

# Hot Spring

JULY - 98

*A Journal of Commitment*



## **A fierce commitment to the cause**

**Sri Lanka  
and  
War Crimes**

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**Tamil Liberation:  
The next  
10 years**

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**A fight to  
the finish:  
LTTE leader's  
1986 interview**

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**South African play  
on Tamil Eelam**

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**A "White Tiger"  
sends a letter**

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# Hot Spring

A Journal of commitment

Vol: 3 N°: 5 July 1998

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*Published by*

Melrose Publications Ltd.  
U.K.

**Price: £1.50**

*Annual subscription*  
(for 12 issues):

UK	£18
Europe	£20
Outside Europe	£22

Mode of Payment:

1. Bankers Draft
2. International Money Order
3. Cheque drawn on a UK Bank current account.

*(all inclusive of postage)*

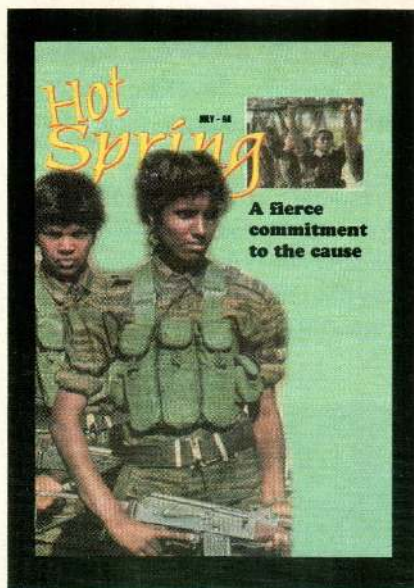
No personal cheques of foreign Banks (non UK) are entertained.

(This applies to all new Subscriptions and Renewals)

*Cheques to be drawn in favour of Melrose Publications Ltd.*

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## On the cover



Excerpts from an article titled **DYING FOR THEIR CAUSE** in the London-published magazine EVA, 24 June '98:

**"FOR THE FIERCE TAMIL TIGRESS FIGHTERS, SACRIFICING THEIR LIVES IN AN ATTEMPT TO BRING DOWN THE GOVERNMENT IS AN HONOUR . . ."**

"They move silently in single file through the moonlit jungle on a deadly mission - to kill the government soldiers in the army camp ahead, even if they die trying. Carrying explosives and modern automatic weapons, they brace themselves for the death and destruction they'll cause in the enemy's ranks. Each is determined to take as many lives as possible . . . The women belong to the world's largest female guerilla army...."

"The women and girls endure training harsh enough to crack the strongest man. They learn to use every kind of weapon from explosives and mines to the most modern guns, and they are taught how to survive in the jungle.

"Their day begins at 4 a.m. when they start their training usually with up to 18kg of equipment on their backs. During the harsh training they'll have to

perform several daring acts like jumping over flaming pits, which is intended to condition them mentally and physically for the hardships on the battle front.

"The women accept the army's ruling that they may never marry, and that they're only allowed to see their family for one week a year. Some of them plan to die - members of the elite Black Tigers and Sea Tigers consider suicide missions, such as driving a truck loaded with explosives into an enemy target, an honour.

"Our strength is our willingness to make the supreme sacrifice", says Gena, 30, leader of the Tigresses. "Women have taken up arms to free their country. It's a turning point in history".



**Gun diplomacy: Tamil Tigresses have harsh training to survive in the jungle**



**The day starts at 4am. The Tigresses carry up to 18kg of equipment each**

"Today the Tigresses have their own administration system, a training camp in the middle of a coconut tree forest, and their own schools. Janani manages one of the schools, an orphanage for about 200 girls aged 6-18."



# What They Say

"The British government can take action against the LTTE, only if the LTTE violates the British laws, which is not being done by the LTTE. Also we want evidence from the people who call for the ban, so that this could be considered".



- *British High Commissioner in Colombo David Tatham, quoted in the SUNDAY LEADER June 21.*

\*\*\*\*\*



"It is a violation of ethical standards as well as tenets of common decency expected of a Head of Government, to call for the resignation of the (Bribery) Commissioners at a time when you and the members of your Cabinet are yourselves the subject matter of complaints made to the Commission".

- *Sri Lankan Opposition leader Ranil Wicremasinghe in a letter to President Chandrika Kumaratunga, quoted in Colombo newspapers.*

\*\*\*\*\*

"YOU will get to know our objectives in the not so distant future"

- *Major General Tilak Paranagama, at a meeting of the "National Movement against Terrorism" at the Bandaranaike Memorial Hall, addressed by Ven.Sobitha and Dr.A.T.Ariyaratne, among others.*

\*\*\*\*\*

"Maintenance costs are high and

so are the taxes involved. I cannot afford to use a luxury vehicle of this nature".

- *Buddhist High Priest of the holy retreat of Asgiriya Palipane Sri Chandananda, refusing to pay tax on a luxury Mercedes Benz car gifted to him by President Kumaratunga.*

\*\*\*\*\*



"Unlike the TULF, the LTTE has sustained for some twelve years its vision of Eelam for the Tamil people. I think Velupillai Prabhakaran has

some sort of divine guidance and some sort of divine power to continue for so long despite the army offensive"

- *Cabinet Minister in the Sri Lanka government and leader of the Ceylon Workers' Congress, S.Thondaman, in an interview with SUNDAY TIMES, Colombo, June 28.*

\*\*\*\*\*

"In the old days, if you were overheard saying Chairman Mao looks like an old lady, they would throw you in jail for 17 years.



President Jiang

But today, if you are overheard saying President Jiang Zemin looks like an old turtle, nothing will happen to you, unless you say it in the press or Tiananmen Square"

- *a Chinese professor, Quoted by NEWSWEEK writer Jonathan Alter.*

\*\*\*\*\*

## International

"If our demand to find a peaceful solution to the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka is against the foreign policy of India, damn that' policy".

- *Dalit Ezhilmalai, Union Minister of State for Health and PMK leader, speaking at the Chennai Press Club.*

\*\*\*\*\*

"It is tragic... It is like two bald men fighting over a comb".

- *Ethiopian businessman on the sudden eruption of hostilities between Ethiopia and Eritrea over a triangle of barren land.*

\*\*\*\*\*

"Americans have a habit of making statements which are sometimes offensive"



- *Indian Defence Minister George Fernandes.*

\*\*\*\*\*

"There is Pakistan in the west, China in the north and the United States in the south in Diego Garcia".

- *George Fernandes justifying the nuclear tests and India's security concerns.*

\*\*\*\*\*



"While our political leaders have not improved the common man's quality of life, they have certainly helped improve the quality of cartooning in India, especially mine".

- *India's leading cartoonist R.K.Laxman, speaking at a ceremony to launch a compilation of 200 of his selected cartoons.*

\*\*\*\*\*



# What went wrong in July 1987?

Now that the biggest non-event of the month in Colombo - the 10th SAARC summit - has ended with neither glory nor ignominy, with the sniffer dogs back in their kennels, and the military censor back to his his scissors, another July too had come and gone. To many this time, what readily came to mind was the black July of 1983, but curiously the memory of another July, that of 1987, escaped their minds, despite the ironic coincidence of Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee arriving in Colombo almost the same date on which one of his predecessors in office had come with a "peace agreement" 11 years earlier, only to escape a murderous swipe at him by a Sinhala naval rating. Wisely, the present Prime Minister came only with a baby tusker elephant which he gifted to President Chandrika Bandaranaike at a solemn ceremony.

Elephants they say, do not forget, but among oppressed people too memories die hard. Who can ever forget the catastrophic consequences of that one single signing ceremony in Colombo on the 29th of July 1987? The so-called Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Agreement of that year was flawed on several counts. Firstly, it was not a "peace agreement", because it led to war. Secondly, it was not a government-to-government agreement, because half the members of Rajiv Gandhi's cabinet did not know the contents of the agreement, and half the members of Jayawardene's cabinet, like Premadasa and Lalith Athulathmudali, were even openly opposed to it. So, in effect, it was only a Rajiv Gandhi-Jayawardene agreement. Thirdly, the Indian Peace Keeping Force that was sent in pursuance of the agreement did not keep

peace but waged a war.. Fourthly, peace agreements are signed between two combatants, but here one party to the conflict was not called upon to sign.

How far removed from reality the late Indian Prime Minister was could be seen from his thinking process. 72



*Rajiv Gandhi at the Madras Marina beach rostrum, along with M.G.R. and Sonia Gandhi.*

hours after the signing of the agreement Mr.Rajiv Gandhi characterised it as a major landmark in the four decades of India's freedom ! He told a Marina beach audience in Madras: "**I am told that no such agreement has been signed by any country in the world, at least in this century! It does not have a parallel in the world!**". Absolutely. No other government in the world could have conceived such stupidity.

*(Readers are requested to please rise up and observe two minutes silence in memory of the agreement).*

Mrs.Indira Gandhi was a Prime Minister who learnt politics at her

father's feet, a woman with a clear grasp of issues and the courage of her convictions. Son Rajiv unfortunately, brought from the cockpit of a plane to the serious affairs of a large country's governance, had to depend almost totally on his advisers. Equally unfortunately he selected the wrong kind of advisers, who apparently told him that the job of the IPKF was to disarm "2000 boys" !

THE HINDU which has a habit of over-stretching its journalistic duty, reported as early as July 1988, nine months after the IPKF took on the LTTE, that 2,000 Tigers had been

killed in IPKF operations. So that cancelled the "2,000 boys" that Mr.Gandhi had in mind. Ten years later today, the Colombo Press also gives fancy statistics about Tiger casualties, provided by military spokesmen. There is that frequently quoted and now worn thin saying "Truth is the first first casualty in war", but why should readers be called upon to put up with a permanent enthronement of falsehood.

Sometimes, one wonders whether they are tigers after all, or are they rabbits to keep on breeding over a decade in such large numbers?

*S.Sivanayagam*



# South African play on Tamil Eelam

South African Tamils staged a Play of Conscience called "GOD IS SILENT" on 4th July accompanied by a concert of songs and dance in support of Eelam Tamils.

## GOD IS SILENT

by K. Chinappan



The Play centres around a religious family in Tamil Eelam.

The oppressive political situation of the country splits the once closely-knit religious family members into theists and atheists.

The father is a diehard Hindu priest and the eldest son Yegan is a liberation activist of atheist persuasion while the second son Paagan is caught up in a web of political situation of the country; his religious back ground of non-violence ; the instinct of self survival and blind patriotism.

Dictated by the Gandhian philosophy of non-violence the father impresses Paagan about the glory of the ancient Saivite religion the family belongs to, by quoting scriptures to persuade him not to associate with his Liberation activist elder brother. Yegan, on the other hand, ridicules his young brother for worshipping and

depending on a God that witnesses all the horrendous atrocity inflicted upon the helpless and hopeless minority population and yet remains silent, leave alone coming to their rescue. Even when the very abode of God (the temples,

mosques and churches) are bombed and the devotees blown to smithereens God is silent. Why? If there is a God is He blind deaf or mute? The atheist Yegan questions his father and the religious leaders'



intensifies Paagan's commitment to the Freedom Struggle.

Just when Paagan begins to render his last rites to his mother, the army arrests him without giving him the opportunity to complete the ceremony. Paagan, arrested and held by the Soldiers, bids farewell to his dead mother giving assurance that he will not rest until Tamil Eelam is achieved.

While the Play is interwoven with lyrical comments by a Sage who symbolises the conscience of mankind on the wonton destruction of innocent lives, the death of Yegan and Paagan leaves the Priest father to honestly believe that "God is Silence".



refusal to raise their voice in protest and to oppose man's inhumanity to man.

The tolerant mother's pent-up sorrow and agony explodes when young Paagan finally decides to join the Liberation Movement leaving behind his wife and a child. The rape and murder of his mother





# The Krishanthi case:

## It is not the end of the story

The brutal gang rape and gruesome murder of Krishanti Kumaraswamy and her mother, brother and a neighbour on September 6, 1996 by the Sri Lankan army soldiers and policemen shocked the conscience of the civilized world. Although crimes like rape and murder committed against unarmed defenseless Tamil civilians have become common place in the North and East, the naked barbarism displayed by the rapists and killers in this instance surpassed all previous crime records.

### Background

Krishanti was aged sweet sixteen plus two years at the time of her murder. She was an Advanced Level student of the prestigious Chundikuli Girls College having earlier passed the Ordinary Level exam with seven distinctions. On that fateful day she went to college to write her chemistry paper. Her mother Rasamma Kumaraswamy (59) was the Vice-Principal of Maha Vidyalayam in Kaithady. Her brother Pranavan (16) was an O/L student at St. Johns College, Jaffna. Her elder sister Prashanti (21) has just moved to Colombo to pursue her studies in Accountancy. Krishanti's father Kumaraswamy had died of cancer a few years back.

### Day with Death

After writing her exam, she visit-

ed the funeral home of one her friend who died the previous day knocked down by a military truck. She then cycled back home. At Kaithady Army checkpoint, one of the hundreds dotting the landscape of Jaffna peninsula, Krishanti was detained by the army and police personnel on duty. The time was about 2 p.m. and fortunately a few passersby saw Krishanti taken into custody by the military personnel. They relayed the bad news to



her mother Rasamma, who like every other mothers in Jaffna, was nervously waiting for her daughter's safe return from school. Rasamma,

in whose mind nightmarish scenes would have razed through instantly on hearing the bad tidings, decided to go in search of her missing daughter. Her son Pranavan and a neighbour Kirupamoorthy Sithamparam (32) who got married just six months earlier accompanied her. They did not suspect that their ill-fated journey was not only futile but she, her son and neighbour would be strangled, cut into

pieces and buried in a little hut within the gates of the army camp the very same day.

The whereabouts of Krishanti and the other three remained a mystery and the army flatly denied any knowledge about the missing persons despite pressure brought to bear by the family's immediate relatives, Tamil politicians and human rights organizations.

### Dead Bodies Exhumed

After 45 days by sheer accident the dead bodies of all the four missing persons were found in crudely dug graves at Chemmani. The highly decomposed bodies were exhumed and flown in two coffins for burial in Colombo. A stubborn and insensitive government denied Prashanti and close relatives of the family the right to mourn over the dead or perform last rites. To add insult to injury an ultimatum was given to the family by the army higher-ups that the bodies should be cremated within two hours!

Amnesty International and other human rights organizations like Women for Peace launched a sustained campaign to pressurise the Sri Lankan government to arrest and bring to justice the rapists and murderers of Krishanti and her family.

### License to Rape and Kill

In the past, flagrant human rights abuses have been swept under the carpet by successive Sinhalese dominated governments and top brasses of the armed forces and police. The

*"EVERY HUMAN BEING HAS THE INHERENT RIGHT TO LIFE. LAW SHALL PROTECT THIS RIGHT. NO ONE SHALL BE DEPRIVED OF HIS/HER LIFE."*

*-Article 6.1 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*



unwritten rule was that in the name of fighting a war against the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, security personnel enjoyed a carte blanche license to kill, rape, torture, and maim Tamil civilians. In fact these were effectively used as weapons to terrorise, oppress and subjugate Tamil civilians.

According to AI " For too long the security forces have been literally allowed to get away with murder and a climate of impunity existed at all levels in regard to grave human rights violations committed by them." The UN Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances in its report for 1995 said, "Sri Lanka ranked second highest in the world total number of recorded 'disappearance'." Added the Tamil Information Centre (TIC) "Torture, deaths in custody, disappearances are wide spread in Sri Lanka. A number of women and children have 'disappeared' after being taken by security forces in the Tamil areas. Tamils continued to be held in secret places of detention especially in the Jaffna peninsula, Colombo, and Vavunia."

### **Gang Rape of Krishanti**

Though sentence of death on six accused persons, out of the nine originally charged, with rape, murder and abduction have been welcomed by local and international human rights organizations and activists, there are doubts as to whether this marks an end to the climate of impunity in Sri Lanka. Also whether this is not a feeble attempt on the part of the Sri Lankan government to wash its sins and polish its image abroad also linger.

During the course of the trial two policemen who turned crown witnesses gave graphic account of the last dying hours of Krishanti. According to their evidence, the army and police personnel pounced on their prey like hungry animals to satisfy their carnal passions. Krishanti fainted and collapsed unconscious when these sex maniacs in khaki uniform raped her in a row. On gaining consciousness the poor girl asked for some water to drink. Thereafter when the sixth rapist was about to take his turn Krishanti plead-

ed with him. She unsuccessfully begged and pleaded with her tormentor saying, "Let me rest for five minutes." Finally she was strangled to death and buried.

### **Unresolved Rapes and Murders**

Unfortunately a swallow does not make a summer nor a single tree a forest. The prosecution of the thugs in khaki uniform who abducted, raped and murdered Krishanti is an exception rather than the norm. The extraordinary publicity given to Krishanti case had taken the focus off the hundreds of unresolved rapes and murders of other young Tamil women. The cases filed against security forces personnel in the rape and murder of 22 years old Rajani Velayuthapillai of Urumpirai and Koneswary Murugesapillai, aged 35 and mother of 4 children of Central Camp at Batticaloa are moving in snail's speed in the courts.

On March 17, 1997 two sisters, namely Velan Rasamma (38), a widow and her sister Nalliah Dharshini (28) were raped by 4 soldiers at Thannamunai, a village 6 km north of Batticaloa. A plaint has been filed against a single soldier, but the accused is out on bail.

The case against 22 Special Task Force (STF) personnel accused of strangulation and murder of 27 Tamil youths whose floating bodies were recovered from Bolgoda, Alawwa and Diyawannawa lakes is still worse. The proceedings commenced at the Chief Magistrates Court, Colombo on September 15, 1995. After four consecutive postponements, the case was struck off the roll since both the Crown prosecutors and CID officials repeatedly failed to appear in Court. The government has now stealthily dropped the case entirely and the perpetrators are back in active service!

On June 22, 1991, 67 innocent Tamil civilians were massacred by the Sinhala army at Kokkaddicholai in the Batticaloa district. A Presidential Commission that probed the massacre found only Captain Kudilegama guilty. He was dismissed from the army but

two months later he was given a higher position in a state corporation by the government!

### **Two Different Standards of Justice**

The foot dragging and the lethargy displayed by the government in these cases is in sharp contrast to the diligence and speed with which graves in the South are excavated and how bodies of victims of 1988/89 army terror meticulously counted. So far a total of four Presidential Commissions have been appointed to probe into about 11, 000 cases of involuntary disappearances /extra-judicial killings between 1988 to 1994. But President Chandrika has brushed aside all appeal by concerned Human Rights organizations and Tamil parliamentarians to extend the terms of reference of the latest Presidential Commission to include period after 1994. This should cause no surprise since the human rights record of President Chandrika's government is far worse than that of the UNP. During UNP rule it was a home and home match between the armed Sinhalese youths and the Sinhala armed forces. But now it is different- a Pan Sinhalese army raping and murdering innocent Tamil youths. Apparently President Chandrika has two different standards of justice system, one for the Sinhalese and one for the Tamils for identical crimes!

### **Mass Graves at Chemmani**

In Krishanti's rape and murder trial, the first accused Lance Cpl. Dewage Somaratne Rajapakse when asked by the court whether he has anything to say before sentencing said, " **We did not kill anyone. We only buried bodies that were sent to us by our superior officers.**" He went on to drop the bombshell which even the Court could not have anticipated "**We can show you where 300 to 400 bodies have been buried at Chemmani.**" Other co--accused persons corroborated the first accused statement from the dock.

Lance Cpl. Rajapakse's statement simply confirms the report issued by Amnesty International after a fact-find-



ing mission to Jaffna. **Amnesty International in its report dated November 27, 1997 stated categorically that "nearly all of them are likely to have died under torture or to have been deliberately killed by (Sri Lankan security forces)".**

Amnesty went on to state that approximately 540 people `disappeared` in the Jaffna peninsula within the middle six months of 1996 alone. Over 60% of the 540 disappearances

occurred in the two months after the LTTE overran the Sri Lanka's Mullaitivu army base killing over 1,300 soldiers on July 18, 1996.

Amnesty further added " Hundreds of others were victims of torture at the hands of the security forces" and it has received "several reports of rape by members of the army."

**Thus far there has been no reaction from President Chandrika or her Ministers for the appointment of**

**a Presidential Commission to probe into the alleged mass graves at Chemmani. Even Foreign Minister Kadirgamar who has been of late in an unholy mission to re-polish the image of the Sinhala army as a disciplined force is keeping mum. So is the leader of the UNP Ranil Wickremesinghe and other Sinhalese politicians.** □

## Investigate the mass graves says M.P.

**C**OLOMBO, July 11 (Reuters) A senior Tamil lawmaker has asked the Sri Lankan government to allow a commission probing disappearances to extend the period of investigation following reports of mass graves in the north.

President Chandrika Kumaratunga recently re-appointed a commission to investigate some 11,000 reports of disappearances that were not looked into by three earlier commissions which ended their work in May.

The three commissions had found

some 16,742 people had disappeared from January 1988 to December 1994, most of them

between 1988 and 1990, when the previous government cracked down on a left-wing youth uprising. "There had been large scale removal or disappearances of persons that occurred from the period 1995 and thereafter in the northern and eastern provinces," **Joseph Pararajasingham**, leader of the Tamil United Liberation Front's (TULF) parliamentary group, said in a letter to Kumaratunga.

**Pararajasingham said a soldier sentenced to death by a court in Colombo for the murder of a**

**teenage Tamil schoolgirl had said he was prepared to identify 400 graves of Tamil youths in the northern Jaffna peninsula.**



"In the aforesaid circumstances, I would appreciate if Your Excellency will extend the term of reference of the present commission to inquire into the removal or disappearances to, cover the period after January 1995," Pararajasingham said in his letter, a copy of which was seen by Reuters on Saturday. □

## Police will investigate, says govt.

**C**OLOMBO, July 22 (Reuters) - Sri Lanka on Wednesday ordered a police investigation into a report of mass graves in northern Jaffna where international human rights groups have said some 600 people have disappeared.

"During the last two-week period wide publicity has been given to a statement alleged to have been made by a convict in the Krisanthi Kumaraswami case that around 400 bodies have been buried in a location known to him in the Jaffna peninsula," the defence ministry said in a statement.

The statement said the government did not condone such atrocities.

"(The) government is fully committed to the safeguarding of human lives. Government assures that the due legal process will be observed to bring to book, the offenders," it said.

"In conformity with this position the CID (Criminal Investigation Department) has been already directed to commence inquiries."

A soldier sentenced to death by a court in Colombo for the murder of a teenage Tamil schoolgirl had stated that he was prepared to identify 400 graves of Tamil youth who allegedly

disappeared in Jaffna.

The allegation of mass graves in Jaffna raised an uproar among human rights groups, and Tamil political parties had called for a probe into the report.

Sri Lanka's Human Rights Commission, an independent body, said last week it would question Jayasinghe before deciding whether or not to conduct its own full investigation into the report. Their probe has not yet started this week.

Human rights watchdog Amnesty International said last year some 600 people had disappeared in Jaffna in 1996 when government troops took control of the peninsula after driving out Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) rebels from their long-time stronghold. □



# SRI LANKA'S "CENSOR" GENERAL ENJOYS HIS NEW JOB

*Sri Lanka's ban on military reports has the rumours flying, reports SUSANNAH PRICE from Colombo, for THE GUARDIAN, London.*

Sri Lanka's newly appointed military censor, Major-General Jayaliya Nammuni, seems to have enjoyed his first weeks in office battling against journalists rather than Tamil Tiger guerrillas. "Everyone has been most co-operative", he said, reaching over to answer one of six telephones.

"Under emergency regulations a ban was imposed on June 5 on any operations carried out or planned by the armed forces or the police. In fact this means a ban on any version of events other than the official one. Journalists send their reports to Gen.Nammuni and they are sent back censored.

"The general, the army's deputy chief-of-staff, admits he has no qualifications for editing news reports. "I read the papers widely", he said, picking up a copy of the READERS' DIGEST.

"The ban was imposed after a week of fighting which left more than 30 soldiers dead as the government renewed its attempt to take control of the north which runs through the

Wanni area controlled by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. The government said censorship was necessary to stop journalists giving out sensitive information and casualty figures.

**"But IQBAL ATHAS, defence correspondent for Sri Lanka's SUNDAY TIMES newspaper said: "It's clear the high number of dead and wounded was causing the government a great deal of concern. It's a public secret that they have suffered heavily - one only has to walk into hospitals to see".**

"During the first week of the ban, only two paragraphs of Athas's full page report were left after it was censored. **"I made a comparison between military operations. Not only had the censor deleted all my figures, he'd put his own in".**

"There has been censorship in Sri

Lanka before, but this is the first time the military has been put in charge. Previously it was lifted for journalists from foreign publications after four days. Now they are briefing their offices and reports are being written from New Delhi or London.

"The Tamil Tigers' press reports are also available on the Internet.

"In these days of mass communication, censorship can seem somewhat irrelevant", admitted the media minister, Mangala Samaraweera. "However, the fighting has entered a critical stage and I believe the government is keen to lift the censorship as soon as is possible with the completion of the operation."

"The problem is that, as a result of this ban, the rumour mill has taken over", said Athas. "The casualty figures are getting blown up out of all proportion and this will cause more panic than the truth ever would". □



*Iqbal Athas*

## M.P.s had no blood to offer

Both government and opposition parliamentarians recently failed to respond to an appeal for blood by the Government Medical Officers Association (GMOA), the Association's President Dr. Ananda Samarasekara said.

The campaign organised especially for parliamentarians was a complete failure and a sad sight Dr. Samarasekara said.

Individual letters were sent to all Members of Parliament inviting them to donate blood while separate letters

were sent to President Chandrika Kumaratunga and Opposition Leader, Ranil Wickremesinghe to extend their support to make the occasion a success, he said.

The blood donation campaign was organised at the Central Blood Bank recently 10 a.m. and went on till 12. noon onwards, but no parliamentarians turned up. However the executive committee of the GMOA and some doctors from the National Hospital and the Welisara Hospital volunteered.

The GMOA's letter to the MPs said:

Considering the prevailing shortage of blood at the Blood Transfusion Service, the GMOA has decided to organise a series of blood donation campaigns.

'We invite you to be present at the Central Blood Bank for a worthy cause', the letter said.

Individual requests were made to parliamentarians anticipating a favourable response, Dr. Samarasekara said.

'This was a move to encourage the professional sector with the MPs taking the lead', he said. □



# A "White Tiger" writes to Editor Hot Spring

S.Sivanayagam  
Editor  
'Hot Spring'  
P.O.Box 14258  
LONDON SW16 6ZU

6th July 1998

Dear Sivanayagam,

Thank you for the latest edition (June) of 'Hot Spring'\* For your records, please note my new address and telephone number, given below.

I notice that there is not a 'letters to the editor' section in 'Hot Spring' is this an oversight or deliberate policy? You will agree that an inter-active facility between a magazine and its' readers is part of the democratic process, giving the reader an opportunity to comment on or challenge, articles and reports contained in the magazine. A magazine that does not offer such a facility to its' readers, is purely propaganda. I would appreciate your comments.

If there such a democratic basis to 'Hot Spring, I submit the following for inclusion in the next edition under my pseudonym:

Dear Sir,

Let me firstly state that I am an unequivocal supporter in the fight to redress the abuse of basic human rights of the Tamils of Sri Lanka. **Having lived in Jaffna between August 1994 and June 1996 and having made a further four visits between August 1996 and July 1997, I have first-hand experience of the military operations which resulted in the evacuation of some 500,000 people and the subsequent occupation of the peninsula by the SLA.**

In attempts to let the world know, both what happened then, as well as

what continues to happen to the Tamil population in Sri Lanka, it is essential that factual and accurate reports are given. When the truth is misrepresented or blurred a little, doubt begins to creep into the minds of those who might be recruited to fight the injustices we seek to eradicate.

If we claim a commitment to democracy, we must practice democracy and that means that we must present the facts and provide an opportunity for those facts to be discussed and even challenged.

Mixing undeniable facts with spurious statements is a common propaganda ploy but as Winston Churchill said, "You can fool some of the people some of the time; some of the people all of the time; but you can't fool all of the people all of the time."

In the June edition of 'Hot Spring', I would like to comment on the following matters:

*'Lakshman Kadirgamar, Tyro With A Mission' -*

*K.Kanavathipillai*

*Page 5, right-hand column*

*"Though NGO's tried their best to help, hundreds of people perished of hunger and disease between November 1995 and April 1996."*

Where did this happen? Where is the evidence? From where did this information come? I saw no such thing.

*Page 6, left-hand column -*

*"At 4.30pm, of the same day, a (Puccara) bomber flew towards Navali, 3km away from the combat zone and bombed the said church. More than 250 men, women and children huddled inside, were killed. Many more were critically injured. Foreign Ministry sources, as usual, denied the bombing but the local ICRC bore witness."*

Although I was in the UK when this incident happened, I returned shortly afterwards and went to visit the scene of the attack. I saw with my own eyes, and have photographs to prove it, that the damage to St.Peters church building was limited to blast damage. Many roof tiles were missing and there was damage to the windows and internal furnishings of the church.

**I cannot confirm the figure of 250 deaths but the figure was certainly high. The people killed were refugees moving away from the combat zone and students who were providing refreshments for them.** The bombs from the Puccara fell on houses and land immediately adjacent to the church. Unfortunately, the senior ICRC delegate (a close friend of mine) passed on the hearsay report (as contained in K.Kanavathipillai's article) to his HQ in Colombo before checking the facts. The GoSL were able to prove that the report was false and were able to divert attention away from the fact that many people had been killed or wounded in the attack. They were also able to cast doubts on the integrity and neutrality of ICRC and relationships between the GoSL and ICRC suffered as a result, for quite some time.

On the bombing and shelling of churches and temples, it should be noted that the LTTE sometimes parked their vehicles close up to temple walls.

*Page 6, centre column*

*"c) the children of the North are taken by force by the LTTE to fight the war."*

**From my own observations, I can confirm that the LTTE never took children by force.** What I can say though is that the LTTE used well practiced psychological methods in their recruitment drives. School and tuition class students were often met



by LTTE cadre when their studies ended and were subjected to psychological pressure in an attempt to recruit them into the 'movement Page 6, photograph and caption "The Jaffna Teaching Hospital: A major portion of the hospital is reserved for the army.

Prior to the occupation of Jaffna by the SLA, the LTTE had reserved sections of the hospital too.

Page 7, centre column

"The Jaffna YMCA buildings are under army occupation."

**This was certainly true but in January of this year, the SLA handed back the premises to the YMCA. I have no information as to the fate of the Jaffna library which used part of the YMCA for its' operations prior to army occupation.**

'Tamil Children: Victims Of Creeping Genocide' AGOTIC

Page 9, left-hand column

"The densely populated civilian areas in the Jaffna peninsula have been carpet-bombed and indiscriminately shelled. About seventy-five per cent of the buildings, including houses, temples, churches, mosques and schools have been destroyed."

**Certainly between August 1994 and July 1997, there was widespread shelling and bombing throughout the peninsula but not carpet-bombing.**

Where does the figure of seventy-five percent come from? From my own observations I would put the figure much lower. Maybe if the word damaged were used rather than destroyed, the figure would be more credible.

In the last two paragraphs of this column, I would ask for evidence and more detailed figures to support the claim that "thousands of children have either died or been crippled" and the claim that there was ever "widespread starvation or rampant malnutrition." **This is not to deny that many children have died or have been crippled or that many people went hun-**

**gry and were under-nourished.**

'Tamil Eelam Team In 24-Nation Soccer' -

A.Ananthan

Page 21, left-hand column -

References to "the Tamil National flag."

I think it should be born in mind that Tamils do not constitute a nation and that Tamil Eelam has not, as yet, been formerly established and recognised. It remains an aspiration.

The flag that is referred to and illustrated in the photographs, is the flag of the LTTE and I would have thought that a Tamil Eelam (not Tamil) National flag would be adopted only if and when Tamil Eelam was formerly established?

'Yield With Grace Which Cannot Be Held With Authority' Lt.Col.Anton J.N.Selvadurai

Comparisons between Ireland and Sri Lanka may not be the best example to use, as while the former is seeking change from separatism to unification, the reverse is the case being pursued by the Tamils of Sri Lanka. **Maybe the relationship between England and Wales/Scotland would be a better model to consider?**

'Vella Puli'

6th July 1998

WARRINGTON

WA2 7JL

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## The Editor replies:

The author of this letter for the information of our other readers is a British national. He signs himself IN TAMIL (in a beautiful hand) as "Vella Puli", meaning WHITE TIGER

We have heard of Black Tigers, Sea Tigers, Women Tigers, but since this is the first time we have come across a WHITE TIGER, we feel he is entitled to a hearing.

Firstly, there is neither any oversight nor any deliberate policy on the question of including a Letters to the Editor column. The simple fact is, we do not get letters to the Editor, except very occasionally a fact that distresses us too.

WHITE TIGER should also appreciate the fact that we are not a commercially run magazine catering to a relaxed readership. Our masthead always carries the line "A Journal of Commitment". WHITE TIGER's concern for the democratic process is understandable because he comes from an ordered society in Britain. **HOT SPRING is published under great financial stress for the sole purpose of seeking understanding and justice from the world outside, on behalf of a people who are not only**

**denied a democratic process in their own homeland, but lead a life and death struggle under the heel of an oppressive government. Democracy, Sir, would be an "excellent idea" (as Mahatma Gandhi once mischievously said when asked for his views on Western civilisation), but alas, it is a luxury that we Tamils cannot AFFORD right now.** Certainly not the kind of "democracy" practised in the "democratic" socialist republic of Sri Lanka, where pro-government thugs enter the homes of newspaper editors and shoot at them, or government forces arrest and detain Tamil language journalists because they don't like their faces.

We have our own comment to make on every one of the points raised by WHITE TIGER, including the ones where by picking holes and quibbling over figures and expressions, he runs the risk of smothering the truth itself, but we will reserve the comments to the next issue, and allow some reader or readers to respond to WHITE TIGER in a **Letter to the Editor**, and make both WHITE TIGER and ourselves happy.

Thank you.



# U.K. hovercraft for Sri Lankan Navy

The Sri Lankan Navy (SLN) is to acquire a British designed hovercraft for Lloyd's of London Press Limited. The medium-lift M 10, designed by ABS Hovercraft (based in Romsey) and built by Vosper Thomycroft is said to be currently undergoing final trials before being handed over.

The 20.6m long M 10 is said to be one of the first hovercraft designed specifically for military use (rather than an adaptation of civil designs) and it

uses fibre-reinforced hull composites and diesel power. The crafts full 'cushion' speed is said to be 40 knots with a full load of 10 tonnes. It has a range of 600 km.

The craft is said to be capable of carrying 56 troops or two landrovers and 20 troops or other such permutations. It is armed with a 20mm cannon and can be fitted with missiles. The SLN's Dvora gunboats carry similar guns.

ABS claims that the composite

hulls result in better payloads, hull damage can be repaired in situ without the carriage of welding equipment, and their simple design aids repairs and maintenance.

So far, considerable international naval and military trialling has resulted in only peripheral operational use of hovercraft in a few countries, apart from the big craft developed by both the US and Soviet navies.

ABS' international marketing director, Peter Troniseck told Lloyds List: "There is still the relic belief around that hovercraft are automatically expensive". He claims that the M 10 is cheaper to run than an equivalent boat for the same job. □

## Arrest of Tamil journalists: Protests by C.P.U. and R.S.F.

COLOMBO, July 22 (AFP) - The Commonwealth Press Union (CPU) Wednesday joined media rights groups in expressing concern over the arrest of two Tamil journalists and asked for their status to be clarified immediately.

The CPU in a letter to Sri Lanka's Media Minister Mangala Samaraweera said it was concerned the two reporters had been arrested in connection with their work as journalists.

"The CPU, our colleagues in Sri Lanka and in other organisations would ask their status be clarified as a matter of some urgency," said the CPU letter, a copy of which was sent to AFP. The defence ministry here in a statement said that Tamil journalists P. Manickavasagam and Sri Gajan of the Veerakesari national daily were arrested by the Terrorist Investigations Division (TID) on Thursday and Monday. "Two journalists ... have been arrested by the TID as the investigators had found evidence against them," the ministry said.

"At present the investigations are in

progress. Appropriate action would be taken once investigations are completed."

The Editors Guild here said it noted with concern the arrests of the two journalists and called for an impartial and speedy inquiry.

A Paris-based international media rights organisation Tuesday said it had protested to Sri Lankan President Chandrika Kumaratunga against the arrest of the two reporters.

Reporters Sans Frontieres (RSF) said in a letter to President Kumaratunga it was "very worried by this new arrest" of Tamil journalists. The RSF, in its letter copied to news organisations, urged the government to ensure the charges brought against the two journalists are quickly cleared and that they be released if they are only being held because of the articles they wrote.

Mr. Manickavasagam, who is in his forties, contributes for various Sri Lankan Tamil papers and provides inputs for some foreign news agencies from Vavuniya. □

### Sri Lanka to buy C-130 Hercules Aircraft from UK

The Sri Lanka Air Force (SLAF) plans to buy three C-130 Hercules aircraft from the UK Royal Air Force to strengthen its transport fleet.

The SLAF's fleet is essential to maintain the vital air bridge to northern Jaffna. Since the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) forces control all land routes, the SLAF has to carry about 1,000 troops and 35 tonnes of cargo per day to Jaffna, in addition to flight operations in the east of the country.

Sri Lanka wanted to acquire C-130s some time ago, but had to settle for the smaller An-32 for reasons of cost. The SLAF transport fleet has come under strain recently with the loss of two Avro HS-748s, three An-32s, two Y-12s, and a Y-8 - the majority to missile attacks launched by LTTE forces.

Although service strength has risen from 9,500 personnel in 1993 to its current figure of 16,500, additional pilots are required because the SLAF has expanded its fleet in recent years with the acquisition of Kfirs, An-32s, and Mi-17 and Mi-24 helicopters.





# Kalutara jail: Endless promises and endless frustration

**W**hen the Tamil detainees in Kalutara jail went on a death fast recently, it was not the first time that they took recourse to this passive protest on the slogan **CHARGE US OR RELEASE US**. Time and again they have gone on death fasts, time and again Tamil politicians have intervened and secured assurances from governmental authorities that justice would be done, but these detainees were cheated time and again by false government assurances.

On Wednesday 24 June, 48 of the detainees held without any charge for months and years went on a death fast. There are 554 Tamils detained under the label "terrorist suspects", which is only a government euphemism for young Tamils. Earlier, the Chandrika government used to concoct charges like "giving food to the Tigers", "failing to give information about the Tigers" and so on, as a pretext to keep young Tamils in jails. Lately, the government has run out of concoctions and resorted to the easier method of keeping them without any charge whatsoever. The Prevention of Terrorism law gave enough cover for such blatant abuse of human rights.

In March this year, they went on a death fast for 11 days from the 20th till the 31st. officials from the Attorney General's Department stepped in, and gave them the solemn assurance that charges would be framed and speedy trials held. The detainees waited in vain. Last year on 27th November 223 detainees went on a death fast in Magazine prison. They were all transferred to Kalutara jail within two days. A high-ranking prison official told the government-controlled **SUNDAY OBSERVER** at that time that the transfer was made on the instructions of the Ministry of Defence.

On 12th December, three of the

*(From a Colombo correspondent)*

223 Tamil detainees sent to Kalutara jail were brutally hacked to death by Sinhala convicts, armed with deadly weapons. It was learnt that when the three detainees pleaded for help, the Sinhalese prison staff themselves joined in the attack. In the one-hour riot that followed, seven other Tamils sustained injuries. **No explanation was given as to how the Sinhala convicts came to have in their possession deadly weapons within the walls of a prison. An inquiry was promised, but nothing came out of it.**

More than 300 detainees went on a hunger strike following the murders, demanding that they be sent back to the Magazine prison until they were charged or released. The three-day fast was called off after a senior government official assured protection and a speedy hearing of their cases. **The Colombo Press continues to refer to such detainees as "terrorist suspects", thereby giving a veiled justification for their being killed.**

Even Tamil women and children are not exempt from harsh prison life. In Welikade jail there is a 2-month old baby serving a "sentence" in jail along with its mother! The woman who along with her husband was running a small shop in an army-controlled area in Vavuniya was, taken in along with her husband on suspicion of being Tiger supporters. The woman, pregnant at that time, was put into the Welikade jail, while the husband was sent to Kalutara jail.

When the woman was transferred under police custody to the hospital for her confinement, a Sinhalese nurse had confronted her and told her: "You are a Tiger. Why did you come here? Have you come to plant a bomb?". Suffering from labour pains, she had to endure that as well. Back within prison walls this woman had neither a post-pregnancy diet, nor warm water to bathe her baby. This couple have an elder child aged two, who lives with its grandmother in Vavuniya, parted from both her parents, whose future is unknown. □

## Letter

### Why not an occasional quotation like this?

The Editor  
HS

Dear Sir,

I wonder whether you'll consider including the occasional quotation in HS, something which will stimulate thought? I say "occasional" because if it is made into a regular feature, there's the danger of including extracts out of necessity, irrespective of whether they are particularly apt or interesting.

Secondly, quotations/extracts must be fully "authenticated" so that those who either doubt or wish to read further, can go to the source. This idea came to me as I read the following:-

"It would be ludicrous to believe that a defenceless people has nothing but friends, and it would be a deranged calculation to suppose that the enemy could perhaps be touched by the absence of a resistance. . . If a people no longer possesses the energy or the will to maintain itself in the sphere of politics, the latter will not thereby vanish from the world (but only that) a weak people will disappear."

*(Carl Schmitt, THE CONCEPT OF THE POLITICAL. University of Chicago Press, 1996, p. 53.)*

C.P. Sarvan



# That Kalutara jail attack: A HOT SPRING exclusive

**"The LTTE through its media outlets is attempting to project the attack as a spontaneous uprising motivated by the detenus' anger against Devananda for supporting the government. But EVIDENCE AVAILABLE suggests that the assault was premeditated. A fact to be ascertained is whether the attack was the result of a DIRECT ORDER RELAYED FROM THE LTTE HIGH COMMAND IN THE WANNI"**

*- high-powered thinker and investigative reporter, doubling up as "Roving Correspondent" in the Sunday Leader, Colombo, July 5.*

The fact that had to be ascertained, which "Roving Correspondent" refers to, has now been ascertained. We are proud to reveal to our readers that our own RAVING CORRESPONDENT is now in possession of hard, irrefutable evidence to prove that the attack was not only premeditated, but carefully planned in advance by the LTTE terrorist leader Prabhakaran as part of the Mankulam war strategy. The idea, according to Offence Correspondents and armchair eggheads in Colombo was to distract the attention of the brave, patriotic Sri Lankan forces in Mankulam, at a time when the war had entered a critical phase -(in the mind of military spokesman Major General Sarath Munasinghe)- and thereby divert their thoughts to Kalutara instead.

HOT SPRING's Raving Correspondent writes:

It all started with the LTTE intelligence chief, known to the entire Colombo Press as Pottu Amman entering the EPDP Hqrs. in Colombo on the morning of Tuesday June 30, disguised as a woman correspondent for the *Sunday Leader*. He was believed to be wearing a see-through blouse at that time.

By flirtatious questioning, he extracted the information that Mr.Devananda might be visiting the Kalutara jail that evening and confront the 597 LTTE terrorists holed up in the jail and wean them away from the death fast by some of them by offering



By  
Our Raving  
Correspondent

glucose water.

Pottu Amman promptly rushed to his hide-out, somewhere in Colombo (the exact location is withheld for reasons of insecurity) and briefed Mr.Prabhakaran in the Wannu through his special hifi radio of the impending visit. He had earlier smuggled the radio into the Pettah fish market to evade detection by the sniffer dogs engaged by the National Intelligence Bureau (NIB for you and me)

The LTTE leader lost no time. He immediately made contact with the local LTTE jail leader on his bleeper and gave a curt order in Tamil. The order said "Adiyeda". Translated into English by a Tamil mercenary working

for the government, it said: Go for the kill. This message was intercepted by army authorities in Vavuniya, and soon a red alert was sounded in Colombo.

A special commando unit trained by Clinton's Green Berets was promptly despatched to Kalutara, but was unfortunately held up at a railway crossing on the way. It was later revealed that the Matara Express was half an hour late; by which time the unfortunate victim of the attack was already on a stretcher.

A government spokesman who expressed deep shock at the incident said that although the identity of the assailants was not yet established, several arrests would follow. When reminded by a reporter that whoever the attackers were, they were arrested and were already in Kalutara jail, he said that in that case they would be re-arrested and transferred to Welikade jail, where they had a greater chance of being killed by fellow inmates.

*(HOT SPRING learns that although the censorship on war reporting continues to apply to the local Press, all Tiger fiction published in the local media will be exempt from the order. AFP reports emanating from Colombo will also be exempt from censorship.)* □

## Sri Lanka, the second "most dangerous place in the world" !

Sri Lanka has won the dubious honour of ranking second (along with Sudan) as the second most dangerous place in the world, according to an international survey published in THE STRAITS TIMES, Singapore, of 11 June '98. Heading the list is Algeria, with 80,000 deaths since 1992.

Five other countries listed as the most dangerous are:- Sudan (40,000 deaths); Afghanistan (20,000 deaths); Turkey (30,000 deaths since 1974); Congo (7,000 deaths in 1997). The figures for Sri Lanka are given as 40,000, inclusive of 4,000 deaths in 1997).



# 500,000 Crows plague Sri Lankan capital

By Dilip Ganguly

COLOMBO: Harsh-voiced, shiny-plumed crows are plaguing the Sri Lankan capital. They're pushing other birds out of Colombo, attacking pets, annoying humans at play, at work and on the road and experts aren't sure what to do.

"It is really an alarming situation, believe me," Ismeth Raheem, chief of Colombo's 55-year-old bird club, said in an interview this week.

The crux of the problem is that man has encroached on the crows' home. The birds have found they can not only live with their fellow bipeds, but thrive in their company. **Raheem estimates there are 500,000 crows in Colombo today, compared to 100,000 five years ago.**

Once upon a time crows were the only dwellers on crow island, off Colombo. But in the battle for space over the last 15 years or so, man won and the island is now home to tens of thousands of people. Crows, which

are both predators and scavengers, gorge on the garbage thrown out by Colombo's 2.5 million residents and also occasionally snack on a kitten.

Drivers are forced to either come to a sudden halt or take sharp turns to avoid crows on city roads crouched over the carcasses of cats and other prey.

A cricket match in a Colombo suburb was recently interrupted by hundreds of crows attracted to the field by a half-eaten loaf of bread.

The departure of an Australian ship that had delivered apples to Colombo had to be delayed because dozens of crows had descended on leftover fruit strewn on the decks. Finally, the crew fired blanks to scare away the birds.

The house crow and bigger jungle crow are two of 425 bird species - 26 of them unique to Sri Lanka, enjoying this Indian ocean island's tropical climate, isolation from the Asian mainland and a wide range of habitats.

Crows invaded the nesting areas of

other birds and eat their eggs. Paradise flycatchers are now difficult to find in Colombo, though they once flocked in the city's parks and gardens. The Indian golden oriole, which used to migrate from India for part of the year, now prefers to stay away.

**The crow population has grown so large that it would be futile to try to cull their numbers to restore nature's balance, Raheem said.**

"I don't think we can afford the cost of ammunition," he said.

At any rate, powerful monks in this largely Buddhist nation who frown on killing any living being may object to a crow slaughter.

As an alternative, female crows could be caught and sterilised. But Raheem says that would be very difficult.

The crows have some use, doing their part to keep the garbage under control. And the squirrels are thankful to the birds, napping in their nests in summer. (AP).

## Top Doctor held responsible for death of child

(3,846 dollars)

The landmark case has sent shock waves through Sri Lanka's

Colombo, Sri Lanka's court of appeal has held that a top doctor was responsible for the death of a child under her care on the country's first ever medical negligence case.

The court upheld the ruling of a district court which in 1994 found the negligence of prominent pediatrician **Priyani Soysa** caused the death of four year old Shehani Arasecularatne in 1992.

Appeal court judges L.H. Weerasekara and Wigneswaran held that Soysa had been negligent. Her lawyers said they she will be seeking leave from the appeal court to take the case to the Supreme Court.

One judge allowed the full damages of five million rupees (76,900 dollars) claimed by the parents of the victim while the other awarded a lesser amount of 250,000 rupees

medical establishment and added to the criticism of specialists who spend less than five minutes with patients in the race to earn quick profits.

The victim's father said he will use the damages awarded to him to establish a fund to help victims of professional misconduct by doctors.

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# SRI LANKA OPPOSES WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

**S**ri Lanka along with the United States, China, Israel and Sudan was among seven countries which voted against the establishment of a permanent War Crimes Tribunal, as against 120 countries which supported the idea. The founding treaty which UN Secretary General Kofi Annan hailed as "a giant step towards universal human rights" was signed in Rome on Friday July 18 after marathon talks and a late-night vote.

The court, which replaces a structure of occasional ad hoc proceedings in cases such as Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, will have an independent prosecutor able to investigate war crimes, genocide, and "crimes against humanity".

There were 21 abstentions, among which was India, which took the position that the use of nuclear weapons should also be classed as a war crime. "It's a joke", said K. Subrahmanyam, one of India's leading security experts,

"If you kill people with bullets, that's a crime. If you use nuclear weapons, that is not a crime. The international community has legitimised use of nuclear weapons".



"A giant step"

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## Bringing tyrants to justice

*Commenting editorially, the FINANCIAL TIMES, London, in its issue of July 20 says, under the above headline:*

Fifty years after adopting the United Nations' universal declaration of human rights, the International community has taken another historic step. The Rome agreement to create a court to try war crimes is a landmark in the quest for a more decent world.

Bringing tyrants and torturers to book will still be difficult. The court can act only if the country where the atrocity has taken place is a signatory to the agreement. Nor does the treaty make the use of chemical and biological weapons a criminal offence, and it has inadequate provision for internal conflicts.

Despite these and other weaknesses the treaty is a great achievement. For the first time, there will be a permanent court, based at The Hague in the Netherlands, with its own independent prosecutor, staff and judges. They will try cases of genocide, crimes against humanity, war

crimes, and aggression.

There would be more reason to celebrate, however, if the United States had been a signatory. Instead it has joined China, Sudan and Libya as one of the handful of countries voting against it.

Washington remained adamant that US troops serving around the globe should be subject only to justice meted out by US courts. This reflected the fear that its soldiers serving abroad could become vulnerable to politically motivated prosecutions. It also had much to do with the longstanding antipathy to the UN of Senator Jesse Helms, the powerful chairman of the Senate foreign relations committee.

Yet the treaty includes adequate safeguards against improper use of the court's powers. This will complement, not replace, national judicial bodies, intervening only when a domestic legal system has been shown to fail. There are also measures to prevent the prosecutor from

abusing the office. And in an attempt to secure the agreement of Washington and other waverers, the treaty contains a clause that allows signatory states a seven-year opt-out from provisions regarding war crimes.

These terms were sufficient to allay the concerns of France, which like the US has troops stationed across the world, as well as Britain, Canada and other governments usually sympathetic to Washington's viewpoint.

The hint by the US that it will now "actively oppose" the court from its inception and review its troop commitments in Europe and elsewhere seems unfortunately petulant.

Ratification of the treaty requires the signatures of 60 countries, a process that could take up to five years. In that time the superpower that sees itself as guardian of this world's conscience should think again. Otherwise it could jeopardise its claim to the moral high ground in international affairs.



## **Four unidentified bodies found**

The bodies of four unidentified males were discovered at Pidariamman Veethi in Anaicoddai in Jaffna on 17th June. The bodies which were found to have gunshot wounds were brought to the Jaffna Teaching hospital.

## **Rajiv trial accused in protest fast**

One of the Rajiv Gandhi trial accused sentenced to death, Murugan went on a protest fast demanding that he be allowed to see his wife Nalini at least once a week. Murugan is kept in Vellore Central jail, while his wife, Nalini and the other four women Pathma, Selvaledchumy, Kanthi and Athirai are held in the Vellore Women's jail.

Other men convicts in the case held in Vellore are Packianathan, Vijayan, Baskaran, Jayakumar, Vicky and Suseenthiran.

## **Jaffna reps. take oaths in Colombo**

Five new Jaffna Municipal Council members who were nominated by the TULF to replace five others who had resigned earlier took their oaths in Colombo in the presence of TULF Deputy leader Anandasangari. The ceremony took place in the TULF office in Colombo.

## **Over 2-month wait to go to Jaffna**

Nearly a thousand displaced Tamils who have been held up in the Trinco glass factory refugee camp without shipping arrangements to go to Jaffna went on a fast. They complain that because of the long wait in crowded insanitary conditions they are put to tremendous difficulties. Pregnant women and elderly people are the worst sufferers, they say. Nearly 5000

persons in the camp are registered to go north.

According to the Trincomalee District officer Mr. Velum. Mylum, there are about 15,000 persons in all enduring long waits., to return to Jaffna in the various centres. These include 2000 in Vavuniya, and 8000 in Mannar.

# **NEWS BRIEFS**

## **LTTE down Mi-24 helicopter**

A Mi-24 helicopter gunship that was being positioned to provide air support to government troops fighting the LTTE in the Vanni was shot down by LTTE fire on Friday June 26. The crash occurred approximately one kilometre southeast of the government military airfield in Vavuniya. The helicopter had exploded into a ball of fire whose flame rose to a height of over 100 feet, according to reports. All four members of the crew were killed.

## **Railway line being extended**

The railway line from Vavuniya to Thandikulam is to be extended up to

Omanthai. Some 31 kms. of repairs have already been carried out and concrete blocks, sleepers and other equipment required for railway construction are being delivered from Colombo.

## **Tight security for Jaffna Mayor**

Tight security has been enforced by the Sri Lankan army near the office of the Jaffna Mayor in Nallur. Members of the public are disallowed access

from the Nallai Atheenam up to the junction beyond the "Kalyana Mandapam". Army check posts have been strengthened in the area and traffic routes have been changed. At the same time, the Mayor in an interview with a Colombo Tamil newspaper has paid a tribute to the sense of dedication and self-sacrifice of the LTTE.

## **Anti-cholera centre in the Vanni**

Tamil Eelam health services opened a new anti-cholera centre in Mallavi in the Vanni as part of an ongoing programme for the control of cholera in the region. The LTTE political division together with the Vanni NGOs are collaborating in the venture. Dr. T. Suriyakumaran from the Tamil Eelam medical division is in charge of the operations.

## **Nine airforce men killed**

Nine Sri Lankan airforce men were killed and five others injured when the vehicle in which they were travelling hit a claymore mine in Puthur, southwest of Mankulam. The incident took place on Tuesday June 30, around 4.40 p.m.

## **New military spokesman**

Brigadier Sunil Tennekoon, the head of the Sri Lankan military intelligence has now been given the job of military spokesman as well. He has taken over from the now promoted Major -General Sarath Munasinghe who has been named as commander of the army's 51 Division based in the Jaffna peninsula.

## **12 STF men killed in Amparai**

Twelve Sri Lankan Special Task Force personnel were killed on July when they were ambushed by the LTTE during a road clearing operation at Pulukunava in the eastern Amparai district. Ameer-- to see~, 14 others were injured, according to reports.



## Tamil national movement in Sri Lanka:

# The next decade

The year 1998 marks the 40th anniversary of the anti-Tamil pogrom in 1958. The past four decades has witnessed a tectonic shift in the political milieu of Sri Lanka. During this period the Sri Lankan regime under the control of the Sinhalese nation heaped national oppression upon the Ceylon Tamil nation in myriad forms, which scarred the lives of Tamils within the country and induced the Tamil diaspora.

The national movement of Ceylon Tamils is on the eve of two other anniversaries, which bring back memories of major events that were to determine the movement's method and direction of struggle. The next year, 1999, will be the 20th anniversaries of the enactment of the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) as well as of the first sustained campaign of State terror - Sri Lanka's dirty war - unleashed by the Sinhalese-controlled regime against the Tamil nation. Under the PTA, the United National Party (UNP) regime defined the armed resistance of Tamils as 'terrorism' and legalised the repression of the Ceylon Tamil national movement as 'maintaining law and order'. In June 1979, President JR Jayawardene ordered the Army Commander Brigadier 'Bull' Weeratunga to eradicate 'terrorism' in the north 'within six months'. Brigadier Weeratunga's military operations between July and December of that year subjected the Tamil people as a whole to collective punishment, irrespective of class, caste, gender and age.

The primary aim was to terrorise Tamils in general in order to discourage their support for, or participation in,



*S. Sathananthan*

*The text of a talk delivered at the annual lunch of the International Tamil Foundation, London, on 28th June, 1998*

## *From armed resistance to national liberation*

the five major Tamil resistance organisations, namely the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), Peoples Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE), Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO), Eelam Liberation Organisation of Students (EROS) and the Eelam Peoples Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF). The organisations championed the Tamil Question, that is, the quest for the collective or national rights of Tamils.

Under the pretext of attacking the organisations, Tamil youth in particular were indiscriminately arrested, tortured and often killed with impunity.

The Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), a Tamil political party, abandoned its 1976 Vaddukoddai Resolution and collaborated with the UNP regime. The collaboration was dressed up as a search for a political solution to the Tamil Question; and it was dignified by so-called 'negotiations' for a supposed 'devolution of power'. However, the TULF's Tamil politicians knew in 1979 that, in the previous year, the UNP regime's 1978 Constitution had provided as follows: 'Parliament shall not abdicate or in any manner alienate its legislative power and shall not set up any authority with legislative power' (Art 76(1)). The provision made the devolution of power as well as decentralisation of authority unconstitutional; and the Article allowed the establishment only of local government institutions, such as Municipal Councils. But the TULF nei-

ther campaigned against Article 76(1) nor insisted on its repeal. Instead the Tamil politicians engaged in an elaborate deception. They attempted to mislead Tamils that a 'devolution of power' was

possible under the Constitution through the proposed District Development Councils (DDCs).

The main reason, by no means the only one, for the TULF's collaborationist tactic was the desperate bid to prevent the political leadership of the Tamil nation from passing into the hands of the Tamil resistance organisations. The TULF members made token demands for the withdrawal of the Sinhalese armed forces from the



north, partly to placate their political constituencies. In reality, as the elected representatives of Tamils, the TULF members collaborated with the UNP regime to achieve two objectives. Firstly, they sought to politically marginalise the Tamil organisations by colluding in the Sinhalese-controlled regime's propaganda that the vast majority of the Tamil people represented by the TULF were on the side of the regime. Secondly, they encouraged the decimation of the Tamil organisations by in effect conferring legitimacy upon the regime's claim that the military repression of the Tamil national movement is a 'security operation' against a 'minority' of 'extremists'.

The palpable intention of both the TULF and the UNP regime was to create the impression that they together would formulate a political solution to the Tamil Question. This convergence of interests between the two was dictated by their separate but inter-related aims. The TULF schemed to retain its hegemony of Tamil politics by emasculating the Tamil organisations. The Sinhalese-controlled regime manoeuvred to crush the challenge to its power posed by the Tamil national movement.

However, military repression increasingly discredited the TULF, rapidly radicalised the Tamils, swelled the ranks of the Tamil organisations and catalysed the emergence of the organisations as the dominant force in Tamil politics. The regime's knee-jerk was to further escalate the violence against Tamils.

**By the mid-1980s, the growing mass participation led to the qualitative transformation of armed resistance into national liberation. This metamorphosis was officially recognised when the five Tamil organisations were invited to the 1985 Thimpu Talks, hosted by the Indian Government in Bhutan.**

## **India: limits of external intervention**

The Indian Government entered the arena as an active participant in the early 1980s. Prime Minister Indira

Gandhi had viewed with disquiet President Jayawardene's pro-United States stance in the late 1970s. However, the political turmoil surrounding the declaration of emergency rule, the defeat of Congress Party and Mrs Indira Gandhi's subsequent re-election absorbed the attention of policy makers in New Delhi. The Indian Prime Minister appeared not to pay much attention to the battle between the Sri Lankan regime and the Tamil national movement until she was jolted by a proposal made by President Jayawardene at the 1981 Conference of the Heads of State of Non-Aligned Countries in New Delhi.

At the Conference, the Indian Prime Minister was assiduously promoting the concept of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. Her intention was primarily to prevent the United States from establishing further military bases in the countries on the rim of the Indian Ocean and especially to force the United States Government to dismantle its base in Diego Garcia. But President Jayawardene injudiciously suggested that Diego Garcia should be excluded from the proposed Zone of Peace.

The President's blatantly pro-United States position threatened the southern flank of India for the first time in post-independence history. The Indian government was already faced with sensitive security problems on the Pakistani border in the west, Bangladeshi border in the east and the Chinese border in the north. Sri Lanka's foreign policy re-orientation in the late 1970s towards the United States, combined with its cordial relations with China, struck at India's underbelly and stoked Indian fears of encirclement by anti-Indian forces. The Indian Government was particularly concerned with the reported intention of the Sri Lankan regime to permit the establishment of a transmitting facility for the Voice of America on the western coast and to lease out a petroleum storage facility in

Trincomalee to the United States Government.

Moreover, India's threat perception was radically changing in the 1980s. Up to the mid-1970s the Congress Party dominated national politics and the stability and continuity of the Indian Union was taken for granted. The national movements and the emergence of new States in countries on the borders of India were not seen as dangers to the unity of India. In the then East Pakistan, for instance, the Indian Government confidently supported the freedom movement and assisted the independence of



*Nearly 200 guests attended the International*

Bangladesh. However, by the early 1980s the so-called 'regional' political parties in many of the states successfully challenged Congress dominance and the proliferating national movements in the states gradually weakened the hegemony of the central government. The changing internal balance of power impelled the Indian Government to view the national movements in neighbouring countries as potentially subversive; it feared that these movements would have a type of 'domino effect' and encourage and



embolden similar nationalist forces growing in strength within India.

In the perception of the South Block, Sri Lanka appeared to provide an almost ideal opportunity to demonstrate the Indian Government's ability to deal with national movements in bordering countries as well as to project India as the pre-eminent regional power. Although the foreign policy posture of Sri Lanka was hostile to India, the comparative smallness of the country, which in the early 1980s had an essentially ceremonial army, made it seemingly easy for the vastly larger and stronger India to dominate and



*Annual luncheon meeting of the Tamil Foundation.*

control the island. Consequently, the Indian Government anticipated that it could bring to heel the Sri Lankan regime fairly quickly. Also the Ceylon Tamil national movement had by the early 1980s become the most potent liberation struggle in South Asia. By neutralising the Tamil liberation organisations, the Indian Government would be able to send a forceful warning to similar national movements within India, that their struggles are doomed to fail, and simultaneously to stake the claim to the status of regional police-

man.

The Indian Government chose first to deal with the Sri Lankan regime. It employed a time-tested tactic of geopolitics: 'my enemy's enemy is my friend'. The South Block identified the Tamil organisations as the most credible opposition to the UNP regime and cultivated links with the leaders of these organisations. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi began publicly to express concern for the welfare of Tamils in Sri Lanka, no doubt with one eye on political dividends that could be harvested in Tamil Nadu.

The UNP regime played into the hands of the Indian Government when it organised and carried out the Holocaust of July 1983. As Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka poured into Tamil Nadu, the Indian Prime Minister expressed serious concern for the tragic plight of Tamils and seized the opportunity to legitimately demand a role for India in resolving the Tamil Question in Sri Lanka.

Diplomatic exchanges took place between India and Sri Lanka between 1983 and 1987. They were, however, not the substantive element of the Indian Government's strategy. Concretely, it adopted a two-pronged approach. At the political level, the Indian Government rapidly isolated the Sri Lankan regime in international fora by championing human rights issues and forcefully arguing that the regime was committing genocide against the Tamil people. At the military level, the Indian Government increased the internal pressure on the regime by supporting the armed struggle of Tamil liberation organisations.

In retrospect, it is evident that the aim of the South Block was to corner the Sri Lankan regime, through a combination of increasing international isolation and rising domestic instability, and impose a security treaty under which the regime would be compelled to accommodate India's security concerns. The supposed resolution of the

Tamil Question was to serve as the Trojan Horse to introduce the treaty. This could explain the apparent contradiction of New Delhi and Colombo reaching agreement, under the 1987 Indo-Lanka Accord, when the war was in fact between the Sri Lankan regime and the Tamil national movement. **The Accord had almost everything to do with the bilateral issues relating to India's national security enumerated in the annexures to it and virtually nothing to do with securing the national rights of Tamils.**

The relationship between the Indian Government and the Tamil organisations, however, was more complex. Indian support was finely calibrated in order to make the organisations militarily affective but not strong enough to win against the Sri Lankan armed forces; for a military victory of the organisations would, in India's view, send the wrong signals to similar national movements within India.

The central issue was the post-treaty scenario. What was to be the Indian Government's approach to the Tamil liberation organisations after the Sri Lankan regime was coerced to concede India's hegemonic position? Obviously, the organisations would have outlived their usefulness from the military standpoint. Nevertheless there remained the political problem of ensuring that the Sri Lankan regime did not renege on a treaty. So it was necessary to keep at least one Tamil organisation operational but under the control of the Indian Government in order to compel the Sri Lankan regime to honour any agreement.

**Moreover, the Indian Government sought out a Tamil organisation that would do its bidding since it was also necessary to contain, if not eliminate, those Tamil liberation organisations which were loyal to the national movement and therefore would not endorse the agreement reached between New Delhi and Colombo.** In a press interview granted on the eve of the Thimpu Talks, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi explained the approach thus: by the end of 1985, he said, the Thimpu Talks were expected to yield a mutually



agreed framework for conflict resolution in Sri Lanka; and India would assist Sri Lanka to implement the agreement and, if necessary, to 'mop up residual terrorism'.

Available evidence strongly support the conclusion that, by the end of 1986, TELO served as the proxy of the Indian Government. It is also common knowledge that the Indian Government viewed the LTTE as the organisation most loyal to the Tamil national movement, hence least accommodative of India's interests and, therefore, as the 'residual terrorism' to be 'mopped up'.

**The LTTE leader, Mr Velupillai Prabhakaran, reduced the carefully laid plans of the South Block to shambles with a few well-timed moves. Firstly, he virtually eliminated TELO in early 1987. The Indian Government replaced TELO with EPRLF, which however lacked the capacity to take the battle to the LTTE and, consequently, was of little use to advance Indian interests. Secondly, within a week after the Indo-Lanka Accord was signed, Mr Prabhakaran took the LTTE out of contention by declaring a ceasefire. Immediately the focus shifted to the implementation of the Accord and the contradictions between the Indian Government and the Sri Lankan regime came to the surface.**

The PLOTE misjudged the depth and strength of Tamil nationalism, and it unwisely abandoned the Tamil national movement and sided with the Sri Lankan regime. In contrast, the EROS leadership in Jaffna was considerably farsighted; they aligned themselves with the LTTE.

More importantly, the systematic efforts of the regime to scuttle the Accord revealed the deep-seated hostility among most UNP politicians not only to India's hegemonic intervention but also to any attempt, however superficial, to address the Tamil Question.

The regime's hostility to the Accord should not be interpreted to mean that the first section of the Accord, dealing with the Tamil Question, genuinely contemplated devolution of power. The



*At the podium: (left to right) Dr. Sathananthan, Mr. C. Sithamparapillai, Dr. Arjuna Sittampalam, ex-Chairman, ITF, Mr. Vijayasingam, President, Colombo, and Mr. Robert Evans, Member, European Parliament, London.*

Accord did not require the preceding repeal of Article 76(1) of the Constitution. Thus the provisions supposedly designed to devolve power were a deception; and the proposed Provincial Councils (PCs) were nothing more than local government institutions utterly irrelevant to the resolution of the Tamil Question.

However, the TULF politicians avoided any mention of Article 76(1). They disingenuously defended the Accord as a viable basis for resolving the Tamil Question. The Tamil politicians desperately sought to legitimise the Accord in the hope that its implementation may reward them with crumbs of provincial political office as well as marginalise the LTTE as the intransigent opponent of 'peace'. Many Tamil politicians were to pay with their lives for thus betraying the Tamil national liberation movement.

## **The political milieu**

One must view the LTTE-led national movement within the political milieu defined by the foregoing events. When the war re-started between the Sri Lankan armed forces and the LTTE in June 1990, the prospects for advancing the Tamil national movement appeared very grim indeed. The

LTTE (together with EROS) faced opponents on four fronts within the country. Of the two military fronts, the first front against the LTTE consisted mainly of the Army, Navy, Air Force and the Special Task Force (STF) of the Police.

**The second front against the LTTE was manned by most of the other Tamils organisations, whose members by then had degenerated into mercenaries collaborating with the armed forces against the Tamil national movement.**

The third and fourth fronts were political in nature. President Ranasingha Premadasa's apparent search for a political solution to the Tamil Question through the toothless All Party Conference (APC) was the third front. He







*Chairman of ITF,  
President AGOTIC,  
at the lectern.*

was in fact prosecuting a propaganda war. His primary intention was to conjure up the illusion of a political alternative and thereby to legitimise the military campaign unleashed against the Tamil national movement as necessary to defeat the 'terrorist' and 'intransigent' LTTE.

President Premadasa's propaganda was made all the more credible by the fourth front, made up of the left-wing Sinhalese political parties, the TULF and Tamil

mercenary (erstwhile resistance) organisations registered as political parties. The left mouthed empty slogans calling for the unity of Tamil and Sinhalese working classes. They deliberately ignored the fact that the Sinhalese bourgeoisie has co-opted the Sinhalese working classes as junior partners in oppressing the Tamil nation and that national oppression

had resulted in a cross-class national alliance within the Tamils social formation leading to the emergence of a national movement for self-determination. But, with disarming simplicity, the Sinhalese left made the utopian offer to secure the rights of Tamils; an offer they fondly believed was sufficient to remove the need for a Tamil national movement.

The Tamil parties ritually and unconvincingly urged the regime to include the LTTE in any negotiations that may take place. But, through their collaboration with the Sinhalese-controlled UNP regime, the Tamil political parties - with the important exception of the All Ceylon Tamil Congress (ACTC) - in fact deliberately lent credence to the President's dishonest claim that the vast majority of Tamils were on the side of the regime and opposed the armed resistance conducted by the LTTE (together with EROS). The Tamil parties obviously conspired to politically isolate the LTTE and so to contribute to the military defeat of the Tamil national movement in order to re-float their collaborationist politics in the north and east of the country.

However, the domestic military campaign and political propaganda against the Tamil national movement

fell into disarray between 1990 and 1994 due to internal killings within the UNP regime, the abortive attempt to impeach President Premadasa and his assassination in May 1993 and the unimaginative leadership of President DB Wijetunga.

The Tamil political parties pursued their collaborationist politics with the Peoples Alliance (PA) coalition, led by the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP). The Tamil politicians supported PA's campaign for the 1994 parliamentary and presidential elections because, they alleged, the SLFP's Mrs Chandrika Kumaratunga is the 'symbol of peace', that the PA represented the 'last chance' for arriving at a negotiated settlement to the Tamil Question. **The TULF purveyed this cruel myth whilst President Kumaratunga's armed forces ruthlessly advanced on Jaffna between July and December of 1995.**

The fifth, external front against the Tamil national movement was composed of the international community and led by the Indian Government. From about 1991, allegations of human rights violations, resort to 'terrorism' and, more recently, recruitment of children (less than 15 years of age) have been levelled against the LTTE with increasing frequency. The stated objectives of the international community were to minimise the human cost of war and to induce the LTTE to enter into negotiations with the Sri Lankan regime.

The external front was most active during the period from the announcement of President Kumaratunga's Devolution Proposals in August 1995 to the release of the Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee (PSC) on Constitutional Reform in October 1997. Both documents outlined constitutional reform measures, which, the international community assumed, constituted windows of opportunity to initiate political processes towards resolving the Tamil Question. Consequently, the international community intensified the pressure on the LTTE to enter into negotiations with the PA regime.

*Continued on page 26*





# PEOPLE

## King of Bhutan snubs Colombo



Because of a diplomatic faux pas by Sri Lankan Foreign Minister with a Tamil name, Lakshman Kadirgamar, the King of Bhutan, Jigme Singhye Wangchuk will not be attending the South Asian summit to be held in Colombo this month. Kadirgama who flies around the world as an errand boy of the Sri Lankan President had visited each one of the SAARC countries delivering a personal invitation from President Kumaratunga to attend the Colombo summit, - EXCEPT Bhutan. This was a snub to Bhutan which Sri Lanka apparently considers as a satellite country of India, and Bhutan has now returned the snub. This is the first time King Wangchuk will miss the 7-nation summit, having attended all nine previous summits since SAARC was formed in 1985. According to the SAARC charter, no summit can be held in the absence of the head of state or head of government, and so Bhutan will be represented by the new head of the government, Mr. Jigme Thinley.

## Nelson Mandela weds at 80

Nelson Mandela, the world's best known contemporary hero, and soon to retire as President of South Africa was 80 on July 19. That day marked a double celebration for him. He took as his wife Graca Machel (52), his constant companion during recent months, and widow of the former Mozambique president. At the private wedding ceremony in a Johannesburg suburb, Bishop Desmond Tutu delivered the sermon, while in a show of inter-faith unity, blessings were pronounced by Hindu and Muslim religious leaders. The National Party which once called Mandela a terrorist and jailed him for 27 years was among those who paid warm tributes to a man whom someone described with approval as the "oldest teenager" he had known! As for his bride Graca Machel, she is an internationally known advocate of children's rights and a person of achievement in her own right.



## Woman head of WHO

Sworn in recently as the director-general of the World Health Organisation in Geneva was Gro Harlem Brundtland, former Prime Minister of Norway. Two years ago when she resigned as Prime Minister, it was speculated that she might campaign for the post of Secretary General of the United Nations, but it was not to be. Kofi Annan got the job. Ms. Brundtland was not only a skilled politician back home in Norway, but also a respected voice in the Third World, because of her long-standing commitment to sound human values.



Sworn in as part of her 9-member cabinet was an Indian woman IAS officer Poonam Khetrapal-

Singh, who was personally selected by Gro Brundtland. Ms. Khetrapal-Singh has created history by being the first Indian to be selected to this top executive position. She will be one of five women executive directors of WHO.

## Will Vaiko be C.M. one day?

V. Gopalasamy, who leads the Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (MDMK) is undoubtedly the kind of politician who aims high. Known today mostly as Vaiko, after his initials in Tamil, he was a DMK rebel who parted ways with his mentor M. Karunanidhi over his close affinity with LTTE leader Prabhakaran at one time: and his secret visit to meet with the latter in the Vanni jungles. Karunanidhi was furious that Vaiko failed to inform him before he went on his secret trip.

According to a writer in an Indian weekly, Vaiko sees a vacuum coming up in the political leadership in the

state. Despite Karunanidhi's wish, son Stalin is not seen as a worthy successor to the father, and if



Jayalalitha gets embroiled in her corruption cases - too many of them for her to wriggle out - the AIADMK has no one of any merit in the party to succeed her. "He will lie low, sit in the state opposition if the necessity arises, and bide his time", an aide remarked, "Jayalalitha can take centre stage for now".



# A FIGHT TO THE FINISH

Prabhakaran has no intention of yielding to Indian pressures

**V**ELUPILLAI Prabhakaran, the all-powerful chief of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) looked vulnerable. The ruthless guerrilla fighter, whose writ runs unchallenged on the Tamil-dominated Jaffna peninsula, appeared friendless in his Madras 'fortress' after his host, the Tamil Nadu government, rudely pulled him down from his high pedestal.

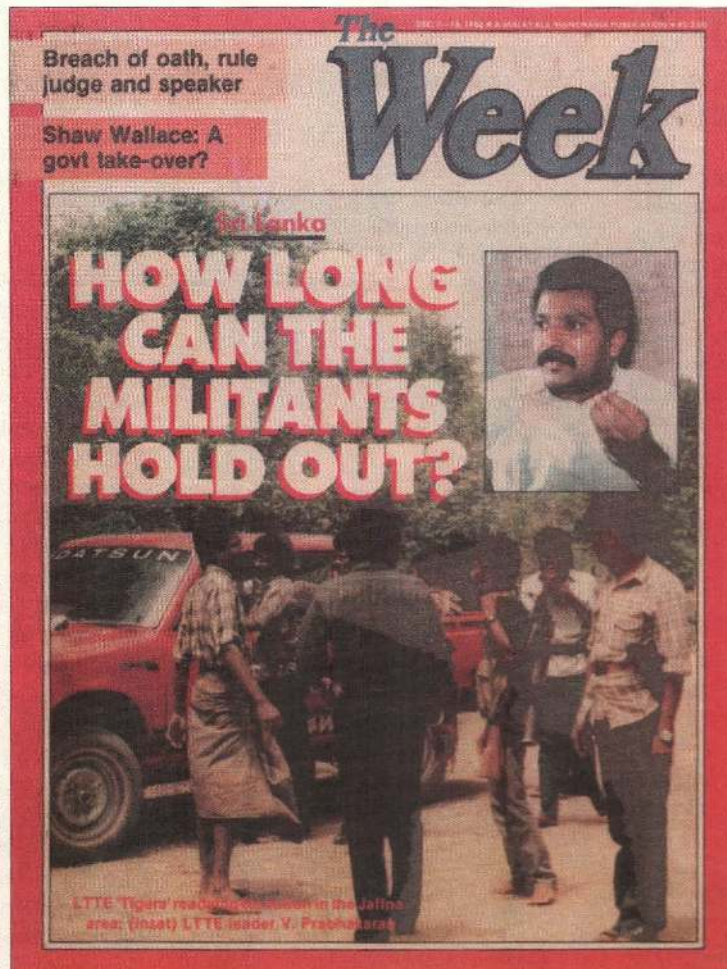
Uncharacteristically, he resorted to the Gandhian way of protest. He went on a fast after the latest police swoop on the militant groups. That succeeded; the state government capitulated within 24 hours. The effects of the fast were hardly visible when he met THE WEEK. He was confident, cautious and yet forthright. Excerpts from the interview.

**Q:** How do you view the recent actions of the state government against the militants having offices and headquarters in Tamil Nadu?

**A:** We have not yet been able to understand the reasons behind the police action here. But one is given to understand that these actions did not have the Centre's clearance. Whoever had ordered these actions, I can only say they have embarrassed the government of India and helped the Sri Lankan leaders, such as Prime Minister Premadasa who went on to

## Flashback 1986 !

**-INTERVIEWED BY  
BHAGWAN R.SINGH-**



say that the Madras police actions only proved his own complaints made at the Harare conference regarding the militants' activities in this state.

**The mediator image that India had in world opinion is now threat-**

**ened and it is made to look as if India is acting against us and in support of the Sri Lankan government.** Also these actions have created suspicion in our minds about the intentions of the government here. But recent assurances of the Government of India have helped to reassure us to some extent.

**Q:** What do you propose to do to regain the goodwill here?

**A:** These erring militant groups will have to correct their ways and behave in such a way that they do not create problems for the people here. My group would like to demonstrate once again that we are not here to fight with our hosts and we will settle any problem in a peaceful manner.

**Q:** What is the situation on the negotiation front?

**A:** A Tamil homeland is our basic demand and there cannot be any further dialogue if this issue is not settled to our liking. Adjustments in the spirit of give-and-take could be considered later. Not only the militants, but even the moderates in the Tamil parties have made this position quite clear. If Jayewardene is to continue with his proposals without touching on this homeland, where are the chances for a settlement.

**Q:** But President Jayewardene has been saying that all the people living



on your island are Sri Lankans and so they should come under a single national identity. So, where is the relevance for a Tamil homeland now?

**A:**That is his view. We do not agree to that. What I am saying is that there are only two linguistic groups in Sri Lanka and there cannot be any difficulty in dividing the island into two linguistic divisions. Just as India has been divided into linguistic states, let them agree to such linguistic divisions in Sri Lanka too. **And if Jayewardene says that all people on the island are Sri Lankans why are his troops massacring the innocent people in the Tamil areas?**

**Q:**Will there be peace and good relations between the Sinhalese and the Tamils once a settlement is reached?

**A:**It will be difficult, almost impossible to live together. There is a long history of religious hatred built up by their Buddhist monks and their politicians. It was only after we were absolutely convinced that living together was impossible that we began this fight for a separate state.

**Q:**If Jayewardene truly believes in a political settlement wherein Tamils and Sinhalese are going to live together as nationals of the same country, why is he still continuing this active colonisation of the Tamil areas with his Sinhalese people? Why can't he leave these Tamil areas in the north and the east alone? He cannot do so because he is sure there is going to be no political settlement and there is going to be Eelam in the end and in such a situation, he should have as much of Tamil land as possible by his quick colonisation schemes.

But the Muslims do not want to join you in forming this Tamil homeland. Also, what about the plantation Tamils in the central provinces? Their leaders too are only thinking of a Sri Lankan citizenship.

**A:**That is absolutely untrue. The Muslims are with us. It is only a few Muslims who are living under the patronage of the Sri Lankan govern-

ment who are trying to mislead people. We have several Muslim boys in LTTE and in other militant groups. The Muslims are also Tamils; they do not speak Sinhalese. They are vulnerable if they are not united with other Tamils. It does not matter if we are Hindus and they are Muslims. What is important is that we are all Tamils and there is a history of oppression against us which we cannot overlook in preference to these insignificant religious differences. The Muslim Tamils will be safe with us and they know that.

And as for the plantation Tamils, it is my view that they should move out of those areas and head north to come to us. We have plans to rehabilitate them among us. Then there can be one contiguous Tamil land and we will be saved. Even while he was peddling his proposals, Jayewardene had 18 plantation Tamils massacred by his troops quite recently. This is why I say that the Tamils—be they Hindus, Muslims or plantation workers—can live in peace and dignity only in a single Tamil unit.

The Tamil Nadu chief minister said recently that there would not be a settlement to the issue because you had rejected the Jayewardene proposal and because there was no understanding among the various militant groups.

The chief minister is right in that there is no likelihood of any settlement proposal emerging from the present Sri Lankan stance. It is also unfortunately true that there are differences among the various Tamil groups. However, there is total agreement on the demand for a Tamil homeland.

**Q:**Your group is acknowledged to be the biggest guerrilla force out there, having very sophisticated weapons such as SAMs and rocket-launchers. Are you confident that, if negotiations fail, you will be able to win a battle with the Sri Lankan forces?

**A:**We cannot talk about such an all-out battle because of the nature of our struggle and the terrain on which we are fighting, which is peopled by thousands of Tamil civilians. **It is going to be a long-drawn fight but it will be to a finish and that is bound to be in our favour. The Sri Lankan troops cannot win; you can be sure of that.**

**Q:**Why did you defer your decision to leave India and return to your 'Eelam' to continue this fight? Also, why did you defer the decision to announce a unilateral declaration of independence from Jaffna?

*"The Muslims are also Tamils; they do not speak Sinhalese. They are vulnerable if they are not with other Tamils"*



**A:**(Laughs loudly) Do you want me to go away? Well, it is true that we had taken a decision to shift our people and leaders to Tamil Eelam gradually. I had also thought I must leave. But some recent statements coming from the Government of India indicate that goodwill and support for our cause continue to be there. So we may not leave in such a hurry. Besides, if I must go, I am not going to announce my date of departure. If you do not find Prabhakaran for a few days, you will know he is gone.

As for this declaration of independence, we had never decided we are going to do it. It has been misreported in the media. What we had said was that we are going to streamline the administration on the peninsula and some adjoining Tamil areas, where we are in full control and the people are even paying us taxes. We are virtually running the government in these areas.

**Q:**You have found a new weapon now the satyagraha—with which you got back your seized communication equipment. Are you planning to use this



weapon whenever you find some pressure on you from the governments n Delhi and Madras?

**A:**Why not? This is a very civilised form of protest and with this I have got the communication equipment, belonging not only to LTTE but all the other groups, returned. I have also demonstrated to the people here and else-where that we are not merely harsh guerrilla fighters but also could rise to the needs of the occasion. If the Indian or Tamil Nadu government brings pressure on me to accept a Sri Lankan proposal that is not good for my people, I will surely resort to this Gandhian form of protest. **I have already decided I will die for my people and I only hope that my hosts here will not like to see me die fasting.**

**Q:**The Israeli president visited Colombo recently, Do you think there is any significance militarily?

**A:**The American government is

neck deep in our issue and they are using it as a front to move on to the island. The Americans do not want to supply arms direct to

*"The American government is neck deep in our issue and they are using it as a front to move on to the island"*



Jayewardene, so they have opened up several supply agents, such as Israel, Pakistan and China. Trincomalee is very important to the Americans who badly need a base in this part of Indian Ocean. And that we are not going to allow because Trincomalee is the capital of Tamil Eelam.

**Q:**Your group had clashed with TELO and PLOTE and is at loggerheads with EPRLF. It is only EROS that seems to have friendship with out. Your critics call you a dictator and an intolerant person. Any comment?

erant person. Any comment?

**A:** I have never wanted to hurt anyone who is genuinely fighting for the liberation of our people. But when a liberation organisation veers away from its goal and indulges in anti-social and anti-people activities which result in a public outcry-and sometimes the public is even driven to question the relevance of the freedom movement itself because of such activities of these groups- I will certainly act against such erring groups. This is why we had clashed with some groups in the past. And we will do that again if anyone turns against the very people they are supposed to protect.

**Q:** What in your opinion is the role of TULF now?

**A:** TULF has lost its respect among the people of Tamil Eelam and therefore it has no political relevance there. It is only here (In India) that it is being given some importance. □

## LTTE lawsuit in U.S: The order

### CIVIL DIVISION FP

*It is Hereby Ordered:*

1. That Defendants **Janet Reno, As Attorney General of the United states, United States Department of Justice, Madeleine Albright, as United States Secretary of state, and United States Department of State** their officers directors principals, agents, servants, employees, and successors, and all those acting in concert or participation with them, are preliminarily enjoined from:

enforcing Section 303 of the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996, Pub. L. No. 104-132, 110 Stat. 1214 (1996) codified at 18 U.S.C. S 2339B, against Ralph Fertig and Nagalingam Jeyalingom, or against Humanitarian Law project,



*Janet Reno*

Ilankai Thamil Sangam, Tamils of Northern California, Tamil Welfare and Human Rights Committee, Federation of Tamil Sangams Of North America,

and World Tamil Coordinating Committee and any of their members, for providing "personnel" or "training" to either the Kurdistan Workers' party, a. k. a. Partiya Karkeran Kurdistan, a. k. a. PKK or the Liberation Tigers of

Tamil Eelam, a.k.a. LTTE, a. k. a. Tamil Tigers, a.k.a. Ellalan Force.

2. The bond requirement under Rule 65 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure shall be waived because the defendants are unlikely to suffer any monetary damages from the issuance of

this preliminary injunction.

Dated: June 15, 1998

United States District Judge



*Continued from page 21*

By early 1998, the interest of the international community in catalysing a process of negotiations waned as it became increasingly obvious that the constitutional measures proposed by the PA regime are a political mirage. The PA regime's single-minded pursuit of a military solution to the Tamil Question has once again focused attention on the political legitimacy of the armed struggle of the LTTE-led Tamil national movement.

## **Toward a military solution**

The foregoing is by no means an exhaustive account of the events as they unfolded during the past two decades. But it, however, is adequate to draw attention to important lessons of history, which ought to inform an assessment of the tasks that await the Tamil national movement in the next decade of struggle.

**The methods employed and tactics adopted by the Tamil national movement in its resistance against national oppression intensified, on both political and military fronts, by the Sinhalese-controlled regime vindicate Nelson Mandela's dictum: it is the oppressor, not the oppressed, who determines the form of struggle.**

The 'peace bubble' burst when the PA regime released the October 1997 PSC Report. Article 92(1) of the Report provided that "Parliament shall not abdicate or in any manner alienate its legislative power and shall not set up any authority with any such legislative power". This provision is virtually identical to Article 76(1) of the UNP's 1978 Constitution and to Article 45(1) of the 1972 Constitution formulated by the SLFP-led United Front (UF) regime. In short, there is no substantive change in the obstinate rejection of devolution of power by Sinhalese-controlled regimes over the past two and half decades. The PA regime, like its predecessors, does not seek a negotiated settlement; it, too, is relentlessly pursuing a military solution to the Tamil Question.

Indeed the provision on State religion reveals the intensely Sinhalese-chauvinist stance of the PA regime. The PSC Report did not merely reiterate the provision in Article 9 of the 1978 Constitution, that Buddhism shall enjoy 'the foremost place'. It did more. Article 7 of the PSC Report further entrenched Buddhist supremacy by providing for a 'Supreme Council' of Buddhist Clergy to advise the regime.

Given that the regime never did and still does not seek a political solution to the Tamil Question, what are its chances of achieving a military victory over the Tamil national movement?

When war broke out in June 1990, Sinhalese hawks in Colombo theorised that the LTTE had antagonised the Indian Government by attacking the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) and so lost New Delhi's support and forfeited the sanctuary of the rear base in Tamil Nadu. They concluded that the LTTE therefore could be trapped in the Jaffna peninsula with ease and gleefully anticipated a quick military victory for the regime. The strategy employed by the armed forces appears to have been based largely on this reasoning. Gen Kobbekaduwa went first to the east to drive the LTTE cadre to the north where they were to be cornered in the Jaffna peninsula and hopefully eliminated for good. The staggering naivete of the strategy, and its dismal failure, is well known and need not be recounted here.

Sinhalese analysts then attributed the military success of the LTTE to the advantages accruing from the control of liberated territory by the LTTE particularly in the Ceylon Tamil cultural heartland, the Jaffna peninsula. The solution, they blithely assumed, lay in demoralising and weakening the LTTE by dislodging it from the peninsula. So when Operation Riviresa rolled into the city of Jaffna in December 1995, the 'conquest' of Jaffna was openly celebrated on the streets in the south as signifying the end of the war and imminent destruction of the LTTE.

Critical Tamil analysts, however, drew parallels with the experience of the IPKF and predicted that a similar

fate awaited the Sinhalese armed forces in the north. It would, they reasoned, be a matter of time before the LTTE's guerrilla war exacted a heavy toll in men and materials from the armed forces and imposed a military stalemate.

Sinhalese hawks blandly dismissed these arguments on grounds that the Sinhalese soldiers are generally more educated, and therefore more intelligent, than the Indian soldiers and possess superior fighting capabilities. They seriously believed that the LTTE, expelled from the peninsula, would have no choice but to slink into the jungles of Vanni and wither away.

**These delusions of grandeur evaporated in the face of military reversals on the ground. The armed forces in the peninsula are trapped in a war they cannot win. Operation Jayasikurui, unleashed in May 1997 to open the road link from Vavuniya to Elephant Pass, encountered fierce resistance from the LTTE and has all but run into the ground. Even if the objective is achieved, it is blindingly obvious that the armed forces cannot hold the entire stretch of the road for any length of time.**

## **The next decade**

**The LTTE has proved to be resilient not only because of the tenacity of its cadre but, more importantly, because it represents a popular national movement, firmly rooted in the Tamil people. As the military reversals continue to mount, the PA regime is growing desperate. It is sliding into the genocidal frame of mind, which dictates as follows: that which cannot be conquered must be destroyed.**

The regime is fully aware that the strength of the LTTE resides in the Tamil nation. So the indiscriminate aerial bombing and artillery shelling, often blindly at night, of Tamil homes in the north and east and the embargo on food and medical supplies are designed to break the will of the Tamil nation.

The Sri Lankan regime's actions could qualify as genocide under



Genocide Convention, which defines genocide as "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such". Article 2(c) in particular applies to the situation in the north and east of the country; for it includes under genocide, "deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part".

**A Sinhalese hawk helpfully explained the rationale underlying the genocidal attack on the Tamil people. He borrowed Mao Tse Tung's famous dictum and conceded that the LTTE cadre are no doubt 'fish swimming in friendly [Tamil] waters'; since the 'fish' cannot be caught, he said, 'we will poison the water'.**

The regime is impelled by an additional and urgent need to intensify the military onslaught against Tamils. The SLFP and its coalition partners in the PA have completed the first half of their term of office. They have to face parliamentary and presidential elections within the next two and half years. The SLFP is very unlikely to be able to show positive results by way of improvements in the economy. Nor is President Kumaratunga likely abolish the Executive Presidency and so fulfil her election pledge.

However, if the SLFP could show progress on the military front and whip up Sinhalese nationalism it is bound to attract Sinhalese voters and improve its chances of winning the forthcoming elections. In fact, this is the only option open to the SLFP.

**In other words, at present there is little scope for a negotiated settlement to the Tamil Question. Any so-called 'peace process' bandied about by the Sri Lankan regime is in reality its war strategy, to hoodwink the Tamil people and international community, politically isolate the LTTE and to legitimise the military solution to the Tamil Question.**

The duplicity of successive Sinhalese-controlled regimes has more than convinced the Tamils living in Sri Lanka that the LTTE-led Tamil

national movement is the legitimate struggle for their inalienable national rights. They are firm in their unflinching resolve to defend the movement and confident of final victory.

Tamils have drawn considerable inspiration from the British precedence. The British government has recognised the right of self-determination of the Scottish and Welsh nations by the very act of holding the two referenda. The Tamils in Sri Lanka will continue their struggle until the Sri Lankan regime accepted the right of national self-determination of the Tamil nation.

28 June 1998

### About the author

*Dr Sachithanandam Sathanathan read for the Ph D degree at Wolfson College, Cambridge. He was Assistant Director at the Marga Institute, Colombo where he was a coordinator of research on South Asian regional cooperation conducted by the Committee for Studies on Cooperation in Development (CSCD) in*

*South Asia. He is Chairman of Mandru (Institute for Alternative Development and Regional Cooperation) which he co-founded in 1989. His publications and research interests cover national movements, democratization and nation-building in South Asia. He is the principal author of *The Elusive Dove: An assessment of conflict resolution initiatives in Sri Lanka, 1957 to 1996* (1996). Dr Sathanathan is a documentary filmmaker and is the Producer of 'Where Peacocks Dance' (1992), a one-hour long documentary film on the cultural roots of Sindhi nationalism in Pakistan, and of 'Suicide Warriors' (1996), a half-hour long documentary film on the Tamil national struggle which explores specifically the role of women in the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka. Both films were broadcast by Channel Four Television, London.*

*Dr Sathanathan is the Founder-Secretary of the Action Group Of Tamils In Colombo (AGOTIC).*



## "I vow to help Tamils return to their homeland in safety", says Robert Evans

Speaking at the annual lunch of the International Tamil Foundation on 28th June, Mr. Robert Evans, MEP, said:

"There are 626 MEPs from 15 countries representing the 320 million citizens of the European Union. Along with 15 or so others, I am a member of the South Asia delegation. I am working with my colleagues to try and put pressure on the Sri Lanka government, firstly to open up: to open up the north to the world's media so people can see for themselves what is happening. So we can allow a fair and balanced picture. Yes, there are LTTE attacks on government posts. Yes, there are Tamils fighting for an independent homeland. But there are also atrocities

being perpetrated by Sri Lankan government forces. Atrocities against civilians, women and children and against whole communities .....

"I have met recently with Derek Fatchett the UK government minister responsible for Asian affairs.... When I meet Derek Fatchett again, I will tell him the stories I have heard from many of you.... I will tell him the harrowing tales that I heard, first hand from people I met in refugee camps in Tamil Nadu.

I vowed to do something to help them return to their homeland in safety .....

*A full text of Robert Evans's speech will be carried in the next issue of HOT SPRING). □*



# Singaporean Tamil takes on Kadirgamar

*In a letter addressed to*

*Mr. S M Vasagar*

*(President, Singapore Ceylon*

*Tamils' Association)*

*23, Ceylon Road*

*Singapore 429617*

*Mr. S Sivakolunthu of  
Kensington Park Road,  
Singapore 557294, writes:-*

I thank you for a copy of the speech by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Hon. Lakshman Kadirgamar at the Royal Institute of International Affairs (London) on 15<sup>th</sup> April 1998.

I am not persuaded at all by Mr Kadirgamar that the LTTE is a terrorist organisation and I do not see why I should not voluntarily continue to contribute to its struggle. I continue to believe, until proven otherwise, that the LTTE is a liberation movement with a serious intent to give the deliberately disadvantaged Ceylon Tamils, a decent separate homeland.

I agree that the suicide bombers are somewhat fanatical but I do not doubt their noble intent. Everyone of these suicide bombers, acts in full consciousness that he destroys the perceived enemy and enemy's properties including those holy places where power both real and psychological is generated and focussed to thwart his/her struggle in pursuit of a clear goal. The suicide bomber feels all the time that the enemy wants to finish off him and his race, and that it is worth the while to invest his life to give his progeny a chance to live in dignity.

My understanding of the LTTE leader is that he is a highly motivated nononsense leader with a vision for his people. He is certainly not a megalomaniac, as Mr Kadirgamar's government would want the world to believe.

The LTTE leader certainly has a soft side in his soul and that is evident in his fine speeches with poetic philosophical statements.

It is important for anyone who really wants to understand the man to know the ignoble historical facts of Ceylon/Sri Lanka that shape and guide the LTTE leader. They are:

1) President Chandrika's father Mr SWRD Bandaranaike formed the Sri Lanka Freedom Party in 1953, five years after Freedom/ independence in 1948. One wonders Freedom from whom?

2) Ceylon became Sri Lanka in 1972 and not just Lanka and paved the way for Sinhalese chauvinism to take centre stage in Sri Lanka's body politic. No self-respecting Ceylon Tamil will ever accept the connotive adjective Sri in Sri Lanka for it is a divisive word that Mrs. Bandaranaike forced the Tamils to swallow.

3) Mr Kadirgamar's claims in his speech to have remained staunch friends with UK since independence in 1948. However, he forgets to mention perhaps out of selective amnesia, that the common denominator to all the races, a colonial heritage the English language was unseated to make way for Sinhalese; to the great distress of the Tamils. Meritocracy another colonial heritage had to make way for the quota system in all aspects of healthy competitive life. Mr Kadirgamar would want the UK government and people to believe these backward steps were taken in the name of UK Sri Lanka friendship. Pathetic.

4) The LTTE leader knows too well that the former Tamil leader S.J.V. Chelvanayagam, also called Eelam Gandhi because of his nonviolent polit-

ical struggle, died a very sad man in 1977 expressing great sorrow and hopelessness by stating, "Only God can help the Tamil people of Ceylon"

Such historical facts stare loom in the perception of the LTTE leader. These facts may have pushed him to the wall to be a fanatic but certainly, he is not a terrorist, as Mr Kadirgamar wants the UK government to accept anyhow.

## Hypothetical Scenario One

If only one can bring back to life the hundreds of LTTE suicidal bombers and ask to testify from the bottom of their heart, I am sure each and everyone will say that he or she will be willing to die again to invest his life for the dignity of his progeny. This may appear fanatical but certainly not terrorist thinking and attitude.

## Hypothetical Scenario Two

If only over 700 Tamils who have disappeared with no trace in Jaffna which is under army control are brought back to life and asked to testify, I am sure they would unhesitatingly declare that they would have preferred to have died fighting and not finished off without a fair chance to defend themselves.

Mr Kadirgamar is neither objective, detached nor authentic in his thesis presented at the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London. He does not persuade a bonafide thinking person to accept the LTTE as a terrorist organisation.

*Yours faithfully,  
Mr. S. Sivakolunthu*



Suresh case: Continuation of Karen Parker's testimony

# The right to resort to the use of force

(Continued from previous issues of Hot Spring)

BY MR. VAILLANCOURT:

**Q.** So, if I understand your position correctly, for political reasons, the self-determination rights of the Tamil people has not been recognized by the majority of the world's governments?

**A.** Yes

**Q.** And, according to your evidence, this position has no legal foundation?

**A.** Right.

HIS LORDSHIP: Which position?

MR. VAILLANCOURT: The position that the Tamil people...

HIS LORDSHIP: That the witness just expressed?

MR. VAILLANCOURT: No, that the Tamil people have a right to self-determination.

HIS LORDSHIP: That has no legal basis?

MR. VAILLANCOURT: Has no right to self-determination according to the majority of the world's governments.

HIS LORDSHIP: Oh.

BY MR. VAILLANCOURT:

**Q.** According to your evidence, this has no legal...

**A.** The governments are wrong. If you look at the law and look at the facts, you must conclude the right to self-determination, in my view.

**Q.** This is why you are suggesting, of course, that most scholars in the field of international law have recognized, according to your evidence, a right to self-determination of the Tamil people?

**A.** And when we have non-governmental organizations sign joint statements of the United Nations, the majority of



Karen Parker

them sign a statement affirming that.

HIS LORDSHIP: Legally speaking, madam, you, being an expert lawyer, what value is there that quote, unquote, most scholars agree? What does that mean, "most"... legally speaking, what value is it that most scholars agree? It is like saying that most... well, not most judges, because they have a legal say, I am sorry. But, what does that mean, "most scholars agree" but governments that are the ones that have to agree don't agree? What is the value, I am trying to understand that, other than an academic discussion which is always wonderful?

THE WITNESS: Customary law is binding international law and customary

law...

HIS LORDSHIP: Upon whom?

THE WITNESS: States.

HIS LORDSHIP: On states, governments?

THE WITNESS: On governments.

HIS LORDSHIP: On governments, not on states. States are governments?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

HIS LORDSHIP: All right.

THE WITNESS: Frequently, scholars disagree with political choices of governments. In the situation of Sri Lanka there have been many scholars on the subject of self-determination writing and of those that I have read, they all agree with me. Under principles of customary international law, that does have some persuasive weight on whether or not the Tamils do have the right to self-determination because of the status of customary law and the ... in international law in make these determinations and the weight given, though not conclusive weight given to scholarly opinion on such matters.

In the Federal Court of Canada :  
The Manickavasagam Suresh  
inquiry held before  
Mr. Justice Teitelbaum  
March 21 1996.



BY MR. VAILLANCOURT:

**Q.** So, unfortunately or not, it is only persuasive?

**A.** Yes.

HIS LORDSHIP: And persuasive upon whom?

Certainly not the majority of the governments, because you yourself state... you know, I am just trying to understand.

THE WITNESS: I understand, yes.

HIS LORDSHIP: You know where I am going.

THE WITNESS: Well, I have actually had some conversations with members of my own government who agree with me, but say, "But, this is our policy."

HIS LORDSHIP: I am not saying that I disagree with you I am just saying, though, what you yourself state is that ...

THE WITNESS: This is the big frustration in all human rights work, Your Honour, if I may be so bold as to make that sweeping statement. In most situations governments do not want to hear the bad news, but human rights attorneys, investigators and scholars rather insist on presenting the law and the facts anyway, and the odds are...

HIS LORDSHIP: As they should.

THE WITNESS: ...difficult. I will also say that because of the... vicious is perhaps too strong a word, but not far removed from the kind of opposition I felt from both Sri Lankan government representatives that I met with and saw in Geneva at the U.N. sessions and some others. It was not personally a wise move to be as forthright about the application regarding the Tamil situation publicly. I decided, maybe, around this time that I could no longer be a coward.

BY MR. VAILLANCOURT:

**Q.** You said in 1948, that some shared the opinion that the rights of the Tamil people to self-determination would have been extinguished by the Constitution?

**A.** *This is an argument made by governments occasionally who don't want to recognize the right of self-determination of Tamils, so they say, "Yes, but they joined the constitutional process in 1948, so therefore it is extinguished."*

**Q.** But...

**A.** *For reasons given today, I disagree with that, the fact that Tamils were willing to participate in that process as an extinguishment.*

**Q.** But, you said that theory was persuasive? That is your words. HIS LORDSHIP: You have to answer "Yes" or "No."

THE WITNESS: Yes. It has been persuasive to other governments or others who don't understand the history of the time with any great depth.

By MR VAILLANCOURT

**Q.** I gather what you mean is that it is legally persuasive based on the study of the constitution and the wording and everything else that legally you may put an argument together?

**A.** Yes.

**Q.** Did I understand correctly when you said that it was in '93 (sic) at the time of the so-called communal violence that the right of the Tamil people to vindicate by force the right to self-determination was triggered?

**A.** 1983

**Q.** Did I say "'93"?

**A.** Yes.

**Q.** Oh, I am sorry, '83.

HIS LORDSHIP: That is why I was looking back in my notes.

MR. VAILLANCOURT: Yes, I am sorry.

## *"Conflicts between governments and human rights attorneys"*

BY MR. VAILLANCOURT:

**Q.** So as to, what, trigger as well onward the rules of war and humanitarian law?

**A.** *I think that regardless of whether or not you view '83 as...*

HIS LORDSHIP: The starting point are the words you used.

THE WITNESS: ...the starting point of the vindication under self-determination, even before that there had been grounds for at least making a determination for civil war. So, I would agree that application of humanitarian law actually probably should be reviewed from possibly the mid-seventies.

BY MR. VAILLANCOURT:

**Q.** I thought, again, that the resort to violence, in your statement, you had justified it from '83 and now you are saying it would be justifiable, the resort to force and the pursuit of the right to self-determination even going back to the seventies?

**A.** *I know it is going to sound like dancing on the head of a pin. There are situations of armed conflict that you could, for want of a better term, call "civil war" where you are not invoking any outside principles that may create an overlay, but there is obviously an armed conflict occurring between group A and group B who may be the government; and, in the case of Sri Lanka, that had already occurred and you would already apply principles of humanitarian law that would be relevant to that from the moment there was armed conflict. Common Article 3 says "when there is armed conflict."*



*I use 1983 as a justification of the use of force in vindication to the right to self-determination because, in my view ... it is only my view ... that was the point of no return and that was the point where it was more likely than not that further "peaceful" discussions would lead to naught. But, this is not to say that prior to '83, there was not an existing conflict which could be governed by the Geneva Conventions taking place.*

**Q.** If I understand correctly, I think it is important, '83 onward, as a result of communal violence ... correct me if I am wrong ... it is your testimony that from thereon they were justified to resort to violence to vindicate the right to self-determination?

**A.** *I would say resort to the use of force to vindicate self-determination, and it was at that point that the international community, in my view, should have backed the Tamil cause...*

**Q.** Pre-eighty...

**A.** ... because it was...

**Q.** I am sorry.

**A.** ... factually and legally clear that that point had been reached.

**Q.** Pre '83 on what basis any form of force could be justified, according to your opinion, by the LTTE or Tamil people?

**A.** *Under civil war rules there is no requirement that there has to be a reason that passes muster.*

**Q.** So, when was the state of civil war? When did it start, in your opinion?

**A.** *I think you could legitimately apply the Geneva Convention somewhere in '73-'74 perhaps with the beginning of the militant groups and the formation into military command, the carrying out of military operations.*

**Q.** So, there was civil war, according to your evidence, starting in '73-'74, but they were still talking up to '83?

**A.** *Yes. Well, there had been some rather dramatic walk-outs in the Legislature around that time, but I think in 1983, it should have been clear, the facts and the law were very clear, at '83, it probably was not possible to put the pieces together objectively. It would be tantamount to asking the former Yugoslavia to reconstitute itself this year, please, as one state. It just ... we know it is not going to happen. I mean, it is just not reasonably possible in our lifetime maybe not even, but in 1983, I felt the same way about Sri Lanka as I currently feel about Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slovenia and Serbia.*

**Q.** So, in a civil war situation, as you just described, I thought I heard yesterday it was falling under the regime of Protocol II?

**A.** Yes

**Q.** Civil war?

**A.** *Civil war is Protocol II and Common Article 3.*

**Q.** I just want to try to understand, believe me. From '83 onward a different context would be Protocol I...

**A.** Yes.

**Q.** -against alien ... fighting against colonial domination, alien occupation, against racist regimes?

**A.** Yes.

HIS LORDSHIP: That is from '83 on...

MR. VAILLANCOURT: According to...

HIS LORDSHIP: ... if we are going to use the number?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

HIS LORDSHIP: And between 1948 to 1972, '73, '74, that was ...

THE WITNESS: I would characterize it with extreme political unrest, episodes of communal violence, but no

organized military opposition.

HIS LORDSHIP: And it was

BY MR. VAILLANCOURT:

**Q.** From what period?

HIS LORDSHIP: I am sorry

THE WITNESS: Forty-eight to '73.

HIS LORDSHIP: And between '72, '3 or '4, that is when you said then the Tigers came into power, the Tamil Tigers came into power and that is when it became a civil war until I am giving you. ... '72, '73, '74

THE WITNESS: Yes.

HIS LORDSHIP: I am using the dates you gave me. Between '72, '73, '74, the Tamil Tigers came into power, your words, and between then, and again your words, up to '83, there was civil war and then from '83 on it is Protocol number I, I think.

BY MR. VAILLANCOURT:

**Q.** So, from '73 to '83, roughly, for purposes of discussion, according to your evidence, it was a civil war situation?

HIS LORDSHIP: Well, how many times do you want her to say this, Maitre Vaillancourt?

BY MR. VAILLANCOURT:

**Q.** Okay ... and the laws of war would apply?

**A.** *Did apply. Well, the minute there was armed conflict they applied, regardless of how you characterize. I think we are spending a lot of time and great emphasis on how it is characterized and my real point is that the Geneva Conventions applied with armed conflict regardless of how you characterize it since the mid-seventies. Since '83,*



*I am convinced that the third party obligation to either support the Tamil cause directly or indirectly came into play.*

**Q.** I would like to refer the witness, My Lord, to Protocol II which obviously has not been filed as an exhibit, because it is the law of this country as it was ratified by Canada.

HIS LORDSHIP: Are you going to file it? Do you want to give me a copy of it?

MR. VAILLANCOURT: I thought the Court received

HIS LORDSHIP: Oh, you

MS. JACKMAN: I gave it to you.

HIS LORDSHIP: . . . have already given it to me, haven't you, Ms. Jackman. Protocol II that is, I think, under Chapter I4 in the back.

MR. VAILLANCOURT: My friends don't have a copy of the Act, but we will share it.

MS. JACKMAN: Do you know what I did, My Lord? I didn't think we would use it today, so I didn't want to carry more stuff than I needed. But, perhaps we can just refer back to it.

BY MR. VAILLANCOURT:

**Q.** I would like to refer the witness to page 30I.

HIS LORDSHIP: Do you have a copy?

THE WITNESS: I don't have a copy.

HIS LORDSHIP: You don't have a copy.

BY MR. VAILLANCOURT:

**Q.** I would like to refer the witness to Article 4 of the Protocol.

HIS LORDSHIP: Would you...

MS. JACKMAN: Of Protocol II?

MR. VAILLANCOURT: Yes.

HIS LORDSHIP: Ms. Jackman, may I ... or, Mr. Waldman, may I have your permission to give my copy? The only thing is, though, I have underlined something and I don't know if..

THE WITNESS: I would rather not see your COPY.

HIS LORDSHIP: You would rather not see it? All right.

BY MR. VAILLANCOURT:

**Q.** I just want to refer the witness to and take you to subsection (I) of Article 4 and subsection (2)(d) of Article 4. Assuming, according to your evidence, there was a civil war situation from '73-'74 onward until '83, Protocol II would apply and the rules of war would apply also?

**A.** *Protocol II is an instrument of the rules of war. Whether or not Sri Lanka was governed by it, considering that Protocol II was promulgated in 1977...*

**Q.** Okay.

**A.** . . . therefore, it postdates some of the discussion.

**Q.** That is fine. It was promulgated in what?

**A.** *In 1977, it came into force in 1979 with the third signature.*

**Q.** Although we heard yesterday, even if it is not ratified, it can become customary law, under international law?

**A.** *It can, but it can't become customary law ahead of itself.*

**Q.** No, absolutely not. So, that is another dimension. Pre-'77, before it came into force, what was the regime under which those armed conflicts or civil war were regulated under?

**A.** *Common Article 3.*

**Q.** Of the Geneva Convention?

**A.** *Of the four Geneva Conventions, so it appears in four different articles.*

**Q.** Well, let us say '77 onward, just for the purposes of discussion, LTTE attacked directly civilians, that would not constitute an act of terrorism; that would constitute a war crime?

**A.** *A war crime. If I may make my comment on the inclusion of the sub-item which says "terrorism" in that Act...*

**Q.** We will get to that, if I may. When did the communal violence in '93 (sic) take place?

**A.** *In 1983?*

**Q.** Eighty-three, I am sorry.

**A.** *I believe it was August. It was in the summertime, the end of July, early ... I don't remember, but I remember it became an issue at the subcommission session in 1983; and, as it meets only in August, it was ongoing at the time. So, according to Protocol II, which came into force in '77 ... I just want to read it in for the record, subsection*

*(I) of Article 4: ". . . All persons who do not take a direct part or who have ceased to take part in hostilities, whether or not their liberty has been restricted, are entitled to respect for their person, honour, convictions and religious practices. They shall, in all circumstances, be treated humanely, without any other distinction. It is prohibited to order that there shall be no survivors..."*

*Subsection (2) starts with: " ... Without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing, the following acts against a person referred to in paragraph I are and shall remain prohibited at any time in any place whatsoever..." Under (d) "acts of terrorism." What would constitute an act of terrorism under Protocol II? Sinhala civilians attacking Tamils.*

HIS LORDSHIP: And vice versa, I would assume?

THE WITNESS: And vice versa, Tamil civilians attacking Sinhala.

BY MR. VAILLANCOURT: Q. Attacking civilians?

**A.** *Civilians.*

*(To concluded in the next issue)*



# Tamil youth in Bermuda sent back to Switzerland

(From a *HOT SPRING* correspondent in Bermuda)

Chandrasegaram Gopinath, an 18-year old Eelam Tamil youth who entered Bermuda illegally, was deported to Switzerland where his father has asylum - after five months of confinement in Bermuda.

Gopinath was charged with entering Bermuda on March 17 on a forged passport, British Airways airline ticket, and Bermuda's Immigration card, all in the name of Marcello Rici.

Efforts to return the teenage refugee to Switzerland began after he told Senior Magistrate Will Francis if he were sent back to Sri Lanka from where he originally came, he would be killed. Word has been received from the British consulate in Berne that the Swiss Office for Refugees had "agreed to take him back temporarily".

It is learnt that Gopinath's mother and sister who are also in Switzerland hold temporary status there, while his father Chandrasegaram, who preceded the rest of the family, is a Swiss resident.

A report in the Royal Gazette,

(Bermuda is a British colony), says:

"Section coordinator of the local Amnesty section Le Yoni Junos said efforts had been made to secure the proper advice for the young man who does not speak English. "It is a basic human right to have legal counsel", Ms Junos said.

"Amnesty has been in contact with the United Nations High Commission for Human Rights (UNHCR) offices in Washington D.C. and London and has brought the commission to the attention of Government. "They are quite willing to work with the Bermuda Government and act as a go-between with the Swiss government", she added. "We are just eager to see him returned to his family".

Ms. Junos said Gopinath's story has gained him sympathy Islandwide. I've had people stop me in the street. I



had a young girl call and ask what Amnesty was going to do", she said.

Amnesty has pointed out that more than 50 people have died in custody (in Sri Lanka) last year and another 220 (Tamils) were known to be missing in the war-torn island.

Lawyer Clare Hatcher told The Royal Gazette she was pleased at the outcome and thanked the local family which took in Gopinath after his release from prison. "They've been fantastic. They have shown him around the island."

It was the local chapter of human rights watchdog, Amnesty International who contacted the international secretariat and local authorities to halt Gopinath's deportation to Sri Lanka. **Sri Lankan refugee organisations in London also confirmed that repatriation to Sri Lanka often meant torture, extortion, long detention without trial, or even death.**

(Hot Spring now learns that the young man is now with his family in Switzerland) □

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## Social & Personal

### 80th Birthday Celebration

Mr.C.J.T.Thamotheram, who has been active in Tamil community affairs in U.K. over the past several years, and founder-member of several organisations concerning Tamil advancement celebrates his 80th birthday on

### Married

#### Siva - Tharani

Siva, son of Dr. & Mrs.K.Shan mughanathan of 31, Finemere Crescent Aylesbury, Bucks HP21 9DQ and Tharani, daughter of Dr. & Mrs.. S.Puvanendran of 9, Rochester Gardens, East Croydon, Surrey CRO 5NN. U.K.

#### Nandan - Shakila

Nandan, son of Mr & Mrs.Kandappa of 83/2, Anniewatte Road, Kandy, Sri Lanka and Shakila, daughter of Mr & Mrs.Sountha

September 19. on that day, a Saturday. his friends and well-wishers propose to felicitate him at dinner. The venue: Putney Leisure Centre, Dryburgh Road, London SW15 1BL. Time: 7 p.m.

Those who would like to participate in this function are kindly requested to contact Mr.D.C.Jayarajah before 10 August, at 18, Leslie Gardens, Sutton, Surrey SM2 6QU Tel:(0181) 642 5598.



ranayagam of 510-25 Silver Springs Blvd. Scarborough, Ontario M1V 1M9, Canada.

### Engaged

Rahulan, son of Mr.C.Tyagarajah, former Education officer and one-time Principal of Skanda Varodaya College, Jaffna, and Mrs.Y.Tyagarajah of Murugesar Lane, Nallur, now in Colombo, and Malini, daughter of Dr.E.V.Packianathan, former Chief Librarian, Jaffna Public Library and Mrs.Packianathan.

The engagement took place in Sydney, Australia, on July 11. □

## International Award

Professor Raj Siddharta (Civil Eng.) of the University of Nevada, U.S.A., has been selected to receive the International Award in Geophysical Structural Earthquake Engineering in Seattle in September '98.

Mr.Raj Siddharta is an old student of Urumpirai Hindu College and St.John's College, Jaffna and graduated in Civil Engineering with First Class honours from the University of Sri Lanka. He pursued further studies in Geotechnical engineering at the University of British Columbia, USA, eventually becoming Associate Professor in Civil Engineering at the University of Nevada.

Mr.Siddharta is the eldest son of Mrs.Y.Rajaratnam, one-time Principal of Ramanathan College, Jaffna and the late Mr.S.Rajaratnam who retired as Station Master, Anuradhapura.

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# Tamil Tiger sympathisers in South Africa welcome probe

South African organisations alleged to be raising funds to support the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) which is involved in a civil war against the Sri Lanka government welcomed an investigation into their activities in the hopes human rights violations in Sri Lanka will be exposed.

This week the Sri Lanka government claimed at least four organisations were being used in South Africa's Tamil community to raise funds for the LTTE, also known as the Tamil Tigers.

They named the four organisations as the Dravidians for Peace and Justice in Gauteng, the Durban-based Tamil Eelam Support Movement, the Movement Against Sri Lankan Oppression in Cape Town, and the People Against Sri Lankan oppression (PASLO) in Gauteng.

In October last year President Nelson Mandela promised to look into claims by Sri Lankan President Chandrika Kumaratunga that donations from South Africa were helping the LTTE buy weapons.

## VASANTHA NAIDOO

*Sunday Tribune, 21 June '98*

The Sri Lankan government claimed that while a request by the LTTE to open an official branch in South Africa was turned down, the LTTE was actively raising funds in South Africa through front organisations.

PASLO spokesman Tony Padotan confirmed his organisation was raising funds for Sri Lankan Tamils but emphasised this was for a "humanitar-

ian" organisation.

PASLO sends funds to an organisation called Tamil Rehabilitation organisation which is known for helping to feed and provide for thousands of starving Tamils in Sri Lanka.

"We have substantial proof of the money we sent to the TRO and we welcome any investigation into our activities. At the same time we challenge the South African government to investigate the human rights violations taking place in Sri Lanka".

Padotan said the organisation had repeatedly asked President Mandela to meet them to discuss human rights violations in Sri Lanka.

Kisten Chinnapen, TESM chairman denied his organisation contributed money to the Tamil Tigers. "Our organisation is about conscientising people about the plight of thousands of innocent Tamils who are suffering in the civil war. The money we contribute goes to a rehabilitation organisation, the TRO.

We are not in any way associated with the Tamil Tigers". \*

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## Obituaries

### Dr.S.A.Tharmalingam



HOT SPRING records with regret the passing away of Dr.S.A. Tharmalingam, a passionately committed Tamil Eelam activist. on, July 6. He was 90.

Dr.Tharmalingam who was President of the Tamil Eelam

Liberation Front was jailed by the Sri Lankan government in 1983 for his political work and narrowly escaped death at the hands of Sinhala convicts at the time of his incarceration in the Welikade jail in Colombo. Fifty three Tamil political prisoners, including Gandhiam Secretary Dr.Rajasundaram, were hacked to death on two different days in the week, July 25 and 27, 1983, at that time.

Dr.Tharmalingam was the brother of the late Dr.S.A.Vettivelu, an equally popular Jaffna physician. Dr.Tharmalingam's wife Sundaravalli predeceased him. A father of four daughters, Tharmambal, (wife of Dr.Navaratnam,) Dr.Tharmavalli, (wife of Dr.Sathiyamurthi) Dr.Tharmasothy (wife of Dr.Balarajah,) and Dr.Tharmarani (wife of Dr.Vignaraja,) he had the proud distinction of being the father and father-in-law of seven doctors in his family. His second daughter Dr.Tharmavalli and husband Dr.Sathiyamurthi were both killed in a

motor accident while holidaying in Malaysia several years earlier.

At the time of his death, Dr.Tharmalingam lived with his eldest daughter and son-in-law Dr.Navaratnam at 5, Windy Hill, Hutton, Brentwood, Essex CM13 2HF. □

### Maithripala Senanayake

The death occurred on July 12 in Colombo of Maithripala Senanayake, a veteran Sri Lankan politician, and Governor, North Central province at the time of his death. He was 81.

Educated mainly at St.John's College, Jaffna, and married to a Tamil, Ranji Handy, (one-time on the editorial staff of the CEYLON OBSERVER,) Maithripala had the reputation of being a gentleman-politician, a breed which is virtually extinct in Sri Lankan politics today.

Apart from wife Ranji, he leaves his only son Prasanna. □

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# Paris Hindu Conference condemns Sri Lankan attacks

An unequivocal condemnation of attacks perpetrated by Sri Lankan armed forces on Hindus and Hindu temples, was one of the resolutions passed at the International Conference on Hindu Solidarity held in Paris, France, on 27th and 28th June '98.

The 2-day conference held at the Conference Hall of the UNESCO in Paris was ceremonially opened by Nepal's ambassador in France, Indra Bahadur. A message of felicitation from the Indian ambassador was read out and the First Secretary of the Embassy Rahul Chahabra received the first copy of the Conference Souvenir released



by Swamy Vithamohananda. Delegates from South Africa Mauritius, Malaysia, Canada, Australia, USA, UK, France, India, Germany participated at the conference.

Speeches were delivered by the following: His Holiness Santhalinga

Swamy, Prof.R.K.Seth, Prof.Saratha Nambiya rooran, Dr.Karthas and industrialist Pollachy Mahalingam, all from India, Mr.Veerabathiran from South Africa, Mr.Arulmoli from Malaysia, Mr.Shanmugalingam from the U.S. and Mr.Karalapillai from France. Mr.Sowda, President of the UK branch of the BJP and Mr.Upathiyaya, the European coordinator of the Vishwa Hindu Prashad also delivered

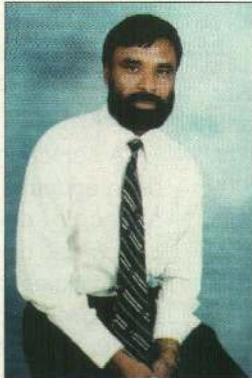
introductory speeches.

Mr.Sivachanemougam was the Secretary of the Organising Committee of the Conference, while Mr.K.Subramaniam functioned as the Liaison officer. □

## Saivaite Conference in South Africa

The World Saiva Council (SA), Chatsworth Region holds a Saivaite Conference at the Kharwastan Temple Hall on 16th August. The day's programme includes Thirumurai singing by the Saiva Munnetra Kazhgam and by Richards Bay Siva Sungum, a Prayer by Siva Mandram Montford Branch, a dance programme by Saiva Munnetra Kazhagam and several talks.

Session 1 will include a talk on "Life and Times of the Nayanmar Saints and their relevance for the 21st



Thiru Dees Pillay

century "by Thirumathie Niranjeni Naicker. The chairperson is Thirumathie Devi Naidoo.

session 2 will consist of a talk on "Saivaism in the 21st century by Thiru V. G. P a d a y a chee, followed by lunch and the President's Address by Thiru Balan

Govender (W.S.C. SA Branch).

Session 3 will feature a talk on "PATI, PASU,

PASAM" by Thiru Morgan Naidu.

Session 4 will have two talks, "Contribution to Saivaism made by Guru Swamikal" by Guru Morgan Yegambaram and "The Youth and Saivaism" by Yanaikumarie Pillay. They will be followed by Contribution to Saivaism awards Vote of Thanks by Thiru Dees Pillay on "The Way Forward", and a concluding prayer by Swami Premananda.

Thiru Dees Pillay, President of the Tamil Eelam Support Movement (SA), Chatsworth Region. □



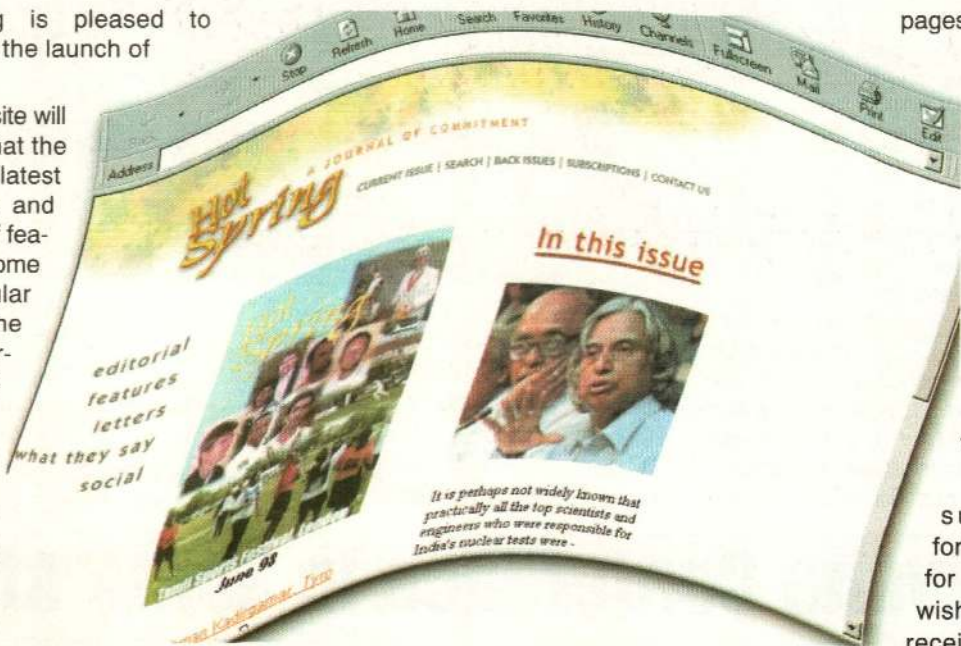


# Hot Spring on the web!

Hot Spring is pleased to announce the launch of our web site.

Visitors to the site will be able to see what the front cover of the latest issue looks like and read a selection of feature articles and some of the regular columns in it. The Hot Spring's editorial will also be published.

Visitors can read some of our regular sections online, such as the 'what they say' column, letters and social



pages.

Readers and visitors to the site who wish to write to us via email can do so, the email address and other contact details are available on the site.

An online subscription form is available for visitors who wish to regularly receive a printed

copy of the magazine. A free introductory copy can also be requested online. Please allow two weeks for delivery.

A selection of back issues have been added to the site, and more will added in due course. The back issues also contain a selection of feature articles. A search engine has been provided. If a print copy of a particular back issue is required, please email us.

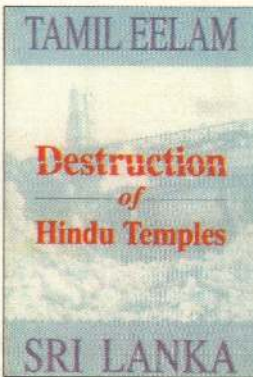
The site will be updated and developed regularly. We hope visitors will find it entertaining and useful, and we welcome your feedback and comments on both the Hot Spring web site and magazine.

□□□

## Saiva Conference in London

A 2-day Saiva Conference was held in London on 11th and 12th July with representatives from India, Malaysia and Eelam participating. The conference organised by the Federation of Saiva (Hindu) Temples (U.K.) was held at Lewisham Theatre, Rushey Green, Catford.

Speakers at the conference were:- Santhalinga Ramasamy Adigal, (Tamil Nadu), Sivananthi Adigal (London), Prof.Saraswathy Ramanathan (Tamil Nadu), Dr.K.Karunakaran, Vice Chancellor,



Tamil University, Thanjavur, Dr.G.Bhaskaran, Tamil University, Thanjavur, Dr.K.Loganathan, World Saiva Council, Malaysia, Vidwan Vasantha Vaithiyanathan, Eelam, Thamilaruvi T.Sivakumaran, Thiru K.Umamaheswaran and Thiru Kanesalingam, Engineer, all of Eelam.

A book, titled DESTRUCTION OF HINDU TEMPLES in Tamil Eelam and Sri Lanka, authored by M.Neiminathan was released in connection with the conference.

◆◆◆



## Tamil vigil opposite Downing Street



The Tamil Centre for Human Rights (U.K.) held a vigil opposite the British Prime Minister's residence at 10, Downing Street, on 19 June to draw attention to the widespread human rights violations in Sri Lanka. Attention was specially drawn to the killing of 20 civilians and the wounding of 50 others in an internally dis-



placed settlement through indiscriminate aerial bombing on 11th June.

In a letter handed over to the Prime Minister's office, Ms. Eliza Mann on behalf of the TCHR U.K. said:- "The



British Government has in the past been robust in defending civilians against military attack, especially in the former Yugoslavia. We hope you will take a similar position on the war in Sri Lanka where restriction on free reporting is hiding a larger crisis made worse by a climate in which humanitarian organisations cannot work freely".

## Tamil Eelam Information Centre in Switzerland

(From our correspondent  
Thamaraichelvan)

Several Tamil organisations in Switzerland involved in cultural and recreational activities have now got together to establish a Tamil Eelam



Information Centre at Sion city in valais. Three computer screens will depict the atrocities inflicted on the Tamils by the Sri Lanka government, the sufferings that the Tamils undergo

by the government in aerial bombing of churches, temples and schools. Explanations are given in the French language as well.

Pictures show Swiss visitors at the exhibition hall of the Centre. □



# Spring Festival in U.S.A.



**T**amils in New York and New Jersey in the United States got together to hold a sports meet and a cultural spring festival on JULY 11 and JULY 18. The festival was held under the auspices of the World Tamil Coordinating Committee with the support of the Ilankai Tamil Sangam. -

New York Governor Pataki's Asia regional head Ms. Grace Koh who was the chief guest also read



*Ms. Grace Koh*



*Mr. Balasubramaniam*

out a special message from the governor and gave away the prizes. The head of the Malaysian World Tamil Coordinating Committee Unit and editor of the Tamil journal "Thannambikkai" Mr. Balasubramaniam was the chief speaker at the spring festival celebrations.





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# This month - 11 years ago!



*The signing of the Jayewardena - Rajiv Gandhi agreement, July 29 1987*



*Sinhalese wrath about signing of agreement. Rajiv Gandhi being hit by Sri Lankan naval rating during farewell guard of honour, July 30 1987*