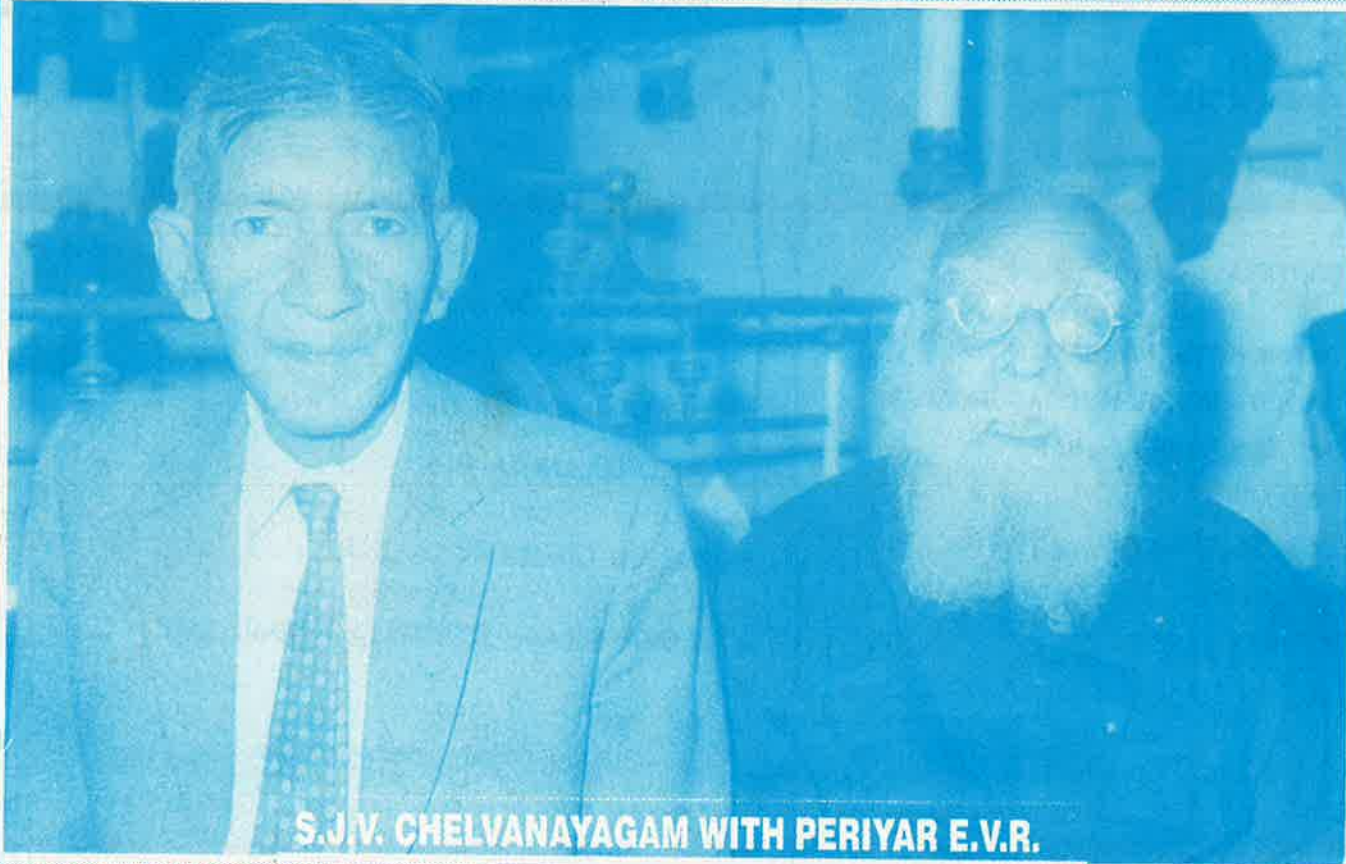


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TAMIL EELAM SPECIAL NUMBER



S.J.V. CHELVANAYAGAM WITH PERIYAR E.V.R.

- ❖ LET US STRIVE HARD TO ACHIEVE TAMIL EELAM
- ★ TAMIL EELAM : URGENT ACTION NEEDED
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- ❖ TAMIL EELAM : SINGHALA - TAMIL TALKS

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VOL. 7

THIS MONTH

No. 5

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EDITORIAL

LET US STRIVE HARD TO ACHIEVE TAMIL EELAM



"PERIYAR ERA" feels proud in publishing this special number on Tamil Eelam liberation problem. This is the second special issue devoted to Tamil Eelam liberation. The first one was published in March, 2000.

The chief and the only aim of this attempt is to bring home to every Tamil - particularly the Eelam Tamil, the truth about the intensity of the problem and also the gravity of the situation that confronts.

The chief most task is to apprise and convince the political party leaders, statesmen, bureaucrats and news paper magnets in Britain, India, Australia, Canada and all Scandinavian countries in that order, about the real history of the Tamil - Sinhala strife and make every one in these countries to feel the need to exert pressure on Sri Lanka to stop forthwith the three pronged attack on Eelam Tamils and start negotiations with the L.T.T.E, who have effectively contained the onslaught for the past 17 years. A high level Tamil Eelam political Council comprising of five - committed and well versed in the affairs of Eelam liberation, should be constituted under the leadership of Thambi Veluppillai Prabakaran at the earliest for this purpose. They must devote full time in visiting the above mentioned countries and creating lobbies in support of the cause of Tamil Eelam liberation.

United States of America, Japan and China have sided with Sri Lanka Government in their own interests. They propose to sell their arms, lend and donate large sums of money and make Sri Lanka their colony. Sri Lankan President Kumaratunga is ready to sell the country and its future citizens for the sole purpose of defeating the liberation struggle of Eelam Tamils. Hence the war will have to be waged for a long time. This requires enormous funds for purchase of arms to the L.T.T.E and to provide support to Eelam Tamils undergoing horrowing sufferings in Jaffna, Vanni, Batticaloa and other areas for years to come. Hence the most immediate need is to establish and to organise a Tamil Eelam Bank at global level and make every earning member of the Eelam Tamil and of Tamilnadu to contribute funds liberally for atleast a period of 20 years till 2020. This is the crying need of the hour and this will definitely help to provide the life line for Eelam liberation struggle.

The third is to organise a people's army and make girls and boys, men and women between the age group of 18 and 45 become military minded.

Comrade S.A. David, a dedicated and selfless Eelam Tamil intellectual has written over 50 articles in "Periyar Era", founded by him, during the last 76 months throwing much light on the above issues.

We earnestly appeal to every right thinking man and woman in Jaffna, in overseas countries and in Tamilnadu to go through all the six articles of Comrade S.A. David published in this special number, munch the contents and give deep thought as to what he or she should do to realise the cherished goal of liberation of Tamil Eelam as averred by the saintly statesman S.J.V. Chelvanayagam.

Real commitment and total dedication in such a planned way alone will bring us success.

Let us strive hard and succeed in achieving liberation of Tamil Eelam.

1.2.2001

V. ANAIMUTHU

TAMIL EELAM: URGENT ACTION NEEDED

The Eelam Tamils are fortunate in respect of military affairs because Thambi Prabakaran, a genius in military strategy has taken over all responsibilities in this sector and kept the Singhala army at bay for 17 years.

According to Adrian Wijemanne, an expert writer on military matters in Sri Lanka, Prabakaran and his brave band of guerrillas cannot be defeated by the Singhala army at any time.

Besides Thambi Prabakaran is fully committed to Thanthal Chelva's last will and testament to the Eelam Tamils which he expressed in his last speech in Sri Lanka parliament on 5.12.1976: "The Tamils must get out of the clutches of the Singhalese or perish."

Prabakaran has given ample testimony to this resolve in many of his speeches and actions. Therefore Eelam Tamils can rest assured that Prabakaran will remain true to Thanthal Chelva's ideal of freedom for Eelam Tamils.

But the political affairs of Tamil Eelam are in a pathetic and chaotic state. Two actions of International Indifference to Tamil Eelam remain political thorns on the side of Tamil Eelam.

1) No nation in the world has come forward to recognise Tamil Eelam.

2) No nation has raised the issue of Tamil Eelam at the United Nations.

These two actions of world nations

have blunted the edge of the freedom struggle in Tamil Eelam. By contrast the actions of United Nations in respect of East Timor remain a strange paradox.

POLITICAL EFFORTS OF EELAM TAMILS

At the beginning of the Tamil Eelam freedom struggle in 1981 and 1982, Dr. Panchatcharam stood at the forefront of political activities of Eelam Tamils. He organised Eelam Tamil conferences in New York and focussed attention of the world on Tamil Eelam. But strangely enough, Dr. Panchatcharam has remained silent after these initial efforts.

Then a group of Eelam Tamils organised political agitations on behalf of Eelam Tamils in Massachusetts in America. The Governor of that State even raised the Eelam flag on the soil of America.

Since then political activity of Eelam Tamils on the International arena has remained subdued.

Indira Gandhi in 1984 went to the extent of taking Panruti Ramachandran to the United Nations Conference in New York and Panruti pleaded with reason and emotion for international action on behalf of Tamil Eelam.

Recently in 1988s the spirited South African Tamils took up the cause of Eelam Tamils and carried on a sustained call for freedom of Tamil Eelam. They went to the extent of promising to lay down their lives in defence of Tamil Eelam.

In 1999, Mr. John Murphy M.P., in the Federal Parliament in Australia spoke with feeling in support of separate state of Tamil Eelam.

Thus we see there have been isolated events in support of Eelam Tamils but no sustained and planned programme of action has been maintained.

URGENT ACTION NEEDED

But the time has come when sustained coordinated efforts have to be taken at the international level to achieve a separate state of Tamil Eelam.

Action has to be taken with care and precision to reach the goal. India in the Indian Ocean and America at the international level have remained implacable obstructions to setting up a separate state of Tamil Eelam.

India is impelled by the sad events of Rajiv Gandhi's murder and her own political compulsions to reject the idea of separate state of Tamil Eelam. But both these factors are born out of prejudice and false fears.

ACTION PLAN

If thoroughly thought out and planned effort is made by a high powered political council, a breakthrough can be made.

First, Australia, Britain and India have to be tackled. Australia has demonstrated her sympathy to Tamil Eelam on many occasions in the past. John Murphy's impassioned speech for a separate state of Tamil Eelam in the

Federal Parliament in Canberra on 1st June 1999, is a mile stone in the history of Tamil Eelam freedom struggle. He was decisive and deliberate in his demand.

Further, Australia has volunteered several times to be a negotiator between Singhalese and Eelam Tamils, but the Singhalese have vehemently rejected Australia's offer. Australia has demonstrated her will to help Eelam Tamils in no uncertain terms. So it is better to start the process of negotiations with Australia.

Next, Britain has to be brought into the picture. Britain because of historic antecedent has to play a leading role in the setting up of a separate state of Tamil Eelam.

Britain is solely responsible for the tragedy of Tamil Eelam.

She has the political and moral duty to set up a separate state of Tamil Eelam.

It was Britain who brought the Jaffna kingdom into union with the Singhala kingdom of Kandy and Low Countries and formed a unitary rule in Sri Lanka for the petty purpose of administrative convenience. In 1833, she was insensitive to historical and cultural facts of Eelam Tamils and dumped them with their eternal enemies, the Singhalese, thus initiating the tragedy of Tamil Eelam. Even at this late hour, after 60,000 Eelam Tamils have lost their lives, Britain must come forward to unscramble the mess of her own making.

Even as late as 1947, when Lord Soulbury was drafting the Constitution for freedom of Ceylon he was totally deaf and dumb to the demand of

the Eelam Tamils. G.G. Ponnambalam spoke for 9 hours before Lord Soulbury and he congratulated Ponnambalam for his masterly pleading. But succumbing to behind-the-scenes manoeuvres of D.S. Senanayake and Sir Oliver Gunatilleka, Lord Soulbury wrote a rigidly unitary power for ever to the Singhala majority.

He pathetically included clause 29 to preserve minority rights and the Singhalese have totally ignored this provision and in the 1972 Republican Constitution of Sri Lanka, they have completely taken out the clause 29 from the statute book.

It is said when the inhuman horrors of racial riots of 1958 were reported to Lord Soulbury on his death bed he simply said, "I am sorry, I made a mistake."

There are many more commissions and omissions of British rule in Ceylon which have brought death and desolation to Eelam Tamils.

All these facts have to be placed fairly and squarely on the shoulders of the British and they should be firmly requested to undo the damage they have done to the Eelam Tamils.

Britain can also play a vital role in dissolving unfounded fears on India on the subject of separate state of Tamil Eelam. The situation of linguistic states in India, specially Tamil Nadu and Tamil Eelam in Sri Lanka are poles apart.

The Singhalese are attempting a genocide of Eelam Tamils under a rigidly unitary rule in Sri Lanka. Nothing of this nature exists in India. So India need not fear that

Tamil Nadu will ask for separation, if Eelam Tamils are given a separate state in Sri Lanka. This is an extremely illogical argument.

The treatment meted out to Eelam Tamils in Sri Lanka is so terrible and inhuman that nothing less than a separate state of Tamil Eelam can allow Eelam Tamils live in dignity and freedom, in Sri Lanka.

The murder of Rajiv Gandhi is an unfortunate incident and the background is murky and muddled. India should not obstruct the freedom of Eelam Tamils. On the contrary she should assist Eelam Tamils to set up a separate state in Tamil Eelam. If an opinion poll is taken in Tamil Nadu, certainly the Tamils of Tamil Nadu will overwhelmingly support a separate state of Tamil Eelam.

These are preliminary thoughts. A wisely chosen high powered political council of Tamil Eelam should get down to right political set backs in Tamil Eelam.

Even the support of Scandinavian, South American and African countries can be mobilised to make Thanthai Chelva's dream come true.

Adrian Wijemanne's book "War and Peace in Colonial Ceylon, 1948-1991" can be profitably used in negotiations to solve Tamil problem in Sri Lanka.

1-12-2000

S.A. DAVID

("Periyar Era", December 2000)

PLEASE CIRCULATE
THIS FEBRUARY 2001
ISSUE OF
"PERIYAR ERA"
AMONG TAMILS

**SELF RESPECT CONFERENCE AT THANJAVUR
ON 17th AND 18th FEBRUARY, 2001 ALL ARE WELCOME !**

TAMIL EELAM AND ADRIAN WIJEMANNE

Before we take up discussion on Adrian Wijemanne it will be useful to take a short look at the brilliant Singhalese journalist Tarzie Vittachi. Vittachi wrote "Emergency 58" after the racial riots in Sri Lanka in 1958. In this book Vittachi has recorded the beastiality of the Singhalese. They ripped open the belly of pregnant Tamil mothers, took out the foetus and dashed them on the ground. They have snatched babies from Tamil mothers and thrown them into blazing fires. They drove Indian Tamil Labourers into sugar cane fields, set fire to the sugar cane and stood around to see no one escaped. They have gang raped young Tamil daughters in the presence of their parents. They have looted, burnt and destroyed Tamil property worth thousands of crores. These and many more such blood curdling events have been minutely recorded by Vittachi for posterity.

In the last line of his book Vittachi asks, "Have we (Singhalese and Tamils) come to the parting of the ways?" He has not answered.

Senator S.Nadesan Q.C. answered this question on the floor of the Senate: "We have come to the parting of the ways; let us depart in peace."

But this was not to be. The Singhala leaders have planned a systematic decimation of Eelam Tamils and are executing it with ferocity over the past 50 years.

We will now see how Adrian

Wijemanne sees these 50 years, 1948-1991.

Wijemanne is a Singhalese scholar. He was in the Ceylon Civil Service. He left Ceylon and is in Europe now. In his book "War and Peace in Post Colonial Ceylon (1948-1991)," he has told the truth.

Very few writers can break out of race, nation, and religious considerations and write the truth for truth sake. He has written for many years on Tamil Eelam affairs in Editor Sivanayagam's papers "Tamil Nation" and "Hot Spring". He is an expert on the subject.

In the dedication of his book to his wife, Wijemanne writes:

"To Chitra, my wife, whose relentless opposition to this entire project and uncompromising rejection of every salient point herein have dispelled any nagging doubts as to the need, the urgent need, for this book."

This is indeed honesty and devotion to truth. The same honesty appears on every page of his book.

In the preface Wijemanne takes the bull by the horns.

"In the war now being waged in the island one side aims to preserve the territorial integrity of the colonial construction and the other side to break it into two."

"Prior to the establishment of the unitary state of Ceylon by the British a variety of kingdoms co-existed side by side on the island. In both ancient

and medieval periods there were brief episodes of the single kingdom under the monarch covering the whole island but they were of short duration lasting only part of the monarch's reign. No entities that remotely resemble "states" in the modern sense were then known and multiplicity rather than unity was the norm. It was so under Portuguese and Dutch colonial rule" (Preface)

Note the extreme care with which Wijemanne expresses facts. Now the author has set the stage.

"Though a Ceylonese nation did not exist, nationalism was not absent, and from its first manifestations, the divergence between the two races became apparent. Singhala nationalism (which the Tamils were later to call Singhala Chauvinism) arose from a Buddhist revival in the early years of the century and crystallised around the charismatic figure of Annagarika Dharmapala. The two movements were symbolic and inextricable and they found their home in the Singhala lower middle class. (P.3)"

Wijemanne has put his hand on the pulse and discovered the malady.

"Equally there was a national upsurge on the Tamil sides as well. Just prior to Independence when the Constitution of the new state to-be was being drafted by the Soulbury Commission, which had been sent out by the British government for the purpose, the Tamil Congress asked for 50:50 representation of the two races in the legislature on the ground that

Tamil people should have an equal status to the Sinhalese people in the new state to be constituted from both these races regardless of the weight of numbers!" (P.3)

This is the start of the war of words. Indeed the beginning of the end. The British to preserve their interest sided the Sinhalese and Tamils were pushed aside. On his death bed it is said Soulbury admitted his mistake and what a costly mistake!

After establishing the split between Sinhalese and Tamils, Wijemanne records the injustices meted out to the Tamils by Sinhala governments.

"In agriculture and irrigation most of the investments were on the reclamation and resettlement of jungle land in the dry zone of the island. This comprised the entire area in which the indigenous Tamil population lived and parts of the adjacent provinces occupied by the Sinhalese and Muslims. It was a population movement pregnant with discordant possibilities for the future."

D.S.Senanayaka started Sinhala colonisation of traditional Tamil lands in 1936 when he was Minister of Agriculture in the State Council. In 1947, S.J.V.Chelvanayagam spoke in Parliament on colonisation. Calm and collected he placed facts and figures before members and ended saying, "Please stop colonisation. Rivers of blood will flow in colonisation schemes." The Sinhala members heckled, thumped the desks and behaved like hooligans. We were a witness in the gallery. We were 23 years of age. On that day itself we knew Tamils can't live with Sinhalese. Now we are 76 and our opinion has hardened.

"Rivers of Tamil blood have flowed in colonisation schemes in 1956, 1958, 1977 and 1983." (P.6)

"In November 1948 the government succeeded in passing through Parliament a law defining citizenship of the new state in very restrictive terms which straight away excluded the Indian Tamil plantation workers, about a million people from citizenship." (P.7)

A more monstrous inhuman act is hard to contemplate. The unfortunate wretches were brought by the British. They earned 65 percent of Sri Lanka foreign exchange working as slaves. Yet Senanayaka played dirty Sinhala politics with their lives.

"The reasons are not far to seek. It was the universal attitude of the Sinhala people that the new government was for their exclusive benefit that these draconian laws against another people would somehow redound to their advantage and that the new government was acting both legitimately and in the best interests of those whom it represented" (p.9)

The Sinhala masses were getting the message of the cunning Sinhala politicians. Now the vicious spiral leaps higher and higher. If the Tamils are hurt the Sinhalas will be happy.

"As education investments begin to produce acute competition for the limited number of university places each year, the government attempted by device termed "Standardisation" to artificially redress the balance (between Sinhala and Tamil students.) There was resentment among Tamil students." (P.7)

The Pandora's box was opened and no one knew where it will end. Tamil youth started political struggle. When

the Sinhala government tried to crush it with an iron hand, the Tamil youth took up arms, Prabakaran was 'born'.

"Two Tamil M.Ps Chelvanayagam and Vanniasingam saw the writing on the wall for the indigenous Tamils and said as much. They went on to found the Federal Party" (P.9)

Incorruptible men became leaders of Tamils. Sinhala monsters tried their best but Thanthai Chelva remained as the rock of Gibraltar where Sinhala leaders broke their heads. Only when he passed away on 23.7.1977, J.R.Jayawardena moved to lay his icy hands on Tamils in 1977.

"Not only is the open discussion of such matters frowned upon by the politicians and the government. The laws of the country have been amended to foreclose the possibilities of public debate on the division of the island into two states as a viable course to peace." (P.13)

Even the word "'Federal' became a dirty word in Sri Lanka. Sinhala government repression raised its ugly head and Sinhala mass media was only too happy to oblige.

"The very word "'federal' raised the heckles of Sinhala politicians. The mere discussion of federalism as a possible option was regarded among Sinhala people as unpatriotic. Any talk of a federal constitution was banished from public domain as far as the Sinhala people were concerned, and at every turn the worst predictions of the rising young (and increasingly militant) Tamil Nationalists were fulfilled with unerring insensitivity by successive Sinhala governments. Indeed it is not far fetched to say that in a very real sense

Mr. Prabakaran is the creature of the ignorance and mindless Intransigence of the Sinhala governments" (P.27)

Wijemanne has caught the nettle. Because his heart is pure he sees the truth with crystal clarity. The eyes of the Sinhala hoodlums are covered over with thick film of prejudice.

"The federal party was formed in 1948 to secure for the Indigenous Tamil people of Ceylon a Tamil state which would be one of the federating units. As mentioned in the preceding chapter the Sinhalese reaction was to exclude the very word 'federal' from the language of political discourse." (P.30)

"The Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) as it was called has as its first point of its election manifesto the promise to secure if possible by constitutional and peaceful means a separate independent sovereign state for the Tamil people in their homeland which comprised the Northern and Eastern provinces" (P.31)

Chelvanayakam the mountain of the Tamils was gone and Amirthalingam a muddy pool was leader of Tamils. The subsequent history of Eelam Tamils is written in blood because of the indiscretions of this man.

"The true significance of the enormous victory of the TULF was played down then and continues to be played down to this day. In the last analysis the general election held under peaceful conditions in a free vote without any intimidation, the vast majority of the Tamil people voted in favour of a separate state for themselves. For the Sinhalese people and their leaders it was so disquieting phenomenon that they have not been able to acknowledge it or work out the inevitable con-

clusion. The entire issue has been swept under the carpet. A conspiracy of silence has helped render this a non-event. On the contrary it is widely asserted by all Sinhala leaders, and by repetition sanctified that it is Prabakaran and his "thugs" who want a separate state and not the majority of Tamils" (P.32)

"It was now clear to all and sundry that not the democratic parliamentary process but the war had brought about these salutary changes. The assertion of the Tamil that only by force of arms could they secure justice for themselves had been amply vindicated" (P.43)

Wijemanne seems to justify the adoption of warfare as a means to secure freedom of Tamils. This was a result of the intransigence and obduracy of Sinhala government.

"The temptation to use bombardment to soften up a target before ground attack is very great. But the use of air power also has political implications. It is tantamount to admitting that the war is being waged against a foreign country. Not even at the height of the JVP insurgency were air strikes used against them in the Sinhala area. The use of air power is a clear instance of the prevailing of military over civilian judgements." (p.49)

Wijemanne has caught the Sinhala government red-handed. In fact they have recognised Tamil Eelam. Now it is only a matter of time and victory. The pathetic state of Sri Lankan army was displayed in their attack on Vadamarachi and then calling for Indian military intervention.

"To this writer, a Sinhala person with the moral integrity of the Sinhala people deeply at heart the answer to

these questions are self-evidently, unambiguously clear. The Sinhala people have no imperial standing or right to enforce a former imperial master's fiat."

"They have not the right to conquest or of Imperial succession (i.e. they did not overthrow the British empire and seize its possessions). The Tamil people are fully justified in desiring a state of their own and likewise the Sinhala people are entitled to a state of their own." The war that now rages on the Island is the result of the pseudo imperial stand of the Sri Lankan government on the question of two states on the Island" (p.68)

This is the crucial passage in the book. Wijemanne cuts down the Sinhala Chauvinists to size and heaps the blame for war and bloodshed on their head. To emphasize the importance of the passage he has prefaced it by declaring he is a Sinhalese with a moral conscience.

"Consider the nature of the war itself. The Sri Lankan army holds a few coastal outposts supplied by sea, a few camps within the North East province supplied by helicopter and bases on the land boundary between the North East province and the rest of the country. It sallies forth from these camps and fortifications during day time, sweeps through an area within their range whence opposition vanishes and by nightfall returns to camps. The state of Eelam then rears its head in the self-same area in the hours of darkness. On occasion the pattern is varied; the army advances in strength, overruns the LTTE camps and bases and holds this ground for a time. As its extended lines suffer progressively from ambushes and guerilla harassment, it withdraws once again to its

camps and the captured ground revert to the LTTE. It is a game both sides can play ad infinitum."

"The stark realism is that there can be no military victory until Tamil nationalism is extinguished, and there is little prospect of it. On the contrary the war now raging has inflamed Tamil Nationalism to a passionate level that has inspired the immense sacrifices now being made by the Tamil people as their volunteers for suicide mission so amply demonstrate."

"Prabakaran is not the cause of Tamil nationalism; he is the result of it. If ever he is eliminated and achieves martyrdom in his nation's cause an equally determined military leader will take his place. Such men will not be scarce in the ranks of the LTTE's now battle-hardened military machine which is reckoned by international military analysts as one of the most formidable guerilla forces currently operating anywhere in the world."

"The choice facing the Sinhala leadership is clear - peace with separation into two states or endless war." (p.69.70)

Wijemanne's grasp of fundamentals and details is phenomenal. In just a page he tears to shreds the Himalayan lies the Sinhala and brahmin mass media spread in Sri Lanka and India.

"The fact that an armed guerilla movement fighting for a separate state has never been extinguished by the superior force of a conventional army or even forced to relinquish its primary goal and settle for a lesser deal is not part of the public conscience."

"So the conflict drags on at a cost of around Rs. 70 million a day (1993 figures) to the exchequer" (p.104)

So all the postures of Chandrika and her man Friday Laxman Kathirkamar, Tamil traitor No.1 for talks and settlement is an eyewash and attempts to milk the criminal capitalists of West and East.

The Eelam Tamils will for ever be indebted to Adrian Wijemanne for his brilliant rational exposition of the darkest hour of Eelam Tamil history. We are sure his book will inspire Eelam Tamils to persevere till the goal is reached.

Wijemanne has written extensively on presidential and parliamentary government in Sri Lanka; Jayawardena and Premadasa; cost of war to the Sinhalese; return to peace; how to get there. For lack of space we were not able to include these subjects.

Wijemanne has taken the path of peace. With all great respect we do not believe the Sinhalese will take the path of peace. As long as the Buddhist monks have the last word in Sri Lankan politics the peaceful path is not possible.

Also Wijemanne has left out the criminal capitalists of the West and the East led by U.S. who are funding the war and even the budget over the past 20 years. If it were not for these funds Sri Lanka would have struck the bottom and caved in.

We have written an article titled "Tamil Eelam in 2010 A.D." in Periyar Era, March 2000. It is based on the path of war which is more probable than peace. Interested readers please write with postal order for U.S.\$20. We will send xerox copies.

Now let us get down to brass tacks. First every Eelam Tamil who can read English must have a copy of Adrian Wijemanne's book in his possession.

Second, well-to-do Eelam Tamils must join hands and see that a copy is sent to a) Heads of States around the world, b) to all foreign Ministers around the world, c) to all leading newspapers, radio and TV stations around the world.

For the past 10 years we are out for the establishment of 1) Tamil Eelam bank and 2) High - powered political council for Tamil Eelam. One of the disasters that has befallen Tamil Eelam is that not one country in the world has come forward to accept Tamil Eelam. This is mainly due to the machinations of USA and India.

It is fervently hoped this book will open their eyes. It is our duty to convert the leaders and people of the world in this manner. A high powered Tamil Eelam Political Council can take this responsibility

17.II.2000

S.A.DAVID

Reference:

"War and Peace in Post Colonial Ceylon: 1948-1991." Adrian Wijemanne

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**SELF RESPECT CONFERENCE AT THANJAVUR
ON 17th AND 18th FEBRUARY, 2001 ALL ARE WELCOME !**



THE STORY OF MY LIFE

I was born on 24th April 1924 in Karampan, a small village, in the island of Kayts on the southern coast of Jaffna. I was born in a mud walled, thatched house. My parents were very poor.

I went to school, the Karampan convent after my fifth year. I studied only Tamil for three years. My parents had no money to give me English education.

My father took me to St. Antony's College, Kayts. He told Brother Paakianathan a relative of mine who was the principal that he wanted to take me to his small shop in Dambadenia in the Singhala area. The Principal scolded my father and told him, "You silly fellow, he is a clever boy; you leave him with me. I will give food, clothing and shelter and educate him."

Next day I came to the Principal with two pieces of vesty and two shirts in a small beautiful Japanese toffee box. I still remember there was a picture of a cat in a basket. This was all my worldly possessions.

The Principal took me to St. Henry's College, Ilavalai. I studied there for 8 years from 1933 to 1940 and passed the Junior School Certificate exam. Then Brother Paackianathan, my uncle went to St. John Bosco's school, Hatton. I went with him.

I was devoted to painting. I spent

most of my time painting. Then my uncle told me to study science. I refused. With my talent in painting I used to draw all the wall maps for the school in science in colour exactly as it was in printed maps. I was 17 at that time.

I was in Hatton for only two years. One day when we came out of church, people said, Japanese were bombing Colombo. That was in 1942.

Then I left school and went to Colombo in 1942 at the age of 18 to work and help my parents and two younger sisters. Strictly when I get my salary I will send the major portion to my parents first. I worked as a clerk in the marketing department on Chatham street, in the Fort in Colombo, I worked there only for six months. I was paid Rs. 70 + Rs. 30 war allowance. I will send Rs.70/- to my parents and keep Rs.30/- for my expenses.

In 1943 I joined as Irrigation learner. I studied for one year in Jawatta, Irrigation Training Centre. Second year I was sent to Kuranegala. I went to thick jungles in Nikawarettiya and Galgamuwa for survey. I contacted malaria and suffered a lot. Then in the third year I was sent to Passara. I again worked in malarial areas in Bible, Monetrigala and Wellaway. At the end of the third year I quarrelled with my boss, a Tamil. I slapped him, packed my bag and went home. He was unjust and I can't tolerate injustice even in that young age. It was the year 1946. I was 22.

Then my elder brother Christopher kept me in Colombo and asked me to study draughtsmanship. I studied draughtsmanship and later architecture at the Ceylon Technical College. I was in my elements; drawing and painting was in my veins. Teachers and students will wait to see my drawings. I topped the class and without any formal application I was sent as draughtsman to P.W.D, Colombo.

In 1953 an architecture scholarship competitive exam was held in Colombo. I came first. I was sent to Australia in 1953. Melbourne University gave me two years exemption and I studied for 3 years and got B.Arch Degree.

I came back to Ceylon in 1956 and worked as Assistant Architect in the P.W.D.

At this point I want to go back in time and relate an incident that has influenced me throughout life. I have said I left Irrigation Department and came to Colombo. For nearly six months I roamed the streets of Colombo attending to Left conducted strikes and listening to Dr. Colvin R.de Silva, Dr. N.M.Perera and Peter Kuenaman. They were fiery speakers. The seeds of communism were planted in me and I have remained an enemy of capitalism to this day.

One day, during these aimless wanderings in Colombo I drifted into the Parliament House to listen to speeches. I was in the gallery. For better or for worse S.J.V.

Chelvanayagam was speaking on Singhala Colonisation of traditional Tamil lands. As usual he spoke slowly with facts and figures. At the end he warned D.S.Senanayake, "Please stop colonisations. If you don't, rivers of blood will flow in these colonisation areas." Exactly as he predicted Tamil blood flowed like river in colonisation schemes in 1956, 1958, 1977 and 1983.

After reading about Sri. Ponnambalam Ramanathan and Sri. Ponnambalam Arunachalam, I had the impression that Parliament was a sacred place.

But after Chelva's speech, the Singhala members thumped the desks, shouted and clapped like hooligans. On that day I decided that Tamils cannot live with the Singhalese. I was 23 years of age.

Then when I returned from Australia in 1956, I went to the Galle Face green to see the Satyagraha of the Federal Party. I had come only the day before from Australia. Friends, Singhalese and Tamil prevailed on me: "Don't go, you will get hurt". But I went. I saw Chelva seated quietly and Federal Party members protecting him. Singhala goondas were throwing stones at the Satyagrahies. The Singhala Police were instigating Singhala goondas to greater violence. Four hefty goondas beat and kicked a lean Tamil, carried him bodily and dumped him into the Beira Lake. The Tamil was struggling, and the Singhala goondas were laughing, jumping and dancing like devils. Some Tamil psychologists should do research into the sadistic tendencies of the Singhala people, including J.R. Jayawardane.

If I had received my baptism in Parliament House in 1947, I received my confirmation on Galle

Face green in 1956. There was no turning back. All the glitter of the West, East and the whole world have never deviated my path to work for the freedom of Eelam Tamils.

When the "Singhala only" bill was passed, government gave the Tamils the option to retire from government service. Immediately, they replied those under bond and agreement can't retire. I paid Rs. 5000/- damages to government and resigned after 14 years of service. Was this justice? But I have never regretted my decision. On the contrary, I have lived like a prince and roamed the world by air for the next 10 long years. What is coming will sound like a fairy tale but my heart was with Eelam and Tamils.

I left Sri Lanka in 1960 and boarded a P and O liner bound to London. At the last minute, before the ship started, my friend, philosopher and guide met me on board the ship and put a large book into my hands and told me, "this is an important book; study it carefully." It was another turning point in my life.

After starting to read the book I could not close it. It was 'EXODUS' by Leon Uris. Later I have read other books by him. He is the soul of Israel. When I arrived at Port Said I had finished most of the book, 'EXODUS'. The impact was so great. I wanted to steal away into Gaza strip and into Israel. Later in 1962 I spent two weeks in Israel and saw the marvel with my own eyes. I wanted to build Tamil Eelam like Israel. Now I hate the Israelis. They are slaves to America.

In England I went straight to Nigerian Embassy. After reading through my Bio-data they said, 'don't go, wait,

we will give you the appointment letter.' In two days I was in Enugu, capital of Eastern Nigeria as Assistant Architect in the Ministry of Works. Three years service in Nigeria is unforgettable. I lived a princely life with house and car and many Tamil Eelam Engineers. In my time all the provincial Engineers in Eastern Nigeria were Eelam Tamils.

I had already applied to London to join Town planning studies. At the end of three years contract I left Nigeria in 1964. The day before I left, the Nigerian Director of Public Works came to my desk and pleaded with me to stay in Nigeria. He said, "David, don't go, stay with us". It was a touching scene. The African is highly sensitive and emotional, more than Indians. Their sense of enjoyment of life is limitless. Music and dance is soul of Africa. I was sad to leave but I had a plan to equip myself for service in Tamil Eelam. Architecture was not enough. I wanted to plan modern towns in Tamil Eelam. Hence I joined to study town planning."

In 1956 I had drawn plans for Tamil University in Trincomalee. The plans were published in a booklet and foundation stone was laid. I wanted to prepare a plan for Trincomalee. Later in my travels I saw Olympic stadium and Mexico University. The plan for Tamil University in Trincomalee confined within barely an acre of land was not far behind in conception but it was never executed.

In Britain I studied town planning in Leeds. Because of my academic and practical experience, I was appointed Senior Town Planner in Liverpool City Council by a Hungarian Chief Town Planner. The Britishers were wild. But I was not worried. My eyes were on Tamil Eelam.

When I completed my Town Planning diploma, Mombasa city Council in Kenya advertised for an Architect Town Planner. I applied. Interview was held in London. Kenyan Embassy had called an English Town Planner to interview me. He was a great man. He told the Kenyan Officer openly, "I can't interview Mr. David, He is more qualified and experienced than me. You will never get a man like him; grab him." I was selected and went to Mombasa in 1967.

I was appointed Chief Architect and Town Planner in Mombasa city Council. Once again three years of princely life. I stayed all the three years in a hotel. Mombasa is a beautiful ancient town. It is called little Bombay. It is full of Goans, Gujaratis, Arabs and only a few Africans. It is a gateway to Tourists in East Africa with palatial beach hotels.

But I was not part of all this. In Mombasa an Indian lawyer's clerk had collected 9000 books on India and donated all to the Mombasa Library. I lived in this library from 4-8 pm nearly every day, for three years. It is there I discovered India and Mahatma Gandhi who was to play a leading role in my life.

When I left Mombasa in 1970, I had decided this will be the end of princely life for me. I had money and I was free. I bought a 'round the world air ticket', almost a bundle and roamed the world for six months, not for my own enjoyment but to give me ideas to build Tamil Eelam.

These six months are crowded with memories. I went back to Europe where I have gone four times before on my visits to Sri Lanka from Nigeria and Kenya. I had studied fine arts un-

der Professor Joseph Berg in Melbourne University. I have said earlier I have refused to study science because I loved painting. This resolve led me to Professor Joseph Berg. He has installed in me a deep love for painting. I can go into ecstasy before a beautiful painting. This is something you can't get with all the money in the world. He is a giant of a Professor in Fine Arts. More than Architecture, Fine Arts attracted me. So I visited art galleries all over Europe. It was my hobby. I went all over but something told me I may never come back again. Then I went to USA, Canada, Mexico, Hawaii, Japan, Hongkong, Thailand and Singapore and came back to Sri Lanka.

Now the sad story starts. I went to a meeting of the Tamil University Movement in Colombo. I had a world view but I saw little men fighting for positions and engaged in small talk. At the meeting I said I will take over Navalar Farm, Palamottai Farm and Uppuveli Farm in Trincomalee and manage them with my own money. I had a vision of creating *Kibbutz* as in Israel, in Tamil Eelam. I had some money, not much, but they lie buried in the Vanni. I failed.

Then I met Dr. Rajasundaram. He was young and energetic and practical. He told me, "our people are not Jews. Our people will respond to Gandhi." We started Gandhiam. We registered "Gandhiam" as a society in 1976. We had worked for three years before 1976 on a pilot programme.

Another six years of glorious endeavour and success but strenuous work started. We built Gandhiam Training Centre for Village workers in Gurukulam in Killinochi and in 5 years trained 600 village workers with three

months residential study in our centre at Killinochi. I gave only five lessons to each village worker on Gandhiam and one Lesson in village survey. Dr. Rajasundaram gave talks on health, hygiene and environment. Many other specialists gave lectures. The students, all girls responded with enthusiasm. Within 5 years we had 500 pre schools spread across the length and breadth of Tamil Eelam with 15,000 tiny tots. The details are fascinating. World agencies were fascinated. They sent film units to make documentaries. They poured money nearly Rs. 5,000,000 a year. Equipped with jeeps and trucks, Dr. Rajasundaram was on the move. I stayed in Colombo and came at weekends to Jaffna, Vavuniya, Trincomalee, Batticaloa to meet the village workers. It was carnival time!

In April 1983, Sri Lankan Government arrested me in Y.M.C.A., Colombo and Dr. Rajasundaram in Vavuniya. If we were given 3 more years we would have established 'Ram Raj' as Gandhi dreamt. The war could have been avoided. But the Sinhala Chauvinists wanted to liquidate the Eelam Tamils. They wiped out Gandhiam.

We were taken to Sri Lankan army torture camp, and hell opened before our eyes. We were in Panagoda army camp for 2 months. Then we were taken to Welikada Jail. On 25th and 27th July 1983, 53 Eelam Tamil detainees were brutally murdered. Dr. Rajasundaram was one of those killed. I was taken to Batticaloa Jail. I was there for 2 months. 42 Eelam Tamil detainees broke the jail in Batticaloa on 26.9.1983. All arrived safe in Tamil Nadu. Such was the

efficiency of SriLanka police and army! It was a historic event In Jail break. No one was killed or Injured.

I was hiding in Vanni jungles for 27 days and arrived in Tamil Nadu on 20.10.1983. We were received with garlands and given heroes welcome. I have been a refugee in Tamil Nadu for 17 years. I worked with PLOTE. When I heard they were killing their own people, I left PLOTE. Uma Maheswaran abducted me in Anna Nagar, Chennai and took me in a van to kill me. I shouted in the van. The driver who had been with me at Welikada recognised my voice. He stopped the van, untied the ropes and left me on the Koyambedu road at midnight.

Within weeks Uma Maheswaran abducted Santhathiar and killed him. I tried my best to get justice. I wrote to Rajiv Gandhi but RAW hushed It up. Santhathiar was an outstanding gifted thinker and speaker. Some day, I hoped, he would lead Tamil Eelam. In Dr. Rajasundaram I lost my right hand; In Santhathiar I lost my left hand. I am now a cripple. Still I go on and I will go on to my last breath.

Again in Tamil Nadu bright days dawned. In 1985, a friend gave me the three volumes of "THOUGHTS OF PERIYAR E.V.R." consisting of 2000 pages, to read. Like Leon Uris's 'EXODUS', Periyar's thoughts cast a spell on me. I was immersed in the books till I read the 2000th page.

In 1986, I was in hiding in Pondicherry, because friends warned me Uma Maheswaran's people were searching for me. When Uma Maheswaran left Tamil Nadu and took

shelter in Colombo my friends came to Pondicherry and brought me back to Chennai.

I have said, in Mombasa, I read all about India. Shri Aurobindo was one of my favourities. I read Shri Aurobindo to my hearts content. An Indian friend whom I had met in Holland kept me on a farm and looked after me like a prince.

When I came back to Chennai I tried my hand in publishing. I edited a Tamil monthly 'THAMILAN' for one year. It was a total flop.

Then luckily I met Comrade Anaimuthu. It was like meeting a long lost friend. I met him almost daily and heard fantastic stories of Periyar. In 1994 Anaimuthu and I started "PERIYAR ERA" an English monthly. We are in the seventh year of publishing. The going is tough but we are persevering in spreading Periyar EVR's thoughts, speeches and writings. They are like blinding sun. It is full of rationalism and compassion

I have to say a few words about my experiences as a refugee in Tamil Nadu. The lot of Eelam Tamil refugees in Tamil Nadu is pathetic. After I came total number of Eelam Tamil refugees went up to about 70 thousand in government camps and about 100,000 outside. Now it is 70 thousand in camps and 30,000 outside. When we came we were received as heroes and respected. After Rajiv Gandhi's murder even Tamil Nadu Tamils seem to hate us. Not all of course. TamilNadu is a highly sophisticated political state. The politicians hold the bureaucracy, police and press in their palms with thousands of crores of ill gotten wealth. They can let loose the police on those they dislike, like the South African whites

let loose alsatians on blacks. Now the Eelam Tamils are blacks and the brahmin alsatians are thirsting for Tamil Eelam blood. I am not exaggerating. This is the plain truth. The Eelam Tamils are getting what they want like the Jews in Germany by throwing dollars and sterling which their kith and kin send from the west.

I will give two instances of my own experiences. Eelam Tamils were ordered to register at nearest police station long time ago. I went to the Thirumangalam police station. The Inspector in-charge snarled at me like an alsatian. Some say his name is Poongavanam. Then with no further ceremony he snatched the papers in my shivering hands. I was nearing 70 years, with great white beard and white hair on head, Nothing daunted him; he crumbled my papers; threw it out of the window, and shouted "go and pick it up." I had to, because without those papers I can't stay in TamilNadu.

Now Eelam Tamil refugees have to register with the Immigration Department also. Every six months we have to take letters from Police station, Bank, house owner and renew registration at the Immigration Department.

Once I went to the Immigration Department. I waited for a long time. I am 76 now and have tremor. I was first in the queue, as the man before me left the officers desk, I went forward. The officer asked me to stand aside He attended to all the people and kept me standing shivering for 1 1/2 hours. I, who had the world at my feet at one time, saw the Eelam Tamil ladies in Kumaran Silk and Lalitha Jewellery, dance around the Immigration Officer. This officer who was wearing two massive golden rings studded with

gems was merrily signing away the papers of the women. I took my umbrella and plastic bag and went away. I wrote a registered letter to the Chief Immigration Officer with my Bio-data. He called me and apologised profusely and said, "this will not happen again!" This horse play has stopped but Eelam Tamils are hanging around for hours for registration. In India time has no value; only almighty American dollar has value. Gandhi must be turning in the Ganga waters!

To make my story complete. I must write a few words on my attempt to get a job and my wide reading at the Connemara Library in Chennai. Seventeen years is a long time to go waste without a job. I tried a few places but failed miserably.

One office in Chennai gave me a huge job. They asked me to prepare plans for development of 1600 flats. The total cost was Rs. 80 crores. I gave a layout and sketch plans for flats. I completed the whole work in one month. They said I can work in their office at Rs. 2,500/- a month, the starting salary of Engineers with B.E. degree! Such down right exploitation is the rule rather than the exception. Even on one percent of cost the Town Planners fee will be Rs. 8,000,000. I did not take any money for my work. I left the office. Contrast this with the interview in Kenya Embassy in London.

Any way, I did not idle. I have read 800 books in 10 years at the Connemara library. It is the brain child of Ranganathan, the father of library science in India.

Now the library is in a parlous state with loads of old, out-dated books on shelves. Ranganathan has said the

readers must be treated with respect. But the present staff couldn't care less about readers. Some years before, the library was open from 8 am to 8 pm. You can go to the library before and after office. Now it is open from 9 am to 7.30 pm a time without rhyme or reason. There were only 2 days holidays then. Now all government holidays are holidays. Now the library is for the convenience of the staff; then it was for the benefit of readers!

Now we will pick up the thread of Periyar EVR. Periyar was a bottomless ocean of knowledge and vision. In his wisdom he had decided not to take part in elections. He wanted to awaken the people to total revolutions. But Anna broke this rule, formed his party D.M.K. contested elections and won. Anna was great in his own way but breaking away was a serious error. From Periyar's writings it is clear Periyar was greatly hurt. He called the break away party 'traitors' and 'betrayers'. Anna was blameless in money matters. With Kalaignar the rot started; with M.G.R. it became a festering wound. With Jayalalitha, the brahmin, it turned into incurable cancer. Periyar was the avowed enemy of brahmanism. With Jayalalitha, Periyar's ideals were turned upside down.

Periyar is atheist first, communist second. But many of the black shirts are not aware of this.

The only true survivor of Periyar is Comrade V.Anaimuthu. If ever Tamil Nadu can come back to greatness, it can be only through Anaimuthu. I am well aware it can be an impossible task. The DMK and ADMK are floating in ill gotten wealth. And in

TamilNadu only money and cinema speak. All the others are only squeaking.

But with the help of Comrade Anaimuthu I have climbed the heights of Himalayan ideals of Periyar and seen the bright light of rational humanism. A world with a new vision.

I wanted my people, sunk in darkness and misery to see this new light and take courage. With or without peace Tamil Eelam can never stand alone. Periyar's Tamil Eelam will be a rock of Gibraltar. For six long years I have kept PERIYAR ERA going and written nearly 50 articles on every aspect of Tamil Eelam. The Eelam Tamils have refused to take notice.

I sincerely hope this December 2000 issue of "Periyar Era" will wake Eelam Tamils and the Tamil Nadu Tamils from slumber.

I hope and request they will set up 1) a Bank of Tamil Eelam 2) a High powered political Council and 3) take up the study of Periyar EVR's ideology which can deliver them from their littleness and make them rocks of Gibraltar against the Brahmin and Singhala waves which are threatening to engulf them.

("Periyar Era" December,2000)

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SRI LANKAN BUDDHIST MONKS AND EELAM TAMILS

It appears that the Eelam Tamils in general and their political leaders in particular have not taken notice of the immense power the Sri Lankan Buddhist monks exercised over the Sinhala society. If they had studied atleast the main events in Sri Lankan society the Eelam Tamils could have avoided much blood and tears.

It is indeed a great pity that the deep insight into the role of the Buddhist monks in Sri Lankan politics expressed by Professor Stanley Jeyarajah Tambiah in '*BUDDHISM BETRAYED?*' appeared in 1992. Every Eelam Tamil must study this master piece for its historical content and scholarly presentation.

This article is an attempt to awaken the Eelam Tamils to the main points in Professor Tambiah's book. Professor Tambiah has made a penetrating study of the period 1880 to 1980. But the seeds of conflict between Eelam Tamils and the Singhalese have been laid in the body of the *Mahavamsa* written by Buddhist priest Mahanama in the 6th century A.D.

To place the Eelam Tamil/ Sinhala conflict and the role of the Buddhist monks in the true historical context, we start from the *Mahavamsa* and divide the period from the coming of

Vijaya to Sri Lanka, to date, into three large divisions: 1) The ancient period, 2) The medieval period and 3) The modern period.

Ancient period: 483 B.C. to 352 A.D.

Mahanama tells the story of the Singhalese in this period from the arrival of Vijaya in Sri Lanka in 483 B.C. to the end of Mahasena's reign in 352 A.D.

After describing the three visits of Lord Buddha to Sri Lanka first to Maiyanganai to meet the *Yakkas* and then to Nagadipa to visit the *Nagas* and again to Kalyani, the modern Kelaniya, to meet the *Nagas*, Mahanama starts with the story of Vijaya. The first paragraph itself contains all the venom of Eelam Tamil/ Sinhala conflict.

"When the guide of the world, having accomplished the salvation of the whole world and having reached the utmost stage of blissful rest was lying on the bed of his *nibbana* in the midst of the great assembly of gods, he the great sage, the greatest of those who have speech, spoke to Sakka (Indra) who stood there near him "Vijaya" son of Singha bahu is come to Lanka, from the country of Lala to-

gether with seven hundred of followers. In Lanka, O, Lord of gods, will my religion be established, therefore carefully protect him with his followers and Lanka."

In all probability *Mahanama* is a Brahmin turned Buddhist. The reference to Indra, the depiction of the natives of Sri Lanka as *Yakkas* and *Nagas*, the similarity between Rama's southward march to kill Ravana and Duttugamini's northward march to kill Elara seem surprisingly coincidental.

Only a consummate Brahmin cunning can place the arrival of Vijaya in Sri Lanka with the passing away into *Nibbana* of the Buddha and cast a spell of the Sinhala hearts and minds and retain it for 1500 years as fresh as it was at the beginning.

The centre piece of the *Mahavamsa* is the defeat of Tamil king Elara by the Sinhala hero Duttugamini. The childhood action of Duttugamini crouching in his sleep because of sea of the south and Damilas in the North is a supreme psychological stroke.

Even the most righteous Elara being killed by Duttugamini is a psychological ploy that even the best of Damilas need annihilation.

Professor Tambiah turns his attention to two reports by Professor Peter Schalk of Upsalla University, Sweden and Amunugama on a wide network of Monks and layman called Mavhimah Surakime Vyaparaya - MSV - the movement for protection of the motherland. This movement supported SLPF and had a wide network in Singhala areas. Its main objective was not to allow partition of Sri Lanka and a separate state for Tamils. Sobhita Thera, a fiery orator and Palipane, Chandananda were leading lights of this movement. Murutawatte Ananda Thera located in Narahenpita hot bed of Singhala hoodlum is anti UNP and pro JVP.

In a rather revealing note Amunugama writes: "The 1982 saw the rapid politicization of the Singhala Sangha. All Singhala based political parties established support organisations among the Sangha. They compete for the monks' favour by offering them material benefits, official residence, Mercedes Benz, trips abroad, state appointments and construction of temples, privenas and universities. The anti Tamil conflict gave the monks the opportunity to engage in serial political activity."

Gnanasiha Thero of the Rammana sect was a supporter first the UNP, and then the SLPF. He played a leading role in the Eksath Bhikku Peramuna which played a vital role in the 1956 elections. Gnanasiha was close to A.T. Ariyaratna of the

Sarvodaya Sharamadana movement with a vast all island network funded by overseas agencies.

Professor Tambiah also takes note of the rigid caste structure in the Buddhist Sangha. The Malwatta and Asgiriya chapters in Kandy is composed entirely of goigama (farmers), the Kelaniya and Kotte temples are affiliated to the Kandy chapter, but based in the Low country, therefore open to Low country, therefore open to Low golgama. Amarapura Nikaya based in South and South West is dominated by Karava (Fishermen) and Salagama (Dhoby) castes. Rammana and Amarapura sects are based in Colombo - Amarapura sect centred in Bambalapitiya, Colombo is dominated by Duruwa caste occupying a low position in Singhala caste hierarchy.

The overall impression that Professor Tambiah gets after his exhaustive study about the Buddhist monks in Sri Lanka is that caste and political divisions are rife among monks but on the question of minorities, specially Eelam Tamils they all speak with one voice. The minorities, must accept the leadership of the Singhala Buddhists majority irrespective of their own feelings. Division of the country is a traitorous act and the Singhala Buddhists will never allow it. They all feel that the first paragraph of the chapter on Vijaya in *Mahavamsa* is final. Sri Lanka belongs to the Singhalese. They are deaf and blind to the historical truth which Dr.

Paul Perles, a Sri Lankan historian expressed, "*The Dravidians were in occupation of Sri Lanka long before the arrival of Vijaya.*"

The poison of the Brahmin Buddhist monk *Mahanama* has gone to the head of the Singhala Buddhists. They are all raving mad.

Chandrika has decided to find a military solution to Eelam Tamil problem.

The last will and testament of *Thanthal Chelva*, a saintly statesman with a far sighted vision to Eelam Tamils is, "We must get out of the clutches of the Singhalese or perish."

Prabakaran with an army of Eelam Tamil boys and girls with cyanide vials round their necks are holding the Singhala Buddhist vultures at bay over the past 16 years.

What are Eelam Tamils at home and abroad doing? What are Tamils in Tamilnadu doing?

Atleast now, are you aware of the immensity of the Eelam Tamil problem?

1.12.99

S.A.DAVID

("Periyar Era", December, 1999)

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EELAM TAMILS IN 2010 A.D.

The above title is taken from "Hot Spring" December 99. The editor of "Hot Spring" Mr. Sivanayagam has requested contribution from readers on the above subject. In *Periyar Era* we have written 36 articles on Tamil Eelam in the last three years. The subject is of great importance and we are glad to respond to Mr. Sivanayagam's call.

PRESENT POSITION OF EELAM TAMILS

When the Donoughmore Commission's report on universal adult franchise was made known in 1927, Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan said prophetically, "The Sinhalese with their brute majority will crush the minority Tamils". Over the past 72 years the Sinhalese have done just this, and that too, to perfection.

The Sinhalese have killed nearly 60,000 Tamils including 12,000 LTTE freedom fighters. They have wounded and disabled nearly 30,000 Tamils. The Sinhalese have raped hundreds of Tamil women. They have looted and burnt billions worth of Tamil property.

500,000 Eelam Tamils are now refugees around the world. 400,000 Eelam Tamils in Jaffna are living under military rule. 300,000 Eelam Tamils are living in Sinhala areas in fear.

1,200,000 out of a total of 2,500,000 Eelam Tamils in Vanni, Trincomalee and Batticaloa are living under protection of LTTE.

Jaffna, the proud city of Eelam Tamils has been razed to the ground. The graves of 12,000 Eelam Tamil heroes have been bulldozed with machines by Sinhala army.

The economic, social and cultural life of Eelam Tamils have been seriously eroded. Education, health services, administration and transport are crippled.

In comparison to the lively vibrant life in 1950, Tamil Eelam is dead and desolate.

THE NEW PATH

How will Tamil Eelam rise from the ashes like a Phoenix? It will surely rise if the Eelam Tamils are prepared to work for it. There is excellent manpower; there is ample wealth and there are boundless natural resources. All that the Eelam Tamils need is total freedom.

To achieve all this what must be our first step? Listen to Thanthai Chelva's last will and testament.

"We have completely abandoned the Federal concept; We have decided to separate. If we don't separate we can never win back our lost rights. We will try in every way to set up a separate state. This is certain. As the voice of my people I tell this to Sri Lanka and the world from this house. We know this is not an easy task. We know it is a difficult path. But either we must get out of the rule of the Sinhalese or perish. This is our ideal."

(Chelva's speech in Sri Lanka Parliament on 5.12.76).

On 27.3.77 Thanthai Chelva breathed his last. A more clear and concise delineation of the future path for Eelam Tamils is hard to contemplate.

Thambi Prabakaran has taken over from Thanthai Chelva. For sixteen long years Prabakaran has held the Sinhalese army at bay through guerilla warfare. The cyanide vial has become the symbol of dedication and courage of Eelam Tamil freedom fighters.

In 1983 Prabakaran had declared, "We have chosen guerilla warfare as the most effective mode of armed struggle after a careful and cautious appraisal of the specifications of our national situation. Our revolutionary project aims at the extension and transformation of protracted guerilla warfare into a people's popular war of national liberation ("Tamils fight for National freedom" LTTE 1983).

In the historic victory of "unceasing waves" in the Vanni in 1999, Prabakaran demonstrated the capabilities of the LTTE. Now he has declared the year 2000 as the year of war.

Now there is no turning back. The Eelam Tamils have made far too many sacrifices, specially the loss of 60,000 lives of Eelam Tamils to think of compromises and living with the Sinhalese. We have to go forward to the bitter end even if all Eelam Tamils have to perish. We shall never, ever, be

One third of the population of Tamil Eelam, as of now, will amount to nearly 800,000. In the next two years Tamil Eelam must at least aim at 100,000 strong army. If all these girls and boys grow up under the watchful eyes of master Prabakaran, Tamil Eelam can rest assured their defence is in safe hands.

The ten years from 2001 to 2010 can be divided into two five year - periods. In the first five year period defence will be of prime importance. The next five years can be devoted to development. In ten years Tamil Eelam will be a reality and she can take her place in the comity of nations of the world.

Tamil Eelam will be a socialist state. Education will be the foundation of its progress. Arts, science and philosophy will be taught to every citizen. Rational humanism will become the culture of its people. Tamil will be the official language and medium of instruction. English language will be a compulsory subject. Tamil Eelam will maintain friendly relations with Sri Lanka, India and the other countries of the world.

Mr.Sivanayagam is a hard task master. He has raised three knotty problems and wants readers to answer them.

1. Future of Eelam Tamils in the West
2. Future of the Singhalese
3. Future relations with Tamil Nadu and India.

These are very complex subjects and each will need a good sized book to do justice to the subject. However we will give brief notes.

FUTURE OF EELAM TAMILS IN THE WEST

Stories reaching us about Eelam

Tamils in the West are alarming. Weddings of Eelams are grand affairs with unlimited food and drinks. No wedding is complete without two-hour audio-video filming and expensive photo albums. Kanchipuram silk and Lalitha jewellery display are status symbols. Old ladies are hopping from continent to continent for weddings and birthday parties of grand children. For weddings in Chennai guests come from Colombo, London, Toronto, New York and Sydney and stay in expensive hotels to exhibit their status. There are regular visitors from all parts of the globe doing visit to the temples of Sai Baba, Melmaruvathur and Kasi. All this involve money and time. Eelam Tamils are spending several millions. Eelam Tamils around the world are building Murugan temples and celebrating grand annual festivals while their kith and kin are living under trees, dying for want of food and medicine in Vanni. The Eelam freedom fighters are dying for want of arms.

We read that the younger generation of Tamils are not interested in studying Tamil. Even with liberal support of Canadian government only 10 percent of Tamils are studying Tamil. We hear the youth are self centered, rebellious and lack respect for elders. We also hear of smoking, drinking and drug addiction.

In a recent book Mr. Nadarajah, retired from UN services has written there are 2000 Eelam Tamil doctors in UK, but only 500 of them contribute to Eelam Tamil defence fund.

The picture is very grim indeed. We only hope this is confined to a small section and is only a passing phase. It is better for such people to remain in the West. There will certainly be no place for them in the New Tamil Eelam.

Besides, the Supreme Council of Tamil Eelam will lay great stress on Tamil language and culture. The Zionist organisation took great interest on the Hebrew language, Jewish religion and culture. Jews world wide are true to their religion and culture.

And the New Tamil Eelam will not be the old Northern and Eastern provinces confined to the backyard of Singhala SriLanka. It will be a modern vibrant nation of Tamils, by Tamils and for Tamils. Our own Impression is there will then be great rush, not least, for original palmyra toddy and crab curry!

FUTURE OF THE SINGHALESE

Without a doubt, the Singhalese will fight back with vengeance. The Buddhist monks have vowed there will be no Tamil Eelam and they will rule the whole of Sri Lanka. The Singhala politicians are mere masks. Prabakaran has already taken note of this. That is why he has declared 2000 A.D. as the year of war. When they find the Eelam Tamils are deadly enemy they will quieten down. That is why we have allowed five years from 2001 to 2005 as defence years.

We are absolutely sure, given the funds and arms, Prabakaran will break the back of the Singhala army but he will not go for destroying Singhala army. His only aim is creating a separate state of Tamil Eelam. The Singhalese can live their own life in their own land.

Once the Eelam Tamils are out of the way, the Kandyan Singhalese and Low Country Singhalese will be at each others throat. Each of them will ask Eelam Tamils for armed support as they are asking for votes.

When Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan led the protest against universal adult franchise in 1927, the Kandyans joined

because they were also a minority. Now the Kandyans are ruling, because a skeleton of a S.W.R.D. Bandaranayake fell for the buxom beauty of Kandyan damsel Srimavo Ratwatte.

There is another dark horse in the south, the JVP. The younger generation of Singhalese are JVP supporters. J.R. Jayawardane sacrificed 30,000 J.V.P. youth at the altar of the capitalist mammon USA in thanks giving for the help rendered in defeating the Kandyans and also to crush danger from low castes. USA was greatly pleased, the threat of communism has been crushed. In gratitude the capitalist world led by American criminals are supplying vast sums of money and arms to Chandrika to subdue the Eelam Tamil. A depraved Tamil Laxman Kathirgamar is the honest broker.

Therefore there will be no true peace in Singhala ruled Sri Lanka. When JVP wins, Chinese will step into Singhala Sri Lanka. JVP is violently anti-Tamil and anti-Indian too. The future of Singhala Sri Lanka is bleak. It will cast its shadow on Tamil Eelam. Eternal vigilance is the price of freedom.

FUTURE RELATIONS WITH TAMIL NADU AND INDIA

The people in Tamil Nadu will be greatly affected if Tamil Eelam becomes a separate sovereign state. It is human nature. At the level of the masses there is great sympathy for Tamil Eelam. At the level of the youth Prabakaran has outstripped many matinee idols. If Prabakaran sets foot in Tamil Nadu, the Tamil Nadu police will never be able to control the crowd. At the level of politics of course, Tamil Nadu will be subservient to the Brahmin - Bania centre. If Tamil Nadu shows signs of separation the Indian centre with 1,500,000 army, armed to the teeth will crush the Tamils like

flies. They have done it to the mighty martial race, the Sikhs through a police officer Gill, himself a Sikh. This will apply to every other minority in India. With the rise of RSS and Hindu fundamentalism India will become a Hindu fascist state. That is the reason Bill Clinton is visiting India on 25.03.2000 to strengthen USA -India ties. At the back of their minds is the spectre of China.

The chances of India intervening militarily in Sri Lanka is remote. The IPKF debacle is still fresh in the memory of the Indians. The fact Tamil Eelam being Hindu and Singhalese being Buddhists will have some weight.

Besides India is having belly full of troubles from Pakistan, Afghanistan, Muslims in India, North East, Naxalites, communism in Bengal and Kerala and colossal debt trap. Vajpayee is going about like a man in his sleep. Advani is pulling the strings from behind the curtains and RSS is calling the tune.

For another ten years D.M.K. will be safe and sound. In all probability Jeyalalitha will go to jail and A.D.M.K. will crumble. Kalaignar Karunanithi has lined up his nephew Murasoli Maran and his own son M.K. Stalin to continue his dynastic rule. Karunanithi has only said, "If Eelam Tamils are free, I will be happy." Even after Sonia has openly recommended pardon for one of the four Eelam Tamils sentenced to death, Karunanithi is dead silent. Such is the treachery of Tamil Nadu politics. Eelam Tamil refugees in Tamil Nadu are being harassed like beggars to register themselves with the immigration authorities. They are taking out the word "refugee" and substituting the word "alien" in the permits to Eelam Tamils. Tamil Nadu is a treacherous place. Eelam Tamils will do well to keep away from it. Tamil Nadu police is a terror to Eelam Tamils.

CONCLUSION

During the past half a century the Eelam Tamils have endured great agony of body and mind in the hands of the Singhalese. Thanthai Chelva tried his best to find a peaceful solution. The Singhalese frustrated all his attempts. India tried to solve the Eelam Tamils problem through Indo - Sri Lanka accord of 1987. Sri Lanka discarded the accord and disgraced India.

Now Chandrika is shamelessly crying out for talks. Prabakaran has said there will be no mere talks, there will be only war. This is all Chandrika wants. Now she can ask America and her capitalist allies for funds and arms to carry on the war and live in style.

If the Eelam Tamils want a separate state it is possible only under the leadership of Prabakaran. He must be helped to build Eelam Tamil army of 100,000 and inflict crushing defeat on the Singhalese. Not one Singhala soldier should be allowed to remain on the soil of Tamil Eelam.

In five years time Prabakaran must train and equip a superb army of 500,000 Eelam Tamil soldiers who will strike terror in the ranks of Singhala soldiers.

There are many Eelam Tamils who can build a modern vibrant Tamil Eelam if peace is assured in our land.

We feel sorry for Norway. She is wasting her time, money and talent. The Singhalese will never honour an agreement. It is not in their blood. Chandrika is buying time to prepare her army for a massive attack on Eelam Tamils.

- S.A. DAVID

(*'PERIYAR ERA'*, MARCH, 2000)

**SELF RESPECT CONFERENCE AT THANJAVUR
ON 17th AND 18th FEBRUARY, 2001 ALL ARE WELCOME !**

TAMIL EELAM: SINGHALA - TAMIL TALKS

On 26.11.2000, Eelam Tamil martyrs day, Prabakaran, in all probability under pressure of Eric Solhelm, Norwegian facilitator of Singhala- Tamil talks, declared he will talk to Chandrika without any precondition.

The eyes and ears of the world are now focussed on Prabakaran and Tamil Eelam. Chandrika is now deadly silent. Only Laxman Kathirgamar, Tamil Traitor No.1 is making some muffled noises.

The criminal capitalist gang which has funded and supplied arms to the Singhalese over the past 20 years will meet next week in Paris to consider further support to the Singhala government in Sri Lanka. Chandrika is in Paris now to beg for funds and arms to crush the Tamils. The Singhalese are experts in living in style on borrowed money. They have done it for the past 20 years.

Chandrika has nothing substantial to offer to the Tamils. So she is silent till she gets the support of the

criminal capitalist gang meeting in Paris. If she gets their backing she will give orders to the Singhala army to attack the Tamils, frighten them and then may be she will start the talks which is fore-doomed to failure, because the Buddhist monks, the power behind the Singhala politicians, will never give anything to Eelam Tamils.

That Eric Solhelm of Norway will go back in disgrace is sure and certain. We are sorry for Solhelm but we have to tell the truth.

If the criminal capitalists refuse funds and arms to the Singhalese, Chandrika may make a radical move. Anuradha Ratwatte, cousin of Chandrika is in Peijing talking to the Chinese.

Already the Chinese are in Sri Lanka starting work on a Petroleum complex in Mutwal on the Northern outskirts of Colombo. This could be the thin end of the wedge which will trigger the third world war and make India a theatre of war. The criminal

capitalists will rather fight the war in India than on their own soil.

This is the bleak future facing the Eelam Tamils. At this initial hour let us look back at the past Singhala Tamil talks.

1931

Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan and his brother Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam were working hand-in-glove with the Singhalese and leading the freedom movement in Sri Lanka.

When the Donoughmore Commission announced its recommendations in 1927, Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan fought it tooth and nail. He said prophetically "with their brute majority the Singhalese will crush the Tamil minority".

Still, his younger brother Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam carried on his flirtation with the cunning Sinhalese. In utter desperation Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan cried out to Sir

Ponnambalam Arunachalam "Aruni, Aruni, beware of the Singhalese. They will cut the earth beneath your feet".

But Sir Ponnabalam Arunachalam continued his dilly-dallying with the Singhalese and set up the Ceylon National Council.

The Singhalese leaders promised the Colombo West seat to Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam. This is the first talk between Singhalese and Tamils.

Yet at the eleventh hour the Singhalese left Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam high and dry and supported a Singhalese to the Colombo West seat.

Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam saw stars. He rushed to Jaffna, started the Hindu - Mahasabha and was contemplating setting up "Eelam", a frightening peep into the future which is stark reality today.

Vaithilingam tells the whole story in his inimitable style in '*Biography of Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan.*'

So the first Singhala - Tamil talk ended in dismal disgraceful failure. There were more to come.

1958

The Sananayakes and Bandaranaiques were mortal en-

emies. D.S.Sananayake as long as he was alive, kept Bandaranaike under check.

When D.S.Sananayake passed away Bandaranaike decided to seize power. He surrendered to Singhala Buddhist fanatics. Bandaranaike promised 'Singhala only' in 24 hours. Bandaranaike won the 1956 elections by a landslide victory. He made Singhala the official language. Thanthai Chelva started Satyagraha. Bandaranaike wanted to come to terms with the Tamils. He entered into a pact with Chelva.

- 1) to set up regional councils.
- 2) to give parity of status to Tamil.

Bandaranaike even gave it in writing. The Buddhist monks surrounded Bandaranaike's house and made him tear up the pact. This was the fate of the second Singhala - Tamil talks.

1967

In the 1965 elections the United National Party led by Dudley Senanayake wanted to seize power. Through political power brokers Dudley managed to get support of Chelva. In return Dudley promised:

- 1) Provincial Councils.
- 2) Reasonable use of Tamil.

Chelva supported and Dudely won.

Again the Buddhist monks intervened and made Dudley tear up the pact. For the third time Singhala - Tamil talks ended in dismal failure.

1981

In 1977 United National Party led by J.R.Jayawardane won by a massive majority. The TULF led by Amirthalingam promised separate State of Tamil Eelam and won handsomely. Amirthalingam became Leader of the opposition.

J.R.Jayawardane wanted to come to terms with the Tamils. He offered:

District Councils.

Note how the cunning Singhalese brought the offer to the Tamils from Regional Councils to District Councils.

District Council elections were held. The LTTE broke up the District Council elections. For the fourth time Singhala - Tamil Talks came to a dead end. If Prabakaran had not intervened Tamils would be languishing in District Councils under the Singhalese.

Thanthai Chelva was a saintly statesman. He was the Gandhi of Tamil Eelam. He was mild and soft spoken. He was patient and a man of peace.

If the Singhalese have failed to settle the Tamil problem peace-

fully while Thanthal Chelva was alive there is not a ghost of a chance they can ever settle the Tamil problem peacefully. No talk however well intentioned will ever solve the Tamil problem peacefully and honourably in Sri Lanka.

The stumbling blocks are the Buddhist monks. In Sri Lankan politics they have the last word. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike tried to by-pass them. Buddharakitta, the Chief Priest of Kelaniya temple got Somarama Thero to shoot down Bandaranaike in his own house.

The Buddhist priests have put the fear of Moses into Chandrika. She has now drafted a Singhala Buddhist constitution to win the good will of the Buddhist monks. Chandrika will go on bended knees before the Mahanayakas of Malwatte and Asgiriya before she submits the constitution to Parliament.

Such is the pathetic state of politics in Sri Lanka. Mr. Eric Solhelm has started at the wrong end. He must first tackle the Sangha Rajas of Malwatte and Asgiriya before tackling Prabakaran.

Prabakaran has said, 'I am prepared to talk; but I know for sure talks will not solve the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka.'

Israel and Palestine is a different kettle of fish. They are both sons of Abraham but here in Sri Lanka the problem is between Aryans and Dravidians. Singhalese are not Aryans. Only, they think they are Aryans. So the problem is worse confounded.

Israel and Palestine problem is only about 100 years old; but Singhala-Tamil problem is 2500 years old.

POLES APART

Over the past fifty years the Eelam Tamils have suffered greatly in body and mind in the hands of the Singhalese and the two communities are now poles apart.

Nearly 70,000 Eelam Tamils have lost their lives; thousands of Eelam Tamil women have been raped; nearly 600,000 Eelam Tamils are living as refugees in their own land. The proud city of Jaffna is a heap of rubble, the economy, the social life, politics and culture of Eelam Tamils are in shambles. The Singhalese have unleashed a deadly war by land, sea and air on Eelam Tamils. For the last 17 years, a Singhala army, armed to the teeth with modern weapons is threatening the security of Eelam Tamils in the Jaffna Peninsula. How can Eelam Tamils talk to the Singhalese? Has

Mr. Eric Solhelm taken all the above into consideration?

THANTHAI CHELVA'S LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT

After 30 long years of relentless effort to come to terms peacefully with the Singhalese, on 5.12.1976, on the floor of Sri Lanka parliament in his last speech, Chelva said: "The Tamils must get out of the clutches of the Singhalese or perish."

But the Singhala Buddhist monks insist on a unitary state in Sri Lanka, where they will remain a permanent majority.

Is there any meeting ground where Singhalese and Tamils can talk?

Frankly we see no hope. Let us not deceive ourselves. Let us face facts fairly and squarely.

If talk we must, let us talk on the dynamics of separation or not talk at all.

The prospect is grim indeed. But Thanthal Chelva saw the future clearly and said "Perish" rather than be slaves."

1.1.2001

S.A.DAVID

('Periyar Era' January, 2001)



**SELF RESPECT CONFERENCE AT THANJAVUR
ON 17th AND 18th FEBRUARY, 2001 ALL ARE WELCOME !**

DEEPLY REGRETTED

We record with deep regret the gory death of over one lakh of men, women and children in the unprecedented earthquake that erupted in several parts of Gujarat State and some other states of India on the 26th of January 2001.

The enormous loss of property of several lakhs of people has necessitated many a people to desert their hearths and homes and their villages.

The Govt. of India, all the State Govts. and individuals have rushed monetary and other helps to relieve the sufferings of those who lost their near and dear ones and who sustained injuries.

Forecasting of such natural calamities is not done with due care by those in-charge of such jobs. And relief and rehabilitating measures are not undertaken speedily by officials and people's representatives on such occasions.

Such attitude on the part of those concerned at such junctures deserves condemnation. This should be avoided and all necessary measures should be undertaken on war footing.

- EDITOR

(Continuation from Wrapper IV page)

He kept quiet. I further proceeded: "Not only to the Muslims and Christians, to the Dravidian Nationalities also Ram is controversial, he cannot be a unifying symbol."

"Periyar writes about different characters in Ramayana. What he says about Rama is what proves that Ram can never be a cultural symbol for us."

"What did Periyar say?". he asked, I quoted from his "Ramayana Characters", just by way of example.....

"Ram knows that the right to rule Ayodhya is Bharatha's."

"Ram pretends to be a good and obedient man only to cheat Dasaratha and Kaikeyi."

"He was ready for coronation when Bharatha was not in Ayodhya."

"Rama told Lakshmana, 'I am becoming the king only for your sake, you will rule the country.' He was afraid that Lakshmana may do any harm to him."

"Rama was upset when he was told to leave Ayodhya and wander in the forest." (He expresses his anguish with his wife and his mother!)

"He told Lakshmana that their father has been a fool to send him to the forest."

"Rama has married many women."

"If I am provoked, I will kill the enemies and become Ayodhya king', says Rama."

"He tells Sita to behave as Bharatha wishes. We may gain later." This is not exhaustive; Periyar lists out 47 illustrations of Rama's varied character all with evidence!

Could Ram be a cultural symbol of India if he feels upset over the denial of kingship to him?

Would he care for the poorest of the poor if he could behead a sudra for doing penance for attaining salvation?

Could he be the most respected symbol of Indian national ethos if he could advise Sita to behave well with Bharatha and carry out his wishes so that we could gain later?

Was he not a coward as he committed suicide by drowning in the waters of the river Sarayu?

My friend... age-old friend... who left me long back.... away from me by thousands of miles.... in the company of Vajpayee.... felt so much, and said at last; Vajpayee should be the Prime Minister of India, not of Ayodhya throwing away into the seas the useless and pernicious concept of Ram!"

- M.K.S

**SELF RESPECT CONFERENCE AT THANJAVUR
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LAST PAGE

AYODHYA'S PRIME MINISTER!



Neither the Tamils nor the other Dravidian nationalities have become so narrow-minded as to attempt at Dravidianisation of India. The Brahmins do it yea, Aryanising India!

When I was penning down this... my friend came in and showed me A.B. Vajpayee's article, "My Musings From Kumarakom" (in two parts) which appeared in The Hindu. He has some fascination for Vajpayee.

"How great Vajpayee is!". Exclaiming thus he began to read the Prime Minister's words..... "'Few multi religious, multi - lingual and multi - ethnic societies in the world have presented such an exemplary demonstration of unity in diversity as India has done."

I interferred... "Does he really believe in unity in diversity?"...

Impatiently he read as though he were answering in the words of Vajpayee himself....

".... We are one people - sisters and brothers who are children of the Great Mother India."

I smiled, and asked my friend whether the P.M. or his party BJP or its affiliates like V.H.P.... or his fellow-travellers like L.K. Advani or Murali Manohar Joshi would treat Muslims and Christians in India their brethren??

"Has not the P.M. quoted Poet Allama Iqbal's eulogy to Ram?", he retorted.

"Is not Iqbal an exception?... or perhaps he sang so with no full particulars with him? Is there any other Hindutva poet who would praise the Islamic giants?", I shot back.

"Yours is narrow-out look," lamenting so, he again fell into Vajpayee words...

"Sometimes, however, we get so involved in our own narrow concerns... We tend to ignore.... India's diversity and her essential unity."

"You go on profusely quoting him. But why should he be harping on Ram Janma bhoomi - Babri Masjid dispute? No need for it! But he considers it a legacy of the last millennium.... particularly after terrifie protest against the P.M.'s remarks about it.... after opposition parties raising a heavy hue and cry... after forcing the Lok Sabha discuss it!", this launching of attack was minè!

I continued: "If the P.M. believes 'unity in diversity' why should he boost up Ram like this... "Few can deny that Ram occupies an exalted place in India's culture. He is one of the most respected symbols of our national ethos"..... and so on!"

I still went on: "This way of eulogising Ram... would it mean unity in diversity... when Ram Janma bhoomi issue is burning! would it convince the minorities?..."

(Continued on Wrapper Page No.3)