

# HOT SPRING

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The majority of the refugees are LTTE supporters. Ramalinga Sethupathi at the North Pithavaram camp put it succinctly: "The people are with the Tigers and the Tigers are with the people". Sebastian 20, of Thandavara - yanchozhaganpettai, said with a gleam in his eyes. "If I get an opportunity, I will join the LTTE. I have seen Mahatya." Says Bab Anandan, "The Tigers dispense evenhanded justice. They gave us bun and jam when we passed through jungles while

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## CHANGING TACTICS

### Invisible enemy takes toll

### 3 Dead - 15 Injured - in 3 Places

From about the last week of April this year, the Sinhala Government strategy in regard to the conduct of the Eelam war appears to have changed. Whilst earlier the forces were engaged in fierce destruction of given areas, the war efforts after the last week of April are widespread.

The Government announced a curfew in Jaffna peninsula from 23rd April and started air bombing Karaitivu area. After the operations in Karaitivu and Kayts ceased, the aerial bombardment of Tamil Eelam was carried out in Elephant pass and especially Vavuniya.

There was heavy and indiscriminate bombing of most of the villages North of Vavuniya Town along the Jaffna Road. The Air Force planes have been bombing Elephant Pass also even up to the time of writing. But unfortunately thanks to bunkers built in almost every house in the North as a safety shelter against air

bombardment, death toll has been minimized, though property is laid waste.

Whilst heavy bombing laid waste the Vavuniya District with the Air force in active service there, the army started artillery shell fire from the Palaly Camp. Artillery shell launched from the Palaly Camp travel to very far off places.

Artillery shell attacks from the Palaly Army Camp on the 14th of this month covered distant places such as Vaddukoddai and Chavakachcheri, not to mention of course Valvettiturai, the destruction of which town seems to arouse untold enthusiasm

for the Armed Forces of the Sinhala Government.

The artillery shell attack is very dangerous. It is more dangerous than the bombers to the people. Whilst the approach of the planes can be heard and

even the places they bomb, can be approximately gauged, no one can determine, when an artillery shell comes and where it explodes. Suddenly explosion is heard, leaving everything and everyone where it exploded destroyed.

The artillery shells launched from Palaly on the 14th of May to distant places like Vaddukoddai and Chavakachcheri created havoc. At Vaddukoddai, two died on the spot. One was an infant two years named Lathasivam Rahul. Five persons were injured.

Another artillery shell that hit Valvettiturai on the same

day, killed a school boy who was at play on the grounds there and injured about ten others. Fortunately the only damage caused at Chavakachcheri, was damage to property, the occupants of the house being out, when the shell exploded in their compound.

While there are chances for people to escape alive when bombers attack, there is no chance whatsoever at all against artillery shells. Lunched from Army Camps. So the forces seem to have adopted a slight change in their modus operandi by attacking the whole Eelam territory and where Air bombing is not feasible at the same time all over - they utilize the artillery shells for destruction.

## OPPRESSION OF TAMILS

### Australian Democrats extremely concerned

"The Australian Democrats are extremely concerned about the oppression of Tamils in Sri Lanka" so states the Leader of the Australian Democrats, Ms. Janet Powell in a letter she

has sent to Mr. K.C. Adipathan of Valvettiturai.

Consequent to the four-day continuous carpet bombing of the small town of Valvettiturai between the 20th and 23rd of January

this year, some senior citizens of Valvettiturai sent out a Memorandum to the UN and other Heads of Governments of Commonwealth and other Non-Aligned nations setting out the destruction caused to the town. The first signatory to the Memorandum was Mr. K.C. Adipathan. The text of the whole memorandum appeared in the Issue of Hot Spring dated 10.2.1991.

Ms. Janet Powell, Leader of the Australian Democrats in a letter addressed to Mr. Adipathan acknowledging receipt of the Memorandum of the Senior residents of Valvettiturai states as follows:-

Thank you for your recent letter. Like you, the Australian Democrats are extremely concerned about the oppression of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

I have passed on your letter to Senator Vicki Bourne, the Democrats' Foreign Affairs spokesman. I am sure that she will find the latest act of oppression which you outline in your letter to be most useful in her work in this area.

Once again, Thank you for keeping me informed of events in Sri Lanka".

## An unconscious Admission of Reality

We would like to draw attention to a particular portion of the High Commissioner's (Neville Kanakeratne) interview, the unintended

significance of which might have been over looked by many. Possibly it was a Freudian slip on his part, but at one point he is quoted

as saying: "If two have an argument across the garden wall, a third neighbour (India) could ask them to Patch up". Who did he have in mind by two neighbours having an argument across the garden wall? Obviously the Sinhalese and Tamils? Redefined as a political concept, that precisely is what Eelam Tamils have been saying all along! We are two peoples, each with its own distinctive language, culture, religion, attitudes, and Neighbourly Territory and the Tamils wanting to lead their own life, without the neighbour trying to jump over the wall, stone the house and settle his own family members and trying to take possession (State-aided Sinhala colonisation of traditional Tamil areas).

If what Mr. Kanakeratne has sub-consciously admitted in homely phraseology could be translated into a peaceful political settlement, there need not be any more arguments across the garden wall. Nor

any need for a third, neighbour shouting across his garden wall - A plague on both your houses!

Good walls, like good fences, make good neighbours Mr. Kanakeratne. Once the Sri Lanka Government develops the mental courage to concede on principle that the Tamils possess all the components required under international law and morality to qualify as a nation, the argument stops there. The rest is a matter for friendly dialogue between two equal neighbours. That the Tamils should continue to live as a perpetual ethnic minority under a unitary constitution imposed on them by an ethnic majority in an artificial polity created by the British colonialists in the mid-19th century for their own administrative convenience - is what the argument is all about.

The solution is so simple that we are amazed that successive Sinhala politicians have been unable to see it: Just Get off our Backs, that is all, and then we will both

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## WISDOM DAWNS

### Chidamparam on the air

Mr. P. Chidamparam, a former State Minister in the Rajiv Administration and one of the architects of the Rajiv Gandhi - Jayewardene Accord of 1987 has in an interview with Radio Veritas of Philippines stated that in the event of a fresh agreement on the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka, it should be a tripartite agreement to which India, Sri Lanka and the Tamil militants should be signatories.

It is to be noted that the principal ally of the Congress (I) at forthcoming general elections in India, the ADMK headed by Miss Jeyalalitha, has already stated in its election manifesto that a new Agreement has to be entered into in regard

to the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka. Mr. Chidamparam's statement now being voiced to the international media, is an indication that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's Congress (I) has now come to the view that the 1987 Accord is incapable of achieving any results.

Mr. Chidamparam has also further stated in his interview that India should accommodate Tamil refugees and militants, if they go to India but they should not be allowed to indulge in illegal activities.

Mr. Chidamparam has further stressed that it was his view that India should help to save Eelam Tamils against genocidal attacks.



# DESULTORY RAMBLINGS OF VADALI VELAN

It is time that I brought my life's partner into the picture. Unlike yours truly, she does have many of the attainments, approved and admired in the neighbourhood; and she is the very embodiment of all that prim and proper, to boot. She also has strong and decided views on how people should comfort themselves more so on what is expected of menfolk. Gifted with a crusading turn of mind, she is ever ready to join battle for any cause of her fancy, worthy or otherwise. "It is the principle that matters; and the angle yon look from", she opines.

Dawns the day, when there erupts an impromptu and mighty altercation right on the path along which nestles our humble abode. Near our portals are two worthy and stalwart gentlemen, sridently, proclaiming one's opinion of the other in the most unpleasant and reciprocatory terms. They are quickly re-inforced with groups of opposing supporters, causing a tumult so rare that it prompts my beloved to rush to the spot with the sole intention of "putting some sense into their heads", as she would have it. She tells them in no uncertain vocabulary, what an inconvenience the terrible din is to her and, furthermore, emphasizes that their behaviour could unsettle our

infant terrible whom she has just lulled to sleep.

There is pin-drop silence. The combatants shake hands all round. But in the whisk of an ox's tail, with a mighty roar, they take off concertedly, after my fair lady with clubs, staves and the like, abristling. Among other things, possessing a neatly turned pair of ankles and a clean pair of heels, my dearly beloved barely contrives to slip into our house and slam the door shut; whereby, I avert instant and dreary widowerhood by the skin of my teeth. There seem to be more things in this world than are dreamt of; and, also, apart from our slumbering toddler.

Having now ousted me in an unceremonious manner, my partuer-for-life is firmly ensconced in my favourite easy-chair, whiling away much of the day, and of the night too, poring over, I am made to understand, treatises on ethics, human rights, democratic structures and the like, with none of which I have had even a nodding acquaintance. Meanwhile Velan-junior has been abandoned to his persistent squallings for his feed and I too a gnawing hunger, having these past few days, driven to breakfast, dine and sup, exclusively, on meagre and rescued portions of uncharred manioc.

Though I think that this condition in my believe will pass away, my friend, a man of the world, tells me, mysterious and confidential tones, that he suspects and fears that my life's partner is on the way to becoming an 'intellectual' as my friend is wont to maintain, one of a home-grown and a common or garden species of homo sapiens, but no longer of the common milieu and the individuals of which can tell you for a certainty what everyone-expecting themselves, of course should or should not do; further, such as these are capable of conveying their impressions, in very many words, what you and I would express in a few; and are found to give from to their musings in impressively ponderous terms, designed to boost their prestige and self-esteem and have only an illusory bearing on the immediate needs of the populace.

Amidst the pervading gloom and ominous portends for the future, there appears a glimmer of hope for my household and for the land of my fore-fathers. It seems that genuine intellectuals amongst our people have begun to exert themselves and would possibly, influence my beloved with their sayings, writings and doings. Nevertheless, I am having my fingers crossed and, in the while, Velan junior and yours truly are carrying on, regardless.

## INTERESTING EXCERPTS FROM ICJ NEWS LETTER

The I. C. J. News Letter No. 47 - October - December, 1990 gives commentaries on matters relevant in the present context of our time. Here are some excerpts for the enlightenment of our readers:-

The Centre for Independence of Judges and Lawyers (CIJL) under its Director, Reed Brody was interviewed at length by Grenada Television (U.K.) for a special report in its "World in action" series on how human rights groups have tried for several years to alert the world on Saddam Hussein's brutality. This programme was aired on 26-11-90. Here Mr. Brody attempts to obtain UN condemnation of the Iraqi human rights record and commented: "the failure of the UN take action in the systematic abuses in Iraq may have encouraged the government to believe that it could do as it pleased. It got away with the use of poison gas to exterminate

villages; it got away with the routine torture of political opponents and their children with mass executions - perhaps it thought it could get away with the annexation of Kuwait.

In November, 1990 it published report of Mr. Anthony Heatonarmstrong an observer appointed by ICJ to attend the magisterial inquiry into the killing of 31 year old, Sri Lankan journalist, Richard de Zoysa (see earlier reports on Hot Spring). Here are some excerpts - "Three and a half months after the killing, Richard de Zoysa's mother stated that she had identified one of the alleged abductors but the police authorities declined to arrest the alleged suspect. Both Dr. Savaranamuttu and the lawyer she had instructed to represent her interests at the inquiry received death threats over the telephone and in writing. The ICJ

observer in his conclusion had suggested that and independent judicial inquiry into the circumstances of the killing should be set up by the president which "may provide some useful lessons for the avoidance of similar killings in the future and might point the way towards more effective police investigations into them."

'Justice' the British Section of the ICJ provided its comments in a report on Privacy and the Press. The Justice working group dealing with this report considered that the intrusion on privacy by the press should not "not be a matter of criminal offence, but that there should be a separate tort of privacy" and took the view that the burden of proof should be reversed in public interest so that the seeker of privacy should have to establish no public interest.

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## THIS AND THAT

by Rambler

### INDIAN EXPRESS AND OTHERS — INDIAN MERCENARIES

A few days back, the news broadcasts of the local radio, which normally commences with a specific reference to a sermon by the self-appointed High Priest of Kehelwatte, did make a detailed comment about an article that appeared in the Indian Express. This article had made specific reference to the speech made by President Premadasa to Parliament and had commended it for its highly statesmanlike approach to the ethnic issue and had gone on to recommend that the Tigers would be wise to grasp the olive branch extended and wriggle out of their predicament. Now one could well dismiss this indian comment as the shameless contribution of a literary mercenary but a more indepth comment of such a mercenary may be appropriate, as for the statesmanlike speech, we know very well, that whilst Premadasa is capable of such verbal performances he is also capable at the same time, of indulging in brutally physical activities that are at variance with his words-to use a choice sinhala phrase it is the classic case "of one thing in the mind and another in the mouth".

Be that as it may, at the time of the 1983 holocaust of the Tamils, which was planned, organised and executed by the ruling government of that time, the whole world and India in particular as depicted by the late Indira Gandhi, were aghast at the savage and barbaric brutality of the sinhalese race in its entirety. And so it was, that Indira Gandhi decided that some firm action was required and began to blue print an aerial invasion of Sri Lanka, so as to ensure that the Tamils will be protected for all times from further sinhala brutality. But poor Indira Gandhi did not envisage the traitress, treachery of a sikh traitress who was enjoying the generous hospitality of Indira Gandhi as the wretched widow of her deceased son. This traitress like the disgusting individual that she was, quietly sneaked out and sold the information to yet another demented soul called George Varghese who was the editor of the Indian Express and

who prior to that, had been on the staff of the Information Division of Indira Gandhi's secretariat and whom Indira Gandhi had ignominiously sacked and for good measure imprisoned during that emergency of her term. So Varghese a malayalee and a dravidian like the Tamils forgot his own origins and began a journalistic campaign via the Indian Express, which anti-Gandhi press he had deliberately joined, so as to give vent to his anti-Gandhi vomit. The fact that her blue print for an aerial invasion had come into the open, made Indira Gandhi to reluctantly abandon her plan, whilst George Varghese in the shape of the Indian Express continued to oppose and criticise her Sri Lankan policy always ending up with the rider, that he felt sorry for the Sri Lankan Tamils but India should not physically intervene, possibly his dravidian origins and his christian conscience were at play, though meekly. But now with Indira Gandhi long dead and Rajiv out of office, why should the Indian Express still continue to bait the hapless Tamils? Could it be that they have got another blue print into their hands - well time alone will tell.

This commentary would not be complete without reference to K. N. Venkatanarayan and Baban Das Gupta a few other literary mercenaries from across the Palk Straits, who in our hour of distress, knowing full well that the evil sinhalese were the bloody culprits, did for the sake of a few pizas write copious rubbish which were aimed to demoralise the Tamils and boost the sinhalese but thanks to the Tiger the Tamils are still around alive and kicking.

Of course one is aware that giant India is a land of extremes - the very sick and the very poor both coexist side by side but one did not know until now, that in the middle were the educated beggars, who would gladly sell their soul for a mess of pottage and it is they who appear to have damned us in the recent past. God forgive them for they know not, what they do.



# Tamils Oppressed by Sinhala Ballot Power

## An intolerable tyranny perpetrated for over 40 years

In the editorial of Hot Spring of 14-04-91 the opinion was expressed that none of the governments that ruled this Island after the so-called 'independence' of 1948 had a mandate from the North East to rule that territory or the people of the North East. It was also argued in the same editorial that good government was no substitute for self Government.

After reading this Editorial, I also had occasion to scan through 'The Island' of 30-3-1991 in which a speech of President Premadasa at Anuradhapura following a Buddhist religious ceremony at the Sri Sarananda Privena was also reported.

### President's Speech

The President's speech was captioned very captivantly thus:- 'Several JVP suspects on detention for their own good' - President. So I decided to go through the entire speech of Mr. Premadasa. In the course of his speech at Anuradhapura Mr. Premadasa is reported to have said that nobody could be allowed to topple a government, voted into office by the masses through force and violence.

This part of the President's speech appeared to me to be very relevant to the editorial in the Hot Spring of 14-4-91. There have been Parliamentary Elections from 1947 to date. Of course the First Parliamentary election in 1947 was held before the grant of Independence but the members elected in the 1947 elections continued to be Members of Parliament even after the grant of Dominion Status in 1948 until 1952, when the First Parliamentary election after Independence was held.

### Masses did not vote any government to power

From 1947 onwards the UNP or the SLFP has ruled the Island alternatively. The voting figures in the North

East at the Parliamentary elections show that neither the UNP nor the SLFP was voted to power by the ballot power of the masses of the Northeast. The voting figures clearly indicate that either the UNP or the SLFP governments were foisted on the people of the Northeast much against their own wishes.

### Land grabbing

In this context it is important to remember that the Northeast is predominantly Tamil. There were very few Sinhalese to start with. The increase in the Sinhala population due to Colonization in the Northeast began even before the grant of Independence but in small numbers but was aggravated after 'Independence'. The Eastern Province became the target of land grabbing and thousands and thousands of Sinhalese from outside were brought in against the combined opposition of both Tamils and Muslims.

The Gal Oya Colonization Scheme, the Kantalai, Allai, Padaviya, Periyavilankulam and now the Maduru Oya and Weli Oya Schemes were all designed to take away the lands of the Tamils and settle Sinhalese from outside with the ultimate object of changing the demographic pattern of the Northeast. The extent of this land-grabbing can be easily gauged by the large numbers of Sinhalese who have found their names entered into the Electoral Registers of the Parliamentary Constituencies in the Northeast after the so-called Independence.

Most Important is this. At the time of Independence there was no single Sinhalese Parliamentary Constituency anywhere in the Northeast. Now we have predominantly Sinhalese majority seats in Amparai and Seruwila.

### Amparai

Amparai as a separate and Sinhala majority parliamentary Constituency was

carved out of the Batticaloa District for the first time in the General Elections held in March, 1960. There were three previous General Elections in none of which a separate Sinhala Constituency was found in the Northeast. Not only was a separate Parliamentary Constituency created for the Sinhalese colonists under the Gal Oya Scheme under the name of Amparai but large tracts of lands out of the South and Western parts of Batticaloa District were carved out and made into a separate district called Amparai District.

### Kumaran

### Seruwila

Similarly a separate Sinhala majority constituency was carved out in the Trincomalee District for the first time along with the General Elections of 1977. A new constituency called the Seruwila constituency was carved out in 1977 having as its boundary Mullaitivu on the North and Batticaloa District as its boundary in the South. Thus the Sinhala Seruwila electorate robbed from the Tamil territory not only encircles the Tamil country of Trincomalee - but it serves as a wedge between Mullaitivu and Trincomalee and Trincomalee and Batticaloa. The purpose would be clear to anyone. It is the destruction of the geographical contiguity of the Tamil homeland.

### No mandate to govern

Whatever the successive governments may have done to induce the Tamils to support them under the pretext of 'development' and 'national unity' the Tamils have not fallen a prey to the machinations of either the UNP or the SLFP.

This is amply borne out by the voting figures for the eight Parliamentary General Elections held between 1947

to 1977. The figures are given below.

It could be seen from the figures that right from 1947 to the General Elections of 1977, the people of the Northeast have not voted any government either UNP or SLFP to power. And so it is with regard to the last elections held in the Northeast under the Indian Army occupation.

### Sinhalese decide who should rule Tamils

The people of the Northeast are a distinct and separate people. They speak a language and follow a religion distinct and separate from the Sinhalese. Their customs, laws and culture are also distinct. Despite their total refusal to give a mandate either to the UNP or SLFP to rule them and their country, the UNP or the SLFP has continued to rule the Northeast and its people. This power to rule the Northeast was acquired by the UNP or SLFP, as the case may be, on the basis of the voting strength they were able to muster from amongst the Sinhalese in the South and West of the Island.

It is, therefore, our strongest submission that the Tamils are not ruled by the power of their votes but by the power of the votes of Sinhalese in Sinhala Rata with whom they have nothing in common. As a matter of fact instead of a community of interest there is a conflict of interest between the Sinhalese and Tamils.

So as stated in the editorial of Hot Spring, there is no mandate or authority given by the people of the Northeast to any Sinhalese political party to rule them. The Sinhalese have usurped this power by the votes cast elsewhere and if this is democracy, the Tamils are amply

justified in telling the Sinhalese 'To hell with your democracy'

President Premadasa must also realize that though he could claim to have been elected to power through the votes of the Sinhalese masses neither he nor any of his predecessors could claim to be the elected rulers of the Tamils and by the Tamils.

The Tamils have repeatedly refused to allow the Sinhalese to rule over them. Now the Government of Sri Lanka is not even able to conduct the farce of an election in the Northeast.

### A Separate Nation

Isn't the writing on the wall clear? Do you rely on Chinese planes and gunboats to perpetuate the Sinhala tyranny and imperialism over the Tamils? What do you gain? Don't you know that throughout the history of this Island the Tamils and Sinhalese have lived as separate peoples? There have been occasional wars between Tamil and Sinhalese kings. Similarly there have been occasions, when the Tamils kings and Sinhalese kings have entered into an entente to fight outsiders. Don't you realize that a strong and independent Tamil Nation and a strong and independent Sinhala nation can be of mutual help and understanding and live peacefully side by side without one trying to eat up the other and in process shed the blood of both?

If anything is clear from the figures quoted below, it is clear that the Tamils do not want Sinhala rule which is inevitable in a unitary state for the whole Island. So why not the protagonists of democracy respect the democratic wishes of the Tamil people and leave them alone?

Year of Elections	Total of Registered Voters	Total Votes Polled	Total Votes Polled by UNP	% of UNP Votes on Votes Polled	% of UNP Votes on Registered Votes	Votes Polled by SLFP	% of SLFP Votes on Votes Polled	% of SLFP Votes on Registered Votes	Total No. of Seats	No. of Seats Won by UNP	No. of Seats Won by SLFP
1947	4,30,224	2,36,959	49,829	21.00%	11.36%	—	—	—	16	03	—
1952	4,09,023	2,88,023	57,084	19.00%	13.9%	NIL	NIL	NIL	16	02	NIL
1956	4,59,305	3,22,890	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	16	NIL	NIL
1960 - March	5,78,812	4,50,130	10,037	2.2%	1.8%	12,250	2.7%	2.1%	24	01	01
1960 - July	5,78,812	3,70,525	42,951	11.6%	7.4%	23,571	6.3%	4.05%	24	01	02
1965	6,49,753	4,52,148	63,910	14.1%	9.5%	35,931	7.9%	5.5%	24	03	02
1970	8,35,678	6,61,441	1,14,051	17.9%	14.2%	80,549	12.1%	9.6%	24	04	03
1977	10,61,666	8,42,838	1,84,592	21.9%	17.3%	1,04,111	12.3%	9.8%	26	08	NIL

Figures extracted from: "A Statistical Survey of Elections to the Legislature of Sri Lanka 1911 to 1977"  
Marga Institute Publication, 1979



# A Jewish Woman's Contribution to the Birth of a Jewish State

With no more baggage than the thin spring dress she wore and the handbag she clutched in her hand, she arrived in New York on a bitter winter's night. So precipitate had her departure been that she had not had the time to take the conveyance up to Jerusalem to fetch a change of clothes. The woman who had come to New York in search of millions of dollars had in her purse that evening exactly one ten-dollar bill. When a puzzled customs agent asked her how she intended to support herself in the United States she replied simply, 'I have family here.'

Two days later, trembling on a podium in Chicago, Golda Meir found herself before a distinguished gathering of the members of that family. They were the leaders of the Council of Jewish Federations drawn from the forty-eight states of the Union. Their meeting and her arrival in the United States had been a fortuitous coincidence. Before her, in one Chicago hotel room were most of the financial leaders of the American Jewish community, the very men whose aid she had been sent to seek.

For the carpenter's daughter from the Ukraine the task before her was an intimidating challenge. She had not been back to the United States since 1938. On her earlier trips, her associates had been dedicated Zionists and Socialists like herself. Now she faced the whole enormous spectrum of American Jewish thought, much of it indifferent or even hostile to her Zionist ideals.

Her friends in New York had urged her to avoid this confrontation. The council's leadership was not Zionist. Its members were already under great pressures for funds for their own American institutions, for hospitals, synagogues, cultural centres. They were weary, as Kaplan had discovered, of appeals from abroad for money.

Yet Golda Meir insisted. She had telephoned Henry Montor, Director of the United Jewish Appeal, in Chicago and, despite the fact that the speakers' programme of the meeting had been drawn up long in advance, announced that she was on her way. Then pausing only to buy a coat with which to face the American winter, she had set out for Chicago.

Now Golda Meir heard the toastmaster announce her

name. At the sight of her simple, austere figure moving to the speaker's stand, someone in the crowd murmured, 'She looks like the woman of the Bible.' Then without a text, the messenger from Jerusalem began to speak.

'You must believe me,' she said 'when I tell you that I have not come to the United States solely to prevent seven hundred thousand Jews from being wiped off the face of the earth. During these last years, the Jewish people have lost six million of their kind, and it would be presumptuous indeed of us to remind the Jews of the world that seven hundred thousand Jews are in danger. That is not the question. If however, these seven hundred thousand Jews survive, then Jews of the world will survive with them, and their freedom will be forever assured. But if they did not, she said, 'then there is little doubt that for centuries there will be no Jewish people, there will be no Jewish nation, and all our hopes will be smashed.'

In a few months, she told her audience, 'A Jewish state will exist in Palestine. We shall fight for its birth. That is natural. We shall pay for it with our blood. That is normal. The best among us will fall. That is certain. But what is equally certain is that our morale will not waver no matter how numerous our invaders may be.'

Yet, she warned, those invaders would come with cannon and armour. Against those weapons 'sooner or later our courage will have no meaning, for we will have ceased to exist' she said.

She had come, she announced, to ask the Jews of America for twenty-five to thirty million dollars to buy the heavy arms they would need to face the invaders' cannon. 'My friends,' she said in making her plea, 'We live in a very brief present. When I tell you we need this money immediately it does not mean next month or in two months. It means right now...'

'It is not to you' she concluded, 'to decide whether we shall continue our struggle or not. We shall fight. The Jewish community of Palestine will never hang out the white flag before the Mufti of Jerusalem ... but you can decide one thing - whether the victory will be ours or the Mufti's.'

A hush had fallen on her audience, and for an instance Golda thought she had failed. Then the entire assembly of men and women rose in a deafening wave of applause. While its echoes still rang through the dining-room, the first volunteers scrambled to the platform with their pledges. Before coffee was served Golda had been promised over a million dollars. They were made available immediately in cash, a fact without precedent. Men began to telephone their bankers and secure personal loans against their own names for the sums they estimated they would be able to raise later in their communities. By the time that incredible afternoon was over, Golda was able to telegraph Ben-Gurion her connotation that she would be able to raise the twenty-five 'Stephen'-twenty-five million dollars, in the code they had chosen (using the name of American Zionist leader Rabbi Stephen S. Wise). Astounded by her Chicago triumph, the American Zionist leadership urged her to set off on a cross-country tour. Accompanied by Henry Morgenthau, Jr. Franklin D. Roosevelt's former Secret-

ary of the Treasury, she set a gruelling pace, speaking sometimes three and four times a day. From city to city she moved on her pilgrimage renewing before each of her audiences her dramatic plea eliciting from each the same spontaneous, overwhelmingly generous reaction she had produced in Chicago. And from each stop a telegram went back to Tel Aviv tallying the 'Stephans' raised during the day. From time to time along the way other telegrams went out from her hotel room. To Ehud Avriel in Prague, Xiel Federmann in Antwerp, and others seeking to buy equipment for a Jewish army, they brought the most reassuring news those men could hope to receive - the details of the bank transfer which would allow them to go on with their purchases.

Only once in her extraordinary pilgrimage did she falter. It was in Palm Beach, Florida. Looking at the elegance of the dinner crowd before her, their jewels, their furs, the moon playing on the sea beyond the banquet hall's windows. She suddenly thought of her soldiers of the Haganah

trembling in the cold of the Judean hills that night. Drinking black coffee on the dais, thinking of the contrast between that scene and the one before her, tears came to her eyes. 'These people don't want to hear about fighting and death in Palestine,' she thought. But they did, and so movingly that before the evening was over the gathering at Palm Beach had pledged her a million and a half dollars, enough to buy a winter coat for every soldier in the Haganah.

The women who had arrived in the United States one bitter January night with ten dollars in her wallet would leave with fifty million, ten times the sum Eliezer Kaplan had mentioned, twice the figure set by David Ben-Gurion, three times the entire oil revenues of Saudi Arabia for 1947. Waiting for her aeroplane at Eytan airport was David Ben-Gurion the man who had wanted to go in her place. No one appreciated better than he the magnitude of her accomplishment in the United States or its importance to the Zionist cause.

'The day when history is written,' he solemnly told her, 'it will be recorded that it was thanks to a Jewish woman that the Jewish state was born.'

(Extracted from the book *O. Jerusalem* By Larry Collets and Dominique Lapierre).

## Tamil Community's Reasons Understandable Major Blame with Sri Lanka Government

The Sri Lankan situation was raised in the House of Lords on 23rd. January, 1991 when some members spoke on the Subject. We publish an abridged version of the Speech of the Lord Bishop of Ripon in the House reported in the TAMIL NATION published from London.

The situation in Sri Lanka has deteriorated massively with the resumption of civil war between government forces and the Liberation Tamil Tigers of Eelam (LTTE). The Sinhala-Tamil conflict is a long running one. For 35 years Tamils in Sri Lanka have been pressing their demands for the integrity of the Tamil homeland substantial autonomy for the Tamil region, equal rights for the Tamil language and rights of citizenship. Successive Sinhala governments have agreed to some or all of these Principles, but of whatever political complexion they consist they have not implemented them. The will to do so has been lacking.

### Weak Government the cause

A senior politician in Sri Lanka said to me in 1987

that weak government had been the basic cause of conflict. I have deplored the steady growth of violence, especially by the Tamils, but I have to say I understand the reasons which have driven members of the Tamil community to take that course.

Aid for the refugees has been supplied by religious and non-government organisations. The British Refugee Council believes that as a result of that aid the situation among the refugees although desperate, is not disastrous. Among many responses, my own diocese has contributed many thousands of pounds of aid through the Bishop of Colombo. We have received graphic accounts of lorryloads of food and other aid being driven to the north, sometimes having to be left in a church or school because

the road beyond is closed. In spite of this aid, the situation in the North and East is appalling, and we have received heartfelt cries for help from those caught in the middle of the battle.

### Intent on military solution

Although it was the LTTE who commenced hostilities in June, it seemed that until recently the Sri Lankan Government was intent on a military solution to the conflict. Having succeeded in the south against the JVP, they believed they could do so in the North. The LTTE have offered a ceasefire, and latest reports indicate, that the government have now accepted it. In that context it is imperative to preserve the cessation of hostilities between government forces and the LTTE to create conditions within that space in which refugees may return to their homes and finally - this is the most

(Continued on Page 5)



# Restoration of Tamil Eelam Alone can ensure peace and harmony in the Island

There are certain catch words very fashionable in politics and the chief word in this category is "democracy".

Democracy has been variously defined by various people and the most popular and oft-quoted definition had been that given by Abraham Lincoln who said that democracy meant a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

Judged by these basic principles of democracy, how far does the Government of Sri Lanka qualify to be a democratic government.

It is an admitted fact that the possession of this Island is divided between the Tamils and the Sinhalese - the Tamils possessing the Northeast and the Sinhalese the Southwest.

It would be apparent that even a minority of the Tamils in the Northeast did not elect any government to power in Sri Lanka. Yet different governments had ruled over them. It is, therefore, clear that no government in Sri Lanka ever qualified or qualifies to come within the ambit of Abraham Lincoln's famous dictum of a democratic government, as the government of the people.

Secondly, can any government claim to be a government by the Tamil people also. There had been instances of some Tamils being snared by the lure of office to become Ministers at various times. But the most important point is that these members were not elected by

the Tamil people to participate in governance on behalf of the Tamils. As a matter of fact some of these persons contested on planks opposed to the party that later formed the government but treacherously joined the government. The only exception that can be found is in the case of Mr. S. Natesan who in 1952 contested and won on the UNP ticket and joined the UNP Cabinet. Later he himself left the governing UNP, when it treacherously opted for Sinhala Only. The other case occurred much later, when Mr. K. W. Devanayagam contested and won on the UNP ticket and accepted a Cabinet portfolio in a UNP government. But one sparrow does not make a summer. So too, Mr. Natesan or Mr. Devanayagam later cannot claim to have represented even a substantial minority Tamil opinion. There had been really no Tamil participation in governance. Therefore, the Sri Lankan governments cannot qualify to be a government by the Tamil people also.

Thirdly, did any Sinhala government satisfy the test of being a government for the Tamil people also. Sadly, it is the reverse. Various governments had ruled this Island from 1947 but at the end of the term of office of each government, the Tamil people found that inroads had been made into their rights. As every government went out of office, the Tamils found that they had been deprived of some rights or other. Just to show by illust-

ration The Citizenship Act, Colonization, Language Act, foremost place to Buddhist religion and you can thus go on adding to the lists of losses the Tamils suffered either by direct legislation or administrative fiat. So any government of Sri Lanka does not qualify to be a government for the Tamil people also according to the definition of Abraham Lincoln.

In spite of this tragedy, the Sri Lankan government keep on loudly proclaiming their democratic right to rule the Tamils also. It would be crystal clear that the Sinhala voters of the Sinhalese districts have decided who the rulers should be and the Tamils have had to put up with the governments elected by the Sinhala people.

## Rajkumar

It would be puerile to argue that the Tamil people have to be considered as part of the Sinhala people. As had been repeatedly stated, the Tamils and Sinhalese differ in language, religion, customs and culture. Both have their separate homelands. It is not possible to make an amalgam of two different languages religions etc. and create a third new one altogether. This has not been possible for the last 2,500 years of the Island's history. If the Tamils cannot have a government of their own chosen by them and working for them, this sad state of affairs is the direct result of an attempt to obliterate the boundaries between Tamil Eelam and Sinhala Rata which existed for a very long time and to artificially bring two different peoples under a common yoke, called the government.

It would be impossible for the Sinhala chauvinists to root out and destroy the Tamils from this Island. The Tamils will remain Tamils, as they had remained so long. Then why is it the government is attempting the impossible under the pretext of democracy. Democracy can have meaning only if Tamils govern themselves according to their own wishes. This is a situation that can never be realized if the Sinhalese govern the Tamils by superior numerical strength they have in Sinhala Rata and in the quest of power hunger try to obliterate the boundaries of Tamil Eelam and Sinhala Rata.

There can be true democracy only if the Island is

agreed to be dividedly possessed as it was, prior to the advent of foreign imperialism. If the Sinhalese would come forward to accept this realistic approach, then only both peoples can live happily. If instead of accepting the democratic wishes of the Tamils to be left alone in their dry and arid homeland, the Sinhala chauvinists hope to rule the Tamils by talking of unity, democracy, sovereignty and territorial integrity, neither the Sinhalese nor the Tamils are going to live happily in this Island. On the other hand, if the Tamils and Sinhalese live their own separate ways, there is hardly any room for animosity between the two peoples.

Can't the Sinhalese see various peoples all over the globe living within defined areas but neverth-

less living as good friends and neighbours, and almost always living in very good and cordial terms, helpful to one another. If this realization does not dawn on the Sinhalese - that the Sinhalese and Tamils can live on friendly terms but within their boundaries - and keep on talking of democracy, unity and so forth and hope to defeat the aspirations of Eelam Tamils by promoting quislings and time servers, it would be most unfortunate. It is necessary that the Sinhalese should realize that the restoration of Tamil Eelam is the combined wish and will of Eelam Tamils. They have not regretted all the sacrifices so far made for the attainment of their homeland. It would be foolish for anyone to think that the Tamils would compromise on the cherished desire for the restoration of Tamil Eelam even after witnessing the tenacious will of the Tamils despite deadly attacks from land sea and air, economic blockade and a reign of terror let loose by the government.

## Tamil...

(Continuation of Page 4)  
Important and difficult thing to work out the political resolution of the conflict.

## Japanese aid

In those circumstances, the attitude of governments is crucial. I was in Colombo in May last year when the Prime Minister of Japan visited the Island. There was intense interest in his attitude. He made it clear that Japanese aid would be dependent upon the human rights situation in Sri Lanka. The government in Sri Lanka must not be above the rule of law, and aid is one of the few sanctions that can be brought to bear on government which sets itself above that rule.

The European countries have made a similar declaration. I hope that the noble Lord who is to reply on behalf of the Government will be able to give an assurance that the Government take firm stance.

Will the Government insist that aid is dependent upon the restoration of the rule of law and human rights? Will they refuse to give aid if they are not satisfied that such conditions are met? Such aid does not go to the refugees but to government programmes. We should have no compunction in making clear our abhorrence of events in Sri Lanka, a major

responsibility for which must be laid at the door of the Sri Lankan Government.

All possible pressure should be brought to bear on the Sri Lankan Government to pursue a political solution to the Sinhala-Tamil conflict. The Australian Government supports a proposal that the Commonwealth Secretariat should be invited to mediate in talks between the Government and the LTTE. "Will Her Majesty's Government give the strongest possible support to such an initiative and take a share in insisting that a political and not a military solution is the only way which can give a secure future to both Tamil and Sinhala in Sri Lanka."

## Intere...

(Continuation of Page 2)

A White paper on "Crime, Justice and protecting the public". Justice argues that when attempting to reduce crime, too much emphasis is placed on punishment and not enough on rehabilitation. Since most criminals have disturbed personalities or come from unstable environments, punishment alone will not contribute to behaviour change. This is especially true of those whose crimes are linked to addiction to, or the abuse of, drugs or alcohol but it also applies to many other types of offenders.

## A Call to the Lovers of Animals and Birds

O! you lovers of the wild birds and beasts!

Your hearts melt to see man unkindly treats

The innocent beings of the jungle thick:

Though, by hunger, our live-stock now the bucket kick-  
Thy hearts thaw not!

The power hungry tyrant to make the relentless Tiger tame  
Ordered all supplies to stop: - Ah his dirty game!

This has hit the birds and animals of the domestic fold;  
And should your hearts yet remain icy cold?

Their lingering death by hunger, - a touching sight;

A result of the display of his dastardly might.

'Poonac', bran and all that cattle food,

Poultry feeds - all, all barred by his monstrous-killer-mood

The simmering peasant draws his cattle to the field

That is parched and has no grass to yield.

The hungry calves the shrunk udders suck,

While the dismayed milkmaids stand with many an empty  
jug.

Oh ye lovers of animals and birds! - Why stand mute?

Rise, rise and raise your voice to rate this dirty brute.

At least let them live: while the innocent man,

By neglect of his kind perish: or do what he can!

'RAM'



# HOT SPRING

VOL: 1 SUNDAY 19th. MAY 1991 ISSUE 32

## A re-affirmation of Two Nations

The much-publicised 'exercise in democratic process' in Sinhala Rata in the form of elections to local bodies after a spell of ten years and after democracy had been debased under the dispensation of that arch enemy of democracy, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, has ended in clear victory to President Premadasa's ruling UNP. The opposition especially the leading opposition under Mrs. Bandaranaike has suffered such defeat that there are already talks of Mrs. Bandaranaike retiring from politics altogether.

We are not concerned. We are not concerned either way. We are not concerned whether the UNP has won or the SLFP has lost. It is for the Sinhala people to decide what government they shall have.

But why we are constrained to write an editorial on the subject is this. The much talked of UNP's resounding victory in the Local Government Elections again confirms our unassailable position that whatever may be the pretensions of the Sinhala politicians to rule the Island by the 'power of the ballot', their ballot power is confined to Sinhala Rata. Their bullet power only extends to Tamil Eelam.

As everyone knows, the elections to the local government institutions in Tamil Eelam were not held at all. They could not be held. And the Tamils are not interested either.

This is the reality. This Island is dividedly possessed by two nations. Sinhala Rata is possessed by the Sinhalese nation and Tamil Eelam is possessed by the Tamil nation. Never in their history have the two nations and the two countries become one. And this is true in spite of the imperialist yoke the British placed on both nations alike. If the Sinhalese politicians want to be imperialists and replace the British imperialist yoke on the Tamils by the Sinhala imperial yoke, they must understand that they are only trying to enslave the Tamils against their wishes.

We publish in this issue an article which gives the statistical data on the voting pattern in the several parliamentary elections in respect of constituencies in the Northeast. The data show that the Tamils have never joined any Sinhala Party in forming a government. They have always remained separate and distinct, giving no mandate to any Sinhala Party to rule Tamil Eelam.

It was only after the successive Sinhala governments carried on a diabolical Sinhala Colonization of Tamil areas that either the UNP or the SLFP polled a few votes on the base strength of the Sinhala voters. It is therefore, an incontrovertible truth that as at the recently held local government elections too, Tamil Eelam had never joined the 'political mainstream' - whatever that jargon may mean - in spite of the so-called Independence over a period of 43 years.

As a matter of fact, each of the contestants at the recent hustings in Sinhala Rata appeared to show himself as a better and bitter fighter against Tamil Eelam. From about the last week of April running up to about election day, the war in the Northeast was intensified to an unprecedented scale especially in Jaffna and Vavuniya Districts and we heard the Government's fantastic claim of killing hundreds of Tigers here and there and everywhere.

It is important to remember that the war was intensified by Government to tell the Sinhala voter that it was the UNP which could effectively kill the Tamils. The SLFP was critical that the UNP was not being very successful militarily. So you see that both the principal Sinhala contestants vie with each other to appear a worse enemy of the Eelam Tamil in the eye of his Sinhala voter than his opponent. This is a trait that could be discernible in all the elections campaigns so far held.

Fundamentally this arises out of the incompatibility of trying to make one whole of two different nations. We don't expect the Sinhala leaders to appreciate this incompatibility now but we hope that world leaders will begin to get out of the diplomatic shackles of jargons like 'unity' sovereignty, territorial integrity and so forth with which they prefer to clothe themselves.

## BUILD YOUR LINKS WITH TAMIL EELAM THREE DAY CONFERENCE IN NORWAY

A three day conference on Tamil Eelam was held in Trondheim, Norway between 15th and 17th of March, 1991. The participants at the Conference included representatives of Tamil organizations in Norway as well as representatives of Norwegian non-Governmental organizations.

The three day conference was also addressed by a representative of the Norwegian Home Office on the Norwegian Government's policy towards Tamil asylum seekers in Norway.

Mr. K. Raveenthiran, Mr. Reggie David Raju and Mr. Uthayan Singarajah of Tamil Information were concerned

in the organization of the Conference.

Mr. Bent Kauge, a Norwegian Human Rights activist who addressed the Conference said that the need for a Tamil Refugee to integrate with Norwegian Society did not mean that the Tamil should not preserve his or her identity. He pointed out that this identity

was not simply religious or cultural. It was all these and more.

Speaking further, he said that most Tamils in Norway were looking forward to the day, when they may return to their own state of Tamil Eelam and directly addressing the Tamils in Norway, he said: "You are the resources of your future country. Plan your future educational system and build the links that you will need, when Tamil Eelam is established"

(Courtesy - Tamil Nation 1.4.91)

## What one calls in Sinhala "Putting the cart before the horse"

Speaking in the House of Lords on 23rd January 1991 on a question raised by the Lord Bishop of Ripon regarding the action proposed by Her Majesty's Government to end hostilities and restore human rights in Sri Lanka, Lord Taylor of Gryfe had paid a special tribute to the Representative of Her Majesty's Government in Colombo.

..... On that occasion Lord Taylor paid a tribute to David Gladstone which is reproduced here:

"I want to pay a tribute to David Gladstone who is our High Commissioner and who has not been afraid or intimidated in standing up for human rights.

David Gladstone has been threatened. One Member of Parliament in Sri Lanka, taking advantage of the privileged position of a Mem-

ber of Parliament, went so far as to accuse him of drug trafficking in order to diminish the standing of Her Majesty's Government and their Representative. But I am glad to say that David Gladstone has maintained his firm line publicly".

In keeping with his public stand on the Human Rights Issue, the British High Commissioner, David Gladstone had lodged a complaint to the police, accusing volunteers of the ruling United National Party of indulging in a mass impersonation campaign at Dickwella area in the Matara District by erasing the indelible ink applied on the fingers of persons who have already cast their votes once.

The Secretary of the UNP and the Minister of Housing Mr. Sirisena Cooray has had the audacity to accuse Her

Majesty's Representative in Colombo of interfering in internal affairs of the country charging him of paying a vendetta against the Member of Parliament concerned, Mr. Richard Piyasiri who had spoken against the High Commissioner accusing him of trafficking in drugs. Normally, this is what one calls in Sinhala putting the cart before the horse. Perhaps the Minister has forgotten the sequence of events and not cared or had not had the chance of reading the Speech delivered by Lord Taylor of Gryfe in the House of Lords as far back as 23rd. January 1991.

S. A. Tharmaratnam

### Refugees...

(Continuation of Page 5)

fleeing. In the Tiger-held territory, you can park your cycle anywhere without locking it. It will not be stolen." Pointing to the Frontline photographer's camera, he said: "You can hang an expensive camera from a tree branch and go home. It will be there when you return."

(T. S. Subramaniam in Madras writing in Frontline April 27 to May, 10, 1991 issue)

### An...

(Continuation of Page 1)

be free. You will have your Paradise Isle back, at least that part of the island that makes it a Paradise, and we will make the best of our own land, which is of not much use to you anyway! And who knows, even the common garden wall that Mr. Kanakeratne spoke about could be lowered to enable free movement between both properties!

(S. Sivanayagam, writing in Tamil Nation London 1st April 1991)

## AN INDIAN COMMENT ON INDIAN ACTION

When the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement was signed in July 1987 the question of these refugees returning came up. Though the Government of India said it was left to the Refugees, mandarins in South Block said all refugees should go back immediately. This caused unrest among the camp Refugees and fear among the non camp refugees. He latter, category mostly political activists who had worked for the cause of Eelam, were worried that if they returned by flight they would be arrested at the Colombo airport. Most refugees also preferred to stay in India till they were satisfied that the agreement worked and that peace would prevail. They did not want to go back in "haste" and then rush back if the situation worsened.

The Government of India chartered ships to ferry the refugees back and officials forced them to return saying the camps were being closed.

Thus a majority of the camp refugees - 28,000 of the 32,000 - had to return after the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement was signed. The remaining refugees were Indian Tamils who opted for citizenship under the Sirimavo-Sastri Pact. These Tamils who had fled the plantation areas in the south of Sri Lanka when riots broke out against them in 1977 and 1981. They had settled in Vavuniya and Killinochchi districts in the North and fled after the July 1983 riots. These Tamils continued to stay in Mantapam and Kottapattu camps which were wound up. The one-lakh non-camp refugees also continued in India.

— T.S.S. Writing in Frontline April 27 - May 10-1991 issue