution in making their comments. The propaganda of the Sri Lankan Government abroad is no match to that of the L.T.T.E's. If some British Parliamentarians are misled by the L.T.T.E. propaganda, we cannot blame them. What action had we taken so far to invite a group of Parliamentarians from Britain and India to visit the North and East including the areas under the control of the LTTE? What action have we taken so far to expose the L.T.T.E's activities in the areas

behind their Iron Curtain?. How many people are detained by the L.T.T.E. and tortured in their detention camps and darkroom chambers?. What record the International Community has about the abductions and conscriptions in areas under the control of the L.T.T.E?. Is the International Community aware that children in L.T.T.E. held areas are living in the jungles during the daytime, only to escape getting caught by the L.T.T.E and when they return home in the night they are caught?. Is the International Community aware that parents who protest against the conscription of children are mercilessly assaulted and some had even committed suicide as a protest when the children are taken away by the LTTE for training by force?. Has any one any record of the children recruited inside the L.T.T.E. held areas to which no one has access?. If the Government Forces violate Human Rights it is the business of that party to clear its name. But who is accountable for the numerous Human Rights violations in the L.T.T.E. held areas that are going on indefinitely for several years without even being mentioned by any International Organisation or by any local NGOs?.

The only option the country now has is to find a solution based on a Federal Structure or to adopt the Indian Model as suggested by me. Whatever solution found should be a permanent and a lasting one that could side-line the LTTE and will not give room for further agitation in the future. The Government, itself is committed to a Federal Solution under the Oslo Agreement and any deviation other than the Indian Model will not appease the International Community whose assistance will be required to compel the LTTE to accept a reasonable solution as an alternative to their demand for separation.

The general opinion of the people is that the country should not divide itself and subject to this condition the consensus is that all citizens irrespective of their race or creed should enjoy equal rights in a United Sri Lanka and any effort by any group to impose discrimination in any form will never help to bring peace to the country.

With regards,



V. Anandasangaree,
President – TULF

Department of Government Information,
Ministry of Mass Media & Information - Sri Lanka
July 2007

Design: The DesignMaster Printing, Dept. of Govt. Printing, Sri Lanka

Supported by: Rehabilitation Foundation.
rehabfoundation.org - sri.lk/rehabham.org