

HOT SPRING

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Canada has called for the intervention of the United Nations to end the war between Croatia and the Federal troops of Yu o-Slavia. Battle is raging between Croatia and the Federal troops of Yu go-Slavia. Croatia is seeking total independence from the Yugoslav Republic.

France and the United Kingdom also have supported the call for UN intervention in the battle between Croatia and the largely Serbian Federal troops of Yuogo-Slavia.

The Scramble for Power Tigers - Main Vote Catching Element

The scramble for power in Colombo is being fought with increasing vehemence between the Premadasa group and the Lalith-Gamini group. Each group tries to paint the other as accommodative of the LTTE and each is claiming to be the greater enemy of the LTTE than its rival. Political observers say that the LTTE is being dragged into the internal quarrel of the Sinhalese political leaders to win the mass sympathy of the Sinhalese people.

Mr. Lalith Athu'athmudali has said that had he had more time, he would have completely destroyed the Tigers. He has compared the Vadamardchy Liberation Operation in 1987, when he was State Minister of Defence with the recent Elephant Pass Operations and ridiculed the latter. He has tried to paint a picture to the Sinhalese that as State Minister of Defence, he had carried out war operations more successfully against the Tigers than what the Govern-

ment of President Premadasa has been able to do.

On the other hand, reports from Colombo state that various Buddhist Clergy Organizations had carried out mass demonstrations in support of President Premadasa and stated that the vital concern of the moment is the prosecution of the Northeast war.

Lalith group has come out with a new charge that President Premadasa gave arms to the LTTE to fight the Indian Army and that it was with those arms that the LTTE was now fighting the Sinhalese. This is also an attempt to get public support for their side but observers say that this is a double-edged weapon and may even boomerang on the Lalith group for if this is believed, Premadasa may even

win the sympathy of the Sinhalese, as the leader, who tried to get the alien Indian Army out of the Island.

As rivalry between the two factions increase, the LTTE will come in for greater attention because all the Sinhalese political leaders believe that an anti-Tamil posture is bound to bring in rich dividends from the Sinhalese.

Pirabakaran and Paskaralingam Poster Campaign in Colombo

Posters appearing in Colombo are reported to contain statements that Pirabakaran is ruling the north, while Paskaralingam is ruling the South implying thereby that the Island is entirely under Tamil rule.

Pirabakaran obviously refers to the LTTE leader and Paskaralingam, the Secretary to the Ministry of Finance, who is a senior Tamil Government Official. Mr. Paskaralingam passed the now abolished Ceylon Civil Service and by virtue of his rank, is holding a high office. But he has made the mistake of being born a Tamil and his ethnic origins

become an issue in the wily politics of the Sinhalese politicians.

In our last week's editorial we said that the Tamils

would always be the scape goats in the political battles of the Sinhalese. This is becoming true with the poster campaign in Colombo

No Tiger has surrendered Col. Munasinghe's Worry

The Sri Lankan Army spokesman, Col. Munasinghe has said that the objective of the Manal Aru operation is not to capture hide-outs but to kill the Tigers. He has claimed that the Sri Lankan forces have killed over 600 LTTE cadres.

Col. Munasinghe has further said that no LTTE

cadre has surrendered to the Sri Lankan Army, though the Army has assured all safety to those who surrender.

He further stated that the Sri Lankan Army would carefully protect the person, especially of the young cadres - but no one has surrendered so far.

Manal Aru War enters the Fourth Week

As the Manal Aru war enters the fourth week, Sri Lankan Army sources have stated that a further 200 troops have been rushed to Manal Aru to fight the Tigers from whom, the Sri Lankan Army acknowledges to be receiving greater opposition.

It is learnt that the total infantry deployed in Manal Aru by the Sri Lankan Army is around 12,000 apart from the Air Force and Naval operations.

The reports also indicate that aerial bombardment of the forest areas is being carried out day in and day

out and large tracts of forests are burning.

The war at Manal Aru appears to be the largest ever operations undertaken by the Sri Lankan Army and is continuing for the fourth week.

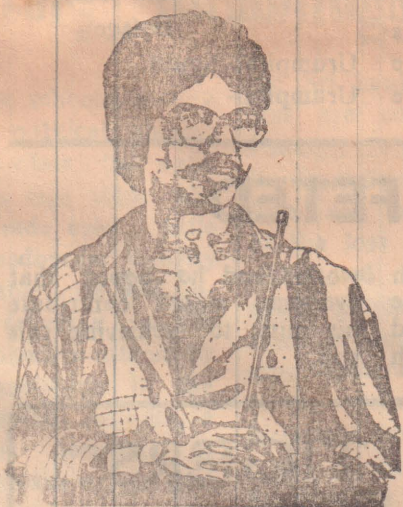
As stated by the Army top brass, Major General Kobbekaduwa, the objective of the war is to break the geographical contiguity of the Tamil homeland and divide the North from the East.

Sri Lankan Army atrocities in Mutur Houses burnt - Civilians arrested

Reports reaching Jaffna from Mutur in the Trincomalee District state that the Sri Lankan Army is involved in committing atrocities in the village of Kattaiparichan in the Mutur AGA's Division of the Trincomalee District.

It is learnt that on the 13th of this month, the Sri Lankan Army had completely burnt down the houses belonging to five Tamils at Kattaiparichan. The persons who lost their houses at Kattaiparichan are Tharma-

Continued on Page 6)



Thileepan the Gandhian Child

*Piously demonstrating his will to starve,
He left this world in our behalf;
Proclaiming his stand for a separate land,
He desired all to fight hand in hand.*

*Liberty he prized more than life:
Wished all to join, - each man and wife.
Four years now have past his demise, -
Come out ye men! our woes to minimise*

*Shame unto us, should we fail to achieve
His dreams so dear, you well perceive.
High in Heavens he eyes all your cheats,
Remove your masks! Behave not like beasts.*

*The curs in the helm of the present day rule,
By our might and wit we should very soon fool.
Come, come young and old, come out and fight,
See yonder Eelam's dawn is in sight.*

*In a solemn vow let our will be known,
To have a land to call our own.
In a solemn prayer let our obeisance be shown,
To our Gandhian Child who had left us and gone.*

— RAM —

OUR READERS SAY

SEMANTICS OF TERRORISM

Editor,
Hot Spring.

"Terrorism" is a much maligned word in contemporary politics. Governments, groups and individuals use it indiscriminately to suit their own interests and aims. For the racist minority white government of South Africa Nelson Mandela is a terrorist while he is a freedom fighter to all those who believe in genuine democracy. P. L. O. is a terrorist organisation to Israel and its allies; but it is a Liberation organisation to others. I. R. A. is a terrorist group to the British Government while it is not so to those who sympathise with their cause. In Sri Lanka the J. V. P. was referred to as 'insurgents' by the SLFP and as 'Subversives' by the UNP. When the Tamil youth took up to arms as a last resort after more than four decades of abortive negotiations and non-violent struggles for equality, they are dubbed 'terrorists' by both these racist parties. Until July 1989 LTTE was a militant organization to the Government of India which provided sanctuary, training facilities and supplied arms to them. When they refused to accept the fraudulent Indo-Sri Lanka Accord they suddenly became a terrorist organisation to India.

Even Cynthia Kariyawasam, in her learned and informative article published in the Hot Spring of 8-9-91 under the above caption has not made an attempt to clearly define 'terrorism'. It has, however, been defined most appropriately by Bala Tampoe, General Secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union at a special meeting of the union held on 16th June 1985. These were his observations as reported in the 'VANGUARD' (CMU journal) of August-September 1985.

"General Secretary of CMU, Bala Tampoe, replying to questions raised in the discussion, defined 'terrorism' as 'acts of violence upon, harmless civilians in order to achieve political ends. Amplifying, he said that terrorists attacked harmless people to compel others to accede to their political demands. He said that the massacre of harmless citizens in Annuradhapura on May 14th was an act of terrorism. So was the killing of harmless citizens in the Northern and Eastern Provinces by the military to compel the Tamil militants to give up their struggle. He said that the attacks on the armed forces by the Tamil Militants should not be described as terrorist acts, even though the Govern-

ment not only labels them as such but also wants the whole world to follow suit.

The General Secretary narrated his experience in early '70s, at the trial of the JVP leaders before the Criminal Justice Commission which lasted for nearly two years, where he appeared as Defence Counsel on a decision of the Delegates' conference of the CMU, on behalf of several Sinhala youths, including Rohana Wijeweera whom the Government of Srimavo Bandaranaike had called 'terrorists'. He said that the late Chief Justice H. N. G. Fernando together with other Supreme Court Judges who constituted the CJC accepted his argument and held that those JVP militants arranged before them were not terrorists. The word 'terrorism' had a definite political connotation, even though the state controlled media used the term indiscriminately to categorise opponents of the UNP Government generally, including those who have taken up arms against the state as 'terrorists'. He noted that the International media did not call such youth 'terrorists' but referred to them as 'separatist guerrillas'.

Com Bala traced the history of violence against the Tamil minorities. He said that the withdrawal of citizenship rights affected hundreds of thousands of Tamils of Indian origin mainly in the plantation areas in 1947. Thereafter they were subjected to physical attacks repeatedly from 1956 and were subjected to looting and killing with impunity. These were indeed terrorist acts perpetrated on harmless Tamil people in order to subject them to Sinhala racist domination. When the minority white rulers of South Africa attacked the Blacks it was condemned as racism, but when the brown skinned Sinhala thugs attacked the harmless brown skinned Tamil people it was hailed by some people as a heroic act. As long as the Tamil speaking people are not treated as equals in this country they have a right to take up arms to achieve equality or to achieve their liberty. Sinhala youths are sent to the North to fight a war that they do not want, as US citizens were in the war in Vietnam.

I was happy today to observe that many who spoke at this meeting fully grasped the meaning and concept of democratic rights and human liberties and stood in defence of these principles. We have a duty to speak on behalf of the working class and

guide others by taking a clear stand on the rights of the Tamil speaking minorities to determine freely for themselves the way in which to govern their own destinies and to develop themselves economically, culturally and socially.

Every one accepts that the country is caught in the throes of a crisis. For this there is only one solution - a political solution. The military solution which is held up as the means of resolving the national question is bound to result in more and more violence and killing. A political solution should necessarily be acceptable to the Tamil speaking people and should include the withdrawal of the armed forces from the Northern and Eastern Provinces. He concluded, "we are not going to run away from this country. We must continue to be in the forefront to defend democratic and human rights, as we have always done."

Apart from Bala Tampoe many other leaders have also reiterated from the beginning of the present conflict that there can be only a political solution to the National Question and have warned the government against the futility of pursuing a military solution. "State terrorism" (the

most inhumane economic blockade now in force in the North is also an indirect form of state terrorism) is only forcing more and more of the Tamil youths to join the ranks of the militants by the hundreds. Even parents are now voluntarily handing over their children to the militants to fight for liberation from the tyranny of this racist regime. If the problem is not solved immediately, the government and the government alone will be blamed by posterity for the consequences.

SABA

Vannarpannai,
12-09-91

The Editor,
Hot Spring.

Dear Sir,

I whole-heartedly appreciate Paramanatham's letter appearing on 01.9.91 issue. This letter serves a good number of people. The most affected people in this category are the 1977 drop-out people. A section of people who were permanently employed and received normal income before 1977 are now doing this and that category. These people have been suffering since 1977 and they have completed 14 years.

How to group this people to gether is a problem. The Statistics Department of the

University of Jaffna can send out their students and take full information of this people. The Department can send the information to the NGOS as well as to the G. A. This kind of service is essential to Society.

Yours faithfully,
Clement Stanislaus

Sir Chittamapalam
Gardner Puram,
Atchuvvely.

Rajiv Gandhi's Demise

The Editor,
Hot Spring

Dear Sir,

Musings by Nestor refers to the Lady who blasted the bomb as one who may have lost a lover, a husband or the entire family. He has aspect had not stirred Nestor omitted rape, perhaps, this due to his old age.

In this context one wonders how on earth a man can call himself NESTOR - "Old man" by all means but it is the height of conceit for one to call himself "WISE OLD MAN"

Yours truly
Dotage

Urumpirai South,
Urumpirai-

VICE CHANCELLOR FETED

A public meeting was held at the Kailasapathy Auditorium of the Jaffna University on Friday, 13th September to felicitate Professor A. Thuraiajah on his re-appointment as Vice-Chancellor of the Jaffna University for a further period of three years.

The meeting was presided over by Dr. K. Parameswaran of the University of Jaffna.

The celebration began with *Nathaswaram* musical recitals and was followed by blessings from Hindu and Catholic Prelates, Nallai Gnanatambanthar Aatheenam Swami and Rev. Fr. Anton Mathias.

Representatives of the University Teachers' Association, University Executive Officers' Association, University Employees' Union and Students' Unions addressed the meeting and paid tributes to Prof. Thuraiajah for his services during difficult times.

Vice Chancellor Thuraiajah replying said that he received the utmost co-operation from all sections of the staff of the University and from the University Students without whose co-operation he could not have carried on his work.

He said that apart from providing education to the students, the University should also engage itself in research

work and he hoped that everyone would contribute his mite to achieving this end.

BLACK TIGERS

Their dedication supreme
And courage extreme.
Never did we dream
Amongst Tigers such cream.

Matchless was Miller,
His deed was a thriller;
The enemy did quiver.
Sure, the government did shiver.

Many do follow
The path Miller did show;
We stand in awe
For their feat against the foe.

In hearts we venerate
Such men born to liberate
Their kind from bondage
And salvage their heritage.

Their selflessness unique,
Gives the enemy panic;
They came here as for a picnic;
No comic, there is no tonic.

In solemn silence do we stand
Beside their graves hand in hand,
Singing hymns for their souls' repose;
By this, our unity, to the world we expose.

'Seetharam',
Suhumalai North,
Manipay.

- Ram

Birth of Amnesty International

Thirty years ago, an article in a United Kingdom (UK) newspaper launched a campaign called "Appeal for Amnesty, 1961". It was born in outrage at the imprisonment of two Portuguese students who had dared drink a toast to freedom: the event out of which the term "prisoner of conscience" was coined. Eight weeks after the article appeared, delegates from Belgium, France, Ireland, Switzerland, the UK and the United States of America held a meeting in a Luxembourg cafe. They agreed on two things: the "Appeal for Amnesty, 1961" would become a permanent movement and change its name to Amnesty International. By the end of the year there were AI groups in most western European countries.

Europe was then a very different region. Portugal and Spain were ruled by dictatorships: a junta took power in Greece in 1967. In the year AI was founded Turkey's civilian Prime Minister, Adnan Menderes, was executed on the order of the military generals who had overthrown his government. In 1980 Turkey was again rocked by a military coup.

Political dissent was likewise crushed in eastern and central Europe, symbolized when Warsaw Pact tanks rolled into Czechoslovakia in 1968 and ended the brief "Prague Spring" of liberalization.

This was the setting for AI's work in its early years. Nearly all of its supporters were then in western Europe, one reason why AI sections in this region are now among the biggest and most effective in the movement; national organizations, with tens of thousands of members, publish their own newspapers and magazines, and mount well-resourced and widely publicized campaigns against human rights violations all over the world. For years, AI drew its most experienced members - its international leadership - from this region, where most of its campaigning techniques evolved.

The AI sections which developed in western Europe during the 1960s and 1970s enjoyed an advantage denied those struggling to develop today. AI was then a relatively unknown organization, with a low public profile, and a limited number of action techniques. Sections were able to develop at their own speed, to devise the campaigning techniques and structures that suited them, with-

out the enormous pressures new sections and groups experience today from the media and the public.

During the 1970s and much of the 1980s official propaganda in eastern and central Europe presented AI in a negative light - in the USSR, as part of the western spy network - and it took courage to be associated with the organization. Government control of the press and the interception of mail from abroad made this difficult to change.

In Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and Romania people known to be connected with AI were at risk. In the GDR it was illegal to contact organizations abroad without official sanction. Romanian citizens had to report all contacts with foreigners to the local police. Nevertheless AI occasionally received requests for information from eastern and central Europe. Such requests had to be handled with

Poland continued. It increased rapidly when, in January 1986, the unofficial "Freedom and Peace Movement" (WiP) decided to publish the *AI Newsletter* in Polish. Apparently because of this. Two WiP members were, fined and one had a typewriter confiscated. However, WiP members continued to support AI's campaigns, and in 1987 they collected some 800 signatures for a petition to end torture in Afghanistan.

Other Polish organizations also supported AI. In 1986 under-ground Solidarity used AI's publicity for a *Political Prisoner Week*. That same year an official daily newspaper printed a short report on AI's worldwide *Campaign against Torture*.

The political map of Europe has changed many times since AI was founded, but never as dramatically as in the last three years. The end of the 1980s saw a marked change in official attitudes to AI in eastern

Fair, which generated considerable interest. Many people signed the petition against the death penalty and several joined AI.

By the beginning of 1990 AI was receiving a constant stream of letters from people in Poland interested in joining the organization, and forming groups of AI members. Today AI groups in nine towns have formed a "Polish AI Association" which acts as a coordinating body. Its board is elected by the different groups.

1989 saw momentous political change in the GDR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Romania. The new political freedom had an immediate impact on the possibilities for winning supporters for AI's ongoing campaign against human rights violations.

Most groups of AI members in Hungary, Poland and Slovenia (Yugoslavia) organized their first public campaign during *AI Week* in

tion about AI widely available is under way. Leaflets about AI have been published in each major eastern and central European language and since December 1990 the *AI Newsletter* has been published in Russian. The 1989 death penalty report *When the state kills...* was published in Russian and an AI information office has been set up in Moscow. In Hungary and Poland AI members, for the first time, translated the summary of the 1989 *Amnesty International Report*. Members of the Slovenia AI group in Yugoslavia met to translate the 1988 and 1989 *Amnesty International Reports* and other publications into Slovenian. Selling these publications raised funds to finance other activities such as publishing a monthly newsletter.

In the 1970s and 1980s western European sections were instrumental in trying to develop contacts and avenues for getting AI's information to interested people in eastern and central Europe. Leaflets were translated into the languages of these countries; in Austria they were placed in shops frequented by tourists from Hungary and Yugoslavia;

Its initial difficulties in Europe

great care to avoid putting the inquirers at risk.

In the USSR and Poland however, AI supporters undertook campaigns for human rights. Local human rights activists formed an AI group in Moscow in 1973. They worked for prisoners in Greece, Laos, Mexico, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka and Yugoslavia and in 1976 sent a petition to the Polish Government calling for the release of workers and intellectuals arrested during the mass strikes. Between 1980 and 1983 the group published four newsletters. The Moscow group members were often harassed, and were also isolated from the international movement. By 1986 their number and activities dwindled to the point where the group ceased to function altogether.

There have been active AI supporters in Poland for over 13 years, a long-standing interest which may be partly attributable to AI's campaigns for Polish prisoners. Association with AI often resulted in official harassment. Activists who, in 1977, collected signatures for a petition calling for the release of all the world's prisoners of conscience were tried and fined.

Even after martial law was imposed in December 1981 support for AI in

and central Europe. State-run newspapers began publishing positive reports on the organization. In 1988 in Hungary a massive public event was organized under the banner of AI for the first time in eastern or central Europe: a concert for *Human Rights Now!* was staged in Budapest during the 1988 world tour held to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Even the Soviet newspaper *Pravda*, for years implacably opposed to AI, suggested a "calmer" approach to the organization. An exception was the GDR which, in February 1989, repeated the old accusation of AI being in "close contact with numerous western secret services". The official news agency asserted that AI's newly published report on the GDR was a work of fiction. The report, *Sweeping Laws, Secret Justice*, documented unfair trials and widespread imprisonment of those who tried to leave the country without permission, or persisted in their efforts to obtain such permission.

A diplomatic breakthrough was not long in coming to the USSR. In March 1989 AI visited Moscow and, for the first time, was well received at the official level. In September AI organized a stall at the Moscow Book

October 1989. The theme was human rights violations against children.

AI's first public meeting in East Berlin took place in January 1990, and was attended by 150 people. A newspaper report generated a further 500 inquiries from people interested in AI. When Germany unified, the GDR AI association dissolved itself and its members joined the Federal Republic of Germany section.

For the first time in decades the people of most eastern and central European countries have the freedom to join the international human rights movement. Over the last two years AI groups have started up in Bulgaria, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, and are winning publicity and support for its international work against human rights violations.

The possibilities were highlighted in Hungary, where the new AI group's public

appeal for Jose Estuardo sotz, a six-years old boy paralysed by a "death squad" bullet intended for his father, resulted in a major documentary report on Guatemala produced by Hungarian television.

An ambitious translation program to make information they were handed out to the Soviet sailors who regularly docked in Spain and to the conference delegates and touring performers who visited Finland and the Netherlands.

Despite the serious economic and political problems in central and Eastern Europe, the members of these groups are dedicated to campaigning for better human rights all over the world. Appeals from these countries add a new and important dimension of pressure on target governments. By raising human rights awareness in their own societies, these young AI groups can also make a valuable contribution to entrenching the observance of human rights in their own countries.

By Courtesy:

A. I. News Letter of August 1991

Municipal Works Dept.

NO PLACE IN PUBLIC LIBRARY

The Jaffna public Library was initially built by a public Committee on funds donated by the public and handed over to the Jaffna Municipal Council to be maintained as a Trust property. Even the burnt Library building and

its collection of books were restored and re-constituted out of public funds and donation of books.

Due to the on-going ethnic conflict even the

(Continued on page 5)

What Price National Consciousness Now ?

—A Voice from Colombo

The Select Committee would 'try and achieve national consensus on the problem in the North & East'. (Sunday Observer 25/8/91 - page 1)

Once everything was 'Dharmista', now it is 'consensus'. Slogans may win elections, they do not solve problems. Mouthing meaningless mantras merely produces an euphoria which clouds the issues. Instead of chasing after chimeras, the Committee would do well to analyse the situation in the context of a fast-changing world.

All over the world ethnic communities have staked their claims for freedom, recognition and statehood. Their chances of success have advanced spectacularly with crumbling of the latter-day empires - USSR, Yugoslavia. The tide cannot be stopped. The next on the list is India.

India was and still is only a geographical expression. With Mahathma Gandhi and the freedom struggle an incipient nationalism began to develop but this soon evaporated in the face of inherent fissiparous tendencies.

The issue before the Sri Lankan people is whether to help prop a crumbling 'empire' or hasten its disintegration. The whole of South Asia will benefit by India's break-up. Under the suffocating shade of the banyan tree nothing can grow. There can be true co-operation only between equals. Only then will SAARC truly have meaning.

Even India will benefit. Scarce resources will not be wasted on blue-water navies and other appurtenances of a regional power; instead each state will concentrate on improving the lot of their people.

What then should Sri Lanka do to hasten this process? Grant Eelam! This will hasten the birth of Khalistan, a Free Kashmir, a Hindistan and a Dravidistan. Along with Eelam and Sinhalastan they may well coalesce again some time later into a confederation - The UNITED STATES of ASIA.

The Sinhala people in such a set-up need have no fears of being swamped by a Dravidian wave. Not only have relations between Tamil Nadu and the Eelamites soured; even if fences are repaired, Dravidistan will not

be a threat to Sri Lanka, as she would, according to Kautilyan doctrine, be effectively countered by Pakistan and others in the Confederation. The Sinhala people inhabit the most fertile areas of the Island. Once rid of the succubus which now drains away scarce resources and kills so many of the young people, Sinhalastan can well develop into a latter-day Eden, and granting Eelam, would have earned them the undying gratitude of the Tamils of Sri Lanka.

The Sinhala Government should not make the mistake of thinking that they can crush and root out the LTTE, as they suppressed the JVP. The latter was based on an ideology. Ideologies are seen outgrown or overturned - as witness the fall of Communism. But race marks her children more deeply - the Serbs have never forgotten nor forgiven the actions of the Croats in the Nazi era. Likewise drastic suppression of the North-East will leave a bitterness that will fester for many years. When Dutugemunu arises, Elara must

and will perforce some day rise again.

The Sinhala Government makes the mistake of basing its perceptions of Tamil feelings in the North-East on the reports of its 'informants' holed up in Colombo, and the Colombo Tamils who generations ago cut their roots in Jaffna and visit the North only during elections or for the toddy season. To ascertain the present true state of affairs - as to whether the LTTE still commands support or not - why does not the Government airlift to Colombo those leading citizens of the North-East who have remained in their areas through all these years of travail - e.g. the Bishops of Jaffna, Mannar, Trincomalee, Batticaloa, Principals of schools, Citizens' Committee members, retired senior government servants - give them prime time on TV and Radio and access to all the media and ask them to tell Sri Lanka and the world the true story without embellishment or censorship. Not only would the Government get a reasonably true picture of the

situation, it might well have spin-off effect too; this might well help the Tamil moderates of the North-East, who presently have no access to LTTE leaders, get across their views to the LTTE leadership. The LTTE leaders are more likely to pay attention to the views expressed by those who, who like the LTTE, remained in the war-torn areas through all the years of hardship, rather than to the views of the Colombo Tamils as expressed in Colombo newspapers.

In an article in the 'Sunday Observer' some time ago, Tarzie Vittachi, with his usual perspicacity, remarked that the 3Cs - consultation, compromise and consensus - had little meaning without a 4th C credibility. Without getting bogged down in legal processes, there are so many steps that the Government can take forthwith to establish its credibility. For example:- Sometime ago, one of the English newspapers carried an article purporting to be a talk with Yogaratnam Yogi of the political wing of the LTTE, wherein he claimed that one of the reasons for the breakdown of the LTTE talks was the Government's failure to respond to their request that a Tamil should be appointed as Governor of the North-East.

Surely this could have been acceded to as the post

of Governor is largely a ceremonial one and it cannot be said that there are no Tamils suitably qualified. And yet again, why not appoint a separate Corporation composed of people of the area along with a Treasury Representative to manage the Trincomalee Port, the Jaffna Cement Factory, the Pulmoddai Mineral Sands, the Paranthan Chemicals etc? This will be in keeping with the current trend of peopling and privatisation: it will also be proof of the Government's commitment to genuine devolution.

Magnanimity is an attribute of strength. Despite all the alleged "treacheries" and atrocities of the LTTE, it is still the duty of the Government to extend the hand of friendship time and again to its recalcitrant sons. Why stall the issue by insisting on dragging in others into the talks? If I am fighting with A, the Police will ask me to stop fighting and talk with A in the first instance, not with all the bystanders with whom I might have had fights earlier!

The moot question now is - Will the Sinhala leadership look well ahead, cast out myths and mantras, and ACT boldly instead of chasing after a chimerical consensus? Only time will tell.

A. RATNAM
(Colombo.)

Tamil Eelam - A Nation without a State

CALIFORNIA CALLING

Extracts from Speeches made at Sacramento Conference, University of California.

Dr. Brian Pfaffenberger of the University of Virginia: The Tamils of Eelam were a distinct ethnic community of people occupying the North and East of Sri Lanka.

Professor Peter Schalk of the Department of History of Religions, Uppsala University, Sweden:-

Mr. Cyril Mathew, the Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs (1977-83) in the Cabinet of the Government of Sri Lanka had identified 276 places where Buddhism had been practised in Tamil Eelam had sought to contend that "all this was Sinhala country". This was nothing more than an attempt to legitimize Sinhala colonization of Tamil Eelam, whereas the reality was that the Tamils themselves had practised Buddhism.

Mr. Wakely Paul, Vice President of the Ilankai Tamil Sangam, USA:-

The conference is not concerned with individual groups as such but that it is about whether the people have a right to determine their destiny.

Dr. Selvanathan of Griffith University, Australia:- There is planned and determined effort by the Sinhala government to change the demography of the East in order to destroy the contiguity of the Tamil homeland.

Dr. George Hart of the Department of South Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley:-

Tamils were the most literate people in the world, comparable only to the ancient Greeks.

Justice Satchi Ponnampalam of the supreme Court of Belize:

The parties to the conflict are the Sri Lankan government under the leadership of President Premadasa on the one hand and the Tamils of the North East whose interests are advanced by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam under the leadership of Velupillai Pirabakaran on the other. The Tamils have a right to self-determination under International Law on Civil and Political Rights (General Assembly Resolution 2200 of 1966 and ratified by the Sri Lankan govern-

ment) and the UN Declaration on the International Status of "Peoples" and their right to self-determination (General Assembly Resolution 2625 of 1970).

The Tamil freedom fighters today assert and bear arms in pursuance of their internationally recognized right to self-determination and in practical terms it is necessary to develop a constitutional formula for secession.

Mr. V. Rudrakumaran of the Harvard Law School:-

Self-determination has today become the battle cry of several nations across the globe. An independent Tamil Eelam is also justified in International Law under the concept of reversion to sovereignty.

Professor A. J. Wilson of the University of Brunswick, Canada:-

The Indo-Sri Lanka Accord is an exercise in deceit. The conflict is between the LTTE who are the authentic representatives of the Tamil people and the Sri Lankan government.

Other Tamil groups have no role to play.

Mrs Deanna Hodgins, Bureau Chief of Washington D. C.'s Insight Magazine:

I have worked as a foreign correspondent in many troubled spots in the world including Cambodia, Kashmir, Lebanon and Afghanistan but the brutality in the Sri Lankan conflict is the most inhuman, I have seen.

Mrs Diane Alexander, representative of International Alert: Sri Lankan Government propaganda must be countered by the Tamils engaging the services of a full-time lobbyist in the US and other power centres.

Mr. Robert Oberst of the Nebraska Wesleyan University:

The Sri Lanka Government has lost its legitimacy vis-a-vis the Tamils in three stages. The first being the re-establishment of Sinhala hegemony between 1948 and 1970.

The second, the control of Tamil society from 1970's to 1980's and the third, the open suppression of the

(Continued on Page 5)

Federation and Socialism have both failed

Co-existence of independent states only remedy

Senator S. Nadesan, Q.C. while he was campaigning for the victory of Dr. E. M. V. Naganathan, the Federal Party candidate for the Jaffna Electorate in the 1952 General Elections to the Parliament, had explained that the nationality question in Ceylon could only be resolved by adopting socialism or federalism.

He had further pointed out then, that the socialist countries have successfully solved the Nationalities' question by simply adopting socialism and as a socialist himself, he would advocate that Ceylon too should embrace socialism for solving, not only the economic problems facing the Island but to resolve the Nationalities' question as well.

Senator Nadesan in his speeches had also mentioned the fact that Capitalist Countries too have solved their Nationalities' question by adopting the Federal solution. He had mentioned as exam-

ples countries such as Switzerland and Canada.

According to Senator Nadesan, there were only two ways to resolve the Nationalities' question, viz socialism and federalism. Although he preferred the first, the Nationality question could be successfully resolved through adopting the federal solution as well, as the Capitalist countries above mentioned have done.

Well, Senator Nadesan had suggested the above two proposals, i. e. Socialism and Federalism as far back as 1952. But, what is the situation prevailing in the world now? Neither Socialism nor Federalism seems to have successfully resolved the Nationalities' question for ever, whether it be in the Socialist countries like the USSR, Yugo-Slavia or in the Capitalist countries. In both worlds, East and West, Socialism and Federalism have failed to resolve the Nationalities question.

Nationalities within the USSR and Yugo-Slavia are waging a liberation war. This is so with the French-speaking Quebec of Canada as well and Canada is facing the issue courageously by accepting the situation as real crisis. It had also appointed a Royal Commission to look into the issue. To keep the French-speaking and the English speaking nation

under the same polity, Canada is even willing to consider a loosely knit Confederation, while the Socialist countries too are attempting to evolve something new.

This new enlightenment should open the eyes of everyone inhabiting the Island of Ceylon as well. Instead of living in the past and for ever harping on the Unitary Constitution or for that

matter even Federalism or Socialism, should opt for full freedom and independence and the mutually unrestricted exercise of sovereignty for both peoples, the Sinhalese and Tamils, on the restoration and re-constitution of Sinhala and Tamil States by adopting a policy of Co-existence, as pronounced by the former M. P. for Kopay late Mr. S. Kathiravetpillai.

- Anandan -

CAMPAIGN TO RELEASE JOURNALIST

Moves are afoot for the release of Mr. Sivanayagam, Editor of the Tamil Nation and former Editor of the Saturday Review Jaffna who was arrested at his flat by the Tamil Nadu police on July 18th, 1991 for questioning and now being detained under the National Security Act.

In this connection representatives from the London Tamil Forum, the Internat-

ional Federation of Tamils, Tamil Information Centre, Ganapathy Temple Trust, Catholic Association of Tamils UK and the Tamil Congregation, London met with Mr K. M. Ratnakara, Minister at the Indian High Commission London on 29.7.91. They called for the intervention of the Prime Minister, Narasimha Rao to secure the urgent release of

Mr. Sivanayagam. They also handed over a letter addressed to the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu.

Tamil Welfare and Human rights Committee, Washington has also campaigned for Mr Sivanayagam's release, by addressing all foreign embassies in the USA to bear pressure upon the Prime Minister of India.

Desultory Ramblings of Vadali Velan

Our village schoolmaster, a discerning political thinker in his own class, has aptly reminded us that those who prefer to trade even a little of their freedom for security deserve neither. He was undoubtedly referring to the profound aphorism uttered by George Washington of the newly-liberated America, a conscientious democrat, as all true Americans were at that time; and, of course by the word "security" this eminent statesman was referring to what people visualised as a comfortable day-to-day living, divorced from all considerations of the political and long-time interests of the nation. When measured against the back-drop of these sentiments, how revealing the attitude is, of those of our people who have adopted various stratagems and subterfuges to feather their own nests to the utter disregard and detriment of Tamil Eelam's well-being. Many of our brethren, presently sojourning in foreign climes, and never to return to our fold, are quite content to live their lives in an environment alien to their traditional, cultural and social instincts, rather than suffer the slightest inconvenience in the defence of their motherland. There are others who have thrown themselves at the mercy of the arch enemy,

the Sri Lankan Government and are continuing to live amongst the Sinhala Buddhists, fearfully and on borrowed time; and being unmindful of the loss of their personal rights and liberty in their chosen habitats. Worst of all, some of our erstwhile freedom fighters have gone over to the enemy, selling their birthright for a mess of pottage - a slave's livelihood provided by the Sri Lankan government and to some, clandestinely, by Indian agencies. In real terms, all these brethren of ours have shorn themselves of their responsibility and loyalty to the land that gave them birth and nurtured them. Their main aim is to keep away from it all with the resultant precipitous exodus. Sauve-qui-peut; and the devil take the hindmost.

In glaring contrast, we find the youngsters of Liberation Tigers giving their "all" for the redemption of their motherland. Instead of fleeing the land, they are battling it out to death with a determination not to yield even an inch of our soil, which some of our weak-kneed ones chose to desert in the hour of need.

No comfort nor compromise nor any other inducement can divert our liberators from their noble cause.

They have steadily thwarted the wily diplomacies inimical to our national well-being and refused to be hoodwinked into serfdom. Even Big Brother, India, failed in its attempt to make our youngsters subservient to its interests.

India is even now trying to extricate herself from the after-effects of her own machinations and from the unenviable political quagmire she has fallen into. In the meanwhile, many a nation and community is licking its wounds caused by India's ham-fistedness and colossal bungling. It is high time that India realises that the LTTE movement is irrevocably synonymous with the Tamil Eelam Aspiration, now manifested as Tigerism and known the world over. There is no alien on our land fighting for us. This is our very own "show" with all our people, the public in toto participating because they are all tigers.

Accusing the LTTE of doing away with Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, attempting to stage pseudo-prosecutions in support and essaying to hound out our freedomfighters from Indian soil, are all unconscionable methods to draw a red herring for the benefit of the Indian public. Nevertheless, by this stance, India hopes to, shamelessly,

absolve itself of the responsibility to ensure the rights of the Tamil Eelam people (of whom she has already slaughtered in the thousands!) in the eyes of the international community. This responsibility she had already shouldered enthusiastically and ceremonially by signing the Accord even without consulting us.

It is said that Nehru and Indira achieved their prestigious national identities because of their selfless contribution to the country's freedom struggle. It is,

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Munici...

(Continued from page 3)

newly restored library was destroyed but in order to maintain its library services, Branch Libraries were opened in various Wards within the Jaffna Municipal limits either by building New Branch Libraries or renting out buildings.

The Branch Library at Nallur built out of the Library Funds, is at present functioning as the Main Library as well. It has, however, only a limited space to accommodate all the various services run by the Library.

While the Jaffna public Library is thus handicapped by lack of space to extend its services to its reading

public, the Municipal Administration continues to occupy even that part of the limited space to house its Works and Water works Departments.

The Jaffna Municipal administration which expects its own rate-payers to show civic consciousness, should for its part vacate the library premises and permit the library to extend its services without let or hindrance. A Trust Property should at all times be used for the very purpose for which it was intended by the donors.

-Anandan

Tamil...

(Continuation from Page 4)

Tamil population in the 1980's.

Karen Parker, an International Human Rights lawyer:

It is true that international opinion is not yet in favour of Tamil Eelam but Tamils as a separate people deserve their right of self-determination. An armed conflict against a racist regime becomes a legitimate struggle for self-determination in conformity with Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the principles set out in Humanitarian Law.

Courtesy: Tamil Nations

HOT SPRING

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WE SALUTE

For one week now beginning from September 15, various programmes are taking place almost in every nook and corner of Tamil Eelam - or to be more exact - in those parts of liberated Tamil Eelam territory - to commemorate the fourth anniversary of the Martyrdom of Thileepan.

Thileepan died on the 26th of September, 1987 after having taken a fast unto death campaign on the 15th September, 1987. For 12 days, Thileepan remained alive taking not even a drop of water. Thileepan was then the political head of the Jaffna District of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).

Thileepan is not the only martyr that the LTTE produced. Over thousands of LTTE cadres have laid down their lives in the cause of Tamil Eelam and in the course of the struggles.

Miller who died in May the same year, took explosives into the Nelliady Sri Lankan Army Camp, knowing fully well that he would perish along with the explosives. And perish did he but left the Sri Lanka Army - or at least that part of it that remained after the explosion - realize that military violence was no answer to the Tamil surge for freedom.

All these heroes do command great veneration amongst Eelam Tamils. Yet there is something special about Thileepan's sacrifice - martyrdom.

The young man - in the prime of his youth - undertook his style of protest and agitation following the footsteps of Mahatma Gandhi at a time when the Indian Army had come to occupy Tamil Eelam.

Thileepan's demands were simple. Primarily, he wanted Sinhala colonization of Tamil areas which took place following the Rajiv Gandhi - Jayewardene Accord stopped. He opted for this type of struggle - a form of struggle for freedom, advocated by Mahatma Gandhi - because India had assumed for itself the task of protecting Tamil Eelam and its people but did in fact, was only strengthening Sinhala imperialism, ably manipulated by former President J. R. Jayewardene.

Eelam Tamils hoped that Thileepan's struggle would bring India to its senses but it didn't. Indian mass media was used to distort Thileepan's struggle. Thileepan did but India didn't relent.

This was in sharp contrast to what India did a few decades ago. Potti Sri Ramulu started a fast unto death demanding the creation of an Andhra State. When Potti Sri Ramulu died, Pandit Jawahar a Nehru, then Prime Minister of India, immediately announced the creation of the Andhra State out of what was then the Madras State. Nehru did that but his grandson, Rajiv Gandhi, who came to power with the family connection as his only claim to power in 1984, did the opposite and allowed Thileepan to die. Not only that, after two weeks of the death of that young hero, the Indian Army started a wanton attack on Jaffna with the blasting of two presses publishing the Tamil dailies "Murasoli" and "Ee a Murasu".

What the Indian Army did in Tamil Eelam is recent history which need not be recounted.

Thileepan's martyrdom left an indelible imprint in Tamil Eelam society. Thileepan's selfless sacrifice rallied thousands of supporters to the Tamil freedom struggle. By a strange coincidence on September 26th 1990, on the 3rd anniversary of Thileepan's death - the Sri Lankan Army vacated Jaffna Fort and the victorious LTTE cadres hoisted the Tiger Flag in the Jaffna Fort.

Sometime before his death - Thileepan addressing a rally opposite Jaffna Fort said that the Jaffna Fort was a grim reminder of Tamil serfdom and predicted that the day the Tamil Eelam flag fluttered over the Jaffna Fort, would be the day of independence.

Whether it was coincidence or the case of the hidden power of the SUPREME at the behest of Thileepan who the Indians did not care, leading the Tamils, it was on Thileepan's Day that the Sinhala Army vacated Jaffna Fort and people began to breathe more freely.

We join our people in paying our tributes to that great and young hero, Thileepan, who laid his life in the cause of Tamil Eelam and its people.

NO DECISION TO CONDUCT G. C. E. (O/L) EXAMINATION IN NORTHEAST

The General Certificate of Education (O. L.) Exam. was not held in December, 1990 in most parts of the North East. This examination was expected to be held in September this year but the report made by the Director of Education (Jaffna Region), Mr. R. Suntharalingam after his recent visit to Colombo, has disappointed many students and parents.

Mr R. Suntharalingam on his return from Colombo said that no decision in regard to conducting this examination could be made, as Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali had resigned his Education Portfolio.

In regard to disruption caused to examinations of school-children in the North East as a consequence of the war, parents point out that the G. C. E. (O/L) examination

was first disrupted in the North - East in 1987 consequent to the Indian Army's operations that year. Subsequently a special examination was held the following year.

In 1990 both the G.C.E. (O/L) and (A/L) examinations were disrupted. The disrupted A/L examination of 1990 was held in 1991. Only the disrupted G. C. E. (O/L) examination was not held.

Parents point out that as a matter of principle, government had already decided to hold examinations disrupted by war. There is also the precedent of the G. C. E. (O/L) examination of 1987 being held in 1988 and the G. C. E. (A/L) examination of 1990 being held in 1991. In this situation parents say they do not understand the excuse now

being given by the bureaucracy that "no decision could be made as the Education Minister, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali had resigned."

Surely a Minister is making a policy decision in regard to Departments under him and not making orders in respect of every detail. And if Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali has resigned, the Education Department has not come to a grinding halt. In fact another person has been appointed in place of Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali and there is also the State Minister of Education.

The fact of the matter appears to be lethargy on the part of the bureaucracy, if not active connivance at blasting the educational career of the Tamil school-children.

In view of the precedents and the announcement made that the G. C. E. (O/L) examination for 1990 would be held in September this year, the Examination and Education Departments do not require a further order again to hold this examination. In any event Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali's resignation does not stultify the working of the Departments which were under his control. Nor does the government acknowledge that the Government work in the Education Ministry has come to a standstill after Mr. Athulathmudali left, the agitated students and parents point out.

Refugees compelled to vacate camps

It is learnt that many refugees living in various refugee camps in the Batticaloa district, are being compelled to leave the camps by the Sinhala Army and the Muslim Home guards.

It is also learnt that some Tamils taken back to their

villages by the Army, have later disappeared. It is not known what happened to these persons. It is feared that some may have been killed and their bodies disposed and yet many others may be living in hiding somewhere.

Desultory...

((Continuation from Page 5))

however, an irony that in a great country like India it was found impossible to find a suitable successor to Mrs Indira Gandhi. Such a frivolous reason as "the right family background" forced Rajiv, the reluctant and self - contradicting politician into the saddle and nearly drove a terror-stricken Sonia, a foreigner to follow suit. Such perfidies are bound to lead to misrule and irreparable damage to India's relations regarding not only her diverse groups of people but also her neighbours. No responsible or experienced politician would have led us up the garden path, as Mr. Rajiv Gandhi did.

Amidst all this, and measured against the unstinting support and encouragement extended to the LTTE and Tamil Eelam by the late - lamented Mr. M.G. Ramachandran, her political guru, the attitude of Miss Jayalalitha sticks out like a sore thumb. Allowing her personal sympathies, sent-

imentality and a sense of clanishness with the "North-erner" to get the better of her, she has flown off the handle and is now blundering about both in the political and legal sense. Though she is now busy misleading the people into alienation of our cause, her real assets will be bared no sooner her flirtation with the centre - power block turns stale and her true identity revealed. Taking a personal

and vicious hand in the suppression of the aspirations of a people is always bound to rebound nastily. No individual can buck a whole nation, however small. Miss Jayalalitha's fate may well be that of the Lady of Malacca who went out on the back of the tiger and returned in the inside of it.

We shall depend on our own people and the struggle shall not abate until, finally, freedom is won.

SPORTS REEL - CRICKET

Centralite (Chocs) vs Shabra - Final

Centralites (Chocs) beat Big Match rivals, Johnnians by a mere 7 runs with Reguthees scoring an unbeaten 35 runs, veteran Shanmugalingam bagging with three wickets and backed by some good fielding. For the Johnnians the success was of the former Tamil Union cricketer Sooriakumaran who scored 58 runs.

Shabra beat Grasshoppers 27 runs in the other Semi final and are billed to meet the Centralites in the Final which should produce some

lovely cricket for the cricket fans. - VIJAYAKUMAR

Sri Latkan---

(Continuation from page 1) lineam, Selvapackiam, Suntharalingam, Kanagasabai and Santhararajan.

On the 11th of this month, the Sinhala Army arrested a Tamil at Maruthunagar in Kattaparichan. Again on the 16th of this month, the Sinhala Army arrested a Tamil civilian named Kanapathipillai Markandu (52) at Mutur,