

PERIYAR ERA

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OUR STATES CAN'T WAIT!



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OFFICE ADDRESS:

19, MURUGAPPA STREET (UPSTAIRS)
CHENNAI - 600 005
SOUTH INDIA. PHONE: 044-852 28 62

PERIYAR ERA

VOL. 8

THIS MONTH

NO.3

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EDITORIAL**PROPER FUNCTIONING OF
PARLIAMENT AND LEGISLATURES**

The capital city of New Delhi has witnessed a meeting of dignitaries who have expressed their anguish over disorderly nature in the functioning of Parliament and State Legislatures. They bemoaned about the falling standards in Parliament and State Legislatures and suggested some remedies and passed a few resolutions.

Apart from the Vice - President of the Indian Republic, the Prime Minister, the Lok Sabha Speaker - 300 delegates, 59 presiding members, 12 Chief Ministers, Leaders of the opposition in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha have assembled on 25.11.2001 and held a marathon session for 9 hours. Really they have made a history.

The marathon session has looked at the problem as a whole from the point of view of 'Coalition Politics' that has come to stay between 1977 and 1999. But they have not gone deep into the reason that have brought India to such an unhealthy situation.

The simple and real reason for deterioration of standards in public and political life is that most of the national level parties and regional parties lack ideological goal and set programmes to achieve the ideology.

What is the ideology of the Indian National Congress which has ruled India for over 46 years from 1946 to 1976 and from 1980 to 1996 out of 54 years of the so called independence? The only intention of the Congress was that India should be ruled by a member of the Nehru family at any cost. That has happened for over 40 years. Other than a member of Nehru family there were Lal Bahadur Shastri between 1964 - 66 and P.V. Narasimha Rao between 1991 - 1996. They also belonged to uppercastes.

During such a long period of 46 years, what prevented the Indian National Congress from providing education to all citizens under 14 years of age under the provision laid down in the Directive Principles of State Policy in the Indian Constitution? The only reason was that the Congress which was a party of upper castes, of land lords, mill owners, bankers and advocates lacked ideological commitment and functioned as a party of men to enjoy all the benefits that were available in social, political and economic spheres of India. They aimed at keeping the largest majority of the toiling classes as illiterates and they have achieved it and nothing else. None of the other national level parties has given serious thought to this issue because such of those parties also were under the leadership of uppercastes and land lords. It is true that many

of them were Brahmins and a few of them professed Gandhian socialism and Marxian socialism, through non-violent means.

How do the present day leaders expect that men and women of standards should take part in politics and lead the nation on right lines? What right these leaders have to bemoan over the falling of standards? The Parliamentarians and Legislators are elected by men and women who have not been taught in schools as to what is democracy and what are the functions of Parliament, Legislatures, the Executive, and the Judiciary. The print media which is available to the people does not allow the people to sift the right from the wrong and learn good things. The political parties have not enlightened their respective cadres as to the functions of the Government and the duties of the citizens. The nett result is that caste - leaders, black marketeers, contractors and those who are near and dear to the concerned political party leaders are distributed seats, supplied men and material during elections and such men who employ these effectively get elected and become Parliamentarians and Legislators.

Most of the 543 Lok Sabha members and the 4,000 State Legislators that get elected are composed of men and women of these categories and qualities.

When such people are elected they are not given sufficient orientation about Indian constitution, May's Parliamentary procedure and other related rules and regulations compulsorily. Those who deliberated on the 25th of Nov. 2001 at New Delhi on these matters have expressed their willingness to do it. But it is a fact that it has not been done compulsorily though such a provision was there already.

The concerned political parties excepting the Communist parties are not particular in equipping their members of Parliament and Legislators on the necessity to study the reports given to them during the sessions - and discuss and interact among themselves on the subjects of those reports.

The most important lacuna in the proper functioning of Parliament is that the number of days of sitting has been cut and instead committee system has been introduced during 1991-1996. The members of the committees are very particular in undertaking tours within and outside India at the cost of the Govt and getting fabulous amounts as sitting and travelling allowances. This is mostly because they lack knowledge on the issue or subject for which the committee is constituted.

For example there was no debate in Parliament on the issue of accepting the W.T.O. stipulations laid down by the Dunkel Draft, during 1991 - 1996. The committee entrusted with that task also failed to do justice to the issue. Further more neither the Indian National Congress nor the other national parties had taken initiative to take up the matter to the public and disperse knowledge to the farmers, traders and small industrialists on the impending dangers that will befall and oppress the interests of India.

Without giving deep thought to the problems of illiteracy, poverty and unemployment any

effort taken by the higher ups to tame the Parliamentarians and Legislators will prove utterly useless.

For example there are over 240 land reform legislations passed by the States in India between 1950 and 1986. All these legislations have been put under the IX Schedule and made non - justiciable. The immediate result was that implementation of land reforms were totally left to the mercy of the executive wing and the Government. It is a pity that none of the States except West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura, had given any thought to this problem for over 51 years, after 1950. As a result in a country where 65% of the total population is dependent on agriculture, most of the actual tillers and toilers have been left landless labourers. This is horrible, even for a minute to think. This pathetic situation has been caused wantonly by the ruling classes - both in the Government and in the executive wing who did not have the necessary will and determination and intention to chalk out meaningful measures to carry out the reforms within a stipulated period of time. Further since most of those at the top of the helm of affairs were upper caste - cum - rich landowners, they were consciously opposed to land reforms and worked for its failure.

Unless the Parliamentarians and the Legislators are made aware of such things, where is the hope of making them to work in the interest of the nation and the people?

These are the root causes for mushrooming of innumerable parties and political groups at the national and regional levels. As long as there are possibilities for sprouting of many number of parties there cannot be polarisation of parties into two, three or four on ideological lines. As long as there are dozens of national parties and many hundreds of regional and caste based political groups, coalition set up of Governments will be the only way. Coalition with consensus on vital issues is the most dangerous aspect in politics. That becomes much more dangerous when most of the parties do not have ideology.

It is certain that the Congress stands for status - quoism in social, political and economic spheres. It is further more worse that it has turned around to the mercy of Nehru family for its reemergence.

Still worse is the Bharatiya Janata Party which has declared to establish "Ram Rajya" which is anterior to status - quoism. Under such circumstances the people of India are destined to get deprived of all the benefits that are due to them under these two evil political forces.

It is nothing but simply white washing the parliamentary issues under the garb of giving serious thought to the deterioration of "Discipline and Decorum in Parliament and State Legislatures". It was a wasteful exercise.

Because of the failure of the Govt of India on all fronts during the past five decades, only half - educated, ill-equipped and self - centred thieves, rowdies, murderers, rapists and religious and caste fanatics will enter into the Parliament and State Legislatures. As a result utter chaos will accrue and bloody revolution will burst out.

1.12.2001

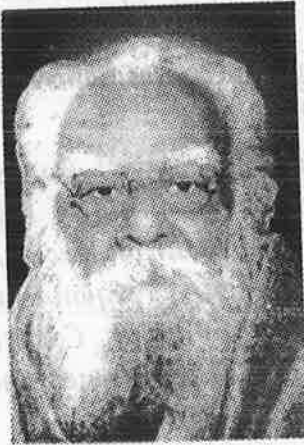
V. ANAIMUTHU

PERIYAR E.V.R. SOCIOLOGY

Part - 3

In part 1, Periyar gave an insight in to the abject degradation of the Sudras. In part 2, Periyar gave a moving account of the sufferings of women. These studies convinced Periyar that he must put an end to these evils. He was searching for a solution. He came up with a solution that is unique in the field of sociology. It is 'Self Respect' - His studies had shown Periyar that Sudras were to a large extent responsible for their degradation. He did not hesitate to call on them to pull themselves up by their boot straps and take their rightful place in society. To this end he set up the Dravida Kazhagam and built it up as a powerful agent of social change. Here in lies the greatness of Periyar E.V.R. He was both a visionary and a man of action.

- Editor



Self Respect Movement

"What is the necessity for a self respect movement? From the time of the Kanchipuram Tamil Nadu Political Conference, I have been speaking and writing about the need for a movement to preserve our self respect. Because all of you accepted it and welcomed it my opinion has been strengthened. I have come today in consideration of the above facts. I have spoken about the purpose and ideology of the movement once or twice when I came

here before."

"You all know that we are 22 cores strong. In spite of this a group of small numbers are treating us worse than animals, insects or worms, because we belong to a caste which is low and despised. To remove this stigma our forefathers have taken many actions over thousands of years. To remove our degradation, Buddha, Kapilar, Ramanujar and other greatmen took birth and died for this. But we, because of our low status and degradation and lack of self respect have fallen prey to brahmins who with cunning used some of our people to frustrate all our efforts. However we were defeated or degraded we have fought back again and again to overcome our disabilities, day by day our desire to be free has grown. The opinion of the people has also been steady. This is the time to shake off our yoke and gain our self respect. We must all be united on this matter and work hard to win."

"The brahmins and their hirelings will try to frustrate our attempts with lies and fraud. Our own people under the garb of patriotism will work against us for earning their livelihood. We should not take them seriously."

"Are we thinking of hurting any one? Are we taking away any one's freedom? We are working for our self respect and not against anyone else's self respect. If we bolt our doors and protect our goods, are we hurting the thieves who want to rob us? Will we be guilty of starving them? Will this not help to make the thief learn a lesson that he can't live by robbery and change his ways? If the thief is angry with us what can we do? Should we not win self respect or not? We have to think of our self respect and not care about what the others say. Sir. C.P. Ramasamy Iyer who is a member of the legislature and in every cell and breath a brahmin, speaking at the Nadar conference last year as

Chairman, said:

"We Indians say that in politics and commerce we should not allow the Europeans to be above us and we must be on par with them. The Indian Congress and Muslim League from the beginning have said this and are working to achieve this. In the same way, some who by accident or unfortunately are considered of lower rank are fighting with the upper classes to be equal to them. This fighting is justified. It is very necessary. At the early stages one community may attack another community. Practices based on customs have to be abandoned and rights of people established. This will lead to mental agony and quarrel. This is natural. These are necessary to achieve equality among communities. People with foresight will realise this."

Further we see that all over the world countries and communities setting up organisations in the name of their countries or communities to put an end to deficiencies and promote welfare. Openly or secretly they gain power.

For example Asians, Europeans, Americans have movements in the name of their countries. Mohammodans, Christians and Buddhists have movements in the name of religions. Further Muslims have Muslim League, Jamat Ulama also. Christians have all India Christian Association, Protestant

League etc.

Similarly our government has non-muslims and non - brahmin groups. In common they have Hindu Maha Sabha, Varnasrama protection societies. The high caste people, to establish and strengthen their power and execute their programmes have magazines like 'Brahmin'. They also have such groups Smartha Brahmins, Madhva Brahmins, Maharastra Brahmins, Viswa brahmins who publish their views. Similarly non-brahmins (Dravidians, Tamils) have South Indian Liberal Federation, non - brahmin sangam and carryout propaganda and annual conventions. They published 'Justice', 'Dravidan' to publicise their ideals. There are Saiva Samaiya Sangam' Vaishnava Samaiya Sangam. There are associations for sub groups too. Adi Dravidrar Sangam, Solia Vellala Sangam, Thondaimandala Vellala Sangam, Kongu Vellala Sangam, Vanniayakula Shatria Sangam, Baliyavaru Sangam, Kammavaru Sangam, Parkava Kula Sangam, Munthariya Sangam, Senai Thalaivar Sangam, Arunthathiar Sangam, Maruthuvar Sangam, Kulalar Sangam, Indra Kulathipar Sangam', Rasaputhirar Sangam, Thana Vysya Sangam, Arya Chettiars Sangam, Aiyuttam Chettiar Sangam, Kasukkara Chettiar Sangam, Irupathinalu Manai Chettiar Sangam, Viswakarma Sangam, Sivaichchariar Sangam. These and many more sangams have been established to prevent exploitation to escape from foreign

domination, to preserve their freedom and self respect.

These actions may cause displeasure to some other community. There is no point in blaming them. What will the Aryan brahmins ask through Arya dharma protection society and Varnasrama Dharma protection society? They will ask that Varnasrama Dharma must continue, that they are the highest caste, that others Sudras (born to Brahmin's concubines) Panchamas (Chandalas). Dharma must continue, that these people should not be made free from Varnasrama dharma. That Arya dharma and Varnasrama dharma, the sudras and panchamas must remain that by cunning and deceit the cry to sudras and panchamas must be foiled. They will pass resolutions and take action.

Similarly the sudras and panchamas will ask that they be freed from the domination of brahmins and Varnasrama Dharma. We have to declare how much we suffer under Arya and Varnashrama dharmas. It is difficult to blame any one for their activities.

The power of the well to do is against the interests of the weak; there will certainly be several obstacles and ill feelings. Those who work for freedom and self respect should not retreat. Come what may they have to go forward. When we complain against our liabilities brahmins call us anti-brahmin, unpatriotic, communal and atheists. Our illiterate people believe

all these. This cannot be avoided because brahmins are powerful in religious and political fields.

These powers subject us to suffering. First of all where do we have class organisation? Where did the idea of brahmins and non-brahmins originate?

In temples, bathing ghats, rivers and schools, on the streets, hotels and coffee shops the words - "Brahmins", "Sudras" on sign boards - were these differentiations started by us or brahmins? How can we be called communalists.

The brahmins do not think it is wrong for them to exercise their power and degrade us. But if we call for our freedom and self respect it is said to be wrong.

1. The brahmins say that Arya dharma, untouchability and sudra status must remain in tact.

2. It is sin to look at them and speak to them. They say it is virtue to fall at their feet and worship them.

3. If we give them anything which we have seen or touched they call it polluted but worshipping their feet and drinking water after washing their feet is called merit.

4. When they speak to us they will lift their sacred thread and twine it around their ears as it is customary for them when they defecate. This is to remind us of our status as sudras. When we speak to them we must keep

our hands in front of our mouth so that our breath may not pollute them.

We can cite thousands of such examples. Do not give up your duty, to your birth right because the brahmins will call you atheists and communal. They have set up a national society including us too while demeaning us as low castes. They are earning 1000, 2000, 8000, 7000 rupees monthly. They are monopolising schools. They are acting as spies to government. This is their livelihood.

If we also aspire to these positions, they say we are not fit. If we still persist they call us "unpatriotic" and communal. Therefore we must have an institution of our own to protect us from such enemies and bring freedom and self respect to us. We must all unite and work hard."

(Speeches at Thirunelveli, Thenkasi, Madurai from 28.11.1926 to 03.12.1926 'KUDIARASU' 19.12.1926)

Comrades,

"Self Respect movement was started to make people be ashamed of their position. It is meant to reform society. This change has to come through revolution and not through plays and laughter. We have to undergo suffering."

"We are degrading and harming ourselves. If we do not correct ourselves, our society will never be redeemed.

There is not only high caste and low caste, there is high and low in men and women too. Further there is rich and poor. Employer and employee. It is said these are natural, not made by man but ordained by god. People who are high say this and people who are low accept this.

It is false beliefs that have prevented reform in society.

If it is believed high and low castes and all sufferings there to are god made, who will dare to change this?

The high caste man is proud of himself, he is degrading and harming those below him. This nature is not only in brahmins but in every other caste.

They consider reform of castes us evil. Mixing of castes is equated to prostitution. This outlook is very death to abolition of castes.

Remember that there is nothing else than self respect movement to destroy caste foundation.

Thiruvalluvar, Kapilar, Ramanujar of puranic age and Brahma Samaj and Arya samaj of our times without knowing the truth were only tinkering with castes, only to silence society and the world. They never did anything to abolish castes.

Therefore no one has attempted to wipe out castes. Even attempts by some people are only to raise their caste status. Even mixed castes are unhappy that they can't call themselves "a

caste'. They are not worried about abolition of castes. All these troubles can be removed only by self respect movement. All other reforms will not be helpful.

(Speech at Puddukottai
23.3.1936, dt. 05.04.1936)

It is believed that even some Muslims consider self respect movement as atheist. They are not worried about it themselves, they only want to show others that they are with them. They are frightened, otherwise they will be harmed. To Muslims and others who join self respect movement I say that there is no atheism in our policies.

There is room in self respect movement for all religions and aspiration. Its ideal is this "to remove all false beliefs, meaningless rituals and all vain expenses on these.'

To remove all separation due to religion, caste and class, to remove all differences in economic and social spheres and make society a homogeneous brotherhood.

To be bound by reason and self respect, and follow self respect ways. What relationship exists between these and theistic and atheistic ideas? Theistic and atheistic is individuals view and conduct. There is nothing atheistic in joint action of Muslims and Tamils."

(Speech at Ambur 28.11.1937,
Republic 05.12.1937)

Comrades,

"Self Respectors seek to instill a sense of decency in people, to establish equality among all socially and economically. It has other policies but they are not against god and religion.

If any god, religion or any other force tries to obstruct our work, self respect movement will not hesitate to destroy them."

(Speech at Namakkal
12.12.1937, Republic, 19.12.1932)

Sudras, non-brahmins and chandalas do not know head or tail of these matters. Only those with idea of freedom and self respect and those who are twice-born can reason out these things. Before they were born they were not aware of the tragic state of their parents or society. I will give an example of about 30, 35 years ago (1938).

My father was a municipal councillor and a prominent trader in Erode. He paid about 100, 150 rupees as income tax. One day a brahmin who drew a monthly salary of Rs. 12.5 to Rs.15/- came to make an enquiry about income tax. My father stood up and said "welcome, welcome, swami!" with folded raised hands and asked the brahmin to sit and my father was standing. That brahmin, a bill collector said rudely "adail Venkata Naikka, shall we go and inspect that house?" My father tied his turban and followed the brahmin. On his return my father bundled saffron, chillies,

palmya sugar in a bag and sent a man to deliver the bundle, at the brahmin's house. This I saw with my own eyes.

Similarly great land owners, advocates, officers were treated rudely, worse than dogs by brahmins. All these I have seen myself. Do you see the difference then and now?

The condition of religion and brahmins before and after self respect movement started and the changes that have come will be understood by people with feeling."

(At Kanchipuram, 1.3.1938
Editorial republic, 6.3.1938)

Ideals of Dravida Kazhagam,

Chairman, Comrades!

"Like the Congress party, the Communist party, Republican party, Hindu Mahasaba and other parties, the Dravida Kazhagam is not a political party. But other parties do not accept this. Like many other ignorant beliefs in our country this too is due to ignorance.

Dravida Kazhagam is a reform movement to destroy false beliefs in gods, religion, hell and heaven, swaraj and ideals of high and low castes and bring unity, discipline, and sense of fairness in society. It is working for the good of all Dravidians including those in other parties.

Our first task is to teach feeling of nationality to Dravidians who have for long ages been kept in ignorance by vested interests. The second task is

to destroy their degradation and sudra status. If the other parties support us in these tasks we will hold them in respect. To our knowledge no party has come forward to take up these tasks. Not only have they come forward, they even ridicule us. Some parties want to destroy us. If any party will take over these tasks we have no objection to disband Dravida Kazhagam. Let them say. We will disband.

If this swaraj government declares, "There will be no sudras, there will be no brahmins in this country' we will disband our Kazhagam. We have told this very clearly many times before. Let even Hindu Mahasaba say, "We will not tolerate the existence of sudras or brahmins, there will be no distinctions of castes, there will be no laws, sastras, puranas and gods who advocate this distinction, We will disband our Kazhagam immediately and join Hindu Maha Saba. In contrast the brahmins who call themselves high caste have helped to promote this degradation. These are the people who came as Rama, Krishna, Narasimha and destroyed our great reformers. They were killed by the power of god. Through fear of hell, false beliefs were spread among the people, rational thought was extinguished.

This scared group will try to destroy the rationalists. If they fail they will praise them as super human. They will wait for the right time and take him to the sacred feet of the Lord. That is how Gandhi was killed. His fate is an example. Not only they, I too, if I was one of them will do the same. If

the structure of society is that all the benefits of work must come to the lazy people. will I say this must be changed? If others try to reform this, will I allow them to do it? Even in this age when workers are powerful can reform be checked? It must be changed. Till this change occurs we are not worried about ruling the country. We are not worried so and so or a particular group should rule. We are not worried if a Negro rules us or like in Ramayana two slippers rule us. Who ever rules us, we want him to be a gentleman who will respect our human feelings. The Government of today can't be called swaraj Government. What we have is Congress rule. Today's rule is not people's rule. It is Manudharma rule. It is purely brahmin rule. In brahmin rule we have to drink urine and dung as a religious rite. If we condemn this, they will say we are anti-religious. If we say, we have to suffer and die, even in swaraj rule, we will be sudras. Why should swaraj rule exploit people? They will say this is anti-government. Further what we have got is not swaraj. You must know it is a colonial government with some powers transferred. Even this power is in the hands of the brahmins, not in the hands of common people. What did the congress promise us when they took our votes? They promised swaraj. When they found swaraj is not possible, like genglemen, they should have resigned. Should not what you voted for have been given to you? Instead they are using the power they got, for their self interest. Is this just? Is it not political deceit?

We gave our votes to shake off our sudra status. We wanted to rule our country. We wanted aliens to quie. We wanted to get rid of his exploitation. You call us anti - government. Is our land poor in resources? Don't trouble your-self. Give us separation." (Speech at Vellore, 12.3.1948) Viduthalai 15.03.1948)

We, the Dravida Kazhagamites have taken as our first task the removal of ignorance of our people and making them rationalists. We are labouring on this front. It is after this that people can choose their government with understanding. This is my conviction. Till this stage is reached politics is the play things of self seekers for their own advantage. This is a certainty. This is why my first task is to create social awarness and progress among the people.

Comrades, just because I say this, people may rush to the conclusion that I am advocating voting rights to the rich and the educated. The only power in the hands of the poor is their voting right. But if the poor, the ignorant use this right without understanding, a people's government can never come into existence. But in its place in the name of Democracy, savage and evil governments will be established. To some extent we are witnesses today, to the signs of this trend."

(Speech in Erode 7.5.1949 Kudi Arasu 14.05.1949)

Sociology concluded
Translations S.A. DAVID

TAMIL EELAM : EELAM TAMILS AT HOME



Feverish canvassing is in progress in Sri Lanka for the General Elections fixed for 5.12.2001. On the advice of Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, four Eelam Tamil Political parties have formed a united front under a common symbol, 'the rising sun' to contest in the General Elections on 5.12.2001. The parties are Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), Tamil Congress (T.C), Eelam People's Revolutionary Front (EPRLF) - (Suresh faction) and Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO). This is certainly a striking improvement. But Eelam People Democratic Party led by Douglas Devananda is staying out and supporting Chandrika. People Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam has not taken a decision.

Earlier Elections:

It is interesting and instructive to look back at earlier elections, before we take up the forth coming elections. Since independence in 1948, eleven general Elections have been held in Sri Lanka. A notable feature in these elections is that the Eelam Tamils have consistently, at great suffering to themselves, always supported the candidates who promised freedom to them.

In this context the 1977 General Election is a water shed in the history of Sri Lanka. Backed to the hilt by U.S.A., J.R. Jayawardena won a landslide victory. But a more vital victory was that of the Tamil United Liberation Front which won 17 seats and became the opposition in Sri Lanka Parliament.

Jayawardana and his murderous gang could not stomach this. They let loose three genocidal racial attacks on Tamils in 1977, 1981 and 1983. The division between Singhalese and Tamils became permanent. Prabakaran took up the challenge and started guerilla war.

The general elections due in 1982 was not held. Jayawardena wanted to become a dictator. He drafted

the Presidential constitution, held a referendum and installed himself as Dictator. The irony of fate is that Prof. A.J. Wilson, son-in-law of Thanthai Chelva drafted this constitution.

In 1988 Jayawardena retired, and General Election and provincial elections for North and East were held. The Indian peace keeping force supervised the elections in North and East. All kinds of malpractices were employed and a congenial quisling, Varadarajah Perumal was installed as Chief Minister of North and East. This is the darkest hour of Indian political and military escapade in Sri Lanka. How India can again try to interfere in Tamil Eelam affairs is beyond comprehension. Premadasa won the 1988 elections and became President. He was killed in 1994.

In the 1994 General Elections, Chandrika became Prime Minister. The 1994 elections in Tamil Eelam are a disgrace to Chandrika and the Singhalese. Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam advised Eelam Tamils to keep out and the majority honoured the advice. It is here Doughlas Devananda shamelessly

carved out a dishonourable niche for himself in Tamil Eelam history. The results of the election in the North in 1994 are as follows:

	Total Votes	Votes polled	E.P.D.P.	Muslims
Jaffna	50,000	1,208	40	1,151
Kazts	49,000	11,263	9,975	819
Vaddukodai	59,000	964	556	5
Kankesanthurai	60,000	121	93	4
Koppai	56,000	57	40	-
Kilinochchi	55,000	66	02	56
Point Pedro	40,000	34	03	-
Nallur	60,000	19	08	-
Manipay	58,000	12	04	-
Udupiddi	52,000	08	05	-

(South Asian News (Tamil) P. Nedumaran, 1.8.2000)

It is common knowledge that the Sri Lankan army and police played hell with the 1994 elections in North and East just as IPKF from India played ducks and drakes in the 1988 Provincial elections. Douglas Devananda won 9 seats and became the darling of Chandrika. How crude and ugly is life at the top! Douglas hopes to repeat the performance in the forth coming elections. Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam are backing Tamil Eelam voters in the forth coming elections and will surely keep an eye on Douglas Devananda.

In the General Elections held in 2000, Chandrika became President for the second time but was forced

to dismiss parliament and call for elections on 5.12.2001.

GUIDELINES TO EELAM TAMILS FOR THE GENERAL ELECTIONS ON 5.12.2001

"Sunday Thinakkural' of 20.10.2001 has published very important guidelines to Eelam Tamil voters at the forthcoming General Elections on 5.12.2001, given by three prominent political observers.

1. PROF. SIVATHAMBY SAYS:

"The unity among Eelam Tamil Political parties is welcome. This unity must extend to Hill country Tamils and Tamil speaking Muslims. Tamil Eelam problem is now well known around the world. Tamils

must show their solidarity to the world. The Singhalese must be made to re-evaluate their relationship with Tamils."

2. Attorney V.T. Thamil Maran, Lecturer in Law and Political analyst says:

"This election can be used to promote Eelam Tamil interests. Tamil problem cannot be solved by parliament. Armed struggle is due to failure of parliament to solve the Tamil problem. The usefulness of the election is doubtful. Tamils can stress their unity and hence their demands. This is the first chance after 1977. The 1977 elections stressed separate state of Tamil Eelam. Use the forthcoming elections to stress Thimbu demands. This election can help a future solution."

3. Ketheeswaran Loganathan:

Political researcher with Alternative Deal. Supporter of peace process.

"The unity among Tamils must go beyond this election. The Tamils have a larger responsibility. Parliament is not the only means. The Singhalese and the world must be woken up. A larger organisation must be set up for Tamil political affairs. The Tigers also must come into the political process. That is the next step."

The three observers have taken a wider view of the Tamil problem. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam have done a wonderful job defending the Eelam Tamils militarily.

The LTTE must focus its attention on the political aspects of the Eelam Tamil problem both at home and abroad. We can rest assured the Eelam Tamils will send to the next parliament members who will work for the freedom of Eelam Tamils. The LTTE which has sponsored the unity of the Eelam Tamil politicians must make sure that they will stick to their demand for a separate state of Tamil Eelam. This is the only just, honourable solution to the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka. The history of Singhala Chauvinism over the past 50 years leaves no room for any other solution. India, USA, European Union and the world are entitled to their own views but Eelam Tamils have suffered and they have their right to their security with honour.

THE DUTY OF EELAM TAMILS AT HOME

The forthcoming general election on 5.12.2001 is a golden opportunity to Eelam Tamils to get their political affairs in order. The representatives of the Eelam Tamils in the forthcoming election must be true followers of Thanthai Chelva. He was an incorruptible man and his dedication to the ideal of Tamil

Eelam was beyond question. Remember his last words. "We must get out of the clutches of the Singhalese or perish'. Let this be the motto of every Eelam Tamil member of parliament.

The United Front of the Eelam Tamils of TULF, T.C. EPRLF (Suresh faction) and TELO is a great achievement. "Well begun is half done". So Eelam Tamils can look forward to a good future. The Eelam Tamils abroad must establish solidarity of all Eelam Tamils abroad. An apex body like the Zionists of Israel must lead the Eelam Tamils to freedom and honour

The North

In the Jaffna Peninsula there are eleven constituencies. E.P.D.P. led by Douglas Devananda has monopolised power in Jaffna with the help of Chandrika and Singhala army. All sorts of illegal tactics have been employed to keep E.P.D.P. in power. The LTTE and the Eelam Tamil contestants and public must break up the nefarious practices and ensure a democratic election in Jaffna.

It is reported that the ultra Singhala chauvinists, the JVP is fielding some candidates in Jaffna. No Eelam Tamil with Tamil blood in his veins will cast his vote for E.P.D.P and JVP in Jaffna. It is reported a wealthy Tamil traitor is contesting as a UNP candidate in

Jaffna. The Eelam Tamils in Jaffna should teach this traitor a lesson of his life. The United Front of Eelam Tamils must win all the eleven seats in Jaffna.

There are four seats in the Vanni, Vavuniya, Kilinochchi, Mannar and Mullaitivu areas. There are good chances for United Front of Eelam Tamils to win these four seats also.

The East:

There are three seats in Trincomalee. Trinco, Muthur and Scruvilla. There is special provision for Singhalese and Muslims through multiple constituencies. The Eelam Tamils must not make the silly mistake they made last time. Only one Tamil of the United Front must contest each seat and all Eelam Tamils must support him. Trincomalee is vital for Eelam Tamils. The die-hard chauvinism of Singhalese is best exemplified in the colonisation of Trincomalee. Hence Eelam Tamils must be extra vigilant to retain Trincomalee for Tamil Eelam. The old war horse Sambanthan must play a leading role in Trincomalee.

In Batticaloa there are 4 seats, which Eelam Tamils can win. They are Batticaloa, Padrippu, Kalkuda and Potuvil. Joseph Pararajasingam is a resourceful leader. Eelam Tamils must unite and work with him.

COLOMBO

There is a substantial Tamil

population in Colombo. The total population of Colombo is 20 lakhs. The Eelam Tamil population in Colombo is 2.5 lakhs. The 'Indian Tamil' population in Colombo is 1.5 lakhs and Muslim population in Colombo is 2 lakhs. Hence the Sinhalese population in Colombo is 14 lakhs. Although Low country Sinhalese will have a large majority in Colombo, the Kandyan Sinhalese population will be considerable due to the present Govt. being in the hands of Kandyans. The Tamils in Colombo can play a critical role in the forthcoming elections if Eelam Tamils and 'Indian Tamils' organise themselves properly. The Indian Tamils have already expressed their support to UNP. The Tamils in Colombo can make sure of the victory of UNP in Colombo. The Muslims are badly divided into factions and their impact on the forthcoming elections is problematic. Muslims are traditional supporters of UNP but Chandrika, a blue blood Kandyan has managed to win Muslim support through farming out government favours to some Muslims.

"INDIAN TAMILS"

'Indian Tamils' are not counted as Eelam Tamils, besides they are not in a position to work for separate state of Tamil Eelam. But they can play a vital role in the forthcoming elections. It is a good sign the Ceylon Workers Congress

and the Hill country Peoples Front have joined together. Veteran M.S. Sellasamy has also joined C.W.C. He will be a tower of strength to Arumugam Thondaman.

Hill country Tamils can win 3 to 4 seats and influence results in 12 Hill Country constituencies. They have decided to support UNP. The UNP will stand to gain.

CONCLUSION

The forthcoming election on 5.12.2001 will witness bitter competition. The Kandyan Sinhalese will want to hold on to power. The Low Country Sinhalese will fight to come back to power. The JVP will make desperate attempts to win more number of seats of become power brokers. The Eelam Tamils will try to set up a separate state of Tamil Eelam.

Tamil news papers from Colombo are painting a dark picture. They are expecting violence and mass scale election malpractices. We hope democracy will still survive in Sri Lanka.

The Eelam Tamils at home will have to work with intelligence and determination. Douglas Devananda is a dark horse. Chandrika has given 40 jeeps to him and instructed Singhala army and police to help him. Chandrika wants to silence Eelam Tamils with this solitary political adventurer. She has succeeded in the last two elections. She will want to win this time too.

Douglas Devananda is freely distributing government money in the Jaffna Peninsula, LTTE and Eelam Tamil United Front must prove they cannot be fooled.

The most urgent programme of the Eelam Tamils at home is to ensure the defeat of Chandrika. She has decisively chosen the military path for the solution of the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka. UNP may still give a chance for peaceful means. The Eelam Tamils have suffered immensely under the UNP. D.S. Senanayake was a snake in the grass and laid solid foundation for the degradation of Eelam Tamils. UNP's 'Beast of Belson' J.R. Jayawardena attempted genocidal attacks on Eelam Tamils through racial riots of 1977, 1981 and 1983. Chandrika has followed it up by continued military action backed by USA and capitalists, East and West.

Sri Lanka Parliament can never solve the Tamil problem. Solution for Eelam Tamils lies in a separate state of Tamil Eelam. Remember, Thanthai Chelva, after 26 years of patient peaceful endeavour finally said, "the Tamils must get out of clutches of the Sinhalese or perish".

If Eelam Tamils at home and abroad support Prabakaran and LTTE wholeheartedly, Tamil Eelam will be a reality. Read our article, 'Tamil Eelam in 2010 A.D.' in 'Periyar Era' of Feb. 2001.

1.12.2001

S.A.DAVID

SPOTLIGHT

Who are the Naxalites?

In March 1967, peasants in Naxalbari, a hilly region in northern West Bengal, forcibly occupied lands and took away paddy belonging to jotedars (big landowners). In the next two months, animals and implements were seized by the peasants, land deeds and other documents of the jotedars were burnt and land was redistributed among the landless poor. The Naxalbari uprising was master-minded by Charu Mazumdar and implemented by Kanu Sanyal, both Communists with radical ideas. Charu Mazumdar called for more armed peasant uprising on the Naxalbari model, and his followers came to be called Naxalites.

Do Naxalites belong to any political party?

Charu Mazumdar and others formed the Communist Party of India (Marxist - Leninist) in April 1969 but the party has never been given official recognition.

The Central and the West Bengal governments came down heavily on the Naxalites. Charu Mazumdar was arrested in July 1972 and died shortly afterwards. After his death, the Naxalite movement petered out in Bengal but took root in other parts, notably Andhra Pradesh.

Today there are many Naxalite groups in various parts of the

NAXALITES



country. They are all wedded to the cult of violence, believing that it is the only way to bring about social change and establish a Communist state.

Which are the most prominent Naxalite groups?

The People's War Group (PWG) and the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC). They are noted for their ruthlessness, firepower and popular support.

Where are they active?

The PWG controls some areas in Andhra Pradesh. But it is also active in parts of Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Orissa and West Bengal.

The MCC operates chiefly in Bihar and Jharkhand.

(Courtesy: *The Hindu*, 10.11.2001)

What the Brahmins did to defend, propagate and elaborate "Purusha Sukta" was not done by the Tamils to Thirukkural

"The social order prescribed by the *"Purusha Sukta"* has never been questioned by any one except Buddha. Even Buddha was not able to shake it for the simple reason that both after the fall of Buddhism and even during the period of Buddhism there were enough law givers, who made it their business not only to defend the ideal of the *"Purusha Sukta"* but to propagate it and to elaborate it...' (Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, who were the Sudras? 1946)

When Mr. Ram Raj (rechristened Udit Raj now), an Indian Revenue Service officer, led members of the All India Confederation of SC/ST Organisations to embrace Buddhism on November 4, 2001, he was only following a prescription handed out by Babasaheb Ambedkar a couple of months before his demise, in December 1956, to embrace Buddhism. Since then, scores of Dalits have been declaring themselves Buddhists in their own way.

Ambedkar's was indeed a demonstrative action against the Brahmanical Hindu social order, of which the concept of *"Purusha Sukta"* served as the basis.

This, according to Ambedkar, was unique for the wrong reasons. *"Purusha Sukta"* made the Hindu social order unique because "'it preaches a class composed society as its ideal'". And the idea of enmasse conversion of Dalits to Buddhism was a revolt against the Hindu social order and its priests.

One of those who grew up in the radical political milieu of New Delhi's Jawaharlal Nehru University in the 1980s, Mr. Raj certainly could not have not known that Ambedkar's prescription was merely symbolic.

And the developments since then - especially the coming of age of an exclusivism as the most pronounced form of Dalit assertion - in the Indian political discourse could not have been missed out by the angry young man that Mr. Raj was when he left the University campus to join the IRS.

The Dalit Soshit Samaj Sangarsh Samiti (DS4 as it was known then), founded by Mr. Kanshi Ram in 1984 and representing mostly Dalit Union and State Government employees, had transformed itself into the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), and shocked political observers when it

polled more than 10 per cent of the votes in the 1989 Uttar Pradesh Assembly elections.

Mr. Kanshi Ram did not show any enthusiasm for organising conversions. He also refrained from raising the issue of land ownership (despite being aware that a majority of the landless farm workers were Dalits)

Instead, he went about declaring that the Bahujan Samaj was in no way going to make a fetish of the ideological moorings of the mainstream political platforms; and he displayed this by striking alliances with parties across the spectrum. This, he has maintained, is the means to empower the Dalits.

With the benefit of hindsight, one can conclude that the BSP could consolidate into a political force to reckon with only because Mr. Kanshi Ram refused to challenge the oppressive landholding pattern in the Gangetic basin.

After all, one has seen the violence unleashed against the CPI (ML - Liberation) which internalised the question of land rights into the Dalit question in neighbouring Bihar.

The point here is that the agenda of Dalit assertion has now matured, thanks to the BSP's emergence, in such a fashion that the symbolism that marked Ambedkar's prescription (though *en masse* conversion may have been relevant in his time) is no longer of any

significance. What is needed is a platform that challenges the land - owning patterns in the rural areas.

This is easier said than done. Experience has shown that the status quoists will refuse to give in without a fight. But then Mr. Raj's objective of serving the Dalits' cause will be

realised in a meaningful fashion only if he wages the battle with a strategy determined by the objective reality. To orchestrate *en masse* conversions at this stage will only constitute a ritual and nothing more.

(Courtesy: The Hindu, 11.11.2001)

ABDUL RAHMAN SPOKE ON AFGHAN WAR TO KUMUDAM BULLETIN



1. What is your opinion about the U.S. launched military strikes against Afghanistan?

George Bush has spoken that he will continue attacks even if Osama Bin Laden is killed in the attack. It shows that USA has some other intention in this attack except what it has expressed before. I strongly condemn US military attacks on Afghan. Northern Alliance should capture the power in this country. Previous King should never come to power as USA wishes. If USA is

pro-democracy, why does it like monarchy in Afghanistan? USA wants to attack Iraq in this chaos condition. They should prevent attacks on Iraq. Human Rights Movements should try to stop military attacks on Afghanistan as soon as possible. Attacks on Iraq should be prevented.

(Courtesy: Kumudam Bulletin Board, 8 October, 12, 2001)

2. Ten Questions to Taleban supporters:

I am very upset over US attacks on Afghanistan. I want Taleban rulers and Osama Bin Laden to be punished in Afghanistan. Any single Afghan innocent should not be affected by this attack. Can US military sources assure to safeguard Afghan civilians from this attack? I know that some Indian Muslims still support Osama Bin Laden and Taleban. I want to ask them the following questions:

1. You are worried for US attacks on Afghanistan. Were you worried when Talebans destroyed Buddhist idols in Afghan Mountains? Did you condemn that barbarian act?

2. Taleban tortured Muslim Women in Afghanistan. They were banned proper education. What was your reaction?

3. Human rights were refused in Afghanistan. How did Taleban lead World Muslims?

4. Osama Bin Laden seeks help from World Muslims for his own protection. Some of them expressed their support in streets. If some other Islamic terrorist in future will seek help from World Muslims, will they help him also?

5. Taleban tortured Shiya Muslims. Weren't they ashamed to seek support from World Muslims?

6. There were countries like Cuba in the world which are against

USA. But these countries were welcome by world level Human Rights Movements. Why do all Non-Muslims hate Afghanistan and Taleban rulers?

7. Why did Taleban not try to have relationship with other countries except world level Terrorist movements?

8. Islam is being criticized by Terrorist activities of Taleban and Osama Bin Laden. This condition will prevail for another ten years. How will we Muslims overcome this problem?

9. Ethnic Minority Muslims in foreign countries face psychological problems by this historic chaos. What is the solution?

10. Should all Afghan Muslims suffer for the sake of two terrorists - Osama Bin Laden & Mulla Omar?

(Courteous: <http://www.indiavarta.com/disucussion12> October 2001)

3. A Traditional Chinese Story

"An Old landy was walking in the street. She swallowed a fly accidentally. She felt uneasy. She caught a Frog and swallowed it. She felt uneasy for that also. She caught a sheep and swallowed it. Still she felt uneasy. She was going to catch some other wild animal to catch the sheep she swallowed', my system analyst told me the story. He fixed the story with US attitude. USA trained Osama Bin Laden and

Taleban. They are problems to USA now. US Military has supplied weapons to Northern Alliance to fight with Taleban. If there will be problem by Northern Alliance to USA, What will they do?

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Address: N. Abdul Rahman
T.S.T. P.O. Box. 95144
Kowloon
Hongkong

This day that Age

AMBEDKAR SLAMS INDIA'S POOR PERFORMANCE

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, who resigned as Law Minister from the Government of India, spoke to students of Lucknow University on the 8th, and cited a number of instances of poor performance by India which foreboded a dark future if the dangerous drift was not drastically and soonest corrected. He said, "The Government's foreign policy has failed to make India stronger and stronger: why should not India get a permanent seat in the U.N. Security Council? Why has the Prime Minister not tried for it? India must choose between parliamentary democracy and the Communist way of dictatorship and come to a final conclusion." Replying to various questions, Dr. Ambedkar observed: "I am very pessimistic about the future of our country. Foreign countries do not consider us as important. Internally, the administration has completely deteriorated. Corruption and nepotism are rampant, and the Congress High Command has not ordered any enquiry against Ministers who are accused by even Congressmen. On the other hand, those Ministers are protected... We talk of shortage of food and cloth, but we must remember that there is very serious shortage of great leaders... What has happened to the economy of India? Every year we seem to have a famine; are we going to die like flies?... It may be much better to live in anarchy, than in a country where Government cannot tackle even vital problem like food... Our population is increasing enormously, and the numbers may soon exceed our capacity to supply sustenance to the masses."

(Courtesy: The Hindu, 10.11.2001)

(Continuation from page 16)

The letter-writer looks back into the history of religion. He writes thus... "Looking back through the long history of religion, with its accompanying mayhem and savagery, it does appear to be the largest evil that has bedevilled mankind."

"Yes, my friend! The letter writer is assertive enough to confirm the historic truth of religious savagery and cruelty. I think he has very strong convictions."

Reacting swiftly, my friend told me, quoting very sharp references made by the letter - writer.

"Every square inch of holy land is more steeped in blood than all Hitler's concentration camps put together." Again,

"The crusades, or holy wars, were more barbarous than our school education would have us believe."

I told my friend that these two statements, are as though called from Periyarist - Self Respecters' literature.

But my friend raised a doubt, The letter - writer refers to the destruction of the twin towers of the World Trade Centre. His examples are all historic facts, but why he has not made a mention - even ordinarily - of the demolition of the Babri Masjid...?

I told him that this is a clear evidence of the operation of the historically convenient virtue. While the letter - writer is confident enough to quote the historic facts of Christian barbarity and Islamic terrorism, he conveniently omits even a very ordinary reference to the Hindu vandalism in the demolition of Babri Masjid.

"Where too much religion is practised, there is very little evidence of god"... this is how the writer ends his letter,

Whatever be the intention of the writer, these last two lines in his letter are axiomatic, and full of meaning. That "the nearer the Church, the farther from God."

Again these two lines remind us of Puratchi Kavignar BHARATHIDASAN.... his "Why Jesus Christ has not come?" To the Church, when permitted, all bakthas came to attend prayers... fully beautifying themselves in golden jewels... wearing ornaments in gold and diamond... decorating their heads, ears, noses, necks, hands, chests, fingers, feet... correcting their dress standing before different mirrors in the Church. Of course, full attendance! But Jesus Christ alone didn't come to the Church!!!

What is given to understand is that all the self - respecters have to regroup themselves into a single united force to fight against shams and superstitions... religion and god!

- M.K.S.

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LAST PAGE

RELIGION! HOW CRUEL IT IS!



"Religion is said to spiritualise man?", I said so, My friend retorted, "Nay, it is meant to criminilaise Man!"

"Flowers are creations of Nature. But criminals are made by Religion' he added.

"Yes, you are absolutely correct...' I concurred with him. A new idea flashed in my mind, I hastened therefore to continue the dialogue with my friend.

"Criminal lawyers deal with criminals, murderers, cheats, etc. But teachers deal with flowers, So... so... the criminal lawyers are closer to the Institution called Religion. But teachers, thinkers, writers, philosophers... are closer to Nature... and to the Institution called Secular State."

My friend in mirthful joy jumped, and jumped - a physical expression of his exultant spirit - and said: "you are right. It is fine that such people... teachers, thinkers, philosophers.. come nearer Periyar's Self - Respect Movement as they are much captivated by Nature and Secularism, and such other things related to them."

I cut short his elated speech and made a little correction, I said: "Ofcourse criminal lawyers deal with criminals... only to locate them, eliminate them from society and cleanse it. Such things are not repugnant to Nature, Secularism, or Self - Respect Movement."

My friend showed me The Hindu dated 15.9.2001 and read out a letter to the Editor... I calmly reflected upon the Letter - writer's... He refers to a wise man's statement which is, "show me people steeped in religion and I will show you evil beyond compare".... So I told my friend that Religion is Evil! My friend nodded his head.

(Continued on Wrapper III page)

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