



Tamil Uprisings portend anguish, despair and resultant determination



Tamil Uprising in Puthukkudiyiruppu, Mullaitivu on 14th September.

A series of Tamil civilian uprisings urging the international community to grasp the ground realities relating to the resolution of the decades old conflict in the context of the changing political climate in the south, are taking place in many parts of the Tamil homeland. First in the series was held in Vavuniya on 27 July 2005, followed by the uprising in Batticaloa on 2 August 2005. The third of the uprising was held in Kilinochchi on 1 September 2005 and Puthukkudiyiruppu in Mullaitivu was the venue for the fourth one.

The next uprising will take place in Jaffna on 30 September and later in Mannar during early October. Bishop of Jaffna Rt.Rev.Dr.Thomas Savundaranayagam sent in His Blessings for the conference and His message was read out by Rev.Fr.James Pathinathar. Exerpts from the Bishop's, s message in the Vavuniya by the Tamil National Uprising:

“The Tamil people want to live with the right to self determination and self rule. War and its consequences have pushed them into a status as second class citizens. They however, relied on the cease fire agreement, peace talks and were hopeful of dawn from these moves.

Realizing that the government is unable to reach a reasonable and just understanding on the humanitarian problem of post tsunami management, the Tamil people have before them the

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Strange bedfellows and quagmired politics

Murkier and murkier politics becomes with the strangest of combinations and quixotic pacts dictated by political expediency, gloomier become the hopes of the Tamil people for the basic peace dividend and progress in the peace process for a negotiated settlement of the decades old conflict.

A presidential election on the horizon, contenders named though not officially, pacts entered into with the most unimaginable of entities, Mr.Citizen is in a quandry. Both say that they will turn heaven and earth to bring peace by continuing with the Cease Fir Agreement (CFA). CFA for that matter is liked very much by the Sinhala electorate because that is the insurance for the safety of poor Sinhala youths; no war and therefore no deaths. Rest of the lifestyle has no impact in the south and there is normalcy. So, vote for the face you like, hell with peace to the Tamil people.

Not so with the Tamil people. CFA is the instrument the Tamil people thought and were told that would redeem them from the morass five decades of discriminatory governance and two decades of war put them into. CFA in fact, is only ‘no war’ and three and a half years translated into dividends, is zero for the Tamil people. Exacerbating the situation is the callousness for Tamil concern the Sinhala polity exhibits when entering into unholy alliances with entities that have Tamil bashing alone on their credit side.

Tamil bashing of identified race haters on the one hand and the double talk pressidential candidates are engaged in, in justifying what they do, so to say, ‘yes, we are entering into pacts that speak of everything against Tamils, but we are for the CFA and the peace process. On the other hand, Tamil people have no alternative other than to ask of the international community for proper diagnosis of the political malady and prescribe the remedy ■

Helgesen meets with LTTE amidst high expectations

05 August 2005

Mr. Vidar Helgesen, Norwegian Deputy Foreign Minister and H.E. The Norwegian Ambassador Mr. Hans Bratskar flew in to Kilinochchi on 5 August 2005 and had a lengthy meeting with LTTE's Political Head Mr. S.P. Tamilselvan in the Peace Secretariat.

Cease Fire Agreement (CFA), P-TOMS, Crisis situation in Jaffna and the LTTE members' travel arrangements were among topics discussed. Mr. Tamilselvan, while guaranteeing the LTTE's commitment to the CFA, said that the government, as the party responsible to the activities of the armed groups in the GOSL areas, need to act more resolutely in putting an end to its engagement with such groups clandestinely for subversive activities. In the context of the interim injunction on P-TOMS, Mr. Tamilselvan said that a violence free environment is absolutely essential to carry out even ad hoc humanitarian relief activities in the absence of well-structured P-TOMS modalities.



Lamenting over the fate of P-TOMS, Mr. Tamilselvan reiterated the necessity to effect immediate humanitarian delivery to tsunami victims and restoration of normalcy to war victims in the overall interest of the peace momentum. Responding to the visiting team's concern over the situation in Jaffna consequent to the incidents that took place on 4th of August 2005, Mr. Tamilselvan said that it is very unfortunate that innocent civilians have been killed and again reiterated the necessity for the adherence of CFA stipulations relative to military presence and activities in densely populated areas contrary to the understanding agreed upon in the CFA with time frames. He however assured that the LTTE would do the best in the restricted military controlled area to calm the situation. ■

"Abduction of a disabled LTTE member in Jaffna by SriLankan forces – a serious violation"

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- Tamilselvan tells SLMM

In the backdrop of the abduction of a disabled LTTE member by GoSL forces in Jaffna, the Head of SLMM, Mr. Hårup Haukland met with the LTTE's Political Head Mr. S.P. Tamilselvan on 18 August 2005 at the Peace Secretariat in Kilinochchi.

At the outset, Mr. Tamilselvan made specific mention of the incident in Jaffna where a disabled LTTE member who was on approved leave for medical treatment and staying with his parents, was abducted and not arrested as alleged by the Police. Jaffna District Political Head Mr. Ilamparithy who was also present in the meeting explained in detail the breach of trust in the context of an understanding reached between the SLA and the LTTE in the presence of SLMM just the day before and a clear violation of the provisions of the CFA that provides for LTTE members' stay in GOSL areas on leave. Mr. Ilamparithy said that he made arrangements for the recording of statement by Police from an LTTE member whose name was provided to him as being suspected of a crime and insisted that the same procedure could have been adopted without threatening the disabled member and abducting him.

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“Airport is no place for political discussions devoid of mistrust”

Tamilselvan responds to Norway

“Katunayake international airport cannot be a venue for meaningful political discussions and the argument that it is secure for LTTE as a transit point to a location outside Sri Lanka, does not hold good when what is contemplated is a serious political discussion involving decisions at the top to trickle down to the armed forces for proper implementation of the CFA” said Mr.S.P.Tamilselvan, responding to the suggestion put forward by Norway.

In a meeting with the Norwegian Deputy Ambassador and Head of the SLMM on 8 September 2005 at the Peace Secretariat in Kilinochchi, Norway’s suggestion to have the proposed discussion between the GoSL and the LTTE at the Katunayake airport was ruled out by Mr.Tamilselvan as totally unacceptable. “Parties to the CFA have not been meeting for quite some time now and the CFA has run into risk by the SriLankan government not implementing clauses that facilitate normalcy to the war affected people, resulting in frustration and a political vacuum which necessitates a common venue equally comfortable for both the parties” said Mr.Tamilselvan, reiterating the fairness of the request.

Touching on the political trend and preoccupation of the south in the presidential poll, Mr.Tamilselvan



lamented that extremist elements are joining hands in an unprecedented manner to shatter the core concept of political resolution through negotiations on sharing of power. “The overwhelming desire one sees in the political landscape in the south seems to be the continuation of the ‘unitary state’ and throw to the winds any understanding on humanitarian delivery for tsunami victims through a well structured mechanism and this nullifies the efforts taken during the last three and a half years to build confidence” said Mr.Tamilselvan regretfully.

Head of the SLMM, in responding to Mr.Tamilselvan on a clarification of the news item that the SLMM met with dismissed LTTE member Karuna’s armed group in a location in Batticaloa, said that the purpose of the meeting was to confirm this group’s presence in GoSL controlled areas and confront the SriLankan government on the ground reality which is being continuously denied by the SriLankan government. Mr.Tamilselvan said that this is the cardinal issue that need immediate action to end violence and now

that the SLMM has had an opportunity to vouchsafe their presence in close proximity to the SL military in violation of the relevant CFA clause, it should act meaningfully in urging the Sri Lankan government to get rid of these armed elements. ■

Abduction of a disabled LTTE member.....

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Mr.Tamilselvan reiterated that SLMM should intervene meaningfully and cause the release of this member, failure of which may necessitate LTTE to pull back all its members in the peninsula engaged in political work since the attitude of the SLA and Police suggest that the environment is too hostile and a threat to their security. “We are not prepared to accept the SLA version that this member was arrested; when there is a definite arrangement and modality in place to consult the SLMM and the District Political Head, the military and the police have acted arbitrarily, abducted the member, a right hand amputee and one who was being treated for another serious ailment and are trying to justify this as arrest for committing an offence” commented Mr.Tamilselvan.

Sri Lankan armed forces and paramilitary groups, functioning in the GoSL controlled area have engaged in various violent activities such as killings, grenade attacks, harassments and intimidation etc against Tamil civilians and the LTTE. A summary of such violence in NorthEast against Tamils in the months of August and September is as follows:

A worker shot dead in Inuvil-Jaffna, outraged people kill a police officer

A Sri Lankan soldier opened fire near the Inuvil Kandasamy temple junction in Jaffna killing one and wounding another hairdresser on Friday, 4th of August 2005. Name of the dead person is Santharuban. Outraged youth of the area kidnapped a police officer and have beaten him to death.



A curfew till 5.00 am on Saturday has been placed throughout Jaffna following the incidents. TNA parliamentarian Mavai Senathiraja lodged a complaint with the SLMM regarding the shooting by the soldier. Brigadier Daya Ratnayake said that the soldier is under arrest and actions are underway to produce him in the court.

President Kumaratunge held a meeting with the commanders of all three forces on 5th of August 2005 and discussed, the incidents and about maintaining calm in the area.

Two LTTE members killed by gunfire in Military occupied Thambiluvil in the East

LTTE members Ramesh and Susiventhan, riding a motor cycle, unarmed and proceeding towards Thambiluvil from the Political Office in Pavadda for political work, were shot dead on 10th August 2005. A blue van reportedly driven by a person clad in police uniform with one more police uniformed individual and another six in civil, has approached the LTTE members and firing took place from within the van.

Eye witnesses testify to the fact that the assailants had AK-47 rifles with them and the vehicle went into the STF camp in Kanchirankudah. The two LTTE members attained martyrdom on the spot itself.

LTTE political office in Batticaloa city attacked

LTTE political office in the Arasady Thamaraikeeni road in Batticaloa city was attacked on 14 August 2005 at 12.15 pm with grenades by armed paramilitary groups. This office is located inside the high security area of the Sri Lankan military and there is a police post only 100 metres from this office. Six grenades were thrown at the office in quick successions. The front of the office building and office furniture were badly damaged. LTTE cadres who were at the office on duty narrowly escaped injuries.

It should be noted that this office has come under attack six times within the last year and they were carried out by the armed paramilitaries with assistance from the security forces.

Grenade attack on Vavuniya LTTE Political Wing Women's camp

An unidentified group of three persons is reported to have carried out a grenade attack on the LTTE Women's Wing complex in Vavuniya on 20 August 2005 around 22.40 hrs. LTTE member Ms.Durga and two other female workers were injured in this attack.

At about 22.30, the Grama Sevaka Officer Mr.Sivagnanasunderam has telephoned the LTTE Political Wing Office and reported that he had seen the movement of three people in front of his house. When challenged by him as to the identity and the need to be there at that hour, they have reportedly said that they have come there mistakenly. Suspecting foul play, the Political Wing has alerted its members to look out for any suspicious characters. While in the process of searching the vicinity, the grenade exploded and the attackers were seen running away from the scene.

SLA and paramilitary groups kill one LTTE member and injure three others in Kirumichchai

SLA and paramilitary groups moved 500 meters into the LTTE administered area in Kirumichchai in Batticaloa around 10.00am on 30th August 2005 and attacked LTTE members and civilians.

One LTTE member was killed and another LTTE member and two civilians were seriously injured. Several people have witnessed the attack and saw them run away into the nearby military camp after the attack. Batticaloa political office filed a formal complaint to the SLMM district office in Batticaloa.

Political Office attacked and one LTTE member killed in Batticaloa

Political Office in Kaluvanchikudi was attacked by unidentified gunmen around 6.15 am on 4th September 2005. The gunmen came into the office have fired at the unarmed cadres and thrown hand grenade.

One LTTE member was killed in this attack. The Political Office in Batticaloa has lodged a complaint to the District SLMM in Batticaloa

Killers do it again – 3 LTTE members killed in Vakarai

A group of armed men raided an LTTE position in Kattumurivu, Vakarai in the Batticaloa district on 6th of September 2005 around 08.45 hrs, killing three members and injuring five others.

This location is posited three kilometers from the Sri Lankan Military's garrison in Sinhapura, where the killers are reported to have escaped after the deadly assault. The armed gang, it is said, consisted of men from a para military group assisting the SL military and personnel from the military itself.

The matter has been brought to the notice of the District SLMM by the LTTE Political division.

Martyrdom with a difference Tamil Nation commemorates Thileepan's Martyrdom with awe and reverence

Tamil homeland commenced commemoration of Thileepan's martyrdom attained with a difference, today 15 September 2005 all over Tamil Eelam with awe and reverence. Eighteen years ago today, on 15 September 1987, the committed LTTE fighter Thileepan commenced his fast unto death at the Holy Nallur Shrine precincts in Jaffna, against the atrocities committed by the Indian Army (IPKF) and New Delhi's intransigence to come to terms with the ground realities pertaining to the Tamil freedom struggle.

Thileepan the fighter chose a different mode, non-violence and adopted the principle of 'Ahimsa' and 'fasting', believing that India would respect its own hallowed concept. History was to record the opposite, in that Thileepan had to continue the

fast, determinedly not taking a drop of water, and was allowed to die attaining martyrdom on 26 September 1987. It was a deathblow on the hopes of all peace loving people who sincerely believed in Mahathma Gandhi's principle of Ahimsa and non-violence. A weapon in Mahathma Gandhi's non-violent arsenal that was adroitly utilised by him in his fight against imperialism, did not work when Gandhi's nation took upon itself the imperialist mode.



All over Tamil Eelam, people commenced observing token fasts and participating in religious ceremonies with the reverence and sanctity the period deserves. These token fasts and observance of sanctity, will continue till 26 September, the day Thileepan the epitome of sacrifice for freedom of a People, attained martyrdom.

Recognising the Lankan Peace Process Role of the International Community

Recognising the concern and overwhelming support rendered by the European Union and the international community at large in resolving the long standing racial conflict with a history of oppression in the island of Sri Lanka, we wish to bring to your attention the realities pertaining to the changing political landscape in Colombo. We place these facts before you by virtue of our position, both as equal partners in the Cease Fire Agreement of 2002 and as the 'Tamil peoples' declared representatives through the popular mandate in the General Elections of 2004.

The bedrock of the CFA being confidence building, normalcy in the life of a people affected by two decades of war and progressively moving towards negotiations that would provide a political resolution and, it is shocking to find that Colombo is moving in the opposite direction. The incumbent Prime Minister, you would have observed, is engaged in entering into hard line pacts with extremist political entities to do away with the internationally supported post-tsunami joint structure, advocating the continuance of a Unitary form of government that is totally inappropriate for the resolution of the racial conflict, to name a few. You are also aware of the fact that the Sri Lankan Foreign Minister and many other Sinhala formations engaged in electoral pacts are shaping up adversary positions against Norway that is working with commitment and unique patience in resolving the racial conflict. It is our intention to highlight the fact that these positions tend to nullify all sincere efforts undertaken to resolve the conflict.

Proper implementation of the CFA became an absolute necessity in the wake of 'orchestrated violence and killings'. LTTE insisted on proper implementation of the CFA through the facilitators in view of the growing discontent and frustration of the Tamil people in the context of non-implementation of the government's obligations as the responsible party in the CFA and to clear its name in the wake of unfounded allegations relating to killings. Venue for

the discussion was to be Oslo. Colombo rejected it and LTTE opted Kilinochchi as the alternative for reasons of security. In such a deadlock situation, Colombo Airport has been suggested as a venue for the talks.

Conceptually, parties to a cease fire that have not had a dialogue on a one-to-one basis for quite some time for reasons that stalled the peace process, necessarily need a venue that would provide the congeniality and conducivity to both, one that would be an ideal ice breaker. LTTE members passing through Colombo Airport on transit and an LTTE delegation sitting in session for serious political negotiations are altogether different. Changing political situation in the south and the security situation notwithstanding, Colombo Airport or for that matter any other place in the south does not provide the feeling of ease that a venue common to both the parties would provide. Armed groups with masters who have political agenda, hired killers, underworld gangs and military deserters are aplenty in the south and it is not feasible for LTTE to engage in discussions in such an environment. It is also our studied opinion that talks in such venues would not bring out any fruitful results.

In fact, when the Sri Lankan government that was the party per-se to the CFA was in power and there did not exist such serious security threats and violations of the CFA in permitting proliferation of armed groups as is being done now, political negotiations were always conducted outside Sri Lanka. The mistrust that has reached its peak between the parties, further dictates the necessity to select a venue common and comfortable for both the parties to engage in serious political discussions.

Talks on improving the implementation aspect of the CFA, some may opine, is not a serious political discussion, but the ground realities are otherwise. LTTE being portrayed as the 'violation' engaging in serious crimes is a creation of the government. The Sri Lankan military that keeps armed groups for its clandestine

sabotage activities against the LTTE and a government that pays scant respect to the CFA clause 1.8 that prohibits armed groups are matters that need a political decision making at the top level that would improve conditions on the ground.

The Sri Lankan government's relentless attempts in seeking international sanction on the LTTE as a 'terrorist' organisation, makes us strongly suspicious of the real intention. This, for all intent and purposes, is a well-planned strategy to scuttle the peace process

Successive governments in Sri Lanka, in order to justify their discriminatory and oppressive governance mode vis-à-vis the Tamil people, are making use of the internationally hated 'terrorist' stamp on them. Looking back into the post colonial political history of this island, one finds that it is the Sinhala ruling elite that started 'state terrorism' against innocent unarmed Tamils in the mid fifties, in 1958 precisely, when they asked for their due share in power through devolution or federalism. Tamils were killed and beaten up and driven away from the south. The terroristic oppressive measures the Sri Lankan government let loose on the Tamil people under the cover of the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) have been all registered with many Human Rights organisations and the United Nations Human Rights Commission.

State terrorism was nakedly seen in many pogroms against the Tamil people after 1958, so much so that the Tamil people, out of frustration and helplessness, made use of their franchise to mandate for secession in 1977. The entrenched constitutions of 1972 and 1978 removed all what could be called 'safety arrangement for minorities' in the 1948 constitution and the state forces ruthlessly dealt with Tamil democratic opposition, leading to Tamil youths taking up arms against the oppressor, first to defend themselves and then to drive away an army that is alien to the Tamil people and occupying their homeland. It is this armed struggle that, over time, expanded itself as the bulwark of Tamil National defence.

In this context, the Tamil people and the LTTE have a message to the international community: Identifying a nation of people who had their own identity and

sovereignty in this island when it came under colonial rule, is very essential to contextualise the artificial amalgamation of the two nations, making the Tamils an artificial 'minority' in the new dispensation. This has to be read with the abrogation of the various peace agreements reached in the past and the artificially minoritised and numerically dwarfed parliamentary representation the Tamil people have in the parliament that is guided by an entrenched constitution enacted without Tamil participation. One can, without any hesitation, decide to call this a 'rogue state' and the cacophony of Tamil bashing in the parliament and outside substantiates it. Collective Tamil thinking voiced by the LTTE in the international arena is not a pleasant matter for Colombo and hence the intransigence in the venue for discussion.

Ground realities notwithstanding, Colombo expects that the international community exert indiscriminate pressure on the LTTE. This pressure, the Sinhala ruling elite believes, would weaken the Tamil cause and we trust that the international community is aware of it. If the international community complies with what Colombo intends, then the Tamil people are made to feel being left alone in their struggle for justice. A people who opted for secession through popular vote in 1977, respect the sincerity of the international community in its support to the peace process. The unilateral cease fire and the commitment to the current CFA - unproductivity vis-à-vis the peace dividend notwithstanding - and the flexibility exercised during formulation of the Joint Mechanism for post-tsunami humanitarian delivery are all positive moves that the LTTE considered appropriate to express its respect for the international community's efforts.

The Tamil people expect therefore that the international community recognise their struggle for the reasonableness it deserves and exercise balance in pressurising parties to a conflict. No move of the international community should push the Tamil people to the fringe of frustration and it is all the more important to keep a people, the stakeholders, intact with the peace process. In this context, we believe that it is inevitable that the international community initiate meaningful steps to bring home to the government of Sri Lanka the need to be just and fair.

Supreme Court verdict – Legacy from Fifty years of Majoritarian Supremacy

Editorial comment in LTTE's Sinhala monthly "Dedunna" – August 2005

Sinhala Supremacist hegemony has again struck; a deadly strike at that. The baby has been killed while in the womb. What remains to be done is to utilise the time allocated for festivity, fun and frolic celebrating the 'victory'. What type of idiosyncrasy it is to reverse this country into a bloody war again after fifty years of blood letting and what type of chauvinism it is, that wants to enjoy and celebrate the 'victory' contained in the verdict ?

It is important first to analyse critically the incidents and incitement that preceded the verdict and formed the background, before talking about the Supreme Court's verdict per se. The draft relating to Post-Tsunami Joint Mechanism for humanitarian delivery is not a blue print for resolution of the political conflict in this island. Nor is it a document to address the humanitarian crisis caused by twenty years of a bloody war. It is only a pragmatic methodology contemplated to address the humanitarian crisis faced by the people who survived an unprecedented natural catastrophe that took away everything that they had, save their lives

Are the extremist race haters in the south unaware of the travails left behind by tsunami from Hambantota to Mullaittivu in one and the same deadly strike? Are they not actually aware of the plight of this unfortunate lot in restoring a semblance of normalcy in their life? Do these elements that, from dawn to dusk, see for themselves the plight of the unfortunates in the refugee camps, struggling to exist under tragic circumstances and squalid conditions in the south, need further enlightenment or lessons on empathy, on the fate of a similar population in Batticaloa in the East or Mullaittivu and Point Pedro in the North?

But that is what supremacist and majoritarian thinking is all about. It is nothing but a modus operandi to continue with the supremacist mode. Even after knowing for sure that tsunami devastation is extensive in the North-East where Tamils and Muslims live predominantly, these extremist elements are working overtime to prevent reasonable humanitarian delivery, thus exhibiting shamelessly their naked supremacist thinking. Tsunami aid is reportedly flowing into the country in an unprecedented manner and it is also reported that relief is not provided effectively and equitably in the south too due to malpractices; One expects these racist elements that rushed to the

Supreme Court, crying foul to the Joint Structure, to have first filed a public interest petition in the Supreme Court on behalf of the Sinhalese people in the south. They did not do that. Why? That is how Supremacist and Majoritarian machination works in this country.

One should think about the confounded nature of tragedy the people of the North-East were subject to when tsunami struck; a people who have, during the past two decades been subject to aerial bombing,

devastation of infrastructure and displacement more than a dozen times, were hit by Mother Nature's Fury too. The Sri Lankan Supreme Court, by its 'historically important verdict', has not ruled against any special concession to the Tamil and Muslim citizenry, rather it has ruled against the right to live for a people who had fallen victims to an unprecedented natural disaster. It is true that this is not the first time the Supreme Judiciary in Sri Lanka has trampled under its feet the rights of people belonging to 'other' nationalities or 'other' religions. Nor is it the last of such verdicts. The ruling elite has, at least during the last fifty years, made use of, most importantly, judicial power in addition to constitution, executive and military

power to violate the collective rights of the Tamil people. It is therefore no surprise that a community of people, when denied their inalienable collective democratic rights, that denial being made legal on a regular and systematic basis, would begin to think about alternative power formations.

What is the truth that lies behind the use of constitutional, executive, judicial and more so the military power against the Tamil people in the past history? It is the bitter truth: "our establishment will not guarantee you justice, fair play and freedom; seek alternative remedy in any way you can". That and that alone, is the message successive governments offered to the Tamil people. At every juncture in the process of consolidating the freedom struggle, the Tamil people have, with studied circumspection, formed their own judiciary and police and progressively built their own 'liberation army' against the 'occupying' military because the 'message' was clear and they took it seriously. It is pertinent to ask whether there is one rationally thinking Sinhalese person who can stand up and say that the Tamil people will have faith and confidence in the Sri Lankan Judiciary .



'Emergency' back again – Tamil Homeland trepidates

English version of the Lead Story in "Viduthalaippuligal", LTTE's official organ –July-August 2005

The state of 'Emergency' brought into effect now, is a subtle and horrendous strategy authorising the 'Sinhala' State forces to suppress the Tamil freedom struggle. During the last two decades and many times before, this piece of legislation has been ruthlessly made use of with meticulous precision by Colombo in enforcing 'wild governance' in the occupied areas of the Tamil homeland. Taking away peace from the Tamil people, this 'piece' from the Sri Lankan 'book', has caused the deaths of several thousands of their brethren and did provide immunity to the occupying forces to illegally arrest, detain, torture and make many of them just numeric in the list of 'disappeared'.

The government of Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga has brought the whole island under a state of emergency at a time when there is an environment of relative peace. A State of emergency and a Cease Fire Agreement (CFA) are two situations that cannot prevail concurrently. Proclamation of emergency therefore, has placed the CFA in grave risk. The holistic intent of the CFA is to 'remove' the cloud of war in the Tamil homeland and bring about an environment that could be called peaceful. It is such a situation that would create an environment conducive for political negotiations. And, the peace process gets a fillip only in such an atmosphere, a matter that was comprehended and mutually agreed upon by the parties to the CFA.

But, the government of CBK, consequent to the assassination of Lakshman Kadirgamar, proclaimed a state of emergency and by extension, has created a war panic. Kadirgamar was killed in the capital city of Colombo, that too, in a High Security Zone. To apprehend assassin/s in such circumstances, is to bring about a sudden halt to all traffic in the city, may be after declaring a curfew and carry out a search operation. That is the most realistic exercise.

Reality being that, one smells a political intent behind the declaration of emergency this time round and therefore rejects the simplistic explanation that it is to apprehend the culprits. It is very clear that there is a political agenda 'necessitating' the declaration of emergency. CFA, it

is apparent, is the target of the 'guns' of emergency. Similar to the fate of P-TOMS that has been sent into a state of paralysis in the Sri Lankan judicial exercise, the emergency has pushed the CFA into grave risk and the service of the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission (SLMM) meaningless.

Hot on the heels of the declaration of emergency, a disabled, right arm amputee LTTE member has been 'arrested', but in actuality abducted, by the occupying military in Jaffna and taken to Colombo. The state of emergency precludes LTTE from discussing the matter with the military. Nor can the SLMM intervene in the matter. The state of emergency, as is usual in this island, provides to the forces, ample arbitrary powers to arrest, detain unlawfully, torture and kill. Tamil people are being arrested indiscriminately and at random all over the island. Large number of Tamils have been arrested and detained in Colombo. Fifteen women including two instructors, engaged in a vocational training project under the auspices of UNDP in Mannar, have been arrested by the forces without adducing any reasons. All in all, a tense and panicky situation is in the making in all parts of the Tamil homeland. Human rights activists here are powerless to be effective.

This time again, as history has witnessed several times in the past, all the Sinhala parties have extended their support to the government to 'pass' the bill, extended support only because it is aimed at suppressing the Tamil freedom struggle. This is a peculiar political phenomenon Tamil people are being asked to face again. It is this attitude that pushes the Tamil people into abject frustration, in that, whatever move, whoever initiate to bring peace, consolidates Sinhala parties to join hands in successfully nullifying it.

Talk about direct talks between the Government and the LTTE on strengthening the CFA, is on the air these days. If the state of emergency is to continue for long, something that is not unusual in Sri Lanka, one foresees a tragic situation in which even direct talks may not be of any use. It is therefore the yearning of all peace loving people that emergency should be lifted, and lifted immediately.



THE PROCLAMATION OF TAMIL NATIONAL UPRISING

(The proclamation of Tamil national uprising made on 27 July 2005 at the Childrens' Park grounds in Vairavapuliyankulam, Vavuniya by the Tamil National Uprising.)

Mayhem in Southern Sri Lanka today is wrought by Sinhala Buddhist Chauvinism. This has completely shut the door to a democratic settlement to the conflict of the Tamil speaking population.

In this context, we, the Tamil speaking people inhabiting the traditional Tamil homeland, place our desperate and perilous plight before the international community and seek justice and endorsement.

We, the Tamils have inhabited this land as an independent nation before the European occupation. The Tamil and Sinhala nations were amalgamated in 1883 when the British introduced a unitary structure resulting in the loss of our sovereignty. We wish to point out that in 1948 the departing British left Tamil sovereignty in the hands of the Sinhala majority.

Thus after the inappropriate acquisition of sovereignty, parliamentary majority was used to mistreat and oppress our people. Citizenship legislations were enacted to disenfranchise hundreds of thousands of plantation Tamils. With the Sinhala only legislation Tamils were deprived of rights to their Language and employment. Prevention of Terrorism and Emergency Acts furthered the complete denial of human rights for Tamils. Through systematic Sinhala colonisation, our traditional habitations were subjected to land grabs devastating our demographic distribution and right to life.

Not only legislations but Sri Lankan Constitution was designed as an instrument of oppression. Section 29 of the Constitution to safeguard the minority rights introduced by the Solbury Commission was removed in 1972 through the Socialist Democratic Republic Constitution without Tamil participation. Through the changed constitution Buddhism was made the official religion paving the way for racial and religious discrimination. The constitution brought in 1978 further reinforced this.

Thus, the Constitution that should serve justice became the embodiment of injustice.

Against such racial oppression the Tamil leadership of yester years protested with peaceful non-violent political campaigns. The Sinhala rulers encountered such protests with political agreements later to be abrogated. The 1957 Banda –Chelva agreement and 1965 Dudley – Chelva agreement are cited as evidence. Peaceful protests were reciprocated with violence, rape and genocide.



On the face of such oppression, in the early 1970s the Tamils were forced to take up arms for their self protection and freedom.

Realising the futility of achieving political settlement via non violent pursuits the then Tamil leaderships made the Vaddukkodai Resolution on 14 May 1976. In the 1977 Sri Lanka parliamentary elections they received the mandate from the Tamil people through the ballot box for secession.

Forced to pursue an armed struggle, we rose under the guidance of a national leader who adores our land and our people and a determined army capable of conventional warfare. As a result, we rose to enunciate the reality that we were a separate nation of people in the Island to the world arena.

During the time of conflict, the just proposals for political settlement made by Tamil parties, at various peace talks were all dismissed. Land seizures and genocidal killings continued unabated. Indiscriminate aerial bombardment and shelling of schools, places of worship and heavily populated civilian areas mercilessly killed children and the elderly alike.

Due to the many military offensives, the Tamil people were displaced and made refugees in their own land. The Sinhala Buddhist chauvinists justified such state terrorism under the façade of a 'state'.

However, our struggle for liberation advanced victoriously against occupying forces. Our people rose in strength as the force behind this struggle for liberation.

In this historic context, administrative structures for the governance are being instituted for the Tamil people.

Sri Lankan government had come to realise the futility of a military victory over our national liberation struggle. At the same time, the international community approached our national leadership seeking an opportunity for a peaceful resolution of the conflict. Our leadership came forward to unilaterally declare a ceasefire.

Left with no viable alternatives, and relenting to international pressure, Sri Lankan government consented to a ceasefire agreement with LTTE, the sole representatives of the Tamil people. On 22.2.2002 with the facilitation of the Government of Norway, Prime Minister Ranil Wickremasingha and the Tamil National Leader V Prabahakaran signed a Cease fire Agreement.

Following the agreement, six rounds of peace talks were conducted and as an interim measure, proposals were formulated for an interim administration. However, the talks were stalled because the Sri Lankan government refused to pursue dialogue.

The Tamil expectations for the return to normalcy for the past three years have failed to materialise. Our lush and fertile fields and rich seas have been seized by Sinhala forces and controlled as high security zones depriving us our livelihoods.

Even after Tsunami disaster that shook the world, Sinhala hegemonic attitude has prevailed exemplified by the fate that befell the proposed Tsunami Joint mechanism. The



world is now a witness to the hardened hearts seeped in Buddhist Chauvinistic extremism.

Disregarding all this, the Sinhala leaders are entangled in a struggle for power. The government has again resorted to military pacts and expansions with a view to crushing the Tamil struggle for their rights. We hasten to stress that these moves are at hand while the international community is engaged in peace efforts in the island of Sri Lanka.

We have ascertained yet again, that the Sri Lankan rulers will not initiate any just solution for the Tamil speaking people. We believe that the international community too would have realized this fact from the activities during the period of the cease fire agreement.

For such apparent reasons we are forced by Sinhala Buddhist chauvinists to take definitive decisions.

Therefore, we demand through this proclamation that the occupying Sinhala forces must vacate our land and seas with immediate effect.

We proclaim that an environment must be created to enable us to decide our destiny and our people are continuing to rise as a force to procure the goal of a sacred and higher life of freedom.

At the same time while making this proclamation, we seek the recognition by the international community of our basic rights and life of freedom with peace on the basis of our traditional homeland, our nationhood and self rule and struggle for sovereignty.



Tamil Uprisings portend.....

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perplexing question as to how this government is going to resolve the long standing political conflict. Time has therefore come for the Tamil people to rise up and demonstrate to the government and the international community that they stand up in unison against injustice.

On behalf of the Tamil people, we openly request that the international community act without any further delay and provide the environment in which the Tamil people can live with the right to self determination and self rule with dignity”.

Following the footsteps of Vavuniya, the Tamil National Uprising had its conference in Batticaloa on Tuesday 2 August 2005. Over 5,000 delegates representing Civilian Based Organisations in Batticaloa converged at the Batticaloa Hindu College grounds.

Proclamation calling for the occupying military to leave the Tamil Homeland and allow the Tamil people determine their own political fate, were re-endorsed by the conference in which intellectuals, academics and professionals submitted working papers on Tamil self determination and self rule.

“We, as Tamil people request the international community to recognize our just struggle for freedom with dignity in the context of our historical background as an independent nation of people, the faith we had in democracy and negotiated means of achieving our political goals, the malice with which the majority rulers treated us during moderate political leaders’ negotiation attempts and during the two decades of war that killed thousands of our people” said Bishop Dr.Jebanesan of the Church of South India in the Tamil Uprisings event in Kilinochchi on 1st of September 2005. Continuing further, the Bishop said that the Tamil people are grateful to the freedom fighters who attained martyrdom, for it is they who protected the surviving Tamil people and are the ones who sacrificed their lives for the freedom of the oppressed Tamil people.

“The international community can no more ignore the genuine struggle for our lost sovereignty and we collectively endorse the proclamation made in the first Tamil Uprising in Vavuniya on 27 July 2005 and we fervently hope that the civilised world community would act now in the proper direction” was the theme of the declaration made on 14 September 2005 by the delegates to the Tamil Uprising at Puthukkudiyiruppu, Mullaittivu.

**Peace Secretariat,
Liberation Tigers of Tamileelam,
Kilinochchi.**

Phone: 0094212283960
Fax: 0094212283959
E-mail: mail@ltteps.org
Web: www.ltteps.org