

HOT SPRING

Vol: 2

17th November 1991

No. 6

Restoration and Re-constitution

Full freedom, independence and mutually unrestricted exercise of sovereignty for both people, the Sinhalese and Tamils, now depends on the restoration and re-constitution of the Sinhala and Tamil States.

The Sinhalese would not desire to rule over and run an empire over the unwilling Tamils and be guilty of neo-colonialism and aggression.

S. Kathiravetpillai, former M. P. for Kopay
in Booklet : Co-existence not Confrontation

Eighty One Security Camps in Batticaloa

Civil Administration or Martial Law?

There are altogether 81 camps - Army, Navy, Air Force, Home Guards and Police - in the Batticaloa District. There are in all 8 AGA's Divisions in the Batticaloa District and the Armed Forces of the Government including Home Guards are disbursed in these eight divisions.

The Government of Sri Lanka claims to have brought the East under its control and says that civil administration has been restored in the East.

Last week's Hot Spring gave details of 68 armed forces' camps in the Amparai District. There are 171 armed forces' camps in the Trincomalee District, as reported in our Issue of November 3. In the Batticaloa District it is 81. Thus in the whole of the East, there are 320 armed forces' camps of the Government of Sri Lanka including Police Stations and Home Guards' units.

Foreign media men have at various times ridiculed the spurious claims of the Government of Sri Lanka that it controls the East. In a territory in which the Government of Sri Lanka claims to have restored civil administration, there is a shortage of civilian officials but the army, police and home guards are in plenty. The question the Government of Sri Lanka has failed to answer is whether it has restored civil administration or whether martial rule is enforced in the East.

There are large numbers of Tamil refugees from these

three districts who have fled their homes. Many are in the forests and many more are away in various places having abandoned their homes and properties.

In the Batticaloa District, the disbursement of armed forces of the Government is as follows:-

Army Camps	— 51
Naval Camp	— 01
Air Force Camp	— 01
Police Stations	— 13
Home Guards	
(all Muslim)	— 15
Total	81

It is clear from the large number of armed forces,

police and home guards deployed in the East in 320 camps that there is no civil administration but martial law enforcement and administration there. Nor is the Government of Sri Lanka even slowly re-introducing civilian administration in the

East. On the other hand, the Government of Sri Lanka is daily compelled to increase its military strength in the East to keep the people under subjugation.

On 10-3-91 Hot Spring reported 150 Security Camps in Trincomalee. Now it is 171 there.

No Response from S. L. Government Still

There has still been no response from the Government to accept the offer made by Mr. Veluppillai Pirabakaran, Leader of the

LTTE to permit the close relatives of the Sinhala policemen and soldiers held in custody by the LTTE to visit them-

Earlier Mr. Pirabakaran, has informed ICRC that he would permit the close relations of those in custody to visit them if they so desired.

It is understood that the ICRC conveyed Mr. Pirabakaran's offer to the Government of Sri Lanka but the Government has so far not indicated whether it would make arrangements or permit these relations to visit their relations in LTTE custody.

Aerial Bombing at Mullaitivu and Vavuniya

Certain villages in the Mullaitivu and Vavuniya Districts came under heavy bombing from the air on

Monday, November 11, and Tuesday, November 12.

Three bombers belonging to the Sri Lankan Air Force were engaged in bombing Pavattukulam and 26 Unit areas on Monday.

An elderly person named Rajathurai (60) was severely injured. A temple and two houses are reported heavily damaged.

On Tuesday November 12, three Sri Lankan Air Force bombers bombed the villages of Koliyakulam and Makilankulam in the Vavuniya District. A number of houses are reported to have been damaged in these villages.

Silavathurai in the Mullaitivu District was also subjected to aerial bombardment on Tuesday.

Bomber Attack At Paranthan

Two bombers of the Sri Lankan Air Force bombed Paranthan and Kunchuparanthan on Saturday - November 9 in the morning.

At Paranthan a shop was completely damaged by the bombing.

Two houses were reported damaged by the bombing at Kunchuparanthan.

Demonstration by Displaced Persons

Displaced persons from the coastal villages of Arali, Navanthurai, Passaiyoor, Gurunagar and Colombuthurai took out a mass procession on Tuesday - November 12.

The procession in which many thousands participated including women, started from Navanthurai and proceeded through the Jaffna town to Jaffna Secretariat.

At the Secretariat premises the processionists demonstrated shouting their demands. Thereafter representatives of the demonstrators went to the Secretariat upstairs where the Government Agent's office is situated and handed over a memorandum to the Government Agent, Jaffna.

The memorandum amongst other things stated that the residents of the coastal areas

were unable to carry out their normal occupation of fishing and large numbers have been displaced from their homes. These are the direct result of the Sri Lankan Army and Naval operations along the coast, the memorandum added.

The processionists demanded that certain areas of the Jaffna Lagoon and Poonakari seas be declared as No-War Zones so that the fishermen may engage in fishing for their livelihood.

The memorandum also pointed out that the displaced persons who are now living as refugees have not been provided with dry rations as a form of relief.

At a stage the Kachcheri officials had to call in Dr. Devanesan Nesiah the Additional Commissioner of Essential Services, who was at the time the demonstrators went to the Kachcheri, having

a Conference with the officials there.

Dr. Devanesan Nesiah heard the representatives of the demonstrators and promised to bring to the knowledge of the Government, the plight of the demonstrators with a view to obtaining relief for them. Dr. Nesiah also obtained a copy of the memorandum.

ACUTE FOOD SHORTAGE IN JAFFNA

Government Agent Suspends Supplies to Co - ops.

There is an acute shortage of food supplies in the Jaffna peninsula. The Government Agent, Jaffna who proposed to issue essential dry rations through the Multi-Purpose Co - operatives weekly to consumers to purchase their foodstuffs, has suspended the supplies after two weeks. It is said that there are no sufficient stocks for supply.

In an effort to provide people at least some very essential foodstuffs, the Government Agent of the Jaffna District devised a plan to supply through the Multi-Purpose Co - operative Societies some very essential food items weekly. Accordingly, the Government Agent worked out a scheme of rationing by which rice, wheat flour,

sugar, dhal and tea were supplied to consumers at fixed prices through the co-operatives.

The Government Agent's scheme has run into difficulty after two weeks. No supplies have been made by the Government Agent to the Co - operatives because he does not have sufficient stock for distribution.

OUR READERS SAY

WAR LORN

The Editor,
Hot Spring

Sir,

Air raids in the form of bombings and artillery shellings are common strategies between two hostile nations - bent on total destruction by one against the other. In world trends we have known of wars between two nations. Even Sri Lanka history records of a Japanese raid, and in memory of those who died in wars, annual war memorial is observed.

The strategy deployed by Mr. Premadasa in the North East is clear manifestation of his intention. In the guise of containing terrorism, he has waged war against the Tamil people predominant in the North East. Furthermore, his actions confirm beyond any manner of doubt that he has decreed the Tamils as a distinct entity from the rest of the Island. Does it therefore mean by these bombings and shellings, he has thrown a challenge of war against the Tamils? Yes, deeds are self-explanatory and the youths in the North East will have to change their strategy and take more effective action.

For what length of time can the civilians in these parts of N. E. bear with patience, losing their lives, limbs and properties.

During the outbreak of Cheguevera violence in April, 1971, Mrs. Bandaranaike as Prime Minister met the challenge with meticulous care to see that not even the hair of a civilian was ruffled. No loss of properties. It is a sad reflection on Mr. Premadasa with his political maturity to have failed hopelessly in handling an issue without involving civilians.

If he were a true Buddhist upholding the noble edifice of thoughts of Lord Buddha and following the eightfold path, by these acts involving mass human sufferings, he should have stepped down as a penance for all his past actions. But these noble thoughts were only lip service and not by deeds. In world trends we have learnt of how devoted leaders have bowed down to public criticisms and opinions. A train disaster in India prompted the then Minister in charge of transport to relinquish office some years back. They were real patriots who lived for the welfare of the masses. We have yet to record of an

instance in Sri Lanka where even an M. P. had made any form of sacrifice in the public interest.

The hidden truth in Sri Lanka's politics is that whatever policies may prevail among political parties on this common issue pertaining to the Tamils in the N.E. they are under the same banner of not granting even small mercies of recognition as a community.

So even at this hour of peril, a clarion call to bury the hatchets and revamp the Organization and fight the enemy without driving wedges amongst ourselves and weakening our struggle.

D. Jeevanathan

Vathiry

Quakers - Peace Missionaries

The Editor,
Hot Spring.

At the recent visit of the Quakers - Universal Peace makers to the North to ascertain from the LTTE leaders a peaceful settlement of the Tamils' problem, the latter has stressed that first there must be a cease-fire or cessation of hostilities and the lifting of the economic blockade on the North. No useful purpose can be achieved without this. The LTTE leaders have said that they were always willing and prepared for unconditional talks with the Government for a peaceful, meaningful and viable solution to the Tamils' problem in the North East and a vindication of the aspirations of the Tamils. No piece-meal deals but constructive and tangible solutions have to be found. For years, peace pacts like the Bandaranaike - Chelvanayakam have been abrogated resulting in the present situation of armed struggle which appeared inevitable indeed.

The three-member Peace Mission of which India is one, should endeavour in its concerted efforts to see that recognition of the Tamils' Identity as a nation and that their need for self-determination and homeland is reckoned.

The Jaffna LTTE leaders had suggested that they were prepared to consider a federal solution having regard to their aspirations for meaningful and productive self-rule to manage their

own affairs, unfettered by others.

I may say, if the Baltic States of the Soviet Union have the right for self-determination, then why not the North East Tamils as well. Where there is a will, there is a way.

S. Jayaratnam

Chavakachcheri

The Editor,
Hot Spring.

Dear Sir,

I read the article on the Cultural Revolution in Jaffna's Big Schools. It is indeed a shame that some of our big schools should have continued the use of English even after the medium of instruction had been made Tamil.

While on the subject of culture I wish to refer to another important matter that concerns the Tamil Hindus. That is about the names given to our new borns, especially the female children. All Christians have their Christian names and all Muslims have their Islamic names but we have neither Tamil nor Hindu names. We have now begun to use Hindi, Marati, Bengalee names. I would earnestly request our Tamil Pundits to prepare a list of Tamil names from which modern Tamil parents could select the appropriate names according to numerology or any other consideration.

To illustrate the love people have for their mother tongues I wish to mention two incidents in which I was involved. On my second day in Paris I had lost my way to the Hotel I was staying in. In the busy city for nearly half an hour I talked to every one I met, but none of them knew English. Finally I was able to meet a man who knew English and managed to get to my hotel.

At the Rome International Air port, at the checking point there was an officer who spoke to me in a language I did not understand. I tried to tell him by sign language that I did not understand what he said. At this stage a passenger in the line behind me told me that the officer wanted to know whether the radio I had was for sale or for personal use. When I told him it was for my personal use it was told to the officer in Italian and I was allowed to proceed.

The purpose of my mentioning these incidents should not be construed as my discouraging the study of English. Far from it. My point is that we should be proud of our language and our heritage. Suriyanarayana Sastri, in his book 'History of the Tamil Language' says that Tamil was taught to Kuda Muni (Abasthyer) by Lord Siva (Kol Attu Pahar)

Whatever it be, there is no doubt that Tamil is an ancient Language. Let us use it in all occasions.

Your faithfully,

S. Pennampalam

Karaveddi.

The Treacherous Indian Bully

The Editor,
Hot Spring.

In Musings by Nestor on 10 - 11 - 91, a number of important matters that need stressing were discussed. One matter that needs stressing is that the realisation by the Tamils that India is Enemy No. 1. to them in the struggle to liberate themselves.

It is indeed utter lunacy on the part of India to indulge in mean activities to frustrate the efforts of the long-suffering Tamils.

By all means the Treacherous Indian Bully should be kept at bay and in order to ensure this, the Tamils should even be prepared to reach an understanding with the Sinhalese, even if it means accepting something short of Eelam temporarily.

S. Murugesu

Jaffna.

Sinhala Colonization on Zionist Model

Jews made use of planned colonization under guise of agricultural settlements to capture the Arab lands. Mr. D. S. Senanayake studied this in detail and planned the Allai, Kanthalai, Padiviya and Gal-Oya Schemes to change the demography of the Tamil homeland to benefit the Sinhalese. We quote below from "Sri Lanka's First Prime Minister, Don Stephen Senanayake" by H. A. J. Hulugalle.

Sir Arthur Ranasinghe has disclosed in his memoirs, the genesis of the Book "Agriculture and Patriotism". "As his agricultural policy became crystallised", writes Ranasinghe, "I suggested to him that it would be desirable to outline his ideas in a series of Press articles. The suggestion came to my mind when I saw in the press some articles on the development of arid Palestine by men and money of the Zionist Movement. 'D. S.' accepted my suggestion with enthusiasm, and we began thinking out, discussing and writing a series of articles to be published in a newspaper. These articles were later collected and published as a booklet entitled "Agriculture and Patriotism"

A series of articles was written by the present writer in the Ceylon Daily News after a visit of several weeks to Palestine at the beginning of 1935. I lived in the Jewish settlements such as Rehovath, Givat, Brenner and Emek. During this trip, I was sent to Golda Meir who was then in charge of a Labour Office and she invited me to her home in Tel Aviv on the sand dunes. Later she was Prime Minister of Israel which was previously a part of the British Mandate of Palestine.

I brought back to Ceylon with me a book in English called 'The Fellah's Farm' by a Mr. Villeani, one of the agricultural experts. He had taken an Arab farmer and put him to work on an allotment of Land. A neighbouring land under the same conditions was cultivated by methods used in modern farming. The Arab's land was worked under the supervision of the Superintendent and all his work was indexed in detail. Villeani had gathered interesting material enabling him to compare both methods of agriculture.

I gave this book to Senanayake who was attracted by this kind of research and I have been told by Sir Arthur Ranasinghe, who helped Senanayake with the book entitled *Agriculture and Patriotism* that the idea of writing it came from 'The Fellah's Farm'.

Sri Lankans ought to take comfort from the way the new world is turning. Everywhere, people are accepting novel solutions to old problems. If the war-tortured island takes a cue from Lebanon, Cambodia and Ethiopia, it will reappraise decades of investment in precious principles that pay dividends only in misery. Sri Lanka itself is an object lesson, one that Yugoslavia could well study. The moral is that minorities can be forced to stay in political unions but they cannot be made to like it.

Lithuanians do not like it, Croats do not like it, Eritreans do not like it, Tibetans do not like it. Jaffna Tamils hate it; That is the starting point of all quests to end the war.

That does not mean Tamil Eelam has to be the next Bangladesh, however. There are 1990s style alternatives from "one country two systems" to the Confederal Union of Sovereign Soviet Republics. Autonomy now comes in many shades. The old world confederation has been dusted off and applied liberally in Canada, Czechoslovakia and the Central Asian republics. It is also favoured by western Europeans to define the way they are drawing together.

Centralised unitary states work well only in homogeneous societies; Denmark, Bangladesh, Greece, Thailand, Uruguay. Sri Lankan leaders privately acknowledge this:

Strong central governments with delegated provincial authority are not much better as models: Japan, China, Spain, Italy, Indonesia. Federations are suitable for countries that are either very large - the United States, Australia, Brazil, Mexico - or culturally diverse - Switzerland, India, Malaysia. A federation might have been the answer for Sri Lanka had it been pursued a decade ago, but the seeds of intercommunal hatred are probably now too deep even for that. In a confederal system, Sinhalese and Tamil parts would have democratically elected parliaments, but there would be no elected national government.

Conceding this would be psychologically impossible for many Sinhalese. Yet Russia and the Ukraine say they can get by nicely with only a joint presidium to oversee the economy. In Sri Lanka a committee of the two legislatures could control the rupee, capital markets, interest rates, internal trade, external tariffs. Another could look after foreign affairs, membership of international organisations, telecommunications and overseas transport and aviation. Co-

ordinating bodies would harmonise the two states' social and administrative responsibilities - including taxation, police forces, railways, energy, industry, irrigation and agriculture. It is too late to think of harmonious integration of the armed forces though perhaps there could be a joint navy.

Not even the most radical southern politician is likely to accept such a confederation but the north may well accept nothing less. There is perhaps still time for a federation with two state legislatures and a national parliament. But does anyone in Sri Lanka still doubt that differences are irreconcilable? The army thinks, as good soldiers should, of defeat of the enemy.

All too many Sinhalese think Tamils and Tigers are one and the same. Failing a constitutional way out, the choice will lie between the Cyprus solution and interminable warfare. That a combat footing can be sustained for a very long time is evident in the experience of Cambodia, Afghanistan, Burma, Ethiopia, Sudan - and Sri Lanka. Even if one side is far stronger than the other, as in Northern Ireland, the southern Philippines and the Indian states of Punjab and Kashmir, the conflict can become more or less permanent. Who can accept that?

What has happened to Dimuthu Saman of Kalutura?

Belgian A. I. Representative writes to President Premadasa

Mr. Beirnaert Patrick of the Amnesty International, Belgium has written to President Premadasa expressing his deep concern over the alarmingly high numbers of human rights violations in Sri Lanka.

Specifically he has asked for information in regard to one BANDARIGODAGE MANGALA DIMUTHU SAMAN of Kalutura who was arrested on 3. 10. 1989 and now a forgotten disappeared person.

Mr. Patrick has asked for the establishment of an independent and impartial investigation machinery to solve human rights violations. Mr. Patrick's letter reads as follows:-

Sint - Niklaas,
17 September 91

His Excellency
President R. Premadasa
Presidential Secretariat
Republic Square
Colombo 1
SRI LANKA

Dear President,
Again I will press out my deep concern about the

alarmingly high numbers of human right violations in Your country.

In the name of Amnesty International I would ask Your attention especially for the case of BANDARIGODAGE MANGALA DIMUTHU SAMAN. He was arrested on 3. 10. 1989 at Kalutara. Now he is one of the forgotten Disappeared persons in Sri Lanka.

Security forces, "death squads" and also politicians are believed to be associated

UN to have New Secretary General

The Secretary General of the United Nations Organization (UNO) has confirmed that he would not want to serve another term as Secretary-General. The UN Association Jaffna Unit (UNAJU) says that the retiring Secretary General has said that the international community should give 'serious consideration'

(Continued on Page 4)

ASIAWEEK SAYS:

Nationalists will be tempted to declare that if Tamil Eelam gets autonomy, the other provinces must too. That would only dissipate the unity of the south. In Canada it is such stubborn reluctance to admit a special status for one province that is tearing the country apart. To be sure taking a detached view is very hard when unspeakable atrocities are the stuff of daily news. But thoughtful Sri Lankans should try. Whether the brutal, fanatical Tigers really enjoy the goodwill of the Tamils is ultimately immaterial. Colombo has to make up its mind, not so much about the methods of secessionists, but the will to secede. If it is to be war, they should prepare for a long one. And in the end southern politicians will have to accept that the Tigers are something Tamils will have to sort out for themselves.

Sri Lankans deserve more than a truce. Lasting peace, however distant it may seem, is the only thing worth striving for. The Tigers are suddenly ready to talk. This is chiefly because they miscalculated badly in going for military victory at Elephant Pass in July and in resorting to assassinations that lost them far more support than

**Lithuanians do not like it,
Croats do not like it,
Eritreans do not like it,
Tibetans do not like it,
and the Tamils hate it.**

they gained, especially in India, where they are blamed for the murder of Rajiv Gandhi. President Ranasinghe Premadasa had seemed ready to sit down with the Tigers. But now that they are in a position of relative weakness he seems to be less willing.

No one can ever go wrong by asking the people. The value of plebiscites is never appreciated enough - and not just in Sri Lanka. Perhaps Sinhalese are as thoroughly sick of the war as one suspects. Perhaps they are more willing to try federal or confederal solution than the army and the politicians imagine; perhaps they are

ready to let the Tamils do what they like with a part of the country where hardly any Sinhalese live; perhaps they will say that if borders are shifted and minority rights guaranteed, de facto partition is as good as it will get; perhaps they may say let India have another try while we push ahead with our economic revival.

In the end it is Sinhalese, not Tamils, who must answer the question: Is Tamil Eelam worth dying for?

Asiaweek,
September 13, 1991.

with the frequent reporting of "disappearances", executions and torturing of the civilians.

I am sure that You refuse to believe these accusations, but I will request You to

establish an independent and impartial investigation to solve all the cases of human right violations in Your country. With confidence,

Yours faithfully,
Beirnaert Patrick

THINK - YOU CAN

If you think you are beaten, you are
If you think you dare not, you don't
If you'd like to win, but think you can't
It's almost certain you won't.
If you think you'll lose, you've lost
For out in the world you'll find
Success begins with a fellow's will
It's all in the state of mind.

For many a race is lost
Ere ever a step is run
And many a coward fails
Ere ever his work's begun
Think big and your deeds will grow
Think small and you'll fall behind
Think that you can and you will
It's all in the state of mind.

If you think you're outclassed you are
You've got to think high to rise
You've got to be sure of yourself before
You can ever win a prize
Life's battles don't always go
To the strooeger or faster man
But soon or late the man who wins
Is the fellow who THINKS he can

— Anonymous

Lord Avebury lobbys for international mediation

Our readers will remember that in some of your back numbers we published some correspondence which Lord Avebury had with others evincing interest in our affairs.

Recently the Lord sent letters to the Secretary - General of the Commonwealth and to the British Foreign Secretary which we publish below:

Letter dated June 23, 1991 from Lord Avebury to the Secretary General, Commonwealth Secretariat.

Dear Chief Anyaoku

You have doubtless been following events in Sri Lanka, and their side-effects in neighbouring India, with as much concern as we have. The assassination of Rajiv Gandhi in the middle of the Indian elections; the reprisal killing by the Sri Lanka army of 150 civilians in Batticaloa the week before last, and the suicide attack by the Tigers presumably, which resulted in the death of 65 people in Colombo on Thursday, are the latest manifestations of a conflict for which no solution is in sight after many years of bloodshed.

Meanwhile, in certain other internal conflicts it has been considered necessary to bring in foreign mediation or chairmanship. France and Indonesia are the co-chairmen of the peace conference which seems quite likely to produce an agreement between the warring factions in Cambodia; the United Nations, together with the allies in the Gulf War, are physically present in northern Iraq to protect the Kurds, and Sir Ninian Stephen, an Australian, has been invited to chair the inter-party discussions in northern Ireland. Do these examples provide us with a clue to the resolution of Sri Lanka's intractable problems?

The Thimpu discussions broke down almost immediately and were followed by the disastrous intervention by India in northern Sri Lanka. Then more recently, 13 months of talks between the Premadasa government and the LTTE came to an inconclusive end when the LTTE mounted a concerted attack on police stations in the east, capturing some 600 officers and murdering a large number of their prisoners.

Perhaps, like Cambodia, Sri Lanka needs impartial outsiders to further the peace process. The Indians were not successful because they were directly interested in two ways: they had to demonstrate their commitment to protection of the Tamils, so as to keep the people of Tamil Nadu loyal to the government, but at the same time

they had to discourage ideas of separatism in case they spread across the Palk Straits. But it should be possible to find, amongst Member states of the Commonwealth, totally disinterested countries which might play the same role in relation to Sri Lanka as France and Indonesia have for Cambodia.

The other essential ingredient of the Cambodian process was the agreement of Hun Sen to outside participation in the peace conference. I know that in J. R. Jayawardene's time there was a suggestion that other Commonwealth countries might have a role to play, and this foundered, perhaps on the opposition of India to other powers 'intervening' in the region. Would it not be worth approaching President Premadasa now, to see whether there is scope for reviving the idea, and also informally discussing it with India?

You did say, in your letter to me about Achehnese refugees in Malaysia, that the Secretariat was precluded, by its Agreed Memorandum, from doing anything which encroached on the sovereignty of Member States. If President Premadasa does agree to third party chairmanship of a peace conference, it does not commit him, of course, to acceptance, of any proposals that may be tabled there.

Yours sincerely
sgd- Eric Avebury

Reply dated 15 July 1991 from the Secretary General, Commonwealth Secretariat to Lord Avebury

Dear Lord Avebury

Thank you for your letter of 23 June 1991 on the situation in Sri Lanka, which I have now seen since returning from overseas travel.

I am grateful to you for sharing with me your thoughts on the tragic conflict in Sri Lanka and on ways in which the protracted suffering of the people of that country might be brought to an end. I can assure you that, within the obvious constraints imposed on the Commonwealth Secretariat by its Agreed Memorandum, we have sought to follow

events in Sri Lanka closely and with an ever-ready willingness to help should our assistance be sought. The Commonwealth naturally feels a particularly acute sense of concern and anguish at the continuing strife, the large scale loss of life and property, and the threat to the integrity and well-being of a member state.

You have raised in your letter the possibility of external mediation or a 'good offices' role in Sri Lanka, drawing upon precedents such as the peace conference on Cambodia or the inter-party negotiations in Northern Ireland. The concept of mediation by friendly and disinterested parties is in principle a laudable one and one which, in my view, might be especially suited to an organisation such as the Commonwealth. As you have also rightly observed, any viable third party role in Sri Lanka or elsewhere must be contingent on the consent of the government concerned. Such a role in Sri Lanka would additionally require broad support from within the Commonwealth. As you are perhaps aware, Senator Robert Hill, Shadow Minister for Foreign Affairs of Australia, had proposed a Commonwealth 'good offices' role last year and Prime Minister Hawke subsequently made a formal approach to President Premadasa, although to date such initiatives have not given rise to any request from the Sri Lankan Government.

For my part, I have repeatedly made it clear that the Commonwealth stands ready to assist, if invited to do so. This remains our position.

Yours sincerely,
sgd Emeka Anyaoku

Letter dated July 20, 1991 from Lord Avebury to the Foreign Secretary, Rt Hon Douglas Hurd MP

Dyar Douglas

I enclose a note we had from the Civil Rights Movement of Sri Lanka, and a copy of a letter from the Commonwealth Secretary - General.

As you will see, Ms Suriya Wickremasinghe of the CRM (who was at one time chair of the International Executive Committee of Amnesty International) draws a parallel between Sri Lanka and El Salvador, and she believes that mediation could be helpful also in Sri Lanka. The Commonwealth Secretary-General says that mediation by the Commonwealth was formally proposed last year by Prime Minister Hawke of Australia, but met with no response.

Do you think that if President Premadasa were minded to accept mediation, it would attract the broad support from within the Commonwealth and the Secretary-General says it would need? If this precondition is satisfied, would it not be worth another try? Surely it could be indicated to President Premadasa, assuming that this was the general feeling, that acceptance of an offer of mediation would help Sri Lanka to secure the long term aid she needs for the reconstruction of her economy?

Yours
sgd. Eric

Reply Dated 31 July 1991 to Lord Avebury, from Hon. Mark Lennox - Boyd, Parliamentary Under Secretary of State

Dear Lord Avebury

Thank you for your letter of 20 July to Douglas Hurd enclosing copies of a note from the Civil Rights Movement of Sri Lanka and a letter from the Commonwealth Secretary - General about the prospects for mediation in Sri Lanka. I am replying in Douglas' absence on leave. The present view of the Sri Lankan Government is that any discussions with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam should not be conducted within the services of outside mediation including. It seems, the Commonwealth. Should this view change, I understand that the Australian offer to help initiate Commonwealth mediation remains available. We cannot of course tell at this stage how much support such a proposal would attract from other Commonwealth members, but we would support it. Indeed, we have told the Sri Lankan Government that we would be prepared to help mediate, or encourage others to do so, if the parties involved agree that this would be useful. The Sri Lankan Government has not taken up this offer either.

On your point about additional aid, I am sure we should try to look for

incentives to encourage both sides to negotiate a settlement. But I doubt we could do more than point to the general economic advantages that would accrue. This would imply more effective use of aid, particularly to help reconstruct the areas worst affected. For instance, our own £ 20 million package for the North and East has been held up by the renewed fighting. We have not related our aid either to the fact that fighting is going on, or to the Sri Lankan Government's decisions on whether or not to accept offers of external mediation. But we have made clear that while we support the Sri Lankan Government in its struggle to defeat terrorist organisations, we are very concerned that this should be conducted with due care for the human rights of all Sri Lankans. Concern about the Sri Lankan record on human rights led us recently to withdraw an offer of £ 3 million in balance of payments aid.

I agree wholeheartedly with the sentiments expressed by the Civil Rights Movement of Sri Lanka that one of the main obstacles to an improvement in Sri Lanka's human rights record has been an unwillingness so far by the Government there to identify and punish those responsible for violations.

Yours sincerely
sgd. Mark Lennox Boyd

UN to have...

(Continuation from page 3)

to the appointment of an African for the post.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) announced on 30th July the [names of six candidates for consideration by the Security Council. They are:-

1. Bernard Chidzero (Zimbabwe)
2. Kenneth K. S. Dadzie (Ghana)
3. Bowtros Ghali (Egypt)
4. James O. C. Jonah (Sierra Leone)
5. Duono Njuema (Gabon)
6. Olusegun Obasanige (Nigeria)

The UNAJU in a Press Release states that in the recent voting in the Security Council the Egyptian is in the lead by 11 against 4 of the fifteen Security Council members. However the five permanent members of the Security Council can exercise their 'Veto' power against any candidate till it goes to the voting of the General Assembly.

South Block which advises the Government of India on Sri Lanka policy now considers the L.T.T.E in Sri Lanka a threat to India, resulting in the 'Southern Block getting exposed'. The security considerations of the South Block equates China on the East, Pakistan on the West and the L.T.T.E. on the South as, security threats. This is revealed in an interview to the Hindu granted by Miss. Jayalalitha. The L.T.T.E. is experiencing shortage of manpower to resist the invasion of the Sinhala Armed Forces but the lurid imagination of M/s. Jayalalitha appears to guide the South Block in a different direction.

Rameswaram Fishermen.

Another headache afflicting Miss. Jayalalitha is the problem resulting from Sri Lankan Navy attacking the fishermen of Rameswaram. According to her more than fifty fishermen were killed. One can imagine from this the number of fishermen injured, catches seized and boats damaged or destroyed.

She does not say for what period these figures relate to but she says that New Delhi never registered a protest against these attacks. It is really difficult to believe that New Delhi kept silent but that is what the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu says.

Rameswaram fishermen are experiencing such hardships solely because Kachchativu was handed

perpetrate against Rameswaram fishermen would become acts against Sri Lankan citizens and therefore an internal affair in so far as New Delhi and Madras are concerned and they can forget all about it. After all Rameswaram fishermen are Dravidians and not Aryans to be taken care of. This suggestion may seem fantastic but this is the only possible solution since

fifth Easwaram, viz. Rameswaram should also be within the "Sinhala Buddhist country." The case for handing over Rameswaram to Sri Lanka is very strong.

Brigandage.

Press Reports indicate that an Indian Air Force plane and an Indian Naval craft seized two boats belonging to the Liberation Tigers in

Western countries? It is really fighting against the rebels in support of the Sinhalese against the Dravidian Tamils. It is nothing but brigandage.

Refugeration

The Dictionaries I consulted do not appear to have a word to signify the act of forcing people to flee from their homes and hearths in order to save their lives. This is quite a frequent phenomenon in most third world countries and the absence in the English Language of appropriate words is a serious gap. Therefore I suggest the following words to come into vogue:

Refugerate (verb transitive):

To force or compel people of a collective identity to flee from their traditional homes and hearths in order to save their lives.

Refugeration (noun):

The act often perpetrated by the State authority through its security forces or other agencies compelling people of a given collective identity to flee from their homes and hearths often to foreign soil by the use of force.

Musings by Nestor

over to Sri Lanka. New Delhi, which according to Miss. Jayalalitha did not lodge any protest over all these years is never going to retrieve Kachchativu. Hence the only remedy is to hand over Rameswaram also to Sri Lanka. When Rameswaram is handed over to Sri Lanka, Rameswaram fishermen would become Sri Lanka citizens and whatever atrocities Sri Lanka may

New Delhi will not act in defence of Dravidians.

There are five Easwarams dating back from the days of Ramayana. These are - Muneeswaram, Thirukoneswaram, Thiruketheeswaram, Thandeewaram (in ruins in Mannar) and Rameswaram. The first four of the Easwarams are in this island considered by the Sinhalese Sinhala Buddhist country. It is therefore logical that the

the high seas. These boats were certainly not in the territorial waters of India. It is reported that the boats carried weapons to India. In Ceylon there is a civil war. When there is a civil war in one country, other countries avoid getting involved. They remain neutral. Most Western countries have refused to sell weapons to Sri Lanka because there is a civil war. Why cannot India keep neutral like the

Autonomy and Self-determination likely to bring peace Genocide and Starvation of Tamils must stop

As we look back on the recent violence in Sri Lanka it is clear that almost every human right has been denied to the Tamils in the North and East. We can see that the LTTE has fought valiantly against the larger military machine of the Premadasa regime. We can also see that in some cases there have been examples of extra-judicial killing on both sides. We abhor this situation and request that the LTTE control their fighters to the extent that there are no attacks on civilians and an example is set by the young fighters.

We would like these words to be applied to the Sri Lankan military as well. After all, it is always the duty of the defence forces of any country to save the lives of, and defend the property of, its citizens. When defence forces fail to do this and cause massive damage to property, the creation of hundreds and thousands of refugees and the killing and wounding of thousands, then it is time for such a government to resign.

Because of the situation of war that rages in the country, which has led to huge bombings even in the capital, all aid and tourism should cease. In one large explosion the Minister for Defence

Ranjan Wijeyaratne, despite extremes of security was killed along with 17 others. This is indeed an horrendous time in the history of beautiful Sri Lanka. We must be informed, and ache in our prayers as the tragedy continues. With new weapons arrived and arriving for the Sri Lankan military, this will cause the Tigers also to procure the next level of weapons. So, it goes on and on, and on. Our prayer is again for a ceasefire, peace and some outside peace keeping force

to ensure that permanent solutions can be found. We also call on all who supply weapons to this war to desist and those who supply finance to purchase such weapons to stop.

The Australian Government by now must see the error involved in the support of the corrupt Premadasa regime. Premadasa has resolved nothing for the Tamils. He has turned viciously on his own people including Tamils and Sinhalese and slain

tens of thousands. Australia cannot support a Pol Pot type regime which instead of using the ordinary processes of law, uses death squads to kill thousands, bombers and high powered military equipment to slay Tamils. To top all this off, it systematically stops all food and other aid for Tamil areas and Tamil refugees, contrary to what is said in the media.

Enough is enough. Premadasa will never be able to bring peace after this war of genocide and starvation. He has to retire like Marcos and others to wherever he

can flee and we will make a new start. To this end the LTTE has also to realize that a political solution must be sought with true vigour.

Let us hope that through this new Commission for Peace, the Sinhalese will be helped so that in this day and age no one tries to rule over other people and that autonomy and self-determination are likely to bring peace to all concerned.

This then will be an opportunity for the LTTE and the Tamils to respond warmly.

by

Rev. Richard F. Wootton,
Uniting Church
Melbourne,
Australia.

Courtesy: Tamil Update

Who was Thanu?

I read with interest the letter of Mr. S. Alagaratnam in the Hot Spring of 13-10-91 and a letter of Mr. R. Vadivel in your issue of 3-11-91 and the editor's comment thereon in regard to the question of "Who was Thanu?"

Earlier I had read an article in Frontline (Madras) and Uthayan (Jaffna).

In this connection I wish to quote here some relevant information, I gathered from Tamil Update quoting the AEP News Agency news released in New Delhi. This is how it reads:-

"NEW DELHI, June 25 (AFP) - Photographs of the woman suicide bomber who assassinated former premier

Rajiv Gandhi have so far not matched with any member of a Sri Lankan rebel suicide squad, an official source said Tuesday.

Investigators sifting through photographs of suicide squad members of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) have failed to identify the woman, suspected of membership in the island's largest rebel group, the source said.

A Special Investigation Team (SIT), charged with probing the May 21 assassination of Mr. Gandhi in the southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu, has said the killer belonged to a wing of the LTTE which conducted suicide missions.

"So far, we have not found one LTTE photograph matching the dead woman", one SIT Member said by telephone from Madras, Tamil Nadu's capital, adding that detectives were collecting more pictures of female rebel members.

"I have gone through LTTE Literature, group photographs and according to my opinion not one matches her description" the SIT member said.

"We are still looking for more LTTE literature, and then we will know for sure but so far... nothing" he said."

As far as we are aware nobody has even identified the dead woman as 'Thanu'. Still less is there any proof

that she is the assassin. Why be taken for a ride by mere press story?

—Thiraviyam—

Clergy Retreat 1991

Retreat for clergy of the Jaffna Catholic Church is being currently held at Pandatharippu and Madhu. The first session of the Retreat started on the 10th of this month and ended on the 16th.

The second sessions starts today November 17 and will continue till November 23.

Both sessions are being conducted under the direction of Rev. Fr. Philip Ponniah. The District Deans and Rev. Fr. Selvarajah have made the necessary arrangements states a news release from the Bishop House, Jaffna,

HOT SPRING

VOL: 2 SUNDAY 17th November 1991 ISSUE 6

Sabre - Rattling is fruitless

President Premadasa is reported to have sounded loud when addressing a meeting at Homagama electorate after declaring open a model village there.

According to the report he has said that his government is elected by the people and that therefore his government would not —

(a) Submit to any foreign power

(b) Permit any internal force to impinge on the sovereignty of his country.

If President Premadasa thinks that democracy is practised only in his country he is sadly mistaken. He is not the only ruler in the world who claims to be popularly elected. There are many others — like Mr. George Bush of the USA — who are elected on the basis of popular will. One need not go on adding names because most of the countries in the world have popularly elected Governments.

Perhaps President Premadasa is compelled to keep on reminding his popular base because he himself very much doubts it!

The peoples in this island know very well the quality of democracy prevalent here. A one time member of Parliament and minister called Ceylon's democracy a fraudocracy. Perhaps President Premadasa admits much the same. A few weeks back he himself referred to how Mr. Gamini Dissanayake, a former Cabinet member of his government frustrated District Councils elections in the North when Mr. Dissanayake and he (as Prime Minister) were in the Cabinet of Mr. J. R. Jayawardhene.

If President Premadasa is not responsible for negation of democracy personally he is still vicariously guilty of the offence of negating democracy both as President now and as Prime Minister under Mr. J. R. Jayawardhene.

The talk about refusing to submit to foreign pressure is something uncalled for and shows the hollowness of the diplomatic skill of President Premadasa. He does not directly accuse any state of trying to do this or that to secure his submission but makes a general statement. It is not diplomatic for the Head of a state and Government to say something and tell all the world 'wear the cap if it fits you'.

President Premadasa may or may not have sufficient cause to be angry with India over the failure of the recent SAARC Conference scheduled to have been held in Colombo in the first week of this month but no useful purpose will be served by sabre-rattling against any unnamed enemy and involving the whole world.

President Premadasa has also said that he would not allow any internal force to impinge on the sovereignty of his country.

We have time and again pointed out that the current war in this island is really a legitimacy crisis.

The island of Ceylon is composed of two different nations — Tamils and Sinhalese. Both had their separate states until both were separately conquered by Imperialists. The imperialists lumped together the two nations and ever since the last imperial master left the island leaving the Government to the Sinhala nation not a single Sinhala Government had been able to win the confidence of the Tamil nation — be it the UNP or SLFP Governments.

The Government of Ceylon lost all legitimacy over the Tamil Nation when in 1972 Tamil Eelam voters refused to give the necessary mandate to change the Soulbury Constitution. Nevertheless the Soulbury constitution was abolished and a new constitution made by the Sinhala nation.

The 1972 and the 1978 constitutions are Sinhala made constitutions for the Sinhalese. The Tamils rejected both constitutions.

From 1948 onwards there was a de facto illegitimacy for the Sinhala Government over Tamil Eelam. From 1972 onwards this de facto illegitimacy also became de jure illegitimacy.

So if President Premadasa speaks of sovereignty of Sinhala Rata we have no quarrels with him. But if he includes Tamil Eelam as also forming part of his sovereign state we challenge him to test his claim by agreeing to a plebiscite in Tamil Eelam.

G. C. E. (O/L) STUDENTS PROTEST

G.C.E.(O/L) Students took out a procession on Wednesday, November 13th and marched to the office of the Regional Director of Education and handed over a memorandum to the Chief Education Officer.

The students both boys and girls who took out the procession are students in the G. C. E. (O/L) who for nearly one year had been hoping that a Special Examination would be held for them, as promised, throughout the whole of this year at various times.

The G. C. E. (O/L) Examination for 1990 was not held in the North and many cen-

tres in the East in December, 1990 because of the war situation.

The Director of Education (Northern Region) indicated several times that a Special Examination would be held sometime this year to enable candidates who could not sit for the G. C. E. (O/L) Examination in December, 1990. But no such examination has been held up to now, though steps are being announced for December, 1991 Examination. Nothing has so far been mentioned about the fate of students who applied for the December, 1990 Examination. Not even a word that these students will be permitted to

sit the Examination on the basis of their 1990 applications, in December, 91. It is relevant to mention here that a Special Examination for G.C.E. (A/L) students was held this year — the normal Examination for 1990 being also disturbed by the war.

Students pointed out that the G. C. E. (O/L) Examination was only a qualifying Examination as distinct from the G. C. E. (A/L) Examination which is a highly competitive Examination for University Entrance.

They also said that at the most, the G. C. E. (O/L) Examination would be over in a week's time. Yet the promised G. C. E. (O/L) Examination was not held. New students of the following year (1991) are getting ready to sit for the Examination. But nothing is known about the fate of 1990 students.

The non-holding of the Special Examination for G. C. E. (O/L) students of 1990 has caused great anxiety amongst students, parents and teachers.

The Wednesday procession of students was the outburst of pent up feelings of one year's patient waiting.

The students in their memorandum demanded the holding of the Special Examination for them.

Again in Manal Aru Sri Lankan Military Offensive

Three bombers and an Avro plane belonging to the Sri Lankan Air Force bombed heavily Kokkuthoduvai village in the Manal Aru area on Monday, November 11. The bombing operations started about 7-00 a. m.

At the same time as the planes were bombing a helicopter belonging to the Sri Lankan Air Force also started firing from above. Also artillery shells were fired from the Sri Lankan Army Camps.

Details of damage have not been received.

1-11-91

Alfred Jeyarajah (30) a fisherman was injured and admitted to the Jaffna hospital, after he sustained injuries, when the Sri Lankan Navy fired at him whilst he was fishing in the seas near Poonakary - Kalmunai.

2-11-91

Helicopter opened fire at Araly and Punnalaikadduvan. Damages not verified. Sri Lankan Navy opened fire on

around the area. Four civilians died.

4-11-91

Artillery shell attack and machine gun fire from the Sri Lankan Army stationed at Mandativu and Poovarasam Tivu directed towards Passaiyoor and Gurunagar. Sri Lankan Army stationed at Karainagar fired artillery shells towards Ponnalai. Sri Lankan Army fired artillery shells towards Kombadi and Ooriyan.

Poonakary. Many houses were reported damaged.

7-11-91

Helicopter opened fire at Chavakachcheri. Some houses were reported damaged. Sri Lankan naval gun boats attacked a fishing boat off the seas at Vadamaradchy East. One fisherman jumped into the sea and swam ashore to safety. The damaged boat was washed ashore. The dead body of another fisherman, Murugupillai Shanthakumar, was washed ashore two days later near Nagarkovil. The deceased was a refugee from Uduthurai in Vadamaradchy East and was living at Mamunai.

8-11-91

Sri Lankan Army at Varuthalai vilan near Palaly fired shells towards the villages in Valikamam North.

NEWS ROUND UP

fishermen who were fishing in the seas off Point Pedro. Thamiyampillai Aseervatham (38) died on the spot. Anbu Rose Anton (20) was injured and admitted to Manthikai Base Hospital. Artillery shell attacks at Mathagal and Arali. Many Houses were damaged.

3-11-91

Artillery shell attack from Elephant Pass Army Camp

5-11-91

Artillery shell attack from Elephant Pass Army Camp towards residential areas of Ooriyan and Iyakachchi.

Sri Lankan Army stationed at Palaly fired artillery shells towards villages in Valikamam North.

6-11-91

Cannon fire from naval gun boats off the seas towards

Big Schools Catch Up

St. John's College creates history by breaking old traditions and issuing Certificates of Character in Tamil for the first time to students leaving school.

Earlier the school tradition was to issue these certificates in the English Language.

The change is understood to be a sequel to the recent school prize-day functions held in the North wherein the students' medium of instruction was given pride of place by the guest speakers in their Prize Day Addresses, as published in the Hot Spring

under the caption "Cultural Revolution in Jaffna's Big Schools."

The lead given by St. John's in this respect by issuing Certificates of Character in the Students' medium of instruction is a happy augury which is worthy of emulation, by other Educational institutions as well.

- Venthan -