



கவாயி விபுலானந்தர் 1892—1947 யாழ் நூல் படைத்து இசைத்தமிழ் வளர்த்தவர் SWAMI VIPULANANDA 1992 (Centenary Year)

Price £6.00

PUBLISHED BY TAMIL CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE, 55 Warren Road Colliers Wood, LONDON SW19 2HY

THE PUBLISHERS WISH TO PLACE ON RECORD THEIR ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS WITH GRATEFUL THANKS TO THE VARIOUS NEWSPAPERS, PUBLICATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS FOR REPRODUCING THEIR MATERIAL.

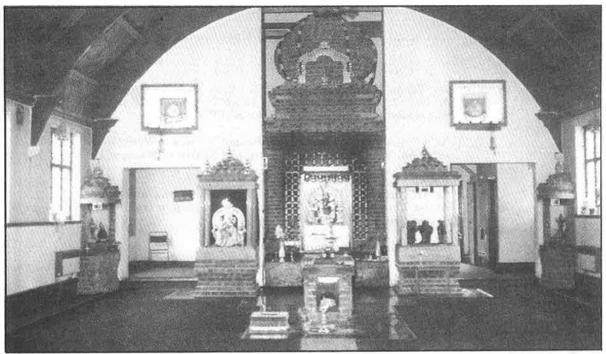
ALSO A WORD OF THANKS TO THE ARTIST GANDEEPAN FOR HIS RE-CREATING THE U.N. EVENT WHICH FORMS THE COVER OF THIS WORK.



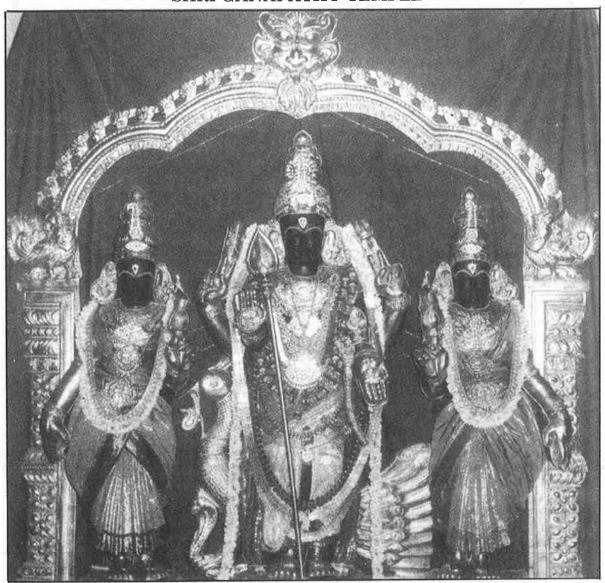
Eighth of August 1992 (My wife – Maheswary's sixty-ninth Birthday)



ஆனந்த குமாரசுவாமி DR ANANDA COOMARASWAMY



SHRI GANAPATHY TEMPLE WIMBLEDON



HIGHGATE MURUGAN TEMPLE

படிப்பகம்

#### CONTENTS

- 1. My Trade Union days The G.C.S.U. and the General Strike, 1947. Dismissed in 1950 by the UNP and reinstated six years later by the SLFP!
- 2. As a Journalist The Editor, People's Voice Weekly 1951-53. Mao tse tung in Peking and Stalin in Moscow 1952.
- 3. As an Author 'Three Months in New China and the Soviet Union'. Arrested in Colombo on return from the Soviet Union 1953.
- 4. Indo-Ceylon Federation Movement.
- 5. I address the U.N. 5th October 1978.
- 6. As Convenor, Tamil Co-ordinating Committee (TCC).
- I meet with the Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, R. Venkataraman and P.V. Narasimha Rao – 1980.
- 8. The Pongal Declaration UDI and T.E. Interim Provisional Government.
- 9. Deported from India November 1982.
- 10. Meeting with the Pope Rome 1983.
- 11. With Harold McMillan and Prince Charles 1985.
- 12. Mr. Speaker, Tamil Nadu State Assembly, Thiru Thamizhkudimagan presides over the function releasing one of my books 1990.

#### INTRODUCTION

Two things are certain in life. One is death, the other criticism.

Human relationship is a delicate affair. I would therefore welcome helpful criticism of this work with a view to improve its quality for the future editions.

When an invitation is extended to visit a garden of roses one doesn't rush to examine the dungheap in the corner.

There are many who look at different aspects of the Tamil crisis and give their solution. This is rather like the story of the blind men trying to identify the shape of an elephant. One touched the trunk and said an elephant was like this, another touched the legs, still another the tail and they all had their particular contradictory views of what an elephant was. But the truth was that it was all of these.

No one knows for certain what life is all about. Interpretations — there have been many. Why there should be so many religions? — it simply baffles me. Handy Perinpanayagam, a highly respected educationist and my teacher at Jaffna College very frankly replied to my question at a 'religious' class that he did not know. This was in 1937. He also added, 'greater minds have failed to answer'.

The relevancy of these will become apparent as we go through the pages.

This book is an unusual one – even unique!

It is unique in the sense that it is mostly a reproduction of Press reports about my public activities from the time I plunged into trade union and political work about half-a-century ago.

It was in 1944 that I took part in a major political meeting in Colombo.

At the inaugural meeting of the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress held at the Saiva Mangayar Kalagam Hall, Wellawatta, I went up to the platform and called upon G.G. Ponnambalam, the Chairman of the meeting and also urged the audience (most of them Tamil public servants like myself) not to proceed with the formation of a purely Tamil organisation but instead to form an All-Island Minorities Congress to include all the minorities in Ceylon. It was reported in the next day's issue of the Times of Ceylon. The reporter was Donovan Moldrich. Years later he became the Editor-in-Chief.

At this time, I was already an active trade unionist in the G.C.S.U. – the Government Clerical Service Union, functioning as its Branch Secretary in the Auditor-General's Department, where I worked. It was one of the important Branches.

Our activities grew in strength and support.

Almost 90% of the Government clerks in the General Clerical Service became members. That was over 5,000.

In 1947 it was a very large figure. If you add the number of clerks and other employees in the Departments of the Government in the pre-Independence Ceylon, it was indeed a crucial number that could bring down any Government if there was a general strike.

That was precisely what was planned in 1947, not only the clerks in the General Clerical Service but other employees such as in the Railways, Survey Department etc., also joined in the strike.

It was for better pay and conditions of service. Also for trade union rights – such as the right to criticise the Government in a reasonable and legitimate manner.

But the Government of D.S. Senanayake and J.R. Jayawardene was determined to crush the strike. Then came the confrontation.

Huge marches and rallies were planned and held. By this time other sectors of general workers such as in the Harbour and Postal Services also became restive. They too joined.

Senanayake and Jayawardena panicked.

They ordered the Police to stop all processions and marches.

But the leftist leaders who led the strike would not be silenced.

We defied the ban. Then the Police struck. They opened fire and shot at the strikers. Clerk Kandasamy (from Vaddukoddai) died instantly. Another clerk, Percy Nanayakara was seriously injured. I was with them and marching together. Somehow the bullets missed me. I did not run away. Dr. N.M. Perera was dragged and put behind the Police side as we approached the Kolonnawa Oil Installation. Our intention was to get the vital oil workers also to join the strike. It was then that the Superintendent of Police in charge ordered the shooting down of the strikers. His name was Musafer.

Although the 1947 General Strike was crushed, Senanayake and Jayawardene used the rebellious spirit behind the strike as an argument as to why the British should transfer power. Otherwise there was a danger of revolution and the country going communist!

I am giving the Press reports as they appeared. It does not of course mean that I agreed with all that was said. For example, certain people without realising the full implications and the potential significance of the 1982 Pongal Declaration (UDI) opined that it was a joke!

The Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi knew better. She personally ordered my immediate deportation from India when her Government realised that the preliminary move to set up a Provisional Government of Tamil Eelam in Madras would touch the sympathetic chords of the millions of Tamils in Tamil Nadu with uncertain consequences to her Government.

On 28 January 1980, I had met her in New Delhi within a few days of her return to power, and appealed to her to help the Tamils.

I also met R. Venkataraman, then Defence Minister, P.V. Narasimha Rao, then Minister for External Affairs and Sanjay Gandhi.

Briefly, I would like to mention the following matters:-

In 1965, I contested the Kankesanturai Parliamentary seat as the official candidate of the CP-LSSP United Front. Mr. S.J.V Chelvanayagam won.

I practised as a Barrister for 10 years in Ceylon until 1971. I then joined the Judicial Service in Zambia, first as Resident Magistrate and then on promotion continued to work there as Senior Resident Magistrate (District Judge). I was in Zambia for 6 years.

In November 1982, I met and discussed Tamil affairs with Tiger leader Prabakaran and one of his colleagues Subramaniam for one whole day in Madras at the home of Thiru P. Nedumaran.

#### **Indo-Tamil Eelam Confederation**

The main thrust in my political work for a long time has been that both Sinhala Sri Lanka and Tamil Eelam should come into a closer political link-up/Union with India, either on a federal, confederal, or sovereignty based association basis.

This kind of process is the one that is taking place right now among the European Community countries. Eventually to lead to the United States of Europe.

The idea of our link-up with India is nothing new.

Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan the acknowledged and undisputed All-Ceylon leader during the first half of this century had himself proposed the merger of Tamil areas of Ceylon with the Tamil areas of South India so as to form a Greater Tamil Nadu.

(MANIKAK KANGAI by RAJAM KRISHNAN, Paari Puthakap Pannai, Madras 5.) (First edn. – June '86).

Ramanathan's lead in this direction was followed by his close kinsman, Dr Ananda Coomaraswamy, renowned savant and acknowledged authority on Indian and Sinhala Art and one of the creators of the Indian and Ceylonese cultural renaissance.

Dr. Sarvepallai Gopal (a Fellow of St. Anthony's College, Oxford) in his book 'Radhakrishnan, a Biography' – (1989 edn.) in his prelude, has this to say:–

'Ananda Coomaraswamy, born of English and Sri Lanka Tamil parents and trained in Britain in geology, was reclaimed by the haunting persistence of the past and devoted himself to the service of ideas which for him was the only service possible to render to the cause of Indian freedom. It was the work of artists to make their hearers free; it was they alone who could establish the status of a nation.'

In another context, Ananda Coomaraswamy declared:-

'The more I know of Ceylon, the more inseparable from India does it appear and indeed I regret sometimes that Ceylon and India are not at present under one administration. Ceylon is in the truest sense a part of India . . . In Asia all roads lead to India.'

Dr. Colvin R. de Silva and Dr. N.M. Perera (Ministers) even founded one political party for the whole Indian Sub-Continent called the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India (with a Ceylon unit).

The Press reports here tell the rest of the story.

55 Warren Road, LONDON SW19

8 August 1992 K. VAIKUNTHAVASAN

There are about 100,000 Tamils in the UK. This is only a guess. They come from Sri Lanka, India, Malaysia, Singapore, South Africa, Mauritius etc. I reside here from 1977. After my arrival, 4 Hindu (Saiva) temples have been established in London. Their pictures are found in the book.

It has not been possible to arrange the contents, photos etc., in the proper chronological order of events. This is regretted



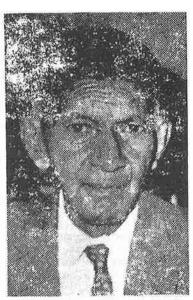
SIR PONNAMBALAM RAMANATHAN



S SABAPATHIPILLAI: M.A., LL.B (Lond), F.R.A.S., P.T.I.I., Bar-at-Law

The Chief Founder, Highgate Murugan Temple at its Sabapathipillai Hall

(portrait by GANDEEPAN VAIKUNTHAVASAN)



SJV CHELVANAYAGAM

#### **London Murasu**

OCTOBER 1983

#### DR RAJASUNDARAM



Dr. Rajasundaram, Founder-Secretary of GANDHIYAM, was brutally beaten to death, along with 57 other Tamil Eelam Compatriots on 27 July '83 in the high-security Welikada Prison of Colombo.

David Selbourne, in his report on the violence in Sri Lanka, said this: "But of all the crimes of July, the most wicked single event – though it is invidious to particularise in such a sea of murder – must be the killing of Dr. Rajasundaram, the Secretary of the Gandhiyam Movement." Gandhiyam Movement."

#### TAMIL NATION

December 15, 1990



#### S.A. DAVID

A Tamil Eelam Voice in the U.N.O. (1989) and ஐ.நாவில் என் முதல் முழக்கம் (1990) By Krishna Vaikunthavasan

5.10.78 is a red letter day in the history of Tamil Eelam struggle for freedom. On this day Krishna Vaikunthavasan raised the voice of Tamil Eelam in the highest forum in the world, the United Nations General Assembly in New York.

Now after eleven long years Vaikunthavasan takes us behind the scenes in two booklets he has released in Madras.

'A Tamil Voice in the U.N.O' a booklet in English of 29 pages opens with a brilliant summary of the Tamil Eelam freedom struggle by S. Sivanayagam, formerly editor of Saturday Review and now editor of Tamil Nation. It is indeed a jewel in the crown of this booklet and sets the U.N.O. incident in perfect perspective.

The rest of the book is a factual record of the historic conference: reviews in world press and Vaikunthavasan's efforts to bring the Tamil Eelam freedom struggle to the notice of the

world in meetings in European and Asian capitals.

In 'ஐ.நாவில் என் முதல் முழக்கம்' in Tamil, 128 pages, Vaikunthavasan takes a wider view including auto bio-graphical details indicate that the U.N.O. episode was long in the making. Appropriately the story starts in the class rooms and playing fields of Jaffna College under the watchful eyes of Handy Perinpanayagam, doyen of socialist thought and action in Jaffna. Then it moves to a visit to South India at the age of 20 to meet political and intellectual stalwarts; back to Ceylon, Trade Union struggle and editorship of 'Peoples Voice', then to legal studies and enrollment as advocate and trips to China and Russia; work in Zambia and retirement in Britain and the U.N.O. incident.

Details of his brush with Indian Security sleuths and the cat and mouse moves is indeed



S. A. David, B.Arch, Dipl.T.P., A.R.I.B.A., A.R.J.P.I. Chartered Architect and Town Planner, President, Gandhiyam, Sri Lanka.

as thrilling as the U.N.O. action.

Reference to Omar Khayaam, Barathy, and Navalar gives a glimpse of Vaikunthavasan's wider interests.

On page 91, Vaikunthavasan makes passing reference to his proposal in 1980 for a Tamil Eelam Government in exile sabotaged by TULF. If this proposal had been accepted and implemented much of the bloodshed and tears in Tamil Eelam could have been averted.

At the back of the books is a powerful portrait sketch of the father by the son Gandeepan A chip off the old block. Gan deepan is causing ripples in the Art World in London and moving in Royal circles.

Now that Vaikunthavasan has whetted the appetite of his readers he is duty bound to write a full length book recording for posterity his experiences stretching over half a century at centre stage in Trade Union action and Tamil Eelam Political diplomacy in Sri Lanka.

Moderately priced at £ 1.75, \$ 3 or Rs. 10/- and £ 4.95 or Rs.15.00 the two bookless are essential reading in the history of Tamil Eelam freedom struggle.

THE HINDU, Tuesday, December 30, 1980

### Short Review-

THAMIL EELAM: Published by Eelam Tamils Association, 53, Ashen Grove, London SW 19: This brochure brought out by the Tamil Coordination Committee in London purports to bring out the case for a Tamil Eelam in Sri Lanka;— a demand which formed the main plank of the TULF when it fought the 1977 elections in the Island. A letter written by Mrs. Gandhi to Mr. Krishna Vaikunthavasan, convenor of the TCC and one of the leading exponents of this cause, in August 1979 (included in the book) says, "the Janata Government is going out of the way to be friendly with the present government of Sri Lanka. I doubt if they will wish to take up the issue of the sufferings of the Tamils in Sri Lanka". Mrs. Gandhi was then out of power and nothing significant has happened in this regard in the last nearly one year since she assumed the Prime Ministership once again. There can be no two opinions

about settling the problem of the stateless Indians (Tamils) in that country as has been forcefully brought out in this book which also outlines the efforts to win world sympathy for a Tamil State in Sri Lanka. Mr. Valkunthavasan, in fact, hit newspaper headlines, when in 1978 he daringly entered the U.N. General Assembly and took charge of the podium for a brief while to make a speech on the plight of Tamils in Sri Lanka even as the Foreign Minister of the country was being called by the President to address the Assembly. The chapter relating to this makes very interesting reading besides, of course, conveying the strong feelings of Mr. Valkunthavasan and others of this line of thinking on this Issue, though it is another matter whether what they are "fighting" for is justified and practicable

M. Pattabhiram.



EELA VENTHAN a prominent Tamil activist (Tamil Nadu)

**EXTRACT FROM:** 

THE FALL AND RISE OF THE

# TAMIL NATION

EVENTS LEADING TO THE
TAMIL WAR OF INDEPENDENCE
AND
RESUMPTION OF
EELAM SOVEREIGNTY

V. Navaratnam

(Member of Parliament 1963-1970)

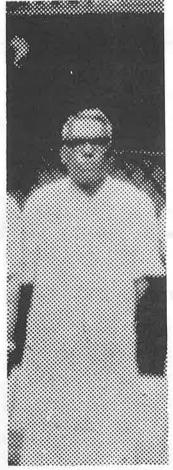
#### GCSU

As in the case of the country's political movement in the first quarter of the century when the Tamil leader Sir Ponnampalam Arunachalam founded the Ceylon National Congress, organized and spearheaded the national movement for constitutional reforms and paved the way for eventual independence of Ceylon, so it was with the CGSU in the Thirties and Forties' when it was the young Tamil clerical servants who laboured to make it the powerful public service trade union it came to be. The untiring and ceaseless efforts of Tamil clerks like K. C. Nithiyanantha, K. Vaikunthavasan, A. R. Asirvatham and many others built up the GCSU as an influential and powerful trade union arm of the LSSP. T. B. Ilangaratne was one of the very few Singhalese clerks who worked with them. They travelled to all parts of the country and organized GCSU branches in almost every Government office. They worked in the belief that the benefits of organized trade unionism accrue to all public servants and the Union would fight when necessary to protect the rights of all without considerations of race, caste or creed. As a matter of fact, they had no reason at the time they were organizing to foresee anything otherwise either from the Union or the LSSP leaders who were their mentors.

Again like the country's national freedom movement in which the Ceylon National Congress ousted Arunachalam and other Tamils and came under a pan-Singhalese leadership which saw to it that Tamils were kept out of the benefits of freedom and independence, so also the GCSU was taken over by a pan-Singhalese leadership and transformed into an organization which served the interests of Singhalese clerks only. The Government dismissed M. C. Nallathamby, Vaikunthavasan. Asirvatham and Ilangaratne for their trade union activities. It was a Tamil organizer of the GCSU, Kandasamy by name, who sacrificed his life for the cause of the GCSU: he was shot dead by the Police while leading a procession alongside the LSSP leader N. M. Perera in protest against D. S. Senanayake Government's increase of the price of rice, an issue which affected the entire population irrespective of race. Whereas Ilangaratne became a Minister in S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike's Government subsequently and was compensated with a substantial sum of money as damages for the dismissal, his two Tamil colleagues in the dismissal, Vaikunthavasan and Asirvatham, went into the wilderness without a penny.

FIRST EDITION: AUGUST 1991

**PAGE 198** 



V. NAVARATNAM



சர் பொ**ன்னம்பலம் அருணாசலனார்** 1853—1924 இலங்கையில் தமிழ்ச் சங்கம் நிறுவியவர்

SIR PONNAMBALAM ARUNACHALAM

**CEYLON OBSERVER** 

SUNDAY EDITION JUNE 12, 1960

# Four men will fight it out for the G.C.S.U. leadership

(By a Sunday "Observer" reporter)

FOUR men well known in the sphere of public service trade unionism face the polls on Saturday, June 25 for election to the leadership of the .seven thousand member strong Government Clerical Service Union.

THE CHOICE WILL BE MADE BY ABOUT SEVEN HUNDRED DELEGATES REPRE-SENTING GCSU BRANCHES ALL OVER THE ISLAND. ASSEMBLED AT AN ANNUAL CONFERENCE IN COLOMBO.

Three of them are former Presidents of the Union. One was a General Secretary.

Mr. K. C. NYTHIANANTHA. Mr. K. C. NYTHIANANTHA, the best known name in public service trade unionism, is staging a come back to the forefront of the leadership again after a self imposed exile of six years.

Mr. Nythianantha was President of the GCSU and of the All-Island Conference of Public Service Trade Unions from 1950



D. A. C. Senaratne

Today he is the Head of the Treasury's Finance Branch. He was promoted to the public service's Executive Grade I in 1951 and has bet 1 overlooked for promotion to the Special Grade for the last three years. He is 44 years old.



T. B. Dissanayake

K. C. Nythianantha

to 1954. In 1954 he was dismissed from the public service for criticising the government's Budget proposals. Six months later he was reinstated in service.

Mr. T. B. DISSANAYAKE
(34) has held the post of President for the last two years.
From the inception of his career
he has been attached to the
Audit Office, Colombo. He has
been a long time member of the
Council of Management before being elected President.

Mr. Dissanayake has played a prominent part in the agita-tion against the amendment to the Public Security Act and low the GCSU in the March 3

MR. D. A. C. SENARATNE (49) was President of the GCSU in 1955 and unsuccessfully contested the post in 1956. 1957. and 1959. He is the Chief Clerk of the District Court, Kegalle.

#### Suspended

He took to trade union work in 1952 as an office-bearer of the GOSU's Ratnapura Branch. The following year he was elected to the Council of Management.

During his presidentship in 1955 he was suspended from

the post by the Council of Management for an incorrect interpretation of the Union's constitution. He has studied trade unionism on a government scholarship in the United Kingdom ted Kingdom

MR. K. VAIKUNTHAVASAN
(40) is a Barrister-at-Law and
was the editor and proprietor of
a weekly newspaper called the "Peoples Voice" in 1951-53 when he was out of the public service after his dismissal for publishing an article in the Union magazine, Red Tape of which he was the Editor.

#### A book

While awaiting the results of his appeal against dismissal he visited China and Russia and wrote a book on his return about those two countries.



K. Vaikunthavasan

Later in 1955 he went to the United Kingdom and qualified as a Barrister-at-Law. He was reinstated in service in 1956 and now works in the Fishe-ries Department.

He was elected General Secretary of the GCSU in 1949 and he organised the first All-Island Conference of Trade Unions and was Joint secretary of the Conference in 1950.

#### **CEYLON DAILY MIRROR**

THURSDAY OCTOBER 15th, 1964



HIS GOVT. PROMISED RELIEF

# 1947 Strike echo

THE echoes of the 1947 Public Servants' strike were heard in the Treasury yesterday.

It asked heads of all government departments whether those public servants who were dismissed or compulsorily retired for participating in the strike were paid whatever was due to them between the period the government in April 1956 decided to re-instate them and the actual date of their re-instatement.

In the Throne Speech of 1956, following the election of the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranalke, it was stated that the cases of all government officers who had been penalised under the repressive regulations of previous governments would be reviewed in terms of a new: Financial Regulation No. 267.

Among those whose names were considered and who benefitted by this were Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne. Mr. M. C. Nallathamby, Mr. Cladstone Amerasekera, Mr. A. B. A. C. Weerasekera, Mr. A. R. Asirwatham, Mr. K. Vaikunthavasan and Mr. S. M. Silva.



A. R. Asirwatham

THE CEYLON DAILY NEWS 3-12-1956

### G.C.S.U. welcomes Vaikunthavasan

The Government Clerical Service Union on Saturday welcomed back into its fold Mr. K. Vaikunthavasan, its former General Secretary who was dismissed for trade union activities in August, 1950, and re-employed in government service last week.

Mr. R. Vandebona, the GCSU
President, at a council meeting
at the Union headquarters, extended a hearty welcome to Mr.
Vaikunthavasan who was present
on special invitation.

The president said that the GCSU would continue to fight for complete and unconditional reinstatement as the Union was concerned more with the principle underlying the question whether

trade union officials should be punished for activities legitimately carried out on orders of the Union on its behalf

Mr. Vaikunthavasan said it was a unique occasion and he was happy he was once again a GCSU member. He thanked the All Island Conference of Public Servants and other Unions for all they had done for him and other dismissed trade unionists in the struggle for their reinstatement.

TIMES OF CEYLON 26-11-56

# Union raises an old issue

(By a "Daily News" reporter)
The Government Clerical Service Union has once again taken up the case of Mr. K. Vaikunthavasam and asked for pension rights for him for the period of dismissal from 4.8.1950 to 26.11.1956.

In a letter to the Finance Minister, Dr. N. M. Perera, the President of the G.C.S.U. Mr. T. B. Dissanayake states that Mr. Vaikunthavasam was formerly General Secretary of the Union and he was one of those victimised by the U.N.P. Government and dismissed from service on 4.8.50 for his trade union activities.

On the basis of a policy deci-

On the basis of a policy decision by the Government of the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike he was re-instated on 26.11.56 and placed on a salary point which he would have reached on his salary scale had he not been dismissed.

The question of pension rights for the period he was under dismissal was not settled at the time of his re-instatement although the Deputy Secretary to the Treasury at that time undertook to consider this favourably. This motion still remains unsettled although representations have been made on several occasions by Mr. Valkunthavasan, he adds.



YO DAI HENG is next to PHILIP GUNAWARDENE

亞洲及太平洋區域和平會議 KOHDEPEHILISI CTOPOHHIIKOB MIPA CTPAH ASIMI II THXOFO OKEAHA THE PEACE CONFERENCE OF THE ASIAN AND PACIFIC REGIONS LA CONFERENCIA POR LA PAZ DE LOS PAÍSES DE ASIA Y DEL PACIFICO

Nov. 21st, 1952

#### Dear Mr. & Mrs. Vaikunthavasan:

It has been more than twenty days since you left Peking. I think you must have enjoyed your short stay in the Soviet Union a great deal. I can imagine that the celebration of the great October Revolution, the grand parade of the heroic Soviet people and their magnificent construction work for communism would make you wonder with mouth wide open. It must be really a great pleasure for you to see all these with your own eyes.

I enclose some pictures which were taken on our trip to Tientsin, Shanghai and Hongchow. As you can see, the technique is not so good, but, I think you would like to keep them as souvenirs.

Long live the friendship and solidarity between the peoples of Ceylon and China!

Long live peace!

Sincerely Yours,

Yo Dai Heng



Mr K. VAIKUNTHAVASAN

#### **CEYLON DAILY NEWS -**

### **EDITOR** GIVEN BAIL IN RS. 10,000

Mr. K. Vaikunthavasan, editor of a paper known as "People's Voice," was produced yesterday morning by Sub-Inspector G. Selliah before Mr. M. C. Sansoni. Additional District Judge, Colombo, who allowed him bail in Rs. 10,000.

Mr. Vaikunthavasan was in dicted last year in the District Court of Colombo with criminal defamation arising out of a statement published in the "People's Voice" on May 30, 1952,

1952,

WARRANT ISSUED
On October 6, 1952, when the case was called. Mr. Vaikunthavasan was absent, and was reported to be not in the Island thereupon a warrant was issued for the arrest of Mr. Vaikunthavasan.

It appears that on Tuesday

thavasan,

It appears that on Tuesday when Mr. Vaikunthavasan returned to the Island he was arrested by the Police at Ratmalana Airport.

He was produced yesterday before Mr. Sansoni in Chambers.

Mr. S. Nadesan, instructed by Mr. T. Duraisingham appeared for him.

The trial was fixed for July 17.

for him. The ti and 20, trial was fixed for July 17





MR & MRS VAIKUNTHAVASAN at the World Peace Conference in Vienna - 1952

#### **CEYLON DAILY NEWS — 7.10.52**

# EDITOR OF JOURNAL AT "PEACE" TALKS

Warrant Issued In Libel Case

A WARRANT was issued against the editor of the "People's Voice." Mr. K. Vaikunthavasam, whose trial was fixed for yesterday for alleged libel against the Auditor-General, Mr. Allen Smith.

When the case was called before Mr. L. W. de Silva Additional District Judge, Colombe, Mr.
Vaikunthavasam was absent and
was not even represented by
Counsel.

#### AT PEKING

AT PEKING

Mr. H. A. Wijemanne, Crown Counsel, who appeared with Mr. N. T. D. Kanakaratne, Crown Counsel, for the prosecution, stated that accused was reported to have gone to China to attend a World "Peace" Conference at Peking. The accused had been served with notice about the date of trial. In the lower Court he had been warned to appear.

Mr. Wijemanne moved that a warrant be issued against him not to be executed in China but when accused arrives in the Island.

land

Judge: Have you any informa-tion when this conference will

be over.

Mr. Wijemanne told Court that there was no information whatsoever when this conference would be over.

would be over.

CASE FOR TRIAL

The Judge issued a warrant returnable on November 11, and fixed the case for trial for the same day.

In this case Mr. Vaikunthavasan is charged with having on May 30, 1952, published in the "People's Voice" an alleged libel agairst Mr. Allen Smith, the Auditor-General.





THE INDEPENDENT NEWSWEEKLY

Editor: K. VAIKUNTHAVASAN

VOL. J. No. 1.

REGISTERED AT THE G.P.O.

Friday, 19th January, 1951

Оитск: 275/1, 1st Div., Colombo 10.

15 cts. EDITORIAL

#### OURSELVES

Ceylon, where the entirety of the influential English press stands almost four-square behind a ruling party that is conservative in outlook, reactionary in policy and undemocratic in action, the need for an independent English paper, be it even a weekly, that will neither slavishly ditto the fiats of the Government nor mechanically echo the slogans of its opponents, has been a need long felt, much discussed and often tackled but with little lasting result.

That we, in our turn, have come forward to meet this need means no act of financial bravado or fit of political indignation on our part, is borne out by the gathering momentum of a threemonth campaign which, as we go to print, claims its strength not from a few thousand-rupce donations but from thousands of people who have contributed only their subscriptions to make possible the emergence of their voice on a national scale.

Assured, therefore, of this inexhaustible popular source of financial stability and moral support, we shall go to the same source for our news, confident in the belief that truth is where life is and life is where people are.

Nor need we, in presenting this news, have to resort to easy shibboleths and sensational headlines, for life is too complex to be portrayed in shibboleths and more gripping in interest than any journalistic imagination can make it.

Then, for views. Here, too, we shall not approach our work with the preconceived notion that the Government can do no right and its opponents no wrong. For, were we to take such a narrow, firm-set focus on things, we shall have forfeited—and rightly too any claim to call ourselves the paper of the people. Hence, we shall examine each event, each issue and each policy on its merits in the larger context of the country and its people.

To KANDASAMY Martyr to the Cause of his Public Service Colleagues and the People of Lanka



WE DEDICATE THIS FIRST ISSUE OF "PEOPLE'S VOICE" WHICH WILL CARRY FORWARD THE STRUGGLE

And that our columns may not depart from this principle and be come stuffed and stuffy with parochial and sectarian news and views, we call upon our readers to express the monsoonal force of public opinion and make the paper their own in a more real and lasting sense.

Nor shall we confine ourselves to dealing with developments in the political arena but shall attempt to cover, as far as is possible, all important and progressive achievements of the day in the fields of art and science.

To sum up, we shall voice the demand, describe the struggle and, where possible, guide the upsurge of the people of Lanka for an independent, democratic, peaceful and happy existence in a world of freedom, equality, friendship and progress.

#### THE INDEPENDENT NEWSWEEKLY

PEOPLE'S VOICE

Editor: K. VAIKUNTHAVASAN

VOL. 1. No. 7.

REGISTRICED AT THE G.P.O. AS A NEWSPAPER

FRIDAY, 2nd March 1951

Orgion: 275/1, 1st Div., Colombo 10.

# WILL NOT SIT UNDER NEW FLAG

#### "Minorities Given A Place Outside"

EX-Minister Suntheralingam who holds such strong views on the question of the national flag and who has given expression to it in his characteristic fashion, is reported to have come to the decision not to sit in the House of Representatives under the new flag if the recommendations of the Bandaraneika Flag Committee are accepted. naike Flag Committee are accepted.

When, as a result of his absence from the House, his seat will be declared vacant, he bones to re-contest it and fight on the issue of the national flug.

Mr. Suntheralingam is opposed to the idea of the intional flag being decided by a majority vote. He believes that any flag should be representative of all sections of the people. In one of his letters to the Prime Minister, he says: "The Union Jack is now taken to symbolise domination of all Coylonese. The Sinha Kodiya might well be made Mr. Suntheralingam is op-

to appear to the masses as symbolising the domination of some Caylonese by other Caylonese."

Sonator S. Nadesan, the only Sometor S. Nadesan, the only momber of the Flag Committee who did not append his signature to the committee's report, explains in his dissent: "As the Lion Flag has been used as a distinctive flag anyono viewing the design that has been agreed to by the rost of the committee cannot be bla-med if he thinks that the minorities are given a place outside the Lion Flag".

12th December, 1947

My Dear Prime Minister,

I continue to receive a large number of letters and messages in regard to the question of the Ceylon Flag. It seems desirable that early steps be taken and some decision reached and im plemented before the appointed date—4th February 1948. I continue to receive a large

I need hardly add that the question is one of sentiment which, with or without reason, affects the feelings of peoples.

The unpleasant sight of the Lion Flag flying half-mast with the Union Jack at top-mast to which the Member for Kurunegala referred in Parliament needs to be avoided. I would suggest that the procedure followed by India and ot her countries in the past may be followed in evolving a flag that will evoke in all a true Ceylonose patriotism. ose patriotism.

Sgd. C. BUNTHERALINGAM.



MR. C. SUNTHERALINGAM



MAHARAJ, SIR! WE HAVE STRIP(P)ED THEM!

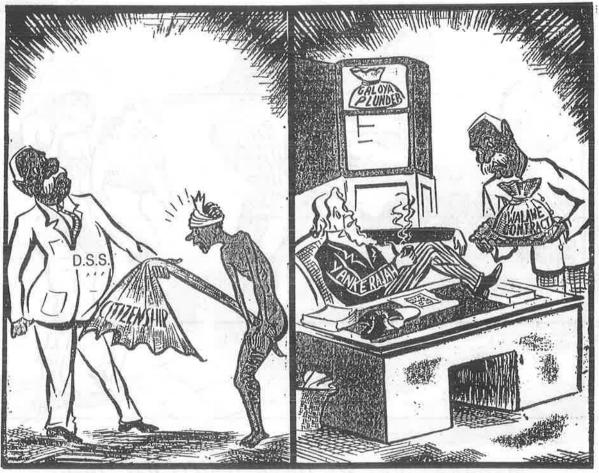
16

PEOPLE'S VOICE

Grave Crisis

19 January 1951





THE SHAMEFUL CONTRAST!

April 1951

VOL. 2. No. 9.

REGISTERED AT THE G.P.O. AS A NEWSPAPER

TUESDAY, 8TH JANUARY 1952

OFFICE: 275/1, Maradana Rd., Colombo 10: - Phone: 6068 15, cts

## KRISHNAN ON RUSSIA &

A visitor from Ceylon to India who attempts to study the present political situation is immediately struck by the almost similar cel-up in both the countries.

The Indian National Congress is not second to the U.N.P. You and I know what and what things we associate with the U.N.P. The Congress is the Indian U.N.P.—only on a much bigger scale. Just as Mr. Sonanayake's Govt. throws dust into the people's eyes here, Pandit Nehru's Govt. does the same thing in India. The difference—whereas the Pandit indulges in fine phrases and vague generalisations our own D.S. is blunt, "actually-as-a matter-of-fact".

The anti-Congress feeling in India is no less widespread than the anti-U.N.P. feeling in Coylon. And just as the auti-U. N. P. forces are not united in Ceylou, the anti-Congress forces are not united in India. Hence the successes of the Congress in the present elections.

During the course of my two-weeks visit to India I interviewed a number of political leaders, trade unionists, jour-nalists, authors, Poace Move-ment leaders and common pecple from various walks of life. M st of them were definitely for at least some sort of understanding among the various opposition parties wherever

electoral alliance was not pos-

A good number of them deplored the attitude of the Socialist Party for refusing to come to an electoral understanding with all the other opposition parties.

They all condemued Mr. Jai Prakash Nardin's statement



Mr. Krishnan: Admiration for Russia

#### People's Voice Anniversary Number

We are glad to announce that a special number of the People's Voice would be published on Saturday, 19th January, to mark the first anniversary of the paper.

The first issue was published on 19th January 1951.

## KARANJIA ON CHINA

## India Today

that the people should vote for the Congress if the contest was between a Congressman and a Communist.

The only person who did not condomn this statement of the Socialist leader was Mr. S.C.C. Anthonipillai, President of the Mudrus Labour Uniou and a prominent member of the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India (BLPI) which, Mr. Anthoni-pillai told me, has now com-pletely merged with the Indian Socialist Party. When I asked Mr. Pillai what he thought of Mr. Narain's statement, Mr. Pillui said that the statement was the personal opinion of Mr. Narain and that the Socialist Partywas not responsible for it. To the question why no efforts were made by the Socialists to come to an agree-ment with the Communists, Mr. Authonipillai said that the Communists are not for the abolition of capitalism! How Dr. Ambedkar's Schedulos Caste Federation with whom the Socialists have come to an agreement stands for the abolition of capitalism, only Dr. Ambedkar's American friends and the Socialists can know. Incidentally it would be interesting to note that it is to

#### by K. Vaikunthavasan

help this Mr. Anthonipillai in his election that Dr. N M. Perera and Mr. Robort Gunawardene are expected to go to Madras.

The other Socialist Party BLPI leader whom I met in Madras was Mr. Hector Abeywardene, joint Secretary of the Madras Socialist Party.

Comodians N. S. Krishnan & T. A. Mathuram whom I interviewed on their experiences in Russia confirmed the published accounts of their speeches on roturn to India, Krishnan said there was no poverty, no unemployment. He found the fullest personal freedom in Russia. The minimum salary for any person in Russia is Rs. 600/-. Russians produce almost all the things they need



Blitz Editor Mr. Karanjia: Friendship with China.

in Russia itself mulike in India. They were there for nearly two months and saw many aspects of Russian life.

Mr. R. K. Karanjia, Blinz Editor, whom I interviewed in Bombay on his experiences in China more or less repeated the good things that Krishnan said about Russia. Mr. Karanjia said that it is not the Communist Party alone that is running the present Chinese Govt. There are as many as six parties which are in the Govt. He emphasised that firm friendship with China was the greatest need of India today.



Sir P. RAMANATHAN's biographer (2 vols) M VYTHILINGAM BA. (Formerly Principal Hindu College, Chavakacheri) Also a supporter of political link-up with India

#### EDITORIAL

### OUR FIRST YEAR

With this issue, 'People's Voice' completes its first year and begins its second.

Though conscious of our shortcomings, we feel confident that we can claim to have justified our existence.

When we began publication, the Press in the English language was a monopoly of the U.N.P. We were able to break through that rigid monopoly and provide a forum through which the news of the Opposition could be made known.

The treachery and crimes of the U.N.P., which hitherto had been suppressed by the daily Press, were brought to light by us. We answered the baseless charges that the U.N.P. and the Pantham Press threw against the Opposition.

We have continuously campaigned for the unity of the left movement and the unity of all Opposition forces to the greatest extent possible.

We thank our readers, subscribers, contributors, advertisers and those who have generously given donations to our P. V. Fund. Their assistance and encouragement have been invaluable.

In the coming year, we shall endeavour to provide a brighter and better paper which will make its contribution to the defeat of the U.N.P.

We ask our readers to help us to do so by enrolling more subscribers, getting new readers and donating generously towards our Fighting Fund.

It is no easy matter to keep such a paper as ours going. We have neither big capital nor heavy advertising to back us. Our biggest capital is the goodwill of the people whom we serve. We are confident that they will help us to fight for them.

#### 19 JANUARY 1952



Mr. N. S. Krishnan

### N. S. KRISHNAN'S MESSAGE

Kalaivanar Nagaichuvai Arasu N. S. Krishnan greets us as follows on the occasion of our Anniversary:

The Greek Tragedies moulded the Character of the Public and the general Will of the People. In comparison, we have only the newspapers. Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a 'Government without Newspapers' or 'Newspapers without a Government'-I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter.

I wish that "People's Voice' must be the "Chosen Guardian of Freedom" the "Strong sword-arm of Justice' and the "Bright Sunbeam of Truth".

# THE ILANGARATNES GREET P.V.



Mr T.B. ILANGARATNE



Mrs ILANGARATNE

In a joint message, Mr. T.B. Hangaratne, former President of the G.C.S.U. & Mrs. Hangaratne, M.P. (Kandy) greet us as follows:

"Please accept our hearty & sincere greetings on your first anniversary celebrations. Knowing as we do the handicaps with which you are placed, your valiant fight against all reaction, nepotism and corruption in political and administrative circles is most admirable. Your

invaluable contribution towards bringing all progressive forces together to defeat reaction will not fail to bear fruit. It is with the greatest sincerity and hope that we wish you many happy returns of the day."

#### THE CEYLON OBSERVER

WEDNESDAY MARCH 20, 1957



MRS. MAHESWARI VAIKUNTHAVASAN gave a veena recital at the reception held in honour of the Chinese Trade Union delegation hv Ceylon-China Friendship Association at the Red Cross Society hall on Wednesday. Mrs. 13th March. Theia Goonewardene presided. (Photograph by: P. KUMAR)

#### 25 APRIL 1952

Mr. K. Vaikunthavasan.

#### PEOPLE'S CANDIDATES

#### (19) - K. VAIKUNTHAVASAN - Jaffna

We refrain from commenting on the candidature of People's Candidate No. 19 for obvious reasons. However we reproduce hereunder extracts from a speech delivered by Mrs. Tamara Ilangaratue, delivered in Jaffina last Sunday in support of the candidature of Mr. Vaikunthavasan.

"I have come here to support the candidature of Mr. Vaikunthavasan. I am sure most of you know him just as I do. But I can claim to know his life a little more than you. Very seldom do we come across people in Ceylon who do public service at such cost.

As you are aware Mr. Vaikunthavasan is the Editor of "People's Voice" which is the only paper in the English language to expose the reaction and corruption in the U. N. P. Government. The People's Voice consistently fights on for the rights of the public servants. The People's

Voice fights for the needs of the common man. The People's Voice fights for Socialism. The People's Voice fights for democracy. And Mr. Vaikunthavasan is the Editor of People's Voice.

Mr. Vaikunthavasan has made great sacrifices. Il is political and personal integrity is above question. In the name of everything just I call upon you to vote for Mr. Vaikunthavasan. In the name of future generations I call upon you to vote for Mr. Vaikunthavasan. And in the name of martyr Kandasamy I ask you to vote for Mr. Vaikunthavasan. Vaikunthavasan.

25 APRIL 1952

# Mr. Justice Nagalingam's Dissenting Judgment Contempt Case

A FINE of Rs. 250, in default six weeks rigorous imprisonment, was imposed on Mr. K. Vaikunthavasan, Editor, Printer, Publisher of 'People's Voice' by Mr. Justice Nagalingam who delivered the order of the Court on Wednesday, 10th inst.

Mr. Vaikunthavasan appeared before a Divisional bench of the Supreme Court consisting of Mr Justice Nagalingam, Mr. Justice Basnayake, and Mr. Justice Gunasekera on a rule issued against him at the instance of the Attorney-General to show cause as to why he should not be punished for contempt of Court.

Mr. Vaikunthavasan, it was submitted, published in the issue of April 20, 1951, an article entitled "Threat to murder Leftist leader—Hakmana Police run riot," the printing and publishing of which article was calculated to prejudice the fair hearing of a Matara Magistrate's Court case before the Supreme Court.

Mr. Justice Nagalingam, in the course of his dissenting judgment, expressed the opinion that the rule should be made absolute and no further punishment be inflicted.

But Mr. Justice Basnayake, with whose judgment Mr. Justice Gunesekera concurred, stated in the course of his judgement that a fine of Rs. 250/- should be imposed.

11 MAY 1951

# To The Immortal Memory of J. R. JAYAWARDENE!

DICKY J is now O. K.,
He's Ceylon's Finance Minister
He flies to London and Washington
But, of course, there's nothing sinister!

Our Sterling balances are gone, And now we face starvation, For Dicky buys, at thrice the price, The Flour to feed the nation!!

Now Dicky he's a fine fellow He swanks in Ward Place end, If in complexion slightly yellow, He's still the poor man's friend!!

Of Finance, Dicky knows so little And of Buddhism still less But for finance Dicky cares a tittle, And Buddhism, you guess!

So the Aussies charge three times for flour And freight jumps by a quarter Textiles rise from hour to hour And the peasant goes back to barter

Petrol's up four times its price In hardly more than ten years And gas, whoope! is up a rupee So for Dicky's Lanka, three cheers!

The travellers weep and the busmen reap In Millionaire Dicky's Lanka! No foreigners, Sirs, were such a curse, Sitting under a punkah!

But Dicky knows the game is up And the Hoax of the Six Year Plan Just a childish trick of the Family clique For a second five year span!

22 MAY 1953

# "Admirable Introduction"

--- Prof Bernal F.R.S.

Prof. J. D. Bernal, F. R. S, one of the world famous scientists, in his foreword to the book, "Three Months in New China and Soviet Union" by K. Vaikunthavasan commends it as an abmirable introduction to the subject.

The following is his foreword:

The writer of this book has been a very fortunate person. He has seen in three months more than most people in the world, including myself, have seen in thier whole lives. To see China, and the Soviet Union, to take pert in two peace congresses, all at a decisive period in world history, was certainly a great experience. But the value of the experience depends on the quality of understanding and purpose of those to whom it comes.

Mr. Vaikunthavasan has seen more clearly and conveyed better the meaning of what he has seen than many more experienced travellers. He knows that it was not for him alone or for the delegation from Ceylen that the journey was undertaken but for the whole people of Ceylon who should

see and experience with them. And the lessons are clear enough. First and foremost, these visits and the congresses themselves have demonstrated that the peoples of China and the Soviet Union desire nothing more ardently than peace in which they can devote themselves to the building up of their countries and the transformation of nature and humanity to give an unlimitedly better life for all.

The second lesson for which Mr. Vaikunthavasan has gathered invaluable information and first-hand impressions, is the capacity of the peoples to achieve this. Experience has shown that any people, however poor and oppressed, once they have shaken off the yoke of imperialism, politically, economically and in ideas, can with their own efforts build

for themselves such a civilisation. That lesson is worth ten Colombo Plans.

The last lesson which Mr. Vaikunthavasan drew, from his experience in Georgia, and which has a particular reference to Coylon, is that a small country can, in alliance with other socialist countries, preserve and develop its own characteristic life and culture and make its own special contribution to a common civilisation. I was particularly struck with the descriptions of the tea plantations in Georgia and the life of the collective farmers. I remember vividly the contraat between the beauty and luxury of the planters' bungalows and the bare misery of the tea pickers' lines in the hills of Ceylon. I thought of what could be in that most lovely country if its great resources could be used by its people for its people. I am sure that day is not too far away, but before it comes it behaves those who care for their country to study the lessons that can be learned from the experiences of others, and for that this book offers an admirable introduc-

# Welcome in Ceylon as well as in India

Prof: Hiren Mukherjee, acting Leader of the Opposition in the Indian Parliament reviews the book thus:

"I have read with much interest Mr. K. Vaikunthavasan's book on "Three months in New China & the Soviet Union." He writes simply, without frills, and with much effect. As a Coylon delegate, Mr. Vaikunthavasan attended the peace conferences at Poking and Vienna; his sketch of their procondings is not the least valuable part of the book. Ilis description of Soviet Georgia and of the life of collective farmers in tea plantations there is among the best things in the book. I am sure it will receive a wide welcome in

## "An Excellent Book"

#### HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA M.P.

The following is the review of the book by Mr. Harindranath Chattopadhyaya, the famous Indian poet and member of the Indian Parliament:

"THREE months in New China and Soviet Union" is an excellent little book comprising a great deal of imformation with regard to two of the most outstanding and significant countries of today. It is as if the author is out to take us with him on his swift tour revealing to us an itinerary of some of the urgent and striking

points both of place and achievement across these two vast countries, one of which has already gone beyond the stage of mere experimentation, the other which is feverishly transforming experiments into ever waxing achievements. The style of this book urges somewhat of that of a diary—which has its own value—it enables

the reader to run from page to page, assimilating details of the travel, as well as getting a sort of kaleidoscopie bird's eye view—shifting rapidly from one pattern to another, not in accidental but well-formulated arrangement.

This little book might well serve as a guide for the reader who may be anxious to get to know the impressions of a delegate from Coylon who has had the unique and rare opportunity of visiting in one sweep, the two great countries which are destined more and more to lead human thought and life towards new, everwidening horizons."

22 May 1953

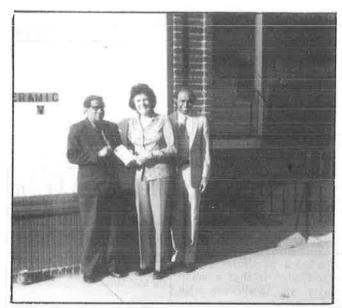
# Ceylon Diplomat's Tribute to China

The following extract from the book "Three months in New China & Soviet Union" dealing with the Ceylon diplomat, Mr. Susantha de Fonseka, is said to have engaged the special attention of the Prime Minister who scrutinised the book before ordering its release.

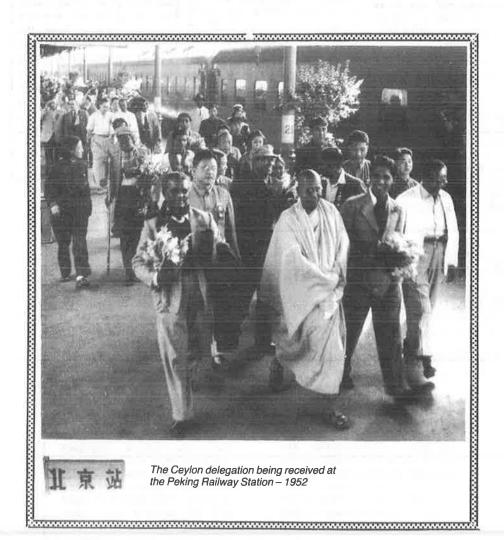
Next morning at the airport I was thrilled at the very friendly conversation that was going on between the Ceylon Government Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Burma, Susantha de Fonseka, and the Chinese Ambassador at Rangoon. I was greatly impressed by the charming personality of the Chinese Ambassador

who is, I think, only about thirty years old, if not younger.

Of course, I knew that the Coylon knowy was going with us to China to participate in the rice talks. I was glad indeed when he came and occupied the seat in the plane just opposite to mine, for I welcomed the opportunity to talk to him about Burma, China and above all, rice. He was formerly Deputy Speaker of the Ce-ylon State Council. At that time I had met him in my capacity as a trade union official of the Government Clerical Service Union. He laughed hear-tily when I told him that we ourselves were on our way to China as delegates from Ceylon in connection with the peace mission which was closely co-nected with his own rice.—We tulked on a number of things ranging from China to rico but especially on Chinese rice. He was confident of the final successful outcome of the rice talks in Peking, although he seemed to anticipate still opposition from cortain quarters, both among the politicians and in the ranks of the top civil servants. He paid glowing tributes to the Chinese people who, within a short period of three years, had been able to transform their entire social system and commony and were presented as a position to apport surplus in a position to export surplus rice in large quantities.



With MARY ROWE and SRITHARAN Boston, June 1982



6.1.86

LONDON MEIKANDAAR ADHEENAM TRUST.

(U.K Registered Charity No:293007.





P.O.BOX: 428. LONDON E17 6JE, UNITED KINGDOM.

Director: "Saivath- Thamil Mani:

P. V. WAM

K.Gnanasoorian.M.Sc(Lond), D.M.S(Management).

ADVISORY COUNCIL: Dr C.Sornalingam M.R.C.O.G (Chairman.)

Dr K.Arumugam Ph.D ( Vice-Chairman )
Thiru S.K.Ganapati; Dr V.Thirunamachandran Ph.D.

Thiru N. Vamadevan M. Sc(ENG), MICE. (Temple Liaison Adviser)

Thiru S. Thamby Rajah (Honorary Treasurer)

Thiru K. Vaikunthavasan Bar-at-law (Hon:Legal Adviser)

Dr N.Thiruchittampalam F.R.C.S

Dr S.Gangadaran M.A,M.Litt,Ph.D (Hon:Adviser on SIDDHANTA)

Thiru G.S. Jeyaraj B.Sc(Eng). (Hon: Asst. Secretary).



At the reception to DR PANCHACHARAM held on 16.11.80 - with SUTHA VENKADARAMAN and M L VASANTHAKUMARI



The First Asian to join the Judicial Service in Zambia - in 1971



With the Malaysian Prime Minister, Commonwealth Magistrates Conference Kuala Lumpur 1975



PUBLISHED
IN RUSSIAN, ENGLISH, FRENCH, GERMAN,
SPANISH, POLISH, CZECH, RUMANIAN AND
SWEDISH LANGUAGE EDITIONS

A WEEKLY JOURNAL



WORLD

22 April 1953

same period last year.

France Presse report: Tamil K. Vaikunthavasan, editor of the Ceylon English-language newspaper People's Voice, is arrested on his return to Ceylon from a visit to the Soviet Union.

1953

12, Kalashny Pereulok, Arbat, Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Editor: V. BEREZIN

# Booknews

No. 4

APRIL 1953

ONE ANNA

#### THREE MONTHS IN CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION

By K. Vaikunthavasan. With a foreword by Prof J. D. Bernal. F.R.S. 160 pp. plus 24 pp. illustrations. Rs. 2|-

The author of this book was a Ceylon Government clerk for nearly ten years and was for two years secretary of the Ceylon Govern-Clerical Service Union. ment attended the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference in Peking as a delegate and was also a de'egate to the Congress of the Peoples for Peace held in Vienna in December, 1952. Between the two meetings Mr. Vaikunthavasan spent 35 days in the Soviet Union. This book is an account of both the peace congresses and extended tours of China and the Soviet Union.

Printed by Jayant Bhatt at the New Age Printing Press, 190-B, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay 4, and published by him for People's Publishing House, Ltd., 190-B, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay 4.

#### TIMES OF CEYLON

# Editor arrested

VASAN. Editor of the "People's Voice," was arrested at Ratmalana Airport yesterday when he returned to Ceylon by Air India plane after visiting China and Soviet Russia.

The arrest was on a warrant issued by the District Court of Combo,

As Mr. Vaikunthavasam was walking to the terminal after the plane touched down at 4.05 p.m. Sub-Inspector George Selliah of the C.I.D. arrested him and took his passport.

#### Saw Stalin

From the airport he was taken to the Mt. Lavinia police station where he was kept in custody.



He was produced in chambers this morning before Mr. M. C. Sansoni. Additional District Judge, Colombo, and released on certified bail in Rs. 10,000 and trial was fixed for July 17th, and 20th.

Mr. Vaikun-

Mr. K. Vaikunthavasam. thavasan is charged with crimi-

nal defamation arising out of a statement published in the "People's Voice," on May 30th. On October 6th, 1952, when the case was called, Mr. Vaikunthavasan was not present in court and was reported to have left Ceylon. A warrant was issued for his street.

for h's arrest.

Mr. S. Nadesan, instructed by
Mr. T. Duraisingham, appeared
for Mr. Vaikunthavasan.

While in custody, Mr. Val-kunhavasam told a "Times of Ceylor" reporter that he saw Stalin, Molotov, Malenkov and the other Soviet leaders on November 7th during the parade in the Red Square to mark the 35th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

In China, Mr. Vaikunthavasam met Mao Tse-Tung, Chou En-Lai and other Chinese Communist

eaders. In Vlenna, Mr Vaikunthavasam was one of the Ceylon delegates it a Communist-sr nacred conferince on social security.

#### THE CEYLON DAILY NEWS

FRIDAY, JUNE 24, 1960.

## MARXISTS CALL THE TUNE...

#### Vaikunthavasan

TRADE Unionist K. Vaikuntha-

vasan claims in connection with this column's comments this week relating to "left politics in the GCSU" that the references to him were "incorrect tendentious and mischievous".

He adds in his letter to the "Daily News": "As reported in your paper of the same date (20.6.60), I have withdrawn my candidature for the post of President GCSU. I shall thank you to publish this contradiction as soon as possible."

How incorrect indeed! Scribe sug-

How incorrect indeed! Scribe sugow incorrect indeed! Scribe suggested that an interested left party was trying to force Valkunthavasan out of the election for the office of President at this week-end's G.C.S.U. annual conference. Mr. Vaikunthavasan has now withdrawn his candidature. There are many who would like to know precisely why.

didature. There are many who would like to know precisely why.

It is also very strange how the "Forward". the Communist Party's official journal, of June 3. came to record the fact that "among those contesting for the post of President this time is the veteran trade unjonist of the public service" The "Forward" named the veteran but there was no mention of the other three candidates for the same post, not even Mr. Vaikunthavasan who in his book "Three months in China and Soviet Union" published by the People's Press. Maradana, was bubbling over with praise for the Chinase and Soviet way of life. In the same book commenting on Mr. Phillip Gunewardena's visit to the Soviet Union Mr. Vaikunthavasan says "I recalled the leader which I wrote in Peoples Voice acclaiming the United Front Agreement reached between his (Mr. Gunewardena's) party and the Ceylon Communist Party, in 1951, as the fulfilment of the common man's desire. I concluded by expressing our determination to widen and develop the united front already achieved into a powerful mass movement".

The same book carries this tribute from Mr. Vaikunthavasan: "I

powerful mass movement".

The same book carries this tribute from Mr. Vaikunthavasan: "I take this opportunity to salute and greet Stalin and pay my humble tributes for his epochmaking contributions towards the progress and happiness of mankind. Marx Engels, Lenin and Stalin are the four makers of the new world civilisation towards which humanity is marching with hope and confidence". There is more in this than meets the eye Perhaps Mr. Vaikuntnavasan will tell us after the annual conference.

#### **CEYLON DAILY NEWS**

24.1.66

## Nehru quits CP -and tells why

(By a "Daily News" reporter)

A leading member of the Ceylon Communist Party (Moscow Wing), Mr. C. Motilal Nehru, has resigned from the Party. Nearly 3000 supporters of the Party in three electorates in the Northern Province—Kankesantural, Udupiddy and Point Pedro—have severed all connections and affiliations with the CP (Moscow Wing).

Last week another prominent member of the Communist Party, Mr. K. Valkunthavasam, resigned his membership in pro-test at the party's communal

Mr. Nehru contested the Point Pedro seat at the last general election as a candidate of the Communist Party, while Mr. Vaikunthavasam contested the Kankesantural seat on the same ticket.

Valkunthavasam contested the Kankesantural seat on the same ticket.

Mr. Nehru told the "Daily News": "People in the North believed that the left parties would support any satisfactory solution to this vexed problem of language. But the recent actions of the left parties clearly indicate that they have completely aligned themselves with the communal line adopted by the Sri Lanka Freedom Party.

"The LSSP and the CP together obtained over twenty thousand votes in Northern Province electorates at the last elections. But they have shown no regard to the Tamils nor concern for any of the problems of the minorities. In these circumstances it is not possible for any member of the minority communities to remain in the Communist Party or any other Marxist Party", he said.

#### **CEYLON DAILY NEWS**

1953

# VODKA AND DANCING WAITRESSES

#### From Our Political Correspondent

EVEN some of the U.N.P. a propaganda booklet prepared stalwarts would smack their lips reading of the fun Ceylonese admirers of Stalinism at a farewell party given them in Moscow:

started at about 10 p.m. on December 7 went on till 4 a.m. Our friends and hosts who had been looking after us so well were all there—Zuzin, Zakharov, Chernov, Terechenko....

"Vodka was flowing that night. After the dinner there was dancing in which the waitresses also joined. Dancing continued till 4 in the morning. As we had to be at the Moscow airport by about 6. we thanked the waitresses for their love and kindness and said goodbye to them...."

The above passage is found in this

by Mr. K. Vaikunthavasan 'who once edited a newsheet labelled "People's Voice" which was deand frolics enjoyed by a set of nounced by the N.L.S.S.P. journal as a Stalinist paper. Mr. Vaikunthavasan was one of the delegates to the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference held "A farewell party, which by the Communists at Peking in October. 1952. The author mentions the delegation: Rev. Narawils Dhammaratans, S. D. Bandaranaike (Sri Lanks Freedom Party), N. Sanmugathasan (Communist Party), D. P. R. Guna-wardene and C. Hikkeduwage (V.L.S.S.P.), Edmund Samarakkody and Dr. Hector Fernando (N.L.S.S.P.), H. G. S. Ratnaweera (Communist Party) and Mr. and Mrs. Vaikunthavasan. From Peking some of them moved on to Moscow where they had the vodks and dancing farewell party.

It is interesting to note that propaganda document is dedicated to "Those forces that brought about the recent Ceylon-China Trade Agreement.

At the Moscow farewell party the former Father of Trotskyism in Ceylon had done a neat job praising Stalinism. Here is what Mr. Vaikunthavasan writes glowingly:

"Philip made a most spirited speech. No one, I think, who had visited the Soviet Union could have made a more convincing speech. He paid handsome tributes to the Government for the remarkable manner in which it had improved the conditions of the ordinary workers. He enumerated his experiences and expressed his firm conviction that the Soviet people were against war; that they were passionately working for world peace. Referring to conditions in Ceylon, he said that the progressive forces were gaining ground and declared that before long Ceylon would have a Peoples Government."

Good old Trotsky must have been turning in his grave all this while.

In Communist China too the Ceylonese delegates had sumptuously wined and dined. At one of these banquets presided over by Mao Tse-tung himself, Mr. Valkunthavasan has almost had an emotional crisis:

"After some time I managed to leave my place and go near Chairman Mao. I looked at his face and felt greatly inspired and overjoyed. Chou En-lai came up to each table and proposed a toast. When he passed me, Ratnaweers and I followed him from table to table, listening to his toasts and drinking. It looked as if we were covering him! ....

Well, with vodka and dancing waitresses who would not like to go to Moscow?



With PHILIP GUNAWARDENE. N SANMUGATHASAN & S D BANDARANAIKE MP, Moscow, 1952

#### TIMES OF CEYLON

1956

# THE RETURN OF THE SACKED MEN



MR. GLADSTONE AMA-RASEKERA, dismissed president of the AU-Island Conference of Public Service Trade Unions, being

garlanded by Mr. O. W. Chickera. president of the Customs Officers' Union. when Mr. Amarasekera resumed duties this morning.



R. K. VAIKUNTHAVA-SAN (left), another dismissed trade unionist, being greeted by a friend at the Petrol Control Department where he resumed duties today.



Mr. Vaikunthavasan was dismissed in August, 1950, when he was general secretary of the GCSU, and First Secretary of the All-Island Conference of Public Service Trade Unions.

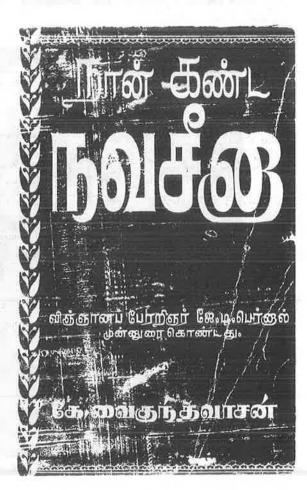


On the occasion of the unveiling of LORD MacMILLAN'S portrait by PRINCE CHARLES MacMILLAN himself was present (1985)





Personal invitations to Mr & Mrs VAIKUNTHAVASAN for the Moscow Celebrations



#### THE CEYLON DAILY NEWS 17.9.67

### Point of view

By K. Vaikunthavasan

# Is Krishna Menon a right-wing communist?

1968

MR. V. K. KRISHNA MENON'S otherwise brilliant and scintillating speeches made at Colombo during the past few days have left a number of us confused on one very important matter.

fused on one very important matter.

His answers to specific questions have made us only more confounded.

The halo built round him as the indomitable fighter (with London as his Headquarters) for Indian Independence, from within the enemy camp itself, the subtle display of his encyclopaedic knowledge and experience gained through years of his intellectual domination at the United Nations General Assembly debates, have made some of us gullible enough to accept uncritically the arguments he puts forward.

When public issues are involved, no one should withhold criticism on the ground that it might cause embarassment to certain persons.

His answer

To my specific question at the end of his address on "Problems of Asia today", delivered by Mr. Menon at the meeting of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Association, held at the Co-operative Federation Hall, Kollupitiya, on September 10 as to why the USSR did not go to the aid of the Arabs when they were attacked by Israel this year, he answered that Russia wanted to avoid a Third World War.

He went further and picked up the legal position that there was no commitment or treaty of any kind obliging Russia to help the Arabs.

Soviet declaration

#### Soviet declaration

Soviet declaration

Even if there were no legal commitments under International Law, how about Russia claiming to be an Asian Country, standing for Afro-Asian Solidarity, and still not helping members of Afro-Asia? But the fact is that the Soviet Union on 25.5.67 i.e. ten days before the Israel aggression against the Arabs, declared that any attack on the Arab World would meet with Soviet rebuff. But when the aggression did come Russia did nothing. And Mr. Menon justifies it!

#### Nonsense

No one requires to be reminded of the horrors of an Atomic War. But in the course of his speech on September 10. Mr. Menon unduly exaggerated the dangers and frightened the audience how within minutes of the Atom Bomb being dropped by the

Americans on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, nearly half the population in these two Japanese cities were wiped out in the last world war. But surely Mr. Menon knows that the casualties were so high because the Japanese had no defence plans against atomic attack as it was the first time. It is nonsense to say that there is no defence against A' Bombs. The Chinese Scientists have found defence devices to reduce destruction.

If the numbers of the dead in this atomic bombing were to frighten us, then what about the millions of lives destroyed by Hitler and Musolini in the same world war before the first Atom Bomb was used?

As against the numbers

was used?

was used?
As against the numbers who perished in wars, if a count is taken of the numbers who undergo slow death due to starvation. malnutrition, lack of adequate health facilities in capitalist countries, then indeed the figure of the dead would be immensely more.

#### Clean bombs!

The only difference is whereas in an atomic war thousands die simultaneously, at other times many more thousands die, but at inter-

In the atomic armaments race, when Russia announced that she too had improved her atomic bomb, an American leader is reported to have commented. "But our Bombs are clean ones" Khrushchev retorted. "What does it matter whether you are killed by a clean bomb or one which is not so clean?".

Likewise what does it matter whether you are killed by starvation or by an Atom

Bomb? Millions in India and other countries are dying of starvation and famine espe-cially, in parts of Bihar in India, where, for several months, districts much big-ger than Ceylon, have been officially declared as famine areas.

There will be no peace in the Middle East until Pales-tine is liberated and handed back in Toto to the Palestine Arabs, the rightful owners of that country.

## THE CEYLON DAILY NEWS Point of view

# Caste war in

IN the present "war" against the caste system still persisting in North Ceylon, the question is not who are behind the struggle for Social Justice but who are opposed to it. And why they are opposing it, except in name.

The simple truth is that no Tamil leader will dare to justify the continuance of the monstrous caste discrimination still prevailing among the Jaffna Tamils.

On the other hand, the Tamil party leaders, afraid of the "high caste" Tamils to whom they largely owe their present position, merely paid lip-service to the removal of social disability.

But realising that mere lip-

gion never approved of caste discrimination.

With the coming into force With the coming into force of the Prevention of Social Disabilities Act, public opinion forced a few Hindu Temples in Jaffna to be opened to all Hindus. The hope that others too would follow this lead did not materialise and now we find that this caste discrimination has resulted in 'Open War'.

#### By K. Vaikunthavasan

service and soft words will not service and soft words will not solve the age old problem, the first Bandaranaike Government went into action and placed the Prevention of Social Disabilities Act in the statute Book in 1957.

Prosecutions for open violations of the Act were dalayed for ten long years. It was only this year that the first prosecutions were—launched.

#### Offence

In the Point Pedro Magistrate's Courts, two "Brahamin" priests were charged with the offence of preventing a person belonging to the "Palla" caste, "from entering and worshipping at the Selva Sannathy Temple at Thorda-niannar in Jaffina, and thus impose a special disability and thereby committed an offence punishable under Section 2 read with Section 3 (b) of the Preventon of So-cial Disabilities Act No. 21 of

The accused were convicted and fined Rs. 100/- in default one month's rigorous imprisonment.

It is tragic that the caste system should persist in this age among the Tamil people whose true culture and reli-

In the wake of the reform movement in India led by the Indian National Congress and Indian National Congress and the Latina Mahathma Ganchi, the Jafina Youth Congress led by Mr. Handy Perinpanayaram, the late Mr. Bahayanderam. M.P. and others launched an agitation in Jaffna around the 1930 for the removal of the caste system.

Since the efforts by the Youth Congress, the present struggle in Jaffna is the first time that a determined and bold struggle is taking place by those oppressed people for elementary human rights. It does not help the cause to sidetrack the issue by stating that some interested political party is behind it. Naturally those who stand for Social Equality will lend them support.

#### Depressed

Instead of alleging that the so-called depressed class people are being misled by the communists, the simple and obvious course for all decent and right-thinking people is to ensure that all the temples and tea boutiques are opened peacefully before it is too late.



# SERVING ZAMBIA A 'NEW EXPERIENCE'

— Mr. K. Vaikuntha-vasan, 54, gave up his 10-year-cid law practice in Sri Lanka in 1971 and accepted an ap-pointment as a Senior Resident Magistrate in Zambia "so I could gain new experience and see new experience and see a new part of the world nat is rapidly." developing

He accepted the appointment by the Judicial Service Commission of Zambia for three years

and renewed it last year for another three

Mr. Vaikunthavasan sald he has not had a moment's regret since the day he made up his mind to go to Africa.

He is here for the Com-mcnwealth magistrates conference which start-ed yesterday.

He is a magistrate in Kasama, the capital of the biggest province of Zambia —Northern Province-which has a population of four-anda-half million people.

Zambia has 80 magi-strates and 11 judges and is developing very rapidly.

Mr. Vaikunthavasan said Ir. Valkunthavasan said in the words of Lord Denning, Master of Rolls, of England, Africa is no longer a sleeping giant. It has awakened and will play a very significant role in world affairs.

He said Zambia which got its independence in 1964 appointed its first Zambian Chief Justice recently

INDIA WEEKLY

20 Feb 1987

## **India Abroad**

#### UK urged to adopt 'more liberal policy' on Lanka **Tamils**

At a largely attended public meeting held last Saturday at St Augustine's Church Hall, Tooting, a strong plea was made to the British Government to adopt "a more liberal policy" with regard to the problems of the Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka. Mr S D Balarajah presided.

The meeting was held under the auspices of the South London Tamil Welfare Group. Prominent personalities attended, including Mr Martin Ennals of the International Alert and of the International Emergency Committee on Sri Lanka, Mr Martin Barber, Director of the British Refugee Council, and Mrs Mary Dines, civil rights campaigner.

Mr Ennals, who is a former Secretary General of Amnesty International, visited Sri Lanka recently to study the Tamil residents' problems there at first hand.

He told the meeting that India held the key in the solution of the problem of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

Mr Barber strongly criticised the British Government for adopting a policy of bureaucratic delays as one way of discouraging "immigrants" from the Indian subcontinent.

The meeting adopted the following resolution, moved by Mr Krishna Vaikunthav-asan: "This public meeting appeals to the British Government to respond effectively to the urgent plea made by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for help in solving the Tamils' problems by adopting a more liberal and humane policy. People are forced to flee countries such as Sri Lanka where the ethnic crisis has now taken new dimensions with the



Afro-Asian Solidarity – The Author and other Heads of Departments welcoming President Kaunda on his visit to KASAMA, the capital of the Northern Province in ZAMBIA

#### SUNDAY TIMES, COLOMBO

#### 11.5.75 300 Ceylonese families in Zambia

THERE are over 300 families from Sri Lanka in Zambia and most of them are employed as doctors, accountants engineers stenographers etc. ac. cording to Mr. K. Vaikunthavasan, a former General Secretary of the Government Clerical Service Union who is now a District Judge in Zambia.

fourth Commonwealth Magis-

is now a District Judge in Zambia.

He told "The Gunday Times" that as Zambia was 16 times the size of Sri Lanka and the Ceylonese were scattered all over the country, it was difficult to know exactly how many Ceylonese were in the country. The estimate of 300 families was a conservative estimate.

Mr. Valkunthavasan said Zambia's climate was among the best in the world—a plateau 3,000 to 9,000 feet above sea level.

Mr. Valkunthavasan who is Mr. Valkunthavasan who is Mr. Valkunthavasan who is Sri Lanka it is understood that more delegates from Sri Lanka will attend the fourth Commonwealth Magis-

renewed determination of the Sri Lankan Government to liquidate the Tamils by unleashing more and more military power against them.

'The meeting appeals to the British Government to bring adequate pressure on the Sri Lankan Government with a view to minimising the severe sufferings and hardships endured by the Sri Lankan Tamils as a result of the inhuman measures adopted by the Sri Lankan authorities such as a stoppage of fuel, food and even medical suppleis to the Tamil areas.'

Another resolution called upon the British immigration authorities to release the Sri Lankan Tamils held in detention centres in London for several months.

LONDON

# TIMES

EMINENT BRITISH SUPPORT FROM 1976

#### Tamils of Sri Lanka

From Sir John Foster, QC, and others

Sir, Few know that a fifth of the people of Sri Lanka (Ceylon) has gradually, over twenty years, been deprived of political rights and now faces the relegation to second-class status of its language. The Tamila of Ceylon have inhabited the north of that island for over two thousand years and always, till the British came, have formed a separate community, separately governed.

Now, on February 4, a Resolution is being put in the Sri Lanka Assembly calling for a separate state for the Tamils. It has the support of a wide range of Tamil opinion, including many of the most moderate and responsible Tamil spokes-

These people fear that their attempt to recover what they regard as their historic right may be used as an excuse for physical attacks and mass arrests. They have suffered violence and repression on several occasions since Sri Lanka gained independence.

We do not presume to tell the Government of Sri Lanka their business. But we can assure them that they will gain the respect of the world if they handle these demands in the spirit of some other Commonwealth countries that have been faced by demands for devolution, such as Canada and the United Kingdom.

If, on the other hand, violent repression is used against the Tamils, we hope that every British person who has relations with Sri Lanka, including our Government and the business community, will make their disapproval known, possibly by a trade boycott.

We, the undersigned, have formed ourselves into a committee to express British interest in the Tamils of Sri Lanka. We greatly hope that the Government of that state will fulfil the hopes of those who think best of them.

Yours faithfully, JOHN FOSTER, DAVID ASTOR, ROBERT BIRLEY, G. MICHAEL SCOTT, 2 Hare Court, Temple, EC4. January 1976

#### OCTOBER 1983

#### **London Murasu**

#### **REV. MICHAEL SCOTT**





Rev. Michael Scott, popularly known as 'Reverend' by the Eelam Tamils passed away on 14th September '83 peacefully. A great friend of Tamil Eelam, his life was spent mostly on the side of the Oppressed. He fought for the Indigenous South Africans, Namibians and the Eelam Tamilians.

- S. Maharasingham (Tamil Action Committee UK)

01-286 0224

9 CAVENDISH AVENUE, LONDON, NW8 9JD.

14th June, 1976

Dear Mr. Vaikunthavasan,

May I, on behalf of the London Committee of Friends of the Tamils, thank you for your generous donation to the fund to defend the Tamils of Sri Lanka. Your support is appreciated by all concerned.

I will certainly ask Sir John Foster for a copy of the Petition he prepared and presented to the Queen in 1963, and will forward this to you, together with additional copies of the appeal letter.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Dand Asta

E. Vaikunthavasan, Esq., PO Box 135,

PO BOX 133

Kitwe,

Zambia.

01-286 0224.

9 CAVENDISH AVENUE, LONDON, NW8 9JD.

17th February, 1978

# Indo-Ceylon Federation

Dear Mr. Vaikunthavasan,

Thank you for your letter enclosing your big statement on the Indo-Ceylon federation idea. I have been discussing this thesis with Michael Scott. We feel you may agree that it would be more suitable to try to launch this idea after you have had an opportunity to discuss it with various other of your fellow Tamils abroad and, best of all, with some of the leaders of your community at home. Without some discussion and the obtaining of a degree of support, it is difficult to see how the idea could be presented in terms of its political significance. No doubt you have been thinking of these matters yourself. If you would care to discuss them further with Michael Scott, he would be very willing to go into them with you.

You will appreciate that it is also very difficult to get our major newspapers to publish letters, unless they are attached to some important recent event and preferably are signed by people with some representative position. I am not saying that if your Indo-Ceylon federation idea gets going you will not be able to use the letter columns of our newspapers to discuss it. But I don't think that it would be possible to achieve this until the idea had been accepted by a substantial body of opinion, preferably amongst the Tamils of both communities, and perhaps had some Indian support. I realise that all this may seem a long way off, but I think it would be unrealistic to suggest that newspapers here would be willing to ventilate such an idea until it had been shown to have some support in the field.

If you recall, the one point on which I thought I should be able to get some newspaper interest in your story at this time concerned the fact of your own personal situation and those of others like you. I don't think it is generally known that Tamils with professional training are having to leave Ceylon to look for work in English-speaking countries, simply because their own language can no longer be used for official business at home. I am trying to get a former colleague at The Observer to contact you on this subject and hope to achieve this.

I am sorry not to be able to be more encouraging on the pace of advance of your major idea.

#### THE TIMES (LONDON)

#### TUESDAY SEPTEMBER 20 1977

#### Race conflict in Ceylon

From Sir John Foster, QC. and

Sir, A tragedy is taking place in Sri Lanka: the political conflict following on the recent election is turning into a racial massacre. It is esti-mated by reliable sources that between 250 and 300 Tamil citizens have lost their lives and over 40,000

between 250 and 300 Tamil citizeus have lost their lives and over 40,000 have been made homeless. Limitation on travel is making it hard for correspondents in Sri Lanka to let the world know what is happening.

The Tamils are a community of over two million who flourished under the British, but have suffered discrimination since. They have now lost confidence in their treatment by the Sinhalese majority and are calling for a restoration of their separate national status, which they had for many centuries before the British came. At the last elections, the Tamil party advocating a separate state gained overwhelming majorities in all Tamil districts. This, no doubt, triggered off the murders, which are said to have been committed either by police acting without orders or with the connivance of the police

At a time when the West is awake to the evils of racialism, the racial persecution of the Tamils and denial of their human rights should not pass without protest. The British

of their human rights should not pass without protest. The British have a special obligation to protest, as these cultivated people were put at the mercy of their neighbours less than thirty years ago by the British government. They need our attention and support.

tion and support.
Yours faithfully,
JOHN FOSTER,
DAVID ASTOR,
ROBERT BIRLEY,
LOUIS BLOM-COOPER,
JAMES FAWCETT,
DINGLE FOOT,
MICHAEL SCOTT,
2 Hare Court 2 Hare Court, Temple, FC4.

form Jinicely

DAVID ASTOR



PONDICHERRY, 1980.



# UNITED NATIONS

## GENERAL ASSEMBLY



#### **PROVISIONAL**

A/33/PV.22 5 October 1978

**ENGLISH** 

#### Thirty-third Session

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY

#### PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWENTY-SECOND MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York, on Thursday, 5 October 1978, at 10.30 a.m.

President:

#### Mr. LIEVANO

(Colombia)

- -Address by His Excellency Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, President of the Republic of Cyprus
- -Address by His Excellency Mr. Henck A.E. Arron, Prime Minister of the Republic of Surinam

-General debate [9] (continued)
"Speech by Krishna (Tamil Eelam)"
Statement by Mr. Hameed (Sri Lanka)

#### **INDIA ABROAD**

Lanka Tamilian
in U.N. Protest
Grabs
General Assembly
Rostrum

UNITED NATIONS, (Reuter)—A member of the Tamil ethnic minority in Sri Lanka seized the General Assembly rostrum October 5 and tried to denounce that nation's government just as its Foreign Minister was about to address the 150-nation body.

But the microphone was cut off after he had uttered only a few sentences and he was led away by security guards.

The interloper identified himself to startled delegates only as "Krishna" and said he came from the "two-and-a-half million strong Tamil Ilam nation lying between India and Sri Lanka." "The Sri Lanka Sinhala Government is continuing a policy of genocide," he declared. His microphone went dead at that point.

Earlier, he said: "If oppressed nations, minority nations, such as Tamil llam cannot make representations to this supreme body, then where are we to go? Please allow me to speak for one minute."

Sri Lanka Foreign Minister Shaul-Hameed, taking the incident lightly, began his speech by saying: "I wish to thank the previous speaker who tried to steal my opportunity and thereby create a little sensation."

After the interloper was questioned, a U.N. spokesman identified him as F.K. Vaikunthauasam and said he was a Sri Lanka-born former judge who was now practising law in London.

He was said to have eluded any check on his identity before entering the assembly hall by mingling with a group of delegates.

Once inside, he took a seat at the side of the chamber used by diplomats and their guests and hurried to the podium when the Sri Lanka Foreign Minister was called to deliver his address.

The U.N. spokesman said he would be "escorted out of the building and told not to come back."

Vaikunthauasam told reporters he had come to the U.S. to attend the annual convention of the American Bar Association in New York in August and had stayed on to publicize the Tamil cause.

He said he wanted a separate Tamil state on his island which might then be affiliated to India "where the Tamils have many more rights."

He rejected the Sinhala name Sri Lanka, he said, as part of a move to make the island into a "Sinhala theocratic state."

After the interview, which took place in the public entrance to the U.N., security guards hurried him away.

#### REUTER REPORT OF THE INCIDENT

1978

#### United Nations

0268/1 ZCZC NYB 344

UU LJP YAS NOR

1250:Assembly-Tamil:

United Nations, Oct. 5, Reuter- A member of the Tamil ethnic minority in Sri Lanka seized the General Assembly rostrum today and tried to denounce that nation so government just as its foreign minister was about to address the 150-nation body.

But the microphone was cut off afer he had uttered only a few sentences and he was led away by security guards.

The interloper identified himself to startled delegates only as "Krishna" and said he came from the "Two-and-a-half-million strong Tamil Ilam Nation lying between India and Sri Lanka."

"The Sri Lanka Sinhala government is continuing a policy of genocide," he declared. His microphone went dead at that point.

0268/L ZCZ6

ZCZC NYB 180

UU LJP YAS NOR

1258: Assembly-Tamil 2 United Nations:

Sri Lanka foreign minister Shaul Hameed, taking the incident lightly, began his speech by saying: "I wish to thank the previous speaker who tried to steal my opportunity and thereby create a little sensation.

It was the second unusual incident at the assembly rostrum so far this session.

On September 26 Soviet foreign minister Andrei Gromyko became ill while addressing the U. N. body and was assisted out of the hall by aides.

After resting for about an hour in the assembly president's office, he returned to finish his speech, complaining that the lights in the gold and blue chamber were "very, very hot."

03

ZCZC NYB 187

UU LJP YAS NOR

1333: Assembly-Tamil 3 United Nations NYA 180

After the interloper was questioned, a U.N. spokesman identified him as K. Vaikunthavasam and said he was a Sri Lanka-born former judge who was now practising law in London.

His London address was not available.

He was said to have eluded any check on his identity before entering the assembly hall by mingling with a group of delegates.

Once inside, he took a seat at the side of the chamber used by diplomats and their guests and hurreid to the podium when the Sri Lanka foreign minister was called to deliver his address.

The U.N. spokesman said he would be "escorted out of the building and told not to come back."

Earlier this week, Mr. Vaikunthavasam told a reporter he had come to the U.S. to attend the annual convention of the American Bar Association in N.Y. in August and had stayed on to publicise the Tamil cause.

:: Reuter AG



# U.N. TIGHTENS ITS SECURITY

After 'Eelam' intruder seized rostrum

#### BY OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

NEW YORK, Oct. 6: Tight security measures were brought into force at the UN Headquarters here today following an attempt by a Sri Lankan to interrupt Foreign Minister Mr. A. C. S. Hameed when he rose to address the General Assembly.

Credentials of all delegates are now being closely examined before they are permitted to enter.

Thursday's episode where a man, later identified as K. Vaikunthavasan, walked upto the podium and began to read a statement denouncing the Government, has created a security poser for UN authorities.

#### SMUGGLED HIMSELF IN

The intruder who smuggled himself into the UN lobbies startled delegates when he rushed to the podium in the General Assembly. This came when Mr. Homeed was called upon by the President of the General Assembly to speak.

Hardly had the intruder read a few sentences from the statemen!, when UN officials switched off the public address system. Security guards escorted him out.

An earlier report from Reuter states: A member of the Tamil ethnic minority in Sri Lanka seized the General Assembly rostrum yesterday and tried to denounce that nation's



Government just as its Foreign Minister was about to address the 150-nation body.

But the microphone was cut off after he had uttered only

a few sentences and he was led away by security guards.

The interloper identified himself to startled delegates only as "Krishna" and said he came from the "two-and-a-half million strong Tamil Eelam nation lying between India and

Sri Lanka."

"The Sri Lanka Sinhala Government is continuing a pricy of genocide," he declared. His microphone went dead at that point.

Earlier, he said: "If oppressed nations, minority nations, such as Tamil Eelam cannot make representations to this esentations to this Please allow me to speak for one minute."

#### HAMEED TAKES IT LIGHTLY

Sri Lanka Foreign Minister A. C. S. Hameed, taking the incident lightly, began his speech by saying: "I wish to thank the previous speaker who tried to steal my opportunity and thereby create a liftle sensation."

It was the second unusual incident at the Assembly ros-

trum so far this session.

On September 26 Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko became ill while addressing the UN body and was assisted out

of the hall by aides.

After resting for about an hour in the Assembly Presiden's office, he returned to finish his speech complaining that the lights in the gold and blue chamber were "very, very hot".

After the interloper was questioned, a UN spokesman identified him as . K. Vaikunthavasam and said he was a Sri Lanka-born former Judge who was now practising Law in London, His London address was not available.

He was said to have eluded any check on his identity before entering the Assembly Hall by mingling with a group of delegates.

Once inside the took a seat at the side of the Chamber used by diplomats and their guests and hurried to the Podium when the Sri Lanka Foreign Minister was called to deliver his address.

The UN spokesman said he would be "escorted out of the building and told not to come back.'

Earlier this week, Mr. Valkunthavasam told a reporter he had come to the US to attend the annual convention of the American Bar Association in New York in August and had stayed on to publicise the Tamil cause.

The Chicago-based Bar Association confirmed that he had been a registered participant.

In a later interview, Mr. Vaikunthavasan, who has been living in the College Lood area of London, said he was a Judge in Zambia from 1971 to 1976.

the said he wanted a separate Tamit state on his island which might then be affiliated to India "where the Tamils have many more rights."

He rejected the Sinhala name Sri Lanka, he said, as part of a move to make the island into a "Sinhala theocratic state".

After the interview, which took place in the public entrance

to the UN, security guards again hurried him away.

#### **CEYLON DAILY NEWS**

7.10.1978

# Rostrum 'thief' marched out of UN Assembly

PTC-Reuter

UNITED NATIONS, priday. A member of the Tamil ethnic minerity in Sri Lanka seized the General Assembly Rostrum yesterday and tried to denounce that nation's Government just as its Foreign Minister was about to address the 150-nation body.

But the microphone was cub off after he had uttered only a few sentences and he was led away by security guards.

The interloper identified himself to startled delegates only as "Krishna" and said he came from the "two-and-a-half million strong Tamil Eelam nation lying between India and Sri Lanka."

"The Sri Lanka Sinhala Government is continuing a policy of genocide," he declared. His microphone went dead at that, point,

Earlier, he said: "If oppressed nations, minority nations such as Tamil Belam cannot make representations to this supreme body, then where are we to go? Please allow me to speak for one minute."

Sri Lanka Foreign Minister A. C. S. Hameed, taking the incident lightly, began his speech by saying: "I wish to thank the previous speaker who tried to steal my opportunity and thereby create a little sensation"

It was the second unusual incident at the Assembly rostrum so far this session.

On September 26 Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko became ill while addressing the U.N. body and was assisted out of the hall by aides.

After resting for about an hour in the Assembly President's office, he returned to finish his speech, complaining that the lights in the gold and blue chamber were, 'very very hot."

A U.N spokesman identified him as E. K. Vaikunthayasam and said he was a Sri Lankaborn former judge who was now practising law in London

His London address was not available.

He was said to have eluded any check on his identity before entering the Assembly hall by mingling with a group of delegates.

Once, inside, he took a seat at the side of the chamber used by Diplomats and their guests and hurried to the podium when the Sri Lanka Foreign Minister was called to deliver his address.

The U.N. spokesman said he would be "escorted out of the building and told not to come back."

Earlier this week, Mr. Vaikunthavasam told a reporter he had come to the U.S. to attend the annual convention of the American Bar Association in New York but had stayed or to publicise the Tamil cause.

The Chicago-based Bar Association confirmed that he had been a registered participant.

In a later interview Mr. valkunthavasan who appeared to be in his 50's said he was a judge in Zambia from 1971 to 1976.

He said he wanted a separate Tamil State on his island which might then be affiliated to India "where the Tamils have many more rights."

He rejected the Sinhala name Sri Lanka, he said, as part of a move to make the island into a "Sinhala theocratic state."

After the interview, which took place in the public entrance to the U.N. security guards again hurried him away

#### **STRAITS TIMES**

SINGAPORE, 6.10.1978

## IMPOSTER ON ROSTRUM AL THE U.N. ASSEMBLY

UNITED NATIONS, Fri.

The speaker was the Foreign Minister from Sri Lanka. At least they thought he was — until, rather undiplomatically, he started accusing in the started a

thought he was — until, rather undiplomatically, he started accusing in of "mass genocide." It dawned upon someone that a mistake had been made. The microphones were quickly cut off. The security men moved in.

The stocky, balding man was not Foreign Minister A.C.S. Hameed at all, but an imposter, who looked enough like him to have somehow gained the podium at the \$3rd U.N./General Assembly yesterday.

As the unidentified in-

As the unidentified intruder rambled on, two U.N. security men stepped to his side, one gently taking him by the arm, the other grabbing his speech, and wadding it into a ball.

Out of the door, the

imposter was hustled, and the real Mr A.C.S. Hameed stepped up. "I wish to thank the

"I wish to thank the previous speaker," he said with a smile, "who tried to steal my opportunity and thereby create a little sensation..."

The whole episode lasted about two minutes — just long enough to bring a rare smile to the normally sombre chamber. — UPI.

38

# DIPLOMATIC WOR

DELEGATES WORLD BULLETIN

DEDICATED TO SERVING THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

VOL. 8 NO. 16

New York City

\$1.00 per copy

**OCTOBER 9, 1978** 

## diplomatic pouch

Delogates who understand Russian suspected something was amiss with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko when he began sturring a word or two sherily before he kneled over at the rostrum. Whatever it was that alied the vetoran Bolshevik not explained. Soviet medical staff worked over him in the General Assembly president's office behind the podium, declined help from U.N. doctors. Miracle of modern medical science. Gramyko ceturned to the rostrucia in strang vice to science, Gromyko returned to the rostrum in strong voice to complete his address. He blamed the hot lights in the Assembly hall for his indisposition.

Apparently, these are needed for color TV. Under-Secretary-General William B. Buffum ordered the lights turned down a bit after the Gromyko Incident. There have been other complaints from delegates. Former Soviet Ambassador Yakov A. Malik often wore dark glasses because the bright. Lights bethered him. bright lights bothered him.

#### Impassioned 2 minute appeal

Ace UPI fotog Joel Landau got great pictures of Gromyko leaning heavily on security men who dashed to his aid when he suddenly turned ashen and grabbed the desk for support. Both Time and Newsweek printed Landau's pix.

That other General Assembly incident, of the phoney "foreign minister" of Sri Lanka, more amusing. How the London barrister Krishna & Vaikunthayasam ever managed to reach the rostrum to deliver his impassioned two-minute appeal in behalf of Sri Lanka's Tamil minority still a mystery. As soon as President Indalecto Liveano realized Valkunthayasam was not the real foreign minister, Sahul Hameed, a switch was thrown cutting off the imposter's microphone and guards hustled him out of the hall. Hameed treated the Incident with typical good humor, saying: "I wish to thank the previous speaker who tried to steal my opportunity and thereby create a little sensation."

### **FOREWOR**

to the book.

Tamil Eelam Nation and U.N.O.

Mr Krishna Vaikunthavasan is well known in Ceylon as one of the fore-runners of Trade Unionism among the public servants. As the General Secretary of the Government Clerical Service Union (GCSU) he played a significant role in the victories won by the marxist parties in the early years of Independence after 1948.

This publication, coming from the pen of a person with this background, should serve as an eye-opener to anyone who may yet be dreaming of living in unity with the Sinhalese. Mr Vaikunthavasan has very succinctly brought out the case for selfdetermination for the Eelam Tamil Nation and the need for Tamil national liberation from the Sinhala neo-colonialists.

The pressing need of the hour is publicity among the nations of the world for the Tamil cause. Mr Vaikunthavasan placed Tamil Eelam on the map of the world when he took the podium of the UN General Assembly before the Foreign The Tamil Nation owes a debt of gratitude to Mr Vaikunthavasan for that master stroke and for continuing to play his part in propagating the Tamil demand through this publication. It is up to the nation to use his ability, courage, and untiring efforts for the achievement of its Freedom.



Mr Amirthalingam

25 October 1978

A AMIRTHALINGAM MP Secretary General **TULF** 

# VAIKUN FIRES-U.N. ROCKET

Did Krishna Vaikunthavasan the Ceylonese who created history at the United Nation Assembly by being the first - ever uninvited, gate-crashing non - delegate to speak from the speakers podium have an accredited foreign delegate as an accomplice.?

Those who held office at the United Nations like Sir Senerat Gunawardene, Sri Lanka's U. N. Ambassador from 1955 - 58 and who helmed the Human Rights Commission among other U. N. assignments, maintain that security arragements are so tight that sneaking past the security

cordon is near impossible without help from other delegates.

"I know the workings of the U.N. office very well because of my close association with the U.N." said Sir Senerath, "I am almost positive Vaikunthavasan could not have got into the dele-

gate's seats without any help.

U. N. attendance averages nearly 750 delegates at each session. This is worked out on the basis of five delegates to each of the 150 member nations. So that Vaikunthavasan who was earlier a judge in Zambia, representing that country at two Commonwealth Magistrates Conferences in Nairobi in August, 1973 and again in Kuala Lumpur in August, 1975, had contacts in all the African countries as well as outside.

#### **ACCOMPLICE**

Speculation points to the accomplice being from the Afro-Arab bloc which along with Asia dominates the U.N. Vaikunthavasan was also a Marxist. Whoever his accomplice was both friend and foe admit that Vaikunthavasan's spectacular U.N. raid had the same publicity impact as a hijacking, whatever cause it espoused.

It is pointed out that in 32 years of U-N. existence (its first meeting was in Jan. 1946) no radical organization like the P. L. O., or the I. R. A. or the Red Guard or even the Baader-Meinhoff urban guerillas had attempted such a daring means of focussing world attention on a national problem,

"Vaikunthavasan," said a political commentator, "has achieved much more for the Tamil cause by way of international publicity in his three minute raid on the U. N. microphone than the T. U. L. F. has so far done." He was besieged by newspapermen from all countries represented at the U.N. Understandably T. V. interviews would also have followed

#### BLAZE

The blaze of global publicity for the Tamils that Vaikunthavasan's UN outburst switched on has embarrassed the Sri Lanka Government considerably. The President was first informed of the

incident by a telephone call, followed by a telexed report from Sri Lanka's Foreign Minister, the ever-smiling Mr. A. C. S. Hameed. Since then Acting Foreign Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe has been in touch with Sri Lanka's U. N. Office in New York for follow-up action.

The immediate impact of this incident on Sri Lanka is that it is being construed as bad publicity for the Free Trade Zone, the king-pin in this Government's development scheme. Government is worried that this will put the clock back on the work now being done.

Apart from the FTZ, the attitude of the World Bank and other donor countries could suffer from the outburst at the UN.

But apart from being embarrassed and angry, what can the Sri Lanka Government do about the cluse of all this trouble — Krishna Vaikunthavasan? They will find it difficult to have him extradited from USA — if he is still there—or from Britain, where he resides.

Legal eagles here say that Vaikunthavasan has not violated any known law. In any case, they argue that the Government will not risk any more publicity on the Vaikunthavasan issue,

# DAVID ASTOR – described 'as the greatest British Editor of the post-war era'

01-286 02234.

9 CAVENDISH AVENUE, LONDON, NW8 9JD.

18th December, 1978

#### Hon. DAVID ASTOR, Editor of the Observer, London, regrets . . . .

Dear Mr. Vasan,

Thank you very much for letting me see a copy of the speech that you delivered at the UN. I regret that the British press did not report it at the time. As they failed to do that, it would be extremely unlikely that they could be persuaded to publish it at this late date.

I am sorry to say that the book pages do not review purely political books of this kind, which are either treated as news or not at all.

I am, however, sending a copy of your speech to the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) where I hope that it will be made available to students of such affairs as this. As you probably know, Chatham House is much frequented by journalists and Government officials and is by no means just an academic institution.

All best wishes,

- 41

David asta

John Sincerely

K. Vaikuntha Vasan, Esq.,
55 Warren Road,
Colliers Wood,
London, SW19 2HY.

#### THE INDEPENDENT

October 13th 1978

#### VAIKUNS - THE VOLATILE

Who is this Krishna Vaikunthavasan the man who created history at the U.N?

was born and educated in Jaffna. Like most Jaffna Tamils of that generation he sailed into the Government Clerical Service, ruffling the usual serenity of that service with his trade union activities.

Says veteran Trade Unionist and present Chairman of the Pal nyrah Corporation, K. C. Nythianantha "Vaikuns, vas a very ebullient and lovable fellow. But we never knew where we stood with him. He was volatile though a great fighter. He was General Secretary of the G. C. S. U. (1947-5)) when I was President."

Nythi recalls how "Vaikuns" received his first baptism of fire in trade union politics. He had moved a resolution which threatened to cleave union unity. After macing a fighting speech he withdrew the resolution and vas promptly rewarded with a drizzle of eggs by those he deserted.

"He was a born head-line maker," states Nythi, resollecting how when Vaikuns was Editor of the Red Tape, the G.C.S. U. organ, he was charge-sheeted for publishing an anti-Government article. Defending himself at the enquiry, he deried authorship. He was acquitted but promptly admitted he was the author. For this transgression, he was sacked in 1953.

From 1951-53 Vaikuns edited the only Weekly of that time "People's Voice". Joining the Marxist forces he travelled, accompanied by his wife to China and Russia as delegate to the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference in Peking in 1952 and the World Peace Conference in Vienna also in 1952.

Vaikuns then turned lawyer in 1963, practising as an advocate in Sri Lanka for 10 years till 1971. He took a dip in politics contesting the KKS seat in 1965 as the U. L. F. candidate.

From the Sri Lanka Bar, he took a leap to the Zambian Bench as Senior Resident Magistrate. He was quite a well-known figure in Zumbia till he criticized the appointment of a Zumbian to a high Judicial post.

Kenneth Kaunda, Zambia's President would have none of it and so out went Vaikuns from Zambia to the British Bar.

Here he plunged into Tamil politics, being elected a member of the Standing Committee of Tamils. He advocated an Indo-Ceylon Federation, authoring a book, "The way out for the Tamil speaking People—Indo-Ceylon Federation."

#### THE TRIBUNE

CHANDIGARH, PUNJAB
October 7, 1978

#### Lanka Tamilian seizes U.N. Assembly podium

UNITED NATIONS, Oct 6 (P.T.1.) — There was a minor sensation in the U.N. General Assembly vesterday when a Sri Lanka Tamilian took charge of the podium briefly to denounce the policy of the Srl Lanka Government towards the Tamil nonulation as "generical"

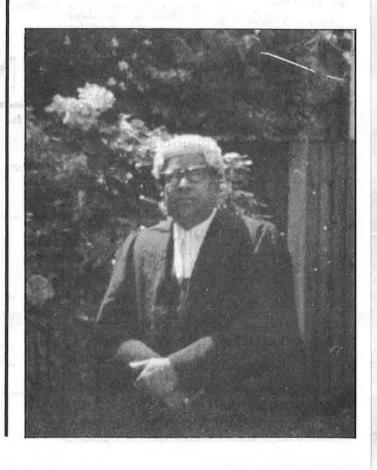
Tamil population as "genocidal".

The public address system was promptly switched off by U.N. officials when they realised that an outsider had seized the pocium instead of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hamid who was to have been the next speaker.

The Sri Lanka Tamilian who gave his name as Krishna insisted that the Assembly should hear the representative of "this oppressed minority nation of Tamil Eelam."

"If we cannot make representa-

'If we cannot make representation here in this Assembly where are we to go.' he said. 'Please allow me to speak for one minute. The Sri Lanka Government is continuing the policy of genocide...' He was cut off at this point and U. 'N guards whisked him out of the hall.





Price 75 Cts.

(Editor, R. L. MICHAEL)

Registered as a Newspaper at G. P. O. Colombo. SRILANKA.

VOL 1

NOVEMBER 17th 1978

No. 96

### HOW VAIKUNTHAVASAN ENTERED U. N.

## HOW VAIKUNS CRASHED

Krishna Vaikunthavasan is an unlikely con man. For many years he has practised law in London and before that he was a district judge in Zambia. But for a coup.e of minutes, the 58-year-old Sri Lanka Tamilian fooled the United Nations General Assembly in promoting his cause,—an independent Tamil nation carved out of Sri Lanka.

It was nearing noon and delegates from the 150 countries in the Assembly had sat stoically through an hour-long speech by the President of Cyprus and another by the Prime Minister of Surinaua.

Now if only the Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka would get over with his address, the delegates would be able to adjourn for lunch.

There is a ritual to the making of speeches in the General Assembly, Everybody generally knows what everybody else is roing to say on a particular day—if they eare to read the advance copies of speeches that are always available. Unless the speaker comes from a part of the world which is currently making headlines, most of the delegates do not even bother to turn their earphones on.

Tamil Felam? Now when was that country admitted to the United Nations? The Assembly President's face assumed a quizzial look; a murmer spread through the ranks of the delegates.

"My name is Krishna and I come from the two-and-a-half million strong nation of Tamil . Eelam lying between Sri Lanka and India The Sri Lanka Government is continuing a policy of genocide .."

#### MICROPHONE OFF

At this point a frantic offical threw a switch turning off the microphone. If this was the Sri Lanka Foreign Minister, he had certain'y lost his mind.

But even as security men hurried to the rostrum from distant corners of the General' Assembly hall, Vaikunthavasan continud:

"We have exercised our right of self-determination to live as a separate nation There is every danger of the Famil problem threatening the peace in the Indian region. The problem in Sri Lanka will develop to be as serious as the Palestinian and the Cyprus problems unless you, the world leaders intervene and help in its solution now." He spent all of September visiting the U.N. Secretariat with more regularity than most accredited delegates.

To get through, the main gates of the secretariat is nomally a difficult task, unless you take the visitor's entrance and join a guided tour of the glass skyscraper on the East River.

But with the General Assembly in session and delegates of all colors, accents and ego sizes—not to mention their national costumes—scurrying in and out of the building, the security guards have learned over the years not to be too fussy about checking identifications.

Vaikunthavasan even sat in the delegates' section in the daily Assembly sessions. "The my mind I told myseif, 'I am a delegate—a delegate for Tamil Eelam," he said. Tamil Eelam is the Tamil state he wants to see created in the traditional Tamil northern and eastern areas of Sri Lanka.

He wouldn't confirm it, but very reliable sources close to the Indian delegation revealed that Vaikunthavasan gained entry to the delegates' section with a little help from some Indian delegates he had befriended during his U, N. sojourn. Of course they were not aware of what he was planning to do.

People like Amirthalingam who have fought all their lives for a separate Tamil state, with perhaps some federal ties to the Sinhala regions, are no longer able to resist the Tamil youth's scall for complete independence. There is violence in the air, though Architalingam discourages it and hopes to achieve independence for his people by peaceful means, through negotiations: But time is running out.

In his mind, Vaikunthavasan had no qualms about what he was planning to do. He represented his people and if the world would not give them an opportunity to present their case, he would present it anyway,

# INTO THE U. N.

(The inside story as told by Valkunthavasan

THE CANBERRA TIMES, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1978 - 5

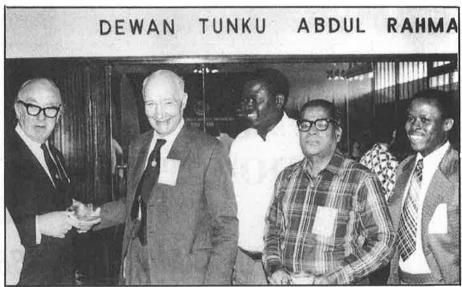
#### **UN** pretender

UNITED NATIONS, Friday (AAP-AFP). — A London lawyer, posing yesterday as the Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka in the United Nations General Assembly, accused the Sri Lanka Government of genocide.

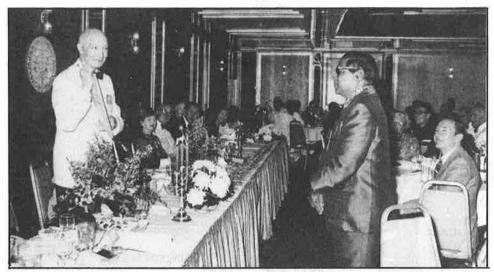
The man, identified as Sri-Lanka born Mr Krishna Vaikunthavasan, had managed to sit among delegates, UN sources said.

#### LANKA GUARDIAN

The Lanka Guardian in its October 15, 1978 issue, commenting on Mr. Vaikunthavasan's daring seizure of the rostrum of the United Nations General Assembly said that it was "of course the most spectacular exercise in a concerted campaior by Tamil expatriates to internationalise the Tamil issue."



With LORD ELWYN JONES , Lord Chancellor and LORD DENNING - Kuala Lumpur 1975



LORD DENNING with his portrait presented to him in Kuala Lumpur - 1975



With HAROLD MacMILLAN - November 1985 On the occasion of his portrait unveiling by PRINCE CHARLES

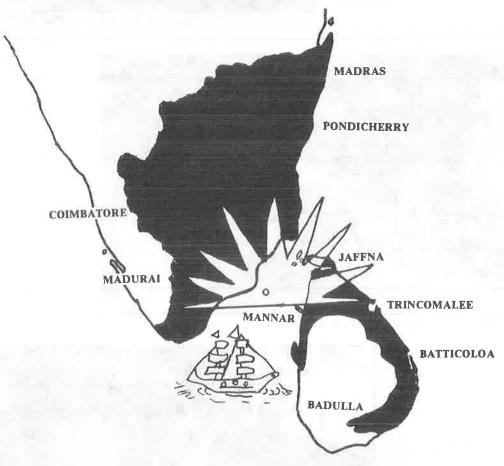
THE WAY OUT FOR THE TAMIL SPEAKING PEOPLE

March 1978

### -INDO-CEYLON

### **FEDERATION**

#### MORE TAMILS INTO BRITAIN?



JOINTLY PUBLISHED BY EALAM TAMILS ASSOCIATION, 919 GARRATT LANE, TOOTING, LONDON SW17. and the ILANKAI THAMIL SANGAM, 89 TENNYSON DRIVE, NANUET, NEW YORK, 10954. for the INDO-CEYLON FEDERATION MOVEMENT, 55 WARREN ROAD, COLLIERS WOOD, LONDON SW19.

BY
KRISHNA VAIKUNTHAVASAN
2 STONE BUILDINGS, LINCULN'S INN
LONDON WC2A 3TA

#### INDO-CEYLON FEDERATION

#### Introduction

"If there is a regional grouping of the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean on either side of India—Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, India, Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, Siam, Java etc.—present day minority problems will dissapear—"

Jawaharlal Nehru, (p.536, in his book "The Discovery of India" 1969 edn., Asia Publishing House, Bombay).

In the situation we find ourselves today, the only way out for the Tamil speaking people of Ceylon is to get outside assistance.

And if we do not get this in time, there is a real danger that we might be wiped out as a Nation.

In the unequal combat against the majority Government, unless we adopt a superior political strategy, we

are bound to face a worse disaster than what took place in Biafra.

Repeated appeals to the world conscience are alone not enough. In the present world, when there is so much talk about non-interference in the internal affairs of a country, and when there is increasing rivalry among the super-powers with their own groupings, no foreign power will be prepared to take the risk and to come to our help unless on two conditions:- Firstly we must ask for such help openly and secondly it must result in some advantage to the Nation that offers such help. In other words it should be mutually advantageous.

While realising that we must have outside assistance but if we do not openly ask for it thinking it would harden the Ceylon Government's determination to wipe us out, this attitude to say the least is not being realistic. Whether we openly ask for it or not, it is well known that we have been in touch with Indian leaders. Mr. S.J.V. Chelvanayagam and Mr. A. Amirthalingam went to Madras and saw Mr. Karunanithi when he was Chief Minister of TAMIL NADU State. The Ceylon Prime Minister at the time Mrs. Bandaranaike complained about these meetings to Mrs. Indira Gandhi then Prime Minister who in turn used these complaints interalia for the dismissal of the Chief Minister of Madras.

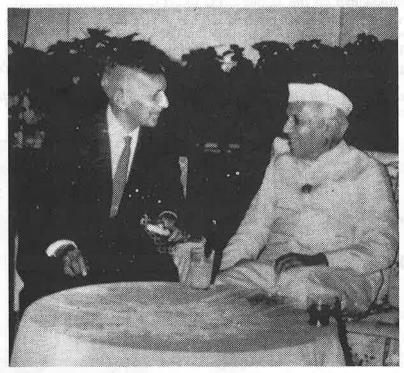
If Andaman Islands 1500 miles away could be part of Indian territory, Tamil Eelam which is just on the door step should firstly ask for help from the Indian Government and at the same time say we are prepared

to join the Indian Federation, in a South Asian set up.

This strategy will also make the Sinhala Government to see the urgent need for it to come to terms with the Tamil leaders before what they might fear themselves becoming a minority in a larger set up.

We cannot any more remain as a subject people; we have the attributes of an independent nation, and the will to become free; though peace is our ideal, the defence of our rights continues to be the supreme objective

of the people of Eelam.



S J V CHELVANAYAGAM WITH Indian Prime Minister JAWAHARLAL NEHRU - COLOMBO 1960

# Ceylon Daily News 10-6-78 (Saturday) Desai against Federation Cry – 'They are Ceylonians – Not Tamilians' London June 8

Mr. Moraji Desai, Prime Minister of India told a **spokesman** for Tamils living in Sri Lanka who asked the PM's opinion about a growing movement there by Tamils to press for Federation with India: 'I don't encourage them. They should not do this. They are Ceylonians and not Tamilians.

He denied the spokesman's allegation of a 'gradual genocide' of Tamils in Sri Lanka. I don't believe the Sri Lanka Government is doing this, he said.

These questions were asked during a Press Conference Mr. Desai held before he left for New York.

#### Ceylon Daily Mirror 9-6-78

#### No Federation with India – Desai tells Sri Lanka Tamils

London, Thursday

Indian Prime Minister Mr. Moraji Desai, on the eve of his departure for New York after a 2 day official visit to the U.K. when questioned by a **spokesman** for Tamils living in Sri Lanka, who asked the PM's opinion about a growing movement there by Tamils to press for Federation with India said: 'I don't encourage them. They should not do this. They are Ceylonians and not Tamilians'.

He denied the spokesman's allegations of a gradual genocide of Tamils in Sri Lanka – I don't believe the Sri Lanka Government is doing this', he said.

#### 'Sun' - Friday, 9 June 78

#### No Federation with Lanka Tamils says Desai

First page

Indian Prime Minister Mr. Moraji Desai yesterday claimed that India was not encouraging a move by the Tamils in Sri Lanka to press for federation with India.

According to a **Reuter** report the Indian Premier is reported to have said this in reply to a query on the Prime Minister's opinion about a growing movement in Sri Lanka for federation with India. The query had come from a **spokesman for the Tamils** living in Sri Lanka.

'I don't encourage them. They should not do this. They are Ceylonians and not Tamilians' Mr. Desai told the spokesman. He denied the spokesman's allegations of a 'gradual genocide' of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

'I don't believe the Sri Lanka Government is doing this' he added.

Mr. Desai was speaking to correspondents shortly before his departure to New York.

(The same news item appeared in all the Sinhala newspapers, Tamil and also in Indian papers including Hindu and Hindustan Times).



# SCOT

Standing Committee of Tamil Speaking People

— ( Founded in 1977 ) —— UK Registered Charity Number 274499



# DR. KANAPATHIPILLAI ARUMUGAM — FOUNDER PRESIDENT

President: Dr. K. Arumugam

General Secretary: Mr. C. Kathiresan

M. K. Vaikunhardam 55 Learran Road London Strig 181, Malvern Avenue, South Harrow, Middlesex.

Telephone: 01-422 1739

17th April 1979

Dear M. Varkunk wasang

I am glad to be able to advise you that SCOT has been registered as a Charity. The number allocated is 274499.

I have been directed by the Executive Committee to write and thank you for all your efforts in the past both in connection with drafting the constitution and negotiations with the Charity Commission

Yours sincerely,

Challing C. KATHIRESAN

Australian newspapers in Batchelor January 1979

# **NATION VICTIM** OF GENOCIDE!

Heroism has been deserved in Man from a time beyond memory — acts of bravery and noble quality hazardous and larger than life. It noble quality, hazardous and larger than life. It has crept even into poetry as a heroic couplet.

READERSHAVE

derogatory sense of heroism is "heroics" - highsounding talk, acts of bravado and inconsiderate actions to attract attention which come in different forms, shapes and propor-tions — the Munich massacre of Israeli athletes, the hijack of Sheik Yamani of Saudi Arabia, the harassment of the world by the Fatah of Yasser Arafat, the persistent, destructive tenacity of the I.R.A. to remain in the memory of people, the rescue of the Israelis from under the insane heel of Amin ... and so many such. Are these acts "heroics" or "heroism"?

Amid the rampages of violence and cruharassment. deprivation and even genocide - as has been witnessed by the Thamil victims of the massacres within the past 25 years in Ceylon, now called Sri Lanka, when a gentle truth is sounded and set in motion - it may not be seen, but it can be made to reverberate only if the audience can be made to listen.

Such a truth about a perennial crime was thrust into the focus of the United Nations Organisation for two minutes of the world's

Mr Krishna Vaikunthavasan, a barristerat-law, now practising in England, after having served as magistrate in Zambia, and

represented significant legal institutions at international conferences, dared to trespass upon the UN premises and processes - and he dared to say a small but most significant piece of truth.

On October 5, 1978, after following the accepted procedure within the Assemble - bowing to Mr Indelacio Liveano, the President of the Assembly - Mr Vaikunthavasan delivered the following address:

"Мг President. leaders of the world, if oppressed minority nations, such as Thamil Eelam, cannot make representations to this supreme body, then where are we to go?

"My name is Krishna and I come from a 212 million strong nation of Thamil Eelam lying between Sri Lanka and India.

"The Sri Lanka government is continuing a policy of genocide aimed at the destruction of the Thamil

"We have exercised our right of self-determination; to live as a separate nation.

There is danger of the Thamil problem threatening the peace of the Indian region

The problem in Sri Lanka will develop to he as serious as the Palestinian and Cyprus problems unless

you, the world leaders. intervene, and help in its solution now. We appeal to you for such

"I'hank you. I apologise for speaking without permission.'

#### DIGNITY

The UN guards hustled Mr Vaikunthavasan away as the appointed Foreign Minister for Sri Lanka approached rostrum.

The magnitude of this act of gentle heroism, at this point of history, is reflected in the quiet, non-violent dignity and skill that skirted legalities which Mr Vaikunthavasan would well have known.

The delegates representing Sri Lanka had listened at the World Assembly to what his country had ignored at home - the operatives being: the nation of Thamil Eelam, the traditional territory of the Thamil-speaking people for over 2,500 years), the genocide through regular massacres of these Thamil people, the right of self-determination recognised as a basic factor in nationhood, and the factual concept of the nation of Thamil

Eelam lying between Sri Lanka and India. .

The world has heard this voice. Has the world listened? After

such forceful representation, through intrusion, at the World Assembly of Nations, must a people enter into heroics and probable retaliatory vio-lence to achieve the basic right of self-determination?

The voice represents a people in pain - always in mental anguish, often in the vortex of physical persecution, without recourse to any recognised authority to intervene:

The thousands of bereaved are silent in their grief because noone who hears will either do or can do anything against this stifling, systematic and strategically-regular brutality by this neo-colonial tyranny composed of a Sinhalese majority govern-

#### APPEAL

In the name of justice to mankind, I appeal for support in this right of the Thamil people of Eelam to determine their future as an independent country. In the final analysis:

"Do not ask for whom the bell tolls; It tolls for thee." -

Dr GNANI T. PERIN-PANAYAGAM. Batchelor.

MORNING STAR Saturday June 23 1979



# 'End repression of Tamils'

'A demand for an immediate halt to the arbitary arrests of young Tamils was taken by these demonstrators to the Sri Lankan High Commission in London yesterday.

The protest was organised by a co-ordinating committee of bodies representing members of the 3-million strong minority in the Indian Ocean island.

A letter handed in for the President of Sri Lanka said his government appeared to be "embarked on a collision course against international opinion." It said that inhuman acts of torture and imprisonment without trial, against which the Tamils had campaigned for many years, were continuing, despite an international outcry.

The human rights movement Carte (Campaign Against Repression in Tamil Eelam) in another letter, called for the release of all Tamil prisoners, an end to tortures of suspects and prisoners, and the withdrawal of Sinhalese armed forces from the Tamil areas.

Carte recently described the Tamils as "a nation under military siege."



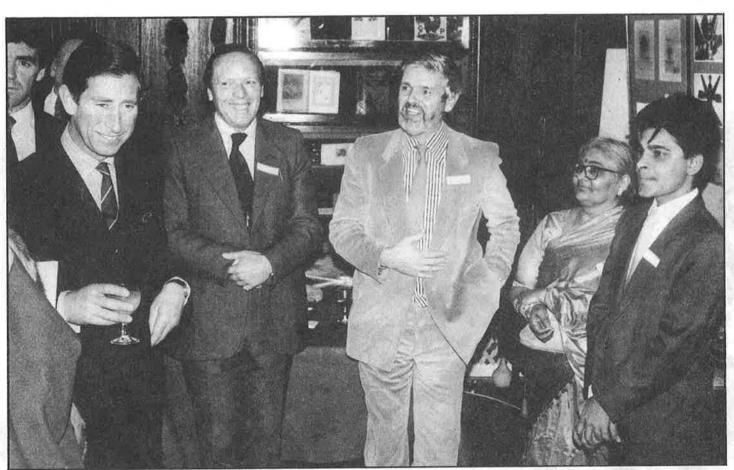
The Tamil United Liberation Front's President Mr. Sivasithamparam seen here receiving the copy of the Tamil Eelam declaration from the Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in Boston. From left to right: Mr. Sripathi, TULF President Mr. Sivasithamparam, Governor Edward J. King, Marie Elizabeth Howe (Deputy leader of Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Mr. Sritharan (Organiser and Secretary of Eelam Tamil Association of America).



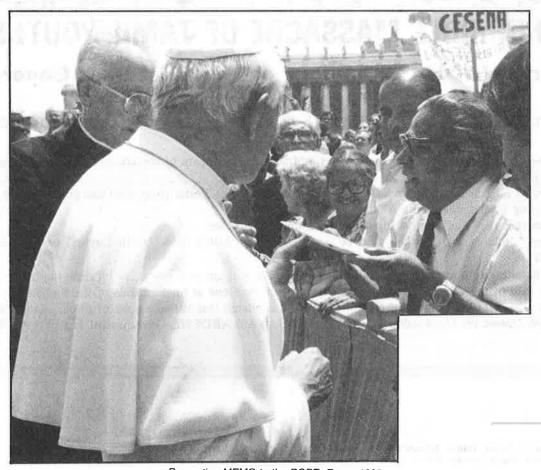
Homage to PATHMANABA and other EPRLF leaders – My wife and I attended their Funeral in June 1990 – (Madras)



In April 1985, when LTTE was coopted into ENLF (L to R) SRI SABARATNAM, PRABAKARAN, PATHMANABHA, BALAKUMAR



On the occasion of the unveiling of the EARL of STOCKTON's portrait by PRINCE CHARLES - London 1985



Presenting MEMO to the POPE, Rome 1983



### HORRIBLE MASSACRE OF TAMIL YOUTHS

#### The un-BUDDHA behaviour of the Sri Lanka Government

#### 147 taken into custody

18 reported missing

Photos are those of 27 year old Kanagaratnam Visvajothiratnam alias Inpam of Navaly South and his 29 year old brother-in-law Saravanamuthu Selvaratnam.

Both were arrested at their home around 1 a.m. on 14 July 1979 by a Police party who had gone in a car. The bodies were found in the morning by the side of the Allaipiddy Road, Jaffna.

It could be seen that they had been tortured beyond human endurance.

The Government declared an Emergency to be operative in the Jaffna area (North Ceylon) on 12 July 1979 and this Emergency is still on.

According to the latest authoritative information received on 4 August as many as 147 Tamil youths have been taken into custody since the date of the declaration of the Emergency and their fate is in the hands of the Sinhala Police and Army.

The 60 million strong Tamil People throughout the World condemn this barbarous act of the Sri Lanka Sinhala Army and Police. The Tamils deplore the Un-Buddha behaviour of the JAYAWARDENE Government! Is JAYAWARDENE replacing Amin?

Published and issued by Eelam Tamils Association 53. Ashen Grove, Wimbledon London SW19 8BL for Tamil Co-ordinating Committee (TCC), 55, Warren Road, Colliers Wood, London SW19 2HY.

August 1979

2654 12 Willingdon Crescent New Delhi-110011, India

August 271 1979

Dear Mr Vaikunthavasan,

I have just received your letter of the 22nd August and am horrified to see the enclosures.

The Janata Party Government is going out of its way to be friendly with the present Government of Sri Lanka. I doubt if they will wish to take up the issue the sufferings of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. At the moment all attention is on our election but I shall see if it is possible to bring this issue to the notice of the public in some other way.

Yours sincerely,

Indira Gandhi

Mr K Vaikunthavasan Convenor Tamil Co-ordinating Committee 55 Warren Road Wolliers Wood LONDON SW19 2HY



Price 75 Cts.

Registered as a Newspaper at G P. O.

(Editor, R. L. MICHAEL)

VOL 1

OCTOBER 4th 1979

No. 117

# Mrs. Indira Gandhi saysJANATA-U.N.P. very close

Mrs indira Gandhi, now leading opinion polls in India in the coming Premier stakes, states that the ruling Janata Party is very close" with the UNP and will not therefore help solve the Tamil problem"

She rays so in a letter to Mr. K. Valkunthavasan Convenor Tamil Co-ordinating Comittee U. K. Mr Valkunthavasan nad earlier written to her "to bring about a peaceful solution between the three minion Tamil speaking people in Sri Lanka and the 11 Minion Sinhala majority"

This is the full text of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's reply to Mr. Vaikunthawasan's lotter

"Dear Mr. Vaikunthvasn,

I have just received your letter of August 22 and am horified to see the enclosures. The Janata Party Government is going out of its way to be friendly with the present Government of Sri Lanka I doubt if they will wish to take up the issue of the sufferings of the Tamills in Sri Lanka.

At the moment all attention is on our election but I shall see if it is possible to bring this issue to the notice of the public in some other way. Yours sincerely, (sgd) INDIRA GANDHI

#### U. N.

Mr. Vaikunthavasan was propelled into the headlines, in November, 1978 when he "pirated" the micro; hene on the speakers podium of the U, N Assen bly when Foreign Minister A. C. S. Hameed was due to speak and announced to startled U. N, members that "the Sri Lanka Government is continuing a policy of genocide...

In his letter to Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Vall unthavasan wrote, The Tamil Co - ordinating Committee which represents thousands of Tamil and several Tamil Organizations abroad makes this appeal to you to bring about a perceful solution between the three million Tamil speaking reorle in Sri Lanka and the 11 million Sinhala majority. Our Committee acts as the link with the T, U. L. F,

at home and functions as it spokesman abroad We are grateful to you for having granted an opportinity and met with the Leader of the T U. L. F.,

Mr. A. Amir balingam during the course of his recent visit to India. We are only too conscious of the fact that you are fully aware of the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka......a leaflet issued in this connection is enclosed. Once again we shall be very grateful if you will please use your inflience and power to bring about a just and peaceful settlement.

#### Tamilenes advokat, Krishna Vaikuntha Vasan i Bergen:

# Gi Java Maria et hjem i Norge



Advokat Krishna Vaikuntha Vasan talte tamilenes sak for FNs generalforsamling — uten lov. (Foto: Øivind Christensen).



Java Maria Nainar er India-tamil, og er stats juridiske rettigheter noe sted i verden. Det er kæ henne noen i Norge? (Foto: Jan M. Lillebø).

### Hun tilhører en undertrykt og statsløs minoritet

— Dersom Java Maria blir utvist fra Norge, er det ikke sikkert hun får Sri Lanka igjen. Og om hun fikk slippe inn,ville hun etter all sannsynlighe for forfølgelse. Noen fremtid ville hun ikke få i noen tilfeller.

Det er Krishna Vaikuntha Vasan, som sier dette til Bergens Tidende. Vasan er advokat i London og leder for de undertrykte tamilenes koordinasjonskomité, en organisasjon som representerer, og arbeider for, tamiler over hele landet.

BERGENS TIDENDE ONSDAG 3. OKTOBER 1979

#### LONDON MURASU KRISHNA VAIKUNTHAVASAN'S EUROPEAN PROPAGANDA TOUR FOR TAMIL EELAM CAUSE!

10.12.79

président du Comité de coordination tamoul du Sri-Lanka.
« L'état d'urgence a permis à la police et à l'armée de poursuivre, d'arrêter, de torturer et de tuer les jeunes Tamouls », a-t-il affirmé. Selon lui, deux jeunes gens sont morts après avoir été torturés en pleine rue, ent quarante-eept ont été emprisonnés depuis juillet et un grand nombre a disparu.



Mr. Vaikunthavasan speaking at the Frankfurt meeting .

Krishna Vaikunthavasan, the Convenor of the Tamil Co-ordinat. ing Committee (UK), who last year addressed the Foreign Ministers of the World in the U.N.General Assembly, Spearheaded another wave of Propaganda and Campaign for the Tamil Eelam Liberation struggle - this time in Paris and in Frankfurt.

#### " LE MONDE " RECOGNISES TAMIL EELAM STRUGGLE

"Le Monde" the French daily and world's most renowned prestigious newspaper (Certified Circulation 584,959) Published a report of the press interview given by Mr. Vaikunthavasan.Following is the text and English Translation of the "Le Monde" report-



ENGLISH TRANSLATION: "The Tamil Community of Sri Lanka has been for long the victim of continued persecution, especially since the decla ration of a State of Emergency on 12 July last' stated Mr.Krishna Vaikunthavasan, Convener of

the Tamil Co-ordinating Committee representing the Tamils living abroad, Tuesday, 13 November (1979) during the Press Conference which he held in Paris to Correspondents of the leading Newspapers in France. He further declared "the State of Emergency has given unbridled licence to the Police and the Army to hunt down, arrest,

torture and kill Tamil youths". According to him, two youths were killed after having been in humanly tortured and their bodies flung on the public highway. 147 youths have been taken into custody since the Emergency in July and a large number of them has since disappeared."

Mr. Vaikunthavasan met Mr. Maurice Courdault - Montagne, Director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

(Asia Section) and enlightened him of the Constitutional lapses of Sri Lanka. He also met Mr. Clemot Director, OFPRA (Department dealing with Refugees and those seeking political asylum). He also addressed a meeting of over 300 Tamils in Paris, during a film show by the JFI Cine club.



IN FRANKFURT:

Mr. Vaikunthavasan attended and appealed for support for the Tamil Eelam liberation, at the 100th birthday Trotsky Commemoration meeting held in Frankfurt, Germany on November 1st. The P.L.O, Libyan, Iranian and German representatives also took part and addressed the Meeting, where nearly 400 delegates representing every strata of German society participated. Mr. Vaikunthavasan in his speech said: "COMRADES AND FRIENDS!

cally in the nature of a workers' congress, the slavery conditions in which more than half a million Tamil workers are forced to exist in Sri Lanka? in which other country in the wide world you find half a million workers continuing to be stateless for over 30 years? they are neither citizens Sri Lanka nor citizens of India from where their forefathers were brought to work in the Ceylon tea plantations about 100 years ago. The beneficiaries of the British planter who took them to Ceylon are not interested to champion their cause! Is it not a fact that it is the Tamil worker who earns the foreign exchange for Sri Lanka by his tea plucking? the Tamil workers and peasants will have to join hands with the other sections of the Tamil community in the present struggle for Tamil Liberation and for our very survival as a nation ....."

His speech was reproduced in the socialist press- " Arbeiter Presse " of 23rd November. Mr. Vai kunthavasan also addressed Tamils of Frankfurt and of Monchengladbach while in Germany. The Tamil Co-ordinating Committee of which Mr. Vaikunthavasan is the Convenor is dedicated to the propagation of the Eelam Tamil Cause.

#### TIMES OF ZAMBIA, Thursday, August 23, 1979

**LETTER** 

# Why persecute one group of people only?

ON July 124 1979, a Mr Kanagaratnam Visvajothy Ratnam Inbam and his brother-in-law, a Mr Selvaratnam, were taken from their beds by Sri Lanka armed forces in Jaffna, after effecting entry into their homes by force.

They were not seen alive after their arrest. Later, their bodies were discovered \_\_horribly mutilated \_\_ under a bridge.

There were definite signs of brutal torture before death. They had been skinned alive as portions of their bodies were skinless. Their private parts had been removed.

Their heads had been smashed by shots fired at point blank range. The methods used to achieve such horrible wounds must have been as bad as those adopted by the worst dictatorial regimes.

The father of Mr. Inbam, worried that his son and son-in-law had not returned home, made representations to the Jaffna MP, before the bodies had been seen.

That MP immediately contacted the armed forces headquarters in the area but was told that they had nothing to do with the arrest and torture or murder of the two young men.

the two young men.

The MP then contacted the authorities in Colombo and yet again, an armed forces spokesman gave out a flat denial.

Under the Bandaranaike governments, Tamil youth had been arrested and tortured. Now under the pro-Western government, Tamil youths are being tortured and murdered by custodians

of the law!
We, Tamils of Sri Lanka, fought side by side with the present government for independence, and although 30 years have passed, our people still remain second class citizens and are victims of countless atrocities committed by the present government.

In 1977 police began a disturbance in Jaffna which spread throughout the island and resulted in murder, rape and arson of Tamils.

The police and army were responsible for many of these crimes. The Red Cross, War on Want, Oxfam and other relief organisations were prevented from helping the 45,000 refugees among our people because Sri Lanka missions all over the world denied that the Tamils had suffered such disasters.

suffered such disasters.
In 1958, we, Tamils had been brutally attacked and killed by the hundreds. After the 1977 disturbances, nearly 400 Tamils disappeared without trace. These 400 do not include the known dead.

The police and army have a stranglehold on the people of the Northern and Eastern provinces of the island.

Tamil youths are denied higher education and jobs. Many innocent youngsters are arrested from time to time.

The Sri Lanka president must immediately order his armed forces to desist from attacking, harassing, arresting without cause, torturing and murdering Tamil youths.

K. VAIKUNTHAVASAN Converner, Tamil Co-Ordination Committee, London.

# Recognise PLO petition campaign

# Tamil leader backs PLO

SUPPORT continues to build up for the News Line campaign demanding that the British government recognise the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO).

The campaign was backed yesterday by K. Vaikunthavasan, convenor of the Tamil Coordinating Committee in Britain.

He said: 'The PLO already has observer status at the United Nations and throughout the world it is increasingly being recognised as the mouthpiece of the Palestinian people.

It is the duty of every government, including the British government, to grant it formal recognition because it is already de facto the spokesman, the representative of the Palestinian people.

'After the Peoples Republic of China came into being in 1949 it took several decades for to be admitted to the United Nations as well as to be recognised throughout the world.

'Let there be no such delay in formal recognition of the PLO.

Adrian Hawke, branch secretary of the Civil and Public Services Association in Aberdare, South Wales, fully supported the call for recognition. He said:

'As your statement says, there can be no peace in the Middle East without the Palestinians and no Palestine without the PLO.

"The British government's role is particularly criminal. They backed Israel who won't stop short of launching a nuclear attack against the Arab revolution.

Many countries have recognised the PLO but behind them support I think many of them still hold the middle ground, for instance the leaders of the Soviet Union.

'The PLO need recognition and more than moral support.'

For extra copies of the petition, please contact:

News Line
21b Old Town, Clapham
London SW4 OJT
Telephone 01 720 2000

Monday December 10, 1979

# THES

COLOMBO, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 17th, 1980.

Vaikunthavasan's visit

# CALL ON INDIAN PM PUZZLES DIPLOMATS

(By Our Diplomatic Correspondent)

DIPLOMATIC quarters are puzzled as to the circumstances that led the Indian Premier, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, to receive Mr. K. Vaikunthavasan, convenor of the London based Tamil Co-ordinating Committee in Delhi last month and receive from him a memorandum highly critical of the policies of the Government of Sri Lanka.

Mrs. Gandhi received the memorandum from Mr. Vaikunthavasan on January 20 this year some days after her spectacular return to power.

Diplomatic sources believe that Mrs. Gandhi would not have had the prior intimation of the contents of the memorandum or the actual purpose of Mr. Vaikunthavasan's call on her. The sources contend that the Indian Premier would not have been a willing party to an act of impropriety since Mr. Vaikunthavasan represents secessionist forces in Sri Lanka. He has been openly advocating the separatist cause of Tamil extremists and propagating it in several capitals of the world.

With this background, Mrs. Gandhi's gesture might give encouragement to the seperatist forces in this country. India and Sri Lanka have age old friendship based on the dedicated principle of Panchaseels — non-interference of the internal affairs of each other.

Obviously the serious implications of her meeting and receiving a memorandum from Mr. Vaikunthavasan critical of the Government and poli-

cies of Sri Lanka have been kept away from her.

My. Vaikunthavasan has made capital of this unfortunate situation and has published his meeting with Mrs. Gandhi with photographs and the contents of the memo-

randum all over the world.

Diplomatic sources are certain that had Mrs. Gandhibeen apprised of the actual purpose of Mr. Vaikunthavasan's visit to New Delhishe would not have received him.

Further, Mr. Vaikunthavasan would have gate-crashed into her residence in the glow of her victory and presented the memorandum in the same manner as he did at the United Nations.



Meeting with Indian Prime Minister, MRS INDIRA GHANDI, 28 January 1980

# EROS

#### In memory

The passing away of K.C. Nythianantha has removed a key figure from the Tamil community, at a time when his services were most needed to help in the achievement of the objective of the Tamils.

In the 1930's, in colonial Ceylon, especially in it's capital Colombo, for a Government employee to attend office in the national costume of Verti and flowing banyan was obviously designed to assert our national tradition and pride and not concerned whether the white masters and bureaucrats would be ruffled.

This is what K.C. Nythianantha did; that he continued wearing this dress throughout his life is symbolic of the mans quiet determination in pursuit of his ultimate goal of national liberation, it's first manifest steps being on seemingly small matters as one's dress.

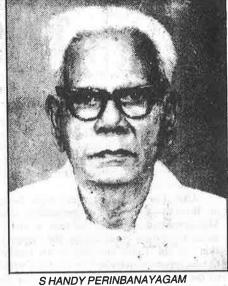
In the wake of India's independence in 1947, the momentum for neighbouring Ceylon's freedom was stepped up by the first-ever general strike by tens of thousands of Government employees, of allranks, joined by numerically still more private sector employees. Nythianantha played a pivotal role in the conduct of this strike, which, is remembered by all.

Although the strike was brutally crushed (with the police shooting indiscrimately at strikers, resulting in serious injuries to several and the death of Kandasamy), the colonial masters thought the best way to act in the situation was to come to a deal with the Sinhala majority and accordingly power was transferred to them on the 4th February 1948. The plot had been hatched to destroy the Tamils as a nation.

It is relevant to remember that if not for Nythianantha and his band of dedicated colleagues in the Public Service Trade Union Movement, neither Kueneman nor Ilangalaratne would have become political personages in 1947/8 as a result of their election as MP's.

K. Vykunthavasan

Published by Eros, Box BCM 488, London WC1





'Nythi' legend in his lifetime

K.C. Nythanantha, the veteran trade unionist, died on 12 July 1980.



At London meeting with Mr. S.C. CHANDRAHASAN Dr. THAYAPARAN, Dr. K. ARUMUGAM (S.C.O.T.) July 82 - London Wimbledon Centre



#### The Neighbours

to "internationalise" the longstanding grievances of the 1.5 million Tamils. Their basic grievance is that they are secondclass citizens, and victims of discrimination in education, employment, and budgetary allocations for development.

Last May, Tamil professionals living in Boston succeeded in persuading the Massachusetts Assembly to pass a unanimous resolution condemning the "oppression" of the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka. Massachusetts Governor Edward King wrote to the then President Carter requesting his intervention in the matter as a 'human rights' issue, and the Assembly took the step of declaring May 21 Tamil 'Eelam' day.

Violence: An even more dramatic. if somewhat unorthodox, demonstration was the performance of K. Vaikunthavasan, the London-based coordinator of Tamil propaganda activities. He stole into the United Nations building and took the rostrum a minute before Sri Lankan Foreign Minister Shaul Hameed was invited to speak, and made world news by announcing himself as the delegate from 'Eelam', a country between India and Sri Lanka.

-MERVYN DE SILVA ÎN COlombo INDIA TODAY, FEBRUARY 1-15, #881





T SRITHARAN & T THILLAIAMBALAM
The men behind the historic Massachusetts Resolution



With ARU GOPALAN and SIVANAYAGAM - Madras, 1990. 'POT-KO' speaks

WEEKEND

Sunday, December 20, 1981

BY MIGARA

# TAMILS WANT STATE-IN-EXILE

## TULF says 'ille'

#### CONVENTION

The Rhodesia-style UDI call was originally made in London in October 1980 at a convention at which the members of the opposition Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) were present.

The TCC has been in existence for a few years and its live-wire is a one-time Sri Lankan trade unionist K. Vaikunthayasan.

The Madurai conference was decided at a meeting in London presided over by the Editor of the London Murusu (London Voice). It was not a "conference" as such but merely an attempt for a get-together of like-minded people.

TULF AGAINST UDI
The TULF has this month openly criticised the UDI, made originally in October, 1980 in London. They, though some of their lawyers appear in Madras, even for those charged for smuggling gelignite, do not want to have any truck with the TCC or EROS.

It appears that the TULF is slowly, but surely, weaning from the various Tamil organisations from round the world.

As far as the UDI call was made some TULF members have been present at the London meeting. The vote in favour would have been unanimous except for one solitary vote—that of opposition leader, Amirthalingam's son who voted against it.

This is reported to be one reason for Mr. Vaikunthavasan to accuse Mr. Amirthalingam and the TULF of boycotting UDI for personal reasons

Possibly they sensed a threat to themselves in this. Their leadership was in dispute after all, wasn't it? Imagine K. Vaikunthuvasam as the president of the interim state of Eelam and A. Amirthalingam only the leader of the opposition of a Parliament not even within their territory.

At Madurai, the TCC and some members of EROS had asked delegates who had come from around the world for the World Tamil Research Conference to have a discussion on the UDI announcement of having a state in exile for Tamils.

Mr. Amirthalingam was invited for this meeting and he attended it in a small room in a hostel where around forty to fifty had assembled.

Most of the delegates had spoken for the Declaration, but Mr Amirthalingam is said to have spoken last, had opposed it.

The friction betweeen Mr.
Amirthalingam and Mr. Vaikunthavasan was only beginning to prove. In fact one of the reasons for Chief Minister, M. G. Ramachandran, to have clashed verbally with Mr. Amirthalingam at the main research conference during that period is said to be because Mr. Vaikunthavasan had given a pamphlet to him on UDI which Mr. Ramachandran thought was an official TULF document

During the summer in London, Mr. Amirthalingam is learnt to have met Mr. Valku-

thavasan, once again at his private residence and re-iterated what the TULF position was. With this background, the TULF was probably surprised to receive a letter dated November 14, 1981, from London

signed Vaikunthavasam of the TCC regarding the definite declaration on Tamil Thai Pongal Day (January 14) for a State in exile.

By letter dated 26th November, 1981, Mr. Amirthalingam jointly with the President of the TULF, MP M. Sivasithamparam, replied to Mr. Vaikunthavasam that the TULF was against this move. They wrote back asking the TCC not to put the Tamils in Sri Lanka in a worse plight than they already are in.

Foreign Minister, A.C.S. Hameed, flew almost unannounced to the United Kingdom on Wednesday night and it's anybody's guess that it's regarding UDI.

One major factor against a State in Exile for the Tamils at present is that it is highly unlikely that any nation in the world would recognise it. They do not have any 'natural allies' and even their foreign policy is unknown.

The Poles during the war, the Algerians soon after the war and Pol Pot of Kampuchea established Government's in exile. But they had the recognition of many countries. The Tamil UDI of London would be even more helpless than the former Rhodesian UDI for at least Rhodesians (now Zimbabwe) had a definite territory called their own.

Expatriate Tamils in the United States and even in England would surely not run the risk of seeking Soviet block support for the fear of being called Soviet agents in those anti-Soviet countries nor are there any of them in the Soviet Union or its block countries itself.

Sri Lanka has very good relations with all countries. And a state in Exile which is not recognised will have no status in international affairs.

#### WEEKEND *COLOMBO – 20.12.1981*

#### **SEPARATISTS**

#### URGE THE UN TO SEND IN TROOPS TO LANKA

By JENNIFER HENRICUS

Sri Lanka's diplomatic missions abroad and the intelligence parties have made, available to Government details of moves by groups of expatriate Tamils to unilaterally declare the establishment of "Eelam".

These reports have revealed that the separatist activists abroad, who are planning the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in January have embarked on publicising a demand for a Kampuchean style "Government in Exile" for Eelam.

According to these reports one of the main leaders of the campaign is Krishna Vaikunthavasan, a London-based lawyer who created a major furore at the United General Assembly a few years ago when he tried to "hijack" the rostrum at the time when Lanka's Foreign Minister A. C. S. Hameed was due to address the Assembly.

Vaikunthavasan who calls himself the Convenor of the Tamil Co-ordinating Committee (TCC) with an office in Colliers Road, London, has already publicised a draft resolution for the formation of the so-called "Interim Provisional Government of Tamil Eelam", which he says will be known as the "London Resolution", the reports have revealed.

According to the draft the scheduled gate of the UDI is the Thai Pongal Festival on January 14, 1982.

The reports on the Resolution have also revealed that endorsements for the propaganda of the "Government in Exile" is being supported by certain Indians. The draft resolution of the TCC names a high ranking member of the Indian Lok Sabha as a supporter.

The TCC in its resolution also urges the United Nations to take steps to ensure peaceful transfer of power from the Sri Lanka Government to the new "Government in Exile" of Eelam. It also stresses that the Security Council of the UN has power to intervene and send UN troops to restore law and order.

According to the reports reaching Government, the TCC hardly hides its admiration of the Indian freedom fighter. Subas Chandra Bose who proclaimed the formation of a Provisional Government of Free India in Singapore in 1943. A group of fanatics styling themselves as "members of an organisation called Azad Hind Sena" who stormed the Lankan Trade Mission in Bombay last month too admitted to following Bose.

According to observers, what has irked most Lankans abroad is the new move by the TCC to extort funds from them.

Diright the top ievel discussion last week between

them,

Diring the top level discussion last week between
the TULF and the Government, Mr. Amirthalingam dissociated his party from moves to make a UDI for the Eelam state.



With SIR MUTHTHIAH CHETTIAR, December 1980 Madras University

#### THE WORLD THAMIL EELAM CONVENTION

Nanuet, New York July 3rd & 4th, 1982



Mr VAIKUNTHAVASAN. Mr P NEDUMARAN presided

TUESDAY, JANUARY 5, 1982.

No. 1362.

SUN

Registered as a Newspaper in Sri Lanka.

By "SUN" Diplomatic Correspondent

Diplomatic initiatives by the Government have put a damper to plans by expatriate groups abroad to unilaterally declare a state of Eelam.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "SUN" learns, has briefed the governments of the countries where the expatriate group's activities are concentrated.

These diplomatic initiatives were particularly concentrated on Britain where a Tamil co-ordinating committee proposed to declare a government in exile in London on January 14—Thai Pongal Day.



5, Gunasena Mawatha, Colombo 12, P. O. Box 1257, 23834.

January 18 1982

#### **DESTINED TO**

#### FALL

The so-called Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) planned for That Pongal was a flop. The wrath of the heavens in the form of a snow storm descended on the self proclaimed saviours of the Tamil people who whilst shedding crocodile tears in London for the supposedly discriminated against Tamils were nevertheless willing to sacrifice their brothers and sisters to a blood bath in Lanka.

We are glad that the TULF (the authoritative representatives of Jaffna Tamils did condemn this crazy operation in no uncertain terms. The TULF being a responsible party was quick to realise the futility and the insanity of such a declaration.

That the London exercise was a flop and we hope also a good lesson not only to the expatriate rabble bent on smearing the good name of their own motherland and to the few youthful dissenters here in Lanka.

Jaffna The people of know that there is no need for a UDI. Besides the original UDI of the Smith regime in Rhodesia was moved against colonial power — Britain. Not against the Zimbabwians. Indeed the Tamils know it was a ludicrous thing to do and that there was no sense in having a government in exile for an ethnic minority of Sri Lanka.

"There is no question of support, any kind of recogni-tion or acknowledgement", British High Commissioner Sir John Nicholas told "SUN" yesterday. The activities of the Tamil co-ordinating committee are subject to the laws of United Kingdom, he said.

Although a so-called Tamil co-ordinating committee has said in London that a unilateral declaration of independence would take place on January 14, the committee appears to have run into problems on how to set about it.

Krishna Vaikunthavasan who claims to be a convenor of the committee told "SUN" in a telephone interview from London it has not yet been decided how the UDI would take place. Asked whether the committee had decided to postpone the move, he said "the original date (January 14) stands. We have not yet decided how it has to be worked out" out".

He declined to comment, when asked whether the British authorities had made any contact with the so-called committee in regard to their activities.

"SUN" reliably learns that the British authorities are checking on the credentials of several persons believed to be associated with the committee. This is to ascertain whether they are legally entitled to remain in I ritain.

Meanwhile the Tamil United Liberations Front has written to the TCC setting out its position in regard to the UDI move, TULF President M. Sivasithamparam said

yesterday.

The TULF recently issued a statement dissociating itself from the reported move of the London-based Tama co-ordinating committee to unilaterally declare an independent state of Eelam.

HINDU

Wednesday, January 6, 1982.

#### Sri Lankan expatriates' move fails

COLOMBO, Jan. 5. A move by some groups of Sri Lankan expatriates in Europe and the United States to set up a governmentin exile for the Tamil minority has failed, the Sri Lankan Foreign Office revealed here on Monday. It said the Sri Lanken Government

had made representations to the authorities in Britain where the conveners of the group calling for a Tamil "Eelam" had their headquarters.

The main group of triates, describing itself as the "Tamil Coordinating Committee" in a "London resolution" had called for the setting up of a government-in-exile following a

be declaration of independence to be issued on January 14. Sources said the British Government was checking on the conveners' credentials in order to see whether they were legally entitled to reside in Britain.

The Opposition "Tamil United Liberation Front' had earlier condemned the expatriates' move saying it would jeopardise the talks between Tamil representatives and the Sri Lankan Government.

Meanwhile, the Sri Lankan Defence Ministry has ordered the strengthening of police forces in North and East Lanka. - UNI-DPA.



#### Public (Foreigners-II) Department

Letter No.10147/82-2

Dated 5th November 1982

From

R. Kirubhakaran, I.A.S., Joint Secretary to Government, Fort St.George, Madras-9

To

Thiru Krishna Vaikunthavasan.

Sir,

Sub:- Foreigners - Thiru Krishna Vaikunthavasan - Sri Lanka National - Deportation orders issued.

Ref.— Govt. of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, Telex No.25022/107/82/F.VIII dated 5.11.1982.

Reproduced below is an order issued by the Govt. of India under Section 3 of the Foreigners Act, 1946 (Central Act 31 of 1946) requiring that you should leave India forthwith: (The Government of India order reads:)

"It has been decided that it is necessary in the interests of the general public of India to make an order under Section 3 of the Foreigners Act 1946 (31 of 1946) in respect of Mr. Krishna Vaikunthavasan, Sri Lanka national holder of Passport No. GO-108036 dated 27.5.1982 issued at London. Accordingly, in exercise of the powers conferred by the said section read with paragraph 3 of the Foreigners (Exemption Order 1957), the Central Government hereby orders that the said person should be made to leave India today itself".

2) Accordingly you are directed to leave India today itself.

Yours faithfully,

Q'Eimenan!

SUN

11.11.82

# Minor demo at Madras Airport India deports Vaikuntavasan

By Ranil Weerasinghe

Eelam activist Krishna Valkuntavasam, a Lankan residing in London, who was taken into custody by the Madras Police on Saturday was deported from India the same day.

This deportation came in the wake of a telex message to the Madras authorites the Indian government that the 61-year-old barrister be imthe Madras authorities from mediately sent out of the country in the interest of the general public of India.

'SUN' learns that the swift action by the Indian authorities had come following intelligence reports that Vaikuntavasam was hoping to announce the formation of an interlegical convergence. terim provisional government in Madras. This move

This move by the Indian government is said to have resulted in the cancellation of a meeting which had been organised by B. Nedumanan, leader

of the Kamraj Congress Party for later in the day. Vaikuntavasam who had torn

up his Sri Lankan passport on arrest by the Madras Police, claiming that he did not be-long to the country was how ever provided with another emergency passport to enable him to enter England.

In view of the fact that "Eelam" is not recognised internationally, the nationality entered in the passport read 'Sri Lankan.

Immediately prior to departure a few persons staged a demonstration side the Madres Airport. out-

Lanka's Deputy High Com-missioner in Madras. Newton Samarasinghe told 'SUN' that on Saturday he had been in-formed that the Lankan national Vaikuntavasam was to he deported. Later, he had issued an emergency passport to the London based activist he deported. activist who had been deported same day.

#### INDIAN EXPRESS

8.11.82

### Sri Lankan detained in City, to be deported

By Our Staff Reporter

A Sri Lankan national, Krishna Vaikunda Vasan (61), was detained by the City police on Saturday.

for deportation.

The Sri Lankan was staying in the City as guest of Mr. Nedu-maran, TNKC leader, for the past one week. He was detained following a telex massage from the Government seeking his deportation from India immediately in the interest of general

deportation from India immediately in the interest of general public of India.

Mr. Vaikunda Vasan surprised the police when he took out his Sri Lankan passport and tore it up saying that he did not belong to that country.

The deportee, presently living in London, is a retired judge of Zambla, and is working for the cause of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

It was Krishna Vaikunda Vasan who barged into the UN Assembly two years ago while it was in session, seized a mike and appealed

session, seized a mike and appealed to delegates to support the cause of "Tamil Eelam".

#### HILLINGKAN MARIAMAN M Sunday Journal-News

ROCKLAND COUNTY, N.Y. SUNDAY, JULY 4, 1982



Staff photo - Art Sarna

Dr. Edward Benedict, left, and Dr. Winston Panchacharam at the World Thamil Eelam Convention Saturday in Nanuet.

#### INDIAN EXPRESS

7.11.82

### Vaikuntavasan surprised

Krishna Va'kuntavasan, Eelam leader, on Sunday night expressed surprise at his deportation.

Before boarding aircraft an. bound for Bombay, he told UNI: "I have done nothing to embar-rass the Government of India. 1 am being bundled out of the country without even being with a show-cause notice". without

He said he had come to India on a visa issued by the Indian High Commission in London and valid for three months.

Mr. Vaikuntavasan was escort-ed by an intelligence official on the flight.

#### **CEYLON DAILY NEWS**

25.4.83

(T. Sabaramam reporting from New Delhi)

### -Rao speaks out

Indian Foreign Minister Narasimha Rao yesterday said

About the terrorist movement in Jaffna. he said: "India's policy on the agitation in Sri Lanka for a separate Tamil state 1,9 known. We have consistently maintained that this is an internal problem for Sri Lanka to resolve. My Government scrupulously anddes by this position.

"May I point out that we arrested the terrorists who were involved in a shoot-out in Madras last year and are currently being tried under Indian law. We also requested a prominent Tamil activist. Vaikunthavasan, to leave India when we learnt that he was trying to set up a self-styled government-in-exile."



#### **ISLAND**

11.11.82

Tears up Sri Lanka passport

# India deports Eelam leader Vaikuntavasan

A Sri Lankan national, Krishna Vaikunta Vasan (61) was detained by the City Police on Saturday, for deportation, the 'Indian Express' has reported,

The Sri Lankan was staying in the City as guest of Mr.Nedumaran, TNKC leader, for the past one week. He was detained following a telex message from the Union Government seeking his deportation from India immediately in the interests of general public of India.

Mc. Vaikunta Vasan surplised the Police when he took out his Sri Lankan passport and tore it up saying that he did not belong to that country.

The deportee, presently living in London, is a retired Judge of Zambia and is working for the cause of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

It was Krishna Vaikunta Vasan who barged into the UN Assembly two years ago while it was in Session, seized a mike and appealed to delegates to support the cause of "Tamil Eelam".

# Sciurday Sciurday Sri Lanka NEWS MAKERS November 13, 1982,

# What caused Vaikunthavasan's deportation?

Did a false alarm that London Barrister Krishna Vaikunthavasan was getting ready for the setting up of an Interim Provisional Government of Thamil Eelam in Tamil Nadu cause his deportation from India last Saturday?

This is the speculation in Tamil Nadu political circles who say that the Indian Government now in process of grappling with the separatist Akali agitation in the Punjab did not want to risk any publicity separatist concerning a agitation in a neighbouring country to befoul the atmosphere political India, particularly when the Indian Government's negotiations with the Akali leaders had reached a critical and delicate stage.

Mr. Krishna Vaikunthavasan who was in Tamil Nadu as the guest of the Tamil Nadu Kamaraj Congress Leader Mr. P. Nedumaran surprised the Police when he took out his Sri Lanka passport and tore it up saying that he did not belong to that country.

It will be remembered Vaikunthavasan that Mr. sponsored a resolution at the World Thamil Eelam Convention held in New York last July for setting up of an Interim Provisional Government of Thamil Eelam. This resoluhowever tion was passed at the Convention but referred to the Liberation Council which set up with the blessings of the TULF Leader A. Amirthalingam.

Meanwhile in a working paper circularised in London by the Tamil Eelam Co-ordinating Committee recently a blue-print for the setting up of a Provisional Government was outlined.

The working paper states inter alia:

"The Free French had a provisional Government in exile first in Algeria and then in the UK during the Second World War which was recognised by the Allies. Subhas Chandra Bose had a provisional Indian National Government during the Japanese occupation which was recognised by Japan and other Axis Powers. Even during peace time Jawaharlal Nehru presided over interim Government India which is a form of government provisional pending the transfer political power by Britain to the people of Even today there is provisional Government in Wales in the United Kingdom which is recognised by only the people of Wales and those organisations which are in sympathy with the Welsh claim for separate nationhood. Thus provisional governments under varying political situations and in various forms....

#### IN MADRAS, BOSTON

#### OR PARIS

"At present, a number of provisional Governments function in different parts of the world such as the Iranian Government in exile in France headed by Bani Sadr, its former President, the Kalistan Government (Punjab) in Canada, the Welsh Government in Wales.

"The PLO is likely to form its Government in exile in the near future.

"The Thamil Government naturally has to be formed in Thamil Eelam. If this is not possible in the immediate future, then the next place would be India (Madras) or Boston or Paris...."

#### Saturday Review

We publish below the full text of a Press Release issued by Krishna Vaikunthavasan, Convener Tamil Co-ordinating Committee: Editor
Saturday Review

55, Warren Road, Colliers Wood London SW 12HY9.

As the storm of controversy which preceded the Declaration of the Tamil Eelam independence on Pongal Day (14th January) is moving away, it becomes necessary to review the whole matter in its true perspective. Also the question that naturally grips the mind of every politically conscious Tamil is What next?

As it is now well known, the Declaration was properly made with all solemnity in a very appropriate form, namely the United Nations Headquarters in New York.

Again appropriately it is the Tamil patriots who took the initiative and made the historic Massachusetts Resolution and Declaration possible in 1979 who have now made the Independence Declaration, supported of course by many others from New York as from distant places.

Now to the question,-What next?

The Leadership of the-Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) has still a crucial role to play. All types of attacks were made against the TCC and its Convenor in a desperate effect to prevent them from making the Declaration in London. No one from the TCC ever said that the Declaration would be made in London. All along from the time we passed the resolution in August 1980, the only issue was the

# T.U.L.F. leadership and the U.D.I.

making of the Declaration itself on Pongal Day 1982. Indeed we would have been jubilant if the TULF made the Declaration in Tamil Eclam on Pongal Day. But, the Leadership became frightened like little girls and even tried all tricks to frighten others also by scare stories of a new bloodbath etc. as if Tamil genocide plans could become worse than the mad burning down of the prestigious Jaffna public library with its 97,000 precious books and irreplaceable manuscripts.

that the Declaration was to be made in New York and not in London, it is possible that the Sri Lanka Govern-ment would have sent its External Affairs Minister Mr. Hameed to see the US Authorities instead of his secret trip to London well before Pongal Day to meet Mrs. Thatcher, the British PM, in an effort to put a stop to the Declaration in London. The TULF Leadership also would have extended its smear campaign against the American Tamils.

#### by Krishna Vaikunthavasan

When we knew that the Leadership was not going to do it, then we did the next best thing to make the Declaration in the World Forum itself—the U. N. If we had made it public beforehand

We know all the time that Mr. Jayewardene's UNP Government continues to be against the very idea of independence for Tamils and obviously therefore against any step



#### Saturday Review

towards Tamil freedom. But what has intrigued us, is Mr. Amirthalingam's shameful attitude, especially after the so-called 6 months "moratorium" no-Eelam talks with Mr. Jayewardene?

Some ask: Who gave the Authority to the TCC, in the first place, to decide on such matters as the said Independence Declaration?

We reply: Who gave the mandate to the TULF Leadership to come to an agreement with  $\forall r$ . Jayewardene to stop talking about Eelam Independence for 6 months? What happens after this 6 months? General Elections? Tamil MPs to go to the ancient Kotte Sinhala Kingdom?

The truth is: Questions of authority are raised only when what is to be done is against the the interests of those who make the query, at the given time.

Now, when I addressed the General Assemely of the United Nations in New York (5-10-78) and raised for the first time the issue of Tamil Freedom (incidentally also the fate of such Nations as the Basques) no one in the world gave me any authority/mandate. Indeed no one knew—not even my wife—that I was going to address the UN.

But because what I did at that time suited the thinking patterns of the TULF Leadership, vir.Amirthalingam praised me (in his foreword to the booklet-"The Tamil Eelam Nation and the UNO"); 'Tamil Nation owes a debt of gratitude for that master stroke," and Mr. Sivasithamparam on his return from Boston after his brave address to the Honourable em-

bers of the Massachusetts State Assembly in viay 1979) at a big public meeting held in London said:- "What Mr. Vaikunthavasan has done at the UN reminds me of the first words uttered by Neil Armstrong as soon as he set foot on the Moon:- "This is one step for man; but a giant step for mankind".

That is how both the TULF Leaders responded then. I have nothing personal against these leaders. After all, it is true that Mr. Amir halingam has been in politics for the adult part of his life. True. He keeps on repeating that he has been at it for over 34 years. So, What?

It is not the number of years — it is not the period of time you have been at it—What counts is the Net Result.

Talking, repeating, We are for Tamil Eelam is not going to deceive the Tamil people any more. Because TULF candidates get elected as against the UNP, it does not mean that the people endorse and give you the mandate for whatever you do. We must be realistic. At the DDC elections, it is true that the people voted for the TULF. But the crucial point is: As against anti-Tamil UNP, any candidate who says he stands for Tamil Freedom is naturally preferred. So that is how the Tamil TULF gets the mandate as against the Sinhala UNP. Mr. Amirthalingam can't therefore boast that the Tamils are giving him a everything he mandate for

The mandate was given at the July 1977 General Elections to secure freedom, self respect and Independence for the Tamils. In the context it was given it meant only one thing:- The attainment of a Sovereign, Independent and Socialist Eelam.

In all earnestness, we ask Mr. Amirthalingam:- Please tell the Tamils (without verbiage), in point form:- What have you done for the last 42 years to achieve the goal? Any solid, positive step taken? True, when the Tamils are hit, killed, raped and otherwise injured and destroyed, some MPs run to New York. London etc. (even Taiwan), invitations from often on Tamils (Boston included); then address public meetings, hold discussions etc. But with what result?

As we correctly anticipated the Pongal Declaration has generated so much of political clout both in Ceylon and outside. A journalist of international standing, Mervin de Silva, sent a report to the BBC on the significance and, implications of the Declaration which was duly broadcast by the BBC in its THAMIL OSAI and many other languages on 12th January. The TIMES, London, had a news item on 16th January on our Declarations.

The making of the Independence Declaration in New York must now serve to jolt the TULF to summon the National Assembly of TAMIL EELAM. as they promised in 1977.

For nearly 400 years the Felam Tamils have been under foreign domination. Now that a great step towards our freedom has been taken on Pongal Day, Let us take stock of the developing situation both in Ceylon and outside and then proceed to the next stage.

Krishna Vaikunthavasan Convener, TCG.

#### TCC EXPLAINS

By

### UDI - WHAT NEXT? K. Vaikunthavasan Convener, T.C.C.

As the storm of controversy which preceded the Declaration of the Tamil Eelam independence on Pongal Day (14th January) is moving away, it becomes necessary to review the whole matter in its true perspective.

As it is now well known, the Declaration was properly made with all solemnity in a very appropriate forum, namely, the United Nations Headquarters in New York.

Again appropriately it is the Tamil patriots who took the initiative and made the historic Massachusetts Resolution and Declaration possible in 1979 who have now made the Independence Delaration, supported of course by many others from New York as well as from distant places. Thillaiampalam Sri Kanthan deserves our

Thillaiampalam Sri Kanthan deserves our continuing support for his grit, determination and exemplary courage in taking the lead by successfully carrying out the Declaration.

Now to the question, What Next?

The Leadership of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) has still a cruciai role to play. All types of attacks were made against the (TCC) and its Convener in a desperate effort to prevent them from making the Declaration in London. No one from the time we passed the resolution in from the TCC ever said that the Declaration would be made in London. All along from the time we passed the resolution in August 1980. Indeed we would have been Jubilant if the TULF the Declaration in Eelam on the Pongal Day. But, the Leadership became frightened and even tried all tricks to frighten others also by scare stories of a new blood bath etc. As if Tamil genocide plans could become worse than the mad burning down of the prestigious Jaffna Public library with its 97,000 precious books and irreplaceable manuscripts.

When we knew that the Leadership was not going to do it, then we did the next best thing - to make the Declaration in the World Forum itself - the UN. If we had made it public beforehand that the Declaration was to be made in New York and not in London, it is possible that the Sri Lanka Government would have sent its External Affairs Minister Mr. Hamid to see the US Authorities instead of his secret trip to London well before Pongal Day to meet Mrs. Thatcher, the British PM, in an effort to put a stop to the Declaration in London. The TULF Leadership also would have extended its smear compaign against the American Tamils.

We know all the time that Mr. Jayawarden's UNP Government continues to be against the very idea of independence for Tamils and obviously therefore against any step towards Tamil freedom. But what

has intrigued us, is Mr. Amirthalingam's shameful attitude, especially after the so-called 6 months "moratorium" no-Eelam talks with Mr. Jayawardene?

Some ask: who gave the Authority to the TCC, in the first place, to decide on such matters as the said Independence Declaration?

We reply:- Who gave the mandate to the TULF Leadership to come to an agreement with Mr. Jayawardene to stop talking about Eelam Independence for 6 months? Then what happens after this 6 month's? General Elections? Tamil MPs to the ancient Kotte Singhala Kingdom?

In Our last issue, readers will recall, we editorially commented and published certain reports in connection with the London based Tamil Co-ordinating Committee's UDI move. At that time, we had no information about Mr. T. Sri Kanthan and some others having presented a UDI petition at the United Nations in New York

Now, Mr. K. Vaikunthavasan, in his capacity as Convenor of TCC has told our correspondent that the TCC never officially met and decided to indefinitely postpone the announcement of UDI as reported by us in our last issue, and that the only decision that was made at an informal meeting of the TCC held on 12 January 1982 was not to take any action in regard to UDI in London on 14.1.82.

Mr. Vaikunthavasan has since issued a press release with a request to us that it be given publicity. While we have no hesitation to accede to his request, we stand by our report about the decision by the TCC to postpone the UDI announcement having confirmed the correctness of our report with other members of the TCC.

The truth is: Questions of authority are raised only when what is to be done is against the interests of those who make the query, at the given time.

Now, when I addressed the General Assembly the United Nations in New York (5. 10. 78) and raised for the first time the issue of Tamil Freedom (incidentally also the fate of such Nations as the Basques), no one in the world gave me any authority/mandate.

But because what I did at that time suited the thinking patterns of the TULF Leadership, Mr. Amirthalingam praised me (in his Forword to the booklet - "The Tamil Eelam Nation and UNO"):-"Tamil Nation owes a debt of gratitude for that master stroke".

That is how the TULF Leader responded then. I have nothing personal against these leaders.

படிப்பகம்

#### PETITION PRESENTED AT UN

A delegation from 'Independent Tamil Eelam - 1982' led by Mr. T. Sri Kanthan visited the offices of the United Nations on January 14, 1982 and presented a document entitled "DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE FOR THAMIL EELAM."

The delegation comprised of T. Sri Kanthan, R. Shanmugalingam, D. Chanmugam, and T. Sritharan, all living in the United States.

The Original of the Declaration was read before the officials of the United Nations and signed by the delegates in their presence.

The following is the text of the acknowledgment of the Declaration and is signed by Pillar Downing and dated 14 January 1982:

"This afternoon, a delegation of "Independent Tamil Eelam 1982" composed of Mrs. R. Shanmugalingam, Thillaiampalam Srikanthan, Duraisamy Chanmugam and Thillaiampalam Sritharan of Sri Lanka, visited this office and presented a copy (attached) of a petition named "Declaration of Independence for Thamil Eelam."

"The Original of this petition was at the Petitioner's request kept for the use of the Delegation presenting it.

"This office explained that the attached copy will be transmitted for information to the Division of Human Rights."

The January 1982 issue of Tamil Times, reported the postponement of the UDI move by the London based Tamil Coordinating Committee. At that time, Tamil Times was not in possession of any information about the presentation of the petition on 14. 1. 82 by the American Tamil Delegation.

Talking, repeating, "we are for Tamil Eelam" is not going to deceive the Tamil people any more. Because TULF candidates get elected as against the UNP, does not mean that the people endorse and give you the mandate for whatever you do. We must be realistic. At the DDC elections, it is true that the people voted for the TULF. But the crucial point is: As against anti-Tamil UNP, any candidate who says he stands for Tamil freedom is naturally preferred. So that is how the Tamil TULF get the mandate as against the Singhala UNP.

# TAMIL TIMES JANUARY 1982 THE U.D.I. MOVE

#### **TULF DISSOCIATES**

"No one can arrogate to himself the right to take any action fraught with serious consequences to the Tamil people in Ceylon", so declared the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) in a strongly worded statement made in connection with the Unilateral Declaration of Independence of Tamil Eelam move by the London based Tamil Co-ordinating Committee (TCC).

Following a unanimous decision of the Working Committee of the TULF to dissociate itself from the UDI move, Mr. M. Sivasithamparam, MP, President of the TULF and Mr. A. Amirthalingam, MP, Leader of the Opposition and Secretary General of the TULF issued a joint statement, the excerpts of which are as follows:

"We are fully convinced that this is ill-advised and will not advance the Tamil cause one wee bit.

"We informed them that the fate of the Tamil nation had to be decided by the people themselves, and that no one can arrogate to himself the right to take any action fraught with serious consequences to the Tamil people in Ceylon.

"Again when this matter was raised at a

conference of overseas Tamils in January 1981 at Madurai in India, we categorically rejected any such adventurist action and requested them to drop this move.

"When the Secretary General of the TULF met the members of the TCC in London in June, 1981, they were informed that the TULF dissociated itself from the proposed action on the principle that a decision to declare independence had to be taken by the people through their accredited representatives with a full realisation of the consequences of such action and not by a group living thousands of miles away insulated from the effects of their action and responsible to no one for what they did.

"If, in spite of those repeated warnings and advice, anyone takes it upon himself to indulge in an action, for which he has no authority from the people concerned, the TULF has to make public its dissociation from such a declaration on behalf of the Tamil Nation, who gave the TULF their mandate to win their freedom, which objective the TULF is pursuing with a full sense of its responsibility."

London offensive.

We commend the TULF for its forthright condem-

by Tigers in Sri Lanka to

coincide with this new

We commend the TULF for its forthright condemnation of both the London Tamils and the UDI. The TULF knows that this is a campaign planned to jeopardise the new and friendly dialogue now proceeding between itself and the rating party.

The government has decided to extend the state of emergency in the wake of the much publicised sinister plan of the Tamil Cocrelmating Committee in London for the Unilateral Declaration of Independence of a State of Eelam on January 14.

The ill conceived crusade for a separatist state is now old hat as far as the Tamils of Lanka are concerned. It is only a few misguided groups living abroad and out of time with the aspirations of their people that still demand it.

The futile exercise to establish a 'government in exile' which these political opportunists styling them. selves as 'Tamil Co.ordinating Committee' are intent on is a fleeting dream induced perhaps by the cold and the hardships of the onsetting severe Winter in that part of the soorld.



5, Guassena Mawatha, Colombo 13, P. O. Box 1257, 23884.

/ December 21 1981

#### GOVERNMENT IN EXILE

The London Tamils are obviously out to create chaos in Lanka and the government is determined not to be caught napping. It is determined to crackdown on any form of violent activism that may be launched

THE TIMES

LONDON

**JANUARY 18 1982** 

## Emergency ends in Sri Lanka

Colombo. - The state of emergency declared in Sri Lanka in August last year when 12 people died in communal riots was allowed to lapse at the weekend. The emergency was extended last month after reports that Tamils living in Britain and the United States intended to make a unilateral declaration of independence of a Tamil state of Eelam in Sri Lanka and it was feared that this could cause unrest. The moves did not materialize.

#### **TAMIL TIMES**

JANUARY 1982

#### A WELCOME DECISION

We welcome the decision of the Tamil Co-ordinating Committee of London to postpone indefinitely their move to unilaterally declare independence and set up an interim government in exile of Tamil Eelam.

We believe that the Tamil people of Sri Lanka are entitled to their inalienable right of self-determination and this implies the creation of a separate state if they so desire. Whether and when and in what circumstances that right should be exercised is a matter for the Tamil people to decide through their accredited leadership, both inside and outside Parliament. What we are certain about, and we believe non-debatable is that any move in that direction should enjoy the support of the vast majority of the Tamil people living in Sri Lanka. No decision or formula, however well intentioned, should be superimposed on the people against their will. The expression of that will can only manifest through the political institutions they themselves have created and which are directly accountable to them.

Various views have been expressed about the UDI move, some severely critical. We do believe that there are also sections of Tamils who consider that the move should have been proceeded with. However, taking into consideration the probable serious consequences that would have been inevitable if the move had been proceeded with, and taking into account the controversy that had been aroused as to the advisability and timeliness of the proposal at this juncture, we are of the view that the decision of the TCC to postpone was a wise one.

The very fact that a date for the declaration of unilateral independence was fixed and some groups did in fact take certain token steps on 14th January show alert the authorities to their responsibility to resolve the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. If they do not, posterity will not forgive them for the inevitable consequences that are bound to follow by their inaction.





பேரேநிஞர் **அண்ணா** 1909—1**969** மேறுமலர்ச்சித் தமிழை மேலர் வைத்தவர்

ANNA - First DMK Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu



Mr. A. T. S. RATNASINGHAM
[Shri Ganapathy Temple, Wimbledon]

On the occasion of the release of one of my books in Madras, 1990 – with POT-KO, THAMIZLKUDIMAGAN & S C CHANDRAHASAN

# INTERNATIONALISATION OF THE EELAM STRUGGLE: A REVIEW

by Sachi Sri Kantha University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois 61801, USA.

4: PUBLICITY

The last of the strategy, publicity, is still in its infancy, and this may be in part due to lack of funds. One notable example of this strategy was made by Krishna Vaikunthavasan, when the United Nations General Assembly was in session, during Oct. 1978. On 5th October, 1978, the B.B.C. World News

reported:-

'At the U.N. General Assembly, there has been a demonstration in support of the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka. Just as the Sri Lankan Foreign Minister was approaching the rostrum to speak, a man rushed forward and said, he wanted to make an appeal on behalf of the Tamils, who he said were victims of genocide by the Sri Lanka government. At that point the microphone was cut off and the man was led away by a guard. The protestor was later identified as a former Sri Lankan judge, now living in London.'

(Thamil Eelam in 1982; p.22)
The official version of this incident, as reported by the

'United Nations Official Bulletin', is as follows:

'... That other General Assembly incident is of the foreign minister' of Sri Lanka. How the London Barrister, Krishna Vaikunthavasan, ever managed to reach the rostrum to deliver his impassioned two-minute appeal on behalf of Sri Lanka's Tamil minority is still a mystery. As soon as President Indalecio Liveano realised Vaikunthavasan was not the real Foreign Minister, Sahul Hamid, a switch was thrown cutting off the imposter's microphone and guards hustled him out of the hall.

(United National Official bulletin, Oct.9, 1978; quoted in Thamil Eelam in 1982; p.23)

Reputed Sri Lanka journalist, Reggie Michael, writing in the 'Independent' of October 13, 1978 observed:— 'Did Krishna Vaikunthavasan, the Ceylonese who created history at the United Nations Assembly by being the first ever, uninvited, gate-crashing, non-delegate to speak from the speaker's podium have an accredited foreign delegate as an accomplice?'

'Speculation points to the accomplice being from the Afro-Arab bloc, which along with Asia dominates the U.N. Vaikunthavasan was also a Marxist. Whoever his accomplice was, both friend and foe admit that Vaikunthavasan's spectacular U.N. raid had the same publicity impact as a hijacking, whatever cause it

espoused.

'It is pointed out that in 32 years of U.N. existence (its first meeting was in Jan. 1946) no radical organisation like the P.L.O. or the I.R.A. or the Red Guards, even the Baader-Meinhoff Urban guerrilas, had attempted such a daring means of focusing world attention on

a national problem . .

This publicity stunt of Vaikunthavasan caused a panic among the Sri Lanka politicians, as evident from the Parliamentary proceedings of Oct.20th 1978 (Hansard, vol.1, no.8, 20th Oct. 1978, cols. 762-763).



பெரியோர் ஈ. வே. இராமசாமி 1879 - 1973 தமிழின எழுச்சியைத் தோற்றுவித்தவர்; எழுத்துச் சீர்மையைக் கண்டவர்

PERIYAR E.V. RAMASAMY



கையாமி ஞானப்பிரகோசர் 1875 1947 தமிழ்ச் சொற்பிறப்பியல் அகராதியை ஆக்கியவர் Rev. SWAMI GNANAPRAKASAR

# LONDON MURASU APRIL 1984 90p Vol 15 No 1

#### **Indo-Tamil Eeelam Confederation!**

Krishna Vaikunthavasan to enlist support at the New York Conference!

Krishna Vaikunthavasan, the roving campaigner who raised the Tamil Eelam issue at the United Nations General Assembly in October 1978, is to enlist support for an "Indo-Tamil Eelam Confederation" move at the forthcoming International Tamil Conference to be held in New York from June 30th to July 2nd '84. Mr. Vaikunthavasan is also proposing to reprint his book on Indo-Ceylon Federation with the title: INDO-TAMIL EEELAM CONFEDERATION. The book was first published in March 1978.

Krishna Vaikunthavasan's proposed Indo-Tamil Eelam Confederation is to be based on a plan to set up an autonomous Tamil Eelam State having a confederated status with India! Here are some excerpts from his earlier book:

In the long history of the Tamil speaking people of Ceylon, never before have they faced so critical and crucial a time as the present. That the Tamils of Ceylon constitute a separate Nation, divided from the Sinhalese Nation by territory, language, religion and culture is undisputed. They have lived in Ceylon from time immemorial and had their own Kingdom for several centuries in Jaffina till the Portuguese conquest in 1619. After the Dutch, the British ruled Ceylon from 1796 first from Madras and then from Colombo as the capital.

When the British in 1945 sent a Royal Commission under the Chairmanship of Lord Soulbury to examine and recommend proposals for constitutional reforms after a rule lasting a century and a half, both Tamils and Sinhalese demanded their complete freedom. Lord soulbury although he was able to understand and appreciate the magnitude of the problem of the Tamil minority however he was swayed by the assurance given by the then Sinhalese Board of Ministers that the rights and privileges of the Tamils will be safeguarded.....

We must transform and broaden the demand for Eelam as a movement for the merger of Ceylon and India in the Indo-Ceylon Federation. This step of extreme practicality is merely a step in line with the present trends for a World Government. This will be in the context of a South Asia grouping including Pakistan, Bangladesh, Burma starting with the Indo-Ceylon Federation eventually to lead to an Afro-Asian Parliament. In this set up, there will be a Sinhala Sovereign Republic with a right to join the Federation. These are something similar on the lines of the European Parliament. Great Powers like the USA, USSR have Federating State Units. India is also a Federal State with Units based largely on language, culture etc. This principle could be extended to the new Federation.

The economic, educational and scientific advantages to come to Eelam through this Federation are enormous and gigantic. Once the Indo-Ceylon merger movement gathers momentum on both sides of the Palk Strait, the first to support will be vast numbers of Tamils both in Tamil Nadu and Ceylon.

What we must realise is that our demand whether for Eelam or Federation with India will be resisted bitterly by the vast majority of the Sinhalese. There is not much sense if any one were to imagine that the Sinhalese opposition to Eelam will be any the less than to the Federation. For it has been asserted by many Sinhalese that the demand for Eelam is only a prelude to the creation of a unified Tamil State. When they were not prepared to have a Federal State, not even District Councils, it is foolish to think that they will now agree to separation or Federation with India.

This idea of Ceylon federating with India is nothing new. It was the great Sinhala leader Angarika Dharmapala who long ago advocated that Ceylon should be unified with India.

If Andaman and NICOBAR islands which are about 1,500 miles away from the Indian coast and lie closer to Malaysia than to India could be part and parcel of the Indian Sub-Continent and territory, there is no reason why the Tamil Eelam which is on the door step could not join in a Federal set up with India if we so desire......

Mr. Vaikunthavasan is a former Secretary-General of the public service Trade Union in Ceylon – the GCSU. He had worked in Zambia as Senior Resident Magistrate and Registrar of the High Court.

His book Indo-Tamil Eelam Confederation is to be published in the summer this year.



Presenting Memo to VENKATARAMAN, New Delhi, 1980

#### Saturday Review

#### 21st December 1985

#### LIVING WITH INDIA

Editor SATURDAY REVIEW

The historic agreement between the UK and the Ireland Governments regarding Ulster (Northern Ireland) is one that has to be welcomed by nations-in-the-making, so to say, such as Tamil Eelam whose population is nearly three times the Ulster population.

As this agreement subtly demonstrates, no country, however powerful, can claim to be an independent and sovereign power in isolation from its immediate regional neighbourhood. Already on lines similar to today's Anglo-Irish summit, a number of other regions in the world have also been active towards what you could call solutions on joint sovereignty, sharing of powers, joint controls etc. A joint Confederation Government between Jordan and the Palestinian lands has been proposed as a solution to the Palestinian problem.

Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, is realistic enough to know that the old imperialistic approach will not even please President Reagan. Hence her early attempt at solutions.

Tamils and Sinhalese are only too conscious of the importance and the regional supremacy of India as a sub-super power in the

Asian Region. We Tamils have to accept it and live with it — but the best way to secure our independence and sovereignty is to join the Indian region's super-power in a confederal set-up. Sri Lankan Sinhalese will be wise it they too join the regional set-up.

Krishna Vaikunthavasan

London

# NEW LIFE

Friday, 17 January 1986

### Indo-Tamil link up?

Dear New Life

Three recent events have a direct connection with the destiny of the people of Tamil Eelam. One is regional, the second local and the third historical.

The idea of federal or confederal Governments' coming into being on a regional basis has now taken its first step in so far as the 7 South Asian countries are concerned. On the 8th December, the 7 South Asian countries including India and Sri formed the Lanka SAARC; the South Asian Association for Regional Coooperation. Speaking on the occasion, the Sri Lankan President Jayawardene is reported to have declared that the 6 countries of the region are prepared and willing to abide by whatever decisions India takes.In other words, India leads, the others follow. In this background, we Tamils must the necessary momentum for the solution of the Tamil Eelam. crisis by openly declaring that we too are keen to join India in a political link up. To make this declaration, it is not essential that there should be in the first place a de-jure Tamil

Eclam National State.

The other event is the Anglo-Irish Agreement. For the first time in the history of international Agreements, a precedent has been created in that a foreign Government is legally permitted to have a say in the affairs of one's own Government.

Another event referred to is the commemoration of Arumuga Navalar Day recently in London.

Navalar was the first Tamil freedom fighter. His contribution to the Tamil language is monumental. His greatest single legacy for us is his life's mission which looked upon the whole Tamil world as one Nadu, one single state.

The nation summitt, the Agreement between the British and Irish Governments and the great vision of Navalar - all these point only to one way (as far as Tamils are concerned) and that is we must take immediate steps towards Indo-Tamil Eelam link up. The first step is for all Tamil political leaders and activists to make public declaration in support.

Yours sincerely Krishna Vaikunthavasan Tamil Co-ordinating Committee London SW19 TAMIL TIMES

January 1986

# Letters To The Editor

# **Indo-Tamil link up**

# **ACROSS THE BORDERS**

Sir,

THREE recent events have a direct connection with the destiny of the people of Tamil Eelam. One is regional, the second local and the third historical.

The idea of federal or confederal Governments coming into being on a regional basis has now taken its first step insofar as the seven South Asian countries are concerned. On the 8th December, the seven South Asian countries including India and Sri Lanka formed the SAARC, the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation.

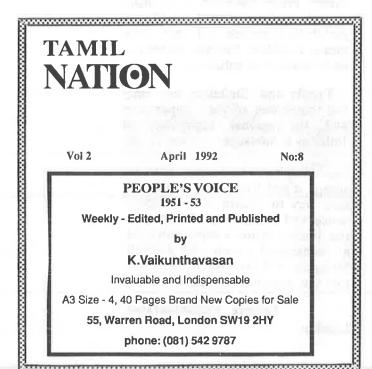
Speaking on the occasion, the Sri Lankan President, Mr. Jayawardene, is reported to have declared that the six other countries of the region are prepared and willing to abide by whatever decisions India takes. In other words, India leads, the others follow. In this background, we Tamils must create the necessary momentum for the solution of the Tamil Eelam crisis by openly declaring that we too are keen to join India in a political link-up. To make this declaration, it is not essential that there should be in the first place a Tamil Eelam Nation State.

The other event is the Anglo-Irish Agreement. For the first time in the history of international Agreements, a precedent has been created in that a foreign Government is legally permitted to have a say in the affairs of one's own Government. The Anglo-Irish Agreement provides a role for the Irish Government in the affairs of Northern Ireland. What is more, this Agreement is now registered with the United Nations, thus giving it sanctity and the force of international law. Tamils can profit from this precedent by persuading India to upgrade its continuing negotiations with the Sri Lankan Government, by eventually entering into an Indo-Sri Lankan agreement giving Delhi (and possibly Madras also) a role and a say in the affairs of the Tamil people of Sri Lanka. Everyone knows to what extent both Delhi and Madras are already involved in our affairs. What is proposed here is merely to put them in some legal form. This is being advanced in the absence of any other viable solution to the crisis.

The other event referred to is the commemoration of Arumuga Navalar Day recently in London. Navalar was the first Tamil freedom fighter and, although born in Jaffna, he spent more years of his life in Tamil Nadu. Navalar School in Chidambaram is still flourishing, like the one he established in Jaffna. His contribution to the Tamil language is monumental. His greatest single legacy for us is his life's mission which looked upon the whole Tamil world as one Nadu, one single State.

The Seven Nation Summit, the Agreement between the British and Irish Governments, and the great vision of Navalar – all these point only one way (as far as Tamils are concerned) and that is we must take immediate steps towards an Indo-Tamil Eelam political link-up. The first step is for all Tamil political leaders and activists to make a public declaration in support.

K. Vaikunthavasan



From: Tony Benn
12 Holland Park Avenue
London W11 3QX
Tel: 01-229-0779

28th November 1983

Dear Mr Vaikunthavasan

Thank you very much indeed for your letter sending me the excellent briefing material on the situation affecting the Tamil community.

I had hoped that I could attend the meeting that is being held in London on December 1st but unfortunately I am not able to do this as I have been invited to go to Chesterfield.

But I hope we may keep in touch.

I am deeply concerned at what has happened.

With best wishes

Sem

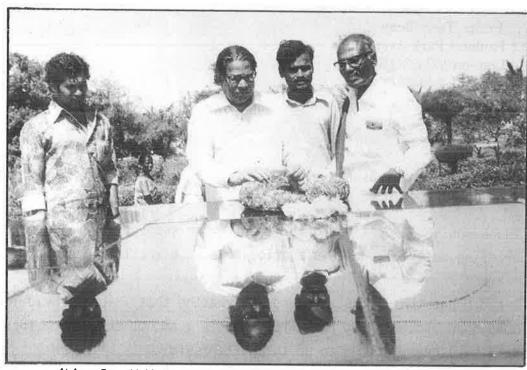




N SATYENDRA (Interim) Editor Tamil Nation



S NADESAN Q.C. He defended me in two cases: (1) Contempt of Court (1951) (2) Criminal Libel (1952)



At Anna Samathi, Madras 1980 - With UMA MAHESVARAN and MANAVAITHAMBY



At PERIYAR E V R MEMORIAL, Madras

**NEW LIFE** 

Friday, 12 December 1986

# 107th Navalar Day observed by Tamils

Krishna Vaikunthavasan

IN the wake of the liberation struggle that is being waged for the last several years by the Tamil patriots and militants in Sri Lanka for their separate Tamil homeland, a past hero came to life in one of their strongholds - Wimbledon.

At the Wimbledon Little Hall (otherwise known as the Tamil Hall) Tamils representing all walks of life and political views gathered together to pay their tribute to Arumuga Navalar and re-dedicate themselves for continued support to their present struggle - all in the name of their last century hero.

On November 30, the meeting began with prayers led by Saiva Neri Kavalar, Mr S Sabapathipillai, Mrs V Muttucumaraswamy and Mr VR Ramanathan.

Among those who spoke were Mr K Navasothi and Selvi Surulika Lokanathan.

Mrs Arunthathi Srikantharajah and her pupils entertained the audience on Veena and with songs.

In my own speech, I said that what the Tamils should do now is give their full support to the Tamil militants.

Earlier a large size portrait of Arumuga Navalar painted by Gandeepan Vaikunthavasan was unveiled.



Aurumuga Navalar: hero and scholar.

Arumuga Navalar - First Tamil freedom fighter against Imperialism

SRI LA SRI Aurumuga Navalar will always be remembered as a Tamil scholar of outstanding originality,. a great reformer and above all as an intrepid fighter against imperialism which was in its incipient stages during his life time.

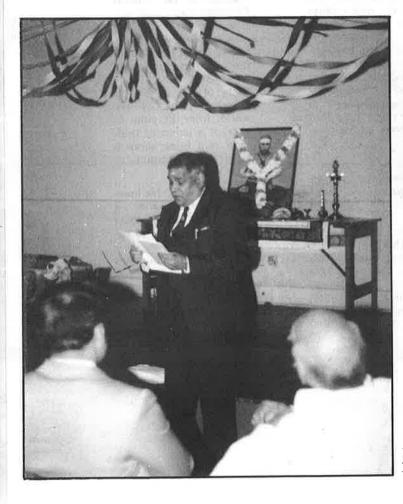
He lived for only 57 years (1822-1879) and although born, bred and educated in Jaffna, he prided himself that he was first and foremost a Tamilian, therefore his primary affinity and the sacrifice of his entire life was for the Tamil people and their way of life - whether in Jaffna, Chithamparam or Thiruchendur.

#### **PIONEER**

Long before Subramania Bharathiyar of Tamil Nadu, Arumuga Navalar from Yalpanam was widely recognised as a Tamil literary figure.

When he was only 27 years-old, Arumugam was already a highly respected sanyasin and welcomed to the holy pilgrimage and cultural centres. His discourses on Saiva Siththantham and Hindu philosophy earned him the title of 'Navalar' from the highly prestigious religious institution the Thiruvavaduthurai Atheenam in South India.

As Tamils on this occasion of our paying homage and tribute to one of our greatest ancestors, !at us so live that we are in a position to honour Tamil treedom fighters like Sri La Sri Arumugam.



Krishna Vaikunthavasan addressing the Navalar Day meeting in London.

Friday, 11 September 1987

Report by Krishna
 Valkunthavasan

# 7th World Sanskrit Conference

# SCHOLARS FROM 28 COUNTRIES GATHER IN HOLLAND

A week long Conference on Sanskrit was concluded on 29 August in the University City of Leiden in the Netherlands.

A total of 223 delegates from as many as 28 countries participated in this 7th World Conference. A large contingent of 50 scholars represented India.

The earlier six conferences were held first in Delhi, then in Turin, Italy, Paris, Weimar in East Germany, Varanasi (Benares) and Philadelphia.

The 7th Conference programmes in Leiden began with the plenary opening session on 24 August.

After speeches of welcome by the Rector of Leiden University and the Mayor of the City, the keynote address was delivered by the president of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies, Dr RN Dandekar.

#### PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Mr K Srinivasan, the Indian Ambassador at the Hague, during the course of his speech, read out the following special message from the President of India, Shri R Venkataraman:

"On the occasion of the 7th World Sanskrit Conference, I have great pleasure in sending my warm felicitations to its distinguished organisers and participants.

"Proud as India is of its inheritance of this great vehicle of culture, it recognises Sanskrit as a legacy of the whole world. Linked, in its roots, with some of the major living languages of the world, Sanskrit constitutes a major influence, linguistically, culturally and philosophically. There is no aspect of human life from mathematics to medicine which is not dealt with in this ancient language. "

Dr Dandekar is an acknowledged world authority on Sanskrit studies. Inspite of his nearly 80 years he gave, with authority and with penetrating insight, a survey throughout the ages of the role of Sanskrit, both as one of the oldest languages and as possessing a continuing and

#### TRIBUTE

Dr Dandekar paid tribute to the scholars of the Netherlands for their abiding work in Sanskrit. He quoted the English poet TS Eliot as having declared that India is truly great because she has already given something of the highest value to the world, namely, the message that without spiritual knowledge man is an incomplete thing.

Continuing, he also referred to Dr Ananda Coomaraswamy's affirmation that, for the understanding of Rg Veda, knowledge of Indian tradition however profound, is not sufficient; a wide study of the mystics of different parts of the world, from the point of view of a universal tradition, will bring about a greater appreciation of that Veda.

He concluded his inaugural address with a stanza by Adikavi Valmiki (modified for the occasion):

" As long as mountains continue to stand and rivers continue to flow upon the surface of the earth, so long shall Sanskrit studies endure among the people."

# NEW LIFE Friday, 27 March 1987

#### Subramania Bharathi honoured in London



Subramania Bharati (left), the radical and freedom fighter, and (right) Sushila Krishnamurti, who selected and sang his songs.

Krishna Vaikunthavasan

In the wake of the unveiling of Subramania Bharati's statue in Delhi recently by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, it was appropriate that admirers of the Tamil poet and wellknown Indian freedom fighter should honour his memory in London.

On the occasion of the unveiling in Delhi, those present included the Vice President Venkataraman and the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister MG Ramachandran-

In London, Tara Arts Centre organised a concert of songs by Bharati specially selected by Sushila Krishnamurti and sung by her. This event took place on the evening of March 14, at Tara's Centre. **SUPERB** 

The rendition by Sushila was a superb combination of verve embellished with a touch of histrionics, portraying in her two-hour Bharati's performance role in the freedom struggle. He used poetry, prose, oratory, and songs in his life-long campaign for political freedom.

Sushila's high quality was matched with distinction by Lakshmi Jayan (violin) Drachen Theaker (mridangam) Sivarajah (kanjira). It was a very enjoyable and memorable concert.



Editor: C.B.Patel Managing Editor: Anne Hoose Friday, 24 July 1987

# 'Sri Lankan Tamils should join India'

Dear New Life
What is happening right now in Jaffna is that India is feeding the people there. Sri Lanka has allowed this.

This shows that India is getting more and more involved. Don't you think that this is the time for the Tamil leadership to say that the Sri Lankan Tamils wish to join India in an acceptable political association?

We already have some form of association with India on a regional basis, through the recently formed SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation).

The very first thing to be decided is: In principle do we wish to join the Indian Union?

Whether it is to be a federation or confederation or as an associate state, etc, could be decided next, in consultation with the constitutional and other experts.

The reality of the situation in the Tamil areas in Sri Lanka is that unless immediate steps

are taken on the lines suggested above, the present genocidal and scorched-earth policy of the Sri Lankan Government will result in more and more Tamils being tortured and killed and still more fleeing and deserting their homes and lands. This will make it easier for the hoodlums to be brought in as permanent settlers.

This proposal for some form of federation with India is nothing new.

The world famous sav-Dr Ana... Ananda Coomaraswamy that Ceylon being culturally, racially and linguistically an integral part of India and taking also into consideration its historical past, it would be logical and prudent for Ceylon come into an Indo/Ceylon Union.

Much more recently, the Tamil leader Mr J V Chelvanayagam envisaged that Ceylon will join India not as one state but as two states - Sinhala Sri Lanka and Tamil Eelam

(see Prof Wilson's article in the Tamil Times - February 1987).

Last week, hundreds of Tamils in their pro-India emotional demonstration in support of the food deliveries kissed the vehicles, shouted appeals
"Save us, do not leave
us" and declared that India should annex the Tamil areas (The Times - June 29, 87).

Yours faithfully, Krishna Vaikunthavasan London SW1



# The Life and Times of an English Barrister

#### Introduction

They may derive even more succour from the story of Gandee, who made the portrait of me that appears at the beginning of this book (an extremely flattering one, my none too flattering friends insist). I first met Gandee in Malaysia in 1977, when he was thirteen years old, and accompanying his father Krishnan Vaikunthavasan - an ex-British Council student, then a magistrate in Zambia - to the Commonwealth Magistrates' Association Conference in Kuala Lumpur. Gandee had just taken up painting, and Krishnan asked me to try to persuade Lord Denning, who was attending the conference, to sit for a portrait by Gandee. In this I succeeded, but the portrait itself was not an unqualified success. Executed in a hurry, the paint was still wet when it was handed over to the Master of the Rolls at the Farewell Dinner, and Lord Denning's hands got smeared with it. Gandee had tried to put too much into the picture, and Joan, the subject's wife, commented: "I'm glad the artist managed to squeeze Tom's head in". But Lord Denning accepted it graciously and said that it would hang on the wall of his flat in Lincoln's Inn, and it was then left to me to persuade a reluctant British Council representative to package and despatch this curious picture; reluctant because, as he put it: "I don't think this portrait would ever have been commissioned by our Fine Arts Department."

But a few years later Gandee was in London to pursue his artistic talent. When Harold MacMillan was approaching his ninetieth birthday a City Livery Company asked him if he would sit for a portrait to mark this great occasion. The former Prime Minister agreed, subject to two conditions:- the artist must be under thirty and must never have had a picture hung in a public exhibition. The Livery Company announced a competition, for which Gandee entered. What the Company thought were the hundred best entries were hung in a gallery in Piccadilly and it was Gandee's that was chosen by the selectors. In due course he was making visits to MacMillan's country home to complete the portrait, which I saw in Gandee's little garret in Paddington a week before the official presentation. This was made to and a memorable photograph appeared next day in "The Times" of Prince shaking hands with Gandee, the artist.

Now I was never a great admirer of Supermac as a politician. I thought that his slogan to the British people: "You've never had it so good", lacked correct syntax and savoured of materialism. Butler would, in my view at the time of Suez, have been a better choice by the Queen for Prime Minister. But Mac's two "conditions" made me take a different view of the man. We all know the extent to which the young can and do help the old more so perhaps in Eastern countries than in our "civilised" Western society - but how marvellous it is when a nonagenarian, without much longer to live, ensures that an unknown young artist achieves well-deserved fame. Old and Young can indeed help each

Mac was, after all, Super!

By Eric Crowther, O.B.E. West London Stipendiary Magistrate



with a foreword by Lord Havers

7 v1 88

To Gandee.

Whose great artisty it

is a frivilege to have

displayed on the cover

of this book

Gil.

# TAMIL TOGETHERNESS AND THE WAY OUT FOR OUR PEOPLE

By Krishna Vaikunthavasan

"You can't change what has happened but what you can do is to make the best of what you have got" - Bader in London, in 1982, some time before his death. (Bader was a British ace pilot during the 2nd World War.)

The Tamil Sage Valluvar exhorts: "On whatever subject, whichever person sees fit to comment, it is the path of wisdom to inquire about such matters as to who is trying to use whom and for what purpose and then come to a sober and meaningful conclusion." We Tamils must constantly have these gems of thought in mind.

#### **MOHENJO-DARO**

The former Indian Foreign Secretary, Mr. A.P. Venkateswaran, speaking at the recent international Tamil Conference in London on "The Tamil National Struggle and the Indo-Sri Lankan Peace Accord" referred to the very ancient and pre-historic civilisation of Mohanjadaro and how the Tamil people are the proud inheritors of this most remarkable legacy in the human story.

He went on to say that such people deserve to live in this world with dignity and self-respect as a nation on equal footing with others. When he was talking of the Tamil people, it is obvious that he had in mind the 55 million Tamils in South India also where he himself was born.

According to the late Rev. Fr.S. Gnanapragasar, the well-known anthropologist, there was a time when the Dravidians (i.e those who speak Tamil, Kanarese, Telugu, Malayalam etc.) occupied the whole of India and Ceylon which then formed part of the sub-continent. Fr.Gnanapragasar adds that, for the Tamil occupation of North India, unimpeachable evidence was brought to light by excavations in the Indus Valley and that there was no doubt now that before

the advent of the Aryans into Punjab, some 2,000 years B.C, the Dravidians were the undisputed masters of India and Ceylon. After Ceylon had been cut off from the mainland by some seismic disturbance, it was only natural that the speech of its inhabitants developed into a dialect of its own.

Father Heras of Bambay, who specialised in the seal inscriptions of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa and who had visited Ceylon, indentified the signs of the old punch-marked coins of Ceylon as picture-writing belonging to the Indus Valley culture. These are all pre-Buddhistic, and mark, according to him, the marvellous civilization of the Indus Valley which had spread down to Ceylon three millenia before Christ.

This Indo-Ceylon relationship continued unabated until, in the early years of the 11th century, practically the whole of Ceylon became a province of the Chola Empire under Raja Raja Chola 1.

Prof. S.Arasaratnam, a historian specialising in Indo-Ceylon affairs, recently said at a meeting in London that for several centuries immediately preceding the arrival of the Portuguese colonists, the political, commercial and trade relationship between India and Ceylon had been very close. India at present is only trying to regain her earlier position by such Accords as the one of July 1987, he added.

Some people say that the July Accord is dead. The question before us is not so much as to whether the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord is alive or not.

#### De-facto Political Link-up:

As a consequence of this Accord, the fact is that over 100,000 Indian troops are on our soil. We all condemn the atrocities committed by these troops and, even if by a miracle, they are

withdrawn suddenly, the fact remains that a de facto political link-up between India and Sri Lanka has become closer.

When even a country like Great Britain has sacrificed a part of her sovereignty as a result of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, don't you think that the path of wisdom for the people of Tamil Eelam is, especially in the longterm interests of strengthening our traditional friendship with the great people of India and in the immediate objective of putting an end to the bloody war, to tell the Indian government and the Indian people that we are prepared to come into the Indian Union, in a confederal set-up or sovereignty-Association basis as in the case of the demand of Parti Quebecois in Canada? The 55 million people of Tamil Nadu appear to tolerate the Indian Constitution. So. why not we join them in the name of Tamil togetherness?

It is also relevant here to recall the words of the world renowned Kalayogi Dr.Ananda Coomaraswamy: "The more I know of Ceylon, the more inseparable from India does it appear and indeed I regret sometimes that Ceylon is not in the truest sense a part of India.... In Asia, all roads lead to India." Long before Ananda Coomraswamy, Arumuga Navalar, the first Tamil freedom fighter, although born in Jaffna, demonstrated with his life that he regarded the whole of Tamil Nadu as his own motherland. He spent many of his years in Chidambaram and the Navalar School there is still flourishing. His contribution to Tamil language is monumental. His greatest single legacy for us is his life's mission which looked upon the whole of Tamil Nadu and Tamil Eelam as one Nadu. one single state.

\* \* \* \*

#### TAMIL VOICE INTERNATIONAL

15 April 1988

#### PRABAHARAN, A MAN OF DESTINY

Sankaracharya

by K. Vaikunthavasan

Nearly 1,500 delegates from 30 countries and 2,000 observers listened to the common cliches about Hindu Unity from well known and recognised leaders at the World Hindu Conference concluded on March 28th, at Kathmandu.

The one outstanding spiritual Head who received a spontaneous standing ovation was His Holiness JAGADGURU SRI JAYENDRA SARASWATHI OF SRI KANCHI KAMAKOTI PEETAM, when he addressed a mammoth session.

Earlier in the course of an exclusive interview on the crisis in SRI LANKA, JAGADGURU SANKARACHARYA praised the death-defying heroic fight of the Liberation Tigers as soulstirring. When one is not afraid to die, one becomes elevated to a higher mental and spiritual plane. Referring to the practice of the Tigers carrying the cyanide capsule, the JAGADGURU said that once you win your battle against

death, other fights become trifles.

He described the LTTE leader Prabaharan as a man of destiny. The Tamils were not likely to accept anything less than an independent Eelam as a permanent solution. Mere signing of an agreement between India and Sri Lanka was not enough. The minds of both Governments should be turned to bring harmony and peace, concluded the Hindu Pope. The King of Nepal, King BIRENDRA, inaugurated the Conference.



#### TAMIL VOICE INTERNATIONAL

15 May 1989

# TOO EARLY FOR INDO-TAMIL EELAM PEACE TO BREAK OUT?

Krishna Vaikunthavasan, London

War between nations has taken place throughout the human story. Inevitably the wars always ended in peace, after a time. In the current 18 months of Indo-Eelam war, is it not time that this bloody war ended? Both sides have kept on accusing each other of being unwilling to start the negotiating process. Even before that, there has to be a de facto ceasefire. So, where is the hitch?

What we all must realise is that this is an unnatural warunnatural in the sense that one does not fight oneself. India is not our enemy. It would be stupid if the Indian Government proceeds on the basis that the Eelam Tamils and the Tigers are their natural foes. Indians and we Tamils are natural allies, from time immemorial. There is no basic conflict of interests. The Tiger leadership has said often that they never regard themselves as anti-Indian. The Indians say that their army went into Sri Lanka in order to protect the Tamils! What a great shame and tragedy that, as a result, thousands of Tamils have been killed, tortured and raped.

The Indo-Tamil Eelam war is not only unnatural, not merely counter- productive but also, it is self-destructive both for us 'Eelamites' as well as for the Indian image.

#### TAMIL VOICE INTERNATIONAL

15 March 1989

#### WHAT IS THE FUTURE OF TAMIL EELAM? Krishna Vaikunthavasan, Wimbledon

Can the new generation of Tamil MPs elected at the recently held general elections in Sri Lanka take our struggle further to achieve the objective of an Independent State of Eelam? What is it that the MPs can hope to do, which the earlier Tamil representatives were unable to deliver?

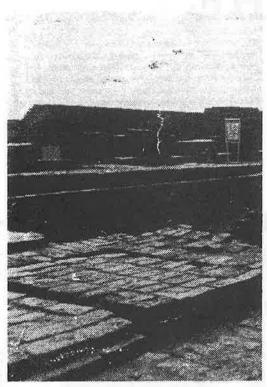
The one immediate positive and feasible step that could be taken is to change the name of the North-East Province to that of TAMIL EELAM. The Indian and Sri Lankan Governments could be persuaded to agree to this. Just as Annadurai was instrumental in the changing of the name 'Madras State' to that of 'Tamil Nadu', and thus give some emotional and symbolic satisfaction to the Tamil people there, so that our people in the traditional Tamil homelands also will feel elated.

If the Indian Constitution permitted a change, Sri Lanka too can allow it. Indeed, Sri Lanka itself was known as 'Ceylon' until recently. So, will the new MPs take the initiative without delay?

#### **ASIAN TIMES**

Friday 16th September to Thursday 22nd September 1988

# Proud inheritors of historic legacy



The ancient site of Moenjadaro

#### by Krishna Valkunthavasan

THE former Indian Foreign Secretary, Mr A P Venkateswaran, spoke at the recent international Tamil conference in London on "The Tamil National Struggle and the Indo-Sri Lankan Peace Accord"

He referred to the very ancient and prehistoric civilisation of Moenjadaro and how the Tamil people are the proud inheritors of this most remarkable legacy in the human story.

According to Rev. Father S Gnanapragasar, the well known Dravidologist, there

was a time when the Dravidians (ie those who speak Tamil and its dialects such as Kanarese, Telugu and Malayalam) occupied the whole of India and Ceylon which then formed part of the subcontinent.

Father Gnanapragasar added that for the Tamil occupation of North India, unimpeachable evidence was recently brought to light by excavations in the Indus Valley.

There is no doubt now that before the advent of the Aryans into Punjab, some 2,000 years BC, the Dravidians were the undisputed masters of India and Ceylon.

After Ceylon had

been cut off from the mainland by some seismic disturbance, it was only natural that the speech of its inhabitants developed into a dialect of its own.

Father Heras of Bombay, who specialised in the seal inscriptions of Moenjadaro and Harappa and who had visited Ceylon, identified the signs on the old punch-marked coins of Ceylon as picture-writing belonging to the Indus Valley culture. These are all

pre-Buddhistic, and mark, according to him, the marvellous civilization of the lnus Valley – which had spread down to Ceylon three millenia before Christ.

This process of Indo-Ceylon relationship continued unabated until in the early years of the 11th Century practically the whole of Ceylon became a province of the Chola empire under Raja Raja I.

Prof S Arasartnam, a hisotrian specialising in Indo-Ceylon affairs, recently said at a meeting in London that for several centuries im-

mediately preceding the arrival of the Portuguese colonilists, the political, especially commercial and trade relationship between India and Ceylon had been very close. India at present is only trying to regain her earlier position by such accords as the one in July 1987, he added.

Some people say that the July accord is dead.

The question before us is not so much as to whether the Indo/Sri Lankan Agreement is alive or not.

When even a country like Great Britain has sacrificed a part of her sovereignty as a result of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, don't you think that the path of widom for the people of Tamil Eelam is, especially in the long-

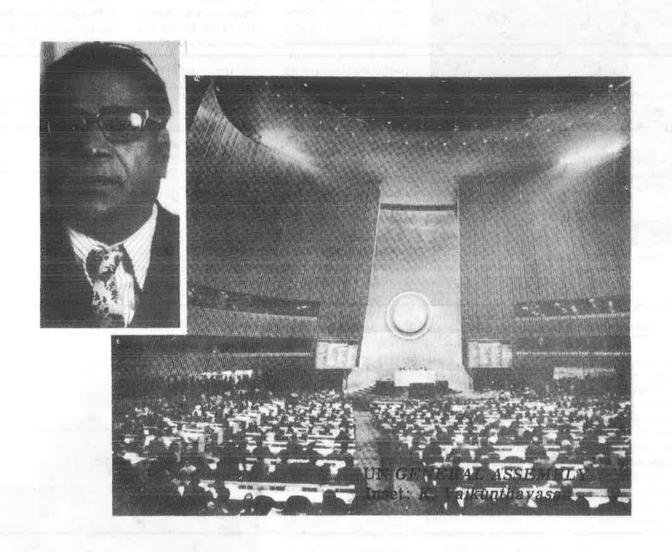
term interests of strengthening our traditional friendship with the people of India and in the immediate objective of putting an end to the bloody war, to tell the Indian Government and the Indian people that we are prepared to come into the Indian Union. in a cofederal set up or sovereignty-

Association basis as in the case of the demand of Parti Quebec in Canada.



With my guide at the site of MOHEN-JADARO - April 1988

# A TAMIL EELAM VOICE IN THE U.N.O.



KRISHNA VAIKUNTHAVASAN

Text of speech made by Krishna Vaikunthavasan to the 150 member
United Nations General Assembly on 5th October, 1978
(The President of the Assembly Mr. I Liveano, presided)

Mr President! Leaders of the World!

If oppressed minority nations such as Tamil Eelam cannot make representations to this supreme body, then where are we to go?

My name is Krishna and I come from the 2½ million strong Nation of Tamil Eelam lying between Sri lanka and India.

The Sri Lanka Sinhala government is continuing a policy of genocide aimed at the destruction of our Tamil Nation.

We have exercised our right of self-determination to live as a separate Nation.

There is every danger of the Tamil problem threatening the peace of the Indian Region.

The problem in Sri Lanka will develop to be as serious as the Palestinian and the Cyprus problems unless you, the world leaders intervene and help in its solution now.

We appeal to you for such help! Thank you. I apologise for speaking without permission.

LONG LIVE TAMIL EELAM!

FROM LOGANATHAN, A FORMER GENERAL MANAGER OF BANK OF CEYLON



17, Alfred Place, Colombo 3. 21.11.79.

Thanks for our letter of 30.10.79 and the enclosures. I am most of the time in Jaffna where the Head Office of both Consultancy and Finance and Development Limited and Merchant Finance Limited function. Our Colombo office, which is now at 17. Alfred Place, Colombo 3 is only a channel office. I am writing this letter from Colombo where I am addressing an International Conference tomorrow.

The two organisations which I head are absolutely non-political and their concern with Socio-Economic problems. Whatever our individual feelings may be towards the question as to whether or not the Tamils should have a separate Tamil Eelam, there must be some organisations which are completely divorced from politics in order to concerntrate on socio-economic development. The two organisations which I head aim to serve this purpose. Politicians have their own role to play. Any connection between us and the proponents of Tamil Eelam will be a "Kiss of Death" to us.

Whether Sri Lanka enjoys a Unitary form of government or a Federal form of government or has separate independent states within itself, the economic development of particularly the Tamil areas in Sri Lanka is a sine quo non not only for the survival of the Tamils but also for the welfare of the other communities living in Sri Lanka. Each one of us, Tamils, must carve out our own course of action, without causing conflicts. My organisations do not wish to conflict with any political organisations, what ever its complexion may be.

Having stated what I have stated above you will appreciate my inability to enter into any dialogue on subjects with political overtones.

With Kind Regards.

Yours Sincerely.

C.LOGANATHAI

#### TAMIL EELAM - A NATION WITHOUT A STATE

AN INTERNATIONAL TAMIL ELIAM RESEARCH CONFERENCE
ON THE ISSUES CONCERNED WITH THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE OF TAMIL ELIAM FOR SELF DETERMINATION

Professor J.Balachandra, Chairman, International Tamil Eelam Research Conference, Department of Electrical and Electronic Engineering, California State University, 6000J Street, Sacramento, CA 95819, U.S.A.

June 11 1991

Dear Mr. Vaikunthavasam,

We received your paper entitled "Indo-Tamil Eelam Confederation". The concept was well written and I was impressed with your paper. However, since the list of speakers were chosen from the abstracts that were sent to us by April 30, 1991, we are unable to accept your paper for presentation at the conference.

However I hope you will be able to make it to the conference. It will be a rewarding experience for all of us as the speakers are eminent people with a very keen insight to the problems of Tamils of Eelam.

Kindest Regards

Cyc &

Dr. C.J.Balachandra

A Brief Summary of the Paper

# INDO-TAMIL EELAM CONFEDERATION

By Krishna Vaikunthavasan

The following authorities and quotations will convince any worldly-wise political activist that the future of a sovereign state of TAMIL EELAM lies in some sort of political link-up and "unity" with india, our great neighbour.

The overall cumulative thrust of the present-day political developments in

What is the use of mere sovereignty per se, if the people involved are not to enjoy full democratic rights and good relations with neighbours?

I first quote a few paras from the famous All-India Congress Committee's Quit India Resolution (1942).

The President was Maulana Abul KALAM AZAD.

This resolution appears in full in his book

India Wins Freedom (Orient Longmans - page 268-(1988 edn.)

and defence of India in this hour of danger, the Committee is of opinion that the future peace, security and ordered progress of the world demand a World Federation of free nations, and on no other hasis can the problems of the modern world be solved. Such a world Education

ensure freedom of its constituent nations, the prevention of aggression and exploitation by one nation of another, the protection of national minorities, the advancement of all backward areas and peoples, and the pooling of the world's resources for the common good of all. On the establishment of such a World Federation, disarmament would be practicable in all countries, national armies, navies and air forces would no longer be necessary, and a World Federal Defence Force would keep the world peace and prevent aggression.

An independent India would gladly join such a World Federation and co-operate on an equal basis with other nations in the solution of international problems.

Such a Federation should be open to all nations who agree with its fundamental principles. ---- "

When the all-sovereign British Government headed by Thatcher entered into an International Agreement, the Anglo-Irish, some years ago, over Northern Ireland, it willingly deded part of its sovereignty to a foreign Government, namely the Irish Government, in that the Irish were legally permitted to have a say in the running of affairs in Northern Ireland, a part of the U.K.

Once the European Union, the Common European currency etc come into force by 1972 or soon thereafter, a mile-stone towards World Federal Government would have been reached with the United States of Europe taking concrete shape.

#### World's Interdependence

The truth is that the world's increasing inter-dependence means that regional groupings are growing up everywhere.

The 7 South Asian countries India, Pakistan, Bangla Desh, Sri Lanka, Napal, Bhutan and Maldives have recently come together and formed that is known as the SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation.)

In Africa we have the OAU - Organisation for African Unity. These reional groupings are in the nature of potential World Federation Units.

The well known Indian paper - Indian Express dated 28th December 90 carried the following news item:

## Committee of Asian Nations mooted Confederation of Asian Nations:

All Asian Nations should come together to consider a system of unity on the lines of the European Comity of Nations so that Asian interests in the region and the world could be actively promoted and protected,

This was suggested by Ms Yuan Ping who is heading a Chinese delegation on a visit to India to study areas of common interest, being hosted by the BASIC Chemicals Pharmaceuticals and Cosmetics Export Promotion Council (BCPCEPC). The Chairman Mr RAMU DEORA welcomed the suggestion of a Confederation of Asian Nations and offered all cooperation for a move in the direction.

28.(2.40)
The Hindu on the same date published the following:-

#### A.S.E.A.N.

Another regional bloc, the A.S.E.A.M. (Association of South-East Asia Nations) created in 1967, consists of Indonesis, Philipines, Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore.

#### Federal Government in Australia

Before Federation in 1901, Australia comprised six separate colonies under the British Crown - New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia and TASMANIA which were largely self-governing and responsible for the management of affairs within their individual boundaries. Thus a federal system of constitutional Government was adopted. This was mainly based on the lines of the Constitution of the United States of America.

#### SHRINKING PLANET

The former Commonwealth Secretary-General Mr Shridath S Ramphal in the course of his Keynote address at the International Conference on Federalism held at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, LAGOS, on 10 May 1976 said:-

- "--- I discern in federalism concepts of wider application than the nation-state alone -- concepts that have relevance to perceptions of our shrinking planet as a society in itself and not merely as the aggregation of a divisible humanity."
- --- The principles of federalism are constantly becoming more relevant to our global society as inter-dependence passes from the realm of perception to the theatre of international actuality.

#### SOUTH ASIAN CONFEDERATION

General K SUNDARJI writing in the 'India Today' of 31-1-91 (page 81) had this to say in the course of his article \_\_\_

"WE CAN LOWER REGIONAL TENSIONS AND DEFENCE EXPENDURES IF WE OPT FOR A NUCLEAR DETERRENT; AIM FOR A SOUTH ASIAN CONFEDERATION; GET FAKISTAN TO FREEZE THE KASHMIR FROBLEM AND SETTLE THE BORDER QUESTION WITH CHINA."

Once we decide in principle to have a political link-up with India, then the next stage will be how hest to proceed -- negotiations with New Delhi and Madras -- whether for a loose Confederation --- 7

Bishop's House Valalai Atchuvely Sri Lanka

Sept 21, 1978

My dear Mr Vaikunthavasan

Many thanks for your letter.

We have now decided to hold the 5th Conference of Tamil Studies in London, in the Summer of 1980. Could you be one of the chief organisers. We should organise an ad hoc Committee with Dr John Marr of the School of Oriental and African Studies as Chairman, and try to collect funds from the Tamils abroad for the expenses of the Conference. I understand from Prof Vithyananthan that Tamil Associations in London are willing to help. Expenses will include printing and circulating notices, a few pre-paid tickets for scholars from India and Sri Lanka. Already there may be some working for this end. You are the best man I know to organize.

Your way Ameeroly X.S. Wani Mayopam

டா**்டர் தனினாயக அடிகள்** 1913---1980 தேமேதூரத் தமிழோசை உலகௌம் பரப்பியவர்

#### TAMIL UNITED LIBERATION FRONT

238, Main Street, Jaffna, SRI LANKA, 14th August, 1979.

#### AN APPEAL TO EELAM TAMILS ABROAD.

Dear friends,

At this momentous stage of our freedom struggle, every Eelam Tamil, he be in Eelam or he be in the Capitals of the world, must play his part. London-based Eelam Tamils have played and have yet to play an important role in calling world's attention to the justice of our cause, to the reasonableness of our objective of freedom, to every instance of the flagrant violation of human rights in Sri Lanka, to gross discrimination against the Tamils in every field of governmental activity. While we appreciate the tremendous tasks undertaken by our compatriots in London, we have, at times, been grieved to witness the multiplicity of organisations, the conflict of personalities, which often lead to fissiperous tendencies among our brothers. We have before us the lessons of the past. We have seen how repeatedly, in spite of our many virtues and our great abilities, we have failed in our aim to win freedom for our people. We have learnt this lesson here at home; the tremendous force that the TULF is today, is undoubtedly due to this unity. This is the message we wish in all humility, to convey to our brothers abroad.

A first step in the right direction has been taken by the Eelam Tamils Association, Eelam Liberation Organisation and Thamilar Viduthalai Peraney, coming together to take joint decisions and to take collective action through the Tamil Coordinating Committee. We appeal to all organisations and individuals who share the ideal of Thamil Eelam and who are ready to cooperate with the TULF to join the TCC. We wish to assure all that the TCC shall function in a democratic way, taking decisions, as far as possible, on the basis of consensus; if decisions have to be taken on the basis of a vote, it shall be after a full and free discussion.

Our tasks are many and onerous; the path we have to traverse before we reach our cherished goal of freedom is long; our resources are limited; let us not fritter our limited resources and waste our energy in useless inter-fighting; let us, on the other hand, close ranks, co-ordinate our actions in an organisation like the TCC and forge ahead with our many tasks.

We remain Yours fraternally,

(M. Sivasithamparam) PRESIDENT.

(A. Amirthalingum)

SECRETARY-GENERAL

The English Daily with the largest circulation in Sri Lanka.

**DAILY NEWS** 

VOL. 64 NO. 253

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1979.

# Envoy chides Tamils in UK for canard

Sri Lanka's High Commissioner in the United Kingdom, Mr. Noel Wimalasena has told the Tamil Co-ordinating Committee of Sri Lanka Organisations in the UK that by its false propaganda and fund collection, it had contributed directly towards a campaign of terrorism waged by some Tamils in Sri Lanka with a view to dismembering the country.

In a letter recently to the Convenor, Tamil Co-ordinating Committee, 55, Warren Road Colliers Wood, London, Mr. Wimalasena says: The representations of Sri Lankan Tamils who have chosen to live abroad in affluent societies can only worsen any difficulties faced by their much less well-off fellow Tamils at home.

This is the text of Mr. Wimalasena's letter to the Convenor. Tamil Co-ordinating Committee:

"I am in receipt of a letter dated 10th August from you, which you claim to have circulated to all Diplomatic Missions here, and in which you make certain representations about Sei Lankan Tamils.

"In it, you appeal to foreign governments to help achieve peacefully a settlement of so called Sinhalese-Tamil differences. However, you have not informed them that, by false propagands abroad and fund collection, your Committee may well have contributed directly towards a campaign of terrorism waged by some Tamils in Sri Lanka, with a view to dismembering the country.

"You profess concern at the alleged murder of some Tamil youths. However, you have not previously professed concern at the proven murder by some Tamil youths of 15 Policemen and several civilians (mostly themselves also Tamils), nor at the assassination of one and the attempted assassination of some other Tamil politicians who had sought to work for a unified and unitary Sri Lanka.

"You mention allegations made by TULF leader Amirthalingam about misconduct by the state's security forces. However, you have not mentioned that the President's immediate response was to assure Mr. Amirthalingam of the appointment of a Parliamentary Select Committee inclusive of TULF mem-

bers, to investigate and report on matters raised. The Select Committee may well find the allegations to have been unfounded. Hence, resorting to mischievous propaganda at this stage, as you have done by your circular letter, might even prejudice the working of the Select Committee in which the TULF, whom you purport to represent, is also participating. It is to be hoped that it was not your intention to achieve this.

"The record of the President and Government of Sri Lanka in working for the peaceful settlement of Tamil grievances is well enough known to informed world opinion. I venture to believe that the most constructive contribution which your committee could make in the present circumstances would be to adhere to the facts of the matter, and to call on your fellow Tamils to co-operate with the Government. The misrepresentations of Sri Lankan Tamils who have chosen to live abroad in affluent societies can only worsen any difficulties faced by their much less well-off fellow Tamils at home."



K.KANTHASAMY

115, Rosmead Place Colombo 7 7 November 79

The High Commissioner has replied to your letter. Turn the heat on. Carry on the propaganda.

The select Committee inquiring into the killing of Inpam is headed by Lalith. He must be a deliberate choice. He is a close friend of IGP.

Yours sincerely,

TRRO is a marked body.....

My Dear Vaikunths,

In a hurry.

With kind regards.

Affan Kunon

#### **BOOK REVIEW**

# A VOICE IN THE U.N.O. - WIMAL SOCKANATHAN





Twelve years ago on an October morning a solitary figure climbed up the Rostrum of the Supreme Institute of the World of Nations in New York. The figure was Mr. Krishna Vaikunthavasan (then aged 58) a Barrister at Law and a Retired District Judge. While the President of the Assembly announced the next item and invited the Sri Lankan Foreign Minister to the rostrum, Mr. Vaikunthavasan calmly rose and walked up to the stage and was greeted by the President (who rarely knew the identity of the 2000 delegates from all over the world).

Mr. Vaikunthavasan appeared before the microphone and addressed the world leaders.

It was too late for the U.N. Officials to realise their mistake and do the needful. Until they removed him bodily from the stage Mr. Vaikunthavasan continued with his plea on behalf of the Tamils' right for self determination and warned the world leaders that the Sri Lankan problem will develop to be as serious as the Palestinian and the Cyprus problems unless the leaders intervened.

Well – with the intervention of 11 years and some months later we find that many of Mr. Vaikunthavasan's prophecies come true. Sri Lanka once well known for its hospitality, beautiful beaches and the paradise like natural environment is shunned by tourists after it witnessed the worst pogrom in its entire history.

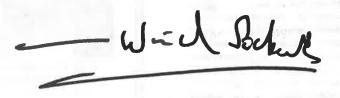
The sensation created by Mr. Vaikunthavasan in 1978 who was not an imposter or a conman but a genuine political activist is described in detail in a small booklet recently published in Madras by the Tamil Co-ordinating Committee under the title 'A Tamil Eelam Voice in the U.N.O.'.

The Foreword for this booklet is written by an illustrious journalist Mr. Sivanayagam – Founder Editor of the Jaffna based Saturday Review and subsequently Editor/Director of The Tamil Information Centre, and later Tamil Information & Research Unit (TIRU), Madras. Mr. Sivanayagam a regular contributor to the Tamil Times needs no introduction to readers of English news journals coming out from India and Sri Lanka for the past 20 years.

I have found it always a pleasure to read his inimitable style of English writing, his comments very hardhitting – his cynical remarks very interesting and entertaining and his remarks often very stimulating and thought provoking. Mr. Sivanayagam's foreword to Mr. Vaikunthavasan's booklet is no exception. His adaptation of the English proverb 'Much water has flowed under the bridge' into 'much water has flowed down the Ganga and Kelani' (with its own floating corpses in recent times) between Mr. Vaikunthavasan's stirring blow for Tamil Eelam in 1978 and now – is excellent.

As Mr. Sivanayagam has emphasised in his foreword our emerging Nation must put down in print all the unrecorded events of the past 15 years and write its own history on its long path to freedom.

This Publication certainly contributes to this cause. As one political commentator once observed 'Vaikunthavasan has achieved much more for the Tamil cause by way of international publicity in his three minute raid on the U.N. Microphone than the T.U.L.F. has so far done.'



மலர் : 2 பிரசோற்பதி வருசம் ஆனி 12-ம் திகதி இதழ் : 12

# பாறிஸ்

26 ஜுன் - 02 ஜுலை 1992

#### **EELANADU PARIS**

வைகுந்தவாசனின் நூலுக்கு முத்தமிழ் காவலர் பாராட்டு



ஈழநாட்டில் பிறந்து லண்ட வில் குடியேறியுள்ள ஓய்வு பெற்ற நீதிபதி வழக்கறிஞர் திரு. வைகுந்த வாசன் அவர் களால் எழுதப்பெற்ற "ஐ.நா. சபையில் எனது முதல் முழக் கம்" என்ற நூல் என் பார் வைக்கு வந்தது படித்து மகிழ்ந்தேன்.

நூலாசிரியர் ஐக்கிய நாட்டு சபையில் முழக்கிய முதல் முழக்கத்தை தமிழ்நாடும் ஈழநாடும் மட்டுமன்றி உலக நாடுகள் அனைத்தும் நன்க றியும். என்றாலும் அம்முழக் கத்தை இந்நூல் நன்கு விளக் கிக் காட்டுகிறது.

ஒரு நாட்டில் பெரும்பான் மையான மக்கள், சிறுபான் மையான மக்களை மதிப்ப தில்லை. அவர்களின்

தேவைகளையும் அறிவ தில்லை. உரிமைகளையும் வழங்குவதில்லை. இந்த நிலையில் சிறுபான்மையான மக்கள் தங்களுக்குள்ள நியா யமான பிறப்பு உரிமைகளைக் கேட்பார்கள். எழுதுவார்கள். மேடையேறிப் பேசுவார்கள். கூட்டம் போட்டு தீர்மானம் செய்வார்கள். அரசுக்குத் தூது செல்வார்கள். சட்டச பையிலும் தீர்மானம் கிடைக் காவிடில் வன்முறையில் இறங்கி விடுவார்கள். இந் நிலை தான் இலங்கையிலும் ஏற்பட்டது.

எனினும் ஈழநாட்டு மக்கள் தங்களுக்கென்று ஒரு தனி நாடு வேண்டும்; இன்றேல் வாழமுடியாது என்ற நிலைக்கு வந்து உரிமைக ளைப் பெற போராடிக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இச் செய்திகளை இந்நூல் வினக் கமாகக் காட்டுகிறது.

அரபுமொழி பேசுகின்ற ஆறு கோடி மக்களுக்கு உலகில் இருபத்து மூன்று நாடுகளும் ஐக்கிய நாட்டு சபையில் ஐக்கிய நாட்டு இருபத்து ஒரு நாற்காலிகள் இருக்கும்பொழுது அதைவிட எண்ணிக்கைகள் अक्रीक தமிழ்பேசும் மக்க உள்ள ளுக்கு உலகில் ஒரு நாடும் ஐக்கிய இல்லை; BITLE சபையில் ஒரு இடமும் இல் லையே என இந்நூல் குறிப் பிடுவது நம்மை சிந்திக்கத் துரண்டுகிறது.



V. MUTTUCUMARASWAMY Author of several publications – both in English and Tamil

......

இலங்கை ஒரே நாடு. நீங்கள் இந்நாட்டு மக்கள் நீங்கள் எங் களோடு இருந்துதான் ஆக வேண்டும் என்று கூறிக்கொ ண்டே அச்சிறுபான்மை மக் களை தரைப்படை, கடற் படை, விமானப்படை முத லியவைகளால் தாக்கி அழித் துக் கொண்டிருக்கும் கொடுமையை இலங்கையில் தான் பார்க்கமுடிகிறது. தான் எல்லா வலிமைகளும் நிறைந் துள்ள ஒரு அரசோடு எவ்வித வலிமையும் இல்லாத ஒரு தனி மனிதன் பிரபாகரன் இர ஆண்டுகளாகப் போராடிக் கொண்டிருக்கி றான் என்ற செய்தி நம் உள் ளத்தைத் தொடுகிறது. திரு. பிரபாகரன் வெற்றி பெறு aurean ? தோல்வியடை என்பது வேறு வானா செய்தி. அடையப் GUIT QUE வாழ்த்தா ? வசையா? என்பதும் வேறு செய்தி. அவனது செயல் நல் லதா ? கெட்டதா ? என்பதில் மாறுபட்ட கருத்தும் இருக்க லாம். ஆனால் தந்தை செல் வாவின் வழிவந்த அவன் ஒரு மாவீரன் என்பதில் மாறுபட்ட இருக்க கருத்து முடியாது என்பதை இந்நூ லால் நன்கு அறிய முடி கிறது. என் நாடு தமிழ்நாடு என் மொழி தமிழ்மொழி. ஆகவே நான் தமிழன் என்று கூறுகிற ஒவ்வொருவரும் இந்நூலை கட்டாயம் படித்துத் தீரவேண் டும்.

ஆசிரியர் பாரிஸ்டர் திரு.
வைகுந்தவாசன் அவர்கள் இன்னும் இது போன்ற நூல் கள் பலவ்றறை எழுதி தமிழ் கூறும் உலகிற்கு வழங்கி உதவ வேண்டு மெனவும், தமிழ்மக்கள் அவற்றைப் படித்துப் பயனடைய வேண்டிக் கொள்கிறேன். - கி.ஆ.பெ.விகவதாத டூ

#### A TAMIL NEWSPAPER FROM LONDON



இல 13 பிரசோற்பதி பங்குனி 19 ஆம் நாள் 14-1992

**துமிமுன்** 

-4-92

9

# ஐ.நாவில் தமிழீழப் பிரகடனம்

பிடிழ்ப்பாணத்திலிருந்து மக்க ளின் ஏகோபித்த அபிமானத்தைப் பேற்ற மக்கள் நாளிதழாக வெளிவந்து கொண்டிருந்த 'ஈழநாடு' பத்திரிகை யில் பனரியாற்றிய காலத்தில் ஏற்பட்ட அனுபவங்கள் ஒவ்வொன் றம் ஒவ்வொரு விதம்/

பிதினைந்து ஆண்டு காலம் இரவுப் பொறுப்பாசிரியராகக் கடமை யாற்றியிருக்கிறேன்- இப்போது நினைத் தாலும் 'கனவாக' இருக்கிறது/

நன்றாக இன்னமும் ஞாபசமாக இருக்கிறது. அந்தநாள்

5-10-1978/ ஒரு வியாழக்கிழமை! இரவு ஒரு மணி/

வவனியாவுக்கு அப்பால், கொழும்பு, கண்டி, கிழக்கு மாகாணம் போன்ற பகுதிகளுக்கு அச்சான பத்திரி கைகளை தபால் ரயிலில் அனுப்பிய பின் மறுநாளுக்கான உள்ளுர் பதிப்புக் குக் கிடைக்கும் புதிய செய்திகளைப் பிரசுரித்து பத்திரிகையை வெளியிடு வது இரவுப் பொறுப்பு ஆசிரியரான என்னுடைய வேலை/ பார்த்து 'ஓகே' என்று இரவுப் பொறுப்பாசிரியர் கையொப்பமிட்ட பின்னரே, தொடர்ந்து அச்சுயந்திரம் வேலை செய்யும் அந்த முதலாவது பிரதிக்காகக் காத்திருந்தேன்! நள்ளி ரவு கடந்து ஒருமனியாகி விட்டது. பி.பி.ஸி உலக சேவையை வானொலி யில் திருப்பியபோது செய்தியின் பின்னணி' ஒலிபரப்பாகிக் கொண்டி. ருந்தது.

இலங்கைத் தமிழர் ஒருவர் ஐ.நா.சடையில் நடத்திய அபர்க்களம் பற்றிச் சொல்லிக் கொண்டிருந்தார் ஒலிபரப்பாளர்!

பிரபரப்பான அந்த விஷயம் பரபரப்பையே தேடித் திரியும் எனக்கு

உற்சாசுத்தைத் தந்தது. வீட்டுக்குப் போக வேண்டும் என்ற எண்ணம் மறந்துவிட்டது!

ஐ.நா.பொதுச்சபைத் தலைவர் இலங்கை வெளிவிவகார அமைச்ச ரைப் பேச அழைத்ததும் சம்பந்த மில்லாத ஒருவர் எழுந்து சென்று அந்நபரை பாதுனப்பு அலுவலர்கள் வெளியேற்றியபின் ஐ.நா.சபை மீண்டும் கூடியதாகவும் செய்தி கூறியது. அடுத்து ஒருமணி நேரத்தில் ஒலிபரப்பாகும் பிபிஸி உலக சேவையில் நிழுபோர்க்கிலிருந்து பிபிஸி நிருபர் இச்செய்தி சம்பந்த மான மேலும் விபரங்களை நேரடியா கத் தருவார் என்றும் வானையி

அநா.சனப்பில் தமிழிழ பிரகடன மா? நம்பிவ முடியவில்லை. 1978 தற்போதுள்ள தபோல செயற்பட்ட காலமில்லை. அரசாங்கத் துடன் சேர்ந்து 'தலையாட்டும்' தமிழ் பிரமுகர்களுக்கு 'துரோகிகள் என்று அவர்களையும், سند رخ رهن به அரசுடன் வேளவசெய்யும் உயர் பொலிஸ் அதிகாரிகளையும் 'முடித் துக் கட்டும்' படலம் மட்டுமே இடையிடையே நடந்து கொண்டிரு ந்த காலமது/ ஐ.நா. சபையில் அங்கம் வகிக்கும் உலக நாடுகளின் தலைவர் கள் அல்லது அவர்களது அமைச்சர் கள் <u>மட்டுமே</u> கலந்து கொள்வது வழனம் ஒரு முறை பாலஸ்தீன விடுதலை இயக்கத் தலைவர் யசிர் அரபாத் ஐ.நா.சடையில் பேசுவதற்கு அனுமதிக்கப்பட்டிருந்தது தெரியும் அதுவும் நீண்ட காலமாக மத்திய கிழக்கு முஸ்லீம் நாடுகள் அரபத்தை ஐ நா.சபையில் பேச அனுமதிப்பதன் மூலம் அவரது கருத்துக்களை உலக மக்கள் அறிந்து, பிரச்னையை எப்படித் தீர்க்கலாம் என்று உலக நாடுகளின்

தீர்க்கலாம் என்று உலக நாடுகளின் அபிப்பிராயத்தைப் பெற முடியும் என்று 30க்கு மேற்பட்ட நாடுகள் ஐ.நா.சபையில் நீன்ட காலமாக கோரிக்கை விடுத்ததின் எதிரொலியா கவே பாலஸ்தீன விடுதலை இயக்கத் தலைவர் பேசுவதற்கு அனுமதி கிடைத்தது.

இலங்கையைப் பொறுத்த யட்டில் அதுவும் தமிழரை பொறுத்த யட்டில் தமிழர் விடுதலைக் கூட்டணியினர் யட்டுமே தமிழரின் ஏகப் பிரதி நிதிகளாகயிருந்த காலமது. இவர்களை ஐ.நா.சடையில் பேச

# பாதுகாப்புச் சபைக்குள் நுழைந்ததமிழர் யார் ?

அடுத்த நாள் வெள்ளிக்கிழமை! வெள்ளியென்றால், வீடு முழுவதும் கட்டிக் கழுவிப் பெருக்கி, நல்லூர் கந்தனிடம் சென்று திரும்பிய பின்னரே என் இல்லாள் துவாரகை யின் சமையல் தயாராகும்! எனக்கும் இதனால் ஒரு பழக்கம் - வியாழக் சிற்கையூடு அடகு பத்திரிகையை நேரத் துக்கு முடித்துவிட்டு வீடு திரும்புவது வழக்கம்!

இரவு பன்னிரன்டு மணிக்கு மறுதான் பத்திரினை மெஷினுக்குப் போய் விட்டது! 'மெஷின் புரூவ்' வர ஒரு மணிநேரம் எடுக்கும். மெஷினில் அச்சான முதல் பிரதியே மெஷின் புரூவ்! அந்தப் பிரதியைச் சரிபிழை வேசமாகப் பேசத் தொடங்கி விட் டார்/ தமிழ்சமும் என்று கூறியதும்

# பத்திரகையாளர் அனுபவம்

சபையில் பரபரப்பு! ஒலிபெருக்கியைத் துண்டித்தனர்! ஒரு நிமிடம், இரண்டு நிமிடம் - பாதுகாப்பு அதிகாரிகள் மேடைக்குப் பாய்ந்தனர். அவரை அப்புறப்படுத்தினர். அதற்குள் அவர் சொல்ல வேண்டியதைச் சொல்லி விட்டார்!

சில நிமிட நேரம் சபை அல்லோலகல்லோலப்பட்டதாகவும்

படிப்பகம்

அனுமதிக்குமாறு குரல் எழுப்பப் பட்டதாகவும் செய்திகளில்லை. அப்படியிருக்க ஐ.நா.சபையில் பரபர

ப்பை ஏற்படுத்திய இந்தத் தமிழன் யார்?

அச்சாகிக் கொண்டிருக்கும் நாளைய பத்திரிகையை Stop press செய்தேன். அச்சுக் கோப்பாளர்களின் போர்மனாக அன்றைய தினம் கடமையாற்றிய மறவன்புனோ பாலசிங்கத்தையும் ஆறுமுகசாமியை யும் அழைத்து முன்புக்கச் செய்தியில் மேற்கொள்ளப்படவிருக்கும் செய்தி மாற்றம் பற்றிக் கூறினேன்.

அன்றைய தினம் ஐ.நா.சபை நிகழ்ச்சிகளுக்கு கொலம்பியா நாட்டு பேசுகிறாரே என்று அங்கு குமுமி யிருந்த உலக நாட்டுத் தலைவர்கள் ஆச்சரியத்தில் மூழ்கினர். அப்போது தான் தானொரு தமிழன் என்றும், பெயர் கிருஷ்ணா வைகுந்த வாசன் என்றும், சிங்கள அரசாங்சுத்தினால் நகக்கி ஒடுக்கப்படும் ஒரு இனத்தைச் சேர்ந்தவன் என்பதால் தமது மக்கள் சார்பில் அவர்கள் அனுபவிக்கும் தன்பங்களை உலக நாட்டு மக்களுக் குத் தெரியப்படுத்துவதற்காக ஐநா. மண்டபத்துக்குள் அனுமதியின்றி நுழைந்ததாகவும் அவர் சொன்னார்.

நீ திபதி பதவியிலிருந்து ஓய்வு பெற்றபின் லள்சடனில் வழக்கறி ஞராகச் சேவை செய்து கொண்டிருந்த வைகுந்தவாசன் அமெரிக்க நியூயோர்க்



சிருஷ்ணா வைகுந்தவாசன்

பிரதிநிதி தலைமை தாங்கிக் கொண்டி. Maritan, பிரான்ஸ், பிரிட்டன் உள்ளிட்ட 150 உலக நாடுகளின் தலைவர்கள் இதில் கலந்து கொண்டிருந்தனர். சுமார் 2000 பேர் பார்வையாளர் பகுதியில் இருந்தனர். காலை நிகழ்ச்சியில் சைப்பிரஸ் நாட்டுத் தலைவர் ஒரு மணி நேரமும், சூரினம் நாட்டு பிரதம மந்திரி ஒரு மணி நேரமும் பேசியதால் நண்பகல் இடை வெளிக்குப் பின்னர் இன்னுமொரு நாட்டுப் பிரதிநிதி <u>மட்டுமே பேசுவதற்கு நேரம் ஒதுக்கப்</u> இலங்கைப் பட்டிருந்தது JI 51 வெளியுறவு பிரகிகிகி-ஹமீட் இக்கூட்டத் தொடரில் கலந்து கொள்டிருந்தார். இப்போது இலங் கைப் பிரதிநிதி பேசுவார்' என்று அறிவிக்கப்பட்ட ஒலிபெருக்கியில் தும், ஒருவர் சபையிலிருந்து எழுந்து மேடைநோக்கிச் சென்றார். முறைப் படி. சகலருக்கும் வணக்கம் தெரிவித்த அந்தப் பிரமுகர் சிங்கள அரசாங்கம் தமிழ் மக்கள் மிது நடத்திக் கொண்டி ருக்கும் அட்டுழியங்கள் பற்றிப் பேசி யது மட்டுமல்ல தமிழிழ பிரசுடனத்

ளத்ச் செய்து கொள்வதாகவும் அறிவித்தார்.

சிறிலங்கா அரசாங்கத்தின் பிரதி நிதி சிறிலங்கா அரகக்கு எதிராகப்

நகரில் நடந்த வழக்கறிஞர்கள் சங்க யாநாடு ஒன்றில் கலந்து கொள்வ தற்காக சென்றிருந்த வேளை, ஐ.நா. சபை கூட்டத் தொடர் நடந்து கொண்டிருந்தது. பார்வையாளர்கள் கலரியில் இருந்து நிகழ்ச்சிகளை சில அவதானித்திருக்கிறார். நாட்கள் இவ்விதம் சில நாட்கள் அங்கு சென்ற தால் பல நாடுகளின் தலைவர் சரூடன் இவருக்கு பழக்கம் ஏற்பட்டது இதனால் கலரியில் அமர்ந்து நிகழ்ச்சி களைப் பார்ப்பதைத் தவிர்த்து- உலக நாட்டுத் தலைவர்கள் அமருகின்ற மண்டபத் துக்குள்ளேயே அவர் அமரத் தொடங்கினார். அப்போது ஐ நாவின் துளைச் செயலாளராகயிருந்தவர் இந்தியரான சி.வி.நரசிம்மன். இவர் ஒரு தமிழர். ஐ.நாவின் பொதுச் செயலாள ராகயிருந்த யூதான்ட் இறந்த போது அப்பதவிக்கு நியமனம் பெறு பெற்றிருந்தவர் 555 இத்துகிழரான நரசிப்பன். அவ்வளவு தூரம் ஐ.நா.சபையில் அதிசு மதிப்புப் இவருடன் பெற்றிருந்தவர் அவர். னமகுந்தவாசன் சினேகிதமாகி தமிழர் விடுதலைக் கூட்டணியின் செயலாளர் நாயகம் அமிர்தலிங்கத்தை ஐ.நா. சபையில் பேசவைப்பதனால் சிறிலங் காவில் நகக்கி ஒடுக்கப்படும் தமிழ் மக்களின் இன்னல்களை உலக நாடுக-

### *660.8*5.31586550

ளுக்குத் தெரியப்படுத்தலாம் என்று கேட்டிருக்கிறார். இதற்கு நரசிப்பகர், 'நாட்டின் தலைவர் அல்லது அந்நாட் டின் பிரதிநி**திகள் மட்டுமே** தான் ஐ நா. சபையில் பேச அனுமதி கிடைக் கும் - அமிர்தலிங்கம் பேசுவதற்கு அனுமதி கிடைப்பது கடினம். விரும்பி னால் உலக நாடுகள் அமிர்தலிங்கத் தைப் பேசுவதற்கு அனுமதியளிக்க வேண்டும் என்று குரல் எழுப்ப வேள்கடும். இவ்வித சந்தர்ப்பங்களை ஏற்படுத்தினால் மட்டுமே பாலஸ்தீன இயக்கத் தலைவருக்கு விடுதலை அனுமதி கிடைத்தது போல அமிர் தலிங்கத்துக்கும் ஐ.நா.சபையில் பேச அனுமதி கிடைக்கும்" என்று நரசிம் மன் கூறிவிட்டாராம். அப்போது அமிர்தலிங்கம் இலங்கை பாராளு மன் றக்கில் वाद्वीतं के خ الحالة ATT TITLE தலைவராகவிருந்தவர். தின் எதிர்க் கட்சித் தலைவராக இருக் கும் ஒருவரை ஐ.நா.சபையில் பேச இப்போதைக்கு வைப்பதென்ப<u>து</u> நடக்கக்கூடிய காரியமில்லை என்பதை உணர்ந்து கொண்ட வைகுந்தவாசன் தாமே அழையாவிருந்தாளியாக நுழை ந்து ஐ.நா.சபையில் இலங்கைத் தமிழ் அரசாங்கத்தால் சிங்கள அனுபவித் துவரும் தொல்லைகளை வெளிப்படுத்த விரும்பியதன் எதிரொலியே இந்தப் பேச்சு" என்று செய்தியின் பின்னனியில் பிபிஸி நிருபர் குறிப்பிட்டார்.

இந்த விபரங்களையெல்லாம் மறுநாள் பத்திரிகையில், ஐ.நா.சபை யில் தமிழிழப் பிரகடனம், கூட்டத் தொடரில் அல்லோல கல்லோலம். யார் இந்த வைகுந்தவாசன்? என்று தலைப்பிட்டு முற்பக்கத்தில் கொட் டை எழுத்தில் செய்தியைப் பிரகரித் தேன். மறுநாள் இலங்கைப் பத்திரி கைகள் மட்டுமல்ல இந்தியப் பத்திரி கைகளும், ஏனைய உலக நாடுகளின் பத்திரிகைகளும் வானொலிகளும், Germonië : காட்சிகளும் 2555 தமிழன்பர் வைகுந்தவாசனின் துணிச் சலைப் பாராட்டி செய்திகள் வெளி யிட்டிருந்ததாக வானொலிச் செய்தி and the கொண்டிருந்தன. அமெரிக்காவில் நடந்து முடிந்த முக்கிய செய்தியொன்றைத் தவற விடாது - உரிய முக்கியத்துவம் கொடுத்து பிரசுரித்தமைக்காக பிரதம ஆசிரியர் என்னை மறுநாள் பாராட்டி

இது நடந்தது 14 ஆண்டுகளின் பின்னர் தற்போது லண்டன் வந்திருக்கிறேன். வைகுந்தவாசனும் லண்டனில் வசிப்பவர் என்பதால் அவரைச் சந்திக்கும் வாய்ப்பு எற்படும் போது இது சம்பந்தமான மேலும் விபரங்களை அவரிடம் பெற்று 'தமிழன்' வாசக நேயர்களுடன் பகிர் ந்துகொள்ளலாம் என நம்புகிறேன்.

### THE AUTHOR

Mr. K. Vaikunthavasan is a former Secretary General of the now 25,000 strong public service Trade Union in Ceylon - The GCSU. He also organised and was a Joint Secretary of the 100,000 strong All-Island Middle Class and Public Service Trade Unions during the years 1947-50.

Mr. Vaikunthavasan edited the English weekly newspaper "People's Voice" in Ceylon during the years 1951-53. It was the only weekly at the time. He visited China and Soviet Union with his wife as delegates from Ceylon to the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference held in Peking and the World Peace Conference held in Vienna both in 1952. Subsequently he wrote the book "Three Months in New China and Soviet Union" published 1953. A Tamil edition also was published. It carried a Foreword by the (late) Prof. J.D. Bernal FRS, a vice President of the World Peace Council.

In 1960 Mr. Vaikunthavasan was called to the English Bar and practised as an Advocate of the Supreme Court of Ceylon for ten years till 1971. He is also an Advocate of the Madras High Court from 1962.

He contested without success the Kankesanturai constituency in the Ceylon Parliament in 1965 as the official candidate of the United Left Front but resigned from it following the Front's anti-Tamil stand.

For six years from 1971-77 he worked in Zambia as a District Judge (Senior Resident Magistrate) and Registrar of the High Court.

He represented Zambia as an official delegate at two Commonwealth Magistrates' Conferences, the first one in Nairobi in August 1973 and again in Kuala Lumpur in August 1975.

In August 1978, in his capacity as a practising Barrister in England, he participated in the American Bar Association Centennial Convention held in New York as a British guest.

#### My Previous Publications

- 1. Three Months in New China and the Soviet Union 1953.
- 2. My Impressions of China and the Peace Conference (in Tamil) 1953.
- 3. The Way Out for the Tamil Speaking People:
- INDO-CEYLON FEDERATION March 1978.
- 4. Tamil Eelam Nation and U.N.O. December 1978.
- 5. The Way Out for the Tamil Speaking People
   INDO-TAMIL EELAM CONFEDERATION

2nd Edition (with certain additions) - June 1984.

- 6. Thamil Eelam Provisional Government (working paper) 1982.
- 8. A Tamil Eelam Voice in the U.N.O. 1990
- 9. 28. 16n of of 450 64 256 July 1990



## THAMIZHOSAI

17 - 30.07.1992

# கோவை மகேசனுக்கு

# அனுதாபம்

சு தக்திரன் ஆசிரியர் கோவை மகேசன் மன்றவு என்னைக்கலங்க வைக்கிறது ் தமிழுக்கும் தமிழின் விடுதலைக்குமாக வாழ் நாள் முழுவதும் பல எதிர்ப்புகளுக்கு மத்தியில் பாடுபட்ட நண்பர் அவர்.

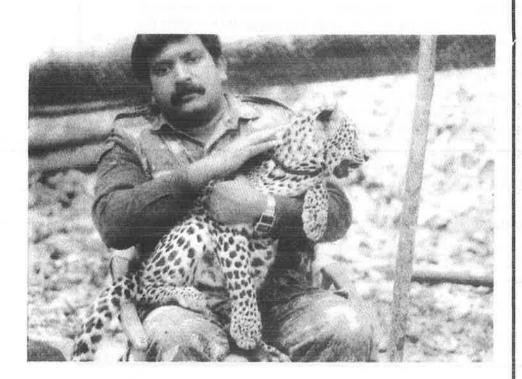
கடைசியாக அவரை இரண்டு ஆண்டுகளுக்கு முன்னர் சென்னையில் பார்த்தேன். அப்போதே அவர் கோய்வாய்ப் பட்டிருந்தார்.

SATURDAY REVIEW ஆசிரியர் சிவநாயகத்தைப்போல, கோவையும் தமது மனைவியுடன் யாழ்ப்பா ணத்திலிருந்து தப்பியோடி தமிழ்நாட்டில் தஞ்சம் புகுந்தார்.

கோவையார் பலகால நண்பர் மட்டுமல்ல நண்டகாலமாக தமிழ்ஈழ அரசியலில் என்போன்றவர்களின் விடுதலைத்திட்டங்களுக்கு பரிபூரண ஒத்துழைப்பு நல்கிய அரசியல்வாதி.

அவர் பிரிவால் தவிக்கும் அவரது மனையாளுக்கு எமது அநுதாபங்கள். அடுத்தமாதம் வெளிவரவிருக்கும் எனது THE LIFE & TIMES OF A TAMIL ACTIVIST என்ற நூலை அவருக்கு சமர்ப்பணம் செய்திருக்கிறேன்.

-கிருஷ்ணா வைகுந்தவாசன்





"Cub" Genius – GANESH SITTAMPALAM First Class Maths Degree at 13! July 1992





My dear reader

Believe me when I say that if not for you, I would not have even thought of preparing a book like this.

Any publication dealing with recent events covering nearly 50 years, even in a summary, sketchy and personalised form, is bound to create interest among the affected people, young and old. I feel sure that it would be useful as well.

As early as in 1979, Mrs. Indira Gandhi on receipt of a letter sent to her at New Delhi by the Tamil Coordinating Committee enclosing pictures of Tamil youth tortured and killed by the Armed Forces of the Sri Lankan Government, promptly and immediately deplored such killings and described them as 'horrible'. She started her reply, dated 27.8.79:

I have just received your letter dated 22.8.79...

Obviously she was so moved by the torture picture that she called it 'horrible' and also went on to indirectly blame the Moraji Desai Government for tolerating such actions by the Sri Lankan Government. (Both her letter and the picture are found in the book).

The killings continue thousand times worse!

Everyone realises the increasing role the U.N. Security Council is called to play in world affairs. Afghanistan, Cambodia, Yugoslavia, come immediately to the mind.

But why the killings in Sri Lanka and Tamil Eelam do not attract the urgent attention of the world body is a matter of deep concern.



Jours Sincrely of Bibantevalar

This book is a dedication to Kovai Mahesan (long time Editor, Suthanthiran) who passed away in Madras on 4 July 1992.