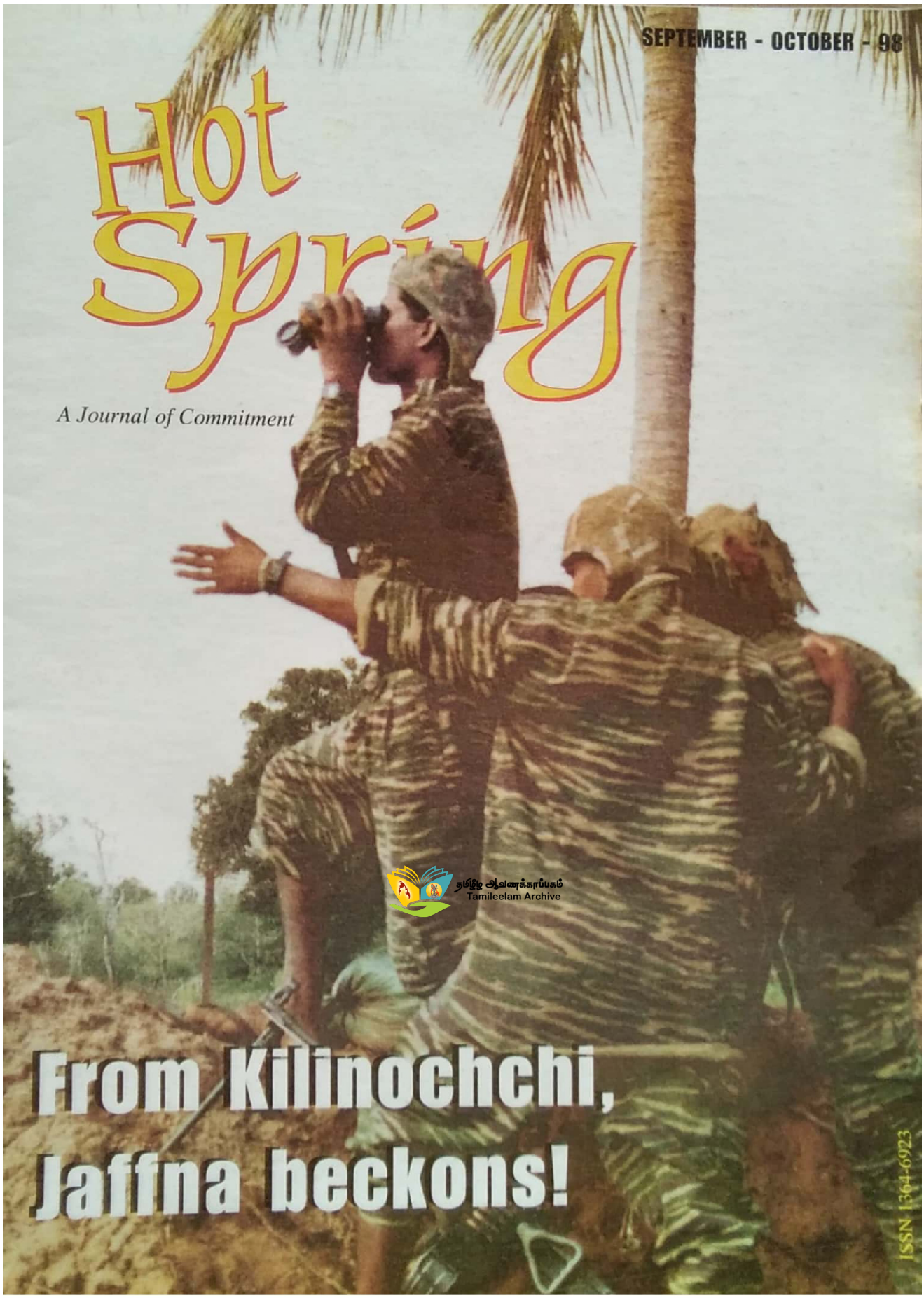


தமிழீழ ஆவணக்காப்பகம்
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# TAMIL EELAM WOMEN'S DAY 10 OCTOBER

*October 10 every year is observed as Women's Day in honour of 2nd Lt.Malathy, the first woman Tiger who gave up her life in action on that day in the year 1987, as well in remembrance of all women fighters who sacrificed their lives in the Tamil freedom struggle.*



தமிழீழ ஆவணக்காப்பகம்
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Ms.Sahayaseeli Pedro
04-01-1967 10-10-1987
Adampan, Mannar

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Hot Spring
A Journal of commitment
Vol: 3 No: 7 September -October 1998

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*Published by*
Melrose Publications Ltd.
U.K.

**Price: £1.50**

*Annual subscription*
(for 12 issues):

| | |
|---|---|
| UK | *£18* |
| Europe | *£20* |
| Outside Europe | *£22* |

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

*(all inclusive of postage)*

No personal cheques of foreign Banks (non UK) are entertained.
(This applies to all new Subscriptions and Renewals)

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

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*Editorial Comment*

# From Kilinochchi, Jaffna beckons!

**There comes in the course of any war, a TURNING POINT. That was what happened in Kilinochchi in the early hours of September 27 - a decisive, qualitative change in a war which successive governments in Sri Lanka have been waging without end for fifteen years.**

Territory might be lost and gained and military camps and bases get overrun, which is all part of war. The Sri Lankan armed forces have enough experience in recent years of seeing their camps overrun by the Liberation Tigers, and each time it happens it has been described as the worst. Some examples:

*"Army suffers worst defeat in Eelam war as camp run over" - headline in SUNDAY TIMES, Colombo, August 1, 1993.*

That was the Janakapura army camp.

*"The day the base crumbled" THE ISLAND, November 21, 1993*

That was about the Pooneryn-Nagatheevanthurai base comnplex.

*"The Mandaitivu debacle"*

THE ISLAND "Defence Correspondent", July 2, 1995

*"Manadaitivu was a sitting duck"*

Iqbal Athas in SUNDAY TIMES, July 2, 1995

That was about the LTTE'S amphibious assault on the island.

*"They say it was the worst defeat the army suffered in the civil war..."*

SUNDAY LEADER, Colombo, July 28, 1996.

That was of course about the ignominious rout at Mullaitivu.




Tamil Eelam Archive

But what happened during the three days following September 27 this year was a different kettle of fish. It was not the case of overrunning a base or a camp. The Sri Lankan army-controlled military complex in the Kilinochchi-Paranthan-Elephant Pass axial line south of the Jaffna peninsula has now come into LTTE hands. As a political commentator described it, **Prabhakaran is now at the gates of Jaffna!**

Away in the U.S. on a fund-raising campaign for his party, Opposition leader Ranil Wickremasinghe has described the army setback at Kilinochchi as "crucial" and as one more stage of the LTTE strategy to encircle Jaffna. Even the Colombo Press, no friend of the Tamils, is running out of words to describe what

*(Continued on Page 3)*

# What They Say



"One of the main conditions for talks (with the LTTE) is that the country should remain undivided. By calling for unconditional talks, is Ranil Wickremasinghe asking for division of the country.... There is evidence of an understanding between the LTTE and the UNP to work together with the aim of toppling the government".

*- President Chandrika Kumaratunga tells ruling party supporters, as reported by the government-controlled DAILY NEWS.*

* * * * *

"Chandrika Bandaranaike appears quite unpresidential in her style of speaking and her unrelenting attacks on her political opponents. She appears to consider them as enemies rather than opponents with different political views".

*- P.R.de Silva, of the University of Canterbury, New Zealand, writing on "The Bandaranaike legacy" in the SUNDAY LEADER, Sept.13, '98*

* * * * *



"India should help in negotiating a peaceful solution to the Sri Lankan Tamil problem. India does have a role to play in finding a solution to the Tamil problem. India must render moral support..."

*- Prof.G.L.Peiris, Sri Lankan Minister of Justice, speaking at a Press Conference in Chennai on September 1, quoted in the ASIAN AGE, Sept.2.*

* * * * *



"They (the erstwhile Tamil militant groups) work for their shelter, clothing and security. They do it in a more blatant way than their erstwhile foster parent, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) who do the same things more gently, suavely and diplomatically - no doubt due to their long-standing experience and expertise in these matters."

*- G.G.Ponnambalam (Jr.) in the SUNDAY LEADER, Sept. 13.*

* * * * *



"We give notice hereby to the UNP, the PA, and to all powerhungry politicians in general, that should peace negotiations with the Tigers be initiated, we will take whatever steps are necessary on behalf of all the people in this country who have suffered at their hands ".

*- warning by the National Movement Against Terrorism in an open letter to UNP and Opposition leader Ranil Wickremasinghe.*

* * * * *

Dear Handsome If I do not speak to you before you leave, and when I return from LA it will have been two months since we last spoke. Please do not do this to me. I feel disposable, used, and insignificant. I understand your hands are tied, but I want to talk to you "

*-Monica Lewinsky in a letter to President Clinton.*

* * * * *

## International



"I actually interviewed the people he sodomised, the women he had sex with, the driver who brought the women to the place where he met them. These were told to me without the presence of the police or anybody.... several of them said this man is not fit to become a leader".

*-Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamed, after the arrest of his erstwhile deputy and former heir-apparent Anwar Ibrahim.*

* * * * *

"Yes, my dignity, like Mrs.(Sonia) Gandhi said, is to follow my husband. Somebody has to carry on the fight.".

*- Anwar Ibrahim's wife Ms.Wan Azizah Wan Ismail, in defence of her husband.*

* * * * *

"A good young woman with a good heart and a good mind"

*- President Clinton on Monica Lewinsky*

* * * * *



"I thought he had a beautiful soul.I just thought he was just this incredible person", and when I looked at him I saw a little boy..."

*- Monica Lewinsky on President Clinton.*

* * * * *

"He is running the country well. He's just not running his life very well".

*- Morley Fogel, a retired salesman and Democrat on Clinton, quoted by NEWSWEEK.*

* * * * *

Tamileelam Archive

(Continued from Page 1)

happened there. "Kilinochchi calamity", says the Iqbal Athas column in the SUNDAY TIMES. "Kilinochchi Slaughterhouse", says Roy Denish in the SUNDAY LEADER. Apart from the loss of a territory that is of tremendous strategic relevance today, the permanent loss of army morale as was seen when thousands of soldiers manning the 15km. long line of defence fled in the face of the LTTE's relentless artillery fire, what must hurt the government most was the unprecedented gifting away to the Tigers of heavy weaponry. Two 130mm long range artillery pieces are among those believed captured by the Tigers. The haul of guns, ammunition and vehicles that fell into LTTE hands was so vast that a large number of civilians were brought in to remove them.



*Heavy artillery captured by the Tigers*

This of course was not the first time that General Ratwatte was giving away to the Tigers what the arms dealers were buying for him : and at no cost to the Tigers.In Mullaitivu in July '96, the Tigers captured what was then the largest haul of armament artillery, armoured vehicles, small arms, communication equipment and so on. The Kilinochchi booty this time was by all accounts even bigger. Ho Chi Minh commenting on his great victory over the French at Dien Bien Phu in 1954 used to boast that he "lost not a single tank or plane" - for he had none to lose ! In fifteen years of war LTTE leader Prabhakaran can claim to match Ho Chi Minh's record.

More than the loss of men, which in urban Colombo's political calculations do not amount to any major worry as long as there are enough unemployed village youths who gamble with their lives on the battlefield to support their families, one would think it is this habit of gifting away millions and millions rupees worth of heavy weaponry to the enemy is what should bother any government with self-respect. But so lucrative is the arms business, and so massive is the inflow of military hardware, so huge is the war budget, and so insensitive is Sinhala public opinion, that it makes as much impression on the Sri Lankan psyche as water on a duck's back. But how long will it take the Sinhala public to free themselves from the deception being practised on them by their political masters who are waging the war for personal benefit? Stanley Karnow writing on the price that the Americans paid in fighting a peasant army in Vietnam wrote: *"The public, distressed by mounting casualties, rising taxes, and no prospect of a solution in sight, turned against the war long before America's political leaders did"*. That is not something that one could rule out in Sri Lanka, but if that situation arises too late, it could even result in Sinhala opinion wanting peace at any cost, even at the cost of an independent Tamil state. Not a happy prospect for armchair commentators who talk blithely of a future Tamil Eelam being a "pipe dream".

Two days after the government lost whatever hope there was of opening a land route to Jaffna via Kilinochchi, there occurred the other disturbing incident. A Russian-made Antonov transport plane belonging to the private airline, LIONAIR, went missing during a flight from Jaffna to Colombo. Along with the other private airline MONARA , the two of them operate four to five flights a day. Lionair ferries government troops as well, sometimes sending an Antonov with civilians ahead of two other similar planes carrying troops, so as to make sure only Tamil civilians get targetted by possible LTTE fire. The plane that went down that day carried civilians , practically all of them Tamils. With both airlines suspending their flights from that day, even the air bridge between Colombo and Jaffna - the only physical link between north and south, ceased to function. Think of the irony-the north virtually seceding from the south!

Compounding the tragedy of the plane victims was the pathetic comedy being staged by the Sri Lankan war minister, "General" Ratwatte in Colombo. Several days after the ICRC handed over the bodies of 684 soldiers, government figures given as late as October 8 said that 136 soldiers, including four officers were the only ones killed in the Kilinochchi battle, with 426 being wounded. Any non-military citizen in Colombo who knew how to count could have seen nearly 1,000 wounded soldiers in Colombo and Ragama hospitals on that very day. Inability to count is excusable, considering the quality of Sri Lankan military leadership and the exciting times that it is going through, but stupidity in high places is scandalous. What is worse, refusing to inform the sorrowing kith and kin of losses of their sons and brothers under the convenient label of "Missing in Action", may be a ruse to avoid paying pensions, but it is downright treachery against the very youths who had given up their lives, at the government's bidding. What better can you expect from a government that ploughed down a whole cemetery of Tiger martyrs in Jaffna, built and adorned with veneration by the LTTE?

*S Sivanayagam*

# Charge of the Jayasikuru Brigade!

## Based on gleanings from Hot Spring editorial of April-May '98 and with apologies to Alfred Lord Tennyson's poem "The Charge of the Light Brigade" (1854)

I

*Charge of the "Jayasikuru" brigade*
*Israeli Dvoras! Super Dvoras!, to the RIGHT of them.*
*Checho T-55 Battle Tanks!, to the LEFT of them.*
*Ukrainian Antonou-32s!, to the NORTH of them.*
*Chinese Y-8s!, T-12s!, and F-5, to the SOUTH of them.*
*American Bell 212s!, all to the EAST of them.*
*Argentinian Puccara Aircraft to the WEST of them.*
*Russian Mi-24 Gunships hovering o'ver them.*
*American (spy) Green Beret Commandos training them.*
*Air Marshals!, Rear Admirals!, Defence Chiefs!, directing them*

**Mission "Jayasikuru" volleyed and Thundered!**

II

*Such was the canopy of the "Jayasikuru" Brigade,*
*Constituted of conscripted deserters of all grades!*
*Thirty thousand strong, all massed in Army Divisions three*
*Plodding to the Vanni Jungle of Eelam, furtively*
*In a swift operation programmed for three months only*
*To combat an IDEAL THAT HAS BECOME REAL FLESH AND BLOOD,*
*An IDEAL DEADLIER THAN ALL THE ARMIES OF THE GLOBE,*
*An IDEAL WHICH, IN THE FULLNESS OF TIME, HAS BEEN RE-BORN,*
*AS THE INDEPENDENT TAMIL EELAM STATE OF CEYLON!*

**Mission "Jayasikuru" dithered and quivered!**

III

*Military Hardware they had from ten different Nations,*
*In contrast to our Arsenal of COURAGE, PLEDGE, and PRUDENCE!*
*Our Emancipators gather in thousands incognito*
*Invading fortified camps, killing thousands in one go!*
*Your Arsenal in toto, is taken at their leisure,*
*Then, using the selfsame weaponry for your massacre!*
*The end is not in sight for the mother of all Battles,*
*Your Charge-Brigade has suffered mountainous DEBACLES;*
*Army desertions escalating to an all-time high,*
*With eight futile amnesties; - Enforced conscription is nigh!*
*You wage this WAR NOT against the "Child Soldiers of Eelam"*
*BUT CONFRONT THE "ESPRIT de CORPS" of the TAMIL NATION,*
*WHOSE SOLIDARITY OF IDEAL VOUCHES LIBERATION!*

**Mission "Jayasikuru" floundered and routed!**

Welch Jeyaraj Balasingham
Slaithwaite Road
Lewisham SE13 6DJ

# MILITARY ASCENDANCY OVER CIVIL GOVERNMENT

1. The policy of using military power to suppress internal dissent within a state is fraught with grave dangers for the state. In a situation where such a policy embroils the military in a long-drawn-out, unwinnable, unendable guerilla war it is probably inevitable that the ascendancy of the military over civil government will occur. The transition of the military from servant to master has happened often.

2. The signals of such an evolution in Sri Lanka are plain to any percipient observer. **The imposition of a blanket censorship on all independent military news in June '98 was explained by the Deputy Defence Minister as being in response to a demand by the forces in the theatre of operations. There was not the slightest hint that the civil government might have a policy different to that of the military on such an important matter within the civil domain.**

3. More ominous still is the military's refusal to provide security for elections outside the war zone. Almost certainly there were genuine operational reasons for this. The result, however, is that the elections in question - those to already dissolved provincial councils - cannot be held. The provincial council structure has been an integral part of the island's constitutional framework for the last 10 years. It is now set to disappear for an indefinite duration until the military can spare the manpower for a large-scale security operation outside the war zone.

4. The need for large-scale security deployment to ensure security for voters and for campaigning political parties is the culmination of a sequence of developments which themselves stem from the use of military force in the civil domain. The armed challenge to the employment of the military to suppress the political programme of Tamil nationalism has compelled the state to deploy military forces to safeguard its vital infrastructure - the ports of Colombo, Galle and Trincomalee, the oil refinery, installations for the generation and distribution of electricity, telecommunication and broadcasting centres, transport facilities, water supplies, Parliament itself, ministries of government and a host of other institutional facilities.

## Adrian Wijemanne



The personal security of senior political figures from the President on down, has become a dominant priority after a series of political assassinations. By a progressive evolution the present situation has been reached where each of the 225 members of parliament is provided 8 armed guards and each of the 300 provincial councillors 4 armed guards, all paid and armed by the state. Cabinet Ministers, Junior Ministers, Chief Ministers and ministers of Provincial Councils all get higher numbers of armed guards according to their importance. In addition to all this some Tamil political parties which provide military support for the army have also been armed by the state.

A large military presence within the civil arena results inevitably in the leakage of arms and ammunition into the hands of the criminal elements in a progressively disaffected public. It is known that many members of all political parties either possess or have access to heavy weaponry in addition to side arms. The 1997 Pradeshiya Sabha elections witnessed over 2200 recorded incidents of open, broad-daylight, undisguised violence, including the murder of an M.P.. Very few of these cases have resulted in legal action. Unreported and unrecorded cases of election violence on that occasion could well be an high proportion of the number recorded. Since then the progressive deterioration of the law and order situation has continued. **Several thousand army deserters are at large, unapprehended due to political protection. Many of them have deserted along with their weapons and all have experience in their use.** In such a tinder-box context the armed supporters of bitterly opposed political parties could lend to a country-wide election many of the characteristics of a civil war during which the majority of the law-abiding population which is "caught in the cross-fire" may choose to save their lives rather than cast their votes. **Thus without a massive military deployment countrywide elections have become impossible in Sri Lanka.**

5. More important elections than elections to provincial councils are now in the offing - a Parliamentary General Election in the year 2000 and a Presidential election later the same

year. Each of them will be far more hotly contested than Provincial Council elections and so would require an even greater security deployment by the military. If the military situation has deteriorated by then from what it is now, the military could be unable to spare the needed personnel , once again on quite genuine operational grounds. In that event these vital elections too will not be held resulting in the basic foundation of the civil constitutional structure being dependent on military expediency. Even if civil government continues thereafter, its moral validity and relevance within the body politic would be greatly attenuated, so greatly, indeed, that its disappearance would be barely noticed.

6. At present there is no lively apprehension of these dangers due to a widespread confidence in early and sweeping military success. The president, who is the commander-in-chief of the military forces, has declared the war is gradually coming to a close and could well be finished by the end of this year. This display of confidence follows hard on the heels of a severe military reversal in early June in the Wanni which is the main theatre of engagement now. It was immediately after this reversal that the blanket censorship on independent military news was imposed. Since that reverse, the state's forces have not resumed large-scale operations in this theatre.

7. The President, the entire military establishment and the whole of Sinhala society without a single exception are absolutely convinced that a military victory, which ends the LTTE as a military force, is possible. **The manifest fact that the LTTE has gone from strength to strength during the 15 years of the conflict, despite suffering severe military setbacks all along the way, is ignored as irrelevant.** It is not understood that in nationalist guerilla wars of secession, fought on the guerillas' home ground, the guerillas grow stronger, not weaker, with the passage of time. This is unquestionably the Sri Lankan experience as well, yet it is totally incomprehensible to the Sinhala side. The Sinhala mind is hermetically sealed against the intrusion of reality.

8. The Tamil secessionist movement on the island is the consequence of growing Tamil nationalism. **The attempt to destroy Tamil nationalism by military force, far from achieving that end, will instead destroy civil government within Sinhala society, encumber it with a military dictatorship and lead eventually and inevitably to Indian military intervention.** The rising military ascendancy over the civil power is the beginning of this ineluctable sequence of events.

*29th July '98*
*CAMBRIDGE*

*Military ascendancy?*

# We will crush the last Tiger, says Ratwatte!

தமிழ் ஆவணகம்
Tamileelam Archive


(Photo courtesy THE ISLAND)

## RATWATTE ON HIS HIGH HORSE!

Sri Lanka's governing coalition wants a 28 percent increase in military spending, vowing to crush the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam guerrillas and ruling out talks to end the 15-year insurgency.

**"We will never give the LTTE another chance to reorganize on the pretext of peace talks. We pledge to fight until we destroy the last terrorist," the state-run Daily News quoted Anuruddha Ratwatte, the junior defense minister, as saying at a public meeting.**

The ruling party on Wednesday asked parliament for 12.2 billion rupees (dlrs 184 million) more than the 44 billion rupees (dlrs 665 million) which was budgeted for the military for 1998. Parliament is likely to approve the increase later this month, officials said.

The government did not give a reason for the increase, which brings the total defense spending to 56.2 billion rupees (dlrs 850 million).

President Chandrika Kumaratunga has repeatedly said that she will not negotiate unless the guerrillas give up their weapons, but opposition leader Ranil Wickremasinghe recently urged the government to hold unconditional talks.

# Sinhalese M.P. speaks out on the sufferings of Tamils

*The following interview was broadcast on the Tamil segment of the Australian Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) on 13 September 1998.*

*Dr Jayalath Jayawardene is a member of the Sri Lankan parliament, representing the opposition United National party. He is the party spokesman for affairs relating to the relief and rehabilitation of displaced people in Sri Lanka. In May, Dr Jayawardene visited Madhu, near Mannar, the northern part of Sri Lanka that had a Tamil refugee population of nearly 50,000. The events that followed his visited to Madhu are interesting. Since his return the Tamil driver who accompanied him to Madhu, was arrested by the security forces. Dr Jayawardene himself was interrogated by the CID almost 2 months after the visit. The leader of the opposition, Mr Ranil Wickramesinghe called for unconditional talks with the LTTE to solve the ethnic problem in the country. And the president, Mrs Chandrika Kumaratunga has accused the UNP, in particular Dr Jayawardene, of conniving with the LTTE to overthrow her regime. Yesterday I spoke to Dr Jayawardene and obtained the following interview.*


தமிழீழ ஆவணக்காப்பகம்
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*DR JAYAWARDENE*

**SBS-** Good morning Dr Jayawardene

**DR JAYAWARDENE-** Good morning to you.

**SBS-** Recently, you visited the Mannar region, in fact to Madhu to see the refugee situation there and the plight of the refugees there.

**DR JAYAWARDENE-** That's right.

**SBS-** Now before we go into the details of you trying to explain the suffering of the people, there I like to sort of go into the background of the issues that have happened since your visit, because apparently you were taken in for interrogation. Can you explain the circumstances please?

**DR JAYAWARDENE-** Yes, in the area Vanni, there are more than 1/2 million people who are in a very pathetic situation. They are suffering without food, without medicine and without even drinking water. And my recent visit to Madhu, was to see what is happening there and the nature of the suffering of the innocent people. Because I believe in going and seeing their problems then and there. Even risking my life. And on the 18 May 1998 I requested the Ministry of Defense to grant me permission to go to Madhu for a pilgrimage. On the 18 May, the Ministry of Defense granted me the permission to go there. In addition to being a member for parliament, because I am a life member of Sri Lanka Red Cross (SLRC), so I requested from the North East coordinator of SLRC Mr Kishore to accompany me along with another Catholic priest Right Rev Father Alfred Alexander, who is also a human rights activist who is also drawing attention to the sufferings of the innocent people in the North and East. And the three of us went to Vavuniya on the 29 May, underwent all the Security checks by the Sri Lankan Security Forces and then from there in a convoy we proceeded to Madhu. I was there for 3 days in Madhu till the 1 June 1998.

**SBS-** Where did you stay in Madhu, Dr Jayawardene?

**DR JAYAWARDENE-** I stayed in Madhu church camp. And there is an UNHCR refugee camp where there are about 30000 refugees are living.

**SBS-** These are Tamil refugees?

**DR JAYAWARDENE-** Tamil refugees. And when I went over there, this was an area controlled by the LTTE. There are no government security forces there. When I went over there I saw how the people were suffering. They are suffering from malaria, typhoid, even tuberculosis and even leprosy. The children are malnourished, severely malnourished. They don't have medicine, sufficient medicine, sufficient quantities of food, not even drinking water. And the representative of the refugees who met me informed me of their innocent sufferings. When I came back on the 2nd June I issued a press release and I informed the relevant government authorities, authorities about the suffering of the innocent people. But the government was very embarrassed of my going there and visiting these refugees, and looking into and highlighting their problems there. What they did was, you know, the Lake

House news agency, which is owned by the government. The Sinhala newspaper on the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th and the 8th of June carried headline news to say that a UNP member of parliament has gone to Vanni illegally and tried to have discussions with the LTTE.

**SBS-** Now when you were in Madhu, did you have any discussions with the LTTE?

**DR JAYAWARDENE-** I had discussions with so many of the Tamil representatives. I was not bothered whether they were LTTE or not. I was bothered for the suffering of the innocent people, whether they are Sinhalese, or Tamils or Muslims. As I indicated to you in the beginning, you know, I have been to vulnerable areas of the Muslims, vulnerable areas where the Sinhala people are living for the last 4 years. As a human rights activist, I strongly believe that there cannot be an ethnic bar to a human rights activist to provide humanitarian assistance. So the Sinhala paper was trying to project me as a traitor to the Sinhala people for looking after and highlighting the, sufferings of the innocent Tamil people. And on the 12th of June with permission from the speaker of parliament I made a statement in the parliament. Giving the details of my visit to Madhu and what was my intention and what I have seen. Then you know on the 9th, sorry on the 8th of September, president Chandrika Kumaratunga has made a statement in Kurunagala which is a Sinhala dominated area saying that, you know, I had an alleged conspiracy with the LTTE to topple the People's Alliance Government, she has named me as Dr Jayalath Jayawardene and the LTTE political wing leader Mr Thamil Chelvan.

**SBS-** Is there any truth to it?

**DR JAYAWARDENE-** As I told you, I met the Tamil leaders in the Vanni, but I did not meet Mr Thamil Chelvan. But I can tell you now, for the sake of the peace in a united country and the sake of fair play to all the people in Sri Lanka, all the Sri Lankans who are living in Sri Lanka, irrespective of ethnicity. Now I will be exploring all the possibilities of meeting the Tamil LTTE leadership in any part of the country. And the president has openly come out, she has you know, in Sinhala language she has more or less insulted me and tried to tarnish my political image and my political career, and to project me as a traitor to the Sri Lankan people.

**SBS-** Dr Jayawardene, why did it take more than almost 2 months since your visit for the President of Sri Lanka to make those comments?


தமிழீழ ஆவணக்காப்பகம்
Tamileelam Archive

*Ranil Wickremasinghe*

**DR JAYAWARDENE-** Because you know, my leader the Honorable Ranil Wickremesinghe, Leader of the Opposition and the Leader of the UNP, has very recently, openly and officially announced that the government should start talks with the LTTE unconditionally. I think that must have embarrassed the president. What Honourable Ranil Wickremesinghe says now, "Let the war to continue, but let us for the sake of peace, to start talk to LTTE unconditionally without laying down any conditions."

**SBS-** In fact you had a discussion with Mr Ranil Wickremasinghe this morning you tell me?

**DR JAYAWARDENE-** That's right. Yes. I met the Honorable Ranil Wickremesinghe The leader of my party and the Leader of the opposition. I met the chairman of the party, Mayor of Colombo, Mr Karu Jayasuriya. And I'm proud to tell you, even at the parliament, the general secretary of the party Mr Gamini Athukorala has stood up for my work and he has mentioned in the parliament that he, the general secretary of the party and the UNP will back my position and they will take entire responsibility of my work, what I am doing for the sake of the peace of this country.

**SBS-** In your discussion with Mr Wickremesinghe, has he indicated that if the UNP comes to power, that they will unconditionally have dialogue with the LTTE?

**DR JAYAWARDENE-** Definitely yes. Even if before coming in to power, even now we are ready. He wanted me to go again to Vanni. I don't know whether the government will give me permission or not to go to Vanni to see the suffering of the innocent people.

**SBS-** Dr Jayawardene, lot of people might be cynical in what you say because the current embargo of food and medicines was put in place when the UNP was in power, long before the PA took power in Sri Lanka. What are your comments on that?

**DR JAYAWARDENE-** Yes, well you know, ours is a political party with a very wide vision. We don't want to do the same thing we have done in the past. We are always willing to accept our mistakes. We don't try to have a strong position in an issue. When the time comes we have to be flexible. We are changing. Our party does not only belong to only one family. For last 30-40 years, our leaders have been changed. Ours is a truly a Democratic Party. And I as a backbencher, you could understand has taken up this initiative, with the blessing of the UNP so you can understand the new vision of the UNP, under a new leadership. We are trying to be a new political party. A new UNP.

**SBS-** Dr Jayawardene, a lot of international media and diplomats may say, under the initiative that was taken by Mr Liam Fox, a British Diplomat, that he basically wanted the 2 parties to agree on any issues that might solve the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka.

**DR JAYAWARDENE-** That's right.

**SBS-** And a lot of people might say why is not Mr Rani Wickremasinghe agreeing with the PA in tying to come out with solutions.

**DR JAYAWARDENE-** Mr Ranil Wickremesinghe was the first person to give his consent. Within 2 days after signing the Liam Fox agreement, he summoned his poli-bureau, that is the working committee, and he got the approval from the working committee of the party. That means that the entire party indorsed the commitment of the Liam Fox agreement. And he gave an undertaking to the government as an opposition party as an opposition leader, that he will not undermine any peace talks which the government was going to initiate with the LTTE. But that the government took the responsibility gave the assurance that the government will keep the leader of the opposition informed. You know, look what happened after the bomb blast at the Sri Dhalada Maligawa, in Kandy. Before banning the LTTE, the government did not consult, or at least inform the leader of the opposition, that they are going to take these steps. Therefore we blame the government for not adhering to the Liam Fox agreement.

**SBS-** Dr Jayawardene, you earlier said you were taken by the SRLC driver and you went Madhu. Now he was arrested subsequently and apparently he is still being held and he is being subjected for interrogation. Can you please explain the situation behind that?

**DR JAYAWARDENE-** Yes. You know the driver by the name of Mr D Pathmanathan, he has been visiting the un-cleared areas of Vanni, 3 times a week and supplying food, medicines and even carrying mail bags to the people who are living in un-cleared areas. And even transporting the patients and even the dead bodies on both sides to the respective two sides. I requested from Mr Kishore, who is the NorthEast coordinator for Red Cross SLRC, to provide me transport from Vavuniya to go the Madhu. So this driver was instructed by Mr Kishore to take me to Madhu. So on our return on the 7th June, he was arrested by CID at the NIB National Intelligence Bureau of Sri Lanka, and assaulted and tortured. And they are asking him to give a statement about my visit to Vanni and about the people who I have met, whether I have had any discussion with the LTTE, whether I have had any other activities in the Vanni region. So he has indicated in a statement, that he was only the driver and he was requested to take me and drop me in Vanni in Madhu and that's all he was aware. Without any reason he has been taken into custody under the prevention of Terrorism Act and he has been remanded indefinitely. So far he has not been charged in any court of law. You see the motive behind was, to get him to make a false statement to say that I have had a discussion with the LTTE to take me into custody under the prevention of Terrorism Act.

**SBS-** Dr Jayawardene, when you were in Madhu you said you saw at first hand, the suffering of the Tamil people there as refugees. Now have you taken that issue, not so much with the government, but with non-governmental organizations, international organizations, which are based in Colombo?

**DR JAYAWARDENE-** Yes. As I indicated to you I have already issued a press statement. I have sent a copy of the press statement to all the diplomatic missions in Sri Lanka and to all the NGOs. There is a north taskforce, the consortium of all the non-governmental organizations, which are working in the North and east, but I must tell you they are helpless.

**SBS-** Why is that so?

**DR JAYAWARDENE-** Because they have to work in line with the government policies and they have their own mandates.

**SBS-** Dr Jayawardene, you have done some commendable work, you have dared to go into Vanni where many Tamil politicians have not gone and first hand seen the plight of the people there and reported not only locally but also internationally at the cost of your own safety. I must thank you very much for the interview you have given.

**DR JAYAWARDENE-** Thank you very much.

**SBS-** Thank you very much Dr Jayawardene.

❑ ❑ ❑

# Chemmani mass graves: Appeal to UNHRC

The relatives of some 600 disappeared persons in Sri Lanka's northern Jaffna peninsula have appealed to the United Nations Human Rights Commission (UNHRC) to pressure the government to open a mass grave at Chemmani, believed to contain their bodies.

The appeal was made in a letter to UNHRC president Mary Robinson by the relatives, who have formed an organisation called 'The Guardians Association for Persons Arrested and Disappeared in North'. ``We are really annoyed and impatient at the attitude of the Sri Lankan government which is purposely delaying exhumation of the mass grave," he said. He also cast a doubt about the impartiality of the Human Rights Commission (HRC) set up by the government.

The UNHRC had already informed the commission that it would not assist in exhumation because it had not received permission from the Sri Lankan government.

Press reports said relatives of the missing were planning to petition the court for an order to open the grave with police assistance.

# Tamils from Europe harassed at airport

The friends and relatives of Kalirajah Thirugnanaseelan, 31, a Danish citizen appealed to Tamil Parliamentarians today that he was being unduly detained by the Sri Lankan Police since his arrival in Colombo on Sunday September 20.

They said Kalirajah is from Mutur, south of Trincomalee in the eastern province and had settled down in Denmark ten years ago.

He had arrived in Colombo by Balkan Airlines flight LZ 2581 on Sunday around 11.30 a.m.

He had been detained, according to his relatives, by the Terrorism Investigation Department (TID).

**The detaining authorities had sought a bribe of seventy five thousand Sri Lankan rupees from the relatives who were at the airport to receive Kalirajah, alleged one of his friends this afternoon.**

He said that fifteen thousand rupees was paid immediateiy as that was the only amount Kalirajah's relatives had at the time.

However, the money was returned later through a middleman who had deducted two thousand rupees for his assistance.

They charged that Kalirajah is being detained illegally.

**'Meanwhile an immigration officer at the Colombo International airport is reported to have torn the passport of a Tamil passenger for not 'donating' to a television to him as he had demanded, said sources.**

**The incident occurred when Mr. Sinnathmby Muthulingm, a Tamil living in Switzerland, arrived at the Colombo airport on September 19.**

# Arrests of Tamils continue

A Tamil who has been working as the coordinating officer of Sarvodaya for the Kalmunai district in the eastern province, was arrested by the Karaithivu police. The officer, K.Kanagaratnam was held on suspicion of being connected to the LTTE.

❑ ❑ ❑

A Tamil brother and sister from Karaveddy, Jaffna, who had gone to the Peradeniya University to meet their sister who was studying there were taken into custody by the University staff and handed over to the Peradeniya police. They had reportedly stayed at the Ramanathan and Hilda Obeysekera halls of residence without authority and therefore taken on suspicion'. The visiting 24-year old Tamil woman is reported to be a undergraduate of the Jaffna University. ❑

# Army-PLOTE clash in Jaffna: EPDP man also killed

**Irate troops hacked to death two Tamils in Sri Lanka's northern Jaffna peninsula on 23rd September following a shootout with a Tamil group, the leader of the group said today.**

Dharmalingam Sithadthan, MP and leader of the People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE), told UNI the killings followed an altercation and exchange of fire between members of his group and a group of soldiers.

He said two soldiers were injured in the shootout near the PLOTE office at Chavakacheri in the peninsula. Earlier reports had said one soldier was killed in the exchange of fire.

The soldiers later returned in a larger number and attacked the PLOTE office, he said. A military spokesman here confirmed the incident, but said details were awaited.

Sithadthan said the troops hacked to death two civilians, including a member of another Tamil group, who had come to the spot following the shootout. The PLOTE office was damaged, he added.

**He said one of the dead was a member of the Eelam People's Democratic Party (EPDP), who was also a member of the nearby Pachchiali Pradeshiya Sabha.**

Sources in Jaffna said that the EPDP had announced that it would boycott all the local government bodies in the peninsula unless the government instituted an impartial judicial inquiry into the incident. ❑

# Tamil diplomat remanded under "terrorist" law

Kandeepan Balasubramaniam of the Sri Lanka Foreign Service, who was arrested by the C.I.D police at the Katunayake airport on September 2, has now been remanded by the Negombo magistrate under section 7(2) of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Mr.Kandeepan Balasubramaniam who was on his way to assume charge as Second Secretary at the Sri Lankan embassy at the Hague was charged with having in his possession two passports of Tamils that did not belong to him. Four others including a Tamil official Muthulingam Ganesharajah who were suspected of having handed over those passports to Mr.Balasubramaniam were also remanded.

Police sergeant Fernando who produced the suspects before the Negombo magistrate said he wanted the suspects to be on indefinite remand until inquiries were over. Counsel for the 2nd,3rd, and 4th accused K.V.Thavarajah objecting to continued detention, said he was surprised that a charge that should have been made under the Passports Act was instead linked to terrorism merely because the suspects happened to be Tamils. He also said that an application has already been made on behalf of the 2nd accused protesting against denial of fundamental rights.

Counsel N.Raviraj appeared for the first accused.

# PA plays the communal card

**ACTION GROUP OF TAMILS IN COLOMBO (AGOTIC)**
*9/1A, Jayawardene Ave, Dehiwala. Tel: 734055*
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The Action Group of Tamils in Colombo (AGOTIC) was shocked to read the blatantly chauvinist assertion made by President Chandrika Kumaratunga, during her visit to South Africa between 31 August-6 September 1998 to attend the Non-Aligned Movement Summit. She reportedly said in a live television interview: "They [Tamils] are wanting a separate state - a minority community which is not the original people of the country, etc".

On returning to Sri Lanka, President Kumaratunga addressed a large gathering of party supporters in Kurunegala during the District Conference of her Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) on 8 September. Speaking as Deputy Leader of the SLFP, she unleashed a blatantly pro-Sinhalese political line on the Tamil Question. A Tamil daily newspaper (Thinakkural, 9/Sep/98) reported the next day that, at the Conference, she accused the Opposition United National Party (UNP) of "conspiring" with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) to "overthrow" the "democratically elected" Peoples Alliance (PA) Coalition Government, of which the SLFP is the dominant member.

She alleged that some UNP Members of Parliament (MPs) had travelled to the north and east several times in the recent past and held discussion with Mr Thamilchelvan of the political wing of the LTTE. She provocatively emphasised that a Tamil person was the driver of the vehicle used by the MPs.

A Tamil fortnightly newspaper (Sarinihar, 17-30/Sep/98) reported how Sinhalese men confronted three Muslim men and a Muslim girl, who were on their way back from the SLFP Conference, at the Hiripitiya junction. The Sinhalese forcibly detained the Muslims and gratuitously abused them.

Almost simultaneously, following another Sinhalese-Muslim clash earlier in the day (8th), a Sinhalese mob reportedly travelled in a van to the Muslim area of Kumbukketa, in the Kurunegala District. Spitting racist slogans, the Sinhalese attacked the Muslims. The Muslim retaliated in kind and damaged the van.

Anticipating further trouble, the Muslims reported the incident to the Police and requested immediate action to pre-empt violence. The Police took no action. It was a sickening replay of the collusion of security forces Tamils had witnessed in the July 1983 Holocaust.

At midnight, the Sinhalese mob returned to Kumbukketa and torched the Madina Hotel, two stores and a grinding mill owned by Muslims. The mob severely assaulted three Muslim men in the hotel.

Although the Muslims lodged a complaint with the Police, no action was taken.

In a separate incident on the 8th night, reported the Tamil fortnightly, two Sinhalese men were found dead in the Wewalwatta Division of the Alupola Estate in the Ratnapura District. One of them is a well-known underworld figure, a dealer in kasippu (illicit liquor) and a strong supporter of the PA Government.

On the following morning the PA's MP for the area, Mrs Pavithra Vanniarachchi, rushed to the site of the killing. In the presence of the corpses and amidst the emotionally charged Sinhalese supporters, the MP reportedly mouthed anti-Tamil chauvinist slogans. The supporters evidently took the cue from her and vowed to teach the Tamils a lesson.

True to their word, beginning that night and over the next three days about three hundred Sinhalese men hunted down Tamil plantation workers in seven estates in Ratnapura and Balangoda. A non-governmental organisation working in the area reported that the Sinhalese torched 550 line rooms of Tamil workers, attacked 2,038 Tamils and 470 children. Three Tamils were reported killed so far.

The Police refused to intervene and protect the Tamil victims.

The funeral of the two Sinhalese took place on the 12th. During most of that day Sinhalese mobs roamed the city of Ratnapura chanting "Death to Tamils". No action was taken against the mobs for inciting naked communal violence.

On the 14th, a Tamil plantation worker was burnt alive by a Sinhalese mob.

The Police arrested 21 Tamils on suspicion for the murder of the two Sinhalese. However not one Sinhalese person was arrested for the carnage inflicted on the Tamil plantation workers.

AGOTIC vehemently condemns the racist attacks. Moreover, AGOTIC is appalled by the deafening silence maintained regarding the violence by the Sinhalese-controlled human rights and conflict resolution organisations in Colombo.

The violence in Kurunegala and Ratnapura has an ominous similarity to the supposedly sporadic attacks on Tamils in the months preceding the 1983 Holocaust. Are the Tamils on the threshold of another Holocaust?

AGOTIC views the events in Kurunegala and Ratnapura in the immediate context of the SLFP-led PA Government whipping up Sinhalese chauvinism against Tamils by alleging a conspiracy involving the LTTE. Obviously the SLFP is scheming to harvest Sinhalese votes in the forthcoming parliamentary and presidential elections.

Indeed, the SLFP is resorting to the tactic employed earlier by the UNP. By 1994 the ruling UNP had alienated Tamils by pursuing the destructive war in the North-Eastern Province (NEP) and by disgorging the infamous theory that Tamils are the "vines" that cling to the Sinhalese "tree". To marshal Sinhalese votes, the UNP unleashed crude Sinhalese chauvinist propaganda in which it accused the SLFP of planning to sell the birthright of the Sinhalese to the Tamils. The SLFP in contrast projected itself as the party for national reconciliation and peace by espousing "negotiations" with the LTTE to reach a political settlement.

Today the roles are reversed. The SLFP has alienated Tamils by the monstrous war it has ruthlessly fought in the NEP. It is obvious except for those who obstinately refuse to see that the armed forces are losing the war against the LTTE-led Tamil National Movement. The killing of the Jaffna Mayor, the Jaffna Brigade Commander and 11 others on 11 September torpedoed the Government's war strategy of "re-establishing normalcy" in the Jaffna peninsula.

So the SLFP is falling back on Sinhalese chauvinism to bolster its declining electoral fortunes. It has charged the UNP of conspiring with the LTTE to bring down the Government and, by implication, of capitulating to the LTTE's nationalist demands.

*"The SLFP is falling back on Sinhala chauvinism to bolster its declining electoral fortunes"*

In contrast, the UNP is projecting itself as the peace-maker by calling for "unconditional talks" with the LTTE.

What is most alarming is that the rank communalism of the two Sinhalese parties is not merely political posturing in preparation for the next elections. The UNP and SLFP have cynically and repeatedly stoked Sinhalese chauvinism for more than four decades. Both parties have a long history of fuelling violence - through pogroms and military operations - against the Tamils people. That history and the current Tamil-baiting reveal the UNP and SLFP to be terminally infected with deep-seated Sinhalese racism.

The Tamils now are utterly convinced that both parties have no intention whatsoever of accepting the national rights of the Tamil people.

The Sinhalese chauvinist leadership has proved beyond a shadow of doubt that the only way open for the Ceylon Tamils to achieve their national rights and live in security and prosperity in the future is to create the independent State of Tamil Eelam.

Action Group of Tamils in Colombo (AGOTIC)

**S Sathananthan**
Dr S Sathananthan, Secretary
24 September 1998

# Cash-strapped govt. asks own employees for war funds

தமிழ் தேசியக்காப்பகம்
TamileelamArchive

Sri Lanka is seeking to offset its rising defence spending by asking all government employees to donate a week's salary for the war against the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), but a powerful trade union has already opposed the move.

The defence secretary has written to his counterparts in all other ministries and the heads of departments and state-run corporations to mobilise war funds through donations from employees to the National Defence Fund (NDF), the daily Island reported on Monday.

Pointing out that there would be no conscription, the defence secretary's note said people of the country could however help indirectly by contributing to the fund and has asked ministry secretaries and others to collect at least a week's pay as donations.

The powerful Ceylon Bank Employees' Union has opposed the move and has announced that its members would not contribute any more to the fund.

It is estimated that Sri Lankans have already contributed Rs 727 million to the fund since 1985. The government also levies a tough 4.5% defence levy on all goods and services to swell its war chest.

However, the expenditure on the war is constantly rising as Operation Jaya Sekuru, Sri Lanka's biggest military offensive against the LTTE now in its 16th month, shows no sign of ending.

Deputy finance minister G L Peiris told Parliament last month that the operation had pushed up the country's defence spending by Rs 800 crore from the currently allocated 4,400 crore rupees. This year's revised estimate now stands at Rs 5,200 crore, against 1997's defence expenditure of Rs 4,800 crore.

***Indian Express***

# LETTERS

*Editor*
*HOT SPRING*

## Comparison with Ireland

Ref. "White Tiger's letter to the editor signed as "Vella Puli" in the July '98 issue. I wish to comment on the reference made to my article "Yield with grace that which cannot be held with authority".

I am glad "Vella Puli" has made me to review and clarify this matter. I think comparisons could be made both with the Republic of Ireland and with Great Britain.

a.The Republic of Ireland has agreed NOT to claim Northern Ireland as part of its historical heritage to facilitate a solution to this most intractable problem and that too only after recent negotiations began with American arbitration. I was suggesting that likewise, Sri Lanka too should change its attitude and give up its claim to the North-East which has been historically Tamil territory, and which is the main cause of the present impasse.

b.When comparing with Great Britain, we can conclude that if Scotland and Wales are allowed to devolve and separate without restraint, there is no reason for Sri Lanka - who are executing an unnecessary war to refuse the formation of an independent Tamil Eelam.

I would suggest that "Vella Puli" write similarly to the Govt. of Sri Lanka too, regarding the false propaganda put out by their ministers and by the media.

I would also like to comment that the editor of HOT SPRING depends on information and articles sent by others and could not be held responsible for errors of omission and commission and facts and figures in a game where perfection cannot be expected.

***Lt.Col.Anton J.N.Selvadurai***
***8, Blenheim Court, Stoke-on-Trent.***

# Reader responses to the "White Tiger"

*Editor*
*'Hot Spring'*

*02/091998*

First of all I would like to congratulate you on the good work you are doing, long may it continue.

I would like to take this opportunity to respond to the comments made by 'Vella Puli' in the July issue of 'Hot Spring'. I like you, have heard of Black Tigers, Sea Tigers and Women Tigers, but this was the first time I've come across a White Tiger.

After reading the article 'A "WHITE TIGER" WRITES TO EDITOR HOT SPRING' I became both interested and curious about his motivation. On the one hand he seems a genuine guy interested in the abuse of basic human rights of the Tamils in Sri Lanka, While on the hand he gives the impression of being someone who is pretending to be Tamils' friend for all the wrong reasons.

His main complaints were that some of the articles in the June edition of the 'Hot Spring' contained information which were inaccurate. He also pointed out that it contained many "spurious statements", hence he concluded the articles were a "propaganda ploy".

I found these statements very shocking coming from someone who boasts of having lived and made a many a return back to the island and who confesses to having "first hand experience of the military operations". You do not need to have first hand experience of the military operation to know what the SLA are doing. Not only are they commiting genocide against the Tamil people they are hiding this from the rest of the world. Why else would the Sri Lankan government censor any news reports regarding the war in Sri Lanka? The apparent answer to this very question from the government is that "censorship is necessary to stop journalists giving out sensitive information and casualty figure". Don't they mean genocide figures?

The White Tiger is implying that he has factual and quantitative evidence which contradicts the figures given in the June edition of 'Hot Spring', but during the letter he makes comments such as " I cannot confirm the figure of 250 death but the figure was certainly high " and " from my own observation I would put the figure much lower".

Comments such as this fails to convince me that he himself has any factual or accurate figures, even if he claims he has I would question the sources.

You see White Tiger, the truth is the biggest casualty of this war. No one knows the exact number of atrocities taking place in our motherland.

As an " unequivocal supporter in the fight to redress the abuse of basic human rights of the Tamils in Sri Lanka" I'm sure you have heard of the Krishanthi Kumaraswamy case. Not only did the SLA rape and murder this young innocent girl, they also cut her and her family and neighbour into pieces before burying them .

White Tiger, from 'your observation' did you or could you have known that these kind of atrocities are taking place against the defenceless Tamils?

In the Show case trial put on by the government the first accused Lance corporal Rajapakse went on to say that there were further 300-400 bodies buried in mass graves in Chemmani in Jaffna where Krishanthi was found. He even offered to locate these graves, but the government has yet to take this offer up. I wonder Why?

White Tiger, your intentions may be genuine concern for the welfare of the Tamils in Sri Lanka, but you have no conclusive evidence to accuse a journal which is commited to the struggle of the Tamils against an oppressive government of being a

propaganda ploy.

I'm not trying to take sides but I fail to understand why a Journal such as 'Hot Spring' would want to be a propaganda ploy in the first place.

***Mohanaruban Shanmugarajah***
***Forest Hill***
***LONDON SE23 2JN***

*P.S: In any case I would be very interested to know the motives of the White Tiger's visit and residence in Sri Lanka. Why is he interested in the Tamils Plight? Is he the only White Tiger around or is he a member of a group of White Tigers? What does he mean by "first hand experience of military operations" ? I think the answers to these questions would make excellent reading in the next issue of 'Hot Spring'.*

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## Lincoln, not Churchill

***The Editor***
***Hot Spring***
***P.O.Box 14258***
***London SW16 6ZU***

***27th August 1998***

***Sir***

Regarding Vella Puli's letter in the HOT SPRING of July 98, 1 ask you Sir, if a magazine does not provide for Letters, do its contents necessarily amount to propaganda?

Secondly, as for the quotation attributed to Winston Churchill, I do not think that "homme grand" would have given an altered version of the words of Abraham Lincoln's speech of 1858, and passed it off as his own. The correct version runs thus: "You can fool all the people some of the time, and some of the people all the time, but you cannot fool all the people all the time". See under index, Fools, The Penguin Dictionary of Quotations.

***Yours faithfully***

***Refugee Puli sans home or telephone.***

## Horrendous, but be exact, says white English national

***Dear Sir,***

I am a white English national and was interested in the letter sent to you by "White Tiger".

I have recently become acquainted with the horrendous events happening daily in Sri Lanka, and thus a Tamil sympathiser and, where I can, a campaignerfor Tamil rights.

I want to tell others the truth and the exact facts of what is going on, for only in that way will people such as myself join in any campaign to highlight the terrible plight of Sri Lankan Tamils.

I would thank "White Tiger" for his desire for detail and exactitude: what we tell others must be exact and true. Far from "smothering the truth", I would have thought "White Tiger" was trying truly to find it and present it

***yours faithfully,***

***"Marlis" West London***

*P.S. Please do not print my name and address.*

## Editor's Note:

Reader Mohanaruban Shanmugarajah's curiosity about the motives of "White Tiger's" residence in Jaffna is understandable. We regret however we are unable to help because of the specific request from "White Tiger" that his identity be not revealed. May we however disabuse readers' minds of any suspicion that he is not the white-skinned British national that he claims to be. He is truly that,and his presence in Jaffna during the periods he mentioned (H.S. July '98) was perfectly legitimate. We have to say this because Reader Varothayasingam(whose long reply to "White Tiger" could not regrettably be published) went on the mistaken premise that "White Tiger" was a Sinhalese.

## Great Tamil sportsmen of the past

Muttiah Muralitharan was the only Tamil representative in the Sri Lankan cricket team that won the Triangular cricket tournament at the London Oval recently. But time was when Tamils filled about 25 per cent of cricket teams in Sri Lanka / Ceylon.

Tamils produced great athletes like high jumper Ethirveerasingam, sprinter Summa Navaratnam and R.E.Kitto, and golfers like Dr.Thurairajah. The late A.J.D.N.Selvadurai represented Sri Lanka /Ceylon at Cricket and Tennis and was the first winner of the Wilton Bartlett Challenge Cup for Athletics in which he tied with the late Osmund de Silva. P.Saravanamuttu (after whom the Colombo Oval was named), M.Sathasivam (perhaps the most stylish batsman Sri Lanka produced), and Sathi Coomaraswamy were among other famous cricketers. One-time badminton champion in the island was a Tamil - Dr.N.Rasalingam.

Muralitharan is now ranked the world's No.1 bowler and has taken the fourth highest number of wickets in a Test match. He has shown the world the intrinsic ability and capacity of the Tamil minority in the ethnic war-torn Sri Lanka, where the Sinhala-dominated government has declared war on the Tamils.

There are many potential world class sportsmen among the Tamil minority who have been denied the chance of participation due to the ethnic war that has been dragging on for 15 years. Maybe, in the next century, Tamil Eelam would be able to field even a better team of cricketers.

***Anton J.N.Selvadurai,***
***8 Blenheim Court, Stoke- on - Trent***

LETTERS

## "Vella Puli" springs back in defence!

# "WHO SAYS I CAN'T BE A 'TIGER'?"

***Editor***
***'Hot Spring'***

Oh dear, I do seem to have made Charles Somasundrum a little 'hot under the collar' by using the pseudonym "Vella Puli". Is he suggesting that the LTTE now have the copyrights for the use of the word, 'Tiger'? Maybe he had better write to the Zoological Society and have them invent another word for those beautiful four-legged striped creatures that used to be referred to by that name and instruct the World Bank and other financial institutions to stop referring to 'Tiger' economies!

I am well aware that in Tamil circles, reference to 'Tigers' is generally understood as referring to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam - both combatants and non-combatants - as well as 'card holding' members and supporters and, that many "have given their very lives for the cause". And yes, it is true, I am not one of them.

My use of the word 'Tiger' relates to being a 'fighter' and suggests that there are many ways of fighting for 'the cause' and that all those involved in that 'cause' are not necessarily members, or even supporters, of the LTTE. Maybe I should have used the pseudonym, "Vella Karran"?!

**My 'initiation' into an awareness of the gross injustices and suffering being experienced by the Tamils of Sri Lanka, was in September 1983, when the smell of charred timbers of burntout Tamil homes and businesses still lingered in the air during what was, ostensibly, a 'holiday visit'. This graphic introduction, coupled with any further study of the situation, has left me in no doubt as to who are the 'victims' in Sri Lanka and, that they have a 'cause' which in my own, albeit small, way, I will continue to support.**

I was certainly not being immodest, not even "a teensy bit", when I queried Mr.K.Kanavathipillai's claims, Unless I am mistaken, the article referred to tne Jaffna peninsula and not, in this case, to other parts of the island and, while "every death in Eelam" did not have to be registered with me personally, the NGO that I worked for were the reporting body whose responsibility it was to collate this information and make it available to the 'outside world'. This information was gathered from reports in the local newspaper; the Jaffna Teaching Hospital; and NG0s, including local NGOs such as TRO. Had "hundreds perished of hunger and disease between November 1995 and April 1996", in Jaffna, then yes - I would have known!

In no way was I claiming that I, in the relatively short period I spent in Jaffna could, or even should, be compared with Mr.Kanavathipillai and his commitment and experience. My own travel experience in the mainly Tamil areas, was limited to -Trincomalee and Vavuniya districts. **I may not have experienced the privations experienced by Dr.Kanavathipillai, but have an understanding of that scenario from the one month I and my Tamil colleagues spent when we were displaced from Valikamam to Vadamarachchi. As to battles, I only experienced: 'Thunderstrike', 'Dragon Fire', 'Shake Hands', and Riveresa I, II and III and it would be a "teensy bit immodest" of me to relate tne part that I and my colleagues played during those times.**

The information relating to tne 'recruitment methods' of the LTTE, in and outside schools and outside 'tuition classes', came from friends who had witnessed the events and from students who had been present during the LTTE's 'recruitment drives'. Two of my own staff experienced having sons 'disappeared', one before my arrival in Jaffna and one during the time we evacuated to Vadamarachchi. In the latter case, after the parents had been informed about their son's 'disappearance', the parents went to the training camp where he had been taken but were refused permission to take him home or even speak with him.

With regard to the Navaly church 'incident', I would be happy to provide copies of the photographs of the church and immediate surrounds (where the bombs dropped) if requested. I had been in the UK on 'home leave' and returned very shortly after the incident.

I am a very new student to Dravidian history and culture but have a basic knowledge of the history of the Tamils from Cholan empire times around 2,000 BC. Maybe we are getting caught up in semantics in our respective definition of the word 'nation'? I relate the word to country and nationality rather than racial grouping.

My view remains that 'Tamil Eelam' is an aspiration of the Tamils of Sri Lanka and does not therefore necessarily relate to those Tamils of Indian, Malaysian or Singaporean nationality. I would still maintain that, as yet, there is no established Tamil Eelam' (in Sri Lanka or elsewhere) and that the flag referred to is that of the LTTE, as stated in the wording around the 'Tiger's lead'. The flag maybe is precious to those Tamils who support the LTTE - but not to all Tamils.

The desire to live in a free and peaceful democratic society, where the individual's basic human rights are respected and upheld, must be the dream of the majority of Sri Lankan Tamils. The 'average' Sri Lankan Tamil does not, I believe, want any more of their children sacrificed; does not want to be part of other peoples' 'power politics' and 'war games'; and does not want to live in a 'climate of fear'. It has gone on far too long !

***"Vella puli"***
***23.09.98***

# Foreign Minister's unsettling breakfast

The Sri Lankan Foreign Minister, Lakshman Kadirgamar had an acrimonious question and answer session at the Asia Society in New York last week, according to informed sources. The Foreign Minister was in the US for the opening of the UN General Assembly, and spoke at a breakfast meeting at the Asia Society in one of a regular series of talks by Asian foreign ministers.

At the meeting, Mr. Kadirgamar had delivered a presentation dominated by SAARC's achievements with surprisingly minor comments on the civil war in Sri Lanka, said the sources, following which he had answered questions from the audience on issues specific to Sri Lanka.

**One question that reportedly took the Minister -and much of the audience - by surprise was regarding the Chemmani mass graves. Some of the participants were unaware of mass graves issue in Sri Lanka's north, said sources.**

The minister himself had made no reference to the graves in his speech, even though he had begun his talk by saying that the Jaffna library, the rebuilding of which has been heavily publicised by the government, had become "a symbol of hope."

One of the attendees had asked the Minister to outline the steps his government planned to take now that a Sri Lanka Army soldier had confessed to the existence of mass graves of up to 400 people at Chemmani in Jaffna.

The Minister had reportedly responded that a forensic team was expected to visit the grave site at some point in the future and that the case is being looked into by the Human Rights Commission (HRC) and the Sri Lankan CID.



*Kadirgamar*

Tamileelam Archive

**When the Minister was told that 96% of the 50,000 civilian deaths in the war were those of Tamils, mostly killed by aerial bombing and shelling by the Sri Lankan military, Mr. Kadirgamar had reportedly asserted that no bombs had been dropped on civilians since 1995.**

**When it was pointed out to the Minister that in 1995, after the bombing of St. Peter and Paul Church at Navaly which killed 165 civilians, the Minister himself had warned the International Committee of Red Cross over leaking the news of the incident to the international community, Mr.Kadirgamar had become seemingly "flustered" at this, said the sources.**

The Minister had then reacted by saying that particular bombing had not been a direct strike on the Church and that he had merely wanted the ICRC to work through his ministry, said the sources.

The Minister had repeatedly challenged the questioner that his [questioner's] information was "old" and that he should visit Jaffna himself and see how things have become "normal," said sources.

**According to the sources, the questions simply referred to the bombing of Tamil civilians at large (i.e. in the North-East), but the Minister, perhaps inadvertently, assumed Jaffna to be the focus.**

Among other questions related to the conflict, an American university professor inquired about the possibility of a third party mediation in resolving the "civil war" between the Sri Lankan government and the Tamils.

The Minister had said that the conflict was not a civil war, but terrorism, and had stated that there is no room for third party mediation.

## Question on Chemmani graves takes Minister off guard

An executive member of the Asia Society had wondered how much the placing of the LTTE on the State Department list has helped reduce the flow of funding to the organisation.

The Minister had said that he could not quantify the amount, but said that the LTTE has taken a serious note of it, perhaps referring to the legal challenge to this listing undertaken by the LTTE, said the sources.

***TamilNet***

# THE BANE OF BHIKKUISM

S.K.Rathinam
U.S.A.

**Skinheads who preach intolerance, violence against minority, do no productive work, wear a uniform of sort - that is standard fare for their kind all over the Western world. But the skinheads I am going to talk about are revered and worshipped by a large community, have a vice grip on the polity of a country, dictate to every administration of the country, determine when elections are to be postponed or held, recruit for the army, round up deserters, assassinated a prime minister, and are ostensibly and ostentatiously followers of the teaching of the Great Buddah! - The Bikkus of Sri Lanka!** Those who do not know will be shocked to hear that they are a religious order. But do not blame the religion or the Great Buddah in whose name the Bikkus misbehave. The laity which has corrupted Budhism to Bikkuism and made a cult - of - the personality of the Bikku and indulges in them bear the true blame for the debauchery.

The Bikkus and their heirachical leaders known by the grandiose term Maha Nayake Theros spend almost all their time doing negative politics; not only do they not have any time or thought for spiritual reflection they make the country UNGOVERNABLE. Just as the Mad Monk Rasputin is said to have done to Russia as quoted in a review of a book *The Saint Who Sinned* by Moynahan in the Economist: "Rasputin did not so much govern Russia as helped to make it ungovernable". The difference in Sri Lankan politics is that the Sinhala rulers have to contend with not just one mad monk but a whole slew of them!

It is instructive to recall that it was Mr. Bandaranaike; the father of the president of Sri Lanka, who pandered to the Bhikkus in a big way for the first time and politicized Buddhism and Bhikkudom. He corrupted the Bhikkus



*Sobitha Thero, a leading fanatical Buddhist monk*

by giving them a taste of power and not only paid for his lack of scruples with his own life but also left a legacy of Bhikkus with hierocratic pretentions. **It should be remembered that it was a bhikku who committed the first assassination of a prime minister in this troubled island (or anywhere else for that matter).** Whatever the official account may be, the story current at the time was that the hierarch of Kelaniya temple, "Venerable" Buddha Rakita who sent the Bhikku with orders to kill Mr. Bandaranaike was promised a lucrative shipping contract which promise Bandaranaike reneged on. Allegedly, the hierarchy threaten to expose the prime minister's sexual preferences who in turn was going to expose Buddha Rakita's widely alleged sexual liaison with an ex-member of the Sri Lankan cabinet (female!). The Bhikku who killed the prime minister, after the murder, considered his life not worth living because, it was said, that his testicles were shot off by the prime minister's guards - imagine a bhikku living without sex!

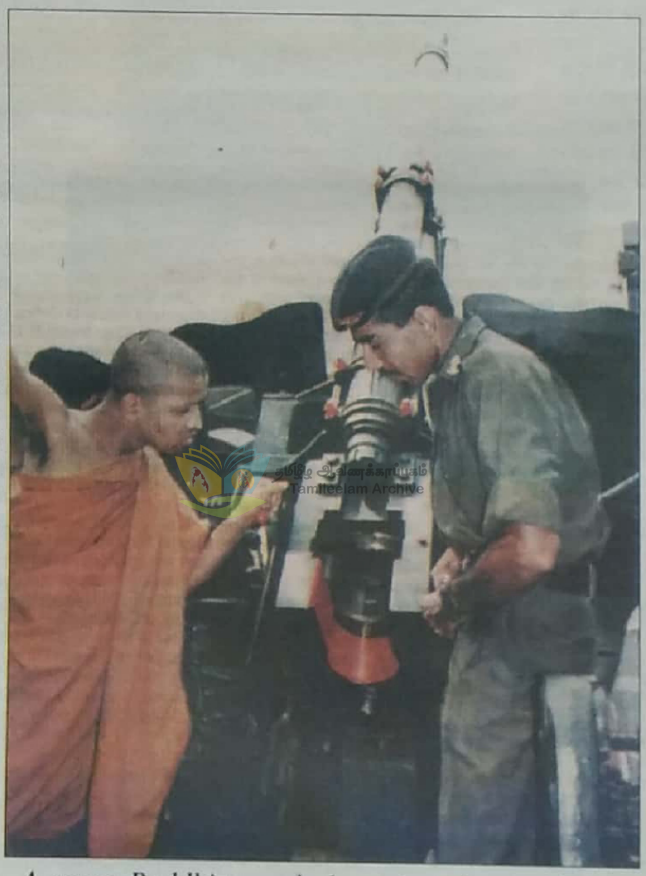
**Regrettably, the Pandora's box had been opened and, believe it or not, the daughter of Bandaranaike herself panders more to the bhikkus than even her father and bribes them with Mercedes Benzes presumably for them to go asking for alms in the style the Enlightened one enjoined upon them!** This has led to a competition among the various Sinhala parties to ingratiate themselves with the bhikkus and for the bhikkus to make impossible and escalating demands on the parties and to virtually dictate policies almost all anti-Tamil and nothing to do with pristine Buddhism. It is ironic that the Buddha who repudiated Brahminism, the priestly control by the Brahmins of Hinduism, the religion into which he was born should have entrusted to a body of bhikkus the preservation and propagation of his

teachings. As a Tamil Hindu I am distressed to see that the great man's teachings being brought into disrepute by the very order that he entrusted the glorification of them.

The Buddha of course did not institutionalize an order of priests. He had in mind an order of monks each member of which "is possessed of knowledge, seeing the way that leads to Nirvana; is not a partisan, is pure and virtuous and has removed the veil from his eyes; stands fast on Dharma, knows how to inquire into Dharma, raises not any disputes that pollute the Dharma and spends his time in pondering on the well-spoken truths of the Dharma". But what we have in Sri Lanka all will agree is almost the antithesis of the above.

Why am I, a Saivite (Hindu), concerned about what goes for Buddhism in Sri Lanka is really Bhikkuism and not a strand of the Mahatmas teachings is discernible in the behaviour of the very vocal Buddhists and less so among the bikkus? It is because the bhikkus and their followers in Sri Lanka are committing slaughters of Tamils and being beastly to them, they say, in order to defend and preserve Buddhism! Buddhism, if by that we mean the practice of the teachings of the Buddah, is, in Sri Lanka, non existent, kaput, dead! But Bhikkuism is alive and well and is on the ascendancy and it is very ugly and dangerous. Buddhism is to do with compassion, gentleness, reflection and to the bhikkus, in particular, once taken the vows and donned the garbs of monasticism, meditation and detachment are sine qua non. But the bhikkus in Sri Lanka so very wickedly worldly form the political party of the "other" variety and what can be more sordidly temporal than politics - especially that in Sri Lanka?

There is yet another concern. Over the years while loudly proclaiming the glory of it and their devotion to it the Sinhalese have debased that great philosophy, and while killing Tamils in its name, yet unashamedly, quite oblivious to the scorn of the world, insist they are practising Buddhism. Predictably, their behaviour is exactly the same with the practice of democracy. Either they are collectively and hereditarily dishonest or they have deceived themselves before they deceived the Tamils for the duplicitous politics of the Sinhalese had been played like a broken record for nearly two generations: egregious encroachment on the rights of Tamils, their livelihood, heritage and their ancestral land - the Tamils protest in desperation - the Sinhalese slaughter them at the instigation of the bhikkus and politicans - there is some show of international concern - the Sinhala leaders have a palaver with the ever-so-gullible Tamil "leaders" and disingenuously commit to some reforms - the bhikkus object vehemently to giving any rights to the Tamils - the commitment goes out of the window - more rights of the Tamils are violated, so on and so forth, all over again.



*A young Buddhist monk shows keen interest in an artillery gun of the Sri Lankan army used against the Tamil Tigers.*

That leads us to wonder whether the pattern of behaviour towards Buddhism - high decibel advertising of their adherence to the faith even as they are violating every tenet of it - has a parallel in their political behaviour - announcing to the world of their devotion to democracy while at the same time denying it to the Tamils.

Years ago, when the island was still Ceylon and had not been named after Mr. Bandaranaike's political party, I was a teacher in a predominantly Muslim school on New Moor Street. The street was narrow and the houses stood abutting each other for a considerable distance without even fire gap. The entrances were almost at the edge of the street but the doorways were recessed and set back. Almost all the occupants of those houses were Muslims. Across from the entrance to the school, which had a mosque on its premises, and to the left of it there stood one day a bhikku framed by the doorway of a Muslim's house, the crook of his umbrella handle hanging on his bent hand, staring on to the street. He must have stood there for a few hours for I saw him again at his stoic stance when I came to the entrance some time later. I would have thought nothing of this even though it was very

strange for a bhikku to stand in the doorway of a Muslim's home if not for the fact that the scene was repeated many more times, perhaps with different bhikkus. By now, justifiably inquisitive, I asked one of my students what the reason was for bhikkus to stand for hours in the doorway of a Muslim's home in an exclusively Muslim area in front of a Mosque. His answer was at once a shock and a defining revelation. They were there, he said, to purchase opium! Though my older brother had told me the story of how he surprised a bhikku trying to disconnect the loudspeaker wires at a Tamil political meeting with his umbrella, this experience shook my faith in the Buddhist clergy as never before.

**The bhikkus of Sri Lanka for sometime now have been the most militant agitators against Tamil rights, the myth being that Buddhism would be adversely affected if the Sinhalese did not rule over Tamil territory as part of a "unitary" Arya Sinhala state. Buddha said so! He came to the island flying like a bird!** Speaking rationally, is it not better for the bhikkus to live in a state where Buddhism is not diluted by more people of other religions such as Hindu and Christian Tamils? In fact, as history shows, Buddhism did exceptionally well when the Hindus and Buddhist co-existed in their separate kingdoms. What the Bhikkus and the Sinhalese who support them actually want is the Tamil man's land to enlarge the Buddhist-Sinhala empire where the Tamils are subservient subjects, drawers of water and hewers of wood. This objective is glaringly obvious for the lack of subtlity in the persuit of it. The bhikkus' unbuddhist covetous mind is transparent from ear to ear.

Quite manifestly the bhikkus are making the island more and more ungovernable day by day. The Sinhala Report" was submitted not to a group of secular statesmen but to the top dogs of the Bhikkudom - the Mahanayake Theros. The message is clear and the implications sinister. The Tamils have to open their eyes even wider for future events to unfold for, the prognosis for peaceful settlement is bad. **A Sinhala leader charismatic, wise and courageous who can stand up for the welfare of the people and against the clergy is not in the offing. The Tamils however have an advantage right now in the person of Prabhakaran though there are a lot of reptiles in the Tamilian underbrush.** One sure way for Sinhala leaders to silence the bhikkus is to recruit the most militant of them into the army and send them promptly off to the front. They will be well taken care of there. None will return for any more trouble-making. Bhikkuism will then be weakened and Buddhism may have a chance to sprout like vegetation in a forest after a fire. True Buddhists can live in amity with people of other religions.



*Buddhist monks signing up to join the army*

**The Chinese killed a million Buddhists including monks in Tibet in order to annex it to their empire. When India gave refuge to the Dalai Lama and some of his followers the Chinese invaded India without warning and killed many an Indian soldier. The Chinese are not only continuing to occupy Tibet and their destruction of Buddhist monasteries, they are occupying Indian territory too. As if the silence of the bhikkus of Sri Lanka is not indecent enough the Buddhist government of Sri Lanka is carrying on a roaring arms purchase program to kill the Tamils - the same kind of arms used by the Chinese, to kill the Tibetan Buddhists!** In Tibet we have a people who carry Buddhism in their hearts and minds and Tibet formed the historic link between the Buddha's place of Enlightenment and the spread of his teachings to the Far East. Should not the Bhikkus of Sri Lanka dedicate themselves to the restoration of Buddhism and freedom for the people of Tibet? Or are they too ultra-racists to think of Buddhism divorced from the Sinhala race? Should not the government of Sri Lanka at least squeak a word of protest to the Chinese about the eradication of Buddhism in Tibet. Is it not a shame that one or two Hollywood actors have done more to Tibetan Buddhists than the rest of the Buddhists put together? Tibetans do not practise the same brand of Buddhism (Theravada) as that of (Pol Pot) Cambodia or that of Sri Lanka and Mayanmar. Can one fail to see the uncanny similarity in the behaviour of the people who say they practise Theravada Buddhism?

The Muslims who invaded India devastated the greatest seat of Buddhist learning in the world which was in Nalanda. *"It had 10,000 students one hundred lecture rooms great libraries and six immense blocks of dormitories four stories high.—— The Mohamedans destroyed nearly all the monasteries, Buddhists or Brahman (sic) in northern India. Nalanda was burnt to the ground in 1197 and all its monks were slaughtered. We can never estimate the abundant life of ancient India from what these fanatics spared"* - Will Durant THE STORY OF CIVILIZATION

The descendents of these Muslims live largely in Pakistan. Those Buddhist nationalists and bhikkus of Sri Lanka who dig up history, selectively looking for justification for their hatred of Tamils in the fashion of the wolf in Aesop's Fables (that accused the lamb's ancestors of insulting its (the wolf's) ancestors and thus the lamb deserved to be killed and eaten) now actively collude with Pakistan which supplies arms, army officers and intelligence in order that the Buddhists may wipe out the Tamils.

The foregoing confirms unequivocally that the bhikkus and the Buddhist nationalists are motivated neither by Buddhist love nor love of Buddhism. Their preoccupation it seems are with hatred of the Tamils, greed for their land and megalomania of a Sinhala empire. There are millions of Sinhala Buddhists who venerate the bhikkus but this attitude is a socially conditioned reaction just as our studied behavior in front of a policeman. The attitude does not reflect the inner worth of the person towards whom the attitude is shown nor a heartfelt sentiment. Bhikkudom is such a politicized institution in Sri Lanka it is almost a branch of the government and the bhikkus are indeed consumately political. The Tamils do not have any obligation to treat them any better than as Sinhala politicians of the ultranationalist variety.

I can almost hear the howls of protests from well-meaning people saying " you cannot indict the whole of the bhikku order for the behavior of some of them "which of course is a familiar refrain of a species of argument mindlessly repeated. **The government of Sri Lanka and its army can justifiably be indicted for savagery and brutal behaviour towards the Tamils. To argue that not all members of the army are brutal and therefore one should not blame the army is arguing for argument's sake. The statements I have made about bhikkudom collectively are statistical observations. If there are good bhikkus they are statistically insignificant.** Moreover these do not belong to the Sri Lankan Bhikkudom as we recognize it now.

The 'good bhikkus' if there is such a group evidently has no influence within Bhikkudom and has not made its voice heard even as a dissident group. The Sri Lankan Bhikkudom, like, say, the Nazi party has common objectives and has acted concertedly and consistently towards those objectives. Membership of the Bhikkudom is voluntary and by definition one has a choice in being part of it unlike, say, being a member of an ethnic group. Therefore we can legitimately make a collective statement about the Sri Lankan Bhikkudom from the behavior of the majority of its members.

We recognize the decent members of the Bhikku order not as bhikkus per se but as good human beings who have remained true to human values despite the oppressive influence of Bhikkudom. We love them and salute them and pray with them!

*"Democracy is people-oriented and not God-oriented"*

Tamil Eelam Republic Tamileelam Archive

It may be that certain cultural groups, by conditioning cannot observe Buddhism because it runs counter to their learned behaviour? Many of us know that there is a Mr. Silva on the editorial staff of the Hong Kong Standard. When the venue of the Sinhala independence day celebrations at Dalada Maligawa was damaged by a bomb there appeared in the Hong Kong Standard an intemperate article, written by, you know who, calling the Tigers all kinds of names. Not only was that article totally silent on the 1600 or so Saivite temples desecrated and destroyed by the Sinhalese, the writer was totally oblivious to the irony that he was writing from China which continues to commit the most outrageous sacrilege of Buddhism since the Mohamedans of the Twelfth Century! Buddhism is really a WEAPON in the hands of the ambitious and unscrupulous among the Sinhalese and more so with the Portuguese Sinhalese, who, like the notable Solomon Diaz, defected (back) to their erstwhile religion as Born Again political Buddhists.

Democracy is a humanistic political philosophy. It is people-oriented and not God-oriented. It is to do with how people live together and govern themselves in THIS WORLD. Religion therefore is not only irrelevant to democracy but also antithetical in many areas where centuries old mythology and theology impinge on democratic governance and polity. These two could be downright incompatible and in countries where democratic practices are shaky and where democracy's principles and practices have not permeated to the grass roots, religious zealots and charlatans can easily snuff democracy out. We have seen this to be the norm in Islamic countries where the religion is highly authoritarian inspite of centuries of civilization and close contact with Western democracies. Catholic nations too provided many examples of countries which had allowed religion to dominate politics. **Few countries with theocratic traditions have ever been successful democracies even within the Western cultural context.** Nor is it the case only with Semitic religions (Islam, Christianity and Judaism); even with 'laissez faire' religions like Buddhism and Hinduism democracy may not fare well if religion is allowed to rear its head in secular political affairs. Brahmins deftly mixed religion with social and political matters through the abominable caste system (which was pure unmittigated racial politics) and not only extinguished the 'glory that was India' but also reduced Hinduism to something bereft of humanity and Hindus to slavish cringing fatalists particularly in the south of India. Similarly Buddhism in Sri Lanka under the sway of Bhikkuism will not only make the Sinhala people stray far from Buddhism but will eventually make Buddhism as practised in the island unrecognizable as anything to do with Buddah's teachings if it has not already made it so. ❑

*No. 6 in the series of interviews given by the LTTE leader to the media*

# "Giving pledges and implementing those pledges are two different things"



*Interview by Ms.Aananthi Sooriyapiragasam, British Broadcasting Corporation, London with Mr.V.Pirabakaran, Leader, Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, 27 April 1995.*

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## Flashback April 1995 !

**BBC.** Mr.Pirabakaran. Why did you decide to withdraw from the peace negotiations and from the cessation of hostilities at a time when there was hope in the country that peace would be restored in the Northeast and the Tamil problem would be resolved?

**V.P.** *We made this painful decision at a time when our people had lost all hope that peace would return to the Tamil homeland and the Tamil problem would be resolved. At the beginning we entertained a hope that peace and normalcy would be restored and the Tamil national question would be resolved by political negotiations. Based on this belief we entered the peace process and agreed for cessation of hostilities.*

*In the peace negotiations we argued that talks should proceed stage by stage and that the urgent and immediate problems of our people should be resolved at the early stages of the dialogue. The Government agreed to this.*

*The Tamil people have been subjected to enormous suffering as a consequence of the economic embargo, fishing bans and the blockade on traffic imposed by the previous Government. In the peace talks, we requested nothing other than the removal of these bans to alleviate the suffering of our people.*

*The Chandrika government, which came to power with the pledge that justice would be done to the Tamils,*

## 4 rounds of talks, 40 letters exchanged, and govt. did nothing to lift the bans

*should have, on its own, removed the injustices imposed on our people. But the Chandrika government didn't do so. Instead of viewing these issues as constituting the problems of the Tamil people, the Government took them as specific demands of the LTTE. Furthermore, these issues were approached within a military perspective. We were told that these issues were linked to national security and any attempt to resolve them would spark off military repercussions. We were disappointed with this response. It was under these circumstances we gave an ultimatum to the Government. We pointed out that the continuation of the peace negotiations would serve no meaningful purpose if the problems of our people are not resolved. As a consequence of this pressure the Government assured us that it would remove the bans. We extended our deadline for three weeks to allow time for the Government to implement its pledges. But the Government delayed the implementation of its decisions and postponed the resolution of other issues. We felt that the Government was not sincere and truthful in this matter. It committed an act of bad faith as the previous Sinhala Governments. It is because of this, we and our people have lost faith in Chandrika's government. Therefore, we came to a decision that no meaningful purpose would be served in continuing the peace negotiations.*

**BBC** Why did you decide to discontinue the peace negotiations even though President Chandrika lifted the economic embargo and removed the ban on fishing and offered several concessions?

**V.P.**. *I wish to make a point here. That is, giving pledges and implementing those pledges are two different things.*

*It is true that President Chandrika gave us pledges. But she has not taken constructive measures to implement them.*

*In the past the Tamil people have been betrayed several times by previous Sinhalese regimes.*

*Agreements were made but not implemented. Pacts were signed and abrogated. This is our history. Chandrika's government is not an exception. We stipulated a deadline to the Government to provide a timeframe to implement its decisions and pledges. As we anticipated, Chandrika's government delayed the implementation of its decisions. The Government did not take our deadline seriously. They tried to evade it. It is wrong on the part of President Chandrika to claim that she has given concessions to the LTTE. We did not ask for any concessions but raised the problems of our people. The rights that were denied to our people should not be categorised as concessions.*

**BBC** Don't you think that you should have been a bit patient since the delay in the implementation of the lifting of the economic embargo could have been caused by administrative hurdles.?

**V.P.** *We have showed enough patience. We could say that we reached the brink of tolerance. In so far as the day to day problems of the Tamil people are concerned the Government dragged its feet for more than six months. On these issues, there were four rounds of talks and more than forty letters exchanged.*

*Furthermore, we gave a two week deadline and that was further extended to three more weeks. Do you think that this period of time is inadequate? If there was a genuine will on the part of the Government it would have lifted the bans and proceeded with the implementation within 24 hours. I think that if the Government had been sincere there would not have been any delays or difficulties.*

**BBC** . What do you feel about the Government's decision to reimpose these bans?

**V.P.** *This action has made one thing very clear. That is, in so far as the Tamil issue is concerned there is no fundamental difference between the present Government and the UNP regime. This Government is perpetuating the injustices committed by the past Governments. I do not see any difference between both Governments in their strategy to seek political gains by imposing economic and military pressure on the Tamils. If this Government has a genuine concern for the welfare of the Tamil people, it should not have re-imposed the bans. This action demonstrates the fact that the Government is only concerned to secure the interests of the military and to utilise problems and predicaments of the Tamils to seek political advantage.*

**BBC** Under the terms and conditions of the Declaration of the Cessation of Hostilities, you should have given 72 hours notice if you wished to terminate the agreement. Why didn't you give that period oftime?

**V.P.** *We have given the Government ample period of time. A period of five weeks was given to the Government since the first deadline which was later extended. The Government chose to ignore the meaning and purpose of our ultimatum and now attempts to lay the blame on us.*

**BBC** Several foreign Governments have condemned you for having terminated the peace negotiations and the agreement on the cessation of hostilities. This has given rise to a view that the LTTE is opposed to peace process. What do you say to this?

**V.P.** *We are fully aware that the International community is genuinely*

Tamilaelam Archive

*concerned about the Tamil issue. We are also aware that. the world community wants the conflict resolved through peacefUl means and a political settlement reached. I think that accurate information with regard to the problems, difficulties and setbacks that arose in the negotiating process has not reached the outside world. Some foreign countries have chosen to condemn the LTTE on the basis of the one-sided story provided by the Government without recognising the legitimacy of our position. We deeply regret the haste in which the Governments have issued condemnations before studying the issue in depth.*

**BBC** President Chandrika has made it clear that she is determined to pursue the peace process with or without the co-operation of the LTTE. What is your response to this?

**V.P.** *If it is practicable to achieve peace without the co-operation of the LTTE, let her continue her effort.*

**BBC** The International Secretariat of the LTTE in London has issued a statement recently that the Tigers have not closed the doors for peace. What steps do you expect the Government to take to resume the peace initiative?

**V.P.** *Our doors for peace are still open. It is true that we are dissatisfied and disillusioned with the approach of the Government. Yet, we have not lost hope in the peace process. We are convinced that the Tamil national conflict can be resolved by peacefUl means. It is the Government which should take initiatives to resume the peace process. As a constructive measure the Government should lift the reimposed bans on economic items and on fishing and should ensure implementation. This action should be viewed as fUlfilling the needs of the people rather than as concessions granted to the LTTE. If Chandrika's government makes favourable decisions on the other issues we raised, and is prepared to implement them, we will be prepared to cease all hostilities and return to the peace process.* ❑

# In Chennai, Vaiko steals a march!



September 15, 1998 was the 90th birth anniversay of C.N.Annadurai the late charismatic leader of the Dravidian movement and Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and member of the Rajya Sabha before that. The man who stole a march over the other two Dravidian parties, the ruling DMK and Jayalalitha's AIADMK in making a big occasion of it was V.Gopalasamy (Vaiko), the founder and leader of the Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (MDMK), the 5-year old party that is fast emerging as the main Dravidian party of the future.

Tamileelam Archive



While Jayalalitha observed the occasion herself with a large rally at Tiruchi, it was entirely an AIADMK show. Vaiko's rally in Chennai saw the big guns of the Centre themselves participating, headed by Prime Minister Vaj payee himself. Others included L.K.Advani, George Fernandes, Farook Abdulla, as well as PMK leader Dr.Ramdoss, and Vazhapadi Ramamurthi.

An incidental feather in Vaiko's cap was a new sense of warmth between him and his erstwhile leader before his breakaway, DMK chief Karunanidhi. (see picture).

*LTTE's letter to the Non-Aligned Movement*

# "This is the worst repressive and racist regime in Sri Lanka's political history"

**Political Head Office,**
**Tamil Eelam,**
**29th August 1998.**

*Honourable Nelson Mandela,*
*The Chairman,*
*Respected Leaders of the Third World, Distinguished Delegates.*

First of all we wish to express our sincere greetings and felicitation to this great forum of world nations bonded together by the principles of Non-Alignment and striving to create a new, harmonious world order on the basis of justice, equality and peace.

**For decades the Non Aligned Movement has been an ardent supporter of the world national liberation movements. It has been championing the cause of the oppressed people in their struggle for self-determination and political independence. It has effectively voiced against racial repression, colonial domination and other forms of injustices against humanity.** In view of the fact NAM has been a progressive global movement seeking to eradicate the systems of oppression and injustice and promote the creation of a just and equitable world order, we submit for your serious attention and urgent consideration the tragic plight of the people of Tamil Eelam in Sri Lanka and their just struggle to determine their own political status and destiny.

The tragic story of the Tamils, their immense suffering and their heroic struggle, is a complex history that spans a period of over fifty years. All successive Governments of Sri Lanka, since the independence of the Island from British colonialism in 1948, have stained their hands with Tamil blood and have committed grave crimes of racial brutality. Conditioned by an illusive ideology of racial superiority and prompted by religious fanaticism, the


தமிழீழ ஆவணகம்
Tamileelam Archive

*President Mandela*

Sinhalese ruling elites undertook a notorious policy of racial oppression that had far-reaching consequences. The oppression attacked the very foundations of the Tamil nation , i.e, its language, culture, education, economic life and traditional lands. In its totality, the state oppression is genocidal in character, since it is charted with a calculative programme of systematically liquidating the structural unity and cohesiveness of the Tamil nation.

This genocidal oppression unfolded in its ugly forms ever since the Sinhala majority assumed state power. The Sri Lankan parliament became the powerful state institution upholding the tyranny of the majority. It enacted draconian legistations and emergency laws to repress the fundamental rights and freedoms of the Tamils. It framed racist constitution to entrench Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinistic rule and to alienate the Tamil people from the system of state power. In the last two decades the armed forces and the police assumed extra-ordinary powers as the instrument of state terror. During the anti-Tamil racial pogroms that erupted periodically in the island, the state's security forces actively participated in the ritual of mass murder of Tamils. Following the racial holocaust of July 1983 the armed forces played an active role in the military occupation and domination of Tamil areas. The offensive military operation in the Tamil homeland brought unprecedented terror and violence. Indiscriminate heavy artillery shelling and blind aerial bombardments that continued unabated for years caused colossal damage to life and property of the Tamils. Historical towns and villages were wiped out without trace. These ruthless military campaigns uprooted hundreds of thousands of people and reduced them to a condition of refugees. Life in the military occupied areas has become a nightmare with continuous search operation, mass arrests, detention, tor-

ture, rape, murder and disappearances.

During the last fifty years the Tamil people have suffered immensely and continue to suffer under a worst system of racist oppression practiced in Sri Lanka. Under this system of racist terror 60.000 innocent Tamil civilians have perished, about one million Tamils fled the island in fear and insecurity and half-a-million Tamils are living as displaced destitutes in their own homeland. The magnitude of this monumental human tragedy can only be described as genocide.

**In the international political arena Sri Lanka attempts to present itself as an Island paradise endowed with a pristine Buddhist civilization committed to democratic polity and adhering to the noble path of non - alignment. This is an illusive mask carefully constructed by the propaganda machinery to deceive the community of world nation. Behind this facade lies the factual reality, the reality of racial repression of religious hatred, of military brutality, of gross violations of human rights of attempted genocide. Operating an authoritarian political system and ruling the country under emergency laws and media censorship, Sri Lanka has been committing grave war crimes in the Tamil homeland in the guise of fighting 'terrorism'.** The bloody and ruthless war that has been unleashed against the Tamil people is the ultimate manifestation of the racist genocidal oppression practiced by the Sri Lankan state. In a feeble attempt to justify a full-fleged war against a community of people whom Sri Lanka calls her own citizens, the Government has branded the Tamil freedom struggle as a phenomenon of terrorism. This is a gross misrepresentation of the political reality prevailing in Sri Lanka intended to discredit the Tamil struggle.

**The Tamil political struggle has a unique evolutionary history extending to a half-a-century during which time the mode of struggle has taken different forms at different stages. In the early periods the Tamil people adopted peaceful, non-violent political campaigns to articulate their grievances.** The Tamil political leadership at that time believed in the Gandhian philosophy of 'ahimsa' and was convinced that the moral and spiritual power of non - violence would bring an end to the mounting state violence against the Tamils. The Tamil protest campaigns received wider popular support and folded in to a massive national uprising against the state. The Tamil upsurgence alarmed the Sinhala state which reacted by unleashing military violence and terror against the passive campaigners. The brutality of the armed forces finally crushed the peaceful, non-violent political agitation of the Tamils. Thus, two decades of non-violent struggle of the oppressed

*"Two decades of non-violent struggle was brought to an end by violent repression"*

was brought to an end by the violent repression of the oppressor paving the way for the intensive utilization of military terror as the method of state oppression against the Tamil political struggle. **It was during the early seventies when the Tamils realized the futility of the peaceful methods of struggle against a merciless oppressor who believed in military domination and repression, objective conditions for an armed resistance movement arose.** It was at that conjuncture when our people had no alternative methods to defend themselves against the savage form of state terrorism and genocide our liberation organization was born as the armed resistance movement of the Tamils.

Born as a guerrilla movement in 1972 to resist the military terror of the Sinhala state, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), after years of arduous and consistent struggle, gained wider support among the popular masses and firmly established itself as the freedom movement of the Eelam Tamils. Constituting itself as a liberation organization with political and military structures, the LTTE has been fighting an armed struggle to protect and safe-guard the Tamil people and their historical homeland against Sinhala military aggression and occupation.

The armed struggle of the Liberation Tigers is based on a clearly defined political programme. This political project aims at securing the right to self-determination of the Tamil people. The LTTE holds the position that the Tamils constitute themselves as a people or a nation and have a homeland and that they are entitled to the right to self-determination. This right entailed the freedom of a people to determine their own political status. **The Tamil people had invoked the right to self-determination at the 1977 general elections and opted to fight for political independence. The political project of the LTTE is based on the people's mandate for self-determination. Therefore, the LTTE objective in fighting for the political independence of the Tamil homeland is the expression and articulation of the collective will and aspiration of the Tamil people.**

The right to self-determination is the cardinal principle upon which our liberation struggle is being fought today. It is the principle that upholds the sacred right of a nation to decide its own political destiny. The international covenants of the UN charter enunciates the principle of self-determination in the following terms; " All people have the right to self-determination. By the virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development".

Originally the principle of self-determination was applied specifically to people under colonial domination fighting a liberation struggle for political independence. In contemporary times the principle has broader application in that it incorporates people facing vari-

Tamil Eelam Archive

ous modes of oppression. Particularly it applies to people oppressed by racist regimes or subjected to alien domination or foreign occupation. Alien domination can be designated as subjugation of one nation by another nation. The Tamil people are oppressed by a racist regime. This oppression has assumed genocidal proportion. They are also subjected to military domination and occupation by the Sinhala nation, which can be categorized as a case of alien domination. Therefore, the Tamils posses all the necessary attributes that would satisfy the conditions in international law for the exercise of their right to self - determination.

Though the Tamils are entitled for their right to self-determination and have been fighting a sustained struggle to win that right, Sri Lanka has consistently refused to recognize the Tamils as a people and denied their right to self-determination. By constitutional amendment, Sri Lanka has prohibited the Tamil demand for self - determination as unlawful. It has also rejected the Tamil right to their historical homeland. In order to legitimize its rejection of the Tamil claim of nationhood, Sri Lanka has been propagating a false view that Tamil are a minority group living in a multi-ethnic Sri Lankan social formation and therefore not entitled for either a separate homeland or nationhood. Having taken such entrenched position, the Sinhala state has been depicting the Tamil struggle for self-determination as separatism and the armed struggle as terrorism. It is precisely because of this rigid and inflexible position that refuses to recognize and accept the legitimacy and reality of the Tamil cause, the Sinhalese regime is reluctant to enter into a meaningful dialogue with the LTTE. Instead, the Government has adopted the military path with an objective of occupying and subjugating the Tamil nation to crush the Tamil aspiration for self-rule in their historical homeland.

**The present Sri Lankan Government under Chandrika Kumaratunga, which came to power four years ago with the grand promises of peace and ethnic reconciliation turned out to be worst repressive racist regime in Sri Lankan political history inflicting intolerable suffering on the Tamil people.** This regime is responsible for the escalation of the ethnic conflict and for the intensification of the war against the Tamils. Soon after assuming state power Kumaratunga's Government initiated a hidden agenda, a well-worked out programme of military conquest of the Tamil homeland couched in a notorious doctrine called "war for peace". Having mobilized maximum military power, the Government let loose terror and violence in the Tamil areas in the guise of "liberating the Tamils". The war continues with unabated fury for the last four years turning the Tamil nation into a cauldron of state violence. It is the Tamil people who bore the brunt of the military conflagration and suffered enormously as casualties of war with the disintegration of the social, cultural and economic life.

Chandrika's war has also affected profoundly the personal security, liberty and dignity of the Tamil people in the form of mass arrests detentions without trial, torture and rape. In addition to havoc caused by the ongoing war, the imposition of economic embargo, the ban on medical items, the stoppage of food ration of refugees, the restrictions on the freedom of movement the Tamil civilians, the rigid application of emergency laws all these harsh measures have burdened the Tamil with intolerable hardships. Furthermore, the Government imposed media censorship on military news has blacked-out information reaching the out side world of the gross violation of human rights practiced by the armed forces in the occupied Tamil area.

**Chandrika Kumaratunga's much publicized 'peace package', upon which several international countries had pinned their hopes and expectation for an eventual solution to the Tamil conflict, has now become a dead letter. The Government has lost interest in the pursuit of peace and has invested all its energies and efforts in the prosecution of the war with a determination of finding a military solution.** Chandrika's Government has also outrightly rejected third party mediation to the conflict and imposed impossible conditions for political negotiation with the LTTE.

Sri Lanka has become the sick man of Asia torn by the turbulence of war and violence and by wasting all its resources and wealth in a meaningless war that drags on perpetually with no end in sight. The country is driven into this tragic and unstable condition because the Sinhalese leadership lacks a genuine political will to meet the aspirations of the Tamil people through negotiated political settlement. All the Sri Lankan Governments, the past as well as the present, over the last fifty years have and callously denied the basic political rights and freedoms of the Tamils and showed no inclinations whatsoever to accommodate the Tamil people in civilized political system of power sharing. Deluded by historical myths and obsessed by the desire to transform the entire island into a Sinhala-Buddhist nation, the Sri Lankan political leaders have adopted an irrational policy of subjugating the Tamil nation under the absolute power of the Sinhala state. Such a disastrous policy provides the Tamils with no alternative other than to fight for their liberty and dignity.

**We appeal to President Nelson Mandela and his Government who hosts this great forum and to the leaders of the Third World to recognize the collective aspirations of our people for national identity and self determination. We call upon you to use your good office to impress upon the Government of Sri Lanka to abandon its aggressive military policy and seek a negotiated settlement based on the principles enunciated at Thimpu talks.**

Our sincere greetings and well wishes.

*Political Committee*

*Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam*

Tamileelam Archive

# IS PEACE POSSIBLE IN SRI LANKA

## NEGOTIATIONS

The war cannot end without the combatants negotiating. In view of the acrimony and mistrust between the two Nations over the last several years due to failures of talks, abrogation of agreements, and the ongoing genocidal war, negotiations can only take place using a third party mediator. Any agreement should be guaranteed by an international body.. Several countries/organizations have offered mediation and the LTTE has agreed to such mediations, but the government has not. Besides, for negotiations to succeed there should be acceptance of some basic parameters.

If democracy is to reflect the will of the people, Tamils had overwhelmingly voted for the establishment of a separate state at the last general election under normal conditions held in Tamil areas -1977. One Nation cannot decide what another Nation which shares the same land mass as the first one wants, nor can it impose its will on the latter. That is not democracy.

Another matter that is often overlooked by observers is that in a country where the majority of Sinhalese and Tamils live in separate contiguous areas and elections are fought on ethnic lines, the government in power is one elected by the Sinhalese who are a permanent majority in the island and not by the Tamils who are a permanent minority .It is incorrect to say that the LTTE is fighting a government elected by the people, unless people mean only the Sinhalese.

Every Tamil political party or militant group had at one time claimed to pursue the mandate given by the Tamil people. Today only the LTTE claims to pursue it. During talks with the U.N.P. regime in 1990 LTTE offered to contest elections in Tamil areas under international supervision to prove that it was the true representatives of the Tamils. The Government did not accept the challenge.

Separation has come about in innumerable countries by common consent, wishes of the Nation that wants to separate ascertained in elections, and by war. The LTTE is fighting a war of liberation against neocolonialism and state terrorism. Members of the LTTE are liberation fighters as in any war of liberation, including the American War of Independence. The government calls them terrorists and has persuaded their cronies also to do so.

## By Oor Kuruwi

## THE LTTE POSITION:

The LTTE says that it is the true representative of the Tamil people and not those who won the elections in Tamil areas in 1994 under army occupation , many of whom polled single digit votes. It has repeatedly said that it is prepared to give up the demand for separation provided alternative arrangements are made to satisfy the aspirations of the Tamil people. It has stated that its basic demands are those put up by all militants and the only political party, the TULF, at the Thimpu talks. These are:

***(1)Recognition of the Tamils as a Nation.***

***(2)Recognition of the existence of an identified homeland for the Tamils***

***(3)Recognition of the right of self determination of the Tamil Nation.***

Other matters that have not been not specifically mentioned but indicated are, total equality in every aspect of life including language, religion, national flag ,national anthem, development and employment opportunities.(except where it comes within the scope of the state government ), and that Tamils should also be able to live in complete security and have the right to life, limb and property.

These demands can be accommodated under a truly federal system of government, a confederation or a commonwealth of states. These systems are not new and have been adopted in a large number of countries to provide for unity in diversity. They are not considered as the first step to separation as believed by most Sinhalese politicians. However, under any system federal or otherwise , if the minorities are not treated equally there will be a demand for separation as has happened in several countries with such systems.

## THE GOVERNMENT'S POSITION:

After having been elected on a PEACE AT ANY COST platform, the President now pursues a WAR FOR PEACE! She wants to liberate the Tamil people from "the clutches of the LTTE", as if any one wanted her to liberate them!. She wants to "marginalise the LTTE" and introduce a DEVOLUTION PACKAGE, which in her view is a form of FEDERALISM EXCEPT IN NAME. This so called devolution package which first saw the light of day on Aug.5th1995,(almost an year after she was elected), has been watered down several times since, and still has not been finalised. She is clever at propaganda and paying lip service to her concerns about Tamils and human rights and many foreign governments which have not even read the package in full, believe that she is the best hope for Tamils!.

Without getting into too many details about the draft Constitution , the fact that Article 76 in the 1978 Constitution which prohibited devolution of power and which she herself announced she would get deleted because it prohibited devolution of power ,has now been retained in the proposed draft Constitution word for word, comma for comma ,and full stop for full stop as Article 92 shows how deceptive she is.

Meanwhile her armed forces are

carrying out GENOCIDAL ATTACKS on Tamil civilians and her policies have caused innumerable hardships to Tamils who are dying due to lack of food , shelter, and medicines. These facts have been well documented by International Human Rights bodies.

The intention of the government seems to be to ,whilst professing to opt for a political solution as against a military solution, militarily defeat the LTTE and impose their own "solution" on a cowed down Tamil people.

## THE GOVERNMENT'S POSITION ON LTTE'S DEMANDS:

(1) Tamils as a Nation . While Tamils have all the attributes of a Nation as defined in the Covenants of the United Nations and they had their own Kingdom which was conquered by colonial powers, the government and most Sinhalese do not want to recognize this .They still have a Mahavamsa mentality and maintain that they are the original inhabitants of the island,( notwithstanding that Sinhalese historian Paul Peiris amongst others says that there were Tamils living in the island at the time of the arrival of the Sinhalese, there are references to the island being occupied by Nagas and Yakas and there is archaeological evidence of the existence of five Ishwarams in the island which pre- date the arrival of Sinhalese on the island ), and that Tamils are intruders. They also forget the fact that Vijaya and his friends got down Pandyan women (Tamils)as wives for themselves. Western writers of the 17th and 18th centuries have referred to the fact that there were two different Nations which occupied different parts of the island. It is going to be a big hurdle to get the Sinhalese politicians to accept that there is a Sinhala Nation and a Tamil Nation occupying the island.

(2)Homeland for the Tamils .The Bandaranaiake-Chelvanayakam and the Senanayake-Chelvanayakam agreements were based on the Northern and Eastern provinces being Tamil provinces where the administration was to be carried out in the Tamil language and the language of the courts was to be Tamil. The Indo- Sri Lankan Accord refers to the Northern and Eastern provinces as the "historical habitation of Tamil speaking people of Sri Lanka. "Besides, after every communal attack the government in power had been sending Tamil refugees to the two provinces for safety. Having changed the demography of the Eastern province where the percentage of Sinhalese in the province was 4.2% in1924 and 9%in 1947, to a current nearly 33% by government aided colonization using tax payer's money and forcibly driving away Tamils from their homes and settling Sinhalese in them, which practice is being carried out to this day, successive Sinhalese governments and almost all Sinhalese call the Eastern Province a multiethnic province and think that it should not be merged with the northern province .In addition, planned actions by the government created a rift between the Tamils and Muslims, who at one time wanted a merger of the two provinces with some safeguards for them ,but now are asking for a province of their own. The present government's draft proposals is suggesting a trifocation of the province into Tamil ,Sinhalese, and Muslim areas with some parts attached to other provinces.

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## FORCED CHANGE IN DEMOGRAPHY NOT ACCEPTABLE

Most Tamils , including militants currently working with the Government and the TULF had at one time insisted on the merger of the two provinces ,but it is not quite clear what their position now is, with rumors that the TULF may accept some adjustments in the provincial boundaries. The forced change in the demography is not acceptable to Tamils, and a cut off date beyond which Sinhalese settlers have to be evicted with compensation and re-settlement, has to be worked out during negotiations.

(3)The right of self determination. The right of self determination of a Nation and a people is recognized in international law and numerous articles have been written by prominent international lawyers supporting this. The right of self determination does not mean separation .It includes that right.

Many requests for separation have been settled by granting the right to self determination. The latest such cases are in the Philippines, the UK, and very lately in East Timor , where an agreement has been signed to hand over the rights over all matters affecting them other than defense, external affairs and some monetary policies to the East Timorians, 800,000 in number, and in the case of an Indian tribe in Canada numbering 5,000, which has been granted self rule in a demarcated territory . The powers given to them are supposed to exceed those requested by the province of Quebec. In the US many Indian tribes have their own recognized territories over which they have the right of self rule.

## PAST SINHALA SUPPORT FOR FEDERALISM

The implementation of a federal system of government is repugnant to most Sinhalese politicians other than the NLSSP group. The present government deceptively calls its proposals "federal except in name". It is still undecided whether to call the country a union of regions or not. The major opposition party, the UNP insists in preserving the unitary system explicitly in the Constitution. However, some past Sinhalese leaders have supported the federal system: Ex-Prime minister S.W.R.D.Bandaranaiake( in an address to the Student Congress meeting in Jaffna in July 1926), leader of the LSSP and one time Leader of the Opposition and Minister Dr.N.M.Perera ( in Parliament on Oct. 19th,1955), leader of the LSSP and one time Minister Dr.Colvin R. De Silva(in Parliament in June 1956), one time Minister and Presidential candidate Mr.Gamini Dissanayake (in 1994 according to an article in The Island newspaper of Nov. 13th 1994 by Dr.

Jehan Perera), and Ex-Prime Minister and Ex-President Mr. J.R.Jayawardene (in an interview published in the Sunday Times of July 1st,1995).

So long as there is no agreement on these basic principles, as would seem to be the case, there will be no solution.

On the question of equality, apart from paying lip service to the idea by few of the Sinhalese politicians, by and large this idea is not accepted by the majority of them. Besides, legislating for these would not be sufficient as can be seen from the non implementation of Tamil as an official language despite legislation to this effect. Primacy of the Buddhist religion ,the Sinhala flag and the Sinhala National anthem cannot be foisted on an unwilling Tamil Nation. There is no indication that there will be any compromise by the government on these issues. On the question of living in security with the right to life limb and property, Tamils cannot accept any solution unless law and order is in the hands of the Tamil state and the army of occupation removed from the tamil areas. Pronouncement by government leaders indicate that there will no compromise on this matter too.

It has been said "there is none so blind as those who refuse to see". One can see that the chances of a solution is almost nil.

The only permanent solution seems to be the creation of Tamil Eelam. However, the Tamils may be prepared to accept an alternative solution provided their aspirations are met. The Sinhalese governments would rather carry on with the war with the consequent amount of suffering, death ,destruction and lost development, than agree to a solution based on a federal or other type of system which will grant equality to the Tamils.

❑

## Hundreds of Buddhist monks call for war

Hundreds of saffron-robed Buddhist monks marched through the Colombo streets on September 21,, demanding that government forces defeat Tamil Tiger rebels militarily.

Waving placards and flags, they chanted anti-rebel slogans. Prior to the march, nearly 500 monks and 1,000 civilians met at the Young Men's Buddhist Association hall in the Sri Lankan capital and pronounced themselves against any negotiations with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, who have been fighting for a separate homeland for minority Tamils since 1983.

"We must never give in to terrorism. The government and opposition parties are spineless, and are afraid of the rebel leader," said Iththepane Dhammalankara, a monk and spokesman for the National Movement Against Terrorism. The march by the monks caused massive traffic jams in some parts of Colombo.


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# AN OPEN LETTER TO MR DAVID TATHAM THE BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER IN SRI LANKA


**R.Jayadevan**

*65 Fairway Avenue*
*London NW9 OEL*
*19 September 1998*


***Mr D Tatham***
***High Commissioner***
***British High Commission***
***Galle Road***
***Colombo-3***
***Sri Lanka***

*Dear Mr Tatham*

Your recent speech in Jaffna has generated concerns within the expatriate Tamil community. Judging from the insensitive statements you have made, it is abundantly clear that you have gone on a guided tour to an invaded territory as a messiah to prop up the gospels of an invader.

The 'Weekend Express' published the release of your speech in which you have asked the Tamils in Jaffna to appeal to the Tamil Diaspora, "to help, not in destroying this island, but in rebuilding it".

## Pro-Sinhala stance

After careful consideration, I have come to an inevitable conclusion that your statement was made out of context, ignoring the aspirations, sentiments and sufferings of the Tamil nation. The underlying message in your statement only indicate that you have gone out of the way, in connivance with the Sinhala government, to plant the seed to shape up a new adverse foreign policy for Britain on Sri Lanka with regard to the so called 'Tamil problem'.

**I am very concerned that your High Commission is not interested in knowing the situation faced by the Tamils or deliberately suppressing it for reasons best known to yourself.** Your speech and the hurriedly despatched Tele-letters to the Foreign Office in response to the BRC report in March 1997 made me to come to this conclusion.



*David Tatham*

With your pro-Sinhala assessments and your ulterior motives in developing commercial, bilateral and friendly relationship with the Sinhala government, you have taken a dishonourable position to advise the expatriate Tamils to fully involve in the rehabilitation and development work in Jaffna at the time when genocide is practised by that brutal Sinhala government. Will you not consider driving away of over 500,000 Tamils from the shores of Sri Lanka; internally displacing over 750,000 Tamils; killing according to suppressed media managed estimation of 60,000 Tamils and recently going to the extent of burying bodies in mass graves; raping women and children; starving the Tamil population to achieve political objectives; plundering the economy of the Tamil nation etc, as not genocide?

> "Expatriate Tamils do not have confidence in your recent assessment of the situation prevailing in Jaffna"

Being born as Tamils, our family has endured the most humiliating experience many times at the hands of the Sinhalese like other fellow Tamils. Despite this we continue to devote our resources towards the development of our motherland and never channelled them for destructive purposes. When our family members were driven out of Kandy in July 1977 by the bigoted Buddhist monks led Sinhala mobs, we decided to concentrate in Jaffna. **The Tamil areas saw an unprecedented economic development between 1977 and 1983 as a result of the positive contribution made by the Tamil community during that period. Unfortunately, all that we built as a result of those investments are presently being exploited by the marauding Sinhala forces and the handful of anti-social parasitical Tamil militants who are being pampered and panegyrised by the Sinhala government.**

## My mother, brother

We spent colossal sums in building a house in Jaffna for our mother and purchased lands for further developments. But the very same house we built, became the execution gallery for her and also my brother (only known crime they had committed was to be born as Tamils) in the hands of the invading army (IPKF) who came to Sri Lanka on the sinister manipulation of the Sinhala government.

Our house is not far away from where Krishanthi was raped and brutally murdered together with her mother, brother and neighbour. It is also at a stone throwing distance from where a mass gravesite is located where 400

dead bodies of innocent Tamils are being buried. I am very saddened that you did not express your sympathy or sorrow in your speech to the relatives of the victims of these degrading dastardly acts, but went out of the way to boast about your honeymoon with the Sinhala government.

Despite the physical, mental and emotional scar we carry with us, as a result of the war on us by the brutal Sinhala regime, our attachment to our people and land is so great that we are eager to consider any propositions that can directly involve us in the development process for the betterment of our people. We are ready to invest in our economy and are eager even to return to our Promised Land; the moment conducive conditions are created for us to live as human beings without the interference of the Sinhalese whom you patronise. Before we embark on such mission to rebuild Jaffna relying on your appeal, I seek your assistance, assurance and or guarantee on the following vital concerns:

Expatriate Tamils do not have confidence in your recent assessment of the situation prevailing in Jaffna, as we know that they are only stage-managed and part of Sri Lanka government propaganda for international consumption. I appeal to you to arrange an independent group of representatives i.e., like our MP's and MEP's, who truly represent expatriate Tamils in their constituencies and who understand our feelings, concerns and difficulties to carry out an independent and impartial visit to the Tamil areas and report to us of their assessments for us to consider investing in the Tamil areas.

**And would you also:**

***1) Confirm whether in your opinion our investments will be safe, rewarding and beneficial to us under the prevailing condition in Jaffna.***

***2) Confirm that you will use your special relationship with the Sinhala government to get rid of the rabid army from our house for us to carry out the necessary improvement work for us to live there.***

***3) Confirm that you will assure the safety and security of our family members from the invading alien army for us to carry out rebuilding work.***

***4) Confirm that you will use your good offices to ensure that justice is meted out to the members of the invading forces who killed my mother and brother (IPKF) and also to the relatives of those buried in a mass gravesite in Chemmani.***

***5) Confirm that under no circumstances arms supplied by the British government on your recommendation to the Sinhalese government will be used against my people or our family.***

I await to hear from you.

*Yours sincerely*
*R Jayadevan*


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# "The country moving fast down the road to self-destruction"

***The recent military engagements have shown beyond question that the country is moving fast down the road to self-destruction", says a Press release issued by the National Peace Council of Sri Lanka.***

***Stating that the military agenda must not displace democracy and civilian interests, the press release issued by the Media Director says:-***

The official death toll exceeding a thousand combatants on both sides in this week's pitched battles for Mankulam, Killinochchi and Paranthan, the funerals taking place at this time throughout the country, and the loss of a civilian passenger plane over Jaffna, have forced our attention once again to the shockingly high costs of the ongoing war.

Only a fortnight ago a supplementary budget allocating an extra Rs 12 billion to the already swollen defence budget was approved by Parliament with hardly any discussion or debate. This massive sum of money (which exceeds by far the entire budget on health or education) would have otherwise gone to boost the economy and livelihoods of millions.

The prosecution, and consequences, of the war have now reached a level of intensity where it threatens to push all other matters to the sidelines. The first ever implementation of a censorship by the military has been in force for the past six months. Even elections, which are the lifeblood of democracy, have been postponed on the grounds of the war. Every escalation of the war has been matched by a counter-escalation that strengthens the military power on both sides to the detriment of life, property and the values of democratic governance.

The National Peace Council appeals to the government to ensure that democratic values are not permanently lost in a cycle of blind military escalation that is clearly not taking the country in the direction of peace. We also appeal to the LTTE to address the conflict in a manner that makes it possible for a peaceful solution to be found in which the people of our country are spared the cruelties of war and the degradation of rule by the gun.

The NPC takes heart that the three main protagonists, the government, opposition and LTTE, have indicated their willingness to accept third party facilitation. The value of a third party is in enabling the conflicting parties to clearly recognise the realities of a situation instead of continuing to engage in a futile struggle in the hope that somehow their preferred outcome will emerge. **The recent military engagements have shown beyond question that the country is moving fast down the road to self-destruction.**

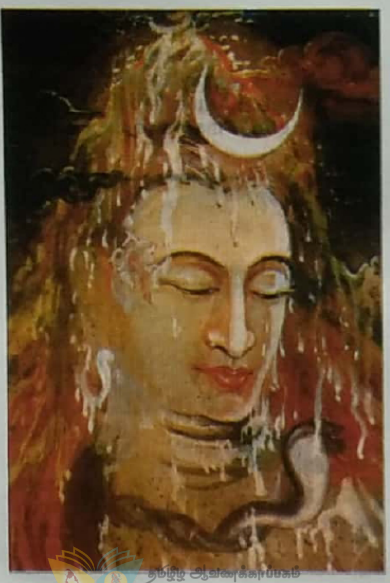

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# A New Millennium. A New Generation: The Fate Of Saivaism In The West

*PRESENTED AT THE FIRST SAIVA CONFERENCE OF THE FEDERATION OF SAIVA TEMPLES -ON SAIVAISM IN THE WEST. HELD IN LONDON, 11-12 JULY 1998.*



தமிழ் ஈழ ஆவணகம்
Tamileelam Archive

By
**Kumuthan Sriskandarajah**
(Medical Student at St George's Hospital Medical School, London)

What does the dawn of a new millennium mean to you? To what extent are you spiritually and philosophically aware, with respect to Saivaism? How much have you contributed to the wealth of the future generation living in the West? I am not discussing financial wealth, but the cultural and religious wealth that our rich heritage has to offer Indeed how concerned are you about safeguarding and ensuring the growth of Saivaism within our community living here in the West?

A new millennium conjures up ideas of vastness, a golden age of man, a time of progression and prosperity to all; or alternatively a time of destruction or self - inflicted dilemmas for man. Whatever your vision for man in the next millennium, we all agree that it is a time of change. If we are to make that future a prosperous one, we must address the problems we have in our society today, before they deteriorate into regrets of the past.

This Saiva conference has been organised to bring to the attention of the masses the problems facing Saivaism in the West. **Saivaism is more than just a religion, it is a fundamental part of our rich culture; it is a way of life; a mechanism by which members of a community can associate;** it delivers a philosophically and morally enlightening experience that is character building and is an important part of any child's development - it defines a definite direction to life.

The last thirty-forty years have seen the mass emigration of Saivites ffom their native countries of Sri Lanka and India to the West, for various political and socio-economic reasons. When the first generation arrived they had no temples, a very sparse community and very few opportunities in which to show their children the enormity of their rich cultural background. Thankfully, today the situation is quite different - the community has grown, cultural organisations have formed, and most importantly temples have been built.

The temple is the most practical mechanism by which children can be made aware of the vastness of Saivaism - as a way of life. Traditionally, temples have always been the cornerstones of our community, providing a place in which to allow ones spiritual and intellectual awareness to develop, allowing the various classical arts to be studied at one location, providing a powerful opportunity for our children to become initiated in our cultural beliefs, provide a chance to associate and form friendships with other Shivites, and of-course provide a place to worship peacefully, or in congregation. Temples are undoubtedly an important part of any Saivite's life.

The time and effort expended by a few visionary members of our community has given my generation the opportunity to benefit from these advantages. But the problem we find today is, are enough teenagers coming to the temples? The general trend being that as the children of my generation reach their mid- and late- teens their frequency of visits to the temple is diminishing.

### How can this trend be explained?

-Are the children being burdened with more and more duties at home and school as they mature - thus limiting the amount of time they can afford to spend visiting the temple?

**-Are parents leading increasingly hectic lifestyles and consequently unable to find time to take their children to the temple? Transport may also be an obstacle.**

-Is it that the children find the temple boring and would rather be playing computer games or going out with school friends?

-Or more seriously are they losing their bond with the temple and thus, also with Saivaism? Has their mentality been significantly influenced by the

Western culture, making visiting the temple less of a priority to them?

If the general trends are merely transient, and as the children become young adults they revert back to a strong association with Saivaism, there is no real problem. But realistically, children who drift away ffom temple life very rarely see an incentive to go back - in-fact it becomes increasingly difficult to encourage them to visit the temple of their own accord. Consequently, there will be a decline of Saivaism in the West as children of my generation do not encourage their children to visit the temples and so-on and so-forth.

In the end, parents cannot enforce Saivaism upon the very subjective and critical children of today - and Saivaism teachings actively discourages it - the child must find his/her path to reach God alone, we may only guide the child. Saivaism's belief is that the devotion will not be true and therefore not last if not allowed to develop from the natural progression of the child's free-will.

Saivaism is like a seedling growing in all our children - it is very fragile with roots yet to be established, and hence great care must be taken to ensure, successful growth and strengthening of the roots - then only will the plant (i.e. the faith of the individual) be in good shape to withstand the trials of a new millennium. It is the job of the senior members of the community to help the seedlings grow, and primarily to plant the seeds from which the child's faith will eminate.

After many discussions and debates with my peers, I have been able to collate the main problems associated with the temples as seen by my generation. **The main underlying problem that was repeatedly discussed was the topic of boredom. The children associate the temple with standing for long periods of time listening to monotonous chanting in an alien language (i.e. Sanskrit) and observing rituals that they do not even know the significance of.** The second major point discussed was the fact that they have very little free time whilst undertaking their GCSE's, A-Level's and university degrees. A smaller minority felt that the temple had little to offer, other than a place in which to worship - Why should I go to the temple when I can pray at home? was the question posed to me. Finally a very small percentage said that they do not actually believe in Saivaism anymore...


தமிழீழ ஆவணக்காப்பகம்
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*Jaffna's Sivan Temple bombed from the air by the Sri Lankan Air Force on May 27, 1987*

Individuals who state that they have insufficient time to attend the temple, seem to find time to going out with friends, watch hours of TV, play computer games, etc...

The few individuals that regularly visit the temple have always found time and currently still allocate time to visit the various temples. They lead very successful academic lives while concurrently holding strong interests in the arts and sports. Thus, I feel, visiting the temple, is just a matter of prioritisation by the individuals concerned. If an individual has a desire to reach a goal, he/she will strive to make time in order to realise that goal. Similarly, if an individual has a strong faith he/she will allocate sufficient time in order to attend the temple regularly. Therefore it is clearly evident that these individuals are merely giving ill-excuses for their poor attendance and lack of interest. The individual should ask him/her-self, how important is going to the temple for me? Who is to blame for this situation? We feel that it is a combination of the parents and coordinators of the temple who are to blame. Most parents emphasise how important it is to study, but fail to, likewise, guide their children to the same extent about going to the temple. The temple co-ordinators must also educate the parents about the religion, and the important role that Saivaism will play in the lives of their children; then only will the parents actively guide their children towards the benefits that the temple can provide.

The minor percentage of individuals that are undecided about Saivaism, quite often have many misconceptions about the religion, and are consequently the most difficult part of the conundrum to solve. Every parent must attain a minimum metaphysical

level of consciousness towards Saivaism, in order to pass on knowledge about the religion to their children. Some parents lack this ability to convey the knowledge and purpose behind the religion and consequently are unable to satisfy their child's understandable thirst for logical answers, and as a result leads to the child looking else-where for adequate answers. The solution involves the education of parents on the philosophies behind Saivaism. Essentially, this task must be unequivocally tackled, if Saivaism is to expand.

Afier further debate and analysis with my peers we came up with various solutions to tackle this complex issue.

Firstly, the temple co-ordinators need to address the lack of interest that the children and young adults have whilst they are at the temple, and primarily to work towards establishing the temple as more than just a place of worship, so that it can appeal to a broader section of the community (parents and children likewise). Steps that can be considered, include:

i) Organising philosophical and religious debates to be held on certain days of the week, presided over by a knowledgeable senior member of the community.

ii) Organising Tamil language and history lessons for individuals of different age groups and standards.

iii) Allocating certain days where a priest or another knowledgeable figure, delivers a brief talk on the religion, its scriptures and its saints.

iv) Allocating days when you can have, a shortened Pooja, after which the opportunity is provided for groups of students and young devotees to sing devotional songs. Over a period of time the children participating will feel as if they are an integral part of the temple community. It will also provide an environment in which they can meet other young Saivites. Often it is easier for a child to further his/her knowledge after exchange between individuals of similar age.

v) Involving more children in the day to day running of the temple. Give them responsibilities that will allow them to see the end-product of their actions.

vi) **Organise subsidised pilgrimages for groups of children to South India and Sri Lanka, as we feel that every child should have the opportunity to witness the awe inspiring splendour of the temples of South India and Sri Lanka.** We feel that this is a very effective way of bring individuals closer to Saivaism, who might have otherwise lost direction. It would be a thought-provoking and humbling experience in which the individuals would gain greater discipline, awareness and knowledge of their heritage.

vii) Some children only come to the temple on special occasions, such as the New Year, or at the start of a prominent religious festival. On these occasions special workshops and activities for children of all ages should be organised, so that they can become aware of the advantages of coming to the temple on a regular basis.

We, the youth, feel that if the above solutions are considered carefully and actively implemented after further discussion with the necessary parties, they will help in changing the image of the temple, in the eyes of the youth of today. I am sure that the youth would enjoy every opportunity that arises to participate in temple life, hence leading to the growth of Saivaism in the West.

Saivaism, our culture and the arts are all integral with one another, therefore by losing one it will have a detrimental effect on the others - our children will become individuals without culture as well as religion. So I ask you, what use are the temples you are helping to build, if their maximum potential is not fully utilised by the future generations?

***'Pergola' Carlton Road, New Malden, Surrey, KT3 3AJ, United Kingdom.***

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## Brinda's Arangetram



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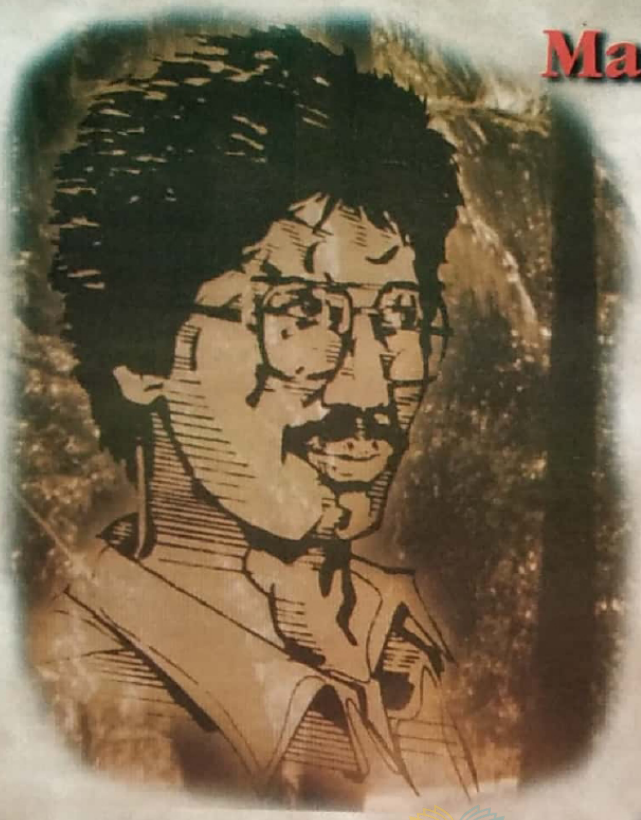
The Bharatha Natya Arangetram of Selvi Brinda Kugapala, pupil of Thirumathy Ragini Rajagopal took place at the Logan Hall, University of London on 26th September 1998, in the presence of a packed gathering.

The chief guest was Thirumathy Pathmini Ramachandran, a distinguished Bharatha Natya danseuse in her time, and one of the three Travancore sisters. The Guest of Honour was Dr.Ms.Y.Burne, Headmistress, City of London School for girls.

Brinda is the daughter of Mr.Kugapala and Mrs.Girija Kugapala of 31, Herbert Road, Emerson Park, Hornchurch, Essex.

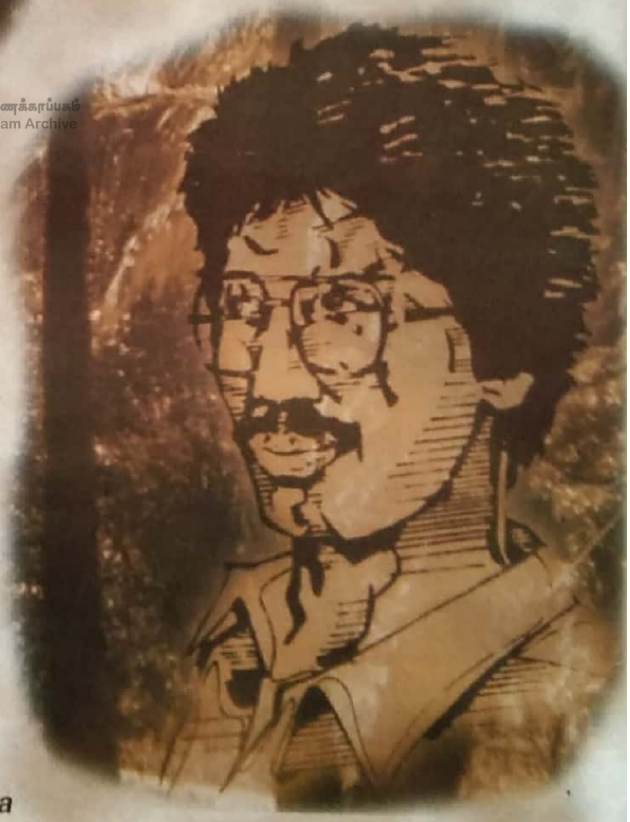
# Martyr Thileepan

[1964 - 1987]



*He passed away in full view of*
*a hundred thousand or more*
*pairs of tear-filled eyes,*
*Fasting in steadfast defiance*
*of violence of seventy thousand*
*misguided gun-toting guys,*
*Consuming not even water*
*for eleven whole days,*
*not just his rice,*
*Bettering the Ghandian device*
*to recapture human liberty*
*through self-sacrifice.*
*His nation had tried for forty years*
*not once, not twice, not thrice*
*but umpteen times, to entice*

தமிழீழ ஆவணக்காப்பகம்
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*the oppressors with compromise*
*plans, interim pacts, sensible advice,*
*but all these were freezed like inert ice.*
*Thileepan's was passivism against vice,*
*with arms withheld as a last resort, as*
*the ultimate face in the political dice.*
*He expired national fire in slow breaths*
*and passed vigour and fierce velocity to*
*Tamil cubs, once timid and shy as mice,*
*And now lives as the sinew and blood*
*of armies of pouncing tigers pursuing*
*national pride and peace and a paradise.*

**- by Professor Kopan Mahadeva**

# WDIU report "the first of its kind in the world"

**Tamil Women and Children Living and Dying Under Sri Lankan Army Occupation: Sexual Violence was released for sale to the public on 29th September at a full meeting of the Lawyers International Forum for Women's Human Rights held in Chancery Lane, Britain's judicial centre.** In introducing the report by the Women's Development and Information Unit (WDIU), International Human Rights Lawyer, Sarah Maguire, of the Forum's steering committee, said it was the first of its kind in the world. The report is unique because the women victims of war themselves have produced their own report with their own analysis and experiences.




தமிழீழ ஆவணக்காப்பகம்
Tamileelam Archive

**Speakers from the WDIU spoke about how other published reports were guilty of presenting information from the side of the perpetrators of violence against women, ie the Sri Lankan Government, or they were produced with the backing of funders and governments who were more interested in international arms sales and geo-political strategies.** This, it was explained, was a genuine report as it was independent of all of these, and it represented the opinions and stories of the Tamil women who are facing genocide.

The major part of the evening was taken up by a very lively discussion amongst all those present, in particular supporting Tamil women's right to take up arms against the Sri Lankan army to push them out of the occupied areas. The women lawyers talked about how the violence against women's reproductive organs was part of the genocide, evidently to prevent new generations of Tamils being born.

Asylum lawyers in the Forum said that having this new report, they hoped, would enable them to make stronger arguments for their Tamil clients. They were concerned that Tamils were not getting any legal representation immediately on their first interview when they arrive into the country, and this meant that often asylum seekers could be misled into making up a story to say that LTTE was persecuting them in the hope that it would help their asylum claim: but the lawyers said that these false stories had made things harder for the clients, not easier.

Poongkothai and Malar from the WDIU, said how the war was a black and white war, the Sri Lankan Army is 99% Sinhalese and the civilian victims of their war are 99% Tamils. They explained that it is a war of conquest by the Sinhalese government, and a war of liberation by the LTTE. All the evidence showed that Tamil women were being raped by Sinhalese soldiers, and rape is seen as a clear act of conquest by women's rights campaigners.

The lawyers offered to do everything they could to help the Tamil Eelam women, and they undertook to increase awareness about the persecution of Tamils throughout British society by selling copies of the report at meetings and conferences and to their contacts, and also speaking out in public forums about Sri Lankan atrocities and the need to recognise Tamils' self-determination.

***To obtain a copy of the report send £3.50 plus postage (UK & Europe - 50p Overseas £2) to WDIU, PO Box 23609, London E7 9TX.***

## Feted on his 80th birthday





Mr.C.J.T.Thamotheram, a leading figure in the expatriate Tamil community in Britain, who completed 80 years on 19th September 1998, was honoured at a dinner function on that day. More than 180 friends, admirers and well-wishers gathered for a sit-down dinner at the Putney Leisure Centre, at which several tributes were paid for his path-finding services to the Tamil cause.

Speakers on that occasion included Mr.Aubrey Rose, CBE, a senior British soliaitor, Mr.John Palim, an active member of the Association of Commonwealth Teachers, (founded by Mr.Thamotheram), Solicitor C.Sithamparapillai, Chairman of the International Tamil Foundation (also founded by Mr.Thamotheram), and Solicitor S.Sriskandarajah.

## Vigils in UK

Regular vigils were held by the Tamil Centre for Human Rights (UK branch) and Tamil Rehabilitation Organisation in front of the London offices of the UNHCR, ICRC, and opposite 10, Downing Street protesting the Sri Lankan government's policy of starving Tamil civilians of food, and denying them the basic human rights.




## Jaffna woman for Ugandan meet

Mrs.Ranee Rathnathevi Sinnathamby, Planning Officer, Pradeshya Sabha, Sandilipay, Jaffna, has left for Kampala, Uganda, as a delegate to an International Women's Conference being held there. The Conference theme is WOMEN IN CONFLICT SITUATIONS and the conference itself will last a month.

Mrs.Ranee Rathnathevi is expected to submit a paper on the situation of women in northeast Sri Lanka. She is the daughter of the late Mr.Karthigesu of Jaffna Hindu College, and a leading member of the Ceylon Communist Party.

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## TSSA sports festival

The Tamil Schools Sports Association in UK held their annual Summer Sports Festival at Warren Farm Sports Centre, in Southall on 31st August. 35 schools from the north and east of Sri Lanka participated in the Cricket and Netball matches on that day. Picture shows the Chief Guest Dr.Arjuna Sittampalam unfurling the TSSA flag.



## TRO Christmas card Appeal

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தமிழீழ ஆவணக்காப்பகம்
Tamileelam Archive

## Suthanthira Thagam in Norway




*Dance Drama and plays were staged in Oslo, Norway, in connection with a programme entitled "Suthanthira Thagam" (Thirst for Freedom), at which several hundreds of Eelam Tamils were present.*

## Jaffna University honours him

Mr.T.Somasekeram, retired Surveyor General, and Director of Arjuna Consulting Co.Ltd. Colombo, is to be conferred the title of Doctor of Philosophy (Honoris Causa) by the University of Jaffna in recognition of his contributions to surveying and Mapping, in particular to the work done by him as Chief Editor of Arjuna's Atlas of Sri Lanka, published by him in 1997.

Mr.Somasekeram has been elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, UK, in recognition of the same work.

# Obituaries

## Mary Sathiyanathan



Mary Sathiyanathan who has been a resident of London for 14 years passed away peacefully at a ripe age of 86 on Wednesday the 9th Sepetmber 1998.

She was a well known social worker in Jaffna from 1953 to 1961. She was involved in forming Y.W.C.A Groups in Christian Schools in the Peninsula. Teaching crafts and sewing, holding cookery demonstrations, speaking on basic social graces, were some of the many duties she undertook as a Y.W.C.A worker. Apart from this, she was a very active member of the Women's Guild of the churches in Vaddukoddai, Chavakachcheri and Wellawatte.

She leaves behind a legacy of faith to her children Sounthari, Devi, Vathany, Subathraand Jebaseyan.She is the wife of the late Mr S Sathiyanathan and the sister of the late Mr S.A Selvanayagam of Batticaloa.

* * * * *

## K.S.Kadirgamanathan

K.S.Kadirgamanathan, Chartered Accountant, of Chunnakam, Jaffna, late of Cargills, Virakesari, and Manager, Finance & Administration, St.Nicholas' Education Foundation, passed away in Colombo on the 1st of October. He leaves behind his wife Yogeswarie (Australia), son Ganesh (Reservations Manager, Bahrain Hilton) and daughter Gaithry (Cambridge University, UK). Funeral took place in Colombo on 4th October.

* * * * *

## Dr.S.Arasaratnam

Dr.Sinnappa Arasaratnam, retired Professor of History, University of New England, Australia, earlier Professor of History, University of Malaya, passed away on 5th October in New South Wales, Australia. He was the son of Mr.Sinnappah, one-time Bursar, Jaffna College, Vaddukkoddai, and had a distinguished school career at Jaffna College, before proceeding to the University of Ceylon. Dr.Arasaratnam was 68.

* * * * *

## A.Navaratnarajah

Mr Arumugam Navaratnaraj ah, of Kaithady, Jaffna, retired Investigating Inspector, Postal Services, husband of the late Sironmani, father of Yasodhara, Subadra, Rudrakodees waran , Sivakumaran, Kousalya and Radha, father-in-law of C.Tyagarajah, S.Sivanayagam, Sakuntala, Akhila, T.Thedchanamoorthy and V.Rajarat nam passed away in Colombo on 5th October. He was 95.

*42, Dr.E.A.Cooray Mawatha, Colombo 6.*

* * * * *

## T.Ratnasabapathy

Mr.Thambo Ratnasabapathy, retired Senior Deputy Auditor General, former Director, Planning, Ministry of Housing and Construction, husband of Sita, father of Mitreyi and Anasooya, father-in-law of Giritharan (Accountant, Botswana), and Mahendran, (Accountant, Melbourne, Australia), brother of Kamalambigai Kumarasamy, Maheswari Mahadeva, Rajeswary Kailagananathan, Bhuvaneswari Villavarayar (Canada) and Gnaneswari Somasunderam, expired in Australia. Funeral took place on 24 September.

*Mrs.Mitreyi Giritharan, 29, Irene Street, Dodewong, Melbourne 3175, Australia.*

* * * * *

## Dr.Nimaladevi

Dr.Nimaladevi, wife of Dr.Jega Dheesan, daughter of the late Advocate A.Sambandan, daughter-in-law of the late Dr.V.T.Pasupati died in New Zealand.

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## In Memoriam



### Viswalingam Shanmugavadivel,

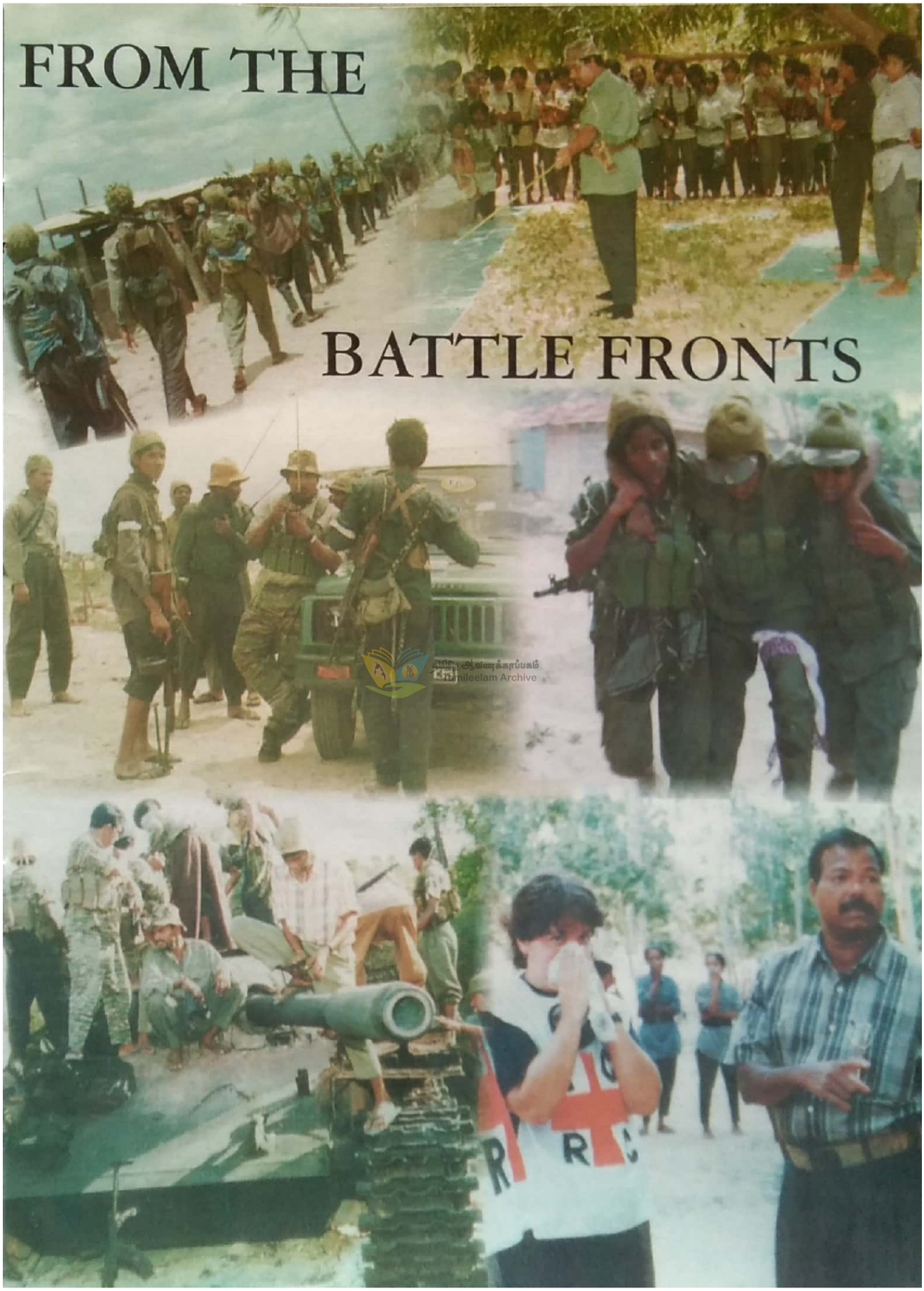
**Rtd. SPHI of Valvettiturai.**

*Born: 31.07.1922*
*Departed: 28.09.1990*

Sadly missed and fondly remembered on the 8th anniversary of his passing away by his loving wife Ratnaganthi; children Amirthakala (Canada), Ratnakumar and Swarnakala (both of Chennai), Nandakumar (UK), Premkumar and Uthayakumar (both of Germany), Sivakumar and Sugirthakala (both of UK); sons-in-law Subash chandrabose (Canada), Ponnam balam (Switzerland) and Gobiratnam (UK) ; daughters-in-law Chandraleka and Atputhamalar (both of Chennai), Yogamathi and Yogaranjani (both of Germany) and Helen (UK), grandchildren Kavitha, Janitha, Jawagar, Sitharth, Aravinth, Anusha, Kousigan, Shobana, Pradipa, Thushyanthini, Priyanthini,Shanmugapriyan, Satheesan, Shamini, Sathurya, Prashanthan, Nivedita, Ainkaran, Nishanthan, Jeevathan, Mahison and Cheran.

*9, Portland House, High Trees, Tulse Hill, London SW2 3PD.*

* * * * *


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