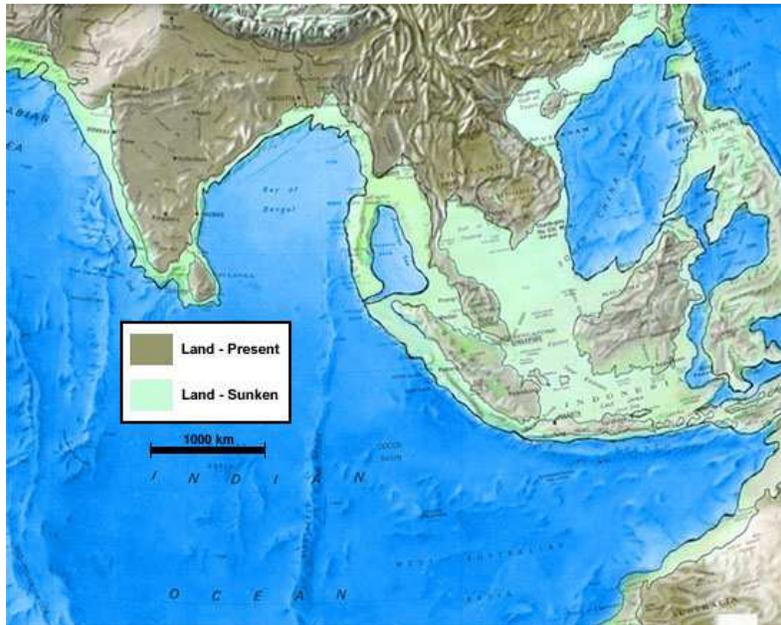


Long March of Tamils



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The Long March.....

Tamils had scaled greater heights in ancient times, and their mathematical skills wherein one out of eight lakh fractions was the least small quantity up to which they could calculate without a calculator or computer. The theorem of Pythagoras could be spelt out in poetic form in Tamil much before his times. *Erambam, Kanakathigaram by Kakkai Padiniyar, Kilaralabham, Athisaram, Kalambaham, Tiribuvana Thilagam, Kanitha rathinam, Sirukanakku* were the books which I referred says Kaari Nayanar who wrote *Kanakathigaram*, But all these books Tamils have lost when their homeland became sunken.

“ Underworld : The Mysterious origins of Civilizations” presents the facts relating to the Kumari Kandam, lost in Indian Ocean. Mr.Graham Hancock, the author of this book relying heavily on the inundation maps by Dr.Gelen Milne of Durham University had said 5 percent of the Earth’s surface or 25 million square kilometers were submerged. Three super floods in between 15000 to 14000 thousand years, 12000 to 11000 thousand years, and 8000 to 7000 thousand years have swallowed earth’s surface, more particularly the Kumari Kandam. Researches into the lost civilizations so far had been on earth surface and land-centric and in the vast oceans marine archaeology had barely begun to investigate.

So until scientific researches in marine archeology are undertaken it would be difficult to supplement literary evidences about hoary past. All earth's continents and land mass had been once upon a time one, and called Pangaea, which in Latin means All Earth. Similarly all languages emanated from one language and a school for Nostratic languages subscribes to this theory. There is book on all writing systems. All these lead to the conclusion that mankind is one, and we had our origins in Africa and spread every where. But our link is lost in the seas. It will take long time to reconstruct Tamil's past but with available evidences, we will have to start.

Ancient Tamils were highly knowledgeable and had high living standards in ancient times but at same Tamils proved that from mathematics to medicine everything could be condensed within Tamil poetry and grammatical rules. But today though Tamils earn more they remain intellectual slaves to the multi nationals and they had forgotten Tamil. Hence need not only to resurrect the ancient which were golden times but also to remind Tamils of the struggles undertaken by leaders, scholars and political parties to earn due recognition for Tamils under the Sun had to be told and retold. This book partially attempts that.

Tamils had slept in midway thereby lost chances to win the race and prove they are the top in human civilization. This loss aggravates further when Tamil rulers with all there power in Center could not secure Tamil its due place.

UNESCO from 1999 onwards is celebrating World Mother Tongues Day every year on February 21. It is in remembrance of the Basha Andolan Dibosh, which means Language Struggle of 1950-52 in East Pakistan currently known as Bangladesh. Then Pakistan

Government imposed Urdu as sole official language of Pakistan. East Pakistan had Bengali speakers. So in protest against this order Dhaka University Students and Medical College students staged a protest demonstration. In Police firing 5 people lost their lives on 21 st Feb 1952. The struggle won Bengali equal status with Urdu. To honour the memory of those martyrs UNESCO had chosen Feb 21 as World Mother Languages Day.

We all know the Anti-Hindi Agitation and the numerous lives we lost including self immolation. All that history was not placed before UNESCO with documentary evidences to prove that Tamil struggle is of greater magnitude. This failure of those who ruled Tamilnadu and Tamil Ministers in Union Cabinet had deprived a chance where world history could have spoken about our struggle by celebrating as World Mother Languages Day.

In this connection I wrote to Madam Irina Bokava, the Director General UNESCO 7, Place de Fontenoy 75352 Paris 07 SP France and the letter is produced in verbatim.

Respected Secretary General

You are the custodian of the culture of humanity, and a neutral judge to uphold the common heritage of humanity. Though by depicting all worlds's languages as tree, scholars have said all languages have emanated from common source, the quest to find that common source is yet to deliver result. Scientists have found FOX P2, a common gene that triggered human speech, but each and every language speaker has pride and reverence for his or her mother tongue. Scientists have proven that race is a myth and all men have common gene. Yet mankind lives in various countries speaking numerous mother tongues. UNESCO

is for preserving all mother tongues and protects endangered languages. Such an institution should update history, is our request.

Alexander Graham Bell is not first to invent telephone, but an Italian Antonio Mussie , the American Senate debated to update history when new truth emerged. Dravida Peravai, a tiny political party of Tamils in India, urges UNESCO to update the history regarding the celebrations of world mother languages day. It is needless to state that the police firing and death of 5 persons in the struggle of students of then East Pakistan when Urdu was imposed as sole official language of Pakistan in 1950-52, is taken into consideration to fix February 21st as World Mother Languages day. We also salute those martyrs, and the love of their mother tongue culminated in the birth of a liberated new nation, Bangladesh.

Tamils consider their mother tongue as Primary Classical Language of the World, as Devaneyya Paavanar, had written in his treatise. When Hindi alone was imposed sole official language of India in 1965, the students and people of Tamilnadu fought a long drawn battle where men committed self immolation to stall that move. Nowhere on Earth, for their mother tongue, people had burnt themselves, and comparing to killing in police firing, which too took lives in Tamilnadu too, the supreme sacrifice of those martyrs must be honored by humanity. We are enclosing news paper clippings of the Tamil Language Struggle of 1965, and producing Xerox copies of few pages from the book Struggle for Freedom of Languages in India written by Former Vice Chancellor of Alagappa University in Tamilnadu Dr.A.Ramasamy, to bring to the notice of UNESCO that far greater sacrifices were made by Tamils, and if any other linguistic group had done more sacrifice in the struggle to save their mother tongue, Tamils will accept

truth and withdraw their claim to be the topmost in sacrifice for mother tongue.

In view of the fresh facts brought to the notice of UNESCO, we Tamils, Indian Tamils appeal to UNESCO to shift the date of World Mother Languages Day to January 25 th, the date of Tamil struggle. I hope our Bengali brethren who till day had that honor will take it sportive and be happy that they were holding the championship shield from 1999 to 2010. All countries and representatives of UNESCO must impartially accept the historical update provided by us after cross checking on their own or seeking further references from us or Government of Tamilnadu, a State under Indian Union.

We pray that due place of honor is given to Tamil martyrs who self immolated themselves, the photographs of six such people in a cut out put by our party in 2008 in remembrance of their sacrifices is enclosed. Also the photograph of painting of three Tamil martyrs Chinnasamy, Sivalingam and Aranganathan prepared by lady painter Sathya and presented to me is enclosed.

Let me quote from TIME dated 19th February 1965 “In Tamil speaking Madras State where five people have burnt themselves to death in protest; a mob captured two policemen and burned them alive. In Malayalam speaking Kerala State mobs attacked post offices and trains, and students signed pledges of resistance to the imposition of Hindi using their own blood as ink..... the death toll in the riots rose to 60.”

Also a chapter Fire Spreads in the book mentioned earlier and released by Kalaignar M.Karunanithi DMK President, current Chief Minister of Tamilnadu few months before he became 5th time Chief Minister of Tamilnadu is enclosed to show that even in Bengal,

where Bengali is spoken, and the protest against Hindi triggered opposition.

Dravida Peravai appeals to UNESCO, that while there is wide spread heart bleeding over the failure of UN to save Eelam Tamils from genocide, at least by the symbolic gesture of declaring the Tamil Struggle day of Indian Tamils, as the day of World Mother Languages day, a healing process can begin, by correcting a historical mistake of ignoring Tamil sacrifices.

With Regards Yours Fraternally



N.Nandhivarman General Secretary Dravida Peravai
on my 64th birthday 18.08.2010

This is just a sample of the failure of humanity to give Tamils its due place. After Indian independence Tamils fought for decades even to name their state as Tamilnadu and continue to fight to trace their true history and to promote their culture. This book begins with that episode, and places on record few burning issues that cause heart burn to Indian Tamils where their due is denied under the Indian Government. Amidst such failures, selfishness of present Tamils not to think about Tamil language and fellow Tamil kinsmen across countries and continents compels me to bank upon our past to regain the lost spirit of being pioneers in world civilizations.

Dravida Peravai General Secretary Nandhivarman

ARINGNAR ANNA ON TAMIL NADU



[Tamilnadu Chief Minister C.N. Annadurai interacting with Yale University students 17.04.1968]

[Dravida Pervai happily reproduces the debate that took place in Rajya Sabha in May 1963. DMK Founder Aringnar Anna ultimately changed the name of Madras State as Tamil Nadu and fulfilled the centuries old desire of the Tamil Nation on his becoming the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu in 1967. In 1963 he spoke in Parliament on the question of renaming Tamil Nadu. You can find out the arguments advanced for and against and also note who opposed the renaming in order to understand the forces that played for and against Tamil nationalism]

ANNA SPEAKS :

Mr. Vice Chairman, I am rarely in full agreement with my friend Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, but today I rise to

support him whole-heartedly, fully and sincerely. The only weakness of the Bill is that it is a non-official one. I would have liked an official Bill to be brought forward for this very necessary and very simple thing that would have satisfied millions of Tamilians in Tamil Nadu. Many arguments that were advanced against the Bill brought forward are perhaps more due to the colour of the mover rather than the arguments advanced for its support. One Honorable Member was saying that he was not moving a Bill, which the Madras State has asked him to move. I regret very much that sometimes it becomes necessary to explain some rudimentary principles. The Madras Government will never ask a non-official Bill to be brought forward on its behalf. If the state government wants the Bill to be brought forward, there are the state representatives in this Assembly and they would have brought it forward, and therefore, to say that the Bill cannot be supported just because the Madras Government has not asked Mr.Gupta to bring the Bill shows that their only argument to fight against the Bill is that their party or their State Government has not instructed them to act in this way. I can well understand the political tremor in their hearts, but that is no argument against this Bill. The arguments advanced by the sponsors of the Bill for renaming Madras as Tamil Nadu have not been answered by any one of the speakers who spoke about it.

Sheel Badra Yajee: I have answered it.

Anna: I cannot understand- I very rarely understand-your language and, therefore, I do not know whether there is logic or not but I would say that some of the arguments advanced were not proper. One Honorable Member was saying that there are Telugu knowing people in Tamil Nadu, Malayalam and Kanarese speaking people and, therefore, to name Madras as Tamil Nadu will create a sort of tremor in their hearts.

May I inform this House, through you, Sir, that all these arguments were advanced and shattered in my part of the country. All these arguments did not stand the onslaught of reason and logic. For the sake of informing this House I may inform you Sir, that on 24 th February 1961 the Leader of the House in the state assembly stood up to say that he was accepting part of the non official resolution brought forward not by the DMK or any other political party which is considered to be inimical to Congress, but by a PSP [Praja Socialist Party] Member. That PSP member brought forward a non official resolution for renaming Madras as Tamil Nadu and it was discussed many days and finally the then Finance Minister and the Leader of the House Mr.C.Subramaniam, stood up to say that he was accepting a part or the spirit of the resolution and added that thereafter all publications of the Madras government would appear in the name of Tamil Nadu Government. It is in such a way that all publications in Tamil in the Tamil Nadu government are being printed and published. As a matter of fact, after making the historic declaration on the floor of the Madras assembly on 24 th February, the very next day the Finance Minister had to present his budget and in presenting the budget, the opening words of the Finance Minister were: “ In consonance with the declaration made yesterday, I am now presenting to budget for Tamil Nadu.” Therefore all the arguments that Telugu speaking, the Malayalam speaking, and the Kanarese speaking people will be up against this change in name fall to ground because part of this has been accepted by the Government. The part relating to the amendment of Constitution, the word Madras to be deleted and the word Tamil Nadu to be inserted was not accepted.

Therefore, even the Government much less by the Madras Congress leaders cannot accommodate the sentimental arguments advanced. Sir, I am really

surprised to see how ill informed my Hon. friends are, those who advanced arguments against the Bill. One Hon. Member stated here that Kollegal is in Tamil Nadu. That Hon. Member unfortunately not present in the House at present. I may tell them and his friends may tell him, that Kollegal today is part of Mysore. It has been taken away from the composite State of Madras and after the formation of linguistic states, has gone to Mysore. If my Hon. friend is so ill informed about Kollegal, I am not surprised at his arguments that nowhere in Tamil literature does the word Tamil Nadu occur.

A politician who cannot understand that Kollegal does not form part of Tamil Nadu cannot be expected to be conversant with Tamil literature. For the edification of the House and for his own edification, I will point out the names of certain books wherein the word Tamil Nadu is to be found. These are books written 1800 or 2000 years ago. I am reading the name in Tamil but the Hon. Member who made this allegation is a Tamilian Congressman and he can understand and the Hon. Deputy Minister who will be making the reply. She being also a Tamilian may tell him. The names of *Paripaadal*, *Pathitrupathu* and more popular names of *Silapathigaram* and *Manimegalai*. These are all Tamil classics written more than 1000 years ago and in *Paripaadal* it is stated “ *Thandamizh veli Thamizh Naatu agamellam*” which means Tamil Nadu that is surrounded by sweet Tamil on all three sides. In *Pathitrupathu*, a classic written about 1800 years it is stated “ *Imizh kadal veli Thamizhagam*” meaning Tamil Nadu which has got sea as boundary. In *Silapathigaram* it is stated “ *Then Thamizh nannadu*” meaning good Tamil Nadu and in *Manimegalai* it is stated “*Sambutheevinul Tamizhaga marungil* “ Tamil Nadu which is called *Sambutheevu*.

If my Hon. Members would like to have more popular illustrations I would like to refer them to the poems of Poet Kampan and Sekkilar both of whom have definitely used the word Tamil Nadu.

It was only afterwards that there were three kingdoms, the Chera Nadu, The Chola Nadu and the Pandyanadu. Tamil Nadu is to be found in the classics of Tamil. It is not that there is poverty of ideas in the classics. It only shows that my Hon. Friend does not spend much thought or time over the Tamil classics. I may point out for the edification of this House that when the Congress government in Tamil Nadu purchased the Jaipur Palace at Ooty known as Aranmore Palace they immediately renamed the Palace as **Thamizhagam**. I am pointing this out to say that the Congress there is trying to assuage our feelings, is trying to carry Tamil Nadu people along with them by saying they have renamed the Aranmore Palace as Thamizhagam, that they are publishing all the Tamil manifestos as Tamil Nadu Government publications, that only for international correspondence they want the name "Madras". They are not prepared to amend the Constitution. If the arguments advanced by some of the Tamil Nadu Congress people were to be read by the Chief Minister of Madras, he would turn around and say " You too Brutus". All the arguments advanced for not renaming it falls flat on the ground because even the Congress Government there does not approve of these arguments.

Another particular issue was raised here that the Bill is being brought forward only as a publicity stunt of the Communist party. Why don't we appreciate the Communist Party for its sense of political expediency? Are not all political parties interested in getting political publicity? Is publicity a heinous crime? Why do you publish reports and books on Five-year plans? Is that not publicity done at public cost? Yet you

accuse other political parties saying that this is publicity. But let me tell this House through you, that even though you defeat the Bill, he has gained that publicity. You are not going to rob him anymore of that publicity. When he comes to Tamil Nadu he can conveniently face Tamilians and say, " I pleaded for you but it is the ruling party that let you down." Therefore you have unawares walked into Mr.Gupta's snare. I would have appreciated if the ruling party had approached Mr.Bhupesh Gupta and stated, " Do not bring in this non-official Bill, we ourselves are interested in it, we will bring it forward."

Then Mr.Santhanam pointed out that we have an uphill task in retaining Madras, we had to fight with so many people and we retained Madras. I can claim some amount of credit in that fight and when I was in the thick of that fight, I did not find Mr.Santhanam by my side.

Akbar Ali Khan: At the cost of Andhra

Anna: With the consent of the Andhras, I can say that. That is because the present government there is providing even today, in the border areas, measures for safeguarding Telugu culture and for imparting Telugu language. Therefore though Madras has been taken by Tamilians, we have no enmity with the Andhras. But my friend Santhanam was saying that it was such an uphill task, retaining Madras that we would like to keep Madras. This is not a question of keeping Madras or giving it up. This is the question of keeping Madras in Tamilnadu and renaming the state as Tamil Nadu. Madras, after all is the capital city of Tamil Nadu, as Ahamadabad happens to be the capital city of Gujarat, as Chandigrah happens to be the capital city of Punjab. If this logic of naming the state after the name of capital city is to be followed, Kerala should be renamed Trivandrum, Andhra is to

renamed Hyderabad, Punjab is to be renamed Chandigarh and Gujarat to be renamed Ahamadabad.

Bhubesh Gupta: And Bengal should be renamed Calcutta.

Anna: My government, my Congress government in Madras is interested in bilingualism. That is because its head Government is interested to have two names for everything, India that is Bharat, Jana gana mana and Vandhe Madaram. They always want to keep two blocks. Take something from here, take something from there. So the Madras government is having Tamil Nadu for the consumption of Tamilians and Madras for all India consumption. It is a very awkward word “duplicity”. And that is why my friend Mr.Bhupesh Gupta was saying that some of the congress people talk in one way there and talk in another way here. No Congress can face a Tamilian audience and say that the name Madras should be retained. I challenge it.

T.S.Pattabhiraman {Madras}: We have faced it during the agitation of Tamil arasu Kazhagam and my friend knows it. What he is saying is complete travesty of facts.

Anna: I know how Pattabhiraman faces agitation. I wont say it. Let us not face each other as Congress and DMK. Let us face the Tamilian public on this single sanctified issue of renaming the state and if you carry along with you 51 percent of the people I am prepared to bow my head before you. This is not a party issue at all. The renaming of Madras as Tamil Nadu has been accepted by the Communist Party, by the DMK, by the PSP and you will be surprised, by the Madras branch of Swatantra Party too. Therefore all parties are one in this issue of renaming Madras as Tamil Nadu.

T.S.Pattabhiraman: None of them put it in their election manifesto.

Anna: I would present a copy of the DMK election manifesto to him tomorrow. I am sure Pattabhiraman knows Tamil. This issue has been an issue for more than 10 to 15 years. He was saying that only Tamil Arasu Kazhagam was fighting for it. It is true partially because it was only the Tamil arasu Kazhagam that started an agitation for it, but all other political parties were immensely intimately interested in this issue. They have printed it in their manifestos, in their political speeches and no District Conference of DMK took place without passing this resolution of renaming Madras as Tamil Nadu. Therefore it is not simply on the spur of the moment that I am pleading for it. My sorrow is that my friend Mr.Bhupesh Gupta had stolen the thunder from me by sponsoring this Bill. But for that, I would like to present before this House that this has been an issue all along in Tamil Nadu. And they have not answered Mr.Bhupesh Gupta; What do you loose by renaming Madras as Tamil Nadu? Nobody has answered that.

N.M.Lingam [Madras] Anyway what do you gain by renaming it as Tamil Nadu?

Anna: What do I gain? What have you gained by renaming Parliament as Lok Sabha? What have you gained by renaming Council of States as Rajya Sabha? What have you gained by renaming President as Rastrapathi? Therefore I say what do you loose? This is important because if you were to loose something precious, we would not press for it. If you do not loose something fundamental, we will press for it. The other point was raised, what do you gain? We gain satisfaction sentimentally; we gain satisfaction that an ancient name is inculcated in the hearts of millions and scores of millions of people. Is that not enough

compensation for the small trouble of changing the name? Therefore all the arguments that have been advanced have been shattered.

They have advanced an apologetic argument saying that if the State government had come forward with this, we would have accepted this. And they are perfectly aware of the composition of the State legislature where the Congress party is in a majority. Would you ask the Congress member in Madras State legislature to vote for such a bill if it were to come there, without party whip? No

T.S.Pattabhiraman: Your party members could have brought forward a resolution in the House and changed the name. Why have you not done it for past seven or eight years?

Anna: I am coming to that. When we present such a bill to the Madras legislature, they say that if you want to rename, an amendment to the constitution is necessary and an amendment of the Constitution is possible only when you go to Parliament.

T.S.Pattabhiraman: I am saying a resolution, not a Bill. A resolution can be made.

Anna: I may say for the information of the Hon. Member that we pressed this point during the discussion on the non-official Bill of PSP. In fact we even staged a walk out. The DMK and Communist party joined together in the walk out. That is our numerical position there. When the non-official resolution was discussed in the Madras assembly we pressed for the constitutional amendment and the only explanation offered to us was that it was only possible at the level of Parliament. And when we come to Parliament we are asked to go back to the state legislature. We are asked to go to Parliament because

you are entrenched in both places not because your logic is sound but simply because you are entrenched in both places.

G.Rajagopalan [Madras] We are entrenched because the people vote for us. It has been discussed even during elections. There had been fasts by certain members and one person even lost his life after fasting. Even after that we won elections. That shows the people still want as it is- not for the satisfaction of some politicians who want a slogan.

Anna: Madam Deputy Chairman, I am very glad that the discussion is becoming very interesting. But I may say for the information of the House that DMK has nothing to do with fasting. The fasting was undertaken by a non-party man, in fact a relative of the Chief minister of Madras Mr.Sankaralinga [Nadar}. And to say that in spite of fasting you have not changed shows how human you are. Therefore the question was discussed there. We were asked to go to Parliament. When we come to Parliament we are again sent back to legislature. In both places the answer is as my Hon. friend had stated, " The people had voted for us". Well that is a fact, a tragic fact, and a black fact that ought to be seen.

G.Rajagopalan: In spite of you tragedy is still there

T.S.Pattabhiraman: He says tragedy will be permanent. The tragedy of Congress getting a majority at every election will be a permanent feature and we are prepared to accommodate you.

Anna: Madam Deputy Chairman my friend was saying that this tragedy is going to be permanent. Woe to the country and to the people. That is all what I can say. But I would like to press this point that a Constitution amendment can be thought of and made only through

Parliament. That is why we have approached The Parliament. If any amendment is brought forward on this or any suggestion is given that it should be circulated to gather public opinion, we take up that challenge. I do not ask you to take this as an election issue. Do not be afraid of that.

[Interruptions]

We are not making it an election issue. This is an issue to be taken to the people for getting their consent or otherwise. That is not going to affect your offices. Nobody thinks about that. You may remain there. This is not a question of analysis of our different parties. This is a question wherein a particular issue has to be referred to the public. Are you prepared for that? That is what we ask. You are not prepared for that and that is why I say

N.M.Anwar [Madras] Madam on a point of information I have got the highest respect and regard for my good friend Mr.annadurai. But will he kindly explain what there is in retaining the name Madras that has got such worldwide publicity? How is he going to meet that point of view? Where is the difficulty in retaining this worldwide name of Madras?

[Interruptions]

Anna: The only point in answer to the Hon. member Mr.anwar is this. What we gain is our sentimental satisfaction and status of our ancient land. If in Madras we change the name of China Bazaar into Nethaji Subhas Chandra Road nothing is changed in the street but something is changed in our thinking, in our soul, in our fibre. That is why we are pressing for it. not because we think that keeping Madras will be wrong.

N.M.Anwar: My question is not that. We agree that there is something good in calling it Tamil Nadu. But what is your allergy to Madras, which has got a worldwide publicity.

Anna: My allergy is if Madras is used as name of the state, you confuse the capital with the state. Madras is the name of the capital city. Tamil Nadu is the name that ought to be given to the state. There ought to be a distinction between the name of the state and its capital, and therefore, I whole-heartedly support the Bill brought forward and I would commend it to the House.

LET THAMIZHAGAM REMEMBER THE STRUGGLE TO ENSURE ANNA'S DREAM COME TRUE

3 rd Febraury 1969: The entire population of Tamilnadu literally seems to be present in Chennai. The demise of Anna brought sea of humanity to the sands of marina beach. To have a last glimpse of the leader every Tamil came perched on the roof tops of over crowded trains, buses and all modes of transport, including by foot. The Madras bound Janet Express was full beyond its capacity and people were in its roof unfortunately when the train crossed the Coleroon Bridge in between Coleroon and Chidambaram stations. Alas! 28 persons were crushed to death and 70 injured in that train where Anna's brothers traveled to have the last minute glimpse of his body. It was a matter of single minded devotion to reach Rajaji Hall where Anna's body was kept for public view that drove every Tamilian. Loss of even lives did not deter them from their determination. The entire police summoned to control crowds could not perform and they resorted to burst tear gas shells several times. I was there in the stampede running to the underground passage of Anna Salai to escape tear gas

with burning eyes full of tears already for having lost my mentor.

The Guinness book of Records says " that the funeral of Anna was attended by the largest number of people in the world " Panruti S.Ramachandran in his preface to the book "Anna Speaks- at the Rajya Sabha 1962-66" writes ' The century had witnessed only 3 funerals comparable to anywhere like that of Anna's. The first one was that of Lokmanya Bal Gangadhara Tilak at Bombay in 1920, the second was that of Mahatma Gandhi in Delhi in 1948 and the third was that of Jawaharlal Nehru in Delhi in 1964". He also writes ' another striking feature of the entire funeral procession was the predominance of ordinary people like sweepers, scavengers, slum dwellers and hut dwellers'. In that see of humanity I braved my way where the pit to bury Anna was dug and took handful of that sand which for two decades I preserved till my family members threw it away without knowing its sentimental value. I took the oath not to eat fish for a year to mourn Anna's demise. I was so fond of fish that I cannot remain without eating it. Apart from my personal feelings which by sheer luck I am recording here, millions felt their lives have lost its meaning in a land without Anna. But for Anna, our motherland would not have been named as Tamil Nadu.

The struggle for naming of Tamil Nadu is yet to be written as separate book. Let me reproduce few lines "Tamil Nadu was once named after its capital city, Madras.The situation was a complicated one. Even Congressmen spoke of Tamil Nadu within the state, reserving Madras State for letters and speeches meant for external consumption. To appease the Tamil people they even changed the name of Aranmore Palace in Ooty to Tamizhagam. But they were not willing to set right this anomaly by making a Constitutional amendment. It was Thiru.Bhupesh Gupta of the

Communist party who took the initiative in 1961 by introducing a private members bill to amend the first schedule entry number 7 of the Constitution. The purpose of the Bill was to call the Madras State by its rightful name Tamil Nadu in conformity with the historical, linguistic and cultural considerations. Anna's impassionate defense of this bill will be long remembered for its sincere emotion and clear cut reasoning.

The adamant Center refused to yield and opposed the private member's motion to call "Madras State" by its rightful name Tamil Nadu. With its majority the Congress party defeated the Bill, but the change could not be resisted for long. Four years later in 1967 when the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam was elected to power in Madras State, Anna as Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu achieved his objective with unanimous backing of both Houses of the State legislature. Today there is no Madras State, only Tamil Nadu" Panruti Ramachandran's note in the book mentions.

But we must also remember Sangaralinganaar who fasted to death for this cause in spite of being a Congressman. "**Thamizh Naadu**" should not be misspelt as Tamil Nadu. Is it not our duty to set this right, while saluting all who gave up their lives for the cause of Tamil Nadu.

N.Nandhivarman General Secretary Dravida Peravai

ANNA DREAMS OF TAMILS UPLIFT



Mr. Chancellor, Mr. Pro-Chancellor Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Graduates of the Year and Friends:

Thankful as I am for the unique honor conferred on me by this institution, it is not without hesitation as a good deal of trepidation that I stand before this august assembly to-day to deliver the Convocation address, for though it is a pleasure to be present on the happy occasion of greeting the graduates of the year and wishing them all a bright and prosperous future, it is not an easy task to place before them appropriate guidelines-conscious as I am of my own limitations and aware of the eminence of those who stood at this rostrum in the past and gave weighty and worthy advice to the graduates. Stalwarts in various walks of life, scholars of erudition and experience, administrators of rare abilities, have all been here to deliver instructive discourses, and I do not for a

moment imagine that I have the capacity to add any thing substantial to what has been already said by those who preceded me. I am convinced therefore that to be called upon to deliver this address is not so much an invitation as a command to me bestow the most careful and considered thought on the role of Universities in general and of the Annamalai University in particular.

The fact that I am conscious of my own limitations gives me a sense of relief, for attempt I shall not to offer original ideas or theories with a special stamp, but only reiterate some of the cardinal principles enunciated by those who offered their advice in past years, perhaps with annotations here and there, bringing to bear the lay-man's point of view to the findings of experts in various fields connected with education.

This is the age of the common man-whatever the regrets some might have –and it's his point of view that matters most and I do claim to represent him in all his ruggedness.

Systems and schools of thought, whether it is in philosophy or politics, ethics or economics, are certainly meant for him. Of course, the interpretation should come from scholars and experts and the art of translating them into every day activity is to be undertaken by the administrators. Universities, as the repositories of knowledge and the nursing ground for the emissaries of thought wisdom and service, have got a prominent role to play-and the prominence is growing every day, as more and more individuals get themselves equipped for the task of bettering society in all its age when we have eschewed monarchy and autocracy and have inaugurated the era of democracy.

During the monarchical or feudal days, Universities had to train scholars and poets to adorn the chambers of Royalty or the gilded mansions of Lord and nobles and their wisdom was meant for the mansion, not for the market place. Those were days when numbers did not count, nor were eminent scholars asked to face the problems confronting the masses. They were content to work in secluded spheres, far from the din and noise of the common man and weave the costly fabric of philosophy of poetry which on turn was to be converted into dazzling garments for the select and the privileged.

The role of the University to-day is not cloistered and confined as in the past. Its function has been enlarged-not in its fundamentals but in its domain. It has to take into account the commonness, but to trim and train, guide and lead him, for asked to do his duty as the citizen of a democracy-a task which kindles sweet hopes but which demands, patience and perseverance, faith and confidence, faith in himself and in others and confidence in his inherent ability to shoulder the responsibilities. The common man has become the birth place of a potential ruler and the duty today, the responsibility today of the universities is to fashion out of him as an individual fitted and equipped for the task of making democracy fruitful and effective.

I said that the duties and responsibilities of Universities have grown in dimension and scope, but pointed out that the fundamentals remain unaltered and these fundamentals are of permanent value and of perennial interest. The supreme task before the University is to give those who seek a vision of knowledge in its true proportions and perspectives, to maintain the sovereignty of ideas and ideals in the world. A balanced mind, the ability to discriminate between what is merely trivial and what is important,

the capacity to look at a problem from all its angles without fear or favour, to be tolerant of the other man's point of view. These are fundamentals which are unalterable and it's only the universities that can provide society with a continuous stream of men and women endowed with these qualities.

While addressing the University of Brussels, Dr.s.Radhakrishnan, our former president, made the following statement:

“For its proper functioning democracy requires more qualities than other forms of government. It is in the universities that we can develop the true spirit of democracy, appreciation of other points of view and adjustment of differences through discussions. It can be kept healthy and strong by the exercise of individual responsibility and judgement.in universities we have to re-call the struggles of the past and realize the perils and possibilities, the challenges and opportunities, of the present.”

Democracy is not a form of government alone –it is an invitation to a new life-an experiment in the art of sharing responsibilities and benefits-an attempt to generate the common task. Hence we cannot afford to waste a single talent, impoverish a single man or woman or allow a single individual to be stunted in growth or held under tyranny and the universities should through the graduates it sends forth year after year, annihilate the forces that attempt at aggrandizement and tyranny, fight against caste and hypocrisy and enthrone human dignity.

Graduates of the year, I wish you all a prosperous future-for, after all, the immediate concern of every individual, graduate or no graduate, is to acquire the means for a decent living. That is the first motivation for all human activity and no one can ignore it, but

that ought not to be the sole objective. Something higher and nobler than mere individual material advancement is expected of you – for remember that this University education is a privilege that you enjoy, for which you are deeply indebted to the community of which you are a member. Most of the money needed for maintaining institutions of higher education come from the revenues collected from the community through the State, and a good proportion of that revenue comes from the tillers and the toilers, men who did not enjoy this privilege, men who willingly submit themselves to discomfort, so that they can enable the next generation to lead a better life. Graduates of the Annamalai University, may I ask you, how you are going to repay – what is to be your contribution to the social chest on which you have drawn so largely. Unless you replenish it richly, coming generations will find only an empty coffer. Your superior education increases your responsibility to society and therefore, apart from or along with your own individual advancement, society has got a right to expect an adequate return from you – not so much in terms of money as in terms of service – in toning up society, in bringing light into the dark alleys, sunshine into dingy places, solace into the afflicted, hope unto the despondent and a new life unto every one.

That this is a welcome and worthy ideal none would dispute, but not every one will come forward to translate that ideal into action – and yet our ancient as well as modern thinkers have all stated in unmistakable terms that wisdom is manifested in action.

Unless service is the outcome, the sermons become sweet nothings. As Jefferson stated, “We must dream of an aristocracy of achievements arising out of a democracy of opportunities”

And when I seek your help and co-operation in the supreme task of serving society, please do not wink and smile and say, it is all so easy to say. I am not unaware of the difficulties in the way, nor am I going to brush aside the influence of the environment on you. May be, the world in which you are to begin the journey is one which will dim your hope, disturb your determination. You may come face to face with the unpleasant sight of practices widely differing from the principles inculcated in you. You may find self-seekers enthroned and the patient worker decried. Tyranny of all sorts may stare at you and every step you take will be a struggle. I admit that the environment is such that even people with robust optimism will be discouraged and forced to take to the part of ease and comfort.

But, we should also realize that a continuous stream of men and women endowed with the spirit of service has been carrying on the crusade successfully and have conferred rich benefit on humanity.

We, the Tamilians have been holding aloft this ideal for more than two thousand years and hence we find in *pura nanuru* this passage,

"உண்டால் அம்ம இவ்வுலகம்
.....
தமக்கென முயலா நோன்றாள்
பிறர்க்கென முயலுநர் உண்மை யானே!"

As inheritors of that rich legacy, you are best fitted to overcome even the environment and serve society to the best of your abilities,

Anyone, who proposes to do good must not expect people to roll stones out of his way, but must accept his lot calmly if they even roll a few more upon it. A

strength which becomes clearer and stronger through its experience of such obstacles is the only strength that can conquer them – says Albert Schweitzer.

Though the problems in various countries are of a similar nature, the peculiarity attached to the problems of our country is of a pronounced nature.

Ours is not case of starting from scratch-had that been the case the only thing needed would have been the intensity of effort to be put forth. Ours is a case of erosion of the mind – we are not in search of fields, but have to engage in the task of fertilizing it, irrigating it, we are not in search of ideals, but are engaged in the more intricate task of classifying, codifying and verifying layers of ideals. We are not wanting in culture-but have to cleanse it from the cob-web of time and de-adulterate it. In short, we have to re-discover ourselves, and re-construct our entire thought. Once task to-day is to allow fresh air and sunshine and regain the original shape and stature – that which made us well

Known is distant lands and climes. Our literature, art and architecture are fine specimens of human intelligence – but they bear the ravages of time and also the effect of currents and cross currents so that to-day we have to listen to the foreign historian or scholar in order to realize the “glory and grandeur” of our own country.

Age commands veneration –but unless it is recuperated, decay sets in. our culture and civilization are hoary, but we have allowed scars and wrinkles to disfigure them. It is our duty therefore to re-discover and re-construct what is ours and enrich it by drawing liberally upon the achievements of other countries.

Our problem is not want of a system –in any branch of knowledge. We have fine specimens in all spheres. We claim also –and that rightly –immortality for our systems, but we have not succeeded in keeping them fresh and young, effective and energetic, for we have allowed them to decay.

If a system has to endure, says, Dr.Radhakrishnan, it must be perpetually young and ready to change. In other words, it must be capable of accepting new ideas, have the resilience of mind which the young have, have the openness, flexibility and spirit of adventure by which they accept what is given to them and transform it out of recognition.

Eos, a goddess falling in love with a mortal, prayed to god to grant immortality to the lover-‘yes’, said god, and the mortal gained immortality. But he grew old, infirm, senile, decayed –and what was a feast once to the eyes of Eos became a sight to shun and grieve over –and he who gained immortality longed for death – for what is life if it becomes a prey to decay? Then Eos sighed and said, “I prayed for immortality for my lover, forgetting to pray for perpetual youth.”

We in this country are facing some such situation – and we are in charge of the task of rejuvenating our culture and civilization – our entire thought, instead of attempting that, we have been, for too long a period, doting upon the decayed forms attempting to defend them from critics and currents of new thought. And while other parts of the world, after persistent and patient search after truth, have arrived at new conclusions and are scaling new heights, we are content to sit near the shattered rampart and narrate past glory.

Our religion has degenerated into rituals, our society which was once classless and casteless has

degenerated into water –tight compartments of caste and creed and all the while, we have kept either silent or have been supplying defense to superstition and orthodoxy by offering liberal allowing this state of affairs to exist, despite condemnation and protest, and, more than that, whenever a doughty warrior comes forth to fight against the evils prevalent, we decry and denounce him as an annihilator of noble values and hoary systems. Periyar Ramasami represents and symbolizes the fury and frustration in a sizable section of society at this state of affairs. To allow systems to degenerate and at the same time denounce those who champion the cause of rationalism is but to perpetuate superstition and orthodoxy and allow this society of ours to get decomposed.

Universities offer the proper forum for a free and full discussion of these intricate problems and graduates trained here are to go forth as emissaries of that social reconstruction which is long over due. The country looks to centers of learning like this

Universities to enable the people to pursue the path of progress, braving difficulties and if need be, courting danger.

Graduates of the Annamalai University, let me call upon you to carry on the crusade against caste which cannot co-exist with democracy, against superstition which cannot co-exist with science and against tyranny of various dimensions which cannot co-exist with liberty, equality and fraternity.

Pursuing vocations for your and your families' well being, you have to perform your duty towards society. You are to become torch – bearers of rationalism – and rationalism does not mean repudiation of basic and fundamental truths and maxims, but the annihilation

of dubious modes of thought and action. You have to work hard and with daring and dash, for we have to clear cob-webs which are centuries old and let reason reign supreme.

Another peculiar feature of our times is the fact that we are a nation in the making, and if in their anxiety to forge integration, some confuse unity with uniformity, it is the duty of men trained here to clearly enunciate the principle and see to it that, in the name of unity, no part of the country is made to become the vassal of another part-knowingly or unknowingly. We cannot be a party to foul play, however worthy the goal. Just on the eve of independence Rajaji stated with an acumen all his own, “our political experiment is really like melting iron and metals and pouring them in to a crucible and making an alloy, an alloy which can stand wear and tear . It is not like the chinaware that other people have turned out in their countries. Their democracies were easy to make – like plastics. But we are dealing with metals.” National integration is a goal, worthy and much – sought after, but neither in the field of language nor in the economic sphere, could we tolerate injustice and domination. That is exactly why this government was brought into existence – it represents the determination of the people to be coerced into accepting Hindi as the official language.

When we plead for the continuance of English as the link language, some people do misrepresent us and misinterpret our motive. They trot out untenable arguments and disputable statistics, bring in the bogey of disintegration and want to silence people by threats and troops. Problems were never solved by autocratic methods – and this problem of language is intimately connected with our way of life, not for the present alone but for the future as well.

The government of Tamilnadu has stated in unmistakable terms that Tamil and English can serve all our purposes, the former as the official language of this state and the latter as the link language. If it is accepted and the most emphatic of Hindi protagonists do accept that - if it is accepted that English can serve admirably as a link between our state and the outside world, why plead for Hindi to be the link language here? What serves to link us with the outside world is certainly capable of rendering the same service inside India as well. To plead for two link languages is like boring a smaller hole in a wall for the kitten while there is a bigger one for the cat. What suits the cat will suit the kitten as well

English is foreign, some argue, as if we were out to destroy or give up everything foreign. We bring foreign wear in foreign ships. We seek foreign aid not only in the shape of money but also in the form of technical know-how and not a week passes without one or other leader undertaking a journey to the west or east to secure whatever aid is possible to secure. And on top of all these things, we have given up so many systems peculiarly our own.

We are not content with rural economy, we want Trombays and Ennores. And we are not conscious of their being foreign; only in the matter of language we pose as being ultra-nationalists and dub the English language as foreign.

Shelly and Byron, Keats and Coleridge, Emerson and Bacon-they are not foreign to us in the strict sense of the term. Is Tiruvalluvar a mere Tamilian? They are all world citizens - world teachers. And the language enshrining their thoughts is not to be discarded just because it comes from another country. That we are not going to accord a higher status to English is borne out by the fact that we have accepted and are

implementing with due caution the principle of making Tamil the medium of instruction in colleges – progressively.

University education is an epitome of all that is best in thought cultivated in various countries, and from you should radiate universal thought and cosmopolitan ideas.

And if we are to get all these and more from out of the graduates of the University we have to re-examine the methods in vogue in universities, in teaching and in administration, and so perfect them that every student feels that he is a co-sharer of the pleasure and privilege of knowledge along with his professors. I shall not dabble in methods of teaching or administration-experts in that field are the natural custodians-my plea is only as regards the necessity for a re-examination.

While the functions assigned to universities are mostly of the same type, the Annamalai University, by its structure and spirit, has got a special function of its own. The great founder's nobility and generosity has made this institution gain the esteem of eminent men here and elsewhere; but if we analyze the thought and motive force of Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar, we will find that he wanted this place to be not only a seat of learning and research of Tamil Culture and Tamil polity. He had the foresight to realize that Tamilians were going to cultivate their special talents and that was exactly why he started and made a success of the Tamil Isai Movement. Rajah Sir was never a man of tall talk-he believed in solid work and he knew the time was bound to come for us to delve deep into our annals and literature, culture and civilization and succeed in getting due and adequate recognition in the world forum.

Truly great has been our achievement in the field of literature. To be able to announce to the world that we the Tamilians do process.

” நற்றினை நல்ல குறுந்தொனை ஐங்குறுநூ
றொத்த பதிற்றுப்பத் தோங்கு பரிபாடல்
கற்றறிந்தோர் ஏத்தும் கலியோ டகம்புறமென்
றித்திறத்த எட்டுத் தொகை”

And to present to the world the great Tirukkural which is a Code of Conduct for the entire humanity are something about which we can have pardonable pride and pleasure.

And yet, are we devoting enough attention to these Tamil Classics? Addressing the Convocation here in 1943, the late lamented Sir R.K. Shanmukham Chetty had the following to say:-

“I graduated with a complete ignorance of Tamil Culture and History: in fact with a great deal of contempt for these. I attained a fair degree of proficiency in English literature and the history of European culture. I acquired some knowledge of even Anglo- Saxon and Gothic. I read the translation of the Bible in the Gothic language , but I had not read the Kural of Valluvar. I could understand Chaucer, but the name of Ilango was nothing but a name. Even after leaving College, I kept alive my interest in these studies and built up a Library in which there was not a single Tamil book.

In my early youth when I lived in a world of my own with no sense of responsibility, all this made no difference to me and I was proud of my learning. Soon when manhood came with its cares and problems, I found myself a stranger in my own

home.....Gradually I began to realize the incongruity of my scheme of life and for some time now I have been endeavoring to rectify the balance. It was only a few years ago that I seriously attempted to study some of the Tamil Classics. I find that they are fit to rank among the immortal works of the world. I now bitterly regret my neglect of the treasures of my own land.”

It was not an apologia, but the expression of a new determination and Sir R.K.Shanmukaham lived to establish the truth that he had mastered not only the Tamil language but Tamil literature as well. Had he lived for some more years, he would traveled many a land carrying the message of the Tamil Classics, which spoke at such a hoary past about

“ஒன்றே குலமும் ஒருவனே தேவனும்”

“யாதும் ஊரே யாவரும் கேளிர்”

“வினையே ஆடவர்க்கு உயிரே”

“நல்லது செய்தல் ஆற்றீ ராயினும்
அல்லது செய்தல் ஓம்புமின்”

“எவ்வழி நல்லவர் ஆடவர்
அவ்வழி அல்ல வாழிய நிலனே”

“செல்வத்துப் பயனே ஈதல்”

“தீதும் நன்றும் பிறர் தர வாரா”

“பகுத்துண்டு பல்லுயிர் ஓம்புதல் நூலோர்
தொகுத்தவற்றுள் எல்லாம் தலை”

Thoughts now placed before the world as blossoms of the modern age.

You, graduates of the Annamalai University, have got undertake the special task of carrying the message that our classics contain to the entire world and declare that what was the most ancient here is what is being introduced to-day as the most modern.

South India is the home of the most ancient culture. Though for a fairly long period there was the mist of ignorance, thick and widespread, it has now been acknowledged by all that Dravidian Civilization of a highly developed character can be traced back to the second and third millennia before Christ. Many a Foreign scholar has borne testimony to the perfection with which Tamil language has been developed into an instrument of precise and subtle thought and to the beauty and richness of the literature – which is contained in it. Dravidian literature, philosophy, art and architecture offer therefore a rich and fruitful field for exploration and critical investigation.

Not for more glorification but for a just appreciation of all that is of real value and beauty in our past heritage. We need this research and investigation.

I do not propose to talk about your responsibility in the political arena. Suffice it to say that you should make democracy safe and sound, salubrious and fruitful.

Carry the message that this Universities has given to you wherever you go, whatever the station you find yourselves in and elevate the common man- the average man-

“He seems incredible but represents two –thirds of mankind. He lives in hut. He cannot read or write. His

energy is sapped by disease. He labours up to 15 hours a day. He works on land he does not own. He and his family are usually hungry. He will die young. But he still has hopes for his children; that they will be strong and healthy; will be able to read and write, will know individual freedom in a peaceful world. This is the world's average Man."

And the world over, this average Man has become conscious of the injustice done to him and as a consequence we find agitations and marches, struggles and clashes. In many a country, measures to raise his level have been undertaken. Take a pledge, here and now, that we will not lag behind and leave our average man in the lurch. For if the base is weak, the dome is doomed. Inheritors as you are of a noble heritage, you are eminently fitted for this noble task, and on its success depends the future of this nation as of others.

Let us remember what Woodrow Wilson said,

"Nations are renewed from the bottom not from the top . . . real wisdom of human life is compounded out of the experiences of ordinary men. The utility, the vitality, the fruitage of life comes like the natural growth of a great tree, from the soil, up through the trunk into the branches to the foliage and the fruit. The great struggling unknown masses of the men who are not the base of everything are the dynamic force that is lifting the level of society. A nation is as great and only as great as her rank and file."

May I submit my plea to you, youths blossoming forth from this institution, be firm but not obstinate, let there be a blending of ideas, but never cheap imitation and injurious adulteration, beware of mistaking obsessions for principles and fads for facts, strike at a synthesis and avoid subservience, view as the final on

to protest against injustice but project not your own view as the final one, forget not the ancient saying
“கற்றதுகைம் மண்ணளவு கல்லா துலகளவு”
And father not when you practice what you profess.

University education gives you the basic needs for this stupendous task, but that is not enough. Say along , I read, I study I examine, I listen, I reflect, and out of All this, I try to form an idea in which I can put as much of commonsense as I can. And remember the longest journey is the journey inward, and since graduation is but the starting point of that journey, I wish you success-reach the goal yourselves-teach others to march towards the goal and let that goal be,

A world without the beggar's out-stretched palm, the miser's heartless, stony stare, the piteous wail of want, the pallid face of crime, the livid lips of lies, the cruel eyes of scorn, A race without disease of flesh or brain, shapely and Fair , the married harmony of form and use-where life lengthens, fear dies, joy deepens, love intensifies and Man regains his dignity.

And to get these things realized, let us one and all strive towards the ideal enunciated by Thiruvalluvar,
“உறுபசியும் ஓவாப் பிணியும் செறுபகையும்
சேரா தியல்வது நாடு”

I am confident that you are being sent into the wide world by the Annamalai University with this objective-you are bound to win, for you are adequately equipped with the spirit supplied by this great institution. May your life be a bright one, and may its luster brighten the entire land! Accept my congratulations and march onwards, towards the land of smiles. [Annamalai University Convocation Address of Tamilnadu Chief Minister C.N.Annadurai on 18.11.1967]

People's poet:

ARINGNAR ANNA ON BHARATHIAR

Charming and significant as the term is, it is a warm tribute not only to the poet but also to the people for the people had had their monarchs and ministers, their warriors and saviours, their seers and saints, miracle - mongers and priests, but had no poets and from ages past there were poets in abundance, poets who supplemented the scriptures or who polished the palaces by their poetry, but poets who sang for and about the people in the people's tongue were very rare.

The poets' voice did the function of the temple bell or the palace drum but rarely did that voice represent the innermost thoughts of the people and when at times poets spoke about the people, it was to point out to them how greedy and worldly they have become, how impermanent and illusory this world is, how sinful is silver and how ungodly is gold, and such like sermons that supplemented the royal rod and the whip of the aristocrat. Poets became in due course one more important item in the Royal paraphernalia, one more policeman who filed the case here and asked the high heavens to deliver the judgment later on.

These poets spoke in a different tongue altogether and were far from the people. They despised the crowd from where they rose and used their poetic genius to gain admission to the royal palace, and when once there, they went on weaving wordy wreathes for monarchs of all sorts, provided his gold was pure. The poets of the Sangam period are noble exceptions to this sorry rule and they are the poets least known to the people of our days.

Poets either became vendors of virtue in verses or became pleasure merchants, and they found it hard and unprofitable to become the People's Poets. That is the reason why we find no outstanding people's poet after the Sangam Age in Tamil Nadu.

Virtue itself came to be considered an investment for a happy life in another world. Hence, poets who came after the advent of this false and pernicious theory began to extol the particular bank of dispensation for which they were the self appointed agents. Like the clever banker, or the active insurance agent, these poets began to pour forth rhymes in abundance, about the soundness of their Bank, about the delightful dividends and the bright prospects. If one poet gave the people a sweet song about the powers of Garuda of Maha Vishnu, up rose another to supply us with a sacred sonnet about the stately bull of Siva, or the beautiful peacock of Muruga or even the ugly buffalo of the all powerful god of death, Yama.

All these poems were of the highest order, looked at from the artist's point of view. There was rhythm, diction, similes, metaphors, parables all in abundance except reason. These poets thought that the temple bell did not work well and thought it their duty to lend their poetic strength to supplement the sound duty or no duty, it was such a paying job that there was a rush in that direction. Poets assumed an attitude of superiority they enjoyed the common men's confusion, they tried to compromise contradictions and beautify absurdities, they were loud in their denunciation of things worldly; the worthlessness of human life, the littleness of mankind and they presented a poetic picture of the unknown world heaven up above the clouds, and the hell underneath the earth.

The telescope was in the womb of science. Hence, heaven existed, and the poets entertained the people

with imaginary descriptions about the theological worlds! The ignorant stood amazed and the intelligent adored the art and not the thought.

Role of a People's Poet

It is not easy to take up the role of a people's poet. Bharati rose equal to this stupendous task. It is easy to become the poet of the classes. Some sweet sonnets about the silvery moon swimming in a sea of blue. some poems about the twinkle of the stars, fine poems about the fragrance of the flower, the rhythm in rivers, lyrics about the love and verses about valour, these are enough to secure a place of honour in the poet's gallery. But to discharge the duties of a people's poet, one has to cross hurdles of hatred, take many a dive into dangers and should not think about patronage and popularity. Though a select circle of friends knew and spoke about the poetic genius of Subramania Bharati, the people as a whole were almost unaware of their poet till at a later stage, and then too it was the poems of a political colour that was presented to the people, and not the poems which a people's poet alone can conceive and deliver.

We had poets in abundance. The shepherd sleeping inside a temple forgetful of his home and vocation, the goddess returning after her midnight supervision, the smile on her lips on seeing the simpleton, her curious idea to make him a poet, the gentle pat and the touch of the divine rod, the wonderful results these were known to the people. One becomes a poet, because of the divine touch, and it is his duty to sing devotional songs to a particular deity or to all. This theory held the ground so strongly that the people were not prepared to meet the people's poet, even when one came forward. The people will cast a look of contempt and suspicion on one who says boldly. "I am the people's poet. I sing for them and about them because

I am one of them". There would be no recognition and the more radical his poems are, the more vehement will be the opposition. And in this dangerous ground, we find Subramania Bharati, taking steady steps victoriously.

The State of Affairs when the Poet was born

Bharati was born on the frontier of two eras; the feudal order was in full force in his homeland. Ettayapuram had a palace surrounded by huts. Age old castes were still in power. He himself was a Brahmin by birth but side by side with feudalism and Sanathanic order of Society, modernism was peeping in. Industrial revolution was dawning, the old order met the new with sorrowful eyes, and there was a challenge in the look of the new era. Bharati was born during that period and none could have imagined that he will become the warrior in the duel between the old order and the new; for in the old order of things his was a comfortable place.

He was born, moreover, in this land of paradoxes, a land where arrogance and humility, cruelty and kindness march together, where there is energy in abundance and absurd contemplation strong enough to dissipate the energy, a land of some dazzling ideas and millions of mute people, a land where there is apoplexy at the center and anemia at the extremes, the land of courage as well as fear, the land of faith as well as despair. Byron and Burke landed here just then, only to meet Bharatam and Bagavatham. The booming of the gun became familiar to the ears of the people and the age long temple drum was not silent in such a land of paradoxes and perplexities.

Bharati was born, and in such a land history moves but slowly and it needs a strong push if it should

move at all. Bharati's claim to greatness rests chiefly on this: he gave the push as the people's poet.

Morning Star of Reformation

Bharati was not merely the bard of Nationalism. He was certainly the morning star of reformation only because he was the people's poet. He was angry with the foreigner, and wanted his country to become free but that was not his goal that was not to be his end. It was but the beginning. He wanted to free his country men from all shackles, wanted them to rise up in the estimation of the world, wanted to see a new land peopled by men and women of a new type altogether. He found the people enveloped in fear. Fear was written on their very faces. They were afraid of anything and everything. Not only did they fear the foreigner and his gun but their own brethren chanting some slogans. They were afraid of ghosts and phantoms.

Eradication of Superstition

Such a people cannot become the standard bearers of freedom and a land peopled by such nature cannot lift its head high, and look straight at the world, even if the foreign power is driven out. Hence Bharati wanted his countrymen, to drive out fear from their mind to shed off inferiority complex. He instilled into their minds hope and courage, he placed before them their own hidden powers and pointed out to them, how that innate power is being wasted, the slumber of the masses, their gross ignorance, and superstition, their inferiority complex and their caste prejudices.

Bharathi saw clearly and he determined to root out these evils and none but a people's poet could have been so deeply interested in these problems.

World Freedom Movements and India

But Bharati knew fully well, that it was the age of the common man, the era of democracy and he wanted the people to fight for freedom. He did not deliver mere devotional hymns to the divinities nor did he send poetic appeals to the princes of the land. He addressed the man with the plough, the woman at the cradle and even the children at the play grounds. He did not, like the poets of a bygone age, point out ancient scripts in support of freedom, but placed before the masses, the world events of importance, and the freedom movements of distant lands. He announced to the people, the dawn of freedom in Italy through the marvelous resurrection of the masses, thanks to Mazzini the patriot.

He painted in glowing colours, the picture of France after the revolution, and placed a brand new picture about Russia, free from the shackles of Czardom, free Belgium, free France, Red Russia these were the pictures that he placed not the theological land of Indra or Brahma and having placed these pictures, he also presented them with a pen picture of country men at Fiji islands, and like Shakespeare he asked, "Look at this picture and at that!" That is the people's poet.

One who is not afraid of pointing out the follies and foibles of his own people, one who is not afraid of showing to his own people, how slow they are in thought and action whereas peoples of other lands were moving fast and faster to a nobler sphere of activity and life.

He was not afraid of the privileged class, and did not falter to place the full facts before the people.

Projecting a new vision altogether

As the People's poet it was his duty to unmask cant and hypocrisy wherever it was to be found, and he did that with remarkable courage and enthusiasm.

There is an attempt by interested parties to enlarge the portrait of Bharati, the national bard, not entirely because they love that portrait but because they think that portrait's immensity will conceal from the public eye, the other portrait, the portrait of Bharati, the people's poet.

Bharati's poems are no mere hornets. The people's poet was not afraid to lay bare the absurdities of ancient systems and thoughts, and in almost infuriated tone, he asks those who champion the cause of conservatism in very strong words, "Fools! Do you argue, that things ancient ought, on that account, to be true and noble! Fallacies and Falsehoods there were from time immemorial, and dare you argue that because these are ancient these should prevail?"

"In ancient times, do you think that there was not the ignorant, and the shallow minded? And why after all should you embrace so fondly a carcass of dead thoughts. Live in the present and shape the future, do not be casting lingering looks to the distant past for the past has passed away, never again to return, "so says Bharati and therein we meet.

He gave a moral code for the masses, not unrelated to life, as some of the ancient codes, were. He boldly differed from the ancient codes and placed before the people, a new vision altogether. He refused to allow the thought of Maya philosophy to have a hold on the people. He ridiculed that theory strongly and infuriated the Ashramites, but he was not afraid of the consequences. "A people immersed in such a

thought,” Bharati said, “will become inactive, unprogressive and such a people will become worthless”.

Service to Humanity

Hunger and poverty and ignorance, he will not tolerate, and he raises his powerful voice against the tyranny of the rich, and threatens the whole world with dire consequences even if a single individual is made to starve. He wants the people to lead a full life, develop their faculties, improve their commerce, industrialize their land and enjoy all the benefits of the new era. His religion is not to be priest craft and slogan shouting: his religion is service to humanity and brotherhood in the broadest sense.

The Task of the people’s Poet

The task that lies before the people’s poet is a mighty one. It is his task to make the people realize new truth, take a new path, and get a new process of valuation altogether. It is his task to release the people from the clutches of the Astrologer, and place before them the Astronomer. His is the task to drive out the Alchemist from the people’s mind so that the chemist can come in. His is the task to push aside the priest so that the teacher can get a place. The people’s poet has the mighty task of driving out the influence of the Miracle monger so that the Medical man can find a place in the order of things. Superstition is to be fought out so that science can flourish. In short, the people’s poet has the task of a revolutionary and more difficult than that of the revolutionary for the people are apt to mistake the tyrant for the saviour and the saviour for the tyrant. He fought with courage and though the battle is not over yet, and though he is no more alive he has given an armoury of thought enough for the successful termination of the fight and the best

and lasting tributes that one can pay to this people's poet, is to continue the fight, the fight for freedom of the people, in its fullest and noblest sense. And there are men for the job and it will be finished.

THE NAGALAND STRUGGLE

N.Nandhivarman



The Nagaland struggle is based on few beliefs. “The Nagas who inhabit the land of Nagaland are a different race who had been occupying their land from time immemorial. Beginning from 1832 until 1947 a small portion of Naga country was conquered by the British and was ruled by their administration. As far as its relationship with its neighbor India is concerned, prior to 1947, no Indian king or prince had ever set foot on Naga country. Also prior to 1947 Nagas had no affinity with India whether racially, historically, politically, culturally, religiously or any other wise. Therefore Nagaland is not par of Indian Territory neither Nagas are Indians’ writes Kaka.D.Iralu in the book Nagaland and India: The Blood and Tears, distributed secretly to Indian Members of Parliament in 2000.

“Prior to 1947 Indian subcontinent was a group of over 560 princely states ruled by various Maharajas or Kings. When the Maharaja or King of such state fell the whole state became a conquered territory. For that matter Maratha Empire or any other princely states could be considered as legitimate Indian Territory after 1947 not just because they voluntarily conceded to be a party to the Indian Republic of 1947. The same is not applicable to Nagaland and Naga territories because in first place Nagaland was never conquered by the British as a state, neither did Nagas agree to join the Indian or Burmese Unions of 1947” argues Kaka .D.Iralu.

Quoting from Phizo’s letter to then Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi dated May 10 of 1986 he further adds “Jawaharlal Nehru understood this fact clearly. On August 19, 1946 in connection with proposed British colony of Coupland he described the Naga territories as the tribal areas are defined as being long frontiers of India, which are neither part of India nor Burma nor of Indian states nor of any foreign power” The British on the eve of their departure from India toyed with the idea of setting up a crown colony comprising all the eastern peoples of the North Eastern region who were neither Burmese of Indian. The Coupland plan would have created a crown colony with an area of 1,50,000 square miles comprising Nagas,Karens,Kachins,Shans,Chins,Mons, and even Mizos, Khasis and Assamese people. Such was the ground reality in Naga areas whereas India had to face 562 princely states.

The then Foreign Secretary of India K.P.S.Menon described the situation of India on the pre-independence years “When the British left India, the unity of even divided India was in danger. Some 560 princely states had been left in the air. It was open to them to adhere to India, to accede to Pakistan or to

remain independent.... It almost looked as if India was going to be Balkanized. But this danger was averted by the firm handling of the Princes by the man of Iron, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. “

Close on the heels of British Prime Minister Atlee's policy announcement of February 20 1947, Her Majesty's Government decision to withdraw from India by June 1948, The Times of London wrote “ Muslim separatism is deriving encouragement from the language of the White Paper. The Princes too drew similar encouragement. Under the inspiration of the Political department, they began thinking in terms of Third Dominion, which Churchill called Princestan. The Chamber of Princes moved in that direction. The Nawab of Bhopal, who was the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, asked the Princes of the chamber to adopt wait and see policy and not to join India Constituent assembly.”

Sir Conrad Corfield, the Secretary of the Political Department seemed to be toying with the India of using the Princes as Third Force. The Third Dominion dream suffered the setback when British Government denial of states membership in the Commonwealth. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel got a shot in his arm with the Prime Minister of Bikaner K.M.Panikkar conveying on March 10 th the Bikaner Maharaja's decisions to participate without delay in the proceedings of the Indian Constituent Assembly. The banner of revolt unfurled by Travancore particularly by its Diwan Sir C.P.Ramasamy Iyer on May 9 th of 1947 claimed that on the lapse of paramountcy on August 15 simultaneously with transfer of power to India, Travancore would declare herself a free and independent state. Sardar Patel took up the matter directly with the Maharaja of Travancore and in commanding voice threatened as to who is putting

roadblocks, which made the Maharaja declare his decision to accede to India.

It is irony of fate that the Indian Union in sixties faced with the ever growing mass popularity of separate Dravida Nadu demand continuing even after so many years of freedom from British on the plank of North neglecting South, in order to ban the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, the political party headed by Aringnar Anna, constituted a National Integration Committee to collect views of people under the Chairmanship of Sir C.P.Ramasamy Iyer, who once unfurled the banner of revolt against Indian Union. The Malaimani, DMK's weekly collected blood signatures, and including this writer more than 50,000 signatures were sent to Sir.C.P.Ramasamy Committee on National Integration. This single incidence proves how certain chameleons change fast their colors and enjoy the fruits in every form of governance.

To illustrate the case how many princely states fell for Indian Union, let us take the example of Bastar, now a district in Madhya Pradesh of India. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel chanced to come across an official file. It narrated how Bastar, whose Raja was a minor and weakling and the Prime Minister a foreigner was mortgaged to Hyderabad state for long lease. Patel called the King of Bastar, and he observed "I saw the ruler. How young and inexperienced he was. I felt it was a sin to make him sign such an agreement. It was then that I was made fully conscious of the extent to which our interests were being prejudiced in every way by the mechanizations of the Political Department, and came to the conclusion that sooner we rid of these people, the better. Their main aim was to further their own interests and to cause as much damage to India as possible. I came to the conclusion that the best course was to drive out the foreigners

even at the cost of partition of the country. It was also then that I felt that there was only one way to take the country safe and strong, and that was unification of India.”

It is a great achievement, particularly of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, who took less than two and half years for the integration of princely states in Indian Union. The Indian bureaucracy did not match him can be proven by citing one example of their failure to resolve a thorny issue between Bangladesh and Indian Union, in spite of the euphoria over India aiding the creation of Bangladesh. “The rulers of Kooch Bihar and Rangpur within the Old Bengal Presidency lost their territories to each other playing the gambling by cards. There are till date 111 Indian enclaves in Bangladesh and 51 Bangladesh enclaves within India, as a result of this gamble by 2 princely states.’ Yet no one had the moral courage of Sardar Patel to resolve even this issue which every government keeps in cold storage. The border dispute and Kashmir dispute, why even the Nagaland issue evades a settlement, and we are not supposed to blame anyone in our democracy.

The emergence of every nation has its own stories which had not seen the light of history. Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru in page 224 of his book *The Glimpses of World History* narrates the story of China integrating into a nation.

:” The administration of Mongol empire must have been a very difficult task. It is not surprising therefore that it began to split. Kublai Khan died in 1292. After him there was no great Khan. The Empire divided up into big areas.

The Empire of China including Mongolia, Manchuria and Tibet. This empire was the principled one under Kublai Khan’s descendent of the Yuan dynasty.

To the far west of Russia, Poland and Hungary was the Empire of the Golden Horde as the Mongols were then called.

In Persia and Mesopotamia and part of Central Asia there was a great Turkey as it was called, the Empire of Zagatai.

Between the Mongolia and Golden Horde there was the Siberian Empire of the Mongols.

Mongol Empire was split up each of these five divisions it was a mighty empire.”

This is the story of Mongol empire, its later day disintegration and again unification as China in the age of nationalism. The Indian sub continent was ruled by Tamils, their Empires disintegrated, deluge and other natural calamities struck at the Tamil land. Later in British period on their eve of departure there were 11 Presidencies and 562 princely states, which when the winds of nationalism blew over Indian sub constituent were welded together as Indian Union under a Constitution of India. The problems left over by colonialism, be it border dispute with China or Kashmir still bleeds India. In that problem galore falls Nagaland.

To the readers, the statement Tamils ruled India would at the outset appear a tall and false claim. If I could present facts quoting the Father of Indian Constitution Dr.B.R.Ambedkar such doubts will be laid to rest. It would also establish the Tamil as mother tongue of Nagas, who are Dravidians. Let us look at the conclusions Dr.B.R.Ambedkar had reached in his scientific enquiry.

“It is thus clear that the Nagas and Dravidians are one and the same people. Even with much proof, people may not be found ready to accept this thesis. The chief difficulty in the way of accepting it lies in the designation of the people of South India by the name Dravidian. It is natural for them to ask why the term Dravidian has come to be restricted to the people of South India if they are really Nagas. Critics are bound to ask: If the Dravidians and Nagas are the same people, why the name Nagas not used to designate people of South India also. This is no doubt a puzzle. But it is a puzzle which is not beyond solution. It can be solved if certain facts are borne in mind. The first thing to be borne in mind is the situation regarding language. Today the language of Southern India differs from that of the people of North India.”

“The second thing to be borne into mind is that the word Dravida is not an original word. It is the Sanskrit zed form of the word Tamil. The original word Tamil when imported into Sanskrit became Damita and later on Damila became Dravida. The word Dravida is the name of the language of the people and does not denote the race of the people.

The third thing to remember is that Tamil or Dravida was not merely the language of South India but before the Aryans came it was the language of the whole of India and was spoken from Kashmir to Kanyakumari. In fact it was the language of the Nagas throughout India.

The next thing to note is the contact between Aryan and the Nagas and the effect it produced on Nagas and their language. Strange as it may appear the effect of this contact on the Nagas of North India was quite different from the effect it produced on the Nagas of South India. The Nagas in North India gave up Tamil which was their mother tongue and adopted

Sanskrit in its place. The Nagas in South India retained Tamil as their mother tongue and did not adopt the Sanskrit language of the Aryans.

If this difference is borne in mind it will help to explain why the name Dravida came to be applied only for the people of South India. The necessity for the application of the name Dravida to the Nagas of North India had ceased because they had ceased to speak the Dravida Language. The special application of the use of the word Dravida for the people of South India must not therefore obscure the fact that the Nagas and Dravidas are one and the same people. They are only two different names for the same people. Nagas was a racial or cultural name and Dravida was their linguistic name” concluded Dr.B.R.Ambedkar.

Dr.B.R.Ambedkar had tried to explain these questions “We often come across four names Dravidians, Dasas, Nagas and Aryans. What do these names indicate? These questions have never been considered. Are these names Aryans, Dravidians, Dasas, and Nagas the names of different races or are they merely different names for a people of same race?

“The general assumption is that they are different names. It is an assumption on which theories like that of Mr. Rice, which seek to explain the social structure of the Hindu Society, particularly its class basis, are built. Before such a theory is accepted it is necessary to examine its foundations. Starting with the Aryans it is beyond dispute that they were not a single homogeneous people. They were divided into two sections is beyond dispute. One of them may be called Rig Vedic Aryans and the other Atharva Vedic Aryans. Their cultural cleavage appears to be complete. The Rig Vedic Aryans believed in Yajna. The Atharva Vedic Aryans believed the Magis. Their mythologies were different, The Rig Vedic Aryans believed in Deluge and

the creation of their race from Manu. The Atharva Vedic Aryans did not believe in Deluge but believed in the creation of their race from Brahma or Prajapathi. Their literary developments also lay along different paths. The Rig Vedic Aryans produced Brahmanas, Sutras and Aranyakas. The Atarvavedic Aryans produced the Upanishads. Their cultural conflict was not so great that the Rig Vedic Aryans would not for long time admit the sanctity of the Atharvaveda nor of the Upanishads and when they did recognize it did they call it Vedanta. Vedanta which contrary to the current meaning of the word namely essence of Vedanta originally meant something outside the boundary of Vedas and therefore, not as sacred as the Vedas. Whether these two sections of Aryans were two different races we do not know. We do not know whether the word Aryan is indicative of race. Historians therefore made a mistake in proceeding on the assumption that the Aryans were a separate race.”

“A greater mistake lies in differentiating the Dasas from the Nagas. The Dasas are same as Nagas. Dasas is merely another name for Nagas. It is not difficult to understand how the Nagas came to be called Dasas in Vedic literature. Dasa is Sanskritized form of the Indo-Iranian word Dahaka. Dahaka was the name of the King of the Nagas.

{The detailed inputs with regards to this are in the Paper presented by Miss Karunakara Gupta to the Third Session of Indian History Congress -1939 titled Nagas and Naga Cult in Ancient Indian History.]

“Consequently the Aryans called the Nagas after the name of their king Dahaka, which in Sanskrit form became Dasa a generic name applied to all the Nagas”, says Dr.B.R.Ambedkar in his book The Untouchables.

Having arrived to the scene where Nagas are also known as Dasa, we are wondering whether the names Bharathidasan, Kannadasan, Ramadasan, Vanidasan etc wherever the surname was used as Dasa has more inner meaning than what could be read at the outset. My grandfather is Ramadas, then I can also claim of being a Dasa I am also a Naga. My father's name is Nagarattinam and if I could use his initial in Tamizh my name had to be spelt as Naga. Nandhivarman. My sister's name is Dr.Naga.Sengamala Thayar. Such similarities apart we have plenty of places within India called Nagapattinam, Nagore, and Nagpur and so on proving the all India spread of Nagas.

Let us first finish the detailed analysis of the Father of Indian Constitution Dr.B.R.Ambedkar before dealing many such similarities.

“Who were the Nagas? Undoubtedly they were Non_Aryans. A careful study of Vedic literature reveals a spirit of conflict, of a dualism, and a race for superiority between two distinct types of culture and thought. In the Rig-Veda, we are first introduced to the Snake God in the form of Ahi Vitra, the enemy of the Aryan God Indra. Naga, the name under which the snake-god was to become so famous in later days, does not appear in early Vedic literature. Even when it does for the first time in Sathapatha Brahmana [XI.2, 7, 12] it is not clear whether a great snake or a great elephant is meant. But this does not conceal the nature of Ati Vitra, since he is described always in Rig-Veda as the serpent who lay around or hidden in waters, and is holding a full control over the waters of heaven and earthlike.”

“It is also evident from the hymns that refer to Ati Vitra, that he received no worship from the Aryan tribes and was only regarded as an evil spirit of

considerable power who must be fought down.” So goes on Dr.Ambedkar.

It is becoming evident that Snake cult as seen in the snake around the neck of Lord Shiva or in the snake bed floating in the ocean of milk where Lord Vishnu is holidaying, is not an Aryan element but a Non-Aryan element. In every temple near the trees, people worship the Snake God. Because to segregate these worship forms from the worship forms of Aryans is highly laborious and impossible job, Periyar E,V.Ramasamy wanted to throw all gods and goddesses into the dustbin of past.

Dr.B.R.Ambedkar’s narration of Naga history follows: “The mention of Naga in Rig-Veda shows that the Nagas were ancient people. It must also be remembered that the Nagas in no way an aboriginal or uncivilized people. History shows very close intermarriage between the Naga people and Royal families of India. The Devanagari record of Kadamba King Krishnavarman connects the beginning of the Kadambakula with Nagas. The Royakota grant of 9 th century A.D mentions the marriage of Asvathama with a Nagi and the foundation of the Pallava line by Skandasishya, the issue of this marriage.

Virakurcha, who according to another Pallava inscription dated in the 9 th century A.D was the ruler of the dynasty, is also mentioned in the same inscription as having married a Nagi and obtained from her the insignia of royalty. The marriage of Gautamiputra, the son of the Vakataka King Pravarsena with the daughter of Bharasiva King Bhava Naga, is a historical fact. So is the marriage of Chandragupta II with Princess Kuvera Naga of Naga kula. A Tamil poet asserts that Kokkilli, an early Chozha king had married a Naga princess. Rajendra Chozha is also credited to have won by his radiant

beauty the hand of the noble daughter of Naga race. The Navasahasanka Charita describes the marriage of the Paramara king Sindhuraja, who seems to have reigned towards the early part of the 10 th century A.D, with Naga princess Sasiprabha, with such exhaustive details in so matter of fact manner as to make us almost feel certain that there must have been some historical basis for this assertion. From the Harsha inscription of V.S.1030-973 A.D we know that Guvaka I, who is the sixth king in the genealogy upwards from Vigharaja Chahamana and thus might be supposed to have been ruling towards the middle of 9 th century was famous as hero in the assemblies of the Nagas and other princes. Santikara of the Bhaumn dynasty of Orissa, one of whose dates was most probably 921 A.D is mentioned in an inscription of his son as having married Thirubuvana Mahadevi of the Naga family. Not only did Naga people occupy a high cultural level but history shows that they ruled a good part of India. That Maharastra is the home of Nagas goes without saying. Its people and its kings were Nagas.”

This and more evidences produced by the scholarly presentation of Dr.B.R.Ambedkar will run into pages and make this paper into a book

Mr.Dikshithar in his paper South India in Ramayana says “The Nagas, another tribe in semi divine character with their totems as serpent spread throughout India from Taksasila in the North West to Assam in the North East and to Ceylon and South India in the South. At one time they must have been powerful. Contemporaneous with the Yakwas or perhaps subsequent to their fall as political entity, the Nagas rose to prominence in South India. Not only parts of Ceylon but ancient Malabar were the territories occupied by the Nagas..... In The Tamizh classics of early centuries after Christ, we hear

frequent references to Naganadu..... Remnants of Naga worship still lingering in Malabar and the temple in Nagerkoil in South Travancore is dedicated to Naga worship even today. All that can be said about them is that they were a sea faring tribe. Their womenfolk were renowned for their beauty. Apparently Nagas had become merged with the Cheras who rose to power and prominence at the commencement of Christian era.

Mr.C.F.Oldham in The Sun and Serpent states:

“The Dravidian people have been divided from ancient times into Cheras, Cholas and Pandyas. Chera or Sera [in old Tamizh sarai] is the Dravidian equivalent for Naga. Cheramandala, Nagadwipa or the Naga country. This seems to point distinctly to the Asura origin of the Dravidians of South. But in addition to this there still exists, widely spread over the Ganges valley, a people who call themselves Cherus or Seoris, who claim descent from serpent gods. The Cherus are of very ancient race, they are believed to have once held a great portion of the valley of Ganges, which as we have already seen, was occupied in very early times by Naga tribes. The Cherus appear to have been gradually ousted from their lands, during the troubled times of the Mohammedan invasions, and they are now poor and almost landless. There can be little doubt that these people are kinsmen of the Dravidian Cheras.

The Cherus have several peculiar customs and amongst them one which seems to connect them with the Lichhavis, as well as with the Newars of Nepal. This is the election of a raja for every five or six houses, and his investiture, in due form, with the tilak or royal frontal mark. Both Lichavis and Newars had many customs in common with the Dravidians of the South. Each venerated the serpent. Karkota Naga

being to Nepal what Nila Naga was to Kashmir. A Naga too, was the tutelary deity of Vaishali, the Lichchavi capital. The martial relations of Newars and Lichavis closely resembled those of Tamil people and go far to show a common origin.

Property amongst Newars descended in the female line, as it once did amongst the Arattas, Bahikas or Takhas of the Punjab, whose sister's sons, and not their own, were their heirs. This is still a Dravidian custom. In short, a recent Dravidian writer Mr. Balakrishna Nayar says that his people appear to be in nearly every particular, the kinsfolk of the Newars. Besides all this, however, there are other links connecting the Naga people of the South with those of the North of India. In an inscription discovered by Colonel Tod at Kanswah near the river Chambal, a Raja, called Salindra of the race of Sarya, a tribe renowned amongst the tribes of the mighty is said to be the ruler of Takhya. This was evidently the Takhya kingdom of the Punjab which was visited by Hiou-en-tsiang. It seems Naga people of Takhya were known also by the name Sarya. Again in the outer Himalayas between Sutlej and Beas valleys, is a tract of country called Sara or Seoraj. In this district the Naga demigods are the chief deities worshipped. There is another Seoraj in the upper Chinab valley, and this is too occupied by a Naga worshipping people.

The name Saraj or Seoraj appears to be same as the Sarya of Colonel Tod's inscription and as Seori, which is the alternative name of the Cherus of the Ganges valley. It seems to be identical with Sarai, which we have already seen, is the old name for the Chera or Naga. Apparently therefore the Saryas or Takhya, the Saraj people of the Sutlej valley, the Seoris or Cherus of the valley of Ganges, and the Cheras, Seras or Keralas of Southern India, are but different branches of the same Naga worshipping people.

It may be noted that in some Himalayan dialects, Kira or Kiri means serpent. This name from which was perhaps derived the term Kirate so often applied to the people of Himalayas. is found in Rajatarangani, where it is applied to a people in or near Kashmir. The Kiras are mentioned by Viraha Mihira in the copper plate published by Professor Keilhorn.

An inscription at the Baijnath Temple in the Kangra Valley gives Kiragrams as the then name of the place. This in local dialect would mean the village of serpents. The Naga is still a popular deity at Baijnath and throughout the neighboring country. The term Kira is thus an equivalent for Naga and it can be scarcely doubted that serpent worshipping Kiras of the Himalaya were closely related to the Dravidian Kera, Cheras, or Kerals of South. Similarity of name is not always to be trusted, but here we have something more. These people, whose designation is thus apparently the same, are all of solar race, they are all venerating the hooded serpent, and they all worship, as ancestors, the Naga demigods.

From the foregoing it would seem tolerably certain that the Dravidian of Southern India were of the same stock as the Nagas or Asuras of the North.”

So far we had dealt extensively quoting lengthy passages from Dr.B.R.Ambedkar and from the sources he relied upon to arrive at a new fact. It is been a difficult task to match the genius who had logically presented his views arguing like an effective lawyer of history. Hence instead of quoting few lines, the necessity arose to quote pages.

Dr.B.R.Ambedkar is a genius who had dealt in depth about the racial question that dominates Indian history, society and political space. In his collected

works Volume 7 Ambedkar wrote about the Shudra history quoting extensively from Vedic texts.

He says “The Aryan race theory is so absurd that it ought to have been dead long ago. But far from being dead the theory has a considerable hold upon the people. There are two explanations which account for this phenomenon. The first explanation is to be found in the support which this theory receives from the Brahmin scholars. This is very strange phenomenon. As Hindus, they should ordinarily show a dislike for the Aryan theory with its express avowal of the superiority of the European races over the Asiatic races. But the Brahmin scholar has not only no such aversion but he most willingly hails it. The reasons are obvious. The Brahmin believes in the two nation theory. He claims to be the representative of the Aryan race and he regards the rest of Hindus as descendants of non-Aryans. The theory helps him to establish his kinship with the European races and share their arrogance and superiority. He likes particularly that part of the theory which makes the Aryan an invader and a conqueror of non-Aryan races. For it helps him to maintain and justify his over lordship over the non-Brahmins.” [Page 80 Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches published by Education Department of Government of Maharashtra in 1990]

It has become imperative to deal the Aryan theory first before we arrive at the Dravidian or Naga racial theories. The new light shed by Dr.Ambedkar will be of immense help to understand the racial question and the subsequent racial conflict that dominates Indian minds for some centuries.

“The second explanation why the Aryan race theory is not dead is because of the general insistence by European scholars that the word varna means color and acceptance of the view by a majority of Brahmin

scholars. Indeed this is the mainstay of the Aryan theory. There is no doubt that as long as this interpretation of the varna continues to be accepted, the Aryan theory will continue to live “wrote Ambedkar on 10 th October 1946.

That is in Indian context. Till date we have in every town hotels named as Aryan Bhavan more particularly in Tamilnadu than elsewhere proving the mindset had not changed even in times when scientists debate whether there is a genetic basis for race. Scientists say it is nothing more than political prejudice, and let us examine the ground reality.

“The genetic basis of race and the superiority of one of them over the other died a sudden death during the 1936 Aryan Supremacy Olympics in Berlin. That was when Jesse Owens, a black United States athlete, exploded in the track and field events. He won four gold medals and broke number of world records simultaneously. Hitler refused to shake hands with him and instead stormed out of the stadium in disgust at the star’s triumph over his much hyped Nordic Caucasian team. This reopened the most disastrous chapter of the modern 20 th century eugenic movement. It also led to the renewed politicization of race. It was subsequently used by the Nazis in the thirties and forties to justify genocide. It was the rationale for the holocaust and whole sale extermination of Jews, gypsies and other so called disease carrying low IQ, morally bankrupt ethnic groups solely on the basis of fundamental genetic inequality. There was never and still is not a single shred of evidence for dividing a species from one ancient African mitochondrial DNA into superior or inferior races” wrote The Times of India, leading English daily in its Mumbai edition’s editorial dated 1st November 2004.

The color prejudice myth must have to be exposed. Professor Ripley in his book Races of Europe [page 466] asserts that earliest Europeans were of dark complexion. "We are strengthened in this assumption that the earliest Europeans were not only long headed but also dark complexioned, by various points of enquiry thus far. Judged therefore either in the light of general principles or of local details, it would seem as if the earliest race in Europe must have been very dark. "

It is a matter of concern how color prejudice created castes in India though nowhere in the world such a cruel system of suppression exists, that too with religious sanction. The word religion itself is derived from Latin word religare, which meant bundle of beliefs. Among the bundle of such beliefs, the caste prejudice inculcated in Indian minds is mental slavery that rules the roost till date.

Dr.B.R.Ambedkar says " Turning to the Vedas for any indication whether the Aryans had any color prejudice, in Rig Veda i.117.8 there is a reference to Ashvins having brought about the marriage between Shyavya and Rushati. Shyavya is black and Rushati is fair.

In Rig Veda i.117.5 there is a prayer addressed to Ashvins for having saved Vandana who is spoken as of golden color. I Rig Veda ii.3.9 there is a prayer by an Aryan invoking the Devas to bless him with a son with certain virtues but of [pishanga] tawny [reddish brown] complexion.

These incidents, Ambedkar say shows that the Vedic Aryans had no color prejudice. How could they have? The Vedic Aryans were not of one color. Their complexion varied, some were of copper complexion, some white and some black. Rama, the son of Dasaratha has been described as Shyama i.e. dark in

complexion, so is Krishna the descendent of Yadus, another Arya clan. The Rishi Dirghatamas who is the author of many mantras in Rig Veda must have been dark in complexion. Kanva is an Aryan rishi of great repute. But according to the description given in Rig Veda x.31.11 he was of dark color.

“To take up the meaning of the word Varna, and to see in what sense it is used in Rig-Veda, Ambedkar does a word count of all hymns of Rig-Veda. The word Varna is used in Rig Veda in 22 places. Of these in about 17 places the word is used in reference to deities such as Ushas, Agni, Soma etc, and means luster, features or color. Being used in connection with deities, it would be unsafe to use them for ascertaining what meaning the word Varna had in Rigveda when applied to human beings. There are four and at the most five places in the Rig-Veda where the word is used in reference to human beings. Having dealt the word extensively and intensively in Rig-veda Dr.Ambedkar traces the word in Indo-Iranian literature. He says the word Varana or Varena in Zend Avesta used in the sense of faith, religious doctrine, choice or creed or belief.’

This evidence from Zend Avesta, Dr.Ambedkar opines as to the meaning of the word Varna leaves no doubt that it originally meant a class holding to a particular faith and it had nothing to do with color or complexion. Then Dr.Ambedkar summarizes his findings by saying that the Vedas do not know any such race as the Aryan race. He further adds that there is no evidence in the Vedas of any invasion of India by the Aryan race and its having conquered the Dasas and Dasyus supposed to be natives of India. There is no evidence to show the distinction between Aryans, Dasas, and Dasyus was a racial distinction. The Vedas do not support the contention that the

Aryans were different in color from the Dasas and Dasyus.

It would need a lengthy argument to say that all humans are one, and all human beings have a common gene called sangene in them. We have to quote extensively from the book Journey of Man by Spencer Wells to prove that first human beings originated in Africa and they are black. Instead we will quote a report in The Hindu, a daily dated December 14 Saturday 2002. There is bad news for those who have notions of racial or intellectual superiority. New genetic evidence collected from across the globe shatters the myths and adds a body of proof to the hypothesis that all people are descended from a single man in Africa, who lived approximately 60,000 years ago. Tune in to National Geographic Channel on TV on Sunday at 9.P.M, and come face to face with evidence gathered by geneticist Spenser Wells and her collaborators including R.M.Pitchaiappan of Madurai Kamaraj University.

The fascinating Journey of Man from Africa to Central Asia, and thereon to Asia, Australia besides separate moves westward to Europe and beyond is all documented in a two hour special. Genetics has a way of mapping biological reality and as Dr.Wells and her fellow scientists studied in places as varied as Artic to the Australian aborigines, they found stunning evidence unraveled by genetic markers. Some of the evidence is found right here at home, as the programme briefly points out. Piramalai Kallars, who form the majority population in Usilampatti and Thirumangalam near Madurai in Tamilnadu, were studied for health reasons by Professor Pitchaiappan initially, but the genetic evidence was leading to other exciting conclusions, that the Piramalai Kallars had the same unique genetic markers as those found in

the African and Australian studies, and markers found in Central Asian people.

Professor Pitchaiappan's findings which were also backed up by similar findings about significant levels of the same gene markers in Yadavas and Saurashtra communities., lead to the postulation of a Cape Comerin route of migration of Man from Africa to Australia. Some evidence also points to markers from Middle Eastern peoples. The study by Piramalai Kallar and other communities which are described by geneticists as sub divided gene pools, points to migratory evidence from genetic markers such as M130 [50,000 years old] and M20, the latter estimated to be 35,000 years old and derived from the former. The ancestors of the Kallars might have expanded from the Middle East, postulates Professor Pitchaiappan who heads the Department of Immunology. Yet other markers like the M172 [found in Baluchis and also Yadhavas] and M17 [found in Central Asians and also in Saurastrians] fuel the excitement that people essentially moved over thousands of years from one part of the globe to another, where they settled down. Features got differentiated due to isolation of the population and climatic factors. Journey of Man unifies the world, and let genetics do the talking, wrote The Hindu Reporter G.Ananthakrishnan.

The spread of human race from Africa is best illustrated in the web pages of www.bradshawfoundation.com, where they show the chart of the spread with time frame. The fact to be borne in mind is that in spite of prejudice destined to disappear as universal reason, scientific progress and information age enlightening our intellect; it seems to be the contrary in Indian society still clinging to caste prejudices.

Our society had failed to root out prejudices. Immanuel Kant described Enlightenment as man's release from self incurred tutelage. We still live under such mental tutelage accepting Aryan supremacy and our inferiority status in caste hierarchy. It is here the argument of Ambedkar assumes great importance. If the Aryan race theory is buried its counter theory the Dravidian theory too had to go. It would be appropriate here to mention that first Non-Brahmin Movement came into existence. Then it assumed the name of Self Respect Movement before settling for the word Dravidian movement. Dravidian movement is an uprising against the oppressors and their theory of supremacy on earth by birth with religious sanction. Therefore Dravidian movement could be placed among the human emancipation movements all through the human history.

The word India, Hindu and Indus came from the Indus Valley civilization, which is beyond an iota of doubt is Dravidian civilization. Hence usage of Hindu and Hinduvta by the Aryan camp aims to mislead the indigenous people of this sub continent to bring all under the Aryan umbrella, so there will be constant attacks on the weak links or missing links in history to prove the Brahminical religion as Hindu religion, not allowing to retrieve the other elements like Naga worship or Murugan worship to establish they were different but woven into mythologies to create a façade of one religion. When Dr.Subramanian Swamy wrote an article in The Frontline dated July 18-2003 to blast the Dravidian Movement, only two leaders from Dravidian movement wrote a rejoinder, one being then General Secretary of Dravida Kazhagam K.Veeramani and me. Let me quote few paragraphs from what I wrote

“All humans are one and scientific studies have revealed that there exists a common gene in all

human beings and that common gene is called sangene. The mapping of human genes for 50 years had thrown more light on the oneness of humanity, as theories of continental drift, especially the map fit theory, had proved beyond an iota of doubt that all continents were held together once and drifted. So to make all brains free from superiority complex and accept that humanity is one and the world is one, science had to unearth mysteries. The common gene in every human being had also proven that the theories of race are culture oriented. While race is disproved both Aryan and Dravidian theories have to die. Perhaps Dr.Swamy wants the Aryan concept too to die and if that were the case, one can welcome to some extent his wishful thinking. The Second World War waged by Hitler propounding the supremacy of the Aryan race, which he demonstrated with the killings of millions of Jews, still reminds us that whoever claims superiority over fellow beings in the name of his race of birth will be taught a befitting lesson by mankind.”

Dr.Ambedkar says that the theory of Aryan race is just an assumption and nothing more. It is based on the philological proposition put forth by Dr.Bopp in his epoch-making book called the Comparative Grammar which appeared in 1835. In this book Dr.Bopp demonstrated that a greater number of languages in Europe and some languages in Asia must be referred to common ancestral speech. The European languages and the Asiatic languages to which Dr.Bopp’s proposition applied are called Indo-Germanic. Collectively they have come to be called the Aryan languages because Vedic language refers to Aryans and is also the same family as the Indo Germanic. This assumption is the major premise on which the theory of Aryan race is based “

It will also be appropriate that Robert Caldwell's Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages published in 1860 led to the emergence of the word Dravidian race that speaks Dravidian languages. Hence in the light of scientific evidences that prove race is illusionary concept, we have to understand the struggle between Dravidian versus Aryan as struggle between languages. At the moment more than 73 Dravidian languages have been identified and in the quest to find the common language of humanity, within the Nostratic School, there are two strong contenders from Dravidian and Aryan language families.

The grammatical principle laid out in Tholkappiam which dates back to 2872 years to eschew Sanskrit letters and use chaste Tamizh, according to scholars is the day the foundations for Dravidian movement is laid. It began as a fight between Tamizh and Sanskrit, which continued in different forms all through these centuries.

It would be beyond the scope of this paper to discuss Aryanization or Sanskritization of India where other cultural identities got lost, but the script Devanagari used for Hindi demonstrates that Naga script had been adopted for languages without a script on its own. To clear many a confusion books in Pali language or Prakirutham apart from ancient Tamizh have to be dealt in detail. So we leave it here after proving the Pan-Indian nature of Nagas now reduced to Nagaland, a tiny state in North Eastern part of Indian subcontinent.

The British Interregnum

On the question of British and their connection with Nagas, Kaka D.Iralu says "The Naga people were independent and their country was not subjugated by

Ahom kings of the Assam valley, who ruled for 700 years. The Naga Hills never formed part of Assam or India at any time before the advent of the British. Little was known of Nagaland when British obtained suzerainty over the Assam valley by the Treaty of Yandabu. The British first attacked the Naga people in 1839 but the fight went on for fifty years till the Ao Naga country was taken over in 1889. Since then Naga people have remained loyal, friendly and peaceful. In the First World War, thousands of Naga people served in distant France to help the British and Allied cause. In Second World War when the Japanese attempted to invade India through the Naga Hills, it was the cooperation of the Nagas both in intelligence and jungle warfare which enabled the British to halt the invasion at Kohima, thus saving Assam and rest of India from devastations of war. These freedom loving Nagas took with His Majesty's Government and Government of India to do the just and proper thing and grant them their just demand for setting up an Interim Government of the Naga people."

The first ever attempt by Naga people rallied under the banner of Naga club at Kohima was to submit a memorandum to Simon Commission on 10 th January 1929. In that memorandum they state "Before the British Government conquered our country in 1879-1880, we were living in a state of intermittent warfare with the Assamese of Assam Valley to the North and West of our country and the Manipuris to the South. They never conquered us, nor were we subjected to their rule. On the other hand, we were always a terror to these people. Our country within the administered areas consists of more than 8 tribes, quite different from one another with quite different languages which cannot be understood by each other, and there are more tribes outside the administered area which are not known at present. We have no unity among us and it is only the British Government that is holding

us together now. Our education at present is poor. The occupation of our country by the British Government being so recent as 1880, we had no chance or opportunity to improve in education and though we can boast of two or three graduates of an Indian University in our country, we have not got one yet who is able to represent all our different tribes or master our languages much less one to represent us in any council or province. Moreover, our population numbering 10, 2000 is very small in comparison with the population of plain districts in the province, and any representation that may be allotted to us in the council will be negligible and will have no weight whatever. Our language is quite different from those of the plains and we have no social affinities with Hindus or Muslims. We are looked down upon by the one for our beef and other for our pork, and by both for want of education which is not due to any fault of ours. [This reminds me of the agitation by Rationalist Association of Puducherry in 1978 when in public we ate beef and pork and declared we are neither Hindus nor Muslims but are Dravidians] Our country is poor and it does not pay for its administrations. Therefore if it is continued to be placed under the Reformed Scheme we are afraid that new and heavy taxes will have to be imposed on us and when we cannot pay them all our lands will have to be sold and in the long run we shall have no share in the land of our birth and life will not be worth living then. Though our land at present is within British territory, Government have always recognized our private rights in it, but if we are forced to enter the council of majority all these rights may be extinguished by the unsympathetic council, the majority of whose number is sure to belong to the plain districts.

We also have much fear the introduction of foreign laws and customs to supersede our own customary laws which we now enjoy. For the above reasons we

pray that the British Government will continue to safeguard our rights against all encroachments from other people who are more advanced than us by withdrawing our country from the Reformed Scheme and placing it under its own protection. If the British Government, however, wants to throw us away, we pray that we should not be thrust to the mercy of the people who could never have conquered us by themselves and to whom we were never subjected, but to leave us alone to determine for ourselves as in ancient times. We claim, not only members of the Naga Club, to represent all those tribes to which we belong- Angamis, Kacha Nagas, Kukis, Semas, Lothas and Rengmas “ This memorandum was signed by Nihu of Angami tribe and 19 others.

Meanwhile Indian Constituent Assembly in 1946 constituted a sub committee for the North Eastern region with Gopinath Bordoloi as Chairman, N.V.Thakar, B.N.Rao [Secretary], Rev.Nicholas Roy, T.Aliba Imti and two co-opted members Pu Khawtinkhuma and Pu Saprawgna. This sub committee met in Shillong and all other members except one signed to join the Indian Union. The President of Naga National Council T.Aliba Imti refused to sign and staged a walk out. This is also a noteworthy historical event in the Naga struggle.

On 19 th February 1947, the Naga National Council passed a resolution in which it stated ‘Anyone who turns his eyes on the map of India will find Assam as the eastern most part of the sub- continent and one of her eastern districts is the present Naga Hills. That district was carved out of arbitrarily for administrative purposes. But the Naga people are spread over a wider area, and they are to be found in the Naga Hills district proper, the un-administered area between Assam and Burma, in the small native state of Manipur in Assam, in the north Cachar hills and even

in contiguous parts of Burma. The area covered by the Naga people will thus extend to some thirty thousand square miles, though the Naga Hills District [administered portion] alone covers an area of 4000 square miles.

A delegation of 9 Naga leaders including A.Z.Phizo met Mahatma Gandhi at Bhanghi colony Delhi on July 19th 1947 “If Mahatma Gandhi had been a living man today there would not have arisen the necessity for the Nagas to take a nation wide Plebiscite on their stand for independence. Mahatma Gandhi considered it was within their lawful right for the Nagas to be independent, if desired of India. Making this statement, the Mahatma expressed his readiness to stake his life in defense of Naga right as well as of India’s honor, for he felt India had no right to make a forcible incorporation of Nagaland within Indian Union”, writes Kaka D.Iralu

“Prior to 1947 the Naga National Council had communicated its wishes both to India and Britain and the world that it would form a sovereign democratic Republic called Nagaland. When India refused to recognize these rights the Naga National Council declared Nyasaland’s independence on 14th August 1947.” Says Iralu.

The interim constitution of Nagaland, who had declared independence from India, was adopted at Wokha on 25th October 1947. A.Z.Phizo was arrested on 19th July 1948 and the letter he wrote from prison demonstrates his patriotism.

The patriotism of Nagas and their freedom loving spirit could be proved by the Naga refusal to accept the Coupland plan aimed at creation of crown colony. The Naga leader Phizo in his letter to then Indian Governor General C.Rajagopalachari, dated 22 November 1948

wrote; "Our immediate problem was to fight a colonial scheme. It was well known to Indian leaders that British wanted to establish a colony known as North Eastern agency. The best brains of the Nagas were wholeheartedly with the British in the scheme. That was part of their spontaneous loyalty. The British could easily have got 100,000 square miles or more and colonize it, protest or no protest. It was not difficult for them to get even 200,000 square miles because much more than that was in fluid state with the people entirely Pro-British in their attitude. This may appear to be fantastic but a careful study of the area will show the possibility of maintaining two parts.

One is Manngdow-Buthidannj region with Chittakong to be a free port for some time as the British cannot think of a state without an outlet of seaport. Then, the other one is the Moulmein-Tavoy region to the sea where the well known loyal British made Karens predominate with Mons and other hill people. Above Tenesarim division there are Shan and the Shan states, then Chins and Kachins with the Karens who form the best soldiers in Burma and who were loyal to the British. They would choose living in a British colony than in an independent Burma. In upper Burma the portion towards Myitkina region of Hukong-Mogok Valley, then towards Assam through Naga territory including Kabaw Valley with Manipur state [two thirds of the state belong to hill men] then Lushai Hills down to Chittakong Hill tracts of Maungdaw-Buthidannj region to the sea. Further up towards Sadiya there are Abore, Miris and Mishmis and Tirap frontier. All this, if it were made a reality with the full support of the hill people could have become a state of some importance from the very day of its birth without having to worry about internal disturbances from the very inception as people have a brotherly feeling toward one another." This is the letter of A.Z.Phizo who became later President of Naga

National Council from 1950-1990. This shows the deep desire of Naga leaders to be independent of either British or Indian rule. The pro-British sympathy or gratitude towards British stems from the fact that education denied by Vedic Aryans was first time thrown open to tribal people.

The Government of India took many steps to retain Nagaland within Indian Union. The following Pact was in that direction. The Naga problem as viewed from the Government of India's side and its conflict resolution attempts need to be mentioned here. Sir Akbar Hydari, Governor of Assam arrived at a Pact with Naga leaders on June 1947.

Judicial 'All cases whether civil or criminal arising between Nagas in the Naga Hills will be disposed of by duly constituted Naga courts according to Naga customary law or such law as may be introduced with the consent of duly recognized Naga representative organizations, save that where a sentence of transportation or death has been passed there will be a right of appeal to the Governor.

Executive: The general principle is accepted that what the Naga council is prepared to pay for the Naga Council should control. This principle will equally apply to the work done as well as the staff employed. While the District Officer will be appointed at the discretion of the Governor, sub divisions of the Naga Hills should be administered by a Sub Divisional Council with a full time Executive President paid by the Naga council for all matters falling within their responsibility. In regard to Agriculture- the Naga Council will exercise all the powers now vested with the District Officer. [b] CWD: The Naga Council would take over full control [c] Education and Forest Department: The Naga Council is prepared to pay for all the services and staff.

Legislative : That no laws passed by the provincial or central legislature which would materially affect the terms of this agreement or the religious practices of the Nagas shall have legal force in the Naga Hills without the consent of the Naga Council. In cases of dispute as to whether any law did so affect this agreement the matter would be referred by the Naga Council to the Governor who would then direct that the law in question should not have legal force in the Naga Hills pending the decision of the Central Government.

Land: The land with all its resources in the Naga Hills should not be alienated to a Non-Naga without the consent of the Naga council.

Taxation: The Naga Council will be responsible for the imposition, collection and expenditure of land revenue and house tax and such other taxes as may be imposed by the Naga Council.

Boundaries : The present administrative divisions should be modified as to bring back into the Naga Hills district all the forests transferred to the Sibsagar and Nowgong Districts in the past and to bring under one unified administrative unit as far as possible all nagas. All the areas so included would be within the scope of the present proposed agreement. No areas should be transferred out of Naga Hills without the consent of Naga Council.

Arms Act: The Deputy Commissioner will act on the advice of the Naga Council in accordance with the provisions of Arms Act.

Regulations: The Chin Hills regulations and the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulations will remain in force.

Period of the Agreement: The Governor of Assam as the Agent of the Government of Indian Union will have special responsibility for a period of 10 years to ensure the due observance of this agreement, at the end of this period the Naga Council will be asked whether they require the above agreement to be extended for a further period or a new agreement regarding the future of the Naga people arrive at.'

Certain clauses were interpreted differently by both sides. Nagas claimed their right to secede after 10 years and India insisting that is not correct interpretation. Finally the agreement was discarded in 1951. In between on 30 th December 1949 the Naga National Council which was the administrative authority in the Naga Hills excluded area, announced a Sovereign State of Nagaland. July 4 of 1954 the Naga Supreme Court was set up. January 14 th of 1956 the Naga Constitution approved, so goes of the various acts aimed in furtherance of the cause of freedom by the rebel Nagas, while Government exhausted various ideas to keep Nagaland within Indian Union. Indian Government handed over the responsibility to the Indian Army in 1956. Assam Maintenance of Public Order 1953, Assam Disturbed Areas Act 1955, Armed Forces[Special Powers}regulations 1958, Armed Forces [Assam, Manipur] special Power Ordinance 1958, Nagaland Security regulation 1962 and so many acts, so many battles, so much blood shed, yet Naga problem remains without a logical conclusion and reasonable solution.

Let us take a break here and land in 2008 to know the position of the Nagaland, a truncated state, not the one it was in fifties, having been divided into Assam, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland states

within India and Myanmar owning its own share of Nagas land.

President Rule in Nagaland-2008

On January 6th of 2008 Allaying fears that President's Rule might provide free hand to armed forces, Nagaland Governor K Shankaranarayan has said maintenance of law and order would be his top priority." President's Rule means civil rule, not army rule, where the civil administration, police and governor have to run the government efficiently and smoothly," he said in view of some political parties and organizations' assertion that President's Rule meant army rule leading to sufferings of the people. Addressing a security co-ordination meeting at police headquarters yesterday, the governor asked the police and paramilitary forces to remain alert. Reports the Press Trust of India's news.

Thepfulhouvi Solo, a political commentator in Nagaland Post wrote; 'The President Rule in the State is not something to be proud of as some Politicians may welcome it gloriously; it is not something as evil as some other Politicians may condemn it. If the President Rule is welcome, it is not the Electorates that have brought it; if it is unwelcome it is not the common Citizens that are responsible for it. Whether good or evil; whether one likes it or not, it is our political Representatives that are responsible for the President Rule in Nagaland. It has come about not due to this or that Citizens becoming Unruly or Violent; it came because our political Representatives did not carry on the democratic processes.'

It is regrettable, our political Representatives have not brought honor to Nagas and we are not very proud of them for this. It appears the precious Naga independent differing opinion from fellowman without

intention to oppose is getting eroded in today's Naga politics and any differing opinion is construed as opposition to other's self-preservation. It is unfortunate the people and the Media describe Party not in the Government as "Opposition Group" as if everything in them is for Opposition. It is regrettable Nagas cannot differ and get along in good nature with one another without being taken as a foe; Can we differ in opinions but not opponent to one another?

President Rule is a Stopgap device, at worst a democratic step: It is not "Army Rule" though the President is the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. President Rule does not continue for years indefinitely, otherwise a pleasant tendency develops in the 'Servants' to behave like Ministers and behave like the Master of the Feast! President Rule is an interim device modern Democracy has devised to introduce democratic Processes of Government in the State. Fortunately in Nagaland the Assembly Election is just at the corner and it is hoped nothing extraneous would arise necessitating the continuance of the President Rule beyond the necessary time.

This is the situation of Nagaland today but at same time from the side of insurgents there are certain disturbance developments.

Three separatist rebel groups in India's northeast have launched a fresh initiative in 2007 to activate a pan-Mongoloid grouping it had floated in 1990 for a joint revolutionary struggle in the Indo-Myanmar region..

In 2006 at Thailand rebel leaders from the northeast met secretly to revamp the Indo-Burma Revolutionary Front (IBRF). Kughalo Mulatonu, a top leader of the S.S. Khaplang faction of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN-K) declared to the media. The IBRF

was formed on May 22, 1990, by a frontline rebel group in Manipur, the United National Liberation Front (UNLF), along with other insurgent groups operating in the region like the NSCN-K and the United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA). The coalition was then aimed at waging a 'united struggle for the independence of Indo-Burma', but failed to act as a cohesive grouping and gradually became defunct.

'Representatives from the NSCN-K, ULFA and the UNLF attended the meeting in Thailand. Other groups like the People's Liberation Army, People's Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (Prepak) and the Kanglei Yawol Kanna Lup (KYKL), all operating in Manipur state, have also expressed their desire to come under the grouping,' Mulatonu said. Asked whether the rebel groups have plans to intensify their insurrection against the government under a common platform, Mulatonu said: 'The idea is not to launch a joint campaign against India or Burma (Myanmar). The idea is to usher in greater unity among the people in the region.'

The NSCN-K leader, however, warned that if India and Myanmar were to push the rebels to the wall with continued military offensives, they would be compelled to strike back with a vengeance. 'If we are not disturbed, we shall work for unity among those living in the region under our new grouping that will be a federal front,' Mulatonu said. The grouping will have a new name. 'We are awaiting opinions from our other likely partners like the PLA, Prepak and KYKL before we formalize the nomenclature and other details of the grouping,' the rebel leader said.

Coalitions among insurgent groups in the northeast have come up from time to time, mainly to act as force multipliers to offset the sustained and coordinated counter-insurgency operations by the security forces.

In the mid-90s, the Isak-Muivah faction of the NSCN had taken the initiative to form similar fronts. The idea was aimed at turning its war against the Indian state into a war of the nationalities of the region. To achieve this objective, the NSCN (IM) formed the ULFSS (United Liberation Front of Seven Sisters) in 1993 and SDUFSEHR (Self-Defense United front of the South-East Himalayan Region) in November 1994. These two groupings too do not seem to be active now. [Syed Zarir Hussain]

CONCLUSION:

Among the various proposals put forth to resolve the Naga problem, a fresh idea attracted my attention. By an unknown author in net it says ““Soon after Pakistan came into existence in 1947, irregular armed raiders from Pakistan infiltrated into Kashmir with a view to take control over it by force. In terms of the Indian Independence Act 1947, the then ruler of Jammu and Kashmir signed deed of accession to India. As a result, in law, Jammu and Kashmir became an integral part of India. Thereupon, the Indian government sent its forces and pushed the infiltrators out from the Kashmir valley.

As a gesture of goodwill to the people of Kashmir and confident that they were with India, the Indian leadership ordered cease fire and offered plebiscite, provided Pakistan vacated the territory still in its illegal occupation. Pakistan never vacated it and kept pressing for plebiscite. To press its demand, it has been encouraging infiltration of armed terrorists in Kashmir.

According to India, since Pakistan never vacated the territory in its illegal occupation, the plebiscite has become in fructuous and Kashmir has now become an integral part of India. This dispute has led to three

wars between India and Pakistan, and ongoing tension on the line of control. The people of Kashmir are being subjected to violence, terrorism and instability.

Soon after the formation of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the Chinese totalitarian government entered Tibet, then an independent nation of peace loving religious people of ethnic origin different from that of the people of China, and claimed sovereignty over it. Since then, Dalai Lama, the religious leader of Tibet and over hundred thousand people have been living as refugees in India. The Chinese totalitarian government also created a border dispute with India and occupied chunks of India abutting China. The people of China, abused by the totalitarian regime, are not supporting these misdeeds of the Chinese totalitarian government. Pakistan has, in gratitude for China's support to it, handed over portions of Kashmir in its illegal occupation to China. The issues of Kashmir and Tibet have thus got intertwined.

The vibrant Naga tribal community of Northeast India has been struggling for its identity. Part of the territory traditionally belonging to it is presently in India and part in Myanmar. It has been demanding unification of the two territories as a Naga identity.

Pakistan, China, Myanmar and India should realize that nationhood means people, not real estate. Every ethnic identity has a right to control its local resources and decision-making. The people of Kashmir and Tibet have been living in instability and terrorism, many of them in refugee camps in India, for the last half a century. The tribal Nagas are losing their identity, accelerated by the influx of refugees from Bangladesh. A solution honorable to all needs to be evolved urgently.

Autonomy under joint suzerainty

A legitimate resolution for these conflicts can be:

(1) Integrated Kashmir, that is the portion under India and that illegally occupied by Pakistan and a portion given by it to China, may be offered autonomy under the joint suzerainty of India and Pakistan, provided the minority communities votes in its favor, and autonomous Kashmir institutes true democracy. While exercising its veto, the Hindu and Buddhist minority communities can demand full protection, return of their properties and insist on true local empowerment so that their rights are not subverted. Jammu and Ladhak can choose through referendum to remain with India.

(2) Tibet may be offered autonomy under the joint suzerainty of China and India, and integrated Naga territory autonomy under the joint suzerainty of India and Myanmar provided they too agree to institute true democracy through referendum.

(3) Operationally, joint suzerainty will imply that Kashmir, Tibet and Nagaland cannot have their own military. The nations exercising joint suzerainty over them shall position their military attachés in their capitals to oversee that neither of them nor any third nation violates their territorial integrity.

(4) In true democracy, every local entity is autonomous in local matters while the national government provides security. The above arrangement will be in keeping with the spirit of such true democracy. Since Pakistan has handed over a part of Kashmir to China, the decision for Kashmir and Tibet shall be as a package. Kashmir, Tibet and Nagaland

can then prosper as peace zones between the four nations.

Since India liberated Bangladesh from exploitation by Pakistan, Bangladesh clearly can have no threat from India. After its formation, Bangladesh suffered military rule for long periods. As a result of mismanagement and abuse, over one crore Bangladeshies, both Muslim and Hindu, have illegally migrated into India. Since India was its liberator, Bangladesh may seek India's suzerainty, reduce its military, institute true democracy, and dedicate itself to national reconstruction. If joint suzerainty over Kashmir and Tibet is adopted, India and Pakistan too can reduce their military, and through true local empowerment, dedicate themselves to national reconstruction.

The global society should support the people of China and Myanmar in their struggle for liberation from their totalitarian regimes and instituting true democracy. Sri Lanka too should resolve its Tamil discord by instituting true democracy in which local entities control local resources and decision-making. This will make South Asia a confederation of self-reliant, peace loving local governments. These are bold suggestions born in the mind of independent thinkers but it will not give any wisdom to the leaders in power in the three great neighboring countries nor will satiate the struggle groups, and both sides will be sticking to their demands and living in their world of dreams with the resolve not to solve a problem evading a solution after so many decades of blood bath, we can only shed tears for those who lost their lives be it our security forces or the insurgents, DMK, was termed as Tear Drops by Periyar E.V.Ramasamy, hence we shed tears for Nagaland and our Dravidian nagas who had become Mongoloid due to accidents of history.

N.Nandhivarman

KACHCHATIVU: ISLAND LOST



MG/241/2000 KADIRAVAN சென்னை 8-8-2000 செவ்வாய்க்கிழமை (ஆடி 24) வரிஜூர் 1

இந்திய கடல் எல்லையை வரையறுத்து கச்சத் தீவை மீட்க வேண்டும் 350 எம்.பி.க்களிடம் நந்திவர்மன் கோரிக்கை

பாண்டிச்சேரி, ஆக. 8-

திராவிடப் பேரவையின் பொது செயலாளர் ந.நந்திவர்மன் டெல்லி சென்றிருந்தார். டெல்லி சென்ற திராவிடப் பேரவைப் பொதுச்செயலாளர் இந்தியக் கடல் எல்லை இப்போதுள்ள 20 கடல் மைலில் இருந்து 300 மைல்கள் வரை விரிவாக்கம் செய்து புதிய எல்லையை வரையறுக்க வேண்டும் என்ற கோரிக்கையை ஆங்கிலத்திலும் இந்தியிலும் சிறிய புத்தகமாகி இந்திய பாராளுமன்ற உறுப்பினர்கள் சுமார் 300 பேருக்கு கொடுத்து ஆதரவு திட்டினார். ஐக்கிய நாடுகள் சபை நிறைவேற்றியுள்ள அலுவலகக் கடல் எல்லைத் தளத்தின் 1990 இல் அங்கீகரித்தனர் எனது.

இருக்கபோதிலும் இன்று வரை அந்த சட்டப்படி புதிய கடல் எல்லையை வரையறை செய்ய ஐ.நா சபைக் இந்தியா அளிக்கவில்லை. இப்போதுள்ள கடல் எல்லை விரிவாக்கம் ஆழ்கடல் மீன்பிடிப்பு அதன் மூலம் பெருமளவு அன்னியசேவா வணி வலுவாய் இந்தியாவுக்கு கிடைக்கப்படும். அரபிக் கடல் பகுதியில் நமது எல்லை ஒமன் நாட்டு எல்லை வரை செல்வதால் நமது கடல் எல்லைக்குள் எண்ணெய் வளம் கூட இந்தியாவிற்குக் கிடைக்க முடியும்.

புதிய எல்லை வரையறை செய்யப்பட்டால் 9 மில்லியன் கிராம மைல்கள் கூடுதலாக இந்திய பொருளாதார மண்டலமாக விரிவடைய முடியும்.

இப்படி புதியதாக கடல் எல்லை வரையறை செய்யும் போது நெருக்கடி காலத்தில் பாராளுமன்றத்தையோ தமிழக அரசையோ கவந்து ஆலோசிக்காமல் தன்னிச்சையாக மத்திய மந்திரிகள் இலங்கைக்கு தாண்டவாழ்த்துக் கொடுத்த கச்சத்தீவை நாம் மீண்டும் கோர முடியும். அப்போது பாராளுமன்றத்தில் கச்சத் தீவு பற்றி பேசிய வாஜ்பாய் கச்சத் தீவின் பழைய பெயர் வாலி தீபம் என்றும் அங்கு நாம் வாலியோடு இராமன் சண்டையிட்டான் என்றும் இந்தியில் பேசியுள்ளார்.

அதனை அப்படியே அச்சிட்டு தத்து பாரதிய ஜனதா பாராளுமன்ற உறுப்பினர்களிடம் நந்திவர்மன் விளக்கி கூறினார்.

பாஜ. இந்திய மார்க்சிஸ்ட் கட்சியினிடம் கூடீசி, திரிணாமுல் காங்கிரஸ், ஜே.டி.உதகமணம், புரட்சிகர சோசலிஸ்ட் கட்சி, பார்வாட்சினாக், பாட்டாசி மக்கள் கட்சி, ம.தி.மு.க தேசியவாத காங்கிரஸ், மற்றும் தி.மு.க., பாராளுமன்ற உறுப்பினர்களிடம் ஆதரவு கோரினார்.

ஜாஜ் பெர்னாண்டஸ் உறுதி
இந்திய பாதுகாப்பு மந்திரி ஜாஜ் பெர்னாண்டஸ் அவரது இலங்கைத் தீவுக்குப் பேசினார்.

அப்போது காங்கிரஸ் அமைச்சரவை யில் தீர்ப்பான அமைச்சராக இருந்த டாக்டர் கே.எஸ்.ராமன் கங்கை காவிரி இணைப்புக்கு 12,000 கோடியில் திட்டம் வகுத்திருந்தார். அதனை எந்த அரசும் நிறைவேற்றவில்லை.

தேசிய ஜனநாயக முன்னணிவிகள் தேர்தல் அறிக்கையில் கங்கை காவிரி இணைப்பு இடம் பெற்றது. இருக்க

போதிலும் இதுவரை இத்திட்டம் தொடங்கப்படவில்லை. இமாலய நதிகள் இணைப்பில் சில தொழிற் திட்ட சிக்கல்களுக்கு தீர்வுகளை வேண்டியுள்ளது.

ஆனால் தென்னை நதிகளான மகா நதி, கோதாவரி, கிருஷ்ணா முதல் காவிரி வரை இணைக்க 33,000 கோடியில் திட்டம் மத்திய தீர்வு அமைச்சகத்தால் இறுதிப்பாக்கப்பட்டு விட்டது.

இதையாவது முதலில் தொடங்க வேண்டும் என திராவிடப் பேரவைப் பொதுச் செயலாளர் மத்திய பாதுகாப்பு மந்திரியிடம் வலியுறுத்திய போது மத்திய பாதுகாப்பு மந்திரி ஜாஜ் பெர்னாண்டஸ் கூடந்த வாரம் பிரதமர் உள்ளிட்ட உயர் மந்திரிகள் கூட்டத்தில் இது விவாதிக்கப்பட்ட தகவல் பிரதமர் இறுதியறிக்கையை தீர்வு அமைச்சகத்திடம் கோரியுள்ளதாகவும் விளரவில்லை. மத்திய அரசு தேசிய நதிகள் இணைப்பு பற்றியும் செப்திமைய நாட்டுக்கு அறிவிக்கும் என்றும் ஜாஜ் பெர்னாண்டஸ் உறுதி யளித்தார்.

சேது சமுத்திரத் திட்டத்திற்கு 180 ஆண்டுகளுக்குப் பிறகு தே.ஜ.மு.அரசு உயிருட்டியுள்ள போதிலும் போதுமான நிதி ஒதுக்கவில்லை எனறு நந்திவர்மன் குறைபட்டுக் கொண்ட போது சேது சமுத்திரத் திட்டம் தனியார் மூலம் பி.ஒ.டி.முறையில் செயல்படுத்தப்படும் என்றும் அண்மையில் பிரான்ஸ் சென்ற போது வழியில் பிரான்ஸ் நகரில் இது தொடங்க வேண்டிய தகவல் திச்யம் இத்திட்டம் நிறைவேற்றப்படும் என்றும் வாக்குறுதி அளித்தார்.

"We are tracing the Kachchativu conflict from its past to present"Dravida Peravai

In Indian Parliament on July 23, 1974 Government of India made a statement on :

THE RE-AGREEMENT BETWEEN INDIA AND SRILANKA ON BOUNDARY IN THE HISTORIC WATERS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES AND RELATED MATTERS

Then Minister of External Affairs Mr.Swaran Singh will make a statement, The Hon'ble Speaker of the Lok Sabha announced.

Mr.Madhu Limayi M.P (Banka constituency) rose and said " On point of order, I had already given notice." Mr.K.Manoharan M.P(DMK Parliamentary Party Leader): "Each member must be given proper opportunity to express his views".

Mr.Era.Sezhiyan M.P (DMK): Before the Hon'ble Minister makes his statement, I want to submit that we should have been consulted and the House should have been taken into confidence before they entered into this unholy agreement for the surrender of territory by India. While we are anxious that friendly and cordial relations should be maintained with Srilanka the legal and constitutional properties involved have to be taken into account. This agreement goes against the interests of the country since it amounts to pure surrender of our territory without going through any norms. This is an unholy and disgraceful act of statesmanship unworthy of any government. Therefore we do not want to associate ourselves with the statement that is going to be made by the Hon'ble Minister, and we want to disassociate ourselves by walking out of the House.

K.Manoharan.M.P (DMK): Please allow one member from each party to express his views. We have decided

to stage a walk out and therefore before we walk out we want to tell you the reasons which have prompted us to walk out. The agreement entered into between Srilanka Government and the Government of India is anti national and unpatriotic, it is the worst agreement ever signed by any civilized country of the world. I do not like to insult or hurt the feelings of either the people of Srilanka or the Prime Minister of Srilanka.

Hon'ble Speaker: Hon.members are going to have a debate on foreign affairs when they can raise all these points.

K.Manoharan M.P(DMK) : I must be permitted to speak now. Through this unholy agreement, the Srilanka Prime Minister has emerged as victor and the Prime Minister of India as a pathetic vanquished. It is an assault on the integrity of the country. In view of this, we have decided to stage a walk out and we are walking out.

Mr.Speaker: " He has a right to make a statement in the House"

Then in Hindi spoke Mr.ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE, Member of Parliament from Gwalior. In his speech he claimed that the original name of Kaccha Theevu was Valideep, an island where Sri Rama and Vali fought.

After exchanges in Hindi, the turn of another Tamil Nadu Member came.

P.K.THEVAR M.P. (Forward Block) (Ramanathapuram): Kachchativu forms part of my constituency. You are acting like a dictator. You are speaking like a democrat, but at the same time you are acting like a dictator. The whole life of thousands of fishermen..... today the Ceylon Government has

moved their forces, their military, towards that island. Thousands of mechanized boats were stopped, movements were restricted. Their lives are in danger. You have simply betrayed. You have no sympathy and courtesy to consult those people.... It is going to be the basis for future war. It is going to be the base and challenge for the life of the nation. I have to warn all these things because in the past it has been the tradition of our government to give bhoodan of the northern borders. (Interruptions).

Mr. Speaker: Kindly sit down.

Mr.P.K.N.Thevar : The division of India has cost the life of Mahatma Gandhi. It is not a part of Tamil Nadu but it is apart of the holy land of India. You are betraying...On behalf of my constituency and on behalf of the Forward Block, I walk out.

Mr.Muhamed Sheriff (Periakulam): Even on the 1 st April 1968, I produced sufficient records in this House to show that Kachchativu belongs to the Raja of Ramnad. Government has failed to go through these records. I was the elected representative of that constituency here previously. It is a shame on the part of the Government that they have not consulted the people of this place and the Chief Minister of the State. We condemn this action of Government and along with my friends, I also walk out in protest.

(P.K.N.THEVAR & MUHAMMAD SHERIFF THEN LEFT THE HOUSE)

Then Madhu Limayi spoke in Hindi.

After his lengthy speech Mr.P.K.Deo M.P(Kalahandi): One point of order, Sir. The statement that the Foreign Minister is going to make deals with cession of India territory. In this regard, two important issues are

involved. This is the constitutional issue. Article 1 of the Constitution says: " The territory of India shall comprise the territories of the states, The Union Territories specified in the First Schedule, and such other territories as may be required. So further acquisition of territory can be accepted, but nowhere does the constitution provide for cession of even an inch of Indian territory. The Kachchativu controversy was raised only a few years ago by the Ceylonese Government when Bandaranaike came to power. all the Revenue records of the Madras Government corroborate that Kachchativu was a part of the former Ramnad Zamindary and an integral part of this country. So under no circumstances the Government has got any power under the constitution to cede even an inch of our country. Sir they cannot consider this country as Zamindary of the Congress party. A few days back the Coco island which is part of the Andaman group of islands was ceded to Burma. The question of Beru Bari was raised by the previous speaker. Now has come the question of Kachchativu . If we go on ceding our territory like this what will be left of this country? Secondly it is utter contempt and disrespect shown to this House by not taking the House into confidence and facing us with a fait accompli. The shutting out of the views of the opposition parties in this manner is most anti-democratic. So I would say that the statement which is going to be laid on the table of the Loksabha is not worth the paper on which it had been typed. Therefore I would submit that the External Affairs Minister should consider these matters and should not lay the statement on the Table of the House. Otherwise we will be forced to take the extreme step of walking out.

Then ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE intervened and spoke one sentence in Hindi.

Mr.Speaker: " My ruling is that the Minister has a right to make a statement. When the Governments enter into an agreement, that must come before the House. the Members must be informed of what is taking place.

Mr.Sezhiyan: But the agreement is unconstitutional

Mr. Speaker: How can we know it ?

Mr.Atal Bihari Vajpayee:" It is published in the news papers."

Mr. Speaker : " How can the House be seized of the matter unless the Minister makes the statement ?

Mr.Atal Bihari Vajpayee: " Can they violate the Constitution ?"

Mr.Speaker : I have given the ruling. Now, the Minister...

Then Mr.Atal Bihari Vajpapee and another Member intervened. Meanwhile Mr.Kachwai tore up some papers and threw them away. Some members left the House at this stage.

Mr.L.Lakkappan: Sir the tearing of papers by a Hon'ble Member is contempt of the House. I want your ruling on this.

Mr.Speaker: 'My ruling is that tearing of papers is not keeping with decorum or dignity of the House.

THE MINISTER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
MR.SWARAN SINGH :

Over the years, since our independence, there has been a number of questions and discussions in the

House regarding the Island of Kachchativu. Government have of course fully shared this interest and concern of arriving at an early and amicable solution of this long standing matter, and I am happy to say that an agreement was signed between the two Prime Ministers on June 28 th, a copy of which I am laying on the table of the House.

The Island of Kachchativu about 3/4 of a square mile is situated in the Palk Bay. It is about ten and half miles for the nearest landfall in Srilanka and about twelve and half miles from the nearest Indian shore. The Palk Bay which constitutes the historic waters of India and Srilanka is some 10 miles wide at its entrance through the Palk Straits and has an average width of 28 miles. The issue of deciding Indian and Srilankan claims to Kachchativu was closely connected with determining the boundary line between India and Srilanka in the waters of Palk Bay. The entire question of the maritime boundary in the historic waters of the Palk Bay required urgently to be settled keeping in view the claims of the two sides, historical evidence, legal practice and precedent and in the broader context of our growing friendly relations with Srilanka. Kachchativu has always been an uninhabited island. Neither Srilanka nor India had any permanent presence there. During the long colonial rule period the question whether Kachchativu was part of India or part of Ceylon was frequently discussed with Governments of the day putting forward claims and counter claims. In recent years both countries had agreed that there should be no unilateral action which would seek to change the undetermined status of Kachchativu pending a final solution to be reached through amicable bilateral efforts.

I would particularly like to draw the attention of Honorable Members to the fact that when two sides

have a good arguable case on a particular issue and the problem cannot be resolved expeditiously through bilateral negotiations, there is inevitably an attempt to seek outside interventions by appeal either to International Court of Justice or to third party arbitration. For our part, we have always been firmly of the view that in any differences with our neighbouring countries, we should seek to resolve them through bilateral discussions without outside interference on the basis of equality and goodwill. It is a matter of satisfaction to us that our Prime Ministers resolve to settle this issue through direct bilateral talks was met with an equally warm response from the Prime Minister of Srilanka and the agreement could be reached in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding.

Exhaustive research of historical and other records was made by our experts on Kachachativu and every available piece of evidence collected from various record offices in India, such as in Tamil Nadu, Goa and Bombay as well as abroad in British and Dutch archives. An intensive examination of evidence and exchange of views took place specially during the past year between senior officers of the two governments. This question of Kachachativu, for reasons I have just explained had necessarily to be dealt with as part of broader question of the boundary in the Palk Bay so as to eliminate the possibility of any further disputes on similar matters in these historic waters.

On the basis of dispassionate examination of the historical records and other evidence and in keeping in mind the legal principles and also keeping in mind our policy and peaceful settlement of disputes, I feel confident that the agreement demarcating the maritime boundary in the Palk Bay will be considered as fair, just and equitable to both countries. At the same time I wish to remind the Hon'ble Members that

in concluding this agreement on rights of fishing, pilgrimage and navigation which both sides have enjoyed in the past, have fully been safeguarded for the future. It would be wrong to see this agreement as a victory for one side or the other. Both the countries have gained as a result of the agreement which is a result of mature statesmanship a victory for the cause of friendship and cooperation in the area. a potential major irritant in relations between the two countries which have remained unresolved over the years has now been removed and both countries can now concentrate on the exploitation of economic and other resources in these, now well defined waters and generally on intensifying cooperation between themselves in various fields. The agreement marks an important step in further strengthening the close ties that bind India and Srilanka.

Mr.M.Kalyanasundaram (CPI): Sir while my party welcomes the agreements reached between Srilanka and India, there are problems to come up during the implementation of the agreement, so far, our fishermen had a right to go even beyond Kachchativu, fish and come back. The Honorable Minister says that these rights are fully protected. But there are problems which we would like our Government to take up with Srilanka and seek their solution for the reason, I submit, there should be a discussion on this statement. I have given notice of a motion. Would request you to allow a discussion on that.

Mr.Speaker : The general debate on foreign affairs is coming up next week.

Mr. Dipen Battacharya (Serampore) : I want to seek one clarification. In the statement he has mentioned that Kachchativu has always been an uninhabited island, but an Hon'ble Member said that it was within his constituency. If that is so, I do not know how it

could be said that it has not been inhabited by any human being ? How could it then be a part of his constituency ?

Mr.M.Kalyanasundaram : The Tamil Nadu Government has a grievance that it has not been consulted properly. May I know what is the actual fact in regard to that ? I also want to know the details about the protection given with regard to fishing rights.

Mr.Swaran Singh: The Honorable Member would no doubt be aware that in the year 1921 when both India and Srilanka were under British rule, fishery line had been decided by the British Government because they had control over both India and Srilanka as well as India. I am sure that the Honorable Members know that the 1921 fishery line was a line which was about three and half miles west of Kachchativu. That is to the western side of the fishery line was the exclusive fishery right of the Indian citizens and to the east of that was the right of Srilankan fisherman. But in spite of that division the fishermen generally were free to fish even round about Kachchativu and they also used the Kachchativu island for drying their nets. As would be known to the House there is no fresh water available there. Mostly they used it for spreading their nets and trying to dry their nets etc.

About the traditional rights, if the Honorable Member goes through the terms of the agreement, a copy of which has been placed on the table of the House, he will get the answer because it is mentioned there that although Srilanka's claims over sovereignty over Kachchativu has been recognized, the traditional rights of Indian fishermen and pilgrims to visit that island will remain unaffected. Similarly the traditional navigation rights exercised by India and Srilanka in

each others waters will remain unaffected (interuptions)

Mr.Speaker: Later on we may have a debate on this but not now. I am not allowing anymore.

(Source: Lok Sabha Debates July 23 1974 Cols 186-201)

This will indicate which party stood where and how far they raised their voices. DMK members fought valiantly in Parliament. DMK Government earned the wrath of the Union Government. In that darkest days of emergency DMK government was dismissed. But almost all Tamil Nadu Governments and parties have raised their voice against bartering of Kachchativu. Years passed. Meanwhile OUTLOOK magazine published a news story which caught the attention of Dravida Peravai.

DEMARCATÉ EXCLUSIVE ECONOMIC ZONE:

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|---|--|
| <p>கடல் எல்லை தீட்டி கட்சத்தீவு தீட்டி கவனிக்குமா வாஜ்பாய் ஆட்சி</p> | <p>Demarcate Exclusive Economic Zone : Regain Katcha Tivu Islands</p> |
| | |
| <p>N. NANDHIVARMAN General Secretary, DRAVIDA PERAVAI 28, Romain Rolland Street, Pondicherry - 605 001. Phone : 0413-224944, E-Mail : nandhi@vsnl.com web sites : www.geocities.com/draavidaperavai http://samata.jumppolitics.com http://draavidaperavai.tamilone.com http://draavidam.tamilone.com</p> | |

REGAIN KACTCHATIVU ISLANDS

Dravida Peravai sent a Memorandum to the Union Minister of External Affairs Mr.Jaswant Singh on 31.07.2000. Personally memorandum was given to the Union Defense Minister George Fernandes.The memorandum in booklet form containing English and Hindi versions were given, mailed, sent to almost all Members of

Parliament in India. The memorandum in verbatim is given below;

Subject: Plea to uphold Indian interests in Exclusive Economic Zone of the Oceans and urgent need to place our claims to demarcate our zone before United Nations Organizations in accordance with the International Law of Seas 1982 regarding...

In a long drawn process through four conventions covering high seas, territorial seas, continental shelf and living marine resources which began in 1958, United Nations Organization had strived to evolve consensus which ended in U.N.O mooting out International Law of Seas 1982. It was ratified by India in 1995.

This Law is a boon to Indian maritime trade, Indian seafood exports, Indian mid-sea oil exploration and more particularly to our Indian fishermen and it is rather unfortunate that Indian Government is making inordinate delays in presenting its case before U.N.O. Though time is still left till 2005, in the interests of boosting Indian economy without wasting a single minute, it is essential, Dravida Peravai urges our government to stake our claim for demarcating our Exclusive Economic Zone.

As per article 76 of the International Law of Seas 1982 " The coastal state shall establish the outer edge of the continental margin wherever the same extends beyond 200 nautical miles from the baselines from which the breadth of the territorial sea is measured. On the submarine ridges, the continental shelf's outer limit shall not exceed 350 nautical miles from the baselines from which the breadth of the sea is measured."

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THIS PROVISION INDIA IS LIKELY TO GAIN 7 to 9 LAKH SQUARE KILOMETERS. It will not be out of context to invoke the comments of Late Ram Manohar Lohia and our beloved Comrade

George Fernandes on the loss of more than 1 lakh square kilometers to our neighbours. This loss can be made good if timely steps are taken to press for our rightful boundaries under the Exclusive Economic Zone.

As a party of the Dravidian Movement we are interested in the revoking of the treaty granting our Kachchativu islands to Srilanka. If the NEW EXCLUSIVE ECONOMIC ZONE COMES INTO OPERATION INDIA AND SRILANKA HAVE TO FRESHLY DEMARCATHE THEIR ZONES. And by natural application of Article 76 of the International Law of Seas India will have to regain Kachchativu. This will also put an end to indiscriminate killing of our Indian fishermen.

(Then the Parliamentary debate of 1974 was quoted verbatim)

We have reproduced the debate with the sole purpose to help the present Government and Parliamentarians gain insight about the views of Thiru. Atal Bihari Vajpayee on Kachchativu.

The External Affairs Minister of the day had agreed that bartering away of Kachchativu is inter linked to the demarcation of our maritime boundary. Now that the time has come in view of the necessity to redraw our maritime boundary Dravida Peravai urges the Union Government

1. To reopen the deplorable agreement signed bypassing the Indian Parliament and without consulting the Tamil Nadu Government. An agreement that intensified the plight of Indian fishermen who fall a prey to the bullets of Srilankan navy in view of the ambiguity prevalent in its definition of our territorial waters.

2.The so called rights of Indian fishermen were never honoured and the Government of India must place a white paper in Indian Parliament on the merciless shootings and killings of fishermen by Srilankan side violating this agreement.

3. The new boundaries as per International Law of Seas 1982 must be redrawn and India should take care to get back Vaalideep, i.e.Kachchativu as called by Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee as an island where legendary Rama and Vaali fought.



4. Without wasting time Indian Government must stake its claim before United Nations for demarcating our territorial waters.

This was distributed, mailed, sent to all Members of Parliament with the help of the personal staff of Comrade George Fernandes." Kathiravan" Tamil daily reported about this . Dravida Kazhagam General Secretary Dr.K.Veeramani visited Dravida Peravai party office on 18.11.2000 in connection with a

meeting of his party. To him Kachchativu issue was brought to notice.

GO TO INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE TO RECLAIM KACHCHATIVU

Dravida Peravai Memorandum to Union Defence Minister on 23.09.2003

There is an urgent need to sue Srilankan Government in the International Court of Justice for compensation to 980 Indian fishermen killed in the International waters, as well as retrieval of the Katcha Theevu. It is will be appropriate to recall the words of our Present Prime Minister in the Parliament on 23 rd July 1974 (cols 186-201), when the then External Affairs Minister Swaran Singh made a statement on the Re Agreement between India and Srilanka on the boundary in the historical waters between the two countries and related matters.

Hon'ble Atal Bihari Vajpayee who strongly condemned the bartering away of Katcha Theevu, had said that the old mythological name for Katcha Theevu is VALI DEEP, the island where legendary Rama fought a mythological Vali. Dravida Peravai now reminds the Government headed by the same Atal Bihari Vajpayee to fulfill what he had once demanded while he was in opposition; namely retrieval of the Katcha Theevu islands from the Srilankan government. The lives of 980 of our fishermen is lost due to this agreement imposed during the darkest days of emergency and it is time that we scrap this agreement or take it to the International Court of Justice to get due compensation for our fishermen.

There has been precedents in international inter country matters where issues have been taken to the International Court of Justice.1). In the English

Channel there is a rocky island known as Minquiers-Enrou. They are far away from the British coast and were closer to the French coast. Since it was near its international waters France staked the claim over that island. Britain showed the documents in its possession and the basis of the documents in 1953 the International Court of Justice decided that this island belongs to Britain. As in this case the documentary proof will be in our favour and we will retrieve KachachaTivu, if we approach the Court.2) An island Clipperton which was closer to Mexican coast actually belonged to France, and since it was far away from French soil no one visited there and hence Mexico claimed right over these islands. But the International Court of Justice decided in the favour of France.

3). Near Philippines an island Palmas was in the possession of Spain. Spain one fine morning handed over that island to America. But Netherlands had rights over that island much before Spain had, and in view of this when this matter came before the Court, the Court decided in favour of Netherlands.

These are past precedents. We have recent judgments too wherein decisions by International Court of Justice had been impartial and in the interests of natural justice. Let me quote about a recent judgment in 2002.

The International Court of Justice, principal judicial organ of the United Nations, has today given (17.11.2002) Judgment in the case concerning sovereignty over Pulau Ligitan and Pulau Sipadan (Indonesia/Malaysia). In its Judgment, which is final, without appeal and binding for the Parties, the Court finds, by 16 votes to 1, that "sovereignty over Pulau Ligitan and Pulau Sipadan belongs to Malaysia". Ligitan and Sipadan are two very small islands located

in the Celebes Sea, off the northeast coast of the island of Borneo.

Reasoning of Court: The Court begins by recalling the complex historical background of the dispute between the Parties. It then examines the titles invoked by them. Indonesia's claim to sovereignty over the islands is based primarily on a conventional title, the 1891 Convention between Great Britain and the Netherlands. Indonesia, thus, maintains that that Convention established the 4° 10' north parallel of latitude as the dividing line between the British and Dutch possessions in the area where Ligitan and Sipadan are situated. As the disputed islands lie to the south of that parallel, "[I]t therefore follows that under the Convention title to those islands vested in the Netherlands, and now vests in Indonesia". Malaysia, for its part, asserts that the 1891 Convention, when seen as a whole, clearly shows that Great Britain and the Netherlands sought by the Convention solely to clarify the boundary between their respective land possessions on the islands of Borneo and Sebatik, since the line of delimitation stops at the easternmost point of the latter island. After examining the 1891 Convention, the Court finds that the Convention, when read in context and in the light of its object and purpose, cannot be interpreted as establishing an allocation line determining sovereignty over the islands out to sea, to the east of the island of Sebatik, and as a result the Convention does not constitute a title on which Indonesia can found its claim to Ligitan and Sipadan. The Court states that this conclusion is confirmed both by the travaux préparatoires and by the subsequent conduct of the parties to the Convention. The Court further considers that the cartographic material submitted by the Parties in the case does not contradict that conclusion.

Having rejected this argument by Indonesia, the Court turns to consideration of the other titles on which Indonesia and Malaysia claim to found their sovereignty over the islands of Ligitan and Sipadan. The Court determines whether Indonesia or Malaysia obtained a title to the islands by succession. The Court begins in this connection by observing that, while the Parties both maintain that the islands of Ligitan and Sipadan were not *terrae nullius* during the period in question in the present case, they do so on the basis of diametrically opposed reasoning, each of them claiming to hold title to those islands. The Court does not accept Indonesia's contention that it retained title to the islands as successor to the Netherlands, which allegedly acquired it through contracts concluded with the Sultan of Bulungan, the original title-holder. Nor does the Court accept Malaysia's contention that it acquired sovereignty over the islands of Ligitan and Sipadan further to a series of alleged transfers of the title originally held by the former sovereign, the Sultan of Sulu, that title having allegedly passed in turn to Spain, the United States, Great Britain on behalf of the State of North Borneo, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and finally to Malaysia.

Having found that neither of the Parties has a treaty-based title to Ligitan and Sipadan, the Court next considers the question whether Indonesia or Malaysia could hold title to the disputed islands by virtue of the *effectivités* cited by them. In this regard, the Court determines whether the Parties' claims to sovereignty are based on activities evidencing an actual, continued exercise of authority over the islands, i.e., the intention and will to act as sovereign. Indonesia cites in this regard a continuous presence of the Dutch and Indonesian navies in the vicinity of Ligitan and Sipadan. It adds that Indonesian fishermen have traditionally used the waters around the islands. In

respect of the first of these arguments, it is the opinion of the Court that "it cannot be deduced [from the facts relied upon in the present proceedings] that the naval authorities concerned considered Ligitan and Sipadan and the surrounding waters to be under the sovereignty of the Netherlands or Indonesia". As for the second argument, the Court considers that "activities by private persons cannot be seen as effectivités if they do not take place on the basis of official regulations or under governmental authority". Having rejected Indonesia's arguments based on its effectivités, the Court turns to consideration of the effectivités relied on by Malaysia. As evidence of its effective administration of the islands, Malaysia cites inter alia the measures taken by the North Borneo authorities to regulate and control the collecting of turtle eggs on Ligitan and Sipadan, an activity of some economic significance in the area at the time. It relies on the Turtle Preservation Ordinance of 1917 and maintains that the Ordinance "was applied until the 1950s at least" in the area of the two disputed islands. It further invokes the fact that the authorities of the colony of North Borneo constructed a lighthouse on Sipadan in 1962 and another on Ligitan in 1963, that those lighthouses exist to this day and that they have been maintained by Malaysian authorities since its independence. The Court notes that "the activities relied upon by Malaysia ... are modest in number but ... they are diverse in character and include legislative, administrative and quasi-judicial acts. They cover a considerable period of time and show a pattern revealing an intention to exercise State functions in respect of the two islands in the context of the administration of a wider range of islands". The Court further states that "at the time when these activities were carried out, neither Indonesia nor its predecessor, the Netherlands, ever expressed its disagreement or protest".

The Court concludes, on the basis of the effectivities referred to above, that "sovereignty over Pulau Ligitan and Pulau Sipadan belongs to Malaysia".

There are many cases, which can be quoted. But the need here is to stress that India must revoke the Katcha Theevu agreement with Srilanka since it was imposed during emergency and take it to the International Court of Justice to establish India's right over this island. Also As per clause 76 of the International Law of Seas 1982 " The coastal state shall establish the outer edge of the continental margin wherever the same extends beyond 200 nautical miles from the base lines from which the breadth of the territorial sea is measured on submarine ridges. The continental shelf shall not exceed 350 nautical miles from the baselines from which the breadth of the territorial sea is measured." In view of this clause there is a necessity to redraw the territorial waters between India and Srilanka. So we have compulsions as per UN obligations to carve out our Exclusive Economic Zone, and while such opportunity is at our doorstep we must reopen the Katcha theevu issue with Srilanka and get it back.

Tamil Nadu assembly had passed many resolutions demanding the retrieval of Katcha Theevu, and the Miss J.Jayalalitha in a sudden reversal of assembly demand had favoured for taking Katcha theevu on lease. The lives of 1000 fishermen is lost because of this agreement to barter Katcha theevu and it is time that we claim compensation from Srilanka for the lives lost apart from staking our rights to regain Katcha Theevu.

The Tamil bi weekly in its issue dated 24.12.2003 said "VAJPAYEE WHO FORGOT VAALIDEEP". That interview of Dravida Peravai General Secretary is given below

PRESIDENT OBAMA URGED TO DECLARE SRILANKA AS TERRORIST STATE



President Mr.Barack H.Obama
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington DC 20520

Copy to: Secretary of State Ms.Hillary Rodham Clinton

19 Feb 2009

Respected President
Respected Secretary of State

KARAIKAL UNION TERRITORY STRUGGLE GROUP, from India urges the President of United States of America Mr.Barack.H.Obama to declare Srilanka as terrorist state. Srilankan state sponsors terrorism against its own Tamil civilian population, which they claim as fight against freedom fighters and its own journalists, opposition leaders and even their kinsmen with conscience for human dignity.

But in no way Srilanka can justify its terrorist attacks on Indian Tamil fishermen. Our fishermen over centuries have been pursuing their professional pursuits like free birds, and these Indian Tamils are at the receiving end of Srilankan State sponsored terrorism in mid-seas pursuing their genocide beyond borders. This is cross border terrorism.

We all know that "State Sponsors of Terrorism" is a designation applied by the United States Department of State to nations who are designated by the Secretary of State "to have repeatedly provided support for acts of international terrorism.

The list began on December 29, 1979 with Libya, Iraq, South Yemen, Syria and Pakistan and now only first 4 are in current list, excluding Pakistan.

The sanctions which the US imposes on countries on the list are: State Sponsors of Terrorism Countries determined by the Secretary of State to have repeatedly provided support for acts of international terrorism are designated pursuant to three laws: section 6(j) of the Export Administration Act, section 40 of the Arms Export Control Act, and section 620A of the Foreign Assistance Act. Taken together, the four main categories of sanctions resulting from designation under these authorities include restrictions on U.S. foreign assistance; a ban on

defense exports and sales; certain controls over exports of dual use items; and miscellaneous financial and other restrictions.

Designation under the above-referenced authorities also implicates other sanctions laws that penalize persons and countries engaging in certain trade with state sponsors.

Currently there are four countries designated under these authorities: Cuba, Iran, Sudan and Syria. The dates of declaration given in the list. Cuba March 1, 1982, Iran January 19, 1984, Sudan, August 12, 1993, Syria December 29, 1979.

On Feb 7 of 2009 : The spokesman for India's ruling Congress party Mr.Manish Tiwari called on the international community to consider declaring Pakistan a terrorist state in the wake of the release of Dr Abdul Qadeer Khan. "The world should now think whether to declare Pakistan a terrorist state," Manish Tewari, the party's spokesman, said in New Delhi. By linking his call to the release of Dr A. Q. Khan, the spokesman ensured that his words were not missed during next week's visit to the region by US special representative Richard Holbrooke. "Pakistan is not only exporting terrorism, but also posing danger by allowing nuclear weapons to fall into the hands of terrorists," Mr Tewari told journalists. In separate comments, Gen Deepak Kapoor, the chief of the Indian Army, said the "terror infrastructure in Pakistan is existing and active".

Braving chilly winter, agitated Indian Americans gathered in front of the UN headquarters in mid-town Manhattan recently to demand the world body declare Pakistan a terrorist state. Raising anti-Pakistan slogans and displaying banners and placards denouncing the Mumbai terror outrage, Indian

Americans alleged that almost all the major terrorists attacks of the world in recent years have their bases in Pakistan. As such it was high time the United Nations, the powerful Security Council in particular, take measure to declare it as a terrorist state. The peaceful demonstration, which lasted for about two hours, was organized by Overseas Friends of BJP (OFBJP). "Pakistan should immediately be declared as a terrorist State," said Rajesh Shukla of the OFBJP. In a memorandum submitted to the Secretary General, Ban Ki-moon, the OFBJP urged him to take necessary action to ensure that terrorists from Pakistan do not strike again. "We urge the Security Council to immediately pass a resolution in this regard," the memorandum said.

Taking cue from the initiatives of both the ruling party and opposition party of India, we are now raising the demand to declare Srilankan state as terrorist state by USA and UN and urge the leadership of USA to use its clout in Security Council to impose sanctions on Srilankan Government. The public interview of Srilankan President Mahinda Rajapakshe that he will defy UN and UN has no locus standi to intervene in Srilanka, while it executes Tamils, annihilates Tamils, engage number plate-less white van attacks on its adversaries and media men in broad daylight amidst high security zones, proves that Srilanka is a Terrorist State and need to be branded so by USA and UN with imposition of sanctions.

We urge The USA President Mr.Barack H.Obama, whom 21st century sees not only a leader of a biggest democracy but a new hope, a redeemer, a savior of all oppressed, racially discriminated people in the world, where Tamils are the target of this century like Jews were the targets in 20th century, to declare Srilanka as terrorist state and impose sanction like the ones relevant in USA.

1. A ban on arms-related exports and sales.
2. Controls over exports of dual-use items, requiring 30-day Congressional notification for goods or services that could significantly enhance the terrorist-list country's military capability or ability to support terrorism.
3. Prohibitions on economic assistance.
4. Imposition of miscellaneous financial and other restrictions, including:
Requiring the United States to oppose loans by the World Bank and other international financial institutions; Lifting diplomatic immunity to allow families of terrorist victims to file civil lawsuits in U.S. courts; Denying companies and individuals tax credits for income earned in terrorist-listed countries; Denial of duty-free treatment of goods exported to the United States; Authority to prohibit any U.S. citizen from engaging in a financial transaction with a terrorist-list government without a Treasury Department license; and Prohibition of Defense Department contracts above \$100,000 with companies controlled by terrorist-list states are actions, which in whole or anyone appropriate should be imposed on Srilanka, particularly USA must stop Israel and Pakistan supplying arms to Srilankan army and through UN urge other nations including China to stop arms supply to the killer squads called army of Srilanka.

We have been urging Indian Government to sue the Srilankan Government in the International Court of Justice. Only States are eligible to appear before the Court in contentious cases. At present, this basically means the 192 United Nations Member States. We are aware that The Court has no jurisdiction to deal with applications from individuals, non-governmental

organizations, corporations or any other private entity. However, a State may take up the case of one of its nationals and invoke against another State the wrongs which its national claims to have suffered at the hands of the latter; the dispute then becomes one between States. We are urging India to take the Katcha Theevu maritime boundary dispute to International Court of Justice.

Judgments delivered by the Court (or by one of its Chambers) in disputes between States are binding upon the parties concerned. Article 94 of the United Nations Charter lays down that “each Member of the United Nations undertakes to comply with the decision of [the Court] in any case to which it is a party”. Judgments are final and without appeal. If either of the parties challenges their scope or meaning, it has the option to request an interpretation. In the event of the discovery of a fact hitherto unknown to the Court which might be a decisive factor, either party may apply for revision of the judgment. As regards advisory opinions, it is usually for the United Nations organs and specialized agencies requesting them to give effect to them or not by whatever means are appropriate for them.

Only States are eligible to appear before the Court in contentious cases. At present, this basically means the 192 United Nations Member States. The Court has no jurisdiction to deal with applications from individuals, non-governmental organizations, corporations or any other private entity. It cannot provide them with legal counseling or help them in their dealings with the authorities of any State whatever.

However, a State may take up the case of one of its nationals and invoke against another State the wrongs which its national claims to have suffered at the

hands of the latter; the dispute then becomes one between States.

We bring to the notice of Indian Government about some of the recent cases before the International Court of Justice such as Maritime Delimitation in the Black Sea (Romania v. Ukraine) - Judgment of 3 February 2009. 18/12/2008 - Territorial and Maritime Dispute (Nicaragua v. Colombia)

Though with regards to maritime dispute we can urge Indian Government, for the Srilankan State sponsored attacks on Indian Tamils in international waters, we have to urge only the Members of the Security Council and UNO to brand Srilanka as terrorist state and to impose sanctions on it for violating UN directives.

Indian political parties in power in the State of Tamilnadu again and again raised the issue of Indian Tamils right to living and fishing. Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi asked then Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, to take up with the Sri Lankan authorities the issue of hardships faced by Indian fishermen in enjoying their traditional fishing rights in the waters around Katcha Theevu Island, The Hindu, newspaper report said. In his meeting with the Prime Minister Mr.Karunanidhi said Indian fishermen had the right to fish in the waters around Katcha Theevu Island as per the Indira Gandhi-Srimavo Bandaranaiake settlement of 1974.

Monday, 21 July 2008 Inaugurating a fast against killing of Tamil fishermen by the Sri Lankan Navy, Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi said on Saturday that Katchatheevu was ceded to Sri Lanka, brushing aside the objection raised by the DMK government in 1974, as reported by The Hindu. Mr. Karunanidhi said though the 1974 agreement between India and Sri Lanka included the rights of the Tamil

fishermen to fish in and around Katcha theevu, to pray in the church and to dry the nets, they were taken away when the Emergency was declared in the country. After the DMK government was dismissed, correspondence between Sri Lanka and India led to the rights of Tamil fishermen being deprived in 1976. In Indian State of Tamilnadu Opposition leader and AIADMK General Secretary J Jayalalithaa had moved the Supreme Court to retrieve the Katchatheevu Islet from Sri Lanka. The killing of Tamil fishermen, allegedly by the Lankan Navy, on July 9 and 12 had set off a wave of protests in the coastal districts coupled with the demand to retrieve the islet which witnessed a number of shootings at fishermen from the state as well. According to the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, territorial waters means the area from the baseline on the coast to 12 nautical miles into the sea, Jayalalithaa said, adding that as per this definition, the 285-acre, uninhabited Katchatheevu islet, lying at a distance of 11 nautical miles from Ramanathapuram, fell within Indian waters.

Sept 12 2008 Sri Lankan Foreign Affairs Minister Rohitha Bogollagama has said “Katchatheevu is a matter settled. As settled as much as Matara in the south of Sri Lanka to Sri Lanka. That’s how Sri Lanka views Katchatheevu. There is no issue. The fact that Katchatheevu is there in the northern part of Sri Lanka doesn’t mean anything. It is as much as a part of Sri Lanka in every sense of the word, so there is no further discussion needed on that.”

The ruling party of Tamilnadu and Opposition leader of Tamilnadu, a state in Indian Union have voiced concern and are trying to secure the fishing rights of Indian Tamils through representations to Indian Government and Supreme Court of India. These actions apart a reply given by the Indian Government to Indian Member of Parliament Mr. D.Raja National

Secretary Communist Party of India, as told by him on January 8th January of 2008 reveals that Indian Union Agriculture Minister Sharad Pawar had written to him stating that as per the agreement the Indian fishermen can only dry their nets and offer prayers at the St Antony's church in the island. "This position is not acceptable," he said and wanted the Centre to renegotiate the issue and arrive at a settlement to restore the rights of Indian fishermen.

Sri Lankan government resorts to unprovoked firing upon the Indian fishermen, resulting in the loss of lives of fishermen once in few days repeatedly for years together, the Indian government, being a party to the aforesaid agreement, was duty bound to enforce the traditional fishing right of Indian fishermen off the Katchatheevu island.

The Supreme Court of India, in a case relating to the Indo-Pakistan agreement on Berubary Union and exchange of enclaves, ruled that any ceding of Indian territory to another country resulted in "diminution of the Territory of Indian Union," and therefore must be endorsed by Parliament through a constitutional amendment as laid down by Article 368. Since no such step was taken by the Indira Gandhi Government or any subsequent Government of India, Dr Manmohan Singh should seriously consider moving the Supreme Court to test the validity of conceding Kacha Theevu to Sri Lanka, the Opposition Leader of Tamilnadu Miss J.Jalalalitha had voiced demand and gone to Supreme Court of India. We are not debating the merits or demerits of a case pending in Indian Courts. We are just narrating the stand of various political parties of India in this regard.

Our prayers to The President is that already Former Attorney General of USA had filed 1000 page charge sheet against two American citizens for committing

genocide against Tamils of Eelam who are fighting for a separate homeland.

Bruce Fein, counsel for US-based group Tamils Against Genocide (TAG), recently submitted to United States Attorney General, Mr Eric Holder, the Model Indictment charging U.S. citizen and Sri Lanka's Defense Secretary, Gotabaya Rajapaksa, and U.S. green card holder and Sri Lanka's Army Commander, Sarath Fonseka, for genocide, war crimes and torture against Tamils in Sri Lanka. The Counsel urged the Department to open a grand jury investigation into the crimes, based on evidence amassed in the three volume 1000-page document which the Counsel said "amply satisfies the Department's threshold for commencing a criminal investigation."

But Indian Tamil fishermen, more than 1000 people have been killed in mid seas, just because they are Tamils, and this will prove beyond an iota of doubt that Srilanka pursues genocide as its goal. One of the constituents of KUTSG, Dravida Peravai is collecting facts and figures to submit in the same case, to get justice for Indian Tamil lives.

Hence we the the Karaikal Union Territory Struggle Group, a non-political peoples movement demanding separate Union Territory status for Karaikal within Unitary Indian state, in view of the economic neglect of the enclave of former French colony Pondicherry ever since its merger with India, are urging you to step in decisively. It is needless to recall that after African Negroes were liberated from the clutches of slavery, British India only supplied plantation labour to all countries to replace African slaves. When in British Parliament there were protests, the practice ceased in British India. Instead our Tamil brethren from the then French colony of Pondicherry only slaves were shipped to all Caribbean nations. That curse for

Tamils continues even in this century. By genocide Srilankan Government wants to subjugate whole Tamils as slaves in their own homeland. We hope you will redeem Srilankan Tamils from slavery and write a new Profiles in Courage engraving your name in every Tamil heart and history. We only want you to follow the precedent of Franklin D. Roosevelt who brought together other nations to defeat Nazis, who wanted ethnic cleansing of Jews. It is time you take all steps to stop the genocide of Tamils and save Indian Tamil lives too lost almost once in few days for years together in the mid sea of Bay of Bengal.

With Regards
Yours sincerely

N.Nandhivarman, Hon.President
A.S.T.Ansari Babu, General Secretary.
Ki.Subramanian, Chairman,
V.S.Nallusamy Vice Chairman,
Deputy Secretary Sundarraaj.

JUSTICE SOUGHT FOR KILLING OF INDIAN TAMIL FISHERMEN

THE REGISTRAR
INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL FOR THE LAW OF SEA
Am Internationalen Seegerichtshof 1
22609- HAMBURG
GERMANY

Before the Respected Judges of the Tribunal

Subject: Action against Srilanka for killings of hundreds of Indian Tamil fishermen and compensation sought for lives lost in genocide beyond borders, and the redrawing of the maritime borders to protect the fishing rights of Indians regarding...

The maritime belt of the coastal India was based on the canon shot principle till 1956. Jurist Bynkershoek laid the foundation for this rule, when he enunciated that the breadth of maritime belt extends to the distance where a canon can fire i.e. 3 miles of maritime belt. This principle based on canons that were in usage in eighteenth century existed till twentieth century. The Hague Conference of 1930 which tried to extend the maritime belt did not yield results and hence Conference on Law of Sea at Geneva attempted to revise the breadth of maritime belt. India which was following this 3 mile maritime belt for centuries till 1956 extended the maritime belt by 6 miles through Presidential Proclamation. In the year 1967 it was extended to 12 miles.

Subsequently Indian Representative at UN Dr. Pannikar made a statement before the Sub-Committee of the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-bed and

Ocean Floor beyond the limits of National jurisdiction on 17th August 1971, wherein [Ref :UN Doc.A/C 1331] for extending the maritime belt in view of the discovery that Indian territorial waters contained huge quantities of thorium.

We Indian citizens, who rediscover the past, are baffled at the statement tabled in Indian Parliament on July 23 1974 by then Indian External Affairs Minister Mr.Swaran Singh [Lok sabha debates cols 186-201] for Re-Agreement between India and Srilanka on boundary in historic waters between the two countries and related matters. India must be aware what its own representative sought before UN Sub-committee on the need to extend its maritime belt in view of thorium find in Indian territorial waters.

When we had national interest to extend our maritime belt, only a nincompoop would opt for an agreement that will hand over Indian island of Kachcha Tivu to Srilanka by way of this agreement.

We would like to remind that one Member of Indian Parliament, speaking on the floor of the house on 23rd July 1974 raised a point or order. Mr.P.K.Deo, Member from Kalahandi of Indian State of Orissa said "Nowhere the Indian Constitution provide for cession of even an inch of Indian Territory. All the Revenue records of Madras Government, a state of India, corroborate that Kachcha Tivu was part of former Ramnad zamindary and an integral part of this country. So under no circumstances the Government has got any power under the Indian Constitution to cede even an inch of our country. A few days back the Coco islands which is part of Andaman group of islands belonging to India was ceded to Burma. Now it is Kachcha Tivu. It is utter contempt and disrespect shown to the House [Indian Parliament] by not taking

the house into confidence and facing us with a fait accompli”

After fixing the maritime belt in 1967, India realized the need to protect every inch of our territorial waters in view of finds of precious metals within our waters, yet it conceded Kachcha Tivu to Srilanka. But in 1976, Article 297 of Constitution of India was amended for fortieth time “ All lands, minerals, and other things of value underlying the ocean within the territorial waters or the continental shelf, the exclusive economic zones of India shall be such as may be specified from time to time, by or any law made by the Parliament.”

In 1976 again Indian Parliament passed The Territorial Waters, Continental Shelf, Exclusive Economic Zone and other Maritime Zones Act 1976. The act fixed the limit of territorial waters as the line every point of which is at a distance of 12 nautical miles from the nearest point of appropriate baseline.”

In his book entitled: Conflict Over Fisheries In the Palk Bay Region (Lancer, New Delhi, 2005) Prof V Suryanarayan says that it is very important for India to find ways for fishermen from Tamil Nadu to fish in Palk Bay/Palk Strait (up to 5 nautical miles from the north Sri Lankan coast) and around Kachcha Tivu, because this is a traditional right as well as an economic necessity. According to him, a grave injustice was done to Tamil Nadu fishermen in 1974, when New Delhi decided to give in to the Sri Lankan government's contention that Kachcha Tivu was part of Sri Lanka, and agreed to draw the maritime boundary line in a such a way that the island was included in the Sri Lankan side.

New Delhi had callously overlooked the fact that Kachcha tivu had been part of an Indian "Zamindari"

and that Indian fishermen had, from time immemorial, fished in the waters around it, Suryanarayan says. The area around the island and beyond, nearer the Sri Lankan coast, is rich in prawns, and prawns are the main source of income for these fishermen since 1969. The annual fish production in the Palk Bay region is 85,000 tones in 2005. Over a 100 fishermen have been killed, and catch and equipment worth millions of rupees, have been lost in the process. But the fishermen are undaunted.”

[But nearly 432 Fishermen were killed gathered information through various Government sources says, we will send through next mail]

Although the Art 73 of the UN Law of the Sea prohibits shooting of straying fishermen, the Sri Lankan Navy had been quite trigger- happy. The Government of India could do little to stop it.

Art 5 of the 1974 maritime boundary agreement, read with statements of Indian ministers in parliament, gives Indian fishermen the right to fish around Kachcha Tivu.

Given the deaths and the political fallout in Tamil Nadu, a State of India in 1991, the state Chief Minister, J Jayalalitha, called for the "retrieval" of Kachcha Tivu from Sri Lanka. She even suggested taking the island on "lease in perpetuity." In this case, sovereignty over the island will rest with Sri Lanka, but India will get the right to use the island and the waters around it. In 1974, India gave Bangladesh the territory of Tin Bigha on such a lease, to settle the vexed question of access to enclaves in each other's territories. Why this cannot be replicated in the Indo-Sri Lankan case, Chief Minister Jayalalitha took the cue, and in 1994, asked the Central government to get

the island on perpetual lease. She reiterated this demand in 2004 in a letter to the Indian Prime Minister.

A country of India's size and resources should not only assess the dangers emanating from a changing strategic environment but, it should also zealously safeguard autonomy in decision making. The recently published Indian Maritime Doctrine highlights not only the importance of the control of the seas but also the necessity to deny its use to the adversary.

Licensed Indian fishing in Palk Bay region

India was urged to pressurize Sri Lanka to give in to its demand for licensed Indian fishing in Sri Lankan waters in the Palk Bay/Palk Strait area. In 2003, Sri Lanka had agreed to consider such a proposal mooted by India at the Prime Ministerial level. This "window of opportunity which India should exploit", had been closed. Killings continue. Periodical protests continue. India treats Srilankan fishermen caught in its waters with dignity and deports them, whereas Srilankan navy fires and kills each and every Indian Tamil all these years.

To buttress its case, India can point out that in the 1976 maritime boundary agreement, it had unilaterally offered Sri Lanka, licensed fishing for three years in the Wadge Bank area, the experts says. Sri Lankan Tamil fishermen from Jaffna and Mannar are indeed opposed to poaching by Indian fishermen, but they have been practical enough to accommodate it with some conditions. A recent agreement allowed Indian fishermen to fish as close to 3 nautical miles from the North Western coast and 7 nautical miles from the Northern coast, provided the Indians did not use trawlers. Trawling, which sweeps the bottom of the sea, is what the Sri Lankan fishermen are really

bothered about, not the traditional fishing methods. But Srilankan navy killed hundreds who pursued traditional fishing methods.

The fishermen of the two sides seem to want to share the marine resources in the restricted Palk Bay area. Why can't the governments of India and Sri Lanka follow suit? Sri Lankan Establishment, represented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Fisheries, is against licensed Indian fishing despite the 2003 offer. In 2003, Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe was going out of the way to accommodate India and the offer was part of the mood of the time. But the mood had not percolated to officialdom and the rest of political system.

In her Public Interest Litigation Writ Petition, under Article 32 of the Constitution, then Tamilnadu Chief Minister Ms. Jayalalitha has appealed to the Supreme Court of India for an appropriate writ order or directive for declaring as unconstitutional the two agreements signed between India and Sri Lanka in 1974 and in 1976, under which the island of Kachcha Tivu was ceded to Sri Lanka and the traditional fishing rights of Indian fishermen were given up.

She has appealed for a directive to the Union of India to take appropriate steps for retrieving the island or alternately to take steps to obtain or regain the right of access to Kachcha Tivu and right to engage in fishing around the island. She has also appealed for a directive to the Union of India to protect the lives and livelihood of Indian fishermen who regularly fish around the island.

While researching on the subject, we had to face severe limitations. All documents relating to the Zamindari rights of the Raja of Ramand have been taken away to New Delhi and are kept behind the

stonewalls of secrecy. However, there are number of secondary sources to prove, without an iota of doubt, that the island was a part of the Zamindari of the Raja of Ramand. The East India Company and the British Government upheld these claims. And when Zamindari was abolished after independence, the revenue jurisdiction came to Madras province.

New Delhi did not dispute the Zamindari rights of the Raja of Ramand, but it was not certain that the Zamindari rights conferred sovereignty.

No one claimed that Zamindar was sovereign, but what must be highlighted is the fact that the sovereign had delegated the powers of collecting the revenue to the Zamindar. Once the Zamindari was abolished, all rights reverted to the Government. New Delhi's argument is tantamount to questioning Indian unity. It must be remembered that on the eve of independence, large parts of India were under Zamindari system. In the nine provinces of British India, the Zamindari system covered 57 per cent of the area, the Ryotwari system covered 37 per cent and the Mahalwari system 5 per cent. If New Delhi's (and Colombo's) argument is accepted, the very existence of India as a united country will be at stake.

A few other relevant points must be highlighted. If any Indian territory is to be ceded to a foreign power, the Constitution needs to be amended. In order to avoid such a contingency, New Delhi adopted the stance that Kachcha Tivu was a "disputed territory". Indira Gandhi sought legal opinion whether India had historical claims on the island, but the opinion was not unanimous. While Niren De, then Attorney General was of the view that "on balance, the sovereignty over Kachcha Tivu was and is with Sri Lanka", MC Setalvad, former Attorney General, upheld India's claims. Adding insult to injury, the principles

of equi-distance and median line, the fundamental principles of delimitation of maritime boundaries, was not adhered to in the case of Kachcha Tivu.

According to SP Jagota, then Director of the Legal and Treaties Division, “the boundary line between India and Sri Lanka followed the median line except as adjusted in the Palk Bay in relation to the settlement on the question of the Island of Kachcha Tivu”.

And a careful reading of Articles 5 and 6 of the 1974 Agreement, in conjunction with Indian External Affairs Minister Swaran Singh’s clarification in Lok Sabha, clearly reveal that Indian fishermen continued to enjoy these rights in and around Kachcha Tivu. But unfortunately these rights were bartered away by the 1976 Agreement, that too when India was under emergency clamped to freeze democracy.

It is surprising that no Government in Indian State of Tamil Nadu have thought it fit to challenge the cession in the Supreme Court as the Government of West Bengal did at the time of the proposed transfer of Berubari to East Pakistan. Can they do so now after the lapse of 34 years? It is possible that they may apprehend the law of limitation, but the time limit of 30 years, prescribed by Article 112 of the Limitation Act, 1963 does not apply to a suit in the Supreme Court in the exercise of its original jurisdiction. The matter can be argued whether Kachcha Tivu had always been a disputed territory or it was a part of India or a no man’s island.

If the State Government in India is unable or unwilling to move the Supreme Court, it is open for a concerned citizen to seek judicial remedy through public interest litigation. The question will also arise whether the two international agreements, a matter relating to Public International Law, can be questioned in a Municipal

Court. The answer is clear. No treaty can override the Constitution of India, which is the supreme law of the land.

But this issue could not be settled by the Supreme Court of India. The Srilankan Government is on record in its Parliament that:

However, a decision given by a Court of law in a jurisdiction outside Sri Lanka would not be binding on Sri Lanka. Any such Court Order or judgment will not alter or have an impact on a bilateral treaty concluded between two sovereign States.

Hence our petition to the International Tribunal of the Law of the Sea is mailed today as last resort.

Since all avenues to settle the maritime boundary and fishing rights of Indian Tamil fishermen are exhausted bilaterally and through legal framework of India, we are seeking justice from International Tribunal of the Law of Seas.

Indian fishermen are getting killed by Srilankan navy over years without any provocation just because of their ethnicity. These Indian citizens are neither terrorists nor freedom fighters seeking a homeland for Tamils. For thousands of years they have been fishing in the Bay of Bengal and Indian Ocean, and not even colonial powers ventured to kill them. Srilanka which tries to escape its Tamil genocide hiding behind India, can neither justify its killings of Indian Tamils nor India can too long hide the skeletons in its cupboards.

The time for humanity to ask India, why you tolerated the killings of your own citizens for decades had come. If stray violence erupts in Australia Indian Prime Minister acts fast. If it is Mumbai blasts his government gathers momentum, but when it comes to

periodical killings of Indian citizens by Srilanka, India freezes into slumber, and this prejudice against Tamils should change, civilized democracies in UN must advice India. Having waited for India to protect the interests of Indian Tamil fishermen's fishing rights, we had to knock global institutions to secure justice and compensation for Indian citizens from the trigger happy Srilankan Government.

The global efforts led to the Convention of the Law of the Sea which had been signed and ratified by India on 29th June 1995 and by Srilanka on 19th July 1994. After this milestone in international law, there arose a necessity to re-demarcate Indian territorial waters. Dravida Peravai, an Indian political party launched a campaign among the Members of Indian Parliament on the necessity to redraw the maritime belt and to retrieve Kachcha Tivu bartered to Srilanka in 1974. Srilanka had been killing Indian Tamil fishermen for decades in the Palk Straits. It cannot claim right over Indian Territorial waters, or in international waters of Palk Straits in Bay of Bengal. As per International Court of Justice Rep 1951 page 116: "The Anglo-Norwegian Fisheries case, Court observed that the states are not completely free in respect of delimitation of territorial waters with regards to other states .The delimitation of Sea areas has always been an international aspect, it cannot merely be dependent on the will of the coastal state as expected in its municipal laws.

Although it is true that the act of delimitation is necessarily a unilateral act because only the coastal state is competent to undertake it, the validity of the delimitation with regards to other states depends upon international law.

The Palk Strait is a strait that lies between the Tamil Nadu state of India and the island nation of Sri Lanka.

It connects the Bay of Bengal to the northeast with the Gulf of Mannar to the south. The strait is 40 to 85 miles (64-137 km) wide. The strait is named after Robert Palk, who was a Governor of Madras Presidency (1755-1763) during the British Raj period. Srilanka is not free to delimit its territorial waters and it is bound by international law, as per the judgment in The Anglo Norwegian case in the International Court of Justice.

The question of delimitation of Sea between states with opposite or adjacent states as prescribed in Article 15 of the Convention on the Law of Sea states: “where the coasts of two states are opposite or adjacent to each other, neither of the two states is entitled failing agreement between them to contrary, to extend its territorial sea beyond the meridian line every point of which is equidistant from the nearest point of the baselines from which the breadth of the territorial seas of each of the two states is to be measured. The above position does not apply, however, where it is necessary by reason or historic title or other special circumstances to delimit the territorial seas of the two states in a way which is at variance therewith.’

A] Srilanka had been unilaterally delimiting its territorial waters. The faux pas committed by India in handing over Indian island of Kachcha Tivu had created more confusion. Further India has many islands belonging to its territory in the Gulf of Mannar. The Gulf of Mannar has a chain of 20 islands located between 8 ° 48' N, 78 ° 9' E and 9 ° 14' N, 79 ° 14' E on the southwest coast of India. All islands in the Gulf of Mannar have fringing reefs. In addition, there is a 8 km long reef in the Palk Bay adjacent to the Gulf of Mannar, as well as patching coral formation in the passage (Adam's Bridge) between India and Sri Lanka. The Gulf of Mannar is particularly

important for Green turtle and sea cow population, both of which depend on the large sea grass beds particularly around Musal, Appa and Balayamunai islands. Olive Ridley turtle is also occasionally found in this area. The pro-chordate *Balanoglossus* is found in the northern reefs. Mangroves are found on all islands and are particularly extensive in the Mandapam group. Most of the islands have no freshwater and are therefore uninhabited.

The most productive chank and pearl oyster beds in India are found near Tuticorin and Kilakarai. The Windowpane oyster *Placuna placenta* is also found in the same area. Large quantities of molluscan shells for the ornamental trade are collected in this area. Recently, native people of this area have begun developing tourism also.

The delimitation of Indian territorial waters or Srilankan territorial waters had not taken into account these islands that belong to India. Hence we urge the International Tribunal on Law of the Sea to go for rational delimitation of the territorial waters of both countries. In case Srilankan state refuses to abide by such delimitation, we urge India to take the issue before International Court of Justice. The International Court of Justice on 15th March 2001 in the Case Concerning Maritime Delimitation and Territorial questions Quatar and Bahrain had cited Article 15 and also pointed out that it is virtually identical to Article 12 paragraph 1 of the 1958 Convention of the Territorial Sea. The Court said that the contiguous zone is to be regarded as having customary character. It often referred to the equal-distance/ special circumstances rule.

India had forgotten to restrain Srilanka from its unprovoked killing of hundreds of Indian Tamil

fishermen, in view of the ambiguity over territorial waters.

Kachcha Tivu is 17 kilometers from Indian town of Rameswaram. It comes under the contiguous zone even if 12 nautical miles is accepted as territorial waters from the coast. But Kachcha Tivu had been an Indian Territory for centuries. It was one among the 8 islands belonging to the Tamil Kingdom of Ramnad. As per the copper plate inscriptions unearthed as archaeological findings of 1531 it was in the possession of Sethupathy Kings who ruled Indian state of Ramnad. The Sea between India and Srilanka is even today known as Sethu Samudram, which means the Seas of Sethupathy kings. This toponomical evidence also proves it to be Indian Territory. The East India Company of the Britain had obtained this Kachcha Tivu Island on lease in 1822 from the Sethupathy King. In 1880 one Abdul Kader of Kilakkarai, a village in Tamilnadu state of India had obtained on lease Kachcha Tivu, Kuthukaal Tivu, and Mannali tivu from the District Collector of Ramnad, under Madras Presidency of India. In 1913 The Government of Madras Presidency had obtained lease of Kachcha Tivu from the King Sethupathy of the Princely State of Ramnad, and had given fishing rights to fishermen of Madras Presidency. In 1947 one Mr. Mohammed had taken lease of the island of Kachcha Tivu which was registered in the Sub-Registrar's office of Indian town of Rameswaram [Ref: Reg.No. 278/1948.

After India attained independence the Indian State of Madras by way of Government Order No: 2093 dated 11.8.1949 declared that Kachcha Tivu as barren land under Rameswaram revenue village Survey Number: 1250 in an area of 285 acres and 20 cents. Thus for centuries Kachcha Tivu was under the Princely state

of Ramnad in British India, and under Government of Madras in Independent India.

Srilanka clandestinely sent it troops to that uninhabited island in 1955, for training their naval personnel. There was uproar in Indian Parliament. But Srilanka went on claiming rights over that Indian Territory. In 1974 India conceded that territory to Srilanka through an agreement which India claimed will protect the fishing rights of Indian Tamil fishermen and the right to worship the lone church that was built in 1939. Srilanka misinterpreted the agreement by saying the Indian Tamil fishermen have rights only to dry their nets in the island and Indian Tamil citizens have no right to fishing. Using this misinterpretation, Srilanka till date goes on killing spree of Indian Tamil fishermen.

Hence we Indian Tamils are urging our Government and the International Tribunal on the Law of the Sea to redefine our territorial waters to protect the lives of Indian Tamil citizens of India. Srilanka in its madness to ethnic cleanse Tamils of its soil indulges in cross border terrorism to annihilate Indian Tamil fishermen.

We urge the International Tribunal on the Law of Seas to order for:

A] Scrapping the Indo—Srilankan agreement on Kachcha Tivu signed in 1974.

B] re-demarcating the territorial waters of India, not only taking into account the landmass of the Southern mainland of India facing Bay of Bengal but also the baselines of the 20 islands of India in the Palk Strait, more particularly in the Gulf of Mannar.

C] Defining the equal-distance not from mainland but various points from these 20 islands.

D] Ensuring the traditional and historical fishing rights of Indian Tamil fishermen in India's territorial waters, contiguous areas, and right to enjoy the freedom of seas in international waters.

E] directing the International Criminal Court of Justice to probe the thousand killings of Indian fisherman by Srilankan navy, and to punish the naval authorities and the Srilankan President Mahinda Rajapakshe for the genocide of Indians who were not demanding independent nation, but were in India for centuries enjoying the freedom of seas and pursuing fishing profession in peace.

F] Directing the Srilankan Government to pay damages and compensation to all lives killed by Srilankan navy since 1974 to 2009.

We pray before the Respected Judges of the Tribunal to deliver Justice to Indian Tamils.

With Regards
Yours sincerely



N.Nandhivarman
General Secretary Dravida Peravai.



DRAVIDA PERAVAI : FACT FILE

Periyar-Anna, the two ideologues of Dravidian Movement laid down firm ideological foundations for equality of all human beings and carrying forward a progressive rationalist global vision. Arignar Anna spelt out those noble ideals in the Annamalai University convocation address.

“A world without beggar's outstretched palm, the miser's heartless stony stare, the piteous wail of want, the pallid face of crime, the livid lips of lies, the cruel eyes of scorn, a race without disease of flesh or brain, a land where life lengthens, fear dies, joy deepens, love intensifies and man regains his dignity” is what Arignar Anna dreamt of and Annaism stands for.

This noble goal set for Dravidian Movement to make its appeal universal was first incorporated in the Manifesto of Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in its formative period. In fact at the very inception of that party two names emanated, one from Chennai and other one from Pondicherry. Anna DMK is the name given by Anagaputhur Ramalingam and DMK

(Annaist) is the name given by N.Nandhivarman from Pondicherry. (Source: Dinamani front page top banner news 18.10.1972). MGR accepted the formation of the party later. The reason for Annaism to be set as goal was prompted by an experiment in Ghana by Nkrumah to create a scientific socialism suited to that soil.

Anna DMK formed a committee under Nanjil K.Manoharan to formulate policies and programme for the party. In the report submitted to that committee Pondicherry unit of Anna DMK had spelt out Annaism as the goal. ([Source: Indian Express 23.2.1973])

Mr.N.Nandhivarman entered politics in 1959 and became the Secretary of Dravidian Students Progressive Federation of Pondicherry [DMMK] in 1962. In 1967 he became the Organizer Pondicherry District DMK Students wing [DMMK] and in 1970 State Convener of Dravidian Students Progressive Federation [DMMK]. With this introductory remark New Times Observer, the only English weekly published since 1966 continuously from Pondicherry elicited Nandhivarman's reply on what is Annaism?

Annaism stands for universal affinity, equality, fraternity, liberty, honesty, purity, sincerity, morality and for socialism and democracy in their truest sense and meaning.

Within 2 months of Anna DMK's inception N.Nandhivarman was suspended from Pondicherry State Anna DMK leadership. The public reason in the first expulsion said it is for personal reasons. Later he joined DMK and remained in DMK till 1994. In 1996 when Dravida Peravai was floated "Annaism" emerged as the party's goal.

In search of redefining the goals of Dravidian Movement the new party listed out certain economic goals. One such goal of the party is single global currency. No one who espouses globalization will be ready to accept this because it cuts into the roots of speculative capitalism.

The first struggle was for safeguarding the ground water. By joining hands with certain individuals of Ashram, in the Supreme Court battle to relocate a water intensive distillery in the beach we won and shifted the 100 year old Government Distillery from Beach. Then joining hands with Narambai Fishermen's Panchayat the long drawn struggle to prevent a Multi National Corporation uprooting entire village to set up its shop followed. The list of struggles and their successes will be in a separate web site. Some web sites for immediate reference are given below.

The River Interlink Case:

<http://www.boloji.com/environment/22.htm>

Water Famine Ahead:

<http://www.boloji.com/analysis/043.htm>

To augment struggles with research papers and articles had been a continuous pattern in Dravida Peravai's campaigns: We reproduce a Research Paper presented by N.Nandhivarman in the Seminar organized by Pondicherry Institute of Linguistics and Culture, affiliated to Pondicherry University:

THE ENVIRO HISTORY OF PONDICHERRY

Tamils lack sense of history. This inherent ingredient of the Tamil people is responsible for lack of recorded history at the time when every country woke up to

construct its history on facts. We have to mainly depend on the literary evidences to write our history. The epic Silapathigaram gave us an insight into the landmass that is lost in the Indian Ocean.

Now we have other sources to confirm our literary references. With the knowledge explosion, thanks to the internet revolution, we get lot of information. To understand the past history of the Tamils inclusive of Pondicherry and to foresee its future we have to know about continental drifts and the theory of plate tectonics.

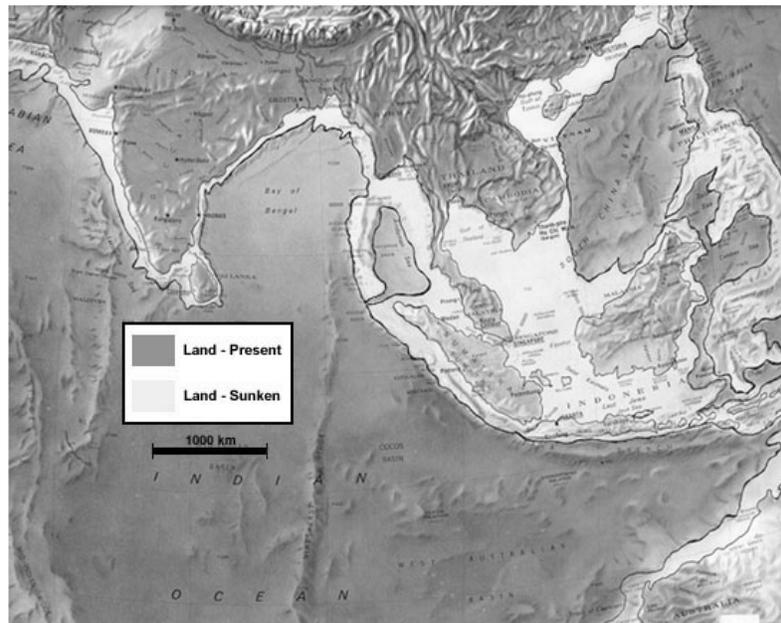
"The theory of continental drift that the continents move relative to one another was proposed by Alfred Wegener in 1910. It was not until 1945 that Arthur Holmes suggested a mechanism for the process-convection in the mantle. Complete evidences to convince more scientists those plate tectonics the movement of larger segments of the outermost shell of the earth as a mosaic of large rigid plates was not accomplished until the 1960's...."

The Department of Geological Sciences of the Canadian University of Saskatchewan in its web pages states that Plate Tectonics is the unifying theory that explains almost all the processes at work on the planet. To understand the evolution of our planet and to have a coherent idea on earthquakes, volcanoes, mountain belts, ocean basins and the topography of the sea floor, scholars are relying on the theory of plate tectonics.

Alfred Wagener known as the Father of Continental drift in his publication of 1912 said that " Looking at a global map it would appear that the continents could be brought together to fit like a jig saw puzzle" Mankind is one and this stands proven once again by the geological fact that continents were together at one

time and drifted apart. Now everyone accepts that as solid upper Earth floats on astheno-sphere, the litho-sphere drifts".

The Earth's crust since its formative years dating back to 4.6 million years is in constant motion. "Broken into a patchwork of plates and floating on currents in the fluid visco-plastic upper mantle beneath, the plates continuously collide and pull apart. The continental crust is significantly less dense than either oceanic crust or the upper mantle rocks. Some more proofs are given below.



The formation of Himalayan Mountains is due to the fact that Indian sub continent moving northwards buckling up material while colluding with the Asian continent. The scientists of the Earth Observatory of Columbia University New York confirm that the Indo-Australian plate south of Equator in the Indian Ocean

area has broken into two and each is moving in one direction. In the last 50 million years Indian sub continent is drifting at 5 centimeters a year towards North. Tibetan plateau and Himalayas bear the brunt of this mounting pressure. The Altyn Tagh fault i.e. geo-fracture extends 2200 kilometers in Western China.....

TAMIL NADU: KUMARIKANDAM MEENDUM?

Researchers in the Earth and Planetary Science letters state that instead of Earth's surface being divided into 12 major plates there are now 13 plates. In the latest research by Lamont-Doherty scientists about 8 million years ago the accumulated mass of Indian subcontinent became so great that the Indo-Australian plate buckled and broke under stress. The result of this crucial stage in the collision between India and Australia is the break up of Indo-Australian plate into separate Indian and Australian plates. In The Central Indian Ocean Nature is conducting a large scale experiment for us showing what happens to the oceanic lithosphere (earth's outer layer) when force is applied. Using drilled samples in 1970 scientists discovered that a broad zone of the Indian Ocean floor stretching more than 960 kilometers from east to west along with the equator was compressed and deformed. They later found that the newly created seafloor had spread outward from the mid ocean ridges in the zone and theorized that the movement of seafloor could only be fitted in only if a distinct boundary existed between Indian and Australian plates... [On this in Dinamani Tamil daily 26.01.1996 Nandhivarman had written as "*Meendum Thonruma Kumari kandam?*"]

The changes that could happen have been a matter of speculation. Highlighting the gravity of the situation in THE OTHERSIDE October 1997 edited by George

Fernandez, Nandhivarman wrote with specific thrust on Pondicherry as follows:

WILL PONDICHERRIANS BECOME ECOLOGICAL REFUGEES?

Pondicherry, a word born out of the Frenchman's tongue is a variation of the Tamil word 'Puthucheri' which means new settlement. Now at the fag end of this century we Pondicherrians have to engage in the quest for new settlements. The danger of becoming ecological refugees looms large. This is neither soothsaying nor a prophecy of doom. A forewarning to plan our resource use in a proper manner to avert this eventuality.

A Report on Ground Water survey and exploration in the Union territory of Pondicherry and its environs prepared by a team of experts of Central Ground Water Board (Southern Region-page 13) contains the following observations:

"The general strike of the cretaceous-Paleocene formations trends NE-SW with gentle dips ranging 2 to 5 towards Southeast. The Cuddalore sandstone formation though maintains the same strike, shows a dip up to 10. The cretaceous and Paleocene beds form an inliers having been exposed due to the denudation of the overlying Cuddalore formation which overlap them completely. A low angle fault trending in NNE-SSW direction is inferred from Mudrapalayam. This fault passes just west of the bore holes drilled by Oil and Natural Gas Commission at Mudrapalayam and Muratandichavadi which when extended passes close to Rayapudukuppam where the rocks show high and irregular dips. Probably this fault takes a swerve towards North East beyond Rayapudukuppam and runs along the out crop contact between the Manaveli and Kadaperikuppam formations met with in the Oil

and Natural Gas Commission bore hole at Murattandichavadi is marked by brecciated clay stone indicating probably a fault zone. The limited thickness of Kadeperikuppam formation in the bore holes at Koluvari, Mudrapalayam and Murattandichavadi appears to be the result of the aforesaid faulting. It is presumed that this fault is met with much below at depth further north of slim hole at Alankuppam.

Photo-geological study has also confirmed the existence of a fault to the west of the coast line a straight scarp running almost parallel to Pondicherry-Marakanam East Coast Road. This straight coast line is also indicative of some structural dislocation.

These observations made since 1973 contain the shocking news about faults otherwise known as geo fractures. Dr.S.M.Ramasamy Director of the Center for Remote Sensing of Bharathidasan University explaining the findings on his project River Migration Tamil Nadu in the interview to The Hindu says

But the East-North-East-West-South-West trending faults on the contrary are showing left handed (sinistral) ongoing translational movements and again the North-West-South-East trending faults are showing right handed (dextral) translation movement. Such sinisterly and dextrally moving faults display definite morph tectonic anomalies in the remotely sensed data and also in the field. In addition there is a conspicuous land subsidence between Pondicherry in the North-East and Cumbum valley in the South-West.

The same scholar in an article in the Journal of the Indian Society of Remote Sensing dated September 1993 observed:

One such graben has been established along NE-SW trending faults in between Pondicherry- Cuddalore in the North East and Cumbum Valley in the South west (Kodaikanal and Cumbum Valley).. It is significant to observe that the earthquake epicenters fall along such NE-SW trending fault in Pondicherry, Cuddalore, Ariyalur, Dindigul and Kodaikanal.

The findings of the Central Ground water Board and the findings based on the photographs taken by remote sensing have confirmed the existence of faults. I.e. geofractures and the earthquake epicenters in Pondicherry.

Let us seek the same scholar's advice on actions to be taken.

The present analysis shows that the NE trending quaternary faults and the NE-SW trending quaternary reactivated faults are seismicity prone in Tamil Nadu. Hence care must be taken in avoiding developmental activities in the form of urbanization, industrialization and also construction engineering structures. Hence it can be concluded that mainly quaternary fracture systems and our quaternary reactivated pre Cambrian faults are pollution accentuating fractures in Tamil Nadu (Pondicherry) and hence pollution discharging industries should be avoided along NS trending fault systems.

Science is issuing a forewarning. Scientists have suggested steps to prevent calamities. We the citizens of Pondicherry must be concerned over these findings. Highlighting these is intended to harm none but to forewarn. Dravida Ilaignar Peravai had taken up with the Union Minister of Forests and Environment on 2.12.1995 the need to scientifically study the geofracture. Pondicherry Administration also is

apprised of this through a memorandum submitted on 12-12.1995.

I appeal to the environmentalists of our country in particular to generate sufficient awareness in the corridors of power forcing our Administration to set up a team of scientists to study the geo fracture, the evil effects of pollution discharging industries. the way to arrest our ground water depletion etc.

The depletion of ground water will not only result in salt water intrusion but also will aggravate the geofracture. In fact most of our coastal villages suffer from salt water intrusion. We are getting ground water in all the colors of the rainbow, due to the contamination of ground water by pollution discharging industries. Eachangadu a tiny coastal village with 250 families even today gets water in the color of engine oil from its bore pumps. Our party's campaign led to the closure of the polluting industry in February but even after 6 months villagers suffer without clean drinking water.....These issues were ignored. Later by 2000 when there were tremors and when in 2004 tsunami struck our coasts, some people recalled our forewarnings made from a decade ago.

And now when waves lash our coasts, drawing attention to the Sea Coast erosion N.Nandhivarman wrote an article in The New Indian Express of 4.06.2005. We reproduce it here because it shows in past decade we continue to focus on Green Issues.

ACCOSTING THE SEA COAST

n.nandhivarman

Nowadays seas frighten the fisher folk. For centuries fisher folk had established unassailable bond of love

with seas, but in post tsunami phase every change in the sea causes nightmare. The sea recedes and people become panicky. Waves enter villages lashing out the beaches. People run hither thither for safety. Kanyakumari to Cuddalore almost for a week people of the coast spent sleepless nights and anxious days. This scenario had wakened up the social thinkers and scientists to look for solutions to coastal erosion. Changes due to continental drift are inevitable. Here too if we look at the projections made by scientists, the future world map of 100 million years and 250 million years show changes in India's position but India always remain attached to the Asian continent. This should be viewed with consolation, because in past India was an island nation separated from Asia.

“Our planet is a tri-axial ellipsoid, moving around the Sun in an elliptical orbit at 30 kilometers per second and rotating around its axis at 1,666 kilometers per hour which is faster than speed of sound. Such high speed rotation has resulted in polar areas being compressed towards the center and equatorial areas being bulged out” says Professor Vishal Sharma. Apart from these changes the coast of Tamil Nadu had undergone variations in the past but the present causes more concern. As per a study by the School of Earth Sciences of Bharathidasan University “Before 1.5 million years ago Sea extended up to Madurai. Around 90,000 years before Chennai, Pondicherry and Vedranyam were encircled by seas. Since sea level subsided 65,000 years ago India and Ceylon got connected. When sea level rose by 27,000 years ago both parted and when it fell by 17,000 years before joined again to part again”. And amidst panic reaction to such studies, if we look at the map of coastal changes in Tamil Nadu, one could know that the coast instead of moving inwards had extended seawards. This is enough to give us fresh hope for survival braving the fury of Nature.

VARYING TAMIL NADU COAST

The sea erosion of coast is not an India specific problem. "More than 80 percent of the world shorelines are eroding at the rates varying from centimeters to meters per year." says Orrin.H.Pelkey, Professor of Geology and Director of the Program for the study of Developed Shorelines in the Duke University, North Carolina, USA. He had authored two books and one of its titles has a message to all of us. "Living by the Rules of the Sea" is his book and it is high time we learn to live by the rules of the seas.

A walk in the beach and breathing its salubrious breeze is world wide habit. But how many of those who visit beaches is aware on how beaches are formed? People are worried about erosion. But it is a fact that without erosion beaches could not be formed. "Without the process of erosion, we would not have beaches, dunes, barrier beaches and the highly productive bays and estuaries that owe their existence to the presence of barrier beaches" opines Jim O'Connell, the Coastal Processes Specialist of Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution. Well erosion might have helped beach formation, but it is sending alarm bells from Kanyakumari to Chennai and beyond. Let us look for some scholarly opinion in this regard. After a close study at the Pitchavaram forests near Chidambaram, M.S.Swaminathan Research Foundation reveals that "in between 1930 and 1970, the seashore had eroded by 550 meters. Between 1970 and 1992 the rate of erosion was about 12 meters." The writing on the wall is clear. In past Sirkazhi was a coastal town, which now is interior by kms. The Harbour of Choza Empire, Poompuhar is now beneath the seas. At present warning from Pitchavaram must awaken us.

Apart from facing Nature's onslaughts with preventive measures, human errors too needs to be corrected. Sand is the food for beaches, and it is needless to say that our rivers are not supplying that food to the beaches. Human exploitation and drying of rivers depletes sand supply to beaches. Interlinking of rivers as often advised by our President A.P.J. Abdul Kalam will not only solve water crisis but will save dying beaches.

Sea level rise is primarily due to the thermal expansion of the sea water and melting of the glaciers and ice caps. Arctic Climate Impact assessment by 250 scientists says that "global warming is heating the Arctic almost twice as fast as rest of the planet" United Nations sponsored Inter Governmental panel on climate change will be bringing out its fourth assessment by 2007. Changing Winds and currents in the Indian Ocean in 1990's contributed to the global warming says a NASA study in the Geophysical Research Letters. The recent lashing of waves of Tamil Nadu coast was triggered by a storm near Australia, scientists say.

The National Hurricane Center of USA reports that "hurricanes release heat energy at the rate of 50 trillion to 200 trillion watts. This is equivalent to 10 mega ton nuclear bomb exploding about every 20 minutes." But we in India are in one way lucky. Our coast will not be hit by hurricanes. Our cyclones are less intense. Storms that hit continental America have almost the full width of Atlantic Ocean to gain strength, since our cyclones emanate from Bay of Bengal there is neither room nor time for them to grow, and this natural phenomenon helps us in one way.

Global warming also causes rise in sea level inundating coastal areas. We must know that most of

the ice sheet rests on land that's below sea level. At a point called the "grounding line" it starts floating, thus displacing its own weight in water. And as it turns out, the line may not move much because the flow of the ice streams seems to be restrained by friction against rocks at the bottom and sides rather than the ice shelf. So if the ice shelf melts, the flow of the streams should not change appreciably. And since the volume added to the ocean depends on how much ice moves from land to water -- as determined by the grounding line -- the upshot seems to be relative stability. "The ice streams do not appear to be susceptible to the kind of unstable retreat once envisaged," says Bentley. "Their flow is largely insensitive to the presence of the ice shelf so the grounding line would remain the same." Instead of possibly collapsing in 100 years, as was considered possible 10 years ago, Bentley says the West Antarctic Ice Sheet is more likely to collapse -- if at all -- in perhaps 5,000 years at the soonest. By this scientific prediction it becomes evident that sea level rise by global warming too will not cause more harm in near future, if we are well prepared for it with preventive measures. If governments have plans for beach nourishment with vegetation, which is the cheapest preventive measure, it will go a long way in arresting coastal erosion. Our survival instincts will save us in planet Earth, but let us strive to survive with forethought.

Courtesy: The New Indian Express-week end 4.06.2005

Environmentalists are not anti developmental people. Dravida Peravai had mooted many developmental plans, discussed it with Planning Commission Member Dr.S.B.Gupta and met the Union Minister for State of External Affairs Digvijay Singh to urge for the TENTH DEGREE CANAL PROJECT. This was

published in center page of Dinamani in all edition coverage with New Delhi dateline.

TENTH DEGREE- TAMIZHAN CANAL

August 15 th 2003, from Pondicherry Dravida Peravai wrote a letter to the Lt.Governor of Andaman and Nicobar Mr.N.N.Jha on the need to dig a canal in Thailand connecting Bay of Bengal and Gulf of Siam. It also urged that such Indo-Thailand joint venture be named as Thamizhan Calvaay. (Daily Thanthi 15.08.2003). Then Dinamani dated 28.08.2003 stated that a memorandum for construction of a " New Canal for benefiting Chennai and Tuticorin Harbor's" had been handed over to the Union Minister of State for External Affairs Mr.Digvijay Singh. Mr.Singh lauded this project which will reduce 1500 nautical miles to reach South China Seas. Then Dravida Peravai sent Memorandums to Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Thailand Prime Minister Thakashin Shinawatra on 3.11.2003. The contents of that memorandum are given here.

Dear Respected Prime Ministers

You may be aware that the Suez Canal (1869) and Panama Canal (1915), Sethusamudram Canal (1860) and the Tenth degree canal have been mooted to create short navigational routes to bring prosperity to respective regions and countries. The French initiative to build Siene-Norde Canal is an example for the keen interest evinced by developed countries to promote trade and overall development. Since the recent visit of The Indian Prime Minister had given tremendous boos to the cooperation between India and Thailand, Dravida Peravai is bringing to your knowledge certain historical facts with the humble request to you both to take an active interest for the construction of the Tenth Degree Canal, which can bring prosperity to

Andaman and Nicobar islands of India and Thailand apart from boosting bilateral trade.

You must go back to the pages of history to know that Thailand then known as Siam is an enemy country of the British and an ally of the Japan during the World War II. On the conclusion of the Second World War one of the last secretive acts performed by the colonial Government of India was the signing of a Peace Treaty with Siam [Thailand]. A Peace Treaty between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of India on one hand and the Kingdom of Siam on the other on January 1, 1946 at the Government House Singapore. The signatories were for the Britain Mr. Moberly Denning, political adviser of Lord Louis Mountbatten for the Government of India and S. Aney AND for Siam Prince Viwat Anajai Jaiyant, Lt. General Phya Abhai Songram and Nai Serm Vinichayakul. This treaty contains 24 articles. Out of this Article 7 assumes great importance in context of this letter.

Article 7: Siam undertakes to construct NO CANAL linking the Indian Ocean and Gulf of Siam [i.e. across the Kra Isthmus] without British consent. [Keesing's Contemporary Archives 1946-47 Vol VI p 7695]. This article had done great havoc to Indian shipping costing our nation billions of extra money by way of fuel imports, in view of shelving of the Tenth Degree Canal by imposing a condition in the Peace Treaty. It has also blocked the economic prosperity of Thailand and held up the development process by half a century and more.

Hence Dravida Peravai urges the Government of India and Government of Thailand to look into the unfavorable condition imposed by a colonial rule that too at the threshold of a defeat in World War II. It is in the interests of India and Thailand that a Canal be cut across the Isthmus of Kra where Isthmus narrows to

just 75 miles and to develop this canal vigorously so that a detour of 1500 nautical miles down the Malayan coast via Straits of Malacca and up the Gulf of Thailand in the South China Sea is avoided.

The proposed tenth degree canal will be an extension of the tenth degree channel of Andaman Nicobar islands. The opening of Tenth Degree canal will save millions of tons of fuel for world shipping. Tenth Degree Canal will reduce the importance of Panama and Suez Canals. Tenth Degree Canal would develop Andaman and Nicobar islands and bring prosperity to its economy. The opening of this canal will also benefit Indian Ports like Haldia, Paradip, Vizag, Chennai and Tuticorin.

There are more than 138 minor and intermediary ports under the control of various state governments in India. If Indian Government creates a National Seaway Authority and permits private sector vessels to transport cargo and passengers connecting all Indian ports, these 138 minor and intermediary ports which are inoperable will be bustling with activity.....So continues the memorandum.It must be noted that Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee spoke about "Sagarmala" scheme which is nothing but National Seaway mooted by Dravida Peravai before Planning Commission and other forums.

The future will evaluate all and we have submitted about our activities for future to decide. Tamils must understand that Anna the visionary had left a legacy and it will always remain looking forward for the human upward march towards rational progress.

N.Nandhivarman General Secretary

SETHU SAMUDRAM SEAWAY: DREAM OF ANNA

N.Nandhivarman General Secretary Dravida Peravai

In Tamil Nadu at Madurai, Ramanathapuram and at Tuticorin, the Union Defense Minister George Fernandes announced the launching of Sethu Samudram project. Breaking that news THE HINDU, English Daily dated January 8, 1999 wrote:



A 138-YEAR SUSPENSE BROKEN

The Sethu samudram canal project will go down in history as gift of the 20 th century to the southern districts of Tamil Nadu. A 138 year old suspense was broken by the Union Defense Minister Mr. George Fernandes, on Wednesday when he announced at Rameshwaram that work on the project will commence in the next few months.

Conceived in 1860 by Commander A.D.Taylor of the Indian Marines, the project, envisaged to link the Gulf of Mannar and the Palk Bay, has been reviewed umpteen times over the years but a decision could not be made. At a time when the people of southern districts began to think that Sethusamudram would remain a pipe dream like linking of the Ganga and Cauvery, came the announcement from the Prime Minister A.B.Vajpayee in Chennai that his government would implement the project. The Prime Minister followed that announcement by entrusting the project to the Defense Minister, who did lot of spadework in the last four months before making an aerial survey of the project on Wednesday. Light could be seen at the end of the tunnel. Since the conception of the Sethu Samudram, two other canals- the Suez Canal (1869) and the Panama Canal (1915) have been built in the world.

Though many reasons could be attributed to the delay in the project taking shape, lack of political will has been the major factor. Like marking the twelfth man in a cricket team, Sethu Samudram found a place in the election manifestoes of all political parties during elections. Hopes about the implementation of the project soared when the Union Government appointed the Sethu Samudram Project Committee in 1955, headed by Dr.A.Ramasamy Mudaliar, which was charged with the duty of examining the desirability of the project. After evaluating the costs and benefits, this committee found the project feasible and viable. Several reviews of the proposals followed this till Mr.Vajpayee announced his Governments commitment to execute the project.

What is paramount importance to the country are the strategic advantages that would accrue from this project. Though the country has a peninsular coast running to 3554 nautical miles, it does not have a

continuous sea-lane within its territorial waters. Ships navigating from one side of the country to the other have to circumnavigate Sri Lanka due to the presence of Adam's bridge, a sand stone reef near Ramasewaram coast. A memorandum submitted to the Central Committee on Sethu Samudram Ship Canal project by the State Government on August 1981 pointed out that the canal will afford secret and sheltered passage for our Naval ships and Coast Guard vessels. Otherwise, they will have to suffer exposure to the foreign countries in the Indian Ocean and also suffer more wear and tear voyaging around Srilanka.

The distance between Cape Comerin and Chennai would be reduced to 402 nautical miles from the present 755 after the completion of the project. The distance between Cape Comerin and Vizag will be 719 nautical miles against the present 1014, between Cape Comerin and Calcutta 1098(1357), Tuticorin and Chennai 335(769). Tuticorin and Vizag 652(1028), Tuticorin and Calcutta 1031(1371). Apart from effecting savings in fuel the project is expected to provide a tremendous boost to the economic and industrial development of coastal Tamil Nadu. The project will be of particular significance to the Tutucorin harbour, which has the potential to transform itself into a nodal port such as Singapore and Colombo. The State Government has announced its proposal to develop 13 minor ports, including Ennore, Cuddalore, Nagapattinam, Thondi, Valinokam, Colachel and Kanyakumari. And the Sethu samudram canal will improve coastal shipping. There is also a possibility of introducing passenger and freight services along the coast.

The normally drought prone Ramanathapuram district will be the major beneficiary of the project in terms of providing employment. The maritime skills of the

people living in the Rameshwaram and Pamban areas could be harmonized for the development of the region. There is also the scope for the development of a major port like Port Said of the Suez Canal in the district. Apart from improving the fishing trade, the canal will be a major tourist attraction.

Though there has been a vociferous demand from various quarters for the implementation of the project, there is also opposition to it, albeit in low pitch from environmentalists. They point out that the dredging of the Palk Bay and the Gulf of Mannar would endanger precious marine species and wealth. However official environment clearance has been given for the project. The contention that the Sethu Samudram canal will cut through coral reefs and disturb the ecology is a mistaken fear. Since the coast is either clayey or sandy in nature the ecology will not be endangered, it has been pointed out.

The announcement of the Defense Minister and the commitment demonstrated by the Planning Commission has raised hopes of the people of south Tamil Nadu. *By Staff Reporter: Courtesy: THE HINDU English Daily. (Jan 8, 1999)*

In one such meeting held at Tuticorin, N.Nandhivarman General Secretary Dravida Peravai translated the speech of Union Defense Minister George Fernandes.

That was on 6.1.1999. Then elections came in the way. Again when Nandhivarman stressed the necessity to include Sethu Samudram project in National Democratic Alliance Manifesto, the President of Samata Party George Fernandes in a letter dated August 5-1999 wrote: "The matters pertaining to interlinking of rivers and related issues did figure in the last meeting of NDA. Sethu Samudram cannot be

discussed at that moment as that would violate the code. However you can be rest assured that once the NDA is returned to power these items will be high on the agenda of the government."

National Democratic Alliance came to power, and Comrade George Fernandes was kind enough to recommend to the Union Surface Transport Minister Nitish Kumar on his own the need to appoint Nandhivarman as one of the Trustees of Tuticorin Port Trust. Participating in the 4th ordinary meeting of the Board of Trustees for the year 2000-2001 held on 25th August 2000 Nandhivarman's observations as per the agenda papers are as follows:

"Mr.Nandhivarman enquired about the stage at which the Sethu Samudram project stood. According to information available to him, a Belgian company was keen to take up the project on B.O.T.basis. The Chairman explained that the firms in Belgium and Holland were interested in the project because of the large dredging component. The operation and maintenance of the canal after its construction would be quite expensive and therefore, it is necessary to study the traffic and income potential in detail before venturing into it. Therefore all these aspects were being studied by the Government and once it is found to be commercially feasible project then the Government could take a decision on how to implement it"

Meanwhile in the Board the NEERI Report was tabled to inform the Board of Trustees of Tuticorin Port Trust Initial Environmental Examination of Sethu Samudram Ship Canal Project prepared by National Environmental Engineering Institute - Nagpur (December 1998).

The executive summary in verbatim is given below:

Preamble:

1. India does not have, within her own territorial waters, a continuous navigable route around the peninsula due to the presence of a shallow (3.5m) coral reef called "Adams Bridge" at Pamban near Rameshwaram between the south eastern coast of India and Talaimannar of Srilanka. Consequently the ships calling at Ports on the East Coast of India have to go around Sri Lanka entailing an additional distance of more than 400 nautical miles and 36 hours of ship time.

2. The Sethu Samudram Ship Canal Project, now under the consideration of the Ministry of Surface Transport, Government of India envisages construction of a ship canal of varying lengths to suit different drafts (30', 31' and 35') through dredging/excavation. The canal will originate from Tuticorin new harbour in the Gulf of Mannar extend north east in straight line up to Mansfield pitch south of Pamban island, then cut through the island east of the Kodandaramasamy temple and thereafter turning north east, proceed parallel to the International Medial line as the Bay of Bengal Channel.

3. Different alignments for the proposed canal were considered, and in the light of representations from the public, the fishermen and the pilgrims, the alignment through the island about 4 km east of Kodandaramasamy Temple has been proposed.

4. The Tuticorin Port Trust, the nodal agency identified for the implementation of the project, in pursuance of its decision to incorporate environmental considerations in the design phase of the project, retained, in March 1998, the National environmental

Engineering Research Institute (NEERI) to conduct the Initial Environmental Examination of the project.

5. This report presents briefly the project setting, describes the baseline environmental status of the project area, identifies environmental issues, predicts and evaluates impacts due to the proposed canal project.

6. The Initial Environmental Examination has primarily drawn upon the available information on the proposed project., the hydrograph, marine water quality and ecological resources in the project area, and the primary data generated for one season during the course of the study. A comprehensive environmental impact study with intensive data collection covering all seasons of the year is essential for a fuller description and appreciation of the natural processes occurring in the study area, and to delineate the environmental consequences including the ecological risk associated with the proposed project

Project Setting

7. The proposed Sethusamudram Ship canal will have two legs; one near the Point Calimere called the Bay of Bengal channel and the other across the narrow Dhanushkody Peninsula near Kodandaramasamy temple. The canal will cut the existing road connecting Rameswaram and Danushkody. The Bay of Bengal channel traverses the Palk bay wherein the sea bed is mostly soft to hard clayey sand in nature. The entire coast of Danushkody peninsula on the North and South is all sandy.

8. In addition to the construction of the proposed ship canal, a number of infra-structural facilities is envisaged under the project. These include the

construction of a lock rubble mound breakwaters on either side of the land canal, navigational aids, flotilla, shore facilities and staff and administration buildings.

9. As per the study of Pallavan Transport Consultancy Services Ltd, the estimated cost (1994prices) of dredging various segments of the Channel for three different drafts viz 30', 31' and 35' is Rupees 478 crores, Rupees 549 crores and Rupees 965 crores respectively. The estimated cost of the entire project components including the navigational aids and floating crafts is Rupees 685 crores, Rupees 760 crores, and Rupees 1200 crores respectively.

The construction period will be about 4 to 6 years. Based on the Net Present Value (NPV) method of appraisal, with an interest rate of 9% per annum, an Internal Rate of Return (IRR) of 10 to 17% on the investment has been estimated. The project will start generating a surplus from the 16 th to 17 th year of its operation.

EA Requirements

10. In keeping with the nature and magnitude of the investment programme, the proposed Sethusamudram Ship Canal project would fall under category A of the World Bank classification and hence would require full EA.

11. At the national level the environmental clearance to the project is subject to compliance with the stipulated safeguards under the provisions of Environment (Protection) Act 1986, Forest(Conservation) Act 1980, The Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act 1974, The Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Rules 1975, The Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Cess Act 1977, The Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Cess

Rule 1978, The Water(Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act 1981, and other rules and regulations in force. Land Use on the coastline will be subject to regulation as per Coastal Regulation Zone Notification issued by the Ministry of Environment and Forests, Government of India under the Environment Protection Act 1986. This notification is administered by the State Pollution Control Board.

12. The Wild Life (Protection) Act of India (1972) provides legal protection to many marine animals including reef associated organisms. Chapter IV of this Act dealing with sanctuaries, National Parks, Game Reserves and Closed Areas is equally applicable to marine reserves and marine parks and biospheres.

13. The Tamil Nadu Pearl and Shell Fisheries Rules 1978 of the Indian Fisheries Act 1897 prohibits harvesting of pearl oysters and shells in specified areas except under a license granted under the rules.

14. Under Section 5 of the Tamil Nadu Marine Fishing Regulation Act 1983 the State government can regulate, restrict or prohibit fishing in any specified area, the type of fishing gear that can be used, and also the class of fishing vessels that can operate in any area.

15. The Tamil Nadu State environmental Committee is the apex advisory body constituted by the Government (G.O Ms.No.10 dated December 12, 1983) in the matter of protection of environment in the state. Development projects costing over Rupees 50 million are subject to review and clearance by this committee (GTN G.O Ms.No.161 dated September 26, 1988).

16. Through an executive communication from the Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of environment and Forests to the Chief Secretary,

Government of Tamil Nadu, the Gulf of Mannar Marine Biosphere Reserve has been notified in 1989. There is however no legislation as yet on the biosphere reserves either at the national or at state level.

17. Acquisition of private lands for the project will be governed by the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act of 1894/The Tamil Nadu Requisitioning and acquisitioning of Immovable property Act of 1956.

18. Resettlement and Rehabilitation, if any, due to the project has to be addressed within the broad framework of the World Bank Operational Directive O.D 4.30 or as per existing provisions of the Tamil Nadu Government whichever is applicable.

19. As per the MEF, Government of India notification dated April 10, 1997, Public Hearing is mandatory for environmental clearance of projects. The notification has also laid down the procedure for Public Hearing.

20. During the operational phase of the project, the most important instrument to be complied with relates to the International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from ships 1973 as modified by the Protocol of 1978 to which India is a signatory.

ENVIRONMENT SETTING

21. Palk Bay and the Gulf of Mannar covering an area of 10,500 kms in which the proposed ship canal is to be constructed are biologically rich and rated among the highly productive seas of the world. Its diversity is considered globally significant. In the Gulf of Mannar between the coastline and the proposed alignment there are 21 islands which have been declared as National Marine Parks by the Tamil Nadu Forest Department and the MEF, Government of India. Van tivu is the nearest island about 6 kms from the

proposed canal alignment in the Tuticorin area and Shingle is the nearest about 12 Kms Island in the Rameshwaram area.

22. As for hydrograph, there are two circulations of water masses in the Bay of Bengal in the clockwise circulation of the south-west monsoon and the counter clockwise circulation of the north-east monsoon. The reported current velocities in the Palk Bay and Gulf of Mannar are as mild as 0.2 m-0.4m/sec except on few days during south-west monsoon when it rises up to 0.7 m/sec. The directions of the currents follow the direction of prominent winds. The analysis of current data shows no potential threats to siltation of the canal.

23. Primary data on physic-chemical characteristics and marine biological resources was collected from April 29- May 10, 1998 from 10 sampling stations along the 50 kilometer long alignment and 20 stations, 5 km on either side of each of the aforementioned 10 stations. Data on hydrodynamics was generated on July 10-11of 1998 at 10 locations in the study domain with the assistance of the Staff of the Chief Hydrographic Surveyor of India, Dehradun. The present bathymetry is assumed to be not significantly different from the bathymetry data depicted in Naval Chart 317.

24. Primary data on physical-chemical characteristics of marine water shows no significant variation in alkalinity (102-106 mg/L) and pH (8.0-8.2) along the proposed canal alignment. The DO values varied from 3.2 to 5.7 mg/L and the silicates from 0.003 mg/L to 0.017 mg/L. No significant variation in salinity was observed between surface and bottom samples. An inverse relationship between salinity and silicates was observed. The concentrations of heavy metals except iron, boron, and arsenic were below detectable limits.

25. The gross primary productivity values along the proposed canal alignment varied from 142 to 472 mg C/m³/day indicating that Gulf of Mannar and the Palk Straits are a biologically productive region. The zooplankton was dominated by copepod. Macro benthos was represented by 78 varieties exhibiting fairly good diversity. The meiofauna comprised larval polychaetes, nematodes, worms and shrunken bodies of a few forms.

26. Sediment samples collected along the proposed canal alignment showed the presence of organic carbon, total nitrogen, total phosphorous and sulphates in concentrations adequate for biological growth. Almost all the sediment samples had oil and grease. The concentration of heavy metals was high in some of the sediment samples from the Palk Bay as compared to the samples from other locations.

27. The presence of corals along the proposed ship canal alignment is negligible. Occurrence of major group of biological resources like sea fan, sponges, pearl, oysters, chunks, and holothurians at various sampling points has been recorded. In general, the density of economically/ecologically important species along the proposed alignment is not significant.

28. All the three group of prochordata organisms considered as the connecting link between invertebrates and vertebrates via, hermichordata, cephalochordata and unorchordata comprising 1, 6 and 59 species respectively were recorded mostly around the islands of Gulf of Mannar.

29. There are 87 fish landing stations between the South of Point Calimere and Pamban in the Palk Bay and 40 stations in the Gulf of Mannar between Pamban and Tuticorin. Out of 600 varieties of fishes recorded in this area, 72 are commercially important.

During 1992-1996, the fish production has increased gradually from 55325 tones in 1992 to 102897 tones in 1996.

30. Non conventional fishing in the region is represented by pearl, chunk, sea weeds, ornamental shells and holothurians. There has been a declining trend in the production of these organisms as evidenced by the revenue received by MPEDA.

31. Rare and endangered species of sea turtle, dolphin, sea cow, and whale are recorded in the Gulf of Mannar and Palk Bay. The sea cow inhabits the shallow shore regions where grass occurs, while endangered animals mostly prefer deep sea far away from the proposed alignment.

32. Several species of green algae (32), red algae (59) blue-green algae (3) and sea grasses are recorded in the Gulf of Mannar and the Palk Bay. A few of the 21 islands are reported to possess patches of mangroves predominated by avicennia sp. and Rhizophora sp.

33. Most of the habitats of the sensitive biota viz corals, pearls, oysters, chunks, dugong, holothurians, and marine algae are along the coast and around the 21 islands and mostly away from the proposed canal alignment.

34. Based on an analysis and interpretation of IRS IC LISS-III satellite data (Path 102 and Row 67 dated 19.05.1998 in CD ROM about 20 square kilometers of Pamban island, barren sandy areas (35 sq, kms) between Pamban island and coastal wedge of Mandapam and an area (329 sq.kms) close to the National Highway (NH 49) from Rameshwaram to Madurai have been identified as potential sites for disposal of dredged material.

35. There are no archaeologically significant structures along the proposed canal alignment. However there exists a probability of cultural/archaeological artifacts being encountered during the excavation of the canal.

36. Along the coast of Gulf of Mannar and the Palk Bay there are 138 villages and towns spread over 5 districts. The socio-economic profile of the fisherman in the villages of Gulf of Mannar coast is low and more than 40 % of families are in debt. While the local population welcomes the project, they have an apprehension that the construction of the canal might result in reduction in their fishery income.

Impacts due to the Project

37. The locations of the proposed land based structures and the extent of required construction are yet to be firmed up. Likewise the potential sites for disposal of dredged material are yet to be decided. Hence, the pre-construction phase impact due to land acquisition, resettlement and rehabilitation of affected population as also compensation, if any, cannot be assessed at this juncture.

38. As the proposed alignment is more than 5 kms away from the existing 21 National Marine Parks in the Gulf of Mannar, the marine biological resources around the islands will not be affected to any significant level.

39. The existing level of primary productivity in the project area will remain practically unaltered during the construction and operations phase of the ship canal. There would not be any significant change in the water quality including turbidity due to the proposed deployment of trailer suction hopper

dredgers and cutter section dredgers for capital and maintenance dredging.

40. Due to the dredging the bottom flora and fauna on an area approximately 25 sq.kms along the canal alignment will be lost permanently. This loss however will be very insignificant compared to the total area of 10,500 sq, km of the Gulf of Mannar Marine Biosphere Reserve.

41. During the construction of the land portion of the canal and the shore based structures there will be considerable increase in the rail and road traffic to and from the island for transportation of men, material, machinery and equipment. These would lead to congestion of traffic and increased levels of air and noise pollution with their associated impact on the public.

42. Due to the construction of the canal, the land access, now available to the local fisher folk, to Dhanushkody area for traditional fishing will be hindered unless alternative arrangements are made. The dredging and shipping operations will have to be so regulated as to cause minimum disturbance to the normal fishing activities.

43. Hydrodynamic modeling studies using Depth Integrated Velocity and Solute Transport (DIVAST) model have shown that for the highest spring tidal water conditions there will be no significant change in the magnitude and direction of the current velocities along the proposed alignment due to the construction of the canal.

44. During the construction and operation phases of the canal, the potential sources of marine pollution are spillage of oil and grease, marine litter, jetsam and flotsam including plastic bags, discarded articles of

human use from the sea borne vessels which will have to be controlled.

45. The canal may facilitate the movement of fishes and other biota from the Bay of Bengal to the Indian Ocean and vice versa. By this way, the entry of oceanic and alien species into the Palk Bay and the Gulf of Mannar as also dispersal of endemic species outside the Palk Bay and Gulf of Mannar could occur.

46. The canal will establish a continuous navigable sea route around the peninsular coast within Indian territorial waters reduce shipping distance by about 400 nautical miles and voyage time of 36 hours, as also the attendant operating costs. The canal will become a valuable asset from national defense and security points of view, enabling easier and quicker access between the coasts.

47. Once the canal is in place, the clandestine and illegal activities in the Palk Bay and Gulf of Mannar will be minimized due to constant vigilance and regulation of movement of ships and vessels.

48. The project will provide employment opportunities and avenues of additional income through establishment of small ancillary industries. The project will also trigger development of coastal trade between the Ports of the South and North of Rameshwaram consequently reducing the load and congestion on railways and roadways.

49. The project will help save considerable foreign exchange through reduction in oil import bill and generate revenue income from dues levied on ships transiting the canal which will add to the national economy.

Analysis of Alternatives

50. Five alternative routes for the construction of Sethusamudram ship canal were considered. Based on the evaluation of impacts of the project during construction and operation phases, the alignment (4) suggested by the Steering Committee near the Moonru Iruppu Chatram has been identified as the best alternative (Refer: Fig.5.16) which will cause the least damage to the biota and the environment.

This report is not the first of its kind. For 140 years many such reports were gathering dust. N.Nandhivarman General Secretary Dravida Peravai in a Memorandum personally handed over to Union Defense Minister George Fernandes at Delhi on 22.02.2001 and published in World page of Dinamani Tamil daily dated 23rd February 2001. In verbatim it is reproduced here:

Presenting last year's Union budget (2000-2001) The Honorable Union Minister of Finance was kind enough to announce in the floor of Parliament as: "Hon'ble members are aware that the Sethu Samudram Ship Canal project has the potential of providing a shorter route between the East and West Coast Ports. I am glad to inform that Government had approved the undertaking of a detailed feasibility study and environmental impact assessment of the project at a total cost of Rs 4.8 crore. I have made necessary provision for this in the budget."

"Though it is in the manifesto of the National Democratic alliance and almost all leaders of Tamil Nadu have demanded this project, nothing emerges out of these promises, I am sorry to point out. The Union Finance Minister's budgetary announcement was hailed as a great achievement because after having been conceived 140 years back, there appeared

to be light at the end of the tunnel. But in spite of the recent promise made by the Prime Minister, I am sorry to say, it is going to be a chase of the mirage. I, as one of the Trustees to the Tuticorin Port Trust, the nodal agency to implement this project had been raising this issue in the board meetings. Quoting from the minutes of the Tuticorin Port Trust, it becomes evident that the nodal agency had no information or plans, while once again election platforms will hear promises galore from personalities. About 20 expert committees have conducted detailed studies and came to the conclusion that the scheme is technically feasible and economically viable.

Report of Commander A.D.Taylor of the Indian Marine, 1860 (Cost Rs 50 lakhs)
Report of the British Parliamentary Committee, 1862
Sir John Stuart, Chief assistant to the Surveyor General of Ceylonese Government 1871
Harbour Engineer George Robertson Report 1872
Proposal by the South Indian Ship Canal Port and Coaling Station Ltd 1884
Proposal by the South Indian Railway Railway Company 1902
Report of the Harbour Engineer Sir Robert Brislow to Government of India 1921
Port Development scheme by Government of Madras 1947
Dr.Sir.A.Ramasamy Mudaliar Committee 1955
Dr.Nagendra Singh Committee 1963
C.V.Venkateswaran Committee 1965 (Rs 37 crore)
C.V.Venkateswaran Committee (cost up gradation) 1971 (Rs 53 crore)
Government of India Technical Committee confirms feasibility of the scheme but shelves it due to cost factor 1980 (Rs 110 crore)
Ministry of Shipping and Transport (Port Wing) Committee 1981

H.R.Lakshminarayanan Committee 1983 (Rs 282 crore)

Tamil Nadu Assembly passes unanimous resolution seeking implementation of Sethu project 1986

Report of Pallavan Consultancy Services Ltd 1996 (Rs 685 to Rs 1200 crores depending on the draft)

Now that it becomes clear that all these expert committees have found the project feasible, the one constituted in the allocation made by the Union Minister would have also have endorsed the same view.

Way back in 1860 when the Suez Canal was on the drawing board the British Maritime pioneers had discovered that a shipping canal off Rameshwaram coast will save approximately 36 hours of sailing time between Madras and Tuticorin and reduce the distance by 434 nautical miles i.e. about 803 kms. The latest in the series of studies is by the Tamil Nadu Government owned Pallavan Consultancy Services, which says in its Report on March 1996 that "the project can be completed at an estimated capital cost (1996 price) of Rs 685 crore, Rs 760 crore, and Rs 1200 crore for a canal of 30 feet, 31 feet, and 35 feet draft respectively. The payback period is 17 years, and thereafter the benefit from the canal project would be Rs 47 crore in the first year and Rs 100 to Rs 120 crore in the subsequent years. According to the 1996 ratings earnings of foreign exchange is estimated at Rs 35 crore besides a reduction in fuel import by Rs 200 crore. The approved Sethu Canal alignment envisages the creation of a 180 km long and 200 meters wide canal to connect the Gulf of Mannar with the Palk Straits off Rameshwaram in Tamil Nadu. But major dredging needs only to be done only for about 15 kms on Mannar side and 12 kms on the Palk Bay side since a natural shipping canal already exists there.

In view of the economic benefits that will generate prosperity to Southern Tamil Nadu, we urge the Union Government to give the go ahead or speed up negotiations to hand over the project to private sector under B.O.T.basis. Nanguneri Free Trade Zone inaugurated recently is in the near vicinity. Unless infrastructure projects of gigantic nature like Sethu Canal project are taken up it will not achieve the required prosperity in our times.

We only urge what the NDA Manifesto promises, what the Prime Minister promised to the people of Tamil Nadu in a Marumalarchi DMK rally at Chennai, what has been incorporated in the previous years budget, what had been announced by the Union Defense Minister in Rameshwaram and Tuticorin on 6.1.1999 and in which as translator of his speech, I have little memory left to recall that promise, to be fulfilled before the Assembly elections ahead, as after having waited for 141 years for this project, the people of Tamil Nadu must get it.". Thus Dravida Peravai urged the Union Government.

Close on the heels of submission of this memorandum, the Union Budget was presented for the year 2001-2002. Dinamani, Tamil daily in its front page published the salient features of the budget. In the same front page it pointed out that no funds were allocated for the Sethu Samudram project. The funds allocated for the year 2000-2001 were not utilized since a comprehensive feasibility study for which those funds were earmarked was not undertaken during that financial year. Dinamani recalled Nandhivarman's meeting with Union Defence Minister previous week in this connection and said as feared, in budget no funds were allocated for Sethu samudram project. It also stated MDMK General Secretary Vaiko expressed disappointment over these lacunae. Subsequently Junior Vikatan published a

story in its issue of 14 th March 2001. Then there were protests from all quarters.

Meanwhile Srilanka suddenly announced that India and Srilanka will undertake a feasibility study to construct a Hanuman Bridge across the Palk straits. Srilankan Investment Corporation Chairperson Mr. Jayasoorya had said that the feasibility is over and soon India and Srilanka are going to put their signatures for green signaling this project at a cost of Rs.4000 crores. According to that project a six way track for road and rail traffic was mooted. The distance of 29.2 kilometers between Thalaimannar and Dhanushkody will be connected by this bridge. Sweden and Denmark have a sea bridge for 23 kilometers. If this bridge is completed it will beat that record, Sri Lanka proclaimed.

Dravida Peravai criticized this project as a BERLIN WALL ACROSS THE PALK STRAITS PLANNED TO SEND SETHU SAMUDRAM PROJECT FOR BURIAL. In Parliament the Rajya Sabha member from Pondicherry Mr. C.P. Thirunavukkarasu (DMK) raised his voice against this project. The Swadeshi Protection Movement organized protest in front of Memorial Hall Chennai. MDMK General Secretary Vaiko wrote to the Center protesting this plan.

After so much delay suddenly Tuticorin Port Trust on 1.09.2001 called for global tender... The Notice Inviting Global Tender vide No E(C)/F.42/8/2001/DB was published in all newspapers. Last date for receipt was extended to December 15, 2001. The Chairman of Tuticorin Port Trust said in the media that the feasibility study will be over by April 2002. In this process the same National Environment Engineering Research Institute was selected and it gave its Report. Acting on that report, National Democratic Alliance government did not do anything.

2004 POLLS: Unprecedented victory of all 40 seats in Tamil Nadu and Pondicherry by the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam led Alliance resulted in United Progressive Alliance coming to power. The DMK nominee in the cabinet holding Shipping & Surface Transport portfolio Mr.T.R.Baalu used all persuasive powers at his command to get a cabinet nod for this project. Union Finance Minister P.Chidambaram too did his best to see this project become a reality. And meanwhile in public hearings on this project politically motivated vested interests plotted to raise hue and cry against this project. To politically deny credit to DMK Ministers every effort was taken. The Tuticorin Port Trust under the dynamic leadership of Chairman Ragupathy answered all doubts raised by full page advertisements in many papers. It deserves reproduction separately.

GOOD NEWS ATLAST :Ultimately CABINET CLEARS SETHU SAMUDRAM PROJECT.

Canal to reduce distance between East and west coast by 424 nautical miles, travel by 30 hours

CABINET NOD FOR SETHU PROJECT

New Delhi May 19,2005, The government today cleared the long delayed Sethu Samudram Ship Canal project off Rameshwaram in Tamil Nadu that would vastly reduce distance between East and west Coasts of India. This 2427.40 crore project cleared by the Cabinet Committee on Economic Affairs may also tap the capital market through initial public offering or private placements to raise Rs 226 crore. Announcing the CCEA decision Finance Minister P.Chidambaram said a special purpose vehicle would be set up for the implementation of the project that would create a navigational canal.

The canal will reduce distance of up to 424 nautical miles and sailing time up to 30 hours for ships between the east and west coast.

Elaborating this project Chidambaram said it was a dream for over 100 years. With the cabinet nod, the Government had fulfilled the CMP and budget promises, he said.

“It opens up a channel that would enable ships to avoid going around Srilanka”. he said. Adding the channel would bring benefits as was the case with Suez Canal and Panama Canal. The total project cost would be Rs 2,333 crore and financing cost Rs 194.40 crore. Chidambaram said adding the SPV will raise the funds. He said the financial structure of the SPV would be in the debt equity ration of 1:5:1

The Finance Minister said the Sethu samudram Corporation Limited will be the nodal agency for raising resources and implementing the project through Tuticorin Port trust.

Elaborating on the Government contribution in the SPV, Chidambaram said it would contribute Rs 495 crore, while the Shipping Corporation of India and Tuticorin Port Trust will contribute Rs 50 crore each. The Dredging Corporation of India along with Port Trusts of Chennai, Ennore, Vizag and Paradip will contribute Rs 30 crore each.

The project has been hanging fire for almost a century and a half, envisages linking the Arabian Sea with the Bay of Bengal by dredging the shallow waters to the north of Srilanka, thereby creating a navigable canal across the Gulf of Mannar, Palk Bay and the Palk Straits.

These waters have hitherto not been navigable by cargo shipping and the justification for the project is that it will save about 400 kilometers of sailing distance between east and western coasts of India.

An environmental impact assessment report was prepared by the NEERI of Nagpur although it has reportedly had no previous experience with marine projects of this nature. (PTI)

Courtesy: New Indian Express May 20, 2005

**THANKS FOR ALL WHO MADE
ANNA'S DREAM COME TRUE**

This website thanks the Union Government headed by Mr.Manmohan Singh for having given the clearance for Sethu Samudram project. Dravida Peravai first thanks A.D.Taylor who mooted this suggestion in 1860. Dravida Peravai thanks all parties of the United Democratic Alliance for having stood for this project.

Though many had strived for the efforts of Kalaignar M.Karunanithi, President DMK with all his national stature and political clout led to the green signaling of this dream project. A special thanks to him by all Tamil peoples.

Marumalarchi DMK General Secretary Vaiko can be equally singled out for praise for his tireless efforts. Dravida Peravai thanks Comrade George Fernandes for the efforts he had taken during his tenure, but which failed against the Srilankan lobby which was against this project fearing it would eat into the profits of their country's harbours. Dravida Peravai had a small role in the long drawn struggle for that project. Our intention is to place that on record.

Having said all, it should be stated that Sethusamudram project was mentioned by Aringnar Anna as one of the 1000 crore projects he spelt out for Tamil Nadu's prosperity as Opposition Leader in the floor of the Assembly in 1957-1962. On becoming Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu to urge the Union Government grant this project and Salem Steel plant he gave a call to organize "Ezhucchi Naal "(Day of Uprising). As Student DMK Convener N.Nandhivarman spoke at Senji Salai thidal of Pondicherry at that time. Now whole Tamil Nadu feels happy that Anna's dream is coming true.

<http://www.angelfire.com/indie/dravidian/>

A BERLIN WALL ACROSS OUR NATIONAL SEAWAY

India and Sri Lanka recently declared that a feasibility study to construct a "Hanuman Bridge" across the Palk Straits will be undertaken. And now within few months Srilankan Investment Corporation Chairperson Mr. Jayasooriya had said that the feasibility is over and soon India and Sri Lanka are going to put their signatures for green signaling this project at a cost of Rs 4000 crores. A six way track for rail and road traffic is mooted. The distance of 29.2 kilometers between Thalaimannar and Thanuskodi which will be connected by this bridge, will dwarf the 23 kilometer sea bridge connecting Sweden and Denmark, Mr. Jayasoori proudly states.

At the outset this bridge seems to be a Berlin Wall to stall the Sethu Samudram Canal project conceived before 142 years, much before Suez Canal was mooted. India's coast from West to East extends to 3555 miles and to enable Indian ships to navigate

within Indian territorial waters, the only missing link will be interlinked if Sethu Samudram Canal becomes reality. Further due to United Nations backed demarcation of exclusive economic zones will see our territorial waters extended up to 350 nautical miles from the coast. In such a changed milieu, it will be appropriate to expedite the construction of Sethu Samudram Canal. The last date of receipt of global tender for preparation of a feasibility study on Sethu Samudram Canal ended on 15th December 2001, and the nodal agency for implementation of Sethu Samudram Canal namely the Tuticorin Port Trust had then stated that the feasibility study will be over in 18 months. Now National Environmental Engineering Research Institute which had done preliminary study is entrusted with the task of doing the final study. Even the newly inducted Minister of State for Shipping Mr.Su.Thirunavukkarasar had said soon Sethu Samudram Project will commence.

If one had to recall the past it contains so many feasibility reports in queue. In 1860 Mr. A. D.Taylor of Indian Marine in his report estimated that the project could be completed in an estimated cost of 50 lakhs. These are the other feasibility reports during British rule namely British Parliament Committee Report (1862), The Report of Sir John Stuart the Chief Assistant Surveyor of Government of Ceylon (1871), The Report of Harbour Engineer George Robertson (1872), The Report of the South Indian Ship Canal Port and Coaling Station Ltd (1884), Southern Railway Company Report (1902), Sir Robert Brislow Harbour engineer of Government of India (1921), The Report of the Government of Madras on Harbour Development (1947).

In Independent India, for the first time the henceforth Rameswaram Shipping Canal got renamed as Sethu Samudram Canal in 19.5.1955 and plans to initiate a

technical investigation for including this project in the II nd Five Year Plan gained momentum. Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar Committee report (1955) in which the estimate of the project was merely 9.98 crores did not find favour for inclusion in the 2nd Five Year Plan. Thereafter Dr. Nagendra Singh Committee Report (1963), C.V. Venkateswaran Committee Report (1965), The revised estimate of C.V. Venkateswaran Committee (1971), The Technical Committee of Government of India (1980), The Report of the Harbour wing of the Ministry of Shipping (1981), Lakshminarayanan Committee Report (1983), The unanimous resolution of Tamil Nadu Assembly (1986), Pallavan Transport Committee Report (1996), The National Environmental Research Institute report (1998) are in the league of reports that had favored this project over a period of 140 years. Now this project, which had been included in the IX th Plan, is going to be subjected for another feasibility study by global players.

As the rationale to have a National High ways is justifiable by all means, the dire need to have a National Seaway too is logical and is in national interest. If this canal is built near Adams Bridge linking Palk Straits with Gulf of Mannar, we can have an uninterrupted National Seaway.

And the recent decision of Indian and Srilankan Prime Ministers to have a bridge becomes a way for decent burial of for Sethu Samudram Canal. Instead in national interest India must desist from building a bridge and go ahead with the canal project. As Hanuman Bridge is attractive for the emotional of the ruling elite, we can even rename Sethu Samudram as Hanuman Samudram Canal and give clearance for this dream project.

Dravida Peravai will launch a march from Pondicherry to Rameshwaram to draw the attention of the people of Southern Tamil Nadu over the neglect of Tuticorin Port and the overall economy of South by constructing a BERLIN WALL ACROSS PALK STRAITS WHICH WILL SEND SETHU SAMUDRAM CANAL PROJECT FOR A BURIAL. We have appraised the situation by email to COMRADE GEORGE FERNANDES, NDA CONVENOR, and today i.e 14th July 2002.-Nandhi Varman

<http://www.boloji.com/analysis/044.htm>

SEARCH RAM FIRST BEFORE SEARCHING FOR RAM'S BRIDGE

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Nandhi Varman - General Secretary Dravida Peravai

The BJP and its policies based on a mythical hero with no relevance to people's issues is a mirage chase. A mirage which BJP cannot reach to quench its thirst for power. Hue and cry over non-existent Ram's bridge had been catapulted into a matter of national debate. Dravida Kazhagam, the parent body of all major and minor Dravidian political parties including Dravida Peravai had done the logically correct thing to counter the propaganda of falsehoods unleashed by the forces of fascism.

Paula Richman wrote a book titled 'Many Ramayana's. Yes the question before us is to accept which Ramayana as true story? Vishwa Hindu Parishad is not ready to accept truth or explore hidden truth or accept the multiplicity of Ramayana versions. That is fascism and nothing else. Paula Richman refers an incident in her book. 'In 1993 the VHP destroyed an exhibition because it depicted the Jain Dasaratha Jathaga version of Rama and Seetha as siblings.' Who could be the arbiter? Should anyone take the matter to International Court of Justice because it involves Ramayana's originating from different cultures and countries? Individuals cannot go to International Court of Justice. Some nation must take the matter to court, to prove its version of Ramayana as true history. Till the matter is decided, no question of resolving Ram's birth place and Ram's Bridge could be

resolved or settled. First and foremost to be decided is which of the Ramayana's is true history?

Laos Ramayana: Buddha recited the story of Rama to his disciples, in Laos; they believe that the jataka tale to be tale of Buddha's previous birth. There are two popular versions of Ramayana namely Phra Lak Phra Lam and Gvay Dvorahbi. According to these Ramayana's, Ravana is the nephew of King Dasarath. Rama while roaming in desert in search of Sita eats a fruit and becomes a monkey. [The biblical Adam and Eve's story and its resemblance could also be taken note of] After becoming monkey Rama meets Nengsi, a woman turned into monkey and marries her. Hanuman is their son. After killing Ravana, Ram marries his widow.

Thai Ramayana: The earliest version of Ramakien dates back to 13 th century and Thais believe their version to be the original story. In Ramakien many places in Thailand have been identified with Ramayana episodes. The city of Ayutthaya i.e. Ayodhya has been mentioned as capital of the kingdom. Ramakien vividly describes the marriage of Hanuman. According to Thais, Hanuman had many affairs and children.

Jain Ramayana: According to historian D.N.Jha in Jain Ramayana it is Luxman who kills Ravana. Neither Ram, Luxman nor Hanuman is monogamous. Luxman has 16,000 wives while half that number Ram has, says D.N.Jha. 'In Buddhist Ramayana Rama and Sita are siblings who later got married while in Jain Ramayana Rama has 8000 wives. Historian D.N.Jha links the monogamous Rama to the patriarchal society, a symptom of which is also Sita's agnipariksha.'

Cambodian Ramayana: Cambodian version 'The Reamkher' states Ram as incarnation of Vishnu. Akaingameso which means God's doorkeeper was reborn as Ravana. Sita, in her earlier birth was the wife of Indra, who was insulted by Ravana. To avenge the wrong she was born as Ravana's daughter. Ravana was cautioned by his astrologer and brother Bibhek about his daughter's evil birth. Ravana put her in a chest and buried her. King Janaka later discovered her. The Reamkher follows Valmiki episodes on Ram's friendship with monkey chiefs and construction of the bridge. There is one important deviation. Sita gave birth to a son named Ramalaksha parented by Valmiki. One day she went to the river for a bath with her son when the sage was in deep meditation. After meditation Valmiki could not see his son, hence created another son by his yogic power and named him Jupalaksha.

These are some of the versions. BJP and VHP must first of all find out whether Sita is the wife of Valmiki? They must find out whether Rama had 8000 wives, Lakshman had 16000 wives or Dasarathan had 60000 wives. The Ravana and Sita being father and daughter and the Rama and Sita being brother and sister, are existing stories in various cultures. We did not write these Ramayanas, and all Ramayanas are written by pious people and not atheists like me.

The Dravidian Movement took up cudgels against the Kamban's version of Ramayana and the journal Kudi Arasu edited by Thanthai E.V.Ramasamy Periyar published series of articles by Chandrasekara Paavalur. Aringnar Anna challenged Tamil scholars to come for open one to one debate on the purpose of Kambaramayanam and its imposition on Tamils to subjugate them under Aryan Illusion.

Navalar Somasundara Bharathiar and Chollin Chelvar R.P.Sethu Pillai debated with Anna and openly admitted they have lost the debate. This debate in Tamil Book 'Let Fire Spread' wants to illuminate Tamil hearts by symbolically burning Kamba ramayanam. Pulavar Kuzhanthai wrote Ravana Kavyam can be considered as Dravidian version of Ramayana.

The question before us which of these versions is based on true historical facts. These are not days where everyone will accept anything with blind faith. If you place new facts to reopen a settled issue in history, you should place facts and prove it. Blind faith of BJP and VHP will not stand the scrutiny of the Age of Science.

Chinese had some truth to add to world's history; yes they wanted to tell the world that their sons only discovered America and not Columbus. Gavin Menzies wrote a book: 1421: The Year China Discovered America. The book states about the 7 expeditions by Admiral Zheng He between 1405 and 1423 with a fleet of 317 ships and 28,000 men. Chinese Government organized exhibitions, and the postal authorities of Hong Kong, Macao, Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand issued postage stamps commemorating Zhen He's discovery. At a cost of 50 million dollars a Museum is being set up. If BJP and VHP had truth in their arsenal let them use it first. Lungpower alone will not establish truth. When they ruled India, BJP combine tried its best to use all money at its command to prove many falsehoods; ultimately they failed in all such adventures.

How Fast Do Monkeys Fly?

In October 2004, a lecture by Berkeley Professor R.P.Goldman titled 'How fast do monkeys fly? How long do demons sleep' which took place in New Delhi

is reported in the Times of India [Mumbai edition] dated Saturday October 30 2004. According to Dr.R.P.Goldman 'ancient Sanskrit scholars who made intense study of Hindu mythological texts like Ramayana tried to rationalize several of the seemingly improbable tales like Ravana's ten heads, or how fast Hanuman the monkey god could have flown to get the sanjivini or elixir, for Laksman or even how long Kumbakarna, Ravana's brother, might have slept.'

In order to apply the rationalist paint to the absurd story of Ravana having 10 heads, since none of the findings about extinct species have found a single 10 headed human fossil, they said that Ravana actually had one head and the other 9 were reflection on the large 9 polished gems that he wore around his neck. The success of rationalist movement compels scholars to spin new tales to justify foolish tales.

Another important question that these scholars raised was how long could Hanuman have taken to fly to the Himalayas to the Mahodaya Mountain to fetch the life giving herb for Laksmanan from Lanka, where the battle was raging? Goldman says that some of the scholars calculated that roughly at a speed of 660 kilometers per hour Hanuman flew, plucked the mountain, and flew back to Lanka. Then 'Hanuman was quite ecologically conscious' the Professor R.P.Goldman states in order to save ecology Hanuman flew again back to Himalayas and pasted the plucked mountain with an adhesive still not found by scientists.

This is the scholarly research which BJP and VHP want us to accept. Can anyone with brain assimilate this research as proven scientifically and established beyond an iota of doubt? No one will swallow this foolish finding. Dravida Peravai wants BJP and VHP to

prove all these impossible feats first before staking claim to Rama's Bridge in Gulf of Mannar.

Rama's Bridge

So far historians have found evidences that first human on Earth dates back to 60,000 years. Journey of Man by Spencer Wells which was also telecasted in National Geographic Channel claims that first human beings were from Africa. The book also claims that all humans are one; there exists a common gene named Sangene in all human beings. While writing about this book in my article titled Black Race and Brahma's Face, I had written that these findings which prove human race is one is a severe indictment of a race that claims superiority among others and one which never accepts all humans as equals, thus people who claim to have born from Brahma's face who built castles of lies in the name of varunasharadharma, have been proven to be totally unscientific and idiots claiming superiority on earth at the cost of fellow human beings,

The reason to state this is because in www.virtuallibrary.com of Srilanka claims: 'NASA Images Find 1,750,000 Year Old Man Made Bridge between India and Srilanka'

Under this title the Aryan lobby writes 'In the 18 th incarnation of Lord Krishna, the Lord appeared as King Rama. In order to perform some pleasing work for the demigods, he exhibited superhuman powers by controlling the Indian Ocean and the killing of the atheist King Ravana, who was on the other side of the Sea'.... Srimad Bhagawatham, the site claims.

Let us examine the falsehoods one by one. We from the Dravidian Movement are atheists but not Ravana;

all know that Ravana as per epics is a devotee of Lord Siva. The doubt which arises to me is why should a reincarnation of God perform superhuman deeds to impress demigods? Does it mean that Demigods are more powerful than the Original God on reincarnation?

How does God control Indian Ocean?

UNESCO had constituted an Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission to undertake research of the Indian Ocean. This commission had not found yet anything that Gods did in Indian Ocean as per Srimad Bhagawatham. Well Dravida Peravai urges the Indian Government to refer the matter of Rama's Bridge to this Intergovernmental Commission and if this commission says that there is no Rama's bridge, will all BJP and VHP followers give up their religion and become atheists. Graham Hancock had written a book titles Underworld: The Mysterious Origins of Civilization.

In 1981 Daniel Behrman had written a book Assault on the Unknown. There are many books on Indian Ocean. All these books give us evidences on the continental drift, the submerged lands of the Lemuria, which Tamils prefer to call as the Kumari Kandam. The challenge posed by BJP and VHP must be accepted and we must use the National Institute of Oceanography to indulge in the study of under water archaeology to bring to light the great past of the Tamils. Tamil literature says 49 countries were lost to the seas, including River Kumari and River Pahruli. If Ramayana, an epic says Rama constructed a bridge and if that has to be probed, we Tamils demand that what all Tamil literature says about First and Second Tamil Sangams and the land loss to Tamil homeland namely Kumarikandam also should be studied.

In 2004 Dinamani Tamil Daily reported that in Bangalore a scientist Graham Cook displayed finds from the under water exploration he made near off the coast of Poompuhar, the Chozha Port and displayed video scenes of submerged Poompuhar and displayed out 2000 artifacts from the Sea. Using carbon dating and other scientifically proven methodology in archaeology he said that the Poompuhar Civilization dates back to 7500 B.C. Tamils must be proud to have scientific evidence that pushes its civilization to an earlier period compared to Indus Valley Civilization. Instead of repeating like parrots that we have 2000 years of history, Tamil scholars must claim that we have a civilization which is 10,000 years old.

The probe BJP wants to undertake will only prove the Tamils past. It is well known fact that due to rise and fall of sea level both India and Srilanka got linked up in land 65,000 years ago, Before 27000 years due to rise in sea level India and Srilanka got separated. Around 17,000 years ago when sea level dropped both land masses joined and later parted. The study made by Trichirapalli Bharathidasan University Earth Sciences department states that before 1.4 million years sea was close to Madurai.

Before 90,000 years Chennai, Puducherry and Vedaranyam were surrounded by seas. We all know that global warming will result in rise in sea level and Tamilnadu coast will undergo changes. These are all natural phenomenon. When lands get linked and then get separated sand domes will naturally be formed. Such domes could not be claimed as bridge. Contrary buildings exist beneath the seas near Poompuhar, where we can prove Tamil civilization,

Right from the beginning Srilanka had been conspiring to stall Sethusamudram project, and we all know the proposal by Srilanks to construct a bridge

linking Srilanka and India, for which it gave an eye catching name Hanuman Bridge, perhaps to hoodwink the BJP. For argument sake if Hanuman Bridge had been constructed instead of Sethusamudram project will it not affect the Rama's so called Mirage Bridge? Dravida Peravai opposed it by calling it a Berlin Wall across the Seas.

Now again with no economic programme in its arsenal BJP wants to use an emotional appeal, hence resorts to Ram's bridge. But BJP conveniently forgets that Atal Bihari Vajpayee speaking in Indian Parliament in 1974 called Kachateevu as Valideep, where Rama fought Vali. Why BJP is silence on Valideep? Why they don't want to reclaim Valideep? Loss of Kacchateevu results in out fishermen getting killed. Reclaiming Kachateevu is not in BJP's agenda, but a Bridge is what a mentality these fascist forces have?

- Asian Tribune -

[I first posted this in Tamil Aaraichi e-group wherefrom Asian Tribune picked and published creating false suspicion about my Eelam credentials, later I reproduced same in India Interacts.com]

18 Responses to "Search Ram First before Searching for Ram's Bridge"

1. Indian Says: Posted on October 20th, 2007

I am not sure whether Nandivarman even knows the meaning of the word "fascism". The more I get the opportunity to read on Dravidian "leaders", the more I get enlightened about their knowledge, political or otherwise, their intellectual capacity etc. I can only feel pity for the poor people of TamilNadu (oh! that includes me too)

2. Ramarsetu Says:

Posted on October 20th, 2007

Nandivarman you should first change your name to “erumai arasan”. Nandi is a Sanskrit word which refers to the bull which Shiva rides. As a Tamil fanatic atheist why do you still have a religious Sanskrit name? It is a good idea to get a research body to investigate the Ramar bridge, but go tell that “Dravida Dhritrashtra” Karunanidhi that he should not demolish it so we can do some research! How come you never mentioned the periyar’s version of Ramayana known as “Ravana Kaviyam”? I hope you guys still read ravana kaviyam everyday. The irony is that even going by what your leader said Rama existed! What is even worse is that Ravana’s father was a Brahmin and periyar accepted him as his hero, although he was anti-Brahmin. Asian tribune is very advanced for you. They are not going to publish this long, directionless garbage.

3. Soleswaran Says:

Posted on October 20th, 2007

I very much appreciate all these Dravidian party members who are fighting for the welfare of Mr. Karunanidhi’s family. I don’t know who is getting benefited by such projects except Mr. Karunanidhi who will get his share of commission without any doubt. Earlier he opposed Lord Ram and now he is withdrawing all his remarks, in order to implement sethusamudram project so that his source of income won’t vanish away. So ultimately he is ready to compromise on his anti-Hindu stand, in order to safe guard his family income. If he spends that 2400-5000 crores in building industries, roads, and basic amenities in the state, people will see whether he is really spending them for those purpose, so using his master brain he introduced this new concept of govt

project in ocean where people can't go and see what is happening.

4. Vedaprakash Says: Posted on October 20th, 2007

Nandi, you have no guts to face the challenge raised either in your controlled "Tamilarytchi" or in "Wordpress.com". You have again vomited the same thing as you did in the wordpress.com. Of course, you have made the corrections pointed out by us, here in this posting. I do not know how long you thrive on the knowledge of others. If you have courage, come on, respond here.

5. Sridharsampath Says:

Posted on October 20th, 2007

Nandhivarman wants to know why BJP is fighting for Kachateevu or Valideep. Why can't he ask the same question to MK? After all, he claims to control the State as well as the Central government.

6. Sridharsampath Says:

Posted on October 20th, 2007

A correction to my earlier post - the first sentence should read '.....why BJP is NOT fighting for Kachateevu.....' Nandhivarman should realize that the Hindus in India subscribe, by & large, to the Valmiki version of the Ramayana. How can we be held responsible if people in Laos or Thailand follow a different version? This is absurd. In fact, he himself mentions about the Dravidian version of the Ramayana authored by Pulavar Kuzhanthai. This only proves that this is something about which the traditional Hindus can do nothing about.

7. MNachiappan Says:

Posted on October 21st, 2007

I re-post here what I have posted in response to the same stuff appearing in wordpress.com with mistakes, as Mr. Vedaprakash pointed out. Let us see how Nandi reacts or retreats. About the meeting at Salem, I would like to point out as follows: 1. Anna took more than two hours, thus leaving no time to others. 2. Moreover, the moment, Somasundara Bharathi started speaking, the crowd was booing at him and Sittaiyan, the friend of Bharathi, who compelled to bring him for the meeting felt very sad. 3. Bharathi himself openly informed in his starting of his speech that he did not want to come there as Anna and others had already decided what they wanted to do. 4. After bringing him booking ticket by train, Anna was speaking even after 8 pm on March 14, 1943. Therefore, Bharathi had no other way but to cut short his speech and catch the train as per his schedule. 5. He exposed Anna of his authoritarian attitude and the hostile crowd. 6. Therefore, nowhere Anna could win intellectually Bharathi or R. P. Sethupillai. With crowd-power, Anna wanted to shout down the debaters. 7. Ironically, Ramachandra Chetti, the President of "Hindumatha Paripalana Nilayam" felt ashamed of Anna's speech. As the crowd on that day was about to run riot, the organizers were afraid of the crowd and concerned about the safety of M/s. RPS and Srinivasan. That is why when Srinivasan started speaking; the crowd started showing their mob-behavior.

M. Nachiappan

8. MNachiappan Says:

Posted on November 1st, 2007

Another response appearing in the same site:

<http://nandhivarman.wordpress.com/2007/05/07/before-human-race-evolved-ramas-bridge-construction/>
on 24 May 2007 at 10:56 am4

Brahmallahchrist

The responses are interesting. But, why the person challenged has been keeping quite is not known. His assertion, “Dravida Peravai challenges the contention and puts forward our views, which is open to debate, as we are rationalists, we will not run away from debate”, should have some response. At least, he should have read the sources once, before jumping to write something based on the secondary evidences. Criticism could be there and debate also, as they are not all new for the Indian tradition. But, the one initiated by Nandivarman appears to be malicious, venomous and blasphemous too. His posting filed under “Stateless Indians” proves that he has bent upon anti-Indian posture and it is not known what this posting has to with such anti-Indian attitude coupled with anti-Hindu. First of all, it is not known as to whether, he is writing such things from India or outside India. Anyway, since he has challenged, let us see that he would run away as he has asserted!

Brahmallahchrist,
A True Secularist.

9. Tvvenkatesh Says:
Posted on November 1st, 2007

Well, I wonder, with such credentials like, being unable to answer, being unable to enter a debate et al, how was it possible for him to cling on to the post of Vice Chancellor of Azhagappa University. I am sure that by only “sombu-adichifying” MGR and MK successively, he was able to do this. There is absolutely no intellect in this man and hence his posts are not worth commenting, unless he comes out to either explain or defend himself. Thanks a lot Nachiappan for bringing this staring anomaly to the forefront

Regards,
Venkatesh

10. Laadlabakdaas Says:
Posted on November 1st, 2007

Mr. Nandi Varman wrote

“The BJP and its policies based on a mythical hero with no relevance to people’s issues is a mirage chase
“Even the political parties in the last 60 years have been of no relevance to majority of Indians who are poor and starving to death. Does that mean all the crooks and goons in different parties are going to quit politics??? When people vote out successive governments it’s a signal to the politicians that they are of no relevance to the public. If Mr. Nandi Varman had any guts like any Dravidian he must first denounce the creation of Pakistan based on Religion since Islam itself is of no relevance to anybody.

11. Nandhivarman Says:
Posted on November 3rd, 2007

As a true democrat I have kept others comments for public scrutiny and to compare whether they have answered the points raised in my debate. Instead of refuting the arguments, they have stooped to the level of changing my name, which falls under my individual right or my parental right. Even there the meaning of bull is Kaalai and not Erumai, hatred had blinded them. I am not a Vice Chancellor as someone says; a Vice Chancellor had written a book wherein I am mentioned.

The Tamil book Thee Paravattum is available in book stalls which contains full debate of Aringnar Anna and his opposite side comprising Navalur Somasundara Bharathiar and R.P.Sethu Pillai.It is known fact in

their own words they have accepted defeat in the debate over Kambar's Ramayana. Since I cannot type it in Tamil I left it. People have read my post and the comments. They will judge. After all the so called Rama has found these lawyers who cannot defend him in better way. Nandhivarman III, the Pallava King gave his life for Tamil, hence my name. Indian Constitution had allowed me liberty of free speech which includes propagating atheism and having my right to exist with my name.

12. Jayakarathi Says:

Posted on November 4th, 2007

Dear comrades, when we pose a question, whether people's welfare is important or God. Many people choose the people welfare. On that basis only we should support the Sethu Samudram Canal Project. Don't be silly with God. Where is God? If we raise this question nobody answers in proper manner. We take a simple example. We are demolishing temple/churches on proposed Road and all we accept that. On that basis, why we cannot accept 300M cut in Adam's Bridge i.e. in Rama Sethu. For welfare measure we should accept it in broad mind. We should not think in crooked manner. First think for the human being, and then think for the god. Don't foolishly attack any one in the name of God. Debate anything in scientific manner. God is illusion. So "Ezhaiyin sirippil iravananai kanpon".

13. Janakiram Says:

Posted on November 4th, 2007

Nandhivarman Sir, You wrote an excellent piece on the imaginary character called Rama. But our so-called educated boys are diverting the issue by writing irrelevant things. Some of them have been calling us names and they are very irrational. They live up to the

statement” Bhakti vandhidil Puththi poyvidum” meaning when you faithfully follow a religion you lose your mind and reason. Three cheers to your good rational views.

Regards.

14. Tvvenkatesh Says:

Posted on November 5th, 2007

Nandivarman, sorry that was me and I did not read your profile properly. Well if you are not a Vice-Chancellor, then “Thank God”. And when are you going to stop talking about this non-existent Aryan-Dravidian divide? The whites have left our country. So you people don’t need to be faithful to them anymore. So please come out of that illusion. If you were still thinking that they are around us and ruling us and hence need to be faithful to them, here is the reality. India has attained independence. Oh wait wait!!!! I am sorry, I jumped into conclusion. You are probably right and your loyalty is towards the foreigner who is currently ruling us. Sorry, I agree that you are correct and I forgot this fact.

Jayakarthis, you said “So “Ezhaiyin sirippil iravananai kanpon”. Which ezhais are going to become a poor or at least have a hearty laugh due to the Sethu Samudram Project? I am sure the Poores(!!??) like MK and TRBaaluu are the ones who will definitely have the last laugh For those who does not believe in God, you can all ask the believers to show where is God. The only reply is, Sorry we cannot show you, the non-believers, where God is. We the believers know where the God is and you will not accept it. Fine. For you people, you will only believe what you see. So just stop asking the question “Where is God”. First try to find him in you.

Janakiram, When you said in your blog” Venkatesh, I am really busy my friend, please give me some time”, I apologized for my jumping to conclusion and have given you all the time in the world. But you have only proven that what all other said about your disappearance is true. Now suddenly you jump from no where and start parroting the same thing for which when questioned you could not answer properly.

Regards,
Venkatesh

15. Ramarsetu Says:
Posted on November 5th, 2007

Nandivarman - constitution gave you liberty of free speech which includes propagating atheism and having my right to exist with my name. I agree with that. The same constitution gave the right for Hindus to practice their religion freely - why do you want to infringe on it by destroying something they believe as sacred? Why did your moronic leader Periyar break Hindu idols and tear sacred threads of Brahmins?

As for Nandhivarman III, he was a staunch vaishnavite who propagated Brahminic traditions in TamilNadu and patronized various vaishnavite temples in Kanchi. Go read history of South India. This name is completely not apt for an atheist like you. You are really embarrassing yourself in this forum.

16. Ramarsetu Says:
Posted on November 5th, 2007

Nandivarman can you actually tell us more about Nandhivarman III’s contribution to Tamil? You just claim that he gave his life - which means nothing until you substantiate it.

17. Tvvenkatesh Says:
Posted on November 5th, 2007

Ramarsetu, Very well said. For people like Nandivarman, to defend themselves, they will hide under the Constitution, but will go all out to condemn the same when they want to offend some one. Nice comments.

Regards,
Venkatesh

18. Neversayno32 Says:
Posted on November 5th, 2007

Ramarsetu/TVV, It is waste of time trying to give some logical explanation to these DK jerks. This fellow called Janakiram conveniently gave a silent funeral for his blog, bloody he never had the nerve to answer/reply to the questions posed to him and now here out of blue the un-gentleman (sic) pops up and makes a remark - " these educated boys". Bhakti vandhadil some non sense he has uttered so true, the blind following of the foolish joker these DK/DMK morons follow is exactly the BHAKTHI VANDHADHIL BUDDHI STUFF.....Brood.....To all the so-called irrational, spineless and brainless (this goes hand in hand), you have a vital organ called BRAIN, use it and don't foolishly parrot things which are not relevant today. Using constitutional rights at your convenience is nothing but being selfish and cheap.....but what else to expect from you guys...You DK/DMK clan shamelessly use everything which is a share of others under the constitution, has anyone at anytime poked into your belief of atheism, why do you people time and again poke your nose into the THEISM, this only goes to prove ALL OF YOU GUYS ARE NOT

GAINFULLY EMPLOYED..THALAI SARIYA IRUNDHA
VAAL SARIYA IRUKKUM, EVR - JOKER, had he been
sensible in preaching something civic it would have
been nice, foolishly he uttered some nonsense and
blindly the tempo is kept alive for personal gains
DMK/DK leaders stand testimony to this.

THE LAND –HOUSE GRAB

Dravida Peravai waged a fierce battle to save innocent victims who had fallen prey to greedy politicians in power. With 15 party supports Dravida Peravai started the agitation. The Lt.Governor of Puducherry ordered for CBI enquiry but there was no sign of CBI coming forward. So as Convener of Anti House/Land Grab Action Committee comprising 12 political parties met Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee on 17th December 1998 and Indian Home Minister L.K.Advani on 19th December 1998.



The delegation met Opposition leader Sharad Pawar, and many others. Meanwhile few parties deserted the struggle. Then in 1999 with 8 political parties went to Chennai and held demonstrations demanding CBI to take up the ordered enquiry into land grab. CBI came, enquired but kept report in cold storage. Hence Dravida Peravai approached Supreme Court of India; the petition filed is given in verbatim. A perusal of this petition will reveal the Operation Land Grab involving

many political parties. The WEEK report is given as visual. In end the Supreme Court order is given...

N.Nandhivarman, General Secretary Dravida Peravai

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The Week

CONTROVERSY

Operation Land Grab

Mafia, and the chief minister's sons, accused of snatching prime property in Pondicherry

Verone Marie Marguerita's children live in France, but are unable to sever their ties with Pondicherry. The reason: 31, Montrose Street, the house which once belonged to their mother. The house is under illegal occupation since 1982 and the current owner is said to have bought it from Verone Marie-Rock Marguerita's husband. The occupier apparently has documents to prove his claim. Rock passed away in 1978 and his children went back to France in the 1980s.

"Marguerita's heirs have asked me to pursue the matter," said I. C. Col (left), Maheshwari Menon, a French national who looks after French interests in Pondicherry.

This is only one among many similar complaints in the former French colony. There are about 7,000 French residents in Pondicherry and at least 70,000 French nationals of Indian origin in France. They still have ties with Pondicherry where they own houses and other property.

France gave its establishments in India to Indians under the Treaty of Cession, 1954. India's French nationals domiciled in their French establishments enjoy in those establishments the same freedom of residence, movement and trade as the other inhabitants of the establishment. Grabbing the property of French nationals is a clear infraction of this treaty, said N. Nandhivarman, general secretary, Dravida Peravai.

Apart from the properties of ab-

Catch the cheats! I. C. Col (left), Michael Mustafa, who looks after French interests in Pondicherry, is fighting for the heirs of French national Marguerita, whose house has been illegally occupied.

these life, the French nationals have not raised a hue and cry over the issue. But the French ambassador to India, Claude Hachebonnet, did get their case presented when he visited Pondicherry in November.

"We hope some action will be taken. Otherwise how can foreign nationals ever trust the Indian government?" asks Mustafa.

The properties of local residents have also not been ignored. The reality is that the trouble started when a land re-survey was done in 1972. The well-maintained land records of Pondicherry were changed and tampered with.

"They allege that a few officials of the department of registrations had pocketed some of the records and are today re-selling them after fudging names. Frenchie (foreigners) land and private property have indeed been under constant attack by grabbers in the last three decades.

"In 1978 the government had 1,000 acres of government lands," says T. Murugan, secretary of the Pondicherry unit of CPDM. "We have been demanding an account of it. But so far, no government - past or present - has given any response. We are sure that about a third of the land has been grabbed by the politicians themselves."

The alleged 'complexity' of chief minister R.V. Jankaram has the opposition parties in Pondicherry up in arms. There are allegations against his TMC House Minister P. Kannan, too. "It is the CM's sons and Kannan who are on a land-grabbing spree," says Nandhivarman.

In 1983 Kannan, whose mother was a vegetable vendor took a loan of Rs 25,000 by mortgaging his house," says Murugan. "In 1986 he redeemed the mortgage. We have the proof. Its subsequent decision is stated that he had a house and some cash. It is a matter of a few years how did he acquire these things?" Murugan also points to the 14 flats coming up on Valluvar Street in the city's heart. "This land was recently on lease to a pro-

But now it has been sold to Anita Kannan, Regina Ravichandran and Vinod Lalithaswamy - who, we can guess, are benami fronts for Kannan.

"The chief minister's own parties have been dissatisfied for raising the land grab issue publicly. That had asked for a CBI inquiry," says DMK parliamentarian Arumugham. "On November 22 a few more came to my house and threatened me. I also received threats calls. I gave a written complaint and am now under police protection. If an MP can be threatened like this, what would be the plight of ordinary people?"

It is alleged that the threats were made at the behest of the "chief minister's minister", though Arumugham is not convinced.

The government hasn't been able to control a so-called 'any DMK Rajya Sabha member C. P. Thirumavakarasu. "There is indeed a real problem in this town," Attempts to meet the chief minister and the home minister were stopped by their respective offices.

"We demand a CBI inquiry into allegations of house grab, a judicial inquiry into the issue of government land and an enforcement cell inquiry into the issue of amassing of wealth disproportionate to known sources of income," says Murugan.

The government belatedly reacted to the allegations and criticisms by taking out an advertisement in the local newspaper last month. It asked those whose land had been grabbed to come forward. The chief secretary apparently maintained that only one complaint had been received after that, but police sources put the number of complaints at eight or nine.

It has fallen upon an academican to suggest a permanent solution to the problem. Sp. P. S. V. Narayanan, Dean, School of Management, Pondicherry University, is now writing to let my students on projects to micro-film or micro-fiche all the land documents in Pondicherry. We can have cut-off dates for regularising the records. Thereafter we can transfer the records. This can be supervised by a judge, a lawyer or a public-spirited person. What do you think of this?"

2087 12 26
T. Jayalakshmi, Pondicherry

SYNOPSIS AND LIST OF DATES

The departure of the French from Pondicherry left several important and singular issues as are not faced by other citizen of Indian Union. Having failed to persuade the Govt. of India to grant citizenship, the French offered an option to its subject in French Pondicherry for option of nationality. As many as

7,000 citizens to remain French nationals and hold property in the Union Territory. 70,000 Pondicherry Indian Citizens work in France.

The French maintained land and municipal records. The French handed these records to Indian officials. After their departure New Survey was undertaken and new maps and numbers were given to houses and plots and agricultural land.

The troubles started as people felt that the new survey has not been properly done. When they tried to find old records it was learned that some of the old record is not available and had either been destroyed or stolen away by old hands of the municipal and revenue department.

Gradually fake sale deeds and forged documents started appearing and bogus claims and criminal possessions began. Unfortunately, it went unchecked by administration and the crony with muscle power made it their profession and the lands, bungalows houses of absentee French Indian Nationals were targeted. Later land and house grabbing attained such proportions that political parties made an issue government was approached, some of the raids by police confirmed the fears of trouble that old employees were found to be in illegal possession of revenue records.

When things became more serious agitations by political parties was started media also came to help and published the sordid state of affairs. A delegation of all political parties met the Lt. Governor and insisted on C.B.I. enquiry. The Governor was pleased to recommend an C.B.I. enquiry but not much came out of it till now. Hon'ble Defence Minister was approached, Hon'ble the Home Minister and lastly

even the Prime Minister was apprised of this loot. A memorandum was given to him.

The French Government also became alive to this land grabbing menace and questions were put in their Senate. A Senator visited in India.

Individually people went to courts even High Court. The police and the C.B.I. have so far not been able to stem the rot. Now police is no longer co-operative and treated it as a mere civil litigation problem. No charge sheet has till day been filed by C.B.I. No conviction has been obtained. No one who lost his possession been able to get it back. Hence this writ petition.

28.05.1956 Treaty of Cession of French establishment of Pondicherry, Kariakal, Mahe and Yaman signed.

15.10.1998 Letter by the petitioner to Hon'ble the Defence Minister Mr. George Farnendes (Confidential) about theft of land Records of French era.

02.12.1998 Memorandum to Her Excellency the Lt. Governor of Pondicherry about land grabbing by all political parties.

17.12.1998 Memorandum by all political parties to Hon'ble are the Prime Minister.

17.12.1998 Call attention motion question No.12957 moved in the Senate of French Parliament.

26.12.1998 The Houses of Ex-officials raided for records of land of French era.

27.12.1998 The Hon'ble Defence Minister assured through letter about the action.

03.05.1999 Memorandum to Director C.B.I. by political parties.

30.08.2003 Letter by the petitioner to Hon'ble Defence Minister informing further case of grabbing.

.01.2004 Hence this Writ Petition for kind consideration of this Hon'ble Court.

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF INDIA
(CIVIL ORIGINAL JURISDICTION)
WRIT PETITION (CIVIL) NO.70 of 2004
(UNDER ARTICLE 32 OF THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA)

IN THE MATTER OF:-

N. Nandhivarman
General Secretary
Dravida Peravai
Having its office at
28, Romain Rolland Street,
Pondicherry – 605 001.

...Petitioner

VERSUS

1. The Union of India
through the Cabinet Secretary
Government of India,
Ministry of Home Affairs,
New Delhi – 110 001.
2. The Government of Pondicherry, represented by its
Chief Secretary to the Government of

Pondicherry, Secretariat Buildings, Goubert Avenue, Pondicherry – 605 001.

3. The Director of Central Bureau of Investigations, New Delhi.

..Respondents

A PETITION UNDER ARTICLE 32 OF THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA FOR ISSUANCE OF A WRIT, ORDER OR DIRECTION IN THE MANDAMUS OR ANY NATURE, TO HELP NEEDY PEOPLES IN DISTRESS AND ESPOUSE THEIR CAUSE AGAINST ORGANIZED CRIME AND MAFIA ON ONE HAND AND HELP THE PUBLIC AGAINST HIGH HANDEDNESS OF STATE OFFICIALS AND AGITATE ISSUES OF PUBLIC INTEREST FOR GRANT OF RELIEFS.

TO

HON'BLE THE CHIEF JUSTICE OF INDIA
AND HIS COMPANION JUSTICES OF
THE SUPREME COURT OF INDIA.

THE HUMBLE WRIT PETITION OF THE PETITIONER ABOVENAMED.

MOST RESPECTFULLY SHOWETH:

1. The petitioner is a citizen of India by birth and resides permanently in Pondicherry. He is the General Secretary of Dravida Peravai, a Political Party, registered a Regional political party with the Election Commission of India, whose object is to help needy people in distress and espouse their cause against organized crime and mafia on one hand and help the public against high handedness of state officials and agitate issue of public interest. It works for peace and harmony in different sections of people and work for national integration.

2. That the petitioner as general secretary and an active member of the party is constantly approached by needy, poor, deprived people for help. Since he is devoted to public cause he has been for long associated with the problems of the people of Union Territory of Pondicherry.

3. That the problems of Pondicherry are aggravated as this French Territory was for long administered by French laws for French nationals of Indian Origin. The petitioner had been associated with their problems for almost two decades. The long absence of some its citizen attracted the greedy eyes of miscreants and they started occupying such premises left locked for going to France.

4. That when land and property grabbing of French nationals of Indian origin and later even of other citizens of Pondicherry obtained serious dimensions the petitioner was flooded with complaints. The media and other political parties also awoke to these problems. The problems became graver and way back in December 1998 the leaders of political parties agitated and one day token hunger strike was jointly organized by the party of the petitioner with other parties like B.J.P., AIADMK, DRAVIDA PERAVAI, PMK, R.J.D., SAMTA, JANATA, D.K. etc. The petitioner joined their hunger strike and informed the Hon'ble Defence Minister earlier on 15.10.1998. A Photocopy of the letter is being filed as ANNEXURE: P-1. He alongwith other political leaders met the then Lt. Governor of Pondicherry and submitted a memorandum signed by him along with others. A Photocopy of Memo dated 02.12.1998 is being filed as ANNEXURE: P-2 to this petition.

5. That later he was a member of delegation which called upon the Prime Minister of India Sri Atal Behari Vajpai on 17.12.1998 at Delhi to bring his kind notice

to this problem. He was also a signatory to the Memorandum submitted to the Hon'ble Prime Minister by this delegation. A photocopy of the said Memorandum dated 17.12.1998 is being filed and marked hereto as ANNEXURE: P-2 to this petition.

6. That he has been in constant touch with Sri George Fernandes, the Union Defence Minister and President of Samta Party which is the associate party of the petitioner. He was informed about the land grabbing mafia vide his letter being filed hereto and marked as ANNEXURE: P-3.

Petitioner was a member of the delegation that met the Joint Director of C.B.I. on 03.05.1999. The petitioner also represented the case of these unfortunate French nationals regarding their problem of property and land grabbing to the Senator of French Parliament, Hon'ble Jean Pierre Cantegrit. Thus the petitioner has been associated with this Public cause for a very long period. He is fully competent to file this writ petition in public interest.

7. That this Public Interest Petition is being filed before this Hon'ble Court directly because:-

A) The leading political parties tried their best to obtain some relief for the sufferers and approached the Governor who had recommended C.B.I. enquiry but later nothing came out of it. A cell was created under the Collector to hear complaints and then it was closed.

B) The matter has international implications and questions are being raised in French Parliament about this house and land grabbing grave problem that is being faced by French nationals of Indian Origin. Madame Monique Cerisier ben Guiga a ruling party member of Parliament had brought a call attention

motion no.12957 in French Senate drawing the attention of the Minister for foreign affairs on spoliation of the immoveable belongings for which the French in Pondicherry are the victims. Copy of the Question translated dated 17.12.1998 duly is annexed and filed hereto as ANNEXURE: P-4 to this petition.

C) The organized mafia has the blessings of the ruling party as also a nexus to corrupt officials. The allegations by the people and appearing frequently in media are that many political big wigs are helping this land grabbing mafia. That is why the police, which had in raids recovered from 5 ex-official of revenue department who helped grabbers in preparation of false records and maps to assist the land no other agency of government came forward to the assistance of the harassed persons. Even a senior police office of the rank of Superintendent now is being accused by public for looking the other way in this matter. A Photocopy of the News Paper reporting dated 26.12.1998 is being annexed as ANNEXURE: P-5 to this petition.

D) This Hon'ble Court has disapproved the activist role played by High Court in the matter of Guru Vayoor D. Managing Committee v. C.K. Rajan – 2003 (7) SCC 546.

8. That individual matter has referred by litigants to the High Court of the State and their writs are pending before the High Court but the direction of that Hon'ble Court are not be complied and cared by various departments of the Government of Pondicherry. The High Court has been approached for getting FIRs registered as police refused to do so. The problem is too deep, burden too heavy on individuals to carry on. There has to be thorough enquiry, the revenue records from the time of French are to properly located and used; many holes already dug

like destroying important records are to be filled and individuals are to be made fearless so that they can come forward and approach the fact finding body. Now due to the scare spread they are afraid of doing so. All political parties have sought the intervention of the State Administration of the Hon'ble Governor, Hon'ble Home Minister, Defence Minister and found no opening. Encouraged by this weak attempts the grabbers are getting bold every day and are grabbing larger chunks either by forceful occupation, bogus sale deeds or even arm twisting sales.

9. That intervention of this Hon'ble Court is also being sought so that the cession treaty with a friendly country France may be respected in letter as well as in spirit. What is more the message of a law abiding country has to go to this great European Country which is so caring even for its nationals of Indian Origin. So far not a single case has been reported or learnt in which the robbed person has been put back in possession over the house, land or landed property in the Union Territory.

10. This Union Territory has its uniqueness as no other State of Indian Union possesses. The treaty of cession of the French establishments of Pondicherry, Karaikal, Mahe and Yenam was signed on 28.05.1956 between Indian Prime Minister Shri J. L. Nehru and S. Ostrorog, Ambassador extra-ordinary and plenipotentiary of France in India. Article 15 of this Treaty is relevant reads as follows:-

“Article 15:-

The records of the Registrars office upto date of Cession, shall be preserved in accordance with the rules applicable to them on that date and copies or extracts of the proceedings shall be issued to the parties or authorities concerned.”

11. As stated above there are about 7000 French nationals of Indian Origin and about 70,000 Indian Nationals working in France. It is largely they who due to their absence and others due of their weakness or machinations, forgery and false entries prepared by the robbers and their cohorts in revenue that full prey to land grabbers.

12. That it was the hue and cry affected parties that attracted the attention of media and political parties so that they could unite cutting party rivalry and difference on this issue. As stated earlier leaders of AIDMK, B.J.P., PMK, MDMK, Dravida Peravai, Lok Sakthi, T.N. Rajiv Congress, Samta, C.P.I. (ML), CPI (ML) led by Kathir Su Mani, Gandhi Kamraj National Congress, Dravida Kazhagam, Dravida Kazhagam (R), Rastriya Janata Dal, Janata met the then Lt. Governor Her Excellency Dr. Rajani Rai and submitted a Memorandum bringing this affairs to sorry state to her kind notice. Prayer was made to Her Excellency to take measures and order exhaustive enquiry about these grabbings and forging of wrong map, and records of revenue. The petitioner learns that she had recommended to the government to ask C.B.I. to investigate into the matter. A photocopy of the Memorandum is Annexure: P-1 to this petition.

13. That after a fortnight the leaders of all these parties came to Delhi and met all the leaders of national political parties the Defence Minister, the Home Minister and the Prime Minister. A Memorandum was submitted to the Hon'ble Prime Minister bringing a comprehensive brief of the woes of the peoples of Pondicherry. Copy of the memorandum is being filed as Annexure: P-2 to this petition.

14. That on 15.10.1998 the petitioner as Secretary of Dravida Peravai had brought to the notice of Samta Party President and the Defence Minister about the

theft of important land records 'Cadastre and Paimache' left behind by the French Administration. Latter a bi weekly Junior Vikatan in its issue dated 11.11.1998, exposed the racket of bogus land record manufacture. S.P. (Vigilance And Anti Corruption) raided some places and recovered massive evidences of fabrication of bogus documents. The old records were also recovered from the possession of some of the old employees of the revenue department confirming the existence of a nexus of officials, political high ups and the mafia dons.

15. That matter attracted the attention of French legislature and as far bas as 17.12.1998 Madame Monique Cerisier ben Guiga drew the attention of the Minister of Foreign affairs on the spoliation of immovable belongs for which French in Pondicherry are victim through call attention motion No.12957.

16. That the French nationals joined the political parties and in the assembly questions were put about these grabbing matters. The government admitted that 106 complaints were received and enquiries are being made in 92 cases. This may appear a good answer but so far no progress has been made by the C.B.I. who is supposed to be investigating the matters. The Defence Minister was kind enough to convey to the petitioner that Home Ministry is taking action on our complaint. A photocopy of his letter dated 27.12.1998 is being filed as ANNEXURE: P-6.

17. That having waited for quite time the political party leaders met the Director of C.B.I. at Shastri Bhavan, Chennai and submitted to him a memorandum on 03.05.1999. A photocopy of the same is annexed as ANNEXURE: P-7. The petitioner also wrote to Hon'ble Defence Minister on 30.08.2003 for grave violation of property. A Photocopy of the

letter dated 30.08.2003 is being filed as ANNEXURE: P-8.

18. That the petitioner in order to bring pressure on authorities submitted a memorandum to French senator Monsieur Jean Pierre Cantegrit who visited Pondicherry.

But all these years neither C.B.I. nor any other agency has come to the assistance of such disposed persons. A fresh spurt of land grabbing and house grabbing was noticed in December, 2003. Rejya Sabha Member and Congress Committee President V. Narayanaswamy and senior advocate and Vice President of D.M.K. (Pondicherry) Sri C.P. Thirunavukkarasu have stated that high level police officers with connivance of some media person are now helping these land grabbers.

19. That unfortunately whenever a matter of this nature are sought to be reported with police these are not treated as criminal offences and are treated as civil disputes. In the civil courts the C.P.C. lays down such a procedure that one -generation gets exhausted in pursuing the remedy. The result is that people have lost the heart to fight it out. In fact an individual has hardly any chance against organized crime.

20. That a civilized society bases its foundation on righteous part and respect for law and democratic way of life are the accepted mode not only of an individual but also of healthy society. Things can be controlled. A will to do has to be found in those who handle administration. Gangs howsoever strong they may appear have are bound to sink if torpedoed by organizing a body inside with the help of governments which shall take up the basic task of examining the old revenue records. Even if the revenue records at Pondicherry have been mutilated, lost or manipulated

photocopies can be availed from the duplicate copy safe with French government. All the matters reported so far should be investigated and a climate of confidence in the processes of law and it majesty has to be so projected that the law breaker gets afraid of punishment and the fear from the minds of common man goes. In this role of C.B.I. revenue officials and public men of integrity can be coordinated under the guidance and supervision of some authority/Court.

21. That after from fulfilling the mandate of Article 21 of the Constitution, the actions taken in right direction shall India a win the appreciation of French people. That shall be an example even other states of Indian Union who are getting a taste of organized crime. The wrongful acts are violative of the umbrella provided by Article 21 and Article 14 of the Constitution of India. Hence this petition is submitted on the following amongst other:-

FOUNDATIONS

A) Because right to property and peaceful living is the mandate of the Constitution. The wrongful acts are violative of the umbrella provided by Article 21 and Article 14 of the Constitution of India.

B) Because French nationals of Indian Origin in India have to be given the same umbrella of law as to Indians of India origin. The message of international lure has to go about India as a highly law respecting country.

C) Because International ramifications of the matter demand a different and more deliberate approach in solving the matters. The matter is in a way a test of the country to respect the commitment that it gave to France while French left the shores of this country without a murmur with quite dignity and

since then have always stood with India in international matters.

D) Because individual problems cannot be solved by agitating different matters in the courts on even the High Court.

E) Because this Hon'ble Court in *Bandhua Mukti Morcha V/s Union of India - 1984 (3) S.C.C. 161* have already shown a path through which the challenge of Ex-Prime Minister in himself in *Ex. P.M. Chandra Shekhar V/s B.L. Vadhera 2002 (9) S.C.C. 108* another land mark for land grabbing has been achieved.

F) Because this Hon'ble Court has disapproved the activism and course taken by High Court in the matter of *Guruvayoor Devawom Managing Committee V/s C.K. Rajan 2003 (7) SCC 546*.

22. That the petitioner has not filed any other petition before the High Court or this Hon'ble Court for the similar relief.

PRAYER

In the aforementioned premises, the petitioner most humbly and respectfully prayed that Your Lordships may graciously be pleased to:-

a) issue a writ or in the nature of mandamus directing the Union Home Ministry under whose control the Union Territory is being administered to complete the probe by Central Bureau of Investigation and to probe all land grabbing cases reported till date in media or pending as civil suits in local courts and to bring the culprits to book irrespective of their political or official connection;

b) issue a writ of or in nature of mandamus directing the Government of Pondicherry to call for original records from French Archives and to compare it with whatever un-stolen records we have to trace the missing links to fill the gaps and to restore proper land survey and property records in a computerized manner ensuring clean records for the holders of title thereby ending the circulation of bogus and manufactured documents in circulation and the unnecessary civil suits cause by clashes over title by legal and illegal owners of properties;

c) issue a direction to the Union Home Ministry to probe into the massive wealth amassed by public officials revenue and police helping the grabbers and to bring all culprits to book by sending a special team to take immediate action on errant officials involved in aiding abetting promotion and shielding land grab/house grab in Pondicherry; and

d) pass any other order or orders as Your Lordships may deems fit and proper in the ends of justice.

Drawn by:
VINAI SINGH
ADVOCATE

Filed by:

NEW DELHI

DRAWN ON : 20 .01.2004 (R.D. UPADHYAY)
ADVOCATE FOR THE PETITIONER FILED ON :
21.01.2004

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF INDIA
CIVIL ORIGINAL JURISDICTION
I.A. NO. OF 2004
IN

WRIT PETITION (C) NO. OF 2004

IN THE MATTER OF :

N. Nandhivarman

...Petitioner

Versus

The Union of India & Others.

Respondents

APPLICATION FOR EXEMPTION FROM FILING
OFFICIAL TRANSLATION

TO

HON'BLE THE CHIEF JUSTICE OF INDIA
AND HIS COMPANION JUSTICES OF
THE SUPREME COURT OF INDIA.

THE HUMBLE WRIT PETITION OF THE PETITIONER
ABOVENAMED.

MOST RESPECTFULLY SHOWETH:

1. That the petitioner has filed the accompanying writ petition under Article 32 of the Constitution of India.
2. The facts and circumstances leading to this application have been set out in detail in the writ petition, they may be treated as part and parcel of this application as they are not being repeated for the sake of brevity.
3. That the petitioner has filed Annexure P/5 duly translated into English, the originals of which is being in French language. The said translation has been done by an French knowing expert and the same may be taken on record as true and authentic.

Interest of justice would be served if the petitioner be exempted from filing official translation of Annexure P/5 as this stage.

PRAYER

It is, therefore, most respectfully prayed that this Hon'ble Court may be graciously pleased to:

- a) exempt the petitioner from filing official translation of Annexure P/5 and pass order for taking on record of the same as true and authentic;
- b) pass such other or further orders as may be deemed fit and proper.

Drawn by: Filed by: VINAI SINGH ADVOCATE

NEW DELHI

FILED ON : .01.2004(R.D. UPADHYAY)
ADVOCATE FOR THE PETITIONER

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9. ANNEXURE: P-7:- Copy of the memorandum to C.B.I. Director, Chennai, dated 03.05.1999.

10. ANNEXURE: P-8:- Copy of letter dated 30.03.2003 of the petitioner to the Defence Minister & President of Samta Party.

11. Application for exemption from filing official translation.

SUPREME COURT OF INDIA
Writ Petition [Civil] No 70 of 2004

N.Nandhivarman versus Union of India

Hon'ble Chief Justice

Hon'ble Justice S.H.Kapadia

Upon hearing the Counsel the Court made the following

ORDER

We are of the view that the petitioner has a remedy by filing a petition under Article 226 of the Constitution of India. This petition is misconceived.

With these observations the writ petition is accordingly dismissed.

23.02.2004

CHINA'S NEW THREAT TO INDIAN UNION

Tue, 2007-05-29 01:10

N.Nandhivarman - General Secretary Dravida Peravai

Speaking in Indian Parliament on 20 th November 1950, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru states “Maps of China for last thirty years have shown a certain portion of that North Eastern Frontier which is now part of India.... Our maps show that McMahon Line is our boundary and that is our boundary map or no map... and we will not allow anybody to come across the boundary”

The problem between India and China, which now stakes claim to Indian State of Arunachal Pradesh, started actually not by the tongue slip of Jawaharlal Nehru, but by the fact about the weakness of both side over the maps.

Emergence of Chinese Nation

Let me further quote Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru “The administration of the Mongol Empire must have been a very difficult task. It is not surprising therefore that it began to split. Kublai Khan died in 1292. After him there was no great Khan. The Empire divided up into big areas.

1. The Empire of China including Mongolia, Manchuria and Tibet. This empire was the principal one under Kublai Khan's descendent of the Yuan dynasty.

2. To the far West Russia, Poland and Hungary was the Empire of the Golden Horde as the Mongols were then called.

3. In Persia and Mesopotamia and part of Central Asia there was the Ilkhan Empire, which was founded by Hulugu and to which the Seljuk Turks paid tribute.

4. North of Tibet in Central Asia there was a great Turkey as it was called, the Empire of Zagatai

5. Between Mongolia and Golden Horde there was a Siberian Empire of the Mongols.

Mongol Empire was split up, each one of these five divisions it was a mighty empire wrote Nehru in page 224 of his book Glimpses of World History. That was the divided nature; fragmented nature of a country those in later days became China.

Emergence of Indian Nation

During British rule about 60% of the Indian sub-continent's territories were Provinces and 40% were Princely States the Indian sub-continent was always a bunch of different entities ruling different parts in India. While the arrival of the British in India, the most dominant empire in the Indian sub-continent was the Moghul Empire. The Moghul Empire acted as patrons to many smaller kingdoms all over India. With the collapse of the Moghul Empire, which began in the 18 th century, the different rulers became semi-independent.

The Indian sub-continent at the time of independence in 1947 had 562 Princely States. Some of them like Kashmir, Mysore and Hyderabad were as large as England. There were also smaller Princely states like Junagad, Udaipur, Janjira, Aundh and Cochin.

Along with the Princely States there were also 11 Provinces in British India. These Provinces were under direct British control.

These Provinces were formerly Indian entities, which the British annexed from the Indian rulers, attached them together and turned them into British Provinces. Among these Provinces were Bombay, Madras, Bengal, Assam and United Provinces. This introduction will indicate how our borders have become widening and changing with integration of princely states within Indian Union.

India and China two countries have fought bitter war and even today normalcy never returns in fostering better relationship. The legacy of the colonialism has left a border dispute, which had triggered wars in the past and now claims over settled issue like Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh. To enable people of both countries to ponder over the root cause of the enmity between two great neighbors, we wish to place for public debate the border question.

The maps and the confusion created by contradictory maps

The maps of 1930 show Indian border in North East sector, which is McMahon line between India's Assam and Tibet region as Boundary Un-demarcated. In Northwest, North sectors [from Kashmir Ladakh to Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh it was inscribed as boundary undefined. Miss Dorothy Woodman in her book *Himalayan Frontiers* in 1969 wrote, "The innumerable discrepancies on maps might lead to the most naïve student of cartography to the view that the devil can quote maps to serve its own purpose." The discrepancies in maps are a disease infecting both sides. Both countries based their claims on erroneous

maps. In Indian side as per eminent parliamentarian and scholar Kuldip Nayyar

“The Government itself with drew several official maps and books which did not indicate meticulously a curve here or a bend there or which left the boundary undefined. Many maps of the Survey of India and the books of Publications Division were withdrawn, and there was a circular sent to return all such materials “[Between the Lines p 137-138].

Similarly Chinese Premier Chou-en-lai made it clear in April 1955 during Bandung Conference, that China's borders with neighbouring countries had not yet been fixed.

Colonial mentality reflected in maps

While we talk about the faulty maps of both countries based on which the people of both countries have undergone the agony of war, we must also take note of the colonial mind and colonial mentality behind the maps. To divert the subject here from India and China, so that none can say we are blind by nationalism but to stress the need to apply rationalism in evaluating our past and present claims and counter claims over territory let me draw your attention to other maps.

"Open a geography book or take an Atlas or a traditional map adorning a wall. Greenland and Scandinavia appear to be ten and three times larger than India respectively. However in reality Greenland is only eighty percent of India's size. Scandinavia is three times smaller than India. The discrepancy does not end here.

Russia appears bigger than entire continent of Africa; Alaska bigger than Mexico and tiny Europe seems to

occupy more area than entire South America. This mismatch runs against basic common sense. Locate the equator and see how the northern hemisphere occupies two thirds of the space, and southern hemisphere the remaining one third." Wrote Columnist Vishal V Sharma in Times of India.

He cites the reasons for this. "The world map being shown in our books and Atlases is the Mercator map, made during the age when Europe dominated and exploited the world. The white dominated countries are thus portrayed to be extraordinarily large while non white countries extraordinarily small." United Nations in 1974 acknowledging this discrepancy accepted a new map made by Arno Peters, a German scholar. Peter's map shows countries in their relative sizes, and is based on his decimal grid, which divides the surface of the Earth into hundred longitudinal fields with equal width and a hundred latitudinal fields of equal heights.

Dravida Peravai wishes to draw the attention of people of India and China that our countries have not understood the colonialism and its legacy, the maps, McMahon lines over which we were engulfed in enmity for decades, and spent the energies of our economies to fuel wars instead of eradicating poverty in our most populous countries.

Bangladesh borders:

The legacy of past not only haunts India and China, it also hurts India and Bangladesh. There are 111 Indian enclaves in Bangladesh and 51 Bangladesh enclaves in India." The legacy of high stake card games between two kings, rulers of Cooch Bihar and Rangpur within old Bengal State centuries ago where they used estates as stakes when they ran out of cash, resulted in our nation having Bangladesh enclaves

and Bangladesh having our enclaves. This is an issue, which had not been sorted out yet; it applies to the Indo China border dispute.

The sudden raking up of a claim over Arunachal Pradesh by China had created heartburns amidst Indian people. Indian people did not expect that Chinese would go on digging a past, a creation of colonialism, to put roadblocks to normalcy between two great civilizations and countries.

Statesmanship should prevail. Territory gained at the cost of making people live better within our countries, does not warrant it. Let us bury the colonial legacy and the problems it left behind. Both the nations and even Bangladesh must have open mind, give and take approach, and acceptance of status quo without igniting tensions with fresh claims as one reiterated unnecessarily by China. Let minds of both countries meet and resolve our border issue scientifically and amicably.

PETITION TO INDIAN PARLIAMENT AND TO TAMIL NADU ASSEMBLY BY DRAVIDA PERAVAI

Created 2007-10-05 01:41

Chennai, 05 October, (Asiantribune.com): The book published by Lok Sabha Secretariat with G.C.Malhotra as Editor and titled Practice and Procedure of Parliament in page 957 Chapter XXXIII on Petitions and Representations says" It is an inherent right of the people in a democracy to present petitions to the Legislature of the land with a view to ventilating grievances and offering constructive suggestions on matters of public importance. This right has been well recognized in India and has been in vogue since time immemorial.

The concept of petitioning for redress of grievances now finds an indirect recognition in the Constitution also. [Art.350]. Dravida Peravai exercises its right to petition the Parliament on the question of judiciary over stepping its limits to usurp the powers under Article 356 empowered with the Parliament and the Contempt threats posed against duly elected State Government of Tamilnadu.

It also says people can petition to a Legislative assembly. In view of this we have sent the following memorandum to both the Speaker of Loksabha and Rajyasabha. We would urge you to convene a special sitting of the Tamilnadu Assembly to move a resolution upholding the rights of Tamilnadu people to elect their government and to urge Indian Parliament bring impeachment motion against the two judges

who had overstepped their domain and had acted in partisan manner in order to defeat people's mandate by back door.

The issue of Contempt of Court that has become a subject matter of debate once again could have been resolved if only The Indian government decision to amend the Contempt of Courts Act which has resulted in several contrary decisions in the past had been effected in time. Since issue is pending before Parliament we are here presenting this petition to urge the Parliament to take note of many controversies arisen in this country and evolve and enact a fool proof Contempt of Courts Act in the winter session of Parliament

It has taken a long time for the Union government to brave the resistance of the judiciary against amending the Contempt of Courts Act, 1971. In fact there had been growing demand for doing away with the COCA so that it is not unusually and excessively used by the judiciary against the persons and institutions including media, who dare to expose those adorning the high constitutional positions of judges of the Supreme Court and high courts. Dravida Peravai urges the doing away of the Contempt of Courts Act 1971 or amending it to safeguard free democracy and free media. The Supreme Court could summon an editor of daily newspaper which carried a news item, though not defamatory or contemptuous but allegedly based on false information, to pull him up in an open hearing. When the editor's counsel asserted that the information published was not factually incorrect and he would argue on that, the court promptly told him that "truth is not a defense" in a contempt of court case.

The lawyer would withdraw and leave it to the court to decide the matter, without taking note of the editor's plea that the news item was not untrue.

But the court had taken a contrary view while dealing with Shiv Sena chief Bal Thackeray against whom it had initiated (suo-motu) contempt of court proceedings. In the Sena's mouth piece 'Samna'. Thackeray had questioned the locus (right) of judges who were hearing petitions alleging electoral corrupt practice by him.

Thackeray had called Muslims names and also said that it was beyond the jurisdiction of the country's highest court to look into what he had to say, and what he always believed in. The court had asked Thackeray's lawyer Ram Jethmalani to counsel his client to apologize. Otherwise, the judges had warned, they would send him to jail. The counsel, instead, counseled the court not to resort to the extreme step as ordering Thackeray's arrest would lead to mass unrest in the country. Later, the contempt proceedings were dropped.

Again, the court absolved former Union law minister P Shiv Shankar of the committing gross contempt by publicly declaring that the Supreme Court was meant for the "bride burners, diamond smugglers, corrupt and mafia." The court did not find Shankar's utterances serious enough to have him hauled up under the COCA. His sweeping allegations against the Supreme Court were considered to be his personal feelings and also something, which the Congress leader had said in public interest

Former bureaucrat and the then Trade Fair Authority of India's chairman Mohammad Yunus got away with his statement about the judges who passed a judgment that the members of Jehovah's Witnesses

could not be compelled to sing the national anthem or asked to stand in respect of the national flag. Yunus had said these judges deserved deportation, as they were anti-national. The court surely passed a detailed judgment, but did not order any action against Yunus. In another case, however, a poor Muslim litigant who had lost everything in coming up to the apex court and lost his case was sent to the jail for committing its contempt. He pleaded before a judge, who also happened to be a Muslim, to have pity on him and on his children who would be rendered homeless. He invoked the name of religion to secure the court's indulgence. The judicial discretion however found him guilty of contempt and sent him to jail. These and many more instances of COCA would surely demonstrate that absolute judicial discretion plays a vital role in dispensation.

The same is true with judicial pronouncements .The core question, however, is whether the proposed amendment in the COCA by injecting the element of "truth" in it as a defense would be sufficient to empower a contemnor to defend his actions or words, which may have been construed as gross contempt by the judges. The government had been opposed to any amendment in the COCA. But the spate of allegations against several judges and exposes of their dealings with vulnerable categories of people, perhaps worked as a pressure on the law ministry to review its decision.

In the Karnataka judge's sex scandal case, a number of journalists, editors and publishers have been facing prosecution by the high court for indulging in character assassination of judges. The media had written about the conduct of judges when they were not performing any official duty as prescribed in the Constitution or any law. The reports were based on the police information and other material. What is the

truth is not the issue. The issue is whether media crossed its limits.

The proposed amendment in section 13 of COCA says: "Provided that the court may permit the defense of justification by truth on satisfaction as to the bonafides of the plea and it being in public interest". The Law ministry's explanation is that the amendment is based on the recommendation of the Constitution Review

We in verbatim quote extensively an article by leading Supreme Court Advocate Prasant Bhusan son of the legendary lawyer Shanthi Bhusan of Indira Gandhi case fame.

The report of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on the proposed amendment to the Contempt of Courts Act has again focused attention on the issue of judicial impunity and the lack of accountability of the judiciary as an institution. The Courts in a manner that has had the effect of intimidating the media from exposing corruption and misbehavior by the courts and judges have interpreted the wide and unregulated power of contempt given to the courts.

Thus Arundhati Roy was jailed for commenting in her affidavit that the court's contempt notice to her on an untenable petition indicated a disquieting inclination on the part of the Court to "muzzle dissent and stifle criticism."And the very judge against whom this comment was directed made the order.

Although this was clearly a legitimate comment on the court, and an exercise of a citizen's fundamental right to free speech guaranteed by the Constitution of a democratic republic, the Supreme Court declared it to amount to contempt of court.

This sent a clear signal to the media in particular that the court would not hesitate to use this power to "muzzle dissent and stifle criticism." The question is: does the judiciary stand above our democratic republic? The draconian power of contempt is not the only reason for the lack of accountability of the judiciary.

The primary reason is the lack of any practical mechanism for holding judges of the High Courts and Supreme Court responsible for any misconduct. In order to keep the judiciary independent of the executive, the Constitution provided impeachment as the only method for disciplining errant judges.

That remedy was shown to be completely impractical in the Ramaswami case, where the judge escaped removal because the then ruling party, the Congress, abstained from voting in Parliament. This was after a committee of three judges found the judge guilty of many charges of misconduct appointed under the Judges Inquiry Act. In that case, evidence of misconduct surfaced in a report by the Accountant General on the purchases made by him from government funds. Normally, it will not be possible for a citizen to get evidence of a judge's misconduct even for the purpose of drafting an impeachment motion, without an official investigation.

By a judge-made law (in Veeraswami's case), the judiciary has ruled that no official investigation can be conducted against a judge without the written permission of the Chief Justice of India. Nobody, of course, dares apply for such permission unless they already have evidence against the judge. This is why there has not been a single official investigation against a judge in the 15 years since the Veeraswami judgment, despite the fact the former Chief Justice Bharucha publicly lamented that at least 20 per cent

judges of the higher judiciary were corrupt. This triple shield — no practical remedy for the removal of corrupt judges, no investigation of charges against judges, and the power of contempt — has served to provide complete immunity to judges and has institutionalized judicial impunity.

It is against this background that the proposed amendment to the Contempt of Courts Act must be viewed. The amendment provides that truth may be considered a good defense in contempt proceedings provided it is in the public interest. The Parliamentary Standing Committee, in its recently tabled report on this amendment, while approving it, has suggested the removal of the additional requirement of showing that the truth is also in the public interest.

It has also asked the Government to consider Ram Jethmalani's suggestion that even an allegation made bona fide with due care and caution would not be regarded as contempt. The Parliamentary Standing Committee has noted the suggestion made by the Committee on Judicial Accountability that the words "scandalizing the court or lowering the authority of the court" should be altogether removed from the definition of contempt.

This is the part of the definition of contempt that is used to stifle speech, allegations, and comments against judges. This will still leave intact the parts dealing with disobedience of court orders (civil contempt) and interference with the administration of justice, which would include any attempt to threaten or influence a judge, lawyer, litigant, or witness. Medieval origins In fact, contempt by 'scandalizing' the court owes its origin to the medieval ages in Britain, when the courts were considered representatives of the monarch and were called King's Courts or Queen's Courts.

Thus, any imputation against the courts was considered an imputation against the sovereign and therefore punishable. The United States has a more liberal dispensation, where only something that presents a clear and present danger to the administration of justice is considered contempt. Although the British origin of contempt law in India has absolutely no relevance today, the judiciary has continued this jurisdiction and gone on to declare that even truth cannot be a valid defense against a charge of contempt. That is why the proposed amendment to the Contempt of Courts Act falls far short of what is required to prevent the abuse of this draconian power. Karnataka Government disobeyed Supreme Court orders on Cauvery waters; Kerala Government disobeyed Supreme Court on Mullai Periyar Dam case orders, Uttar Pradesh Government failed in Babri Masjid issue to comply with Supreme Court orders. We can list out incidents where no one raised hue and cry over such violations, it is unfortunate and unwarranted two Supreme Court Judges are for exercising Article 356 to dethrone a duly elected Government without giving chance for a fair trial.

This situation warrants the deliberations in Parliament not only to do away with the contempt of Court Act 1971 if it cannot be replaced or amended with suitable safeguards for media and executive to play their roles in a free democracy. Also the need to subject judiciary to investigation in case of corruption and a due mechanism for that be evolved in Parliament, Dravida Peravai, the political party that keeps away from electoral politics in view of the unclean politics gaining upper hand with circulation of black money and criminalization of politics, urges Indian Parliament to debate these issues, since Parliament is Supreme, and take remedial legal steps to contain over reach of judicial intervention in

people's power to have elected governments of their own.

Thanking You
Yours sincerely

N.Nandhivarman

N.Nandhivarman General Secretary Dravida Peravai

-AsianTribune.com
<http://www.asiantribune.com/?q=node/7658>

LACK OF POLITICAL WILL OF THE UNION GOVERNMENT DEPRIVED TAMILS OF CAUVERY WATERS FOR DECADES

N.Nandhivarman General Secretary Dravida Peravai

Poets are respected beyond cultures. Suppose in Karnataka there exists a British settlement, naturally the British people would install the statue of Shakespeare. Such statues will be honored in any civilized country, except under Talibans. On par with Taliban, we cannot equate Kannada people. But certain political leaders of Karnataka who have lost their mental equilibrium have made an issue out of Saint Thiruvalluvar's statue.

On the banks of Ulsoor Lake a statue of Saint Thiruvalluvar was unveiled under Bangarappa's rule and many Chief Ministers have occupied his seat with decades passing, yet the unveiled statue remains wrapped in gunny bag without public view and is guarded by gun wielding police men. In whole of India the statues of many leaders and Poets are respected and no issue is made out of any statue. No statue in India is under police custody beyond life sentence too. Saint Thiruvalluvar's statue faces such ignominy because of handful of Taliban type Kannada terrorists. Now it is the turn of Cauvery water to be made a pawn in the power play of these Kannadabans.

Dravida Peravai recalls the memorandum it sent to then Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee on 24.4.1998. Let me quote extracts from that letter.

“In civilized society disputes of whatever nature will be either resolved through mutual discussions or by third party mediation be it government or courts. It is needless to recall that the Indus water dispute between India and Pakistan stands settled. The Danube water dispute among 8 European nations, the Tanguis water dispute between Spain and Portugal, the Tennessee water dispute among 8 states of USA have all been resolved amicably, while the Cauvery water dispute still evades settlement due to lack of political will on the part of successive Union Governments. It will be appropriate to point out that all these inter state river water disputes were settled only by upholding and accepting the priority principle in favour of lower riparian states.

While much water has flown in Cauvery within Karnataka, the legitimate share of lower riparian states of Tamilnadu and Pondicherry has dwindled year after year. We bring out this fact as follows:

1924

Agreement between Madras Presidency and Mysore State during British period 575.68 YMC

[Comments: Under this agreement based on Nile river settlement Tamilnadu got 489 TMC approximately]

1972 G.C.Committee Report 489 TMC

[Comments: Tamilnadu, Karnataka and Kerala utilized 489, 177 and 5 TMC respectively as per the formula in this report accepted by the Chief Ministers of 3 states stated above]

1972

On 31.5.1972 in the presence Union Minister for Water Resources K.L.Rao three states agree 489 TMC

1974

Meeting of Chief Ministers convened by Union Irrigation Minister Jagjivan Ram agree for status quo

1978

Compromise worked during the period of Emergency imposed by Indira Gandhi $489-100=389$ TMC

[Comments: This grave injustice perpetuated by Indira Gandhi's emergency rule reduced 100 TMC overnight and deprived Tamilnadu and Pondicherry its due share. Tamilnadu did not ratify this]

1980

Karnataka's own proposal on the basis of total flow in Cauvery during previous 75 years 375 TMC

[Comments: This proposal suggested 47 percent, 47 percent, 5 percent and 1 percent shares for Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Kerala and Pondicherry in the total flow of the river]

1990

Statement of Karnataka Chief Minister Veerendra Patil
 $489-73=416$ TMC for Tamilnadu
 $177+73=250$ TMC for Karnataka

[Comments: Karnataka which was receiving 177 TMC under previous arrangement now will use 250 TMC and this satisfied Karnataka Chief Minister Mr. Patil as Tamilnadu agreed to this proposal]

1991

Interim order of Cauvery Water Disputes Tribunal on
25.6.1991 205 TMC

Having traced the history I think I have made it clear that Tamilnadu's share has been on decline and great injustice is inflicted upon Tamil people. The major lacunae in the Tribunal's order is that it fixed the quantum on the basis of the average flow into the Mettur Dam of Tamilnadu and not on the basis of the average of the total flow in the entire Cauvery.

On July 25th of 1991 Karnataka urgently convened the legislature and upper house and passed Cauvery Irrigation Protection Act, which was against the Constitution of India since it defies the highest Court of the land. So goes on the Dravida Peravai memorandum to then Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, and its concluding prayer is as follows:

As per the 1991 census out of the total population of 55.60 millions, 16.85 million people live in the Cauvery river basin, by 2001, the total population of Tamilnadu is expected to increase to 95 millions and in this increase particularly in Cauvery river basin the figures will be around 29 million people. The cultivable lands in Cauvery basin, which stood at 39.83 lakh hectares, have come down to 28.94 lakh hectares. While population is on increase cultivable lands are diminishing in Cauvery basin. Union Government by its inaction is driving Tamils into the Kalahandi syndrome. The Center should under section 6 [a] of Interstate Water Disputes act 1956 frame schemes to implement interim award and let the final award also be complied with. The Cauvery River Water Disputes Tribunal had given its final verdict in 2007. All these years the farmers of Cauvery river basin, particularly in Tamil Nadu had lost crores and crores due to crop

losses and agricultural labourers lost work and famine haunted their homes. Apart from delayed justice, there is needed to compensate for all these losses. Though in between paltry pittances had been given by Tamilnadu and Pondicherry on year by year basis according to exigencies, the Center has failed to implement the Interim Award and now also we cant be sure of Final Award being implemented soon, it is necessary to pay heavy compensations from National Calamity Fund to Cauvery delta farmers, The Karaikal Struggle Group had demanded on 6 th February 2007. After the revamp of Karaikal Struggle Group while introducing the new 36 office bearers, I who was chosen as Honorary President addressed the press conference at Karaikal, wherein this demand was made.

KARNATAKA GAINS IN FINAL AWARD

All advocates who advocated the cause of Karnataka before the Cauvery Water Disputes Tribunal are of the view that Karnataka had gained by this final verdict. The Interim award told to allocate 205 TMC Cauvery Water to Tamil Nadu. But 227 TMC water was given. In addition within Tamilnadu catchments areas the river basin got 25 TMC of rainwater. So 252 TMC was going to Tamilnadu all these years. But as per the final verdict Karnataka had to give only 192 TMC. Hence in no way it is loss to Karnataka. There is no use in going on appeal against the Tribunal order, advocates opine. As per Dinamalar special correspondent from New Delhi, Senior Counsel for Karnataka Mr.Nariman and all concerned with this case from Karnataka side have stated that if appeal is made it will go against Karnataka. They feel the Tribunal's final award is favorable.

As per the fact-finding committee's report of 1971, Karnataka should get only 177 TMC. As per the

agreement made in the presence of Hon'ble Jaga Jivan Ram in 1976, it was recommended that Karnataka would get 239 TMC. But in the final award Karnataka gets 270 TMC. There was also a ban to hike cultivable areas beyond 11.2 lakh hectares. Now that ceiling had been totally withdrawn. Instead of accepting Tamilnadu's contention that the yardstick to calculate waters should be flow into Mettur Dam, the Tribunal has accepted Billigundlu, the area within Karnataka as calculating point. Only draw back for Karnataka side is they cannot go on arbitrarily constructing new dams.

In spite of a favorable verdict, in spite of lawyer's who fought the case for Karnataka expressing opinion that the judgment is in their favor, instigated protests are going on in Karnataka. There has been total stoppage of inter state transport. Today i.e. 9 th the Karnataka lorries, buses and cars have started coming into Tamilnadu, which shows and proves once again that Tamils are mature and civilized people. Whereas Tamilnadu transport vehicles could not enter Karnataka. A few handful politicians of Karnataka are raising hue and cry and all Karnataka Governments till date are using it as a ploy to deny Tamilnadu of its legitimate share.

The unity shown by political parties even to defy the Tribunal's order must be an eye opener to the warring Tamilnadu political parties, who never in the history of Tamilnadu stood up for a public cause sinking petty political differences.

This lack of unity and the open invitation to divide and rule Tamils extended by the political parties of Tamilnadu enables Union Government and national parties to impose on Tamil unjust settlements, on many issues including Kacha Theevu and Cauvery.

ONE COUNTRY WITHOUT ONE MARKET

While I met the then Union Minister of Finance Mr.Yaswant Sinha, I had said that while European nations started with various currencies and now joined in one European Union and have single currency, we in Indian Union started with single currency but yet we have not reached one common market. At every state's borders the check posts will reveal that we are not a single nation or an economic union. The act of Karnataka once again by open defiance of Tribunal order proves that Union Government has no political will to secure justice for Tamils by taming the misguiding Karnataka's anti-nationals.

N.Nandhivarman General Secretary Dravida Peravai

Cauvery waters. The Sethu Samudram canal project also needs to be considered for early action. The BJP has been championing these projects and we owe it to the people to fulfill our commitments to them. Though 9th plan states this project and in spite of being promised in the election manifesto, this project has not seen the light at the end of the tunnel. Hence Dravida Peravai General Secretary N. Nandhivarman had filed a writ petition in the Supreme Court of India, against the Union of India and others. (Writ Petition # 496 of 2001)

In his prayer, the petitioner had sought the apex court's intervention to direct authorities to initiate the implementation of this project in a phased manner and with a time frame. The feasibility reports prepared by the National Water Development Agency under Ministry of Water Resources must be made public along with the reasons for long consumption of time in initiating this project, the petition prays. The petition also seeks details of the total funds spent by Central and all State Governments on flood and drought relief.

The petitioner states that interlinking Ganga and Cauvery was first mooted in 1972 by then Union Minister for Irrigation Dr.K.L.Rao, which envisaged 2640-kilometer long Ganga Cauvery link. Thereafter in 1974 Captain Dastur suggested a canal known as Garland canal. In July 1982 National Water Development Agency was created to carry out surveys and prepare feasibility reports. In September 1987 the National Water Policy stated that its prime goal is to interlink national rivers. Over all these years none of the feasibility report is made public nor has the interlinking of rivers been undertaken even in a phased manner. The petitioner states that another project promised in the manifesto of the NDA namely Sethu Samudram Project, which was conceived 141 years back, has seen 22 feasibility reports in these

periods and now global tenders were called for to prepare fresh feasibility reports. Fearing such a fate will happen even to this interlinking of rivers project Dravida Peravai General Secretary Mr. N. Nandhivarman in his petition states from the ongoing deliberations for decades, it is an irony that the foreigners who ruled us interlinked Indian states with railway link, whereas in independent India to interlink rivers, create more lakes and canals were are just discussing, discussing and jettisoning scheme after scheme.

The national Water Development agency is only collecting the data's offered by various state governments and compiling them into reports. Even to do that the agency seems to be having 2010 as the time frame to complete all feasibility studies. Moreover like previous proposals this may also be jettisoned citing similar reasons or fresh excuses. Thereafter after 2010, India may go for global tenders to make a study of this project and all will be back to square one in 21st century too. In view of this petitioner had to pray before the court to find out what is going to ultimately happen to this project.

The project prepared by the National Water Development Agency, the petition says, has two components namely Himalayan Rivers Development Component and Peninsular Rivers Development component. Himalayan Rivers Development envisages construction of storage reservoirs on the principal tributaries of the Ganga and the Brahmaputra in India, Nepal, and Bhutan, along with interlinking canal systems to transfer surplus flows of the eastern tributaries of the Ganga to the West, apart from linking of the main Brahmaputra and its tributaries with the Ganga and Ganga with Mahanadi. The Himalayan component would provide additional irrigation of about 22 million hectare and generation

of about 30 million KW of hydropower, besides providing substantial flood control in the Ganga & Brahmaputra basins. It would also provide the necessary discharge for augmentation of flows at Farakka required interalia to flush the Calcutta port and the inland navigation facilities across the country.

Peninsular Rivers Development

This component is divided into four major parts.

Interlinking of Mahanadi-Godavari-Krishna-Cauvery Rivers and building storages at potential sites in these basins. This is the major interlinking of the river systems where surpluses from the Mahanadi and the Godavari are intended to be transferred to the needy areas in the South.

Interlinking of west flowing rivers, north of Bombay and south of Tapi. This scheme envisages construction of as much optimal storage as possible on these streams and interlinking them to make available appreciable quantum of water for transfer to areas where additional water is needed. The scheme provides for taking water supply canal to the metropolitan areas of Bombay; it also provides irrigation to the coastal areas in Maharashtra.

Interlinking of Ken-Chambal Rivers. The scheme provides for a water grid for Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh and interlinking canal backed by as much storage as possible.

Diversion of other west flowing rivers. Heavy rainfall on the western side of the Western Ghats runs down numerous streams, which empty, into the Arabian Sea.

Construction of an interlinking canal system backed up by adequate storages could be planned to meet all requirements of Kerala as also for transfer of some waters towards east to meet the needs of drought affected areas. The peninsular Component is expected to provide additional irrigation of about 13 million hectare and is expected to generate about 4 million KW of power.

Listing these petitioner N. Nandhivarman General Secretary Dravida Peravai further states: Every feasibility study ordered from the days of K.L.RAO, The Minister of State for irrigation at union Government had only endorsed the findings after findings that favour the national dream project. The 33,600 crore project linking peninsular rivers could first be taken up. Or Himalayan component can be taken up. Or links within states and agreeable states could be taken up. Yet there is no good news from the seats of power, and farmers of this country who alone are a majority in our agrarian economy are aghast at the neglect of this national project.

While rivers that flow through different countries had benefited such countries with mutual agreements on water sharing, some Indian states prefer waters to be emptied in oceans instead of benefiting fellow Indians.

N. Nandhivarman General Secretary Dravida Peravai
November 25, 2001

Courtesy: <http://www.boloji.com/environment/22.htm>

WATER FAMINE AHEAD A WAKE UP CALL

The IXth Plan Document forewarned Indian Government of the danger ahead. "It is grossly a misplaced conception that India is a water rich country and water is a free commodity. Amongst 121 countries where per capita availability of annual renewable fresh water in 1990 was only more than 1695 cubic meters, India ranked at 108th position. Further according to a number of studies conducted in India and abroad, India's per capita water availability status is likely to move from marginally vulnerable (as in 1990) down to water scarcity in the year 2025 onwards. Further the plan documents spell a clear perspective for the inter basin transfer of water." The plan document also finds its echo in party manifestoes that too the ruling party's manifesto. The political resolution passed at the National Council meeting of Bharatiya Janata party held at Nagpur in August 27-28 of 2000 urged "the government to consider a time bound program to link Ganga and Cauvery rivers." Yet no attempt to translate an electoral promise is being undertaken.

Writ Fails

Dravida Peravai, a tiny party registered with the Election Commission of India initiated steps to seek the intervention of the Supreme Court, but unfortunately as the lawyer engaged back stabbed the petitioner and withdrew the case, the Writ Petition (Civil) No.496/2001 while was taken up on 19th November 2001 Hon'ble Justice B.N.Kirpal and Hon'ble Justice K.G.Balakrishnan ordered as follows: "The writ petition is dismissed as withdrawn."

To seek the highest courts directive to direct the government to fix a time frame for interlinking of rivers, thus ended in a failure.

Water Crisis in Delhi

The recent press reports indicate the alarming water crisis, and those who had dilly-dallied on interlinking of rivers are going to receive the curse of generations to come. The Chief Minister of Delhi Ms. Sheila Dixit publicly confessed that the quality of tap water in South Delhi is poor, and in several areas, water was not available at all through normal distribution lines. Awakening to the situation Delhi Jal Board is going to sell 20 litre jars of pure drinking water at a cost of Rs 15, and compared to what private suppliers of mineral water sell @ Rs.40, this price is said to be cheaper. But the irony is water is becoming costlier than milk, and daily wage earning poor have hereafter shell out money to buy water too. The Hindustan Times (July 18-2002), which broke this news, also stated that Jal board loses 40% of water due to leakages. To plug the leakages and loopholes, perhaps her present mandate is insufficient. And perhaps the Chief Minister will shed crocodile tears while her party will incorporate a slogan on water in its next manifesto. After all by coining slogans like Garibi Hatao, India voters can be swayed, elections in past has proven. So without solving problems our political class can capitalize on poverty to water scarcity. Narrating the reasons of the water crisis Ms. Sheila Dixit states that as against the requirements of 775 MGD of water, Delhi is getting 640 MGD every day. Haryana has to supply 125 cusecs of water, but is not providing more than 90 cusec on average a day. Inter state water disputes wherein regionalism plays havoc with maximum utilization of natural resources for the common benefit of Indians, is another curse. The row between Tamil Nadu and Karnataka over Cauvery is a typical

example of a dispute that can never be resolved, while people have to suffer.

Bizarre Rituals to Rain God

While the scenario of Delhi and elsewhere is moving towards deterioration day by day, people have lost faith in their governments, whichever party that rules there. A report in The Hindustan Times (July 17-2002) states that at every night scores of women in a village in Etawah District of Uttar Pradesh, not very far from Taj Mahal, take off their clothes and till the fields stark naked. One local official admitted that there is a common belief in the villages that king Janak (father of Goddess Sita) and his wives themselves ploughed the fields at night naked, when his kingdom faced a severe drought. And the heavens soon opened up, the belief exists till day, resulting in woman tilling soil in nudity. People facing the drought and let down by the ruling elite are resorting to such bizarre rituals. Are we, as a civilized country going to watch helplessly such rituals, while we lack the political will to tackle the water crisis ahead?

ACT: Government must be told

Tata Energy Research Institute in a report states: Despite national average of 2464 cubic meters of water per capita a year, several parts face water scarcity. Take the Brahmaputra valley, where percapita availability is 18,417 cubic meters per annum while it is 411 cubic meters in the basins of the peninsula's east flowing rivers. Why plenty in one area and scarcity in another, why not divert as both are within our country?

In present days world half of the worlds population lives on less than \$ 2 dollars a day, a quarter on less than \$ 1 dollar a day, one third has no access to

electricity, a fifth has no access to clean drinking water, one sixth is illiterate, and one in seventh adult and one in five children suffer malnutrition. The irony is that a majority of the human population is relegated to poverty while a few in societies are feathering their nests. Though this is a global phenomenon every Government that swears in the name of democracy is duty bound to ensure that wealth is evenly distributed bridging the rural and urban divide. It is contrary to the very spirit of democracy that majority which exercises its franchise and gives the mandate to the rulers remain losers in the end when the benefits are garnered by a miniscule minority.

Most of the governments of the IIIrd World are bearing the brunt of debts; there has been some concern by the institutions like International Monetary Fund over the mounting debt burden of the third world countries. In fact historical precedents show cancellation of debts promotes prosperity and does not affect access to international capital in the long term. In the late 18th Century, USA cancelled its debts to the British crown. In the 20th century, the Russian state debt was cancelled in 1918, as also the war debts of the UK and France and the debts of the South American states after the 1929 Wall Street crash. In 1953, 51% of Germany's war debt was cancelled. In all cases the result was considerable economic expansion and subsequent access to international capital. In fact there are certain legal arguments legitimizing such debt cancellation, most notable among them are the principles of "odious debt" and "force majeure". Having this entire in mind Indian government must have made an effective demand for debt cancellation aligning with the third world countries. It is crystal clear that unless India comes out of its debt traps the development of the rural and poverty stricken peoples and projects like interlinking of rivers is next to impossible. While the

World Bank and the Heavily Indebted Countries Initiative are discussing to ease the debt burden of 23 countries mainly from Africa, India has missed the bus. The new Finance Minister Jaswant Singh must strive to get India out of debt trap at the same time mobilize international capital to inter link national rivers and to give boost to an agrarian economy.

Water crisis, famine, violent movements, rural unemployment all is inter-connected and landmines hidden in the path of peaceful progressive march of our nation.

– Nandhi Varman
General Secretary – Dravida Peravai

July 21, 2002

Courtesy: <http://www.boloji.com/analysis/043.htm>

APPEAL AGAINST DEPORTATION OF EALAM REFUGEES

At the party headquarters of Dravida Peravai various Human right activists met on 18,12,2000 and sent a Joint Memorandum To National Humans Rights Commission of India, which is given in verbatim here:

Ealam refugees came to India in three stages. After the ethnic holocaust in the year 1983 nearly 1,20,000 refugees came fleeing from the clutches of Srilankan hoodlums. Particularly in between 24 th June 1983 to 29 th July 1989 the total number of refugees arrived here from Srilanka amounts to 1.34.053. Thereafter in the aftermath of 1987 accord between India and Srilanka particularly between 24 th December 1987 and 31 st August 1989, 25, 585 refugees were sent back to Srilanka. Most of them preferred to go to Western countries than to Srilanka. In the second phase after the 20 th January 1992 around 54,188 refugees were sent back. Now as on 31 st May 2000, the Ealam refugees in India number to 66464. They are kept under 129 special camps.

We, the signatories to the memorandum urge the National Human Rights Commission to study the conditions of these refugees and order for remedial measures. The Indian Government deals with refugees at both political and administrative levels. The result is that refugees are treated under the law applicable to aliens. In the case of refugees protection, the Constitution of India guarantees certain fundamental rights, which are applicable to all non citizens, namely, the right to equality (article 14), the right to life and personal liberty (article 21) and the freedom to

practice and propagate their own religion (article 25). Any violation of these rights can be remedied through recourse to judiciary as the Indian Supreme Court has held that refugees or asylum seekers cannot be discriminated against because of their non citizens status.

The National Human Rights Commission, we are aware has functioned effectively as a watch dog for protection of Refugees. The Commission has approached the Supreme Court of India under article 32 of the Constitution and obtained protection to Chakma refugees from the Chittagong hill areas of Bangladesh when their life and security was threatened by local politicians and youth leaders in the State of Arunachal Pradesh. Relief was granted by the Supreme Court on the basis of the rights of aliens under article 14 and 21.

The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Justice Ahamadi speaking for the court in the National Human rights Commission vs. State of arunachal Pradesh (1996 SCC 742) said that the state is bound to protect the life and liberty of every human being. He pointed out that the rights of the refugees under the constitution of India were confirmed by article 21, which also included the right to non-refoulement . In case of Khy Htoon and others vs State of Manipur, The Imphal Bench of the Guahati High Court ruled that refugees have fundamental rights under article 10, 21 and 22 of the Indian Constitution. Justice V.R.Krishna Iyer considers article 14 which provides equal protection of law, as being applicable to all persons, not merely citizens.

India's refugee policy is further governed by certain administrative regulations. The standard of human treatment set by these administrative regulations flows from the ethos that persons displaced from their

homes need both protection and economic sustenance. The administrative experiences of the government department responsible for rehabilitation and the laws adjudicated at the time of the partition have contributed towards a refugee policy for India. In India refugees are registered under the 1939 Registration Act, which is applicable to all foreigners entering the country. Under the 1946 Foreigners act The Government of India is empowered to regulate the entry, presence and departure of aliens in India, though the word alien itself is nowhere defined. Entry is also governed by the Passport act of 1967.

Entry can be restricted if a person does not have a valid passport or visa to individuals who can enter Indian borders without a valid visa or any other document though the government can exempt persons when it so deserves. These procedures are linked at this stage to illegal migrants, the exemption provision is applicable to refugees. It should be noted that refugees in developing countries unlike those in the West (barring those from former Yugoslavia) usually descend in large numbers. Under these circumstances refugee determination becomes an administrative task to oversee the relief and rehabilitation process rather than to supervise who stays or does not stay.

As mentioned previously the Government of India determines the refugee status and has no specific legislation to deal with refugees. Professor Saxena of Jawaharlal Nehru university maintains that despite this lacunae, India does apply in practice certain articles of the 1951 U.N Refugee Convention. These include Article 7 as India provides refugees the same treatment to all aliens, Article 3 as India fully applies a policy of non discrimination, Article 3 a as no penalty is imposed on illegal entry, article 4 as religious freedom is guaranteed, Article 16 as free access to Court is provided, Article 17 & 18 as work

permits have no meaning and refugees do work, thus complying with these articles on wage earning rights, article 21 as freedom of housing is allowed and refugees need not stay in camps, for freedom of movement is guaranteed to all aliens, except in certain areas where special permits are required not only for aliens but also for all Indians and article 27 and 28 as identity and travel cards are issued to refugees.

However many activists have contested the assertions of Professor Saxena. They point out that the majority of Srilankan Tamils and almost all of the Jammu and Chakma refugees were forced to live inside camps. Severe restrictions were imposed on their freedom of movement. In addition, asylum seekers from Burma were arrested and jailed and during 1995-1997 approximately 5000 Chin refugees from Burma were pushed back over the border. They also point out that since the government does not issue residence permits to all the refugees they are unable to open bank accounts, rent houses and set up a business. Moreover Indian educational institutions do not admit refugees. as a result young refugees are unable to pursue their academic careers.

To conclude though India is not a party to 1951 UN Convention on Refugees or its protocol, its domestic laws have not been found to be in conflict with international laws. While it can be justifiably proud of having followed a programme of humane treatment to refugees, there is still an absence of uniform treatment of different refugee groups with respect to refugees rights resulting in discrimination in terms of assistance and opportunities. To protect refugees by means of activists approach has its own limitations. Thus there is a need for enactment of national law to provide for refugees in a systematical manner.

HENCE WE THE SIGNATORIES TO THIS MEMORANDUM URGE THE NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION TO MONITOR THE POSITION OF SRILANKAN TAMIL REFUGEES KEPT IN 129 CAMPS.

Physical Security : Indian Courts have decided in a number of cases that the Constitutional protection of life and liberty must be provided to refugees. In the case of Louis de Readt [1991 -3 SCC 554] and Khudiram [Nos 1994 Supp.(1) SCC 615] the Supreme court held that article 21 of the Constitution of India which protects the life and liberty of Indian citizens is extended to all including aliens. Below are some of the most important decisions of the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court of India in the case of National Human Rights Commission vs State of Arunachal Pradesh restrained the forcible expulsion of Chakma refugees from the state [Civil WP No 720/95 : 1996 {1} Supreme 295]. The Supreme Court in its interim order on November 2, 1995 directed the State Government to ensure that Chakmas situated in its territory are not ousted by any coercive action not in accordance with the law. The Court directed the State Government to ensure that the life and personal liberty of each and every Chakma residing within the State should be protected. Any attempt to forcibly evict or drive them out of the state by organized groups should be repelled by using para-military or police force and if additional forces are required, then the state should take necessary steps. The Court also decided that the Chakmas shall not be evicted from their homes except in accordance with the law, the application for their citizenship should be forwarded and processed expeditiously and pending the decision on these applications, they shall not be evicted.

WE THE SIGNATORIES OF THE MEMORANDUM POINT OUT THAT NOW FORCIBLE EXPULSION OF TAMIL REFUGEES HAS COME TO LIGHT. THE FORCIBLE DEPORTATION OF MR.EALAVENDHAN, to the country wherefrom he expects danger to his personal security marks a new phase in India's refugee policy which warrants the intervention of National Human Rights Commission.

Non-Refoulement and the Right to Refugee Status

In number of cases Indian Courts have protected the rights of refugees where there are substantial grounds to believe that their life would be in danger. There are cases where the Courts have ordered the life of refugees who are in danger to be safeguarded and have allowed them to be granted refugee status by the United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees.

In Zothansangpuri vs State of Manipur (Civil Rule 981 of 1989) the Guwahati-Imphal bench of the Guwahati High Court ruled that the refugees have the right not to be deported if their life was in danger. In Dr.Malvika Karlekar vs Union of india (Criminal 583 of 1989) in Writ Petition, The Supreme Court held that authorities should consider whether refugee status should be granted and until the decision was made, the petitioner should not be deported. In Boghi vs union of India (civil Rule 981 of 1989) the Gauhati High Court not only ordered the temporary release of a Burmese man from detention but approved his stay for 2 months so that he could apply for UNHCR for refugee status (Civil rule No 1847/89 Gauhati High Court). The case of U.Myat Kayvew vs State of Manipur (Civil rule 516 of 1991) has contributed substantially to India's refugee policy. It involved eight Burmese people aged 12 to 58 who were detained in Manipur central jail in Imphal for illegal entry. The people had participated in the Democracy Movement had

voluntarily surrendered to Indian authorities and were taken into custody. The cases were registered under section 14 of the Foreigners Act for illegal entry into India. They petitioned for their release, however to enable them to seek refugee status with UNHCR in New Delhi. The Gauhati High Court under article 21 ruled that asylum seekers who enter India, even if illegally should be permitted to approach the office of the Un High Commissioner to seek refugee status.

Right to Basic Amenities:

In *Digvijay Mote vs Government of India* [Writ Appeal No 354 of 1994] The High Court of Karnataka considering the rights of 150 Srilankan refugee children ordered the State to make necessary arrangements to provide basic amenities to the refugee children in the camp on humanitarian grounds. In *Majid Ahmed Abdul Majid Mohd. Jad Al-Hak vs Union of India* [Crl. WP No 60 of 1997] the court held that basic amenities like food and medical care must be provided while in detention. In the case of *Gurunathan and others* (WP Nos 6708 of 1992) The Madras high Court on March 27, 1994 stayed the repatriation process as it was not voluntary.

It held that when there is an international organization to ascertain the voluntariness of the consent it is not for the court to decide whether the consent was voluntary or not. It also directed the Government to transmit this order in Tamil to the camps as well as an order that refugees will not be sent back against their will.

Right to Leave

The court has upheld a refugees right to leave the country. In Nuang Maung Mye Nyant vs Government of India (CWP No 5120/94) and Shar aung vs Government of India (WP No 110 of 1998) the court ruled that even those refugees against whom cases were pending for illegal entry should be provided exit permits to enable them leave the country for 3rd country resettlement.

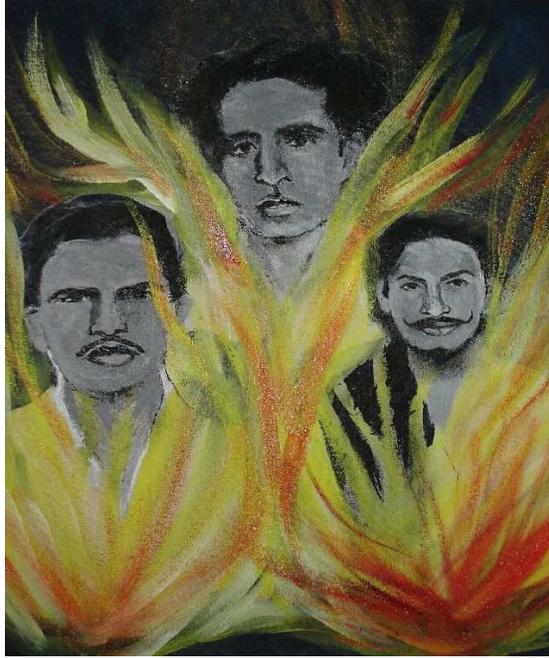
We point out that this right has been denied to Mr.Ealavendan though no case of illegal entry was pending against him.

Certain vested interests in this country wants to wipe out Tamil linguistic identity and ethnicity and are unleashing a campaign of hatred against Tamils. As part of their campaign of hatred against Tamils, these forces do not want fellow Indians to be concerned over the genocide in Srilanka or to treat Tamil refugees on par with Tibetan and other refugees as per our constitution. Tamil refugees should be confined to special camps and forcibly deported, whereas others may get preferential treatment, these forces argue. We bring to your notice that a fear psychosis is being created amidst Srilankan refugees that they can be deported to the land from where they fled for fear of life. Please ensure that none is deported to the land from where they escaped from the jaws of death. Also probe the manner in which Mr.Ealavendan was deported as some reports say in media that bypassing a duly elected State Government the deportation had taken place.

This memorandum drafted by Dravida Peravai was signed by Dravida Peravai General Secretary N.Nandhivarman, P.Sankaran Vice President Pondicherry PMK, Professor M.L.Thangappa of

Thamizh Valarchi Nadavadikkai Kuzhu,
N.M.Thamizhmani of Senthamizhar Iyakkam and
others. It was sent to National Human rights
Commission Chief Justice J.S.varma on 18,12.2000

REMEMBERING THE 1965 ANTI - HINDI STRUGGLE



*Kellapaluvur Chinnasamy, Kodambakkam Sivalingam
And Veerukkambakkam Aranganathan*

'Thannai Velvan Tharani Velvan'

27 January 2008

"It is claimed that Hindi should be common language because it is spoken by the majority. Why should we then claim the tiger as our national animal instead of the rat which is so much more numerous? Or the peacock as our national bird when the crow is ubiquitous? ...A man had two dogs - a big one and a small one. He wanted his dogs to go in and out of the

house freely without him having to keep the house door open all the time. So he built two "trap doors" - one big trap door for the big dog and one small for the small dog. Neighbors who saw these two doors laughed at him and called him an idiot. Why put a big door and a small door? All that was needed was the big door. Both the big and the small dog could use it! Indian government's arguments for making Hindi the official or link language of India is as ridiculous as the need for a big door and a small door for the big dog and the small dog. Indian government agrees that English is needed for communication with the world, and every school in India teaches English after the fifth grade. Then the Indian government says that all of us should know Hindi also in order to communicate amongst ourselves within India. I ask, "Since every school in India teaches English, why it can't be our link language? Why do Tamils have to study English for communication with the world and Hindi for communications within India? Do we need a big door for the big dog and a small door for the small dog? I say, let the small dog use the big door too!" C N Annadurai, 1962

Passions of the Tongue: Language Devotion in Tamil India, 1891-1970 Sumathi Ramaswamy - It was a quiet, cool January dawn in the South-Indian city of Tiruchirapalli in the year 1964. A can in his hand, a man named Chinnasami left his home—leaving behind his aging mother, young wife, and infant daughter—and walked to the city's railway station. On reaching there, he doused himself with its contents and set himself on fire, shouting out aloud, "inti olika! tamil vālka!" (Death to Hindi! May Tamil flourish!). Chinnasami's example was not lost. A year later, to the date, history repeated itself but not necessarily as farce: five other men burned themselves alive "at the altar of Tamil." Three others died just as painfully—

not in a raging blaze, but by swallowing insecticide—also for the sake of Tamil, they declared in their own last words...]



I am enclosing in pdf format a Digital Banner which Dravida Peravai party men in Coimbatore, Sivagangai and other Districts are planning to display in Karaikal on 25 January 2008.

The Karaikal Union Territory Struggle Group will hold meetings to recall the sacrifices of numerous Tamil scholars, DMK cadres and leaders, Union Ministers of Congress including C.Subramanian and O.V.Alagesan who resigned in protest, and the brave youth who committed self immolation in the Anti Hindi Struggle of January 1965.

The hunt for collecting pictures of all martyrs proved to be a daunting task. In the whole world LTTE alone sets a trend of honouring all its martyrs.

Even in the Indian freedom struggle such nobility which impels us to accord due recognition to all martyrs seems to be absent. The victory was laid at the doors of Mahatma Gandhi. Though they played a greater role, there is no equal recognition of the sacrifices of Indian National Army led by Nethaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

The 562 princely states were welded into an Union by the Iron Man of India Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, whose services too were not given due recognition in the hurry to focus limelight on Lord Mountbatten backed Premier Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, whom Aringnar Anna used to call as the last democrat in Congress party.

If even that last democrat did not give due recognition to many leaders like Nethaji or VOC, this is not the time to compile a list. It is simply to point out the significance of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam paying homage to all its martyrs in Maaveerar Thuyilimidangal. There are monuments to the Unknown soldiers of Second World War and Kargil War, but these are nowhere like the memorials established by the LTTE where every live sacrificed is recognized.

Given all this, I was moved to recall the sacrifices of the martyrs of the 1965 Anti Hindi Agitation in an appropriate banner. I asked a painter to prepare a portrait of Sinnasamy, Sivilingam and Aranganathan, the three of those who sacrificed their lives in the pictures I got from my old collection of Murasoli papers. The others were Ayyampalayam Veerappan,

Keranoor Muthu, Mayavaram Sarangapani and Satyamangalam Muthu.

From the book Struggle for Freedom of Languages in India written by former Vice Chancellor of Alagappa University and released by Dr.Kalaignar M.Karunanithi just few months before he last became Chief Minister, I obtained the photographs of all the 6 martyrs who committed self immolation. Their pictures are in the top of the banner.

All the pictures of the student leaders who led the struggle including L.Ganesan, P.Srinivasan who defeated Kamaraj, Kalimuthu, Durai Murugan, Sasikala's husband M.Nadarajan and I with others are also in the banner. Poet Perumchithranar, Peraringnar Deveneya Pavanar, K.A.P.Viswanatham, and some of such scholars are in the banner though Maraimalaiadigal and others are left out. Kalaignar was imprisoned under National Security Act and put in solitary confinement at Palayamkottai prison. Aringnar Anna who visited his cell saw writing in the wall of the entrance which read Thannai Velvan Tharani Velvan. Anna wrote his letter to Thambikku with that phrase as title.

Dravida Peravai had broken away from DMK in 1994 on the Eelam issue, at the same time as when Vaiko parted company. But we will not forget Kalaignar's sacrifices, that is why we have put the photograph of his struggle to rename Dalmiapuram back to its original Tamil name Kallakidi.

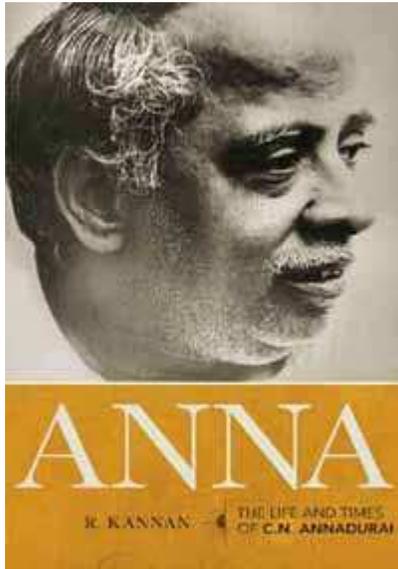
On 9 January 1965, Professor C.Ilakuvanar who was to have started Thamizh Urimai Perunadai, a marathon walk to Chennai to press for Tamil medium of instruction, was arrested under National Security Act and lost his job. I should have accompanied him,

but due to his arrest I had to cancel before I could start to Madurai.



After DMK came to power there was a delay in his reinstatement. At the 1968 Anti Hindi Conference organized at Kodaikanal by Raja Mohammad and Sedapatti Muthiah, students trying to pass a resolution condemning the Tamil Nadu Government. Aringnar Anna, the Chief Minister who came to address the conference asked for the proposed resolutions and while reading searched for a pen, which I gave since I was sitting in the back. Anna wrote something. While he spoke what he wrote was revealed. He said "Thambis have forgotten that he is annan, that is why on the Ilakuvanar issue they are going to pass a resolution. But before coming to Kodaikanal orders to reinstate Professor Ilakuvanar

had already been issued". At Anna's announcement there was thunderous applause.



That Professor Ilakuvanar's picture is in the banner. Scientist G.D.Naidu organized Non Hindi States Conference at Coimbatore on 25-26 January 1969 where I also spoke in my capacity as Student DMK leader from Puducherry State.

In one banner we have tried to bring all these historical events. Having said everything I must point out that in the banner I have referred to

UNESCO recognition of the Bangladeshi struggle and celebrating world mother languages day on that day. The failure of Tamils to tell the world about the sacrifices in the Anti Hindi 1965 struggle led to Tamil losing that honour.

Since the banner is meant to be carried if I go abroad, the names in English scanned from the English book remains in English.

It is my appeal to all Tamils to add whatever they know and use this banner editing it according to their taste and inputs in their hand, and the ultimate aim of all of us should be to honour the memory of the Tamil martyrs in the 1965 anti Hindi imperialism Struggle

<http://www.tamilnation.org/forum/nandivarman/080127hindi.htm>

EVER MY LEADER WHO NEVER GAVE MY DUE



Tamil nadu Chief Minister Dr.Kalaignar M.Karunanithi and Pondicherry DMK Propaganda Secretary N.Nandhivarman in 1974 when Chief minister visted Pondicherry for elections.

After I was suspended by Mr.M.G.Ramachandran "for attending to my personal work", the very first suspension of the Anna DMK came in for media criticism. "Navasakthi", the Tamil daily of the Congress [O] led by Thiru.K.Kamaraj condemned my suspension from the Pondicherry State Anna DMK Convener'ship in its editorial. The Statesman wrote a center page article. I will deal them in another occasion.

After my suspension from Anna DMK on the advice of Thiru.Murasoli Maran, I met Dr.Kalaignar in his Gopalapuram residence. It was decided that myself and my followers should return to DMK. I sought one month's time. When we rejoined DMK, the official

organ of DMK, Murasoli Tamil daily said: Pandy ADMK merges with DMK. After throwing me out, Mr.M.G.Ramachandran could not nominate a State Convener for one year. Immediately he sent a Cinema Director Gopala krishnan as Convener on deputation from Chennai. For another six months Anagaputhur Ramalingam was sent from Tamil Nadu on deputation to lead the party in Pondicherry. I returned to DMK much before Dindigul bye election. Since I walked out of MGR and never went back to him, in spite of his repenting my suspension and extending invitation, Dr.Kalaignar has unique regard for me.

Then Pondicherry faced Assembly polls in 1974. Mr.M.O.H.Farook Maricar was the State Convener of DMK. I was made Propaganda Secretary for those polls. Panruti S.Ramachandran, a Minister under Kalaignar's cabinet was sent by high command to coordinate election work. In the selection of candidates I had a big say. Mr.D.Ramachandran who defected from DMK just 2 months before polls had to face my nominee K.Rajaram. In Tirumalairayanpattinam constituency V.M.C.Shivashanmuganathan, my class mate was chosen to contest. During election campaign Dr.Kalaignar came to a dinner hosted by me. The picture taken with my cousin sisters was after the dinner past midnight, when he came from Lawspet public meeting. In that election I was told by Mr.M.O.H.Farook to file nomination for Parliament seat. I filed. Meanwhile PTR.Palanivelrajan who was practicing politics from Cosmopolitan club in Chennai came with a new proposal to Kalaignar. The Reddiars association had at that time decided not to contest against their own caste men. Madurapakkam Lakshminarayanan, Congress M.P from Tindivanam through PTR Palanivelrajan offered to sponsor his relative Kodathur Rajaram for Pondicherry Parliament seat. It was told that pitted against Congress Reddiar,

a DMK Reddiar candidate will break the caste unity of Reddiars association. Dr.Kalaignar summoned me to Legislative Party office of the DMK in Government estate of Chennai.

Yenya, nee entha vaguppu? is the question that came from Kalaignar.In DMK one never ask the other partymen's caste, right from Anna's days we were all moving as one family and no one knew the caste of the other. This question I described as "en nenjil thaitha nerunji mull" in later days in one journal 'April'. But I have to answer, but answer without directly mentioning caste. "Naan sathi enral ennevendre teri yadavan", was my reply. He understood. He held my hand and told, you withdraw from contest, and I will give you Rajyasabha seat.

Navalar Nedunchezhan, Professor K.Anbazhagan, Minister P.U.Shanmugam, Minister Panruti S.Ramachandran, Propaganda Secretary S.Kandappan M.P, Pondicherry Chief Minister M.O.H.Farook Maricar, Professor M.Elango, Kavignar Karunanandam, Devaraj and Shanmugam the party office staff, and many others were present when Kalaignar made this promise.

DMK lost 1974 polls. Only 2 candidates Mr. M.O.H.Farook and my friend Soundararangan won. My friend S.Ramasamy who went to the Anna DMK before polls formed the ministry which was toppled in 21 days. Soon after the electoral defeat I met the press.

PONDY DMK UNIT PLANNING NEW MORAL CAMPAIGN

Pondicherry April 12:1974 : Mr.N.Nandhivarman Propaganda Secretary of the DMK here told newsmen yesterday that unless the intelligentsia started

molding public opinion so as to cleanse the present eroded political and electoral systems there was no way out of the moral crisis that is facing the nation.

He said most political leaders have lost the moral fiber to undertake this task. The nefarious practice of personal aggrandizement among politicians has resulted in the people losing faith in political units. Mr.Nandhivarman felt that people had to be made politically conscious and political leaders need be moralized.

He said DMK would embark upon such a campaign for the first time in Pondicherry and hoped before long Pondicherry would become a model state to others in this respect.

Referring to electoral reforms, Mr.Nandhivarman said common platforms had to be provided by the Election Commission for all contesting candidates. He wanted personal attacks on platforms to be put to an end and instead criticism leveled against only political principles or policies.

He was optimistic that DMK would be a moral force in Pondicherry irrespective of its poll achievements. [Courtesy: THE MAIL, evening daily from Chennai]

On defeat that is what I told to media. Promise made in 1974 was never kept and I have no regrets. History will evaluate me.

N.Nandhivarman

GEORGE FERNANDES AND DRAVIDA PERAVAI

The picture above taken at Socialist Conference held at Tuticurin reminds me of his greatness. I went as observer to the conference. George Fernandes called me to stage and asked me to translate his speech. In that speech he announced the launch of Sethu Samudram project, a dream of 138 years unrealized till that date. At the concluding time, he started introducing me to the audience saying my friend Comrade Nandhivarman who translated my speech is running a progressive political party in Pondicherry and showered praise for 5 minutes. I stopped translating his speech and told since it is praises on me I find it difficult to translate. His replies to all my letters will be published in the proposed book which is being planned to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the launch of Dravida Peravai since 30.10.1996. All our work during this decade will be recorded in two books titled "Arikaigal Aiyiram Arasiyal Payiram" and "Puthuvai Varalatrinn Pugazh Mighu suvadugal". [Not yet published-2010]

Now looking down the memory lane, I wrote a letter to George Fernandes on 27 th September 1984. For which George Fernandes replied on 19 th October 1984. The reason to reproduce few lines from that letter is to record the regard George Fernandes had and has for DMK President Dr.Kalaingar M.Karunanithi. In that letter George Fernandes states "I can never forget the help and support given to me by Mr.Karunanithi during the dark days of Emergency. Our friendship had survived all the vicissitudes of political turns and twists".

In 25th January 1985 he was admitted in a hospital in Bombay. From there he replied to my letter. "Dear Nandhivarman... Thank you for your beautiful letter. With men like you around, we shall win our struggle, no matter what price we have to pay.

India sent IPKF to Srilanka. I wrote a letter condemning Rajiv Gandhi. In that letter I wrote "The curse of our race will see the dawn of your doom". A copy of the letter sent to Rajiv Gandhi was sent to George Fernandes. He replied "It is a shame for India that Mr. Gandhi should have chosen to do the dirty job for the President of Srilanka. That he is doing this at the behest of America makes it all the more dirty." This is George Fernandes comment on IPKF episode.

Dravida Peravai was publishing a news letter titled Green Politics. George Fernandes reproduced one interview which came in our news letter in THE OTHERSIDE [1.10.1997] issue. The Other Side was edited by George Fernandes. He wrote an introductory note for the interview titled 'AUROBINDO ASHRAM TAKE OVER BY CENTRAL GOVERNMENT DEMANDED..... Dravida Peravai General Secretary N.Nandhivarman speaks"

He wrote "There has been a persistent demand for the takeover of the Aurobindo Ashram in Pondicherry by various individuals and institutions. In the forefront of this campaign is the general secretary of the Dravida Peravai N.Nandhivarman. Nandhivarman has over years been exposing for public view the unsavory goings in the Ashram, which has brought this once hallowed place into disrepute. We are publishing hereby a question-answer report which is an interview with Nandhivarman. We hope the authorities will take note of this report and take action in the matter before it is too late to stem the rot."

On 1998 25 th September Union Defence Minister George Fernandes wrote an official letter to Home Minister L.K.Advani seeking protection for me when I was heading a 15 party struggle committee against land house grabbing in Pondicherry. He could have just sought protection. But his affection for me comes to the fore when he uses extra lines to introduce me. "I have known Mr.Nandhivarman as an indefatigable fighter against corruption in all its manifestations. He has been engaged in a long standing campaign against corruption at various levels of administration in Pondicherry" so goes on his letter.

In Union Territory of Pondicherry three nominated MLA's could be nominated. Usually men of letters and scholars alone could be nominated. But in practice party men were filling these posts. Opposing this I wrote to Attorney General, President of India, and Prime Minister etc. I suggested Former Chennai High Court Justice David Annousamy, Tamil scholar Dr.Era.Thirumurugan and Vasudevaraju I.A.S [retd]. Forwarding my letter to Union Home Minister L.K.Advani, Comrade George Saab wrote "Mr.Nandhivarman is the General Secretary of the Dravida Peravai and in the many years I have known him, he has been a selfless public worker taking up public issues, apart from fighting corruption in Pondicherry. The names he had suggested in his letter to Attorney General provide proof of his public concerns"

Well all these are recorded here not for self boast. I do not belong to his party. Lifelong I am a DMK follower. Even DP though a splinter of DMK is run as true DMK. I had fought emergency with my pen. But all these years not even once my leader Dr.Kalaignar acknowledged me or gave me my due recognition. If Aringnar Anna would have been alive my position within DMK would have been different. By monetary

yardstick a man will not be evaluated by Anna. In George Fernandes I saw the nobility of Aringnar Anna. Nearly four decades we had been friends. I never joined his party. But for his Samata Party, I was a special invitee to its National Executive. Could you imagine this in Indian politics? Another party invited to National Executive. George Fernandes in public and private acknowledged me. I am ever grateful to him. In my life George Fernandes has a unique position equal to that of Aringnar Anna.

JAYALALITHA AND TAX HAVENS

"The Cayman Islands are an overseas territory of the United Kingdom in the western Caribbean Sea comprising the islands of Grand Cayman, Cayman Brac, and Little Cayman. It is known as one of the largest tax havens in the world." Wikipedia describes Cayman Islands in the above manner. DMK Government led by Dr.Kalaingar M.Karunanithi must keep an eye on this island because of its JJ connections.

Dravida Peravai directly met the Chief Vigilance Commissioner Mr.N.Vittal I.A.S at New Delhi in the Office of the Central Vigilance Commission. On 26.08.1999 Dravida Peravai sought a probe into the undisclosed/hidden assets of J.Jayalalitha and confiscation of movable/immovable assets created by their lucrative practice in graftology. The complaint gave all evidences to show that J.Jayalalitha's portfolio managers are Shaw Murphy Private Limited situated at the town of Roseau in Cayman islands.Mr.M.Natarajan had gone to the island with a letter from his chief sponsor. The evidence provided is a letter dated 15 th November 1995 which clearly said that Mr.M.Natarajan will be coming with a letter of his chief sponsor.

M.Natarajan in his introductory note says he is M.N.Rajaan and his activities as Government liasoning/formerly government service/presently NGO/Society service and political manager.M.N.Rajaan, the principal introducer had recommended Ms.S.Kala, Mr.V.D.Karan, Ms.S.D.Devy.

Mr.M.Natarajan had visited and stayed in Cayman Islands for 3 days enroute to Florida-Australia-India. This could be easily verified by cross checking passport entries.

The portfolio managers while telling about their services state that they have served valuable clients from southern India through our investment services to 11 countries over last 25 months. There are more than 20 clients from South India.

Among the papers we gave to CBI there are papers in which it seems some legal tussle with FBI resulting in Rs 37 crores connected allegedly to M.Natarajan being held up?

CENTRAL VIGILANCE COMMISSION FORWARDS TO CENTRAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATIONS

Central Vigilance Commission found some substance in our complaint and forwarded to Central Bureau of Investigations Chennai. One Superintendent of Police Kathiresan telephonically informed me whenever I come to Chennai to meet him at CBI headquarters to give further evidence if any, with regards to this case.

He said "You have to prove that 1000 crores or so were taken from Chennai to Caymans Island, then only we have jurisdiction to probe this case. Otherwise enforcement directorate will handle this case" I told I am neither a state agency nor a private detective, but only a political party. If I had been In Parliament I would have placed all evidences in open house and debated face to face with JJ's party. I only hope CBI will take the case to its logical conclusion" But nothing came out. CBI had put this in cold storage.

The 40 members of Parliament and Union Ministers must realize that the money power at play by corrupt

forces must be contained and these dark forces driven out of politics.

JAYALALITHA PLANS TO TAKE REVENGE ON ME

One day when I came back home from my morning walk in the beach, I was told Tamil Nadu Police came in search of me. I had no complaints against me in any of the police stations of the country. I suspected some foul play, may be ganja case or kidnapping me to Tamil Nadu territory to foist false case.

I rushed to my friend The Superintendent of Police-Pondicherry North Mr.Shanmugasundaram and asked him, why Tamil Nadu police wants me. We ourselves are in dark, and it is better till air is cleared, you go underground, he told. From that time for few days my underground days started.

I went straight to Journalists Colony at Kotivakkam, Chennai particularly to my friend and Chief of the Bureau of Deccan Chronicle and Asian Age, Mr.R.Bhagwan Singh. From there I spoke to Comrade George Fernandes and as advised sent him a telegram narrating my situation.

GEORGE FERNANDES SEEKS PROTECTION FOR ME

In an official letter DM/No.6065/RM/2001 dated 9 th November 2001, Comrade George Fernandes wrote as follows:

Dear Dr.Rajini Rai..Please find enclosed copy of a telegram that I received from Shri Nandhivarman apprehending his arrest by the Tamil Nadu policemen as a part of larger conspiracy. I shall be grateful if you could kindly ensure the safety of Shri.Nandhivarman

and protection to his life. With warm regards, Yours sincerely, George Fernandes.

LT.GOVERNOR PROVIDES PROTECTION

Dr.Rajini Rai, Lt.Governor of Pondicherry in her letter D.O.F.No170-LG/2001 dated November 30, 2001 replied:

Dear Shri George Fernandesji Please refer to my letter dated November 20, 2001 regarding the telegram sent by Thiru.Nandhivarman apprehending his arrest by the Tamil Nadu police.

In this connection I have asked the Inspector General of Police Pondicherry to enquire into the matter. The Inspector General of Police had the matter enquired into and a report was submitted to me.

As per the report, Thiru.Nandhivarman is apprehensive that Tamil Nadu Police may foist a false case against him in order to take revenge on him as he had filed some complaints against the AIADMK leader Jayalalitha. As per his version, during his absence three persons posing them as Tamil Nadu police men had come to his residence and had enquired about him.

During the enquiry, Pondicherry Police were informed by the police establishments of the neighboring districts of Tamil Nadu, that no case has been registered against Mr.Nandhivarman. Further the Tamil Nadu police had not sought any assistance from the local police in this connection.

However Special Branch of the Pondicherry Police is maintaining keen surveillance at the residence of Mr.Nandhivarman to watch the visits of strangers under the guise of Tamil Nadu police. Police beats

have also been reworked to cover his residence. Mr.Nandhivarman has refused personal police security at his residence. This is for your kind information.

With Regards, Yours sincerely Rajani Rai.

Thamizhar Dravidar Kazhagam in a press statement thanked Pondicherry Police for the actions taken.

I was not afraid of being arrested, but if they kidnap me to Tamil Nadu area and foist ganja case on me, I was worried about my moral standing getting a beating in public eye. The then Special Branch Superintendent of Police Mr.Chandiran, then Inspector and now Superintendent of Police Mr.Ramesh Kandan deserve thanks for the protection they gave. Of course from Comrade George to Dr.Rajini Rai, my thanks are due. They helped Dravida Peravai defeat Jayalalitha's act of vengeance.

N.Nandhivarman

PROTECT INDIAN LIVES AND DEMOCRACY IN FIJI

In front of the Mahakavi Bharathiar Memorial Museum a group of volunteers of Dravida Peravai after garlanding the great bard who immortalized the sufferings of Indian labour in the sugarcane fields of Fiji, started a state wide campaign to draw the attention of the Indian Government towards the safety of Indian lives and democracy in Fiji. The General Secretary of Dravida Peravai presided over the campaign initiated on 1 st June 2000 and it was flagged off by the Pondicherry State MDMK [in-charge] S.Muthu Ex M.L.A. The Janata Dal [Secular] State President M.Elango Ex M.L.A and Uru.Gopalakrishnan, General Secretary of Tamizhaga Rajiv Congress felicitated the campaign. The news appeared in Daily Thanthi, Malai Malar.

INDIA SHOULD SEEK UNITED NATIONS INTERVENTION TO SEND PEACE KEEPING FORCE TO FIJI TO PROTECT INDIAN LIVES, PROPERTY AND TO RESTORE DEMOCRACY

Dravida Peravai wrote a letter to the Union External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh on 2.06.2000. The letter states:

Our party yesterday organized a state level campaign in Pondicherry enclave of the Union territory of Pondicherry to draw the attention on the urgent need to exert diplomatic and other pressure on the current, illegal and unconstitutional government coup and coup within coup to secure the release of the duly elected Prime Minister of Fiji Mr.Mahendra Pal Choudry and his fellow parliamentarians and to ensure proper protection to the properties and lives of

the people of Indian origin, whom it seems are fleeing to Australia and New Zealand as they did when the first coups of Col.Rabuka in 1987. Our party through these 10 public meetings addressed yesterday among others by the undersigned had demanded India to take up the issue to United Nations, an institution created at the collective will of the nations of the democratic era, which cannot remain a silent spectator to the hijacking of democracy by gun trotting groups. Poet Mahakavi Bharathiar, the only poet who penned a poem on the plight of Indian women in Fiji in the year 1916-17 had narrated how on promising jobs British took Indians as contract labour to Fiji and treated them worse than the animals. They were slaves working in sugarcane gardens, the poet laments. As a befitting tribute to this poet, our campaign to highlight Fiji crisis, started from his memorial.

We have to note that certain vested interests here are trying to twist this as a fight between indigenous communities and Indian settlers, who have usurped power. According to Mr.S.K.Bhutani, a retired Indian diplomat the land titles are coming up for review and renewal very soon and the indigenous Fijians who own the land want to ensure a better deal for themselves. THE LANDS ARE OWNED BY THE FIJIANS, WHILE THOSE OF INDIAN ORIGIN CULTIVATE THEM. Vast tracts are under sugarcane and with Indian hands. [The Hindu Report of 1.6.2000 page 14]. This makes the position clear. From the time Bharathi penned his poem, people of Indian origin by sheer hard work without ownership, yet remaining as tenants in the lands belonging to Fiji's indigenous people, have risen in life economically. As per the Constitution of Fiji article 51, the House of Representatives have proportionate electoral representation for Fijians, Indians and Rotumans. English, Fijian and Indians have equal status as per article 4[1]. So as per a fair

constitution Mr. Mahendra Pal Choudry was chosen by the people to be the Prime Minister. The Indian stand calling for restoration of this duly elected government is the right step. We should also use diplomatic pressure to ensure that another, which may disenfranchise people of Indian origin and upset the equilibrium, should not replace 1997-98 constitutions. We are not as one or two critics of our party say protecting Indian interests instead of indigenous peoples. We want Indian origin people to be equal citizens and not made second-class citizens in the land of their living.

While Burma refugees came India helplessly has to bear them. When plantation labour was driven out of Ceylon, our Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Sastri went out of his way to accept them as stateless people by signing a pact with Srimavo Bandaranaike. Both morally and politically India buckled under during Kenyan [1968], Ugandan [1972] and other crisis [including human rights violations by Americans] to convey the impression that Indian can be badly treated anywhere by anyone in the world with impunity and without remorse writes political commentator Rajiv Dhavan [The Hindu 2.06.200]. In our campaign yesterday much before we could read Dhavan's article, we took the same stand. We know that when Ugandan Chief Idi Amin wanted to marry a rich Gujarat girl, her family had to abandon all properties and run back to India. In Pondicherry also we have a sugar mill, which was shifted from Uganda, due to these anti-Indian tirades.

When globe had shrunk into a village, while settlers from Europe and Africa get amalgamated and are rulers of their destiny in USA, if people of Indian origin could be made second class citizens and driven back by a tiny island of Fiji, what is the use in India being a nuclear super power, if it cannot even verbally

threaten Fiji. From May 19 till yesterday, the day when India dispatched an emissary the delayed response and silence of all with the exception of Haryana Chief Minister Om Prakash Chautala, is condemnable. Let Government hereafter be quick to defend people of Indian origin. N...Nandhivarman, General Secretary Dravida Peravai

[The Ministry of External affairs T.C.A.Raghavan, Director in the External Minister's office replied to our Letter to the MEA. In that letter No.532/EAM/r/00dated 7 th June 2000, it is said, "This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 2 to the External Affairs Minister regarding the current situation in Fiji. We have noted the points raised in your letter]

OUR FAILURE TO PROJECT TAMIL CAUSE IN INDIAN POLITICS

Dravida Peravai has a historical role to play as a catalyst for change. If only DMK and its offshoots had sent good orators with political acumen to Parliament, as was the practice in the days of Aringnar Anna, there will be no necessity for our tiny party to exist. The practice to send remote controlled robots to perform only specific duties and to add only to the numbers in coalition arithmetic had led to many wrong policies taken by various ministries which are against the interests of Tamils all over the world. Here the champions of Ealam cause, if they had confined only to the espousal of that noble cause, their credibility will be rated high from Indian viewpoint. But for cheap publicity if they adopt forest brigands as liberators of Tamil Nadu, the public opinion here swings against them. Time is neither ripe nor the men who voice separatist demands in Tamil soil have enough numbers to sway public opinion for a separate state here. Knowing fully the futility of separatist

struggle here Anna had abandoned separatist plank. By raising that bogey these men with miniscule following are of nuisance value jeopardizing the legitimate interests of Ealam Tamils. It is not a political murder, but the shrill voices here and there which enables government agencies and media to create a ghost of LTTE type liberation struggle being imported here. By such false propaganda the correct line India was adopting in the time of Indira Gandhi stands blocked. Our shadow warriors are to be blamed for not projecting Tamil viewpoint in Indian politics.

TEAR DROPS TO NETHAJI AND INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY

Sunlit sky wears the garb of night
To bid adieu to imperialism freedom sneaked
Era of colonialism-ended divide to rule failed
As Indians woke to hail the rays of light

Partition uproot millions, casteism divide trillions
Poverty haunts villages, floods cause ravages
Diseases stalk our land, yet we love our Homeland
To overcome division and unify our kinsmen
Lives of millions lost and Nethaji is a hero lost

Nethaji's eyes filled with tender light
To see eyes dimmed with tears emit delight
Teardrops ignite historical change
Fearless leader could clearly gauge
Narrow selfish German nationalism and trace
Its philosophy of supremacy of race
Stands for glorification of white race
Yet for tact sought Hitler's embrace.
Charles de Gaulle too faced humiliation
But victory graced his coalition
Bose met tragic end because axis lost War
Otherwise both leaders were at par.

Synthesis of National Socialism and communism
Thus spoke Bose on the tenets of his Socialism
At Tokyo University foresaw conflict between theses
And anti thesis resolving in higher synthesis.
Millions fought amidst infinite sacrifice
And Subhas Bose became living edifice.

10 th June 1943

Charles de Gaulle crossed the channel of English
To unfurl Free French flag with help of British
Bose in submarine reached Japan's shores
To enlist Tojo's support became his chores
Before Tokyo press he thus thundered
"Enemy with drawn sword be fought with sword
Non violence with armed struggle be replaced
Only by baptism of fire Indians can displace
Enemy and shall qualify for freedom on Earth".
Support to Indian cause was in no dearth.

2 nd July 1943

Two thousands thronged at Singapore
To glimpse Nethaji of many a lore
Liberation movement came under his charge,
Renamed Indian National army looms large
Azad Hind Fauj Free Indian army marches
Its heroic men upholding liberation torches
Crowds greeting Bose everywhere is countless
At Singapore support came from 6 lakh fearless
Thirty million dollars and three lakh men he need
But to arm only thirty thousand Japanese agreed
The title Nethaji earned him heroic adoration
Bose tours Bangkok, Saigon, Rangoon for mobilization
At Rangoon gather a lakh to hear his speech
Thai Premier Luant Pibulsongram within his reach
Burmese Government of Ba Maw also backs his goals
All these infused courage to suppressed Indian souls.

21 st October 1943

Bose chosen Prime Minister and Head of state
War and Foreign affairs problems galore in spate
Close on heels of government proclamation
Japan's recognition came the same day
By 19 November Germany, China, Italy

Hanchuo, Burma, Croatia, Philippines and Thailand
Recognize government in exile of our motherland
Bose wrested by talks Andaman and Nicobar Island
To have it as base to redeem the main hinterland.

Japan's Imperial General headquarters orders
To capture strategic areas of the borders
Near Imphal and parts of India's North East
For defense of Burma involving INA the least

Burmese cabinet receives Bose at Rangoon
South Asia recognizes new head of state soon,
Port Blair became part of Nethaji's raj
Andaman and Nicobar renamed as Shahid and Swaraj
First Chief Commissioner Lt.Col.Loganathan anointed
And Tamilians happy on seeing their men appointed
Their tireless service found recognition
To liberate homeland hardening their resolution

Subhas brigade of fourteen thousand men
Fought pitched battles bare footed in British den
Amidst gunshots Indian administration's blueprint
Was ready bearing Nethaji's imprint?
After marathon discussions breaking resistance
National Bank of Azad Hind came into existence
Capital of 5 million rupees from Indians raised
As founder of first shipping company VOC is praised
In banking for pioneering role Bose is hailed
His independence and intense sense of equality
Made him vehemently argue against inequality
And encroachments on Indian rights
Of future governance he had foresights
This led to Reconstruction College to bloom
Alas! The abortive struggle is cause of gloom

A.N.Sircar made to draft India's Unification plan
Bose aimed to attain social justice by state plan
Bose said "If situation leads to inflation
Adopt additional measures to effect deflation

Withdrawal of market surplus currency
Is the panacea to such an emergency?
To remove country's ills printing of notes
Is not the remedy states Aringnar Anna's quote?
Bose at the rock bottom of his heart felt the same
Underlines his mastery over economical game.

Lt.Col.Chatterji designated Chief Administrator
Of occupied territories in the Indian sector
Amidst military campaign that failed miserably
Bose planned all these meticulous steps ably
His greatness and uniqueness outshines others
His khaki cap bore many such feathers
No one else with exception to Comrade Lenin
Charles de Gaulle and Ho Chi Minh
Equaled him in clarity of vision
Before accomplishment of his mission.

Even in death Nethaji haunted the British
Wavell wondered Japanese announcement rubbish
Subhas Bose death by air crash is untruth
And suspected gone underground hence forth

Second World War clouds disappeared in horizon
Twenty five thousand INA heroes sent to garrison
But vengeful to punish yet fearful of upsurge
British classified into three to effect purge
INA with intention of rejoining as whites
And those misled by Japanese and Bose as greys
Fervent believers of freedom cause as blacks
Prisoners of War classified thus by British quacks
Whites restored to their position in army
Greys were tried dismissed and released awry
Blacks were made to bear the full brunt
Power mongers thus executed their witch-hunt
Red Fort housed the INA captives
Aliens ruled the roost enslaving natives.

5 th November 1945

The trio symbolizing unity amidst diversity
Brothers of Muslim, Hindu, Sikh fraternity
Shawnawaz Khan, Premkumar Sejgal,
Gurubakshsingh Dhillon
Were put to trial for treason for various reason
Charged as having waged War against Emperor
To tame others Britishers let loose reign of terror
Trial and tribulations dragged till December end
Silent majority's feelings it did strongly offend
Nine months after War during British victory parade
Indians unfurled fury-feeling aversion to charade
Old Delhi town hall gutted, parading troops booed
Indians wearing British attire attacked, ire echoed
Police opened fire to quell crescendo of freedom
Dreaming forever India will remain their serfdom
To treat INA prisoners with leniency Jinnah urged
His appeal evoked no response, all three sentenced
To life fuelling the peoples explosive ire
Opening day of trial at Madurai police had to fire
As trial proceeded at Red Fort millions beseeched
More than hundred men killed or maimed
Calcutta was strike bound
Hindu Muslim unity was abound
Congress and Muslim league flags fluttered
American and British establishments attacked
Forty-nine military vehicles destroyed
Ninety-seven damaged ,two hundred military injured
Thirty two Indians lost lives , two hundred wounded
Patna Allahabad Beneras Bombay Karachi in flames
Burning passion for liberation drove British to Thames

Joint secretary of war department Mr.Mason
Understood patriotic motives and boiling passion
Climbed down to treat as prisoners of war INA heroes
Auchenlik set the three men free ending their sorrows

By selective trials British continued their intention

Captain Abdul Rashid sentenced to 7-year detention
Bombay - Delhi rocked by Muslim Leagues agitation
In Calcutta strict martial law left fifty for cremation
Royal Indian air Force striking men of five thousand
In HMS TALWAR led navy revolt soon 70 ships
abound
Of Karachi Madras Visakapattinam Calcutta Cochin
Andamans Bombay
Hauling Union Jack down kept the enemy at the bay
Only two shore establishment and ten ships were left
To side with British, rest of navy completely swept
Madras Bombay Jabalpur Royal Indian Air Force
Strike
Karachi witnessed gun battles for 2 days full of strife
Bombay mass uprisings in sympathy of the mutiny
Said Times of India as unparallel in city's history.

Left called for textile workers strike of six lakhs
People waged three days of fight while death stalks.
Two hundred seventy left dead, 2003 hundred injured
But never the will of people was conquered.

British Premier Atlee promised transfer of power
To Indians, if necessary of two nations, not later
Than June nineteen hundred forty eight
Vanishing was British might in front of peoples fight.
Nethaji Subhas Bose's words ring in ears to embolden
TO march ahead of nations in jubilee that is golden
To pay for our liberty with our own blood, the freedom
We shall win through our sacrifices and martyrdom
We shall be able to preserve with our strength
INA and NETHAJI electrified country's breadth and
length
Let this echo every day in our hearts to infuse
Courage, conviction, clarity of vision and enthuse
In defense of Motherland and its march to prosperity
Liberating millions from clutches of poverty
As Aringnar Anna dreamt to strive for the smiles
In the faces of the poor let us dedicate our lives.

N.Nandhivarman General Secretary Dravida Peravai

[This is not poetry; it imitates poetic form in order to record history. DMK President Kalaignar M.Karunanithi writes history in verse-poems. His current efforts make me recall my attempt to make history simple, readable and understandable. On the role of INA and Nethaji Subhas Chandra Bose before few years I recited this so called poem in a Poets Symposium organized by Department of Arts and Culture ,Government of Puducherry]]

[Paper presented at the National Seminar on the Concept of Scientific Temper organized by True Rationalistic Union of Samaj-seva Trainers (TRUST) led by Nihar Acharya at Jayadev Bhavan Bhubaneswar on 18 th December 2005]

MANKINDS MARCH AND NATURES AGENDA

N.Nandhivarman General Secretary Dravida Peravai

Mankind is marching towards human immortality. This is neither prophecy nor astrological prediction. It is the aim of science to attain the goal of immortality. How this goal could be achieved? You must know that in spite of much talk about our era of information technology, in fact we have crossed that era. Already we are in nano-technology era. Nano-technology era had dawned. In another 30 years of research we can be near to inserting tiny machines called intelligent nanobots into our bodies which will eradicate ravages of illness and age and help us live indefinitely.

Where humanity is heading for?

Towards Immortality: Nanobots

Ray Kurzweil wrote a book “Fantastic Voyage: Live long enough to live Forever.” In that book he wrote, “Millions of blood cell sized robots which he called nanobots will be swarming through our body repairing bones, muscles, arteries and brain cells.” Yes like the anti virus programmes in our computers we will be having nanobots, as tiny as one out of 1000 th size of our hair which will eradicate disease at the time of the start itself.

Ray Kurzweil foresees human intelligence not only conquering its biological limits including death but

completely mastering the natural world. He is a recipient of \$500000 Lemelson_MIT prize from that Academy Award for Inventors. In USA he had won 1999 National Medal for Technology Award. His publications had appeared in Wired to Time magazines. Christian Science Monitor had called him” Modern Edison”. He was inducted into the Inventors Hall of Fame in 2002. This is the man representing the march of science.

Downloading Brain

The Observer newspaper from London on May 22-2005 said Death could become a thing of the past by middle of 21 st century as computer technology becomes sophisticated enough for contents of the brain to be downloaded onto a supercomputer according to Ian Pearson Head of the Futurology unit at British telecommunications giant BT.

Making Life longer

Scottish Daily Scotsman in March 28-2005 says that a pill had been invented by Aberdeen University Professor John Speakman if taken once a day will keep a person healthier and able to work longer and would extend his lifespan by 30 years.

Injecting life into nerve cells

The team at Boston’s Children hospital and Harvard University had identified a molecule that is helping injured nerve cells regenerate and it might be used to develop new treatments for spinal chord injuries, brain diseases and stroke damage. The molecule called inosine acts as a master switch to turn on a number of genes involved in the growth of nerve cells.

Designer gene Cure

The journal of American Heart association "Circulation" in a study states " It might be possible to design and construct genetically engineered designer gene therapy for selectively delivering genes to any part of the body. We can't do it now because much of what is injected would be sequestered by liver said Andrew H. Baker, Reader in Molecular Medicine at University of Glasgow in Scotland.

New form of Matter

Deborah Jin a physicist at the National Institute of Standards and Technology's joint lab with the University of Colorado had announced that they have found new form of matter called fermionic condensate and it is sixth known form of matter after gases, solids, liquids, plasma and a Bio-Einstein condensate created only in 1995. It is not a superconductor but it is really something in between these two that may help us in science to link these two interesting behaviors. Her team's new form of matter uses fermions the building blocks of matter that include protons, electrons and neutrons. Fermions are your independent thinkers; they don't copy your neighbors.

Nano-Drugs

Smart drugs that can travel through your body, diagnose the problem and deliver nano-doses straight to the diseased cells is possible within 5 years in India, if Governments act fast in helping research. Dr. B. M. Choudry Deputy Director of the Inorganic and Physical Chemistry division of Indian Institute of Technology Hyderabad on July 24-2004 had told that targeted drug delivery would be more efficient in fighting diseases with fewer side effects. A patient suffering from throat cancer could be given a nano

drug that can kill cancer cells. A single nano capsule injected into the subcutaneous tissue lungs or stomach is enough to cure some of the ailments, which might normally take dozens of pills in conventional treatment.

Pulsating Pants to Pump blood to Heart:

If you have heart problem go to the ready-made shop and buy a pulsating pant. These vibrating trousers work like a pump to increase blood flow to the heart. The vibrating leg wear meant to be worn for an hour a day over seven weeks have in built inflatable cuffs around the calves, thighs and buttocks which inflate and deflate with each heart beat, thus pushing the blood up the leg towards the heart. The garments are part of new non-invasive heart treatment technique called External Enhanced Counter pulsation. Unlike procedures like by pass surgery, angioplasty; EECP involves no surgery, drugs or needles.

Well all these may indicate the march of our science let us also take a look back at wherefrom we came from? Where we came from?

Panspermia: Seeds Everywhere

Nasa and European and Italian Space Agency spacecraft Cassini is beaming telemetry and images back from Titan the massive planet sized moon of Saturn. The conditions in Titan resemble our earth millions of years before life ultimately evolved. It has an environment rich in carbon based molecules that are capable of spawning self replicating DNA.

Panspermia literally means seeds everywhere. It is a theory, which maintains that life bearing proto spores, is prevalent throughout the Universe. Life on Earth originated when some of them landed on its surface

and propagated. It also suggests that life could have existed in another planet and moved to Earth.

Humanity is one: All languages came from one

Humanity is one, yet we notice divisive tendencies. Dr. Russel Grey an evolutionary biologist at the University of Auckland in New Zealand published his results in Nature magazine co-authoring with his colleague Quentin Atkinson. In his submission he expressed confidence that a family tree of human languages could be constructed and its branching points dated.

If this happens a wonderful new window will be opened into human past. As biologists had drawn the family tree of genes and species, linguists too have started to use same mathematical tools to build a tree, which traces to the only one language spoken once upon a time which now had divided into 6000 and more languages.

Dr.R.Madhivanan, a great Tamil scholar is emphasizing the need for language archaeology to dig at the roots of the first human language

Ultimate Universal Theories

Times of India in its editorial on 12 th October 2004 titled “Ends and Means” explains how Universal theories are coming to the fore in the following words. Quote:“ Einstein wanted to end it all, scientifically speaking. After his special and general theories of relativity earlier in the last century had revolutionized physics, he spent his last 30 years of life till his death in 1955 trying to find an even more generalized concept that would unite all the forces of Nature. Called the unified theory it was an attempt to understand every physical interaction and present it

in as simple a form as $e= mc^2$. He was only partially successful. Since then, though researchers around the world have striven hard in their efforts to lay their hands on what has come to be known as theory of everything-something that would comprehensively explain the entire universe from the smallest subatomic particles to the most massive galactic structures.

Discovery of New Species

Nature had been working overtime to create us humans in a variety of species spanning millions of years. This process had not reached perfection in homosapiens. A recent discovery unveils of a completely new species of humans who lived from 90000 years ago as late as 12000 BC before apparently becoming non-extinct. Identified by Australian and Indonesian scientists from a cache of fragmented bones buried in the sediments of a limestone cave on the remote Indonesian island of Flores, it has been officially named homo-floresiensis. They were not taller than a meter with brain size of a grape fruit.

Now we should also know what is in store in Nature and wherefrom dangers come to our earthly existence. What is happening in Nature?

Black Hole and Bleak Future

United States National Science Foundation with the help of Cosmology Bolomeer Array Receiver (Acbar) from the US Amundsen-Scott South Pole station found that "Universe is accelerating outwards and is dominated by strange form of matter nobody knows anything about. 30 percent of all energy is strange form of dark matter that does not interact with light and 65 percent is even a stranger form of dark energy

that appears to be causing the expansion of the Universe to accelerate” The principal investigator William Holzapfel of the University of California had said “ It is amazing how preciously our theories can explain the behavior of the Universe when we know so little about dark matter and dark energy that comprise 95 percent of it.

In this context in my blog on the eve of Diwali I wrote “Understand Darkness before celebrating Light”. Black holes will lead us to a bleak future. “Two super massive black holes each with the mass of at least a million suns have been encircling each other in a butter fly shaped galaxy. These two giant black holes found by Chandra X-Ray Observatory are at the center of a galaxy born from joining of two smaller galaxies and are drifting towards a cataclysmic collision that will send ripples throughout the universe many million years from now.

The observations showed that the big black holes were each about the size of the inner solar system that includes Earth, in a distance stretching from the Sun to Mars and were circling each other at a distance of 3000 light years. The merging of two smaller size galaxies into NGC 6240 is also a prelude to the future of the Earth’s galaxy, the Milky Way composed of hundreds of millions of stars including Sun. “ In about 4 billion years, astronomers believe the Milky Way and the nearby Andromeda galaxy will collide and merge fusing their black holes into one” says Dr.Steinn Sigurdsson of Pennsylvania University.

Well in this speech I am only drawing your attention to enlighten masses about dark energy and black holes. The effects that these black holes including the recent one found that will unsettle our Earth is matter of concern and deep study.

In an article on Secrets of Universe Priyamvada Natarajan, a Tamil Scientist says “ Current observations of distant Supernovae suggests that the universe is undergoing an accelerating phase having switched from a de-accelerating phase about 5 million years ago. This is believed to have been caused by dark energy. During the late 1990 observations by two independent research teams of these type Ia supernovae suggested that the expansion of the Universe is accelerating and it began doing so 5 billion years ago”.

Tenth planet found

While we in our temples are coming around navagrahas, 10 th planet had been found. This new planet, yet to be named but currently known as 2003 UB313 is now 9 billion miles away from the Sun or 97 times far away as Earth and about 3 times Pluto’s current distance from the Sun. Its 560-year elliptical orbit brings it as close as 3.3 billion miles. This discovery was made in January 8 th at Palomar Observatory at California.

Our Earth and Future Earth

Continental Drift

At the same time we must know that our planet Earth was once one continent called Pangaea, which drifted into and settled currently over 12 plates. Now the Indo Australian plate is breaking into two thereby creating the 13 th plate. Throughout history scientists believe that continents are drifting, moving closer or breaking one another. The super continent Pangaea broke 160 million years ago. Paul Hoffman Professor of Geology at Harvard University states that while Pangaea broke up the Atlantic Ocean opened splitting North America from Eurasia.

Then North America parted from Eurasia, subsequently South America from Africa Australia Antarctica and India separated from Africa creating the Indian Ocean. Atlantic and Indian Oceans continue to widen while Pacific gets smaller.” It will become evident that the ring of fire, which means volcanic activity beneath ocean floor, as shown in a picture becomes the extreme vulnerable zone for earthquakes, volcanoes and tsunamis.

Ring of Fire that causes grave problems for Pacific plate

The ring of fire triggers these and is going to make Pacific Ocean smaller. In 100 million years North America and Asia will probably drift into each other, Paul Hoffman says and he had even named it as Amasia.

The picture of Pangaea given will reveal how our continents were in one Super continent and now had drifted into many continents. The boundaries of the plates are also indicative of the chain of events that is breaking our continents. Scientist has foreseen the changes and are saying that in 100 million years ago the continents will be like the picture given separately.

Pangaea and its break

In another 250 million years almost all continents of the world except Australia and Antarctica will come together. The Bay of Bengal, Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean will become a lake, a bigger lake than our Chilka Lake. Like East Coast Road we can have a circular road that can make us travel around this Chilka Ocean, we can even name it in advance.

But in immediate future let us have a look at the picture of hotspots of the world. It becomes clear that our Himalayas and beyond are extremely vulnerable regions. A day when it becomes sea will not be a dream. It must be recalled that Nepalese call Himalayas as sagarmatha, which means Mother of seas. Once it was sea and in future it will be sea again. May be millions of years away, but it is bound to happen. India will be again Island nation. Once it remained so hence in Tamil it was called Navalantheevu in Pingala Nigandu, the Tamil thesaurus written hundreds of years ago.

Not all plate movements lead to collision. Three types of movement are recognized at the boundaries between plates namely convergent, divergent and transform. At the divergent boundaries new crust is formed when lava flows out pushing the plates away from each other. Convergent boundaries on the other hand lead to plate destruction as one plates sub ducts under another. The typical convergent plate boundary is between Indo-Burma plates where Indian plate moving at a rate of 5cm a year relative to the Burma plate came together collided and Indian plate sub ducted under the Burma plate. As a result you will see Bay of Bengal shrinking now but in future when whole of Burma becomes sea we will have wider sea.

In addition to the classification based on the nature of plate interaction at the boundaries, plate tectonics is also built on the premise that there are two types continental and oceanic plates. And the plate interaction could thus be continental-continental convergence, oceanic-continental convergence, and finally oceanic-oceanic convergence. The subject is an ocean but here we have known few drops.

Well understanding our Earth and its inherent dangers too is need of the hour while we march towards conquering Nature.

Conclusion

Nowadays we have science reaching all homes by television channels. Years before weather forecasts by All India Radio stations would be mocked at. But the visuals now presented in television screens reaches every mind and now every one is alert to weather forecasts. Earthquakes some think are not a regular phenomenon and they did not bother about it. It is not so. In some part of our Earth quakes are occurring everyday but since they are in lesser Richter scale it does not cause alarm. We must know that quakes occur in the plate boundaries and it travels along geofracture or fault zones. United States Geological Survey has a mailing facility. If you enroll your email within seconds of earthquakes happening anywhere in the world you get an alert. I would urge students, housewives and elders to bid adieu to tele-serials and to spare time to watch National Geographic Channel, Discovery Channel and History Channels. While science reaches our homes we are not availing knowledge at our doorstep. It is high time in national languages these channels are dubbed and knowledge is taken to the common man. Instead of using computer and Internet for satiating sex urges let our youth use it to empower them with knowledge. A day is not far off when the poorest farmer from Kalahandi or a Tribal from Malkangiri or a Student from Balasore goes before a computer to connect internet to his brains and download all education he or she needs. Instead of school and colleges from our Internet café's even illiterate can become literate. Let us make our nation the vehicle for the progress of mankind and its knowledge based society.

APPEAL TO MEMBER NATIONS OF UNITED NATIONS TO FIX SRILANKAN PRESIDENT FOR TAMIL GENOCIDE



N.Nandhivarman
General Secretary Dravida Peravai

25.05.2009

Respected Leader

Subject: Appeal to Member Nations of UN to punish guilty over Tamil Genocide and to evaluate various options and then support Tamil Eelam liberation which is inevitable -regarding...

World has to wake up to the war crimes of Srilankan President Mr.Mahinda Rajapakshe. The war had been a war without witnesses but the Western nations and United Nations have in their possession satellite pictures which will go a long way to establish the war crimes. Even after declaring victory, the Srilankan Government adamantly refuses access to international media and non government organizations with the sole motive to destroy whatever evidences remain in the theatre of war.

Report of the International Law Commission had defined war crimes under Principle IV as early as 1950. Every word of that definition suitably fits into the charges against Srilankan President Mr.Mahinda Rajapakshe. War crimes are violations of the laws and customs of war which include but are not limited to murder, ill treatment or depredation to forced labour or for any other purpose of civilian population or in the occupied territory murder or ill treatment of the prisoners of war or persons on the seas, killing of hostages, plunder of public property, wanton destruction of cities, towns or villages or devastation not justified by military necessity.

1. The elected representatives of Tamil people, members of parliament had been murdered in Srilanka. Within four walls of the well protected

prisons, political prisoners were assaulted by fellow prisoners instigated on racial grounds to pluck the eyes of Tamil leaders, and such barbarian acts is a continuous process for 5 decades and more. Journalists who do not hide the crimes of the government were murdered. Indian Tamil fishermen, who for centuries pursuing their profession were killed not by thugs but by Srilankan navy, just because Sinhalese nurture hatred towards Tamils. They have killed not only freedom fighters, but fishermen of a neighboring country, India, just because of ethnicity. The wanton destruction of Tamil properties and Tamil massacres were a regular feature from 1956 to 2009. In the last 5 months on the pretext of targeting terrorists, Srilankan army had brought heavy destruction of Tamil villages and towns. The uncivilized savages in Srilankan army had bombed hospitals schools and no fire zones. In the concluding hours, the Srilankan army had killed freedom fighters who came with white flags to surrender, as advised by neutral nations to conflict. These are the war crimes committed by Srilankan President Mahinda Rajapakshe, Defense Minister and Army, Naval Chiefs of Srilanka.

2. Nuremberg Charter describes crimes against humanity as crimes such as murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation and other inhumane acts committed against any civilian population, before or during the war or persecutions on political, racial or religious grounds.

The nations of the world are not aware of the root causes that led to the civil war. Now everyone talks that devolution of powers and equal treatment to all is within reach, forgetting the fact that Tamils have been chasing this mirage for past 5 decades. To drive home our charges of genocide we begin with seeking justice

for the genocide of elected Members of Parliament of Sri Lanka.

Tamil National Alliance parliamentarian for National List, Joseph Pararajasingham, 70, was shot and killed by two gunmen belonging to a paramilitary group operated by Sri Lankan Government in the St. Mary's Cathedral in Batticaloa town while he was attending the Christmas Eve mass of 24th December 2005.

Parliamentarian for Jaffna District, Nadarajah Raviraj, 44, was shot and killed in Colombo on 10/11/2006 around 8:30am by Paramilitary group operated by the Sri Lankan Government.

Tamil National Alliance parliamentarian of Jaffna District, Kiddinan Sivanesan, 50, was killed on 06/03/2008 in a Claymore attack carried out by the Sri Lanka Army Deep Penetration Unit on A-9 road. 30 minutes after he crossed into Vanni through Omanthai/ Puliyaikulam entry/exit point. Claymore attack took place at Kollarpuliyaikulam 1:20pm. Sinnathamby Sivamaharajah assassinated, by Mahindarajapakse Government August 21, 2006

Sinnathamby Sivamaharajah, 68, was shot and killed at his temporary residence inside the High Security Zone of the Sri Lanka Army (SLA) in Tellippalai Sunday night around 7:20 p.m. He was the Managing Director of Jaffna Tamil daily "Namathu Eelanadu" and the veteran chairman of Multi-Purpose Co-operative Society (MPCS) in Tellippalai, Jaffna, Mr. Sivamaharajah is a former parliamentarian (TULF) and a senior member of Ilankai Tamil Arasu Katchi (ITAK), the main constituent party of the Tamil National Alliance (TNA). Velupillai Pirapaharan, leader of Tamil Nation, awarded the 'Maamanithar' meda.

Vanniasingham Vigneswaran assassinated, by Mahindarajapakse Government Friday, 7 April 2006 around 9.30 a.m

Mr.Vanniasingham Vigneswaran, President of the Trincomalee District Tamil Peoples' Forum (TDTPF) was shot dead Friday, 7 April 2006 around 9.30 a.m. by the SriLankan Military intelligentsia when he was about to enter the main branch of the Bank of Ceylon (BoC) located along Inner Harbor Road between the office of the Senior Superintendent of Police and Trincomalee Harbor Police. The assassination of the key Tamil activist has taken place when the Tamil National Alliance (TNA) was about to announce the appointment of Mr. Vigneswaran as the national list Parliamentarian to fill the position held by Joseph Pararajasingham MP who was slain in Batticaloa on Christmas eve.

Mr.Gumar Ponnambalam murdered by Chandrika's Government on 5th January 2000

Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam, president of the All Ceylon Tamil Congress, was shot dead by SriLankan government sponsored gunmen at Wellawatte, suburb of the capital Colombo on 05th January 2000, around 11.15 a.m. The attack took place at Ramakrishna road, near a by lane known as 'Muhamthiram lane'. He was born on 12 August 1938; Ponnambalam entered the Sri Lankan politics in the early 60's. In 1966 he became the president of the Tamil Congress' Youth Wing. Velupillai Pirapaharan, leader of Tamil Nation, awarded the 'Maamanithar' medal, to Yogaluxmi Ponnambalam, wife of late Kumar Ponnambalam, in honor of her husband in a special function held in Kilinochchi, Sunday 11May 2003

We could also give statistics of journalists killed in Srilanka, but that will be done in our complaints to

UN Human Rights Council. Now we are taking back to the past to trace the root causes of the conflict and to tell you in brief about the various initiatives that failed to yield fruits.

.Federalism is buried: “After the UNP Government of 1977-1989 adopted its 1978 Constitution, political devolution and the establishments of a federal system of government were precluded by Article 2, which declared “The Republic of Srilanka is a unitary state. The remaining scope for political decentralization was eliminated by Article 76 which specified that the Parliament shall not abdicate or in any manner alienate its legislative power and shall not set up any authority with legislative power. The two articles were incorporated explicitly to forbid devolution. Indeed when the Constitution was adopted, then President J.R.Jayawardene confidently claimed to have “all but closed the door on federalism”. These observations in the Assessment of conflict resolution initiatives in Srilanka from 1957 to 1996, reveals that unless these two provisions in the Constitution is removed no federalism can come into existence.

Official language status is deprived: Till 1956 Tamil and Sinhalese languages enjoyed equal status. India which always boasts of the 13th Amendment of 1987 to the Srilankan Constitution as a fruit of its intervention conveniently closes its eyes to the article 18, which had taken the life out of the amendment. The article states that official language of Srilanka shall be Sinhala. Tamil shall also be an official language. English shall be link language. Neither India then nor the other nations that sermonize the need to resolve issues within Srilanka are going to get the Constitution amended to read “The official languages of Srilanka shall be Sinhala and Tamil. This alone is equality, which Srilanka will never concede, that too when it is in a position of strength.

Dictatorship in garb of Democracy: The UNP Government creation of Executive Presidency dealt a death knell to the Cabinet system of governance, devalued the office of the Prime Minister, and by 1981 Parliament was reduced to silent spectator with no powers. Unless Executive Presidency is done away and Parliament regains its supremacy, there can neither be democracy for Sinhalese or Tamils.

Under Occupation forces safety in peril: Preferential recruitment of Sinhalese only in army and police force starting from sixties had led to a situation where Tamils does not even constitute one percent of the armed forces. Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's emissary Mr.G.Parthasarathy who drafted the Annexure C proposals was aware of this imbalance and made first effort to address the issue of security forces remaining foreign forces in the eyes of Tamils. Till date the security and police forces have no space for Tamils, which makes Tamils insecure in the unitary Srilankan state. After defeating the so called terrorists, if the Srilankan Government had given General Amnesty to the Tamil forces, and had absorbed them, some degree of trust towards government would have reared its head in Tamil hearts. But it is not so. We once heard US President calling for General Amnesty, but now no such voice is heard in international arena. All the civilians uprooted from their villages due to war will not be immediately resettled, but they have to remain in concentration camps, till all physically able young boys and children are taken away for screening and killed so that not a single young men with able bodies will be allowed to resettle, seems to be the order of the Srilankan Government, and this act falls under the criteria of crimes against humanity. Hence along with Srilankan President, Defense Minister and Army Chief, Naval Chief, Air Chief of the Srilankan Government and the

Para-military forces patronized by Srilankan Government should be charged with war crimes and brought to book.

Theocratic state that buries Secularism: India prides itself to be secular state, but it patronizes a theocratic state, just because the Sinhalese call themselves Aryan. Racial affinity blinds some of the Aryans who consider indigenous Dravidian people as their eternal enemy. There cannot be any common ground between the rulers of India and Srilanka on secularism. There cannot be common ground with the geo-political interests of China and Pakistan, but the racial affinity makes the rulers of India remain adamant with like rock like stubbornness, with no prick from conscience unmovable by the protests, self immolations, and cries of help from Indian Tamils, who are Dravidians. Racial common thread between so called secularists of India and theocrats of Srilanka blinds Indian vision towards Tamil genocide.

The 1978 constitution reserved for Buddhism the foremost place [art.9] in contrast to other religions, a provision which was introduced in the 1972 Republican Constitution with the motive to make Buddhism the State Religion. The January 1996 Draft Provisions by Art 7 strived to entrench Buddhism and create a Supreme Council of the Buddhist clergy to advise the Government elected by various religious communities, on the process of fostering only one religion, Buddhism. The Indian brains which remains in paralysis, will never seek amendment to make Srilanka a secular state. They will advise all religions to dismantle their structures in Srilanka and get assimilated by Sinhala language, religion, and authority. Such unitary state will be an open air concentration camp for people of other religions. Now Tamils, within them considerable amount of Christians live in concentration camps allowing

breathing time for Sinhalese Government to nip in bud all young boys and girls, so that a physically handicapped Tamil people's state can be established as vassal state of Srilanka.

Broken Pacts of Past and to be Broken promises to Donor Nations now: The countries that had borrowed the Indian formula to solve the aspirations of the Tamil people are not aware that both India and Srilanka are hiding the hidden truths about so many pacts and initiatives of the past in this direction ended in a fiasco. If democratically mandated Tamil parties from 1957 failed to realize federalism and equal rights by pacts with Srilankan Governments of all times, now India wants Tamils to expect the victor who had crushed a freedom struggle to offer better panacea to the vanquished, is totally foolish. Indian Governments pact with Srilanka itself is broken to pieces, and now India wants Tamils to pick the rags of that agreement from the dustbins of Srilankan President. This is to fool the world and Indian Tamils urge the nations with conscience not to buy the Indian argument but to individually evaluate the solutions that they can offer to people of Tamil Eelam.

A] Pact between Prime Minister S.W.R.D.Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Srilanka and Leader of the Federal Party Mr.S.V.J.Selvanayagam signed in July 1957 and abrogated unilaterally by the Prime Minister in May 1958, stands for scrutiny here, to remind the nations that preach a solution within Srilanka, that however they may wish, it won't get fulfilled. The Federal party agreed to abandon its demand for a federal system, and agreed to regionalism, which means political decentralization within the unitary framework of governance. Srilanka that did not accept this compromise in 1958 but now after vanquishing the freedom struggle, it will only offer slavery.

1] The Pact agreed that in Regional Councils Members of Parliament representing the Central Government can preside, which gave room for Parliament to directly control these regional councils. Instead of seeking powers for the Ministers in the Regional Council, the pact paved way to reduce powers and to vest some powers to Parliament.

2] The Pact agreed that regional councils should have powers for subjects including agriculture, cooperatives, lands and land development, colonization, education, health, industries and fisheries, housing and social services, electricity, water schemes and roads. The flaw in this pact is it did not delineate the legislative powers of the regional councils.

3] The Pact did not specify the Executive powers of the proposed regional councils. The powers of Regional Council would not be greater than that of municipalities.

4] The Pact reiterated Sinhala as the sole official language of Srilanka. The Federal Party accepted the secondary status given to Tamil language but the Pact remained silent on non-sinhalese speaking peoples living outside the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

5] The Federal party, commentators say failed to vigorously defend the rights of Tamils and Muslims over land distribution in the Gal Oya scheme.

6] The 1957 Pact did not address the law and order issue

7] The 1957 Pact states that the Government will provide grants to regional councils and the regional councils will have powers to taxation and borrowing.

8] The 1957 Pact totally remained silent on economic resources but under infrastructure subject's electricity, water schemes and roads were for regional councils.

9] The 1957 Pact conceded that over education Regional Councils will exercise controls.

10] The 1957 Pact kept silence over employment.

11] Linking citizenship to ethnicity that too the majority and relegating other ethnic groups lead to new class of Tamils called stateless Tamils being created to brand Tamils of Indian origin, the up-country Tamils. The Federal party prayed for the abolition of discriminatory classification of citizens of Registration.

12] The 1957 pact recognized Ceylon as a Sinhalese state, where Sinhala would be sole official language of the country and Tamil to be made as the language of administration of the North and Eastern provinces without infringing the position of official language.

This was the pact of 1957 when Tamils backed the Federal Party and even these concessions were not given and pact abrogated in May 1958. Then so many pacts, promises and initiatives, which did don't give the minimum requirement of Tamils, the nations of the world must bear in mind.

B] Senanayake-Selvanayagam Pact of 1965. After the Parliamentary elections of 1965 the UNP lead by Mr.Dudley Senanayake did not have majority and it needed the support of the Federal Party of Tamils led by Mr.Selvanayagam. The Senanayake-Selvanayagam Pact of 1965, which Tamils pinned hopes will get them regionalism was not fulfilled by a national government

in coalition with Federal Party. This show how treacherous the Sinhalese leaders and political parties have been in past, and they have changed names but not stance.

C] Model Constitution for the Federal Republic of Srilanka: The constituent assembly met to draft the first Republican constitution in 1972; Federal party tabled a model constitution which was rejected by the steering committee of the constituent assembly.

D] Presidential Commission on Development Councils 1979:Dr. Neelan Thiruchelvan Report of 1980 went to dustbin.

E] INDIAN INTERVENTION: Annexure C proposals: The holocaust of July 1983, which marks the daylight state terrorism without any sense of shame made then Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to intervene. India initiated talks with Srilankan Government and Tamil United Liberation Front, a political party pursuing democratic path to fight for Tamils rights. This led to Annexure C proposals master minded by Mr.G.Parthsarathy, which could have formed the basis of further talks in the All Party Conference.

1] Annexure C failed to demand repeal of Article 76 thereby making the promise to transfer powers an empty promise. It neither urged to repeal Article 2 thereby accepting the unitary system nor does not pave way for regionalism.

2] The Annexure did not indicate whether Regional Councils would exercise control over Regional Public Service Commission and Regional Public Service. No provision was made to create Regional Judicial Service Commission.

3] The Annexure C confirmed the discriminatory treatment of Tamil language in 1978 Constitution.

4] Annexure C did not envisage transfer of the subject of land to councils.

5] The Annexure C did not even suggest placing Regional Police Service under the Regional Councils. The wanton exclusion of Tamils from employment in armed forces was not addressed to instill a sense of security for Tamils, and also to give them equal rights as citizens to join armed forces.

6] The 1983 Annexure C proposals addressed India's concerns by suggesting creation of a Port Authority under Central Government for administering Trincomalae Port.

7] Though Annexure C allocated culture as subject allocated to Regional Council, it did not define culture.

8] The Ceylon Tamils objected to the design of the National flag and anthem which did not reflect the multi national and multi cultural society of the country. Annexure C did not find remedy for this grievance but first time this issue was subjected to debate.

Having dealt what little was offered when India brokered peace in 1983 that too when the Iron lady Ms.Indira Gandhi was Indian Prime Minister, it will be wild goose chase again to seek for Tamils rights under unitary Srilankan State of Theocratic Dictatorship which had been a terrorist state to Tamils since 1956 till date.

F] District-Provincial Councils Bill of 1984: All Party Conference in August 1984 created a Working Group of Officials and Experts which submitted its report to

the plenary sessions of the All Party Conference in September 1984. President submitted his statement to the All Party Conference in December 1984. A draft bill for District and Provincial Council was adopted in the conference, which did not satisfy Tamil aspirations or meet Tamils demand. Tamil United Liberation Front, the political party with majority representation of Tamils in Parliament expressed unhappiness which was a good excuse to President J.R.Jayawardene to shelve the bill in cold storage.

G] Thimpu Talks 1985 and after : Government of India brought Srilankan Government and Tamil militant groups LTTE, TELO, PLOTE, EROS, and EPRLF to negotiating table in Thimpu, capital of Bhutan, a Himalayan country. Talks failed. But Indian External Affairs Ministry continued its dialogue with the Srilankan President and a Draft Framework of Terms of Accord and Understanding was arrived at in August 1985. President J.R.Jayawardane should have submitted that draft to Srilankan cabinet, but he chose not to do, lapsing the agreement.

H] Rajiv Gandhi's Initiatives: Tamil United Liberation Front presented few proposals to Indian Prime Minister Mr.Rajiv Gandhi in December 1985, and India sought the opinion of Srilankan Government which rejected the demand of federalism. Then Indian Minister Mr.P.Chidambaram led a delegation to Srilanka and discussed with the Government of India and Tamil United Liberation Front. Government of Srilanka as a follow up sent its proposals to Government of India. Government of Srilanka prepared a Draft Amendment to the Constitution of Srilanka to provide legal sanction to Chidambaram proposals in September 1986. Subsequently discussions took place in Bangalore between Indian Prime Minister Mr.Rajiv Gandhi and Srilankan President Mr.J.R.Jayawardane and a working paper

emerged on 18th November 1986. This paved way for proposals of 19th December 1986.

I] Indo-Srilankan Accord of 1987: It should be noted that while Srilanka was discussing ways and means to solve the Tamil conflict between 30th August 1985 to 19th December 1986 it was continuing its genocidal war. India then had a wise leader Mr.Rajiv Gandhi which provided all material and moral support to militants in the field while bringing diplomatic pressure on Srilanka to fix it for violation of human rights.

Unlike the whole world that watched helplessly without coming to the rescue of starving civilians in recent genocidal war, India headed by Mr.Rajiv Gandhi did not remain with lip service. It intervened to airdrop food and medicines to the war zones of Srilanka. This act forced Srilanka, which understands only the voice of the might, agreed to sign the Indo-Srilankan Agreement to establish peace and normalcy in Srilanka in July 1987.

The traditional Tamil homelands which were infiltrated by Sinhalese colonization were merged into a single North-Eastern province. The merger should be confirmed by referendum before end of 1988, thereafter it will be permanent. We all know how this promise was broken using Courts, and Indian leaders who swear by the name of Rajiv Gandhi have completely forgotten the longstanding demand of Tamils which Rajiv Gandhi obtained for Tamils after so much efforts.

To implement the accord Indian Peace Keeping Force was sent. LTTE agreed for cessation of hostilities and token surrender of arms and started handing to IPKF. The same accord contains a general amnesty clause. The general amnesty “to political and other prisoners

now held in the custody under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and other emergency laws, and to combatants, as well as those persons accused, charged and or convicted under these laws”.

After signing the accord Government of Srilanka went back saying that amnesty does not apply to persons who have committed offences outside the North Eastern provinces and withheld amnesty to 1250 political prisoners. The LTTE retaliated by suspending surrender of arms.

Recently in May of 2009, the USA President Mr. Barrack Obama called for grant of General Amnesty to the freedom fighters of Tamil Eelam. If Srilanka in past had gone back on general amnesty agreed in a pact between India and Srilanka, how can United Nations or all civilized nations on Earth except those who condone the Tamil genocide by Srilanka, are going to get general amnesty to the 9100 LTTE fighters claimed by Srilanka to have surrendered. If the UN Secretary General had to go all the way praying for free access to humanitarian agencies to help Tamil civilians in concentration camps, who is going to pray for general amnesty for the LTTE fighters who have surrendered. They will not be treated as prisoners of war; all canons of international law will be thrown into winds. These 9100 fighters and all able bodied young men and girls among the Tamil civilians will be annihilated, Tamil villages and towns will be implanted with Sinhalese colonization, then the physically incapacitated, mentally derailed slaves now who remain behind barbed wires, may be allowed to go back to their original places. The time needed till year end is not to de-mine the areas but to de-tamilize these places and to break down the will power of those who bore the brunt of the civil war, but somehow survived to become slaves.

J] The IPKF did not act in neutrality, here some bureaucrats or army officers derailed the purposes for which IPKF was sent to Srilanka. Let me quote few pages from Prof Daya Somasundaram`s book Scarred Minds The Psychological Impact of War on Sri Lankan Tamils.[Professor Daya Somasundaram is the Professor of Psychiatry in the University of Jaffna and concurrently Consultant Psychiatrist, General (Teaching Hospital) Jaffna. He was one of the four authors of the book, Broken Palmyra, which was critical of the LTTE, a co-author of Mental Health in Cambodia, where he served as a Consultant Psychiatrist]

If American forces during Bush era indulge in excesses, America under President Barrack Obama makes amends and civilized democracy condemns such acts. India we have democracy but we are ashamed to wash our dirty linen in public. Anyhow as we look back at history we have to see the reasons behind LTTE and IPKF clashes culminating in the Rajiv Gandhi`s murder.

Civilians Massacred by IPKF

Jaffna Hospital: - Doctors, Nurses and Patients inside the Jaffna Teaching Hospital, numbering 68 in all. .Their names are:- Dr A. Sivapathasuntheram, Dr M.K. Ganesharatnam (St.John`s College,Jaffna), Dr Parimelazhahar, Mrs. Vadivelu, Matron, Mrs. Leelawathie, Nurse, Mrs. Sivapakiam, Nurse, Mrs. Ramanathan, Nurse, Mr. Shanmugalingam, Ambulance Driver, Mr. Kanagalingam, Telephone Operator, Mr. Krishnarajah, Works Supervisor, Mr. Selvarajah, Works Supervisor, Eleven (11) Minor employees and forty six (46) patients .Duraiswamy brothers :- Two sons of late Sir Waithialingam Duraiswamy, Speaker of the State Council, residing in their ancestral home next to the Jaffna Clock Tower.

One was R. Duraiswamy (SLAS) Retd. Secretary. Ministry of Local Government and M. Duraiwswamy Retd. Staff Officer Bank of Ceylon.

Retd Director of Irrigation Mr. S. Sivasubramaniam, retired Director of Irrigation, Mrs. Sivasubramaniam, his retired teacher wife and their only son, a brilliant boy who had studied at St. John's College, Jaffna, scored 4A's in the GCE(AI) and was in the second year of Medical College. Other Civilians Killed in Jaffna:- Prof. P. Chandrasekeram, University of Jaffna, Dr R.W. Crossett Thambiah, Dr Selvaratnam Former DMO Maskeliya, Dr S. Pararajasingham J.M.O, L.F.M. Samuel Rtd. Teacher (St. Thomas College, Mt. Lavinia & Royal College), K.J. Sambanthar Retd. DLO & Asst. Land Commissioner, Jaffna, Mrs. S. Sivanandaraja (mother), Mohanraj (son) (St.John`s College, Jaffna-81 Batch) Technical Officer, Irrigation .Dept, Mrs. Kishnam, Mrs. M. Sebastiampillai, Mrs. N.R. Thuriappa, Mrs. V. Ruthiralingam, C.S. Aaron . Urumpirai: - A. Subramanian Attorney at Law, Mr. & Mrs. Pancharatnam, Rtd. Teachers, K. Navaratnam Rtd. Divisional Supdt. of Post Offices, S. Nadarajah, Formerly SLBC, Tamil Service, P. Arooran, M. Nadaraja, S. Rasanayagam Rtd. Credit Controller CCC Ltd. Anaikoddai: - Mrs. M. Weerasegaram Pillai, (Mother), Pillai Yasotha Weerasegaram (Daughter), Mrs. S. Thanapalasingham (Mother) Miss N. Thanapalasingham (Daughter) S. Kulasegerampillai, Retd. Station Master, Mrs. M. Arumugam .Mrs. R. Gnanamuttu, A. Candappu Rtd. State Officer, S. Selvaranee .Pirampadi, Kokuvil etc: - A large number of civilians were killed in Pirampadi and Kokuvil and buried in mass graves. The whole matter requires a book to do full justice. Ariyalai (my village) Ariyalai is at the eastern end of Jaffna town and the A9highway passes through it. This was one of the four routes the Indian Army took to enter and capture Jaffna. From Oct 10, 1987, we, living in Dehiwala, lost all contact

with our relatives who lived in Ariyalai, among them my wife's 71 year old mother, her sisters and their children, my close friends from my boyhood days in Jaffna. For twenty one (21) days, there was a continuous curfew imposed by the IPKF with half an hours notice. The local and foreign media were completely cut off from the scene of operations and terrible things yes, I use words carefully, TERRIBLE THINGS, were done to the Tamils in Jaffna. Rumors were rife. The militants said 30,000 civilians were killed. But I searched for reliable evidence, and these started trickling in, from late October 1987. One reliable class of evidence is the number of persons known to me personally, quite a number are blood relatives, who were killed. Among those killed was a 45 year old cousin brother, S. Shanmugasuntharam, Electrician, Jaffna Municipal Council, married, with two children, shot while going to his paddy field in East Ariyalai. No one could reach the body jackals and dogs ate the flesh and his brother Sinnathurai told me that the limbs and other parts were in different part of the paddy field and he gathered them and buried them in the paddy field. Sinnathurai had wept tears of a different sort in 1981 when he told me what he found on the day following the burning of the Jaffna Library, where he worked as an Assistant Librarian. But let us remain focused on the IPKF in this article.

An 84 year old uncle, S. Thambiah, father of the well known Journalist T. Sabaratnam, was killed inside his home by an Indian artillery shell. His daughter Pathma and grandchildren had taken refuge inside Ariyalai Sri Sithivinayagar temple and were unaware of what had happened. One of my childhood classmates, Poologasingam, who lived nearby and had also not gone to the temple as a refugee, discovered what had happened, cut a pit in the garden, put my uncle in a sack and buried him there. No last rites no cremation. Poologasingam went near the temple and

shouted, `Pillai Pathma, Appah Vaikundam poddar naan thevai yathanich seythu poddan` (Child Pathma, your father has gone to heaven I have done what was necessary). My cousin Sabaratnam`s loss did not stop with his father. His mother in law, 80 year old Mrs. Thambimuttu was a refugee inside the temple. But an old lady cannot easily adjust to conditions inside a tightly packed temple and Hindu temples do not have toilet facilities, as devotees are expected to come in a `clean` state. So she went to her home within 250 meters of the temple for her morning ablutions. She was walking back feebly, with the aid of a walking stick and holding a flickering lamp, and was within 50 meters of the temple when she was shot dead by the Indian soldiers, from Sri Parwathi Vidyasalai which they were occupying. They discovered who they had killed and set fire to the body where it lay, using a tyre. She and my late mother Mrs. Saraswathy Thamoatham had been classmates in Chundikuli Girls College, Jaffna. She had been a source of comfort to my mother when we lost our father when mother was 28 years old and had to face the grim prospect of feeding, clothing and educating my brother (7 yrs) and myself (2 yrs), with not even a pension as father had served for less than 10 years. What burning pain,

More than our relatives, we mourn the death of the elder son of the chief priest of our temple, Subramaniya Kurukkal. Young Kannan Iyer, 24 years old, very fair, very handsome, well versed in Hindu neethi and also a fully qualified Accountant, was managing his own Accounting firm in Jaffna and assisting his father in carrying out the temple duties. He told his father on Deepavali Day in Oct 1987, when the father was getting ready to go to the temple to open the inner sanctum and light the lamps inside, to stay at home and that he would go by bicycle by a circuitous route to the temple to light the lamps. The

inner sanctum had not been opened or lit after the influx of refugees. Only Brahmin priests can enter the inner sanctum. Instead of going to the temple, he went to heaven.

If anyone is interested, I shall take him or her to speak to Kannan Iyer's mother. His father, the chief priest of our temple, performed the ancient Hindu marriage ceremony for me and my wife in 1962. He repeated it for our elder daughter and son-in-law in 1982. He is a learned and pious man and he has the spiritual resources to withstand the loss of his elder son. But tears flowed down the cheeks of his wife for the entire 45 minutes we spent with them in March 1988, five months after the joy of their life was snuffed out by the Indian army. To me, this is the worst crime of the IPKF assault on Jaffna. The life of a young and brilliant Brahmin priest, who would have risen to great heights promoting Saivism, was snuffed out wantonly and this on Deepavali day when he set out to open the sanctum sanctorum and light a lamp inside the temple. Twenty six persons lost their lives in my village alone, during the Indian army's campaign to gain control of Jaffna Peninsula in October-November 1987. The IPKF Operation in Jaffna did not stop with massacres of civilians. A large number of women were raped.

K] Other Initiatives that failed: After the 13th Amendment of 1987, the Democratic People's Alliance came out with proposals in 1988. The drafting committee of the All Party of Conference was given with proposals by participating Tamil parties. Thondaman proposals were handed over in 1991. UNP party's Presidential candidate Mr. Gamini Thissanayake came out with a vision for 21st century. The Up-Country People's Front in December 1994 submitted its peace formula to the Parliamentary Select Committee. Then Srilankan

President Chandrika Kumaratunga came out with Basic Ideas on 3 rd August 1995. These basic ideas were formulated into draft proposals on January 1996.

L] India is not in a position to intervene or influence as it did during the times of Rajiv Gandhi. The unfortunate murder of Rajiv Gandhi had thrust one point Agenda on the ruling party of India to take revenge on LTTE. Now that revenge had been accomplished, it is high time for India to evaluate its foreign policies. In recent months overnight so many retired army men from IPKF turned into columnists occupying media space to support the Agenda for Revenge, unfortunately forgetting that what their army did in Srilanka brought about the turn of events and agendas for revenge.

To err is human but to kill our conscience and supporting Tamil Genocide is behavior of brutes. We appeal to all nations to look at the list of massacres from 1956 to 2001 till the Norway brokered peace dawned in Srilanka.

1. Inginiyakala massacre [05.06.1956]
2. 1958 pogrom
3. Tamil research conference massacre □ 10.01.1974
4. 1977 communal pogrom
5. 1981 communal pogrom
6. Burning of the Jaffna library □ 01.06.1981
7. 1983 communal pogrom
8. Thirunelveli massacre □ 24, 25.07.1983
9. Sampalhoddam massacre □ 1984
10. Chunnakam Police station massacre □ 08.01.1984

11. Chunnakam market massacre □ 28.03.1984
12. Mathawachchi – Rampawa □ September 1984
13. Point Pedro – Thikkam massacre □ 16.09.1984
14. Othiyamalai massacre □ 01.12.1984

15. Kumulamunai massacre □ 02.12.1984
16. Cheddikulam massacre □ 02.12.1984
17. Manalaru massacre □ 03.12.1984
18. Blood soaked Mannar □ 04.12.1984
19. Kokkilai□Kokkuthoduvai massacre □ 15.12.1984
20. Vankalai church massacre □ 06.01.1986
21. Mulliyavalai massacre □ 16.01.1985
22. Vaddakandal massacre □ 30.01.1985
23. Puthukkidiyiruppu Iyankovilady massacre
21.04.1985
24. Trincomalee massacres in 1985
25. Valvai□85 massacre 10.05.1985
26. Kumuthini Boat massacre 15.05.1985
27. Kiliveddi massacre in 1985
28. Thiriyai massacre □ 08.06.1985
29. Sampativu □ 04 to 09.08.1985
30. Veeramunai massacre □ 20.06.1990
31. Nilaveli massacre 16.09.1985
32. Piramanthanaru massacre □ 02.10.1985
33. Kanthalai□85 massacre □ 09.11.1985
34. Muthur Kadatkarai chenai □ 08, 09, 10.11.1985
35. Periyapullumalai massacre in 1986
36. Kilinochchi Railway Station massacre □
25.01.1986
37. Udumbankulam massacre □ 19.02.1985
38. Vayaloor massacre □ 24.08.1985
39. Eeddimurinchan massacre □ 19, 20.03.1986
40. Anandapuram shelling □ 04.06.1986
41. Kanthalai□86 massacre □ 04, 05.06. 1986
42. Mandaithivu sea massacre □ 10.06.1986
43. Seruvila massacre □ 12.06.1986
44. Thambalakamam massacres □ 1985, 1986
45. Paranthan farmer's massacre □ 28.06.1986
46. Peruveli refugee camp massacre □ 15.07.1986
47. Thanduvan bus massacre □ 17.07.1986
48. Mutur Manalchenai massacre □ 18.07. 1986
49. Adampan massacre □ 12.10.1986
50. Periyapandivrichchan massacre □ 15.10.1986
51. Kokkadichcholai□87 massacre □ 28.01.1987

52. Paddithidal massacre □ 26.04.1987
53. Thonithiddamadu massacre □ 27.05.1987
54. Alvai temple shelling □ 29.05.1987
55. Eastern University massacre □ 23.05.1990
56. Sammanthurai massacre □ 10.06.1990
57. Xavierpuram massacre □ 07.08.1990
58. Siththandy massacre □ 20, 27.07.1990
59. Paranthan junction massacre □ 24.07.1990
60. Poththuvil massacre □ 30.07.1990
61. Tiraikerny massacre □ 06.08.1990
62. Kalmunai massacre □ 11.08.1990
63. Thuramilavani massacre □ 12.08.1990
64. Eravur hospital massacre □ 12.08.1990
65. Koraveli massacre 14.08.1990
66. Nellyyadi market bombing □ 29.08.1990
67. Eravur massacre □ 10.10.1990
68. Saththurukkondan massacre □ 09.09.1990
69. Natpiddymunai massacre □ 10.09.1990
70. Vantharamullai□90 massacre □ 05, 23,09,1990
71. Mandaithivu disappearances □ 23.08.1990, 25.09.1990
72. Oddisuddan bombing □ 27.11.1990
73. Puthukkudiyiruppu junction bombing
74. Vankalai massacre □ 17.02.1991
75. Vaddakkachchi bombing □ 28.02.1991
76. Vantharumoolai □ 09.06.1991
77. Kokkadichchulai□91 massacre □ 12.06.1991
78. Pullumalai massacre □ 1983□1990
79. Kinniyadi massacre □ 12.07.1991
80. Akkarayan hospital massacre □ 15.07.1997
81. Uruthrapuram bombing □ 04.02.1991
82. Karapolla□Muthgalla massacre □ 29.04.1992
83. Vattrapalai shelling □ 18.05.1992
84. Thellipalai temple bombing □ 30.05.1992
85. Mailanthai massacre □ 09.08.1992
86. Kilali massacre □1992, 1993
87. Maaththalan bombing □ 18.09.1993
88. Chavakachcheri□Sangaththanai bombing □ 28.09.1993

89. Kokuvil temple massacre & bombing □ 29.09.1993
90. Kurunagar church bombing □ 13.11.1993
91. Chundikulam□94 massacre □ 18.02.1994
92. Navali church massacre □ 09.07.1995
93. Nagarkovil bombing □ 22.05.1995
94. Chemmani mass graves in 1996
95. Kilinochchi town massacre □ 1996□1998
96. Kumarapuram massacre □ 11.02.1996
97. Nachchikuda strafing □ 16.03.1996
98. Thambirai market bombing □ 17.05.1996
99. Mallavi bombing □ 24.07.1996
100. Pannankandy massacre □ 05.07.1997
101. Kaithady Krishanthi massacre □ 07.09.1996
102. Vavunikulam massacre □ 26□09□1996,
15□08□1997
103. Konavil bombing □ 27.09.1996
104. Mullivaikal bombing □ 13.05.1997
105. Mankulam shelling □ 08.06.1997
106. Thampalakamam massacre □ 01.02.1998
107. Old Vaddakachchi bombing □ 26.03.1998
108. Suthanthirapuram massacre □ 10.06.1998
109. Visuvamadhu shelling □ 25.11.1998
110. Chundikulam□98 bombing 02.12.1998
111. Manthuvil bombing □ 15.09.1999
112. Palinagar bombing and shelling □ 03.09.1999
113. Madhu church massacre □ 20.11.1999
114. Bindunuwewa massacre
115. Mirusuvil massacre □ 19.12.2000

Appeal to the Conscience of Leaders of the Nations under UN:

Having seen the list, and now Tamils having lost the freedom struggle, would you say that Tamils will be treated as human beings within unitary Srilankan State? Whether UN will stand guarantee, or which nation on Earth can assure Tamils a life with dignity within unitary Srilanka.

We Indian Tamils urge United Nations to constitute a Tribunal on War Crimes for Genocide of Eelam Tamils, on the lines of Nuremburg Tribunal constituted the war criminals of Nazi-Germany after the II nd World War ended. Nuremburg Tribunal had laid down certain principles which are relevant to the war crimes on Eelam Tamils. i] The crimes against international law are committed by men not by abstract entities and only by punishing individuals who commit such crimes can the provisions of international law be enforced. ii] Report of the International Law Commission of 1950 states “The fact that a person who committed an act which constitutes a crime under international law acted as Head of State or responsible government official does not relieve him from responsibility under International law.

Having stated the position of International law, we Indian Tamils urge the nations in Security Council and if roadblocks caused by veto hinder then the general assembly of the United Nations to constitute International Tribunal for Srilanka for violation of International humanitarian law and Genocide committed in the traditional homeland of Eelam Tamils acting under the Chapter VII of the UN charter.

Srilankan President Mr.Mahinda Rajapakshe had committed war crimes. It would be appropriate to remind the Member Nations of the United Nations that the General Assembly Resolution 3074 [XXVIII] dated 3rd December 1973 declaring Principles of International Co-operation in the detention, arrest, extradition and punishment of persons guilty of war crimes and crimes against humanity must be borne in mind and all nations, Indian Tamils urged must cooperate in bringing to book the Srilankan President Mr.Mahinda Rajapakshe for war crimes and genocide.

“ War crimes and crimes against humanity whenever or wherever they are committed, shall be subjected to investigation and the persons against whom there is evidence that they have committed such crimes shall be subject to tracing, arrest, trial and if found guilty to punishment.” According to this we urge Srilankan President to be fixed for his war crimes.

The Nuremburg charter describes crimes against humanity as the crimes such as murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation and other inhumane acts committed against any civilian population, before or during the war or persecutions on political, racial or religious grounds, in execution of or in connection with any crime

Though Nuremburg Trial, Tokyo Trial , Eichmann case, Chernigov Trial, UN War Crimes Commission to investigate war crimes committed in former Yugoslavia, Milosevic War Crimes Trial, International Tribunal for Rwanda etc may be there, the one that stands apart is the Mai Lai Trial. Mai lai is a village in Vietnam whole population of which was killed by American personnel. American citizens proved to be worthy citizens of humanism and condemned their own military officers committing war crimes. International community brought pressure. It is a landmark in the history of trials on war crimes. Mai Lai Trial marks the new trend where reaction of the international community and the pressure of its own citizens compelled to hold trial. This example of the greatest democracy of America makes every citizen on earth bow their head to salute the humanness of American people. Such a state, which does not even spare its officers, is now urging the United Nations Human Rights Council to initiate action on Srilankan President for Tamil Genocide. The Indian state of Tamilnadu in one voice is demanding India to back the countries that are moving resolution to charge

Srilankan President Mahinda Rajapakshe for Tamil genocide. Unfortunately along with China and Pakistan, India is to give a clean chit to Srilankan President. India must hold a referendum In Tamilnadu, and if its own citizens give clean chit to Srilankan President, then India can whitewash the crimes committed by Srilankan President. Like America, India should have put its own IPKF officers for trial in war crimes. It missed that chance to prove that Gandhian India will not tolerate crimes against humanity. Now when Indian satellites would have given more evidences of genocide, India is morally bound to share those evidences with international community that is seeking justice for Tamils butchered under genocide.

India had followed the policy of appeasing Srilanka to prevent it from falling totally into the kitty of China. In pursuit of this illogical foreign policy, India had turned a blind eye towards frequent killing of Indian Tamil fishermen in Palk Straits by the Srilankan army.

The international community that seeks action against Srilankan President must also seek action against Srilankan President and Srilankan naval chief for their genocide of Indian Tamil fishermen in the Palk Straits.

The International Court of Justice in Cu Channel case [1949] had conceded that in times of peace states has the right to send their ships through straits provided that passage is innocent. The same had been incorporated in UN Convention on Law of the Sea, 1982. When innocent passage is permissible to ships it also must apply to fishing craft. There has been no war between India and Srilanka, and there is no reason for Srilankan navy to continuously resort to killing of Indian Tamil for decades. India and Pakistan are enemy nations but if Indian fishermen stray into

Pakistan waters, Pakistan arrests them and releases. But India and Srilanka are friendly nations, yet Indian fishermen are killed. It has become a regular occurrence periodically reported in media leading to fishermen protests. Srilanka resorts to indiscriminate firing on Indian fishermen just because they are Tamils by ethnicity. Dravida Peravai had collected information on the lives lost under the Right to Information Act of India.

| Date | Boat No: Injured | Place | Dead |
|----------|---|--------------------------------------|----------|
| 26.11.92 | RMS 1030/CG Mangalaraj | Nedunteevu | Sea - |
| 27.02.93 | RMS 540/MB Ganesan | Katchateevu | Sea - |
| 28.07.93 | RMS 540/MB Kumar Poominadhan Gopal | Dhanushkodi | Sea - |
| 21.09.93 | RMS 330 Segaraj s/o Maickel | Dhanushkodi | Sea - |
| 08.10.93 | RMS 1432 Thangaiya | Thalaimannar Pondi s/o Karuppaiya | |

Rameswaram

Ramamoorthy
Kakkoor
Mudhukulathur Dtk.
Palanichami
s/o Karuppaiya
Thazhaiuotthu ,
Tuticorin
Sankar s/o
Dharmalingam,
Kodimunai, Navaladi, Nanguneri

| | | | |
|----------|--|--|---|
| 08.10.93 | RMS 1807 Murugan Chinnaiya | Dhanuskodi - | |
| 08.10.93 | RMS 26 Mari | Dhanuskodi - | |
| 21.11.93 | RMS 1362 Rajendhiran Balraj | Dhanuskodi s/o Muthukani Natarajapuram | |
| 16.02.94 | RMS 57 Arul Arasan s/o Nicolas, Sebestiyan s/o Ayyapillai, Bopan | Katchateevu Bampan | - |
| 25.02.94 | RMS 1024 Saminadhan | Dhanuskodi - | |
| 06.04.94 | RMS 325 Murugesan | Katchateevu - | |
| 10.07.94 | RMS 1546 Larans Selvam | Katchateevu - | |
| 02.11.94 | RMS 1917 Jestin | Dhanuskodi Segaraj s/o Rayappu Bampan | |
| 29.04.95 | Cristraj RMS 1357 Thamilselvan | Katchateevu - | |
| 15.06.95 | RMS 1815 Seni s/o Ramaya | Katchateevu - | |
| 20.05.95 | RMS 249 Suyambudurai s/o Balavesamuthu Settigulam | Dhanuskodi | |
| 10.06.95 | RMS 617 Thangavelu | Dhanuskodi - | |
| 15.07.95 | RMS 705 Nageswaran | Dhanuskodi - | |

| | | | |
|----------|-------------------|--------------|---|
| 06.03.96 | RMS 2148 | Katchateevu | |
| - | Sedupathy | | |
| 01.05.96 | RMS 2000 | Thalaimannar | |
| | Solaimalai | | |
| | Sankar | | - |
| 14.08.96 | RMS 657 | Dhanushkodi | |
| | Kalimuthu | - | |
| 10.06.96 | RMS 1690 | Dhanushkodi | |
| | Kailasam | - | |
| 09.09.96 | RMS 1614 | Dhanushkodi | |
| | Ramanadhan | Ramesh | |
| | - | | |
| 25.09.96 | RMS 2276 | Dhanushkodi | |
| | Karuppaiya | - | |
| 28.10.96 | RMS 993 | Dhanushkodi | |
| | Palani | - | |
| 06.11.96 | RMS 777 | Dhanushkodi | |
| | - | Karunanithi | |
| 07.11.96 | RMS 538 | Dhanushkodi | |
| | Selvam | Kanapathy | |
| 09.11.96 | RMS 1933 | Dhanushkodi | |
| | Andhoniraj | - | |
| 23.11.96 | RMS 2364 | Dhanushkodi | |
| | - | Thirumal | |
| 21.12.96 | RMS 1992 | Dhanushkodi | |
| | Murugesan | - | |
| | RMS 225 | Dhanushkodi | |
| | Sanjeevi | - | |
| 20.01.97 | RMS 2072 | Dhanushkodi | |
| | Munusami | - | |
| 30.01.97 | RMS 2721 | Dhanushkodi | |
| | Vanniraj | - | |
| 26.03.97 | RMS 2352 | Dhanushkodi | |
| | Munisamy | - | |
| 13.03.99 | RMS 2278 | Katchateevu | |
| | Muniyandi | | |
| | s/o Muthukaruppan | | |
| 21.04.97 | RMS 247 | Katchateevu | |
| | Rathinakrishnan | - | |

| | | | |
|----------|---------------------|-------------|--|
| | Lingamani | | |
| | Senthil | | |
| 08.06.97 | RMS 117 | Katchateevu | |
| | Ganesan | | |
| | s/o Muniyandi | - | |
| 18.06.97 | RMS 1437 | Katchateevu | |
| | Raju | - | |
| | RMS 2057 | Katchateevu | |
| | Subramanian | - | |
| | RMS 2297 | Katchateevu | |
| - | Mariyajaan | | |
| 19.11.97 | RMS 350 | Katchateevu | |
| - | Dharman | | |
| | Chinnamuniyan | | |
| | Balsami | | |
| | Muthusami | | |
| 19.11.97 | RMS 1980 | Katchateevu | |
| - | | | |
| | Ganesan | | |
| | Murugesan | | |
| | Vengatesan | | |
| 13.05.98 | RMS 1620 | Katchateevu | |
| | Ramalingam | - | |
| 25.11.96 | RMS 412 | Katchateevu | |
| | Murali | | |
| | s/o Veerapathiran | | |
| | Govindharajan | | |
| | s/o Krishnan | | |
| | Perumal s/o Sudalai | | |
| | Jothi Manikkam | | |
| | s/o Anguchami | | |
| 05.07.99 | RMS 576 | Katchateevu | |
| - | Albert s/o | | |
| | Soosai | | |
| 21.07.99 | RMS 1872 | Katchateevu | |
| - | Jaanson | | |
| | s/o Andhoni | | |

| | | | |
|------------|--|--|---|
| 08.12.99 | RMS 1512 Vazhivittan s/o Dharmalinga Devar | Katchateevu - | |
| 19.02.2000 | RMS 600 Selvapandian s/o Soosai | Katchateevu Murugesan s/o Periyasamy | |
| 10.05.2000 | RMS 1126 Muniswaran | Katchateevu s/o Pandi | - |
| 19.06.2000 | T.U 328 Babu s/o Natesan | Katchateevu - | |
| 27.11.2000 | RMS 2759 - Munisamy | Katchateevu s/o Natarajan | |
| 16.02.2001 | RMS 583 Murugesan | Katchateevu s/o Rathinavel | - |
| 30.08.2001 | RMS 1654 Saravanan Kottai Muniswaran | Katchateevu - | |
| 18.10.2003 | RMS 229/MB Pirabu s/o Dhoss | Dhanushkodi - | |
| 09.08.2004 | RMS 2721 - Ramu s/o | Katchateevu Sokkalingam | |
| 09.09.2004 | RMS 401 Naganadhan s/o | Dhanushkodi Dhavasiyandidevar | - |
| 17.08.2006 | RMS 2283/MBK Naburajan s/o | Katchateevu Nagalingam | - |
| 28.06.2006 | RMS 1615/MB Julias s/o Josph | Katchateevu - | |
| 10.07.2006 | RMS 103/MB Rajan s/o Andi | Katchateevu - | |
| 06.10.2006 | RMS 334/CV Perish s/o Arulandhan Bampan | Katchateevu | |
| 22.11.06 | MDM 689/MB Arulandhan, Bampan | South Sea Side - | |
| 27.02.07 | RMS 3787/CV Xevier s/o Andeni | Katchateevu Thangachi madam | |
| - | | | |

| | | |
|------------|--|---|
| 06.03.07 | RMS 3582/CV Viswar s/o Andonisamy Bampan | Katchateevu Cristoper s/o Andhonisamy Bampan |
| | Sagayaraj s/o | Andonipicchai |
| | Bampan Dhasan s/o Rayappan | |
| | Bampan | Soosai s/o Devadhass |
| | Bampan 18.06.07 | TN/09/MFB/11 Kunabalan s/o Segarajan |
| | Thangachimadam | |
| 13.11.2007 | TN/10/MFB/978 Kirubairaj s/o Abaranam Bampan | Katchateevu - |
| 12.01.2006 | TN/10/MFB/51 S. Sekar | Katchateevu - |
| 05.03.2006 | TN/10/MFB/935 Francis | Katchateevu - |
| 05.03.2006 | TN/10/MFB/442 - | Katchateevu Cristy s/o Andonisamy |
| | Thangachimadam 02.06.08 | TN/10/MFB/244 Santhiya s/o Maickel |
| | Katchateevu | Thangachimadam |
| 21.06.2006 | TN/10/MFB/650 Andran | Katchateevu - |
| 30.06.2006 | TN/10/MFB/409 Marris | Katchateevu - |
| 28.09.2006 | TN/10/MFB/109 - | Katchateevu Murugan Madurai |

This is the first list of Indian Tamil fishermen killed by the Srilankan Government in its pursuit to annihilate all Tamils whether they seek independent state or

whether they belong to India. We are sending the above stated details to the UN Human Rights Council and to the Public Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court of Justice, urging that the Genocide of Tamils committed by Srilankan President is not confined to Srilankan soil, but it is pursued in international waters, as well as Indian waters. Hence we urge upon the nations in United Nations to request India to deliver the list of Indian fishermen killed by Srilankan navy, so that the Genocide of Indian Tamils also could be included in the genocide charges against Srilankan President.

Indian Government or other Nations that show adamancy to accept the separate state demand of Tamils must re-evaluate their policies in the light of the genocidal war unleashed by Srilanka aimed at ethnic cleansing. This ethnic cleansing had been the single goal pursued by various Srilankan governments and political parties for nearly half a century.

Let the civilized democracies of this earth touch their conscience and say whether they have forgotten the Nazi persecution of the Jews. Now let them read what Sinhalese Members of Parliament had spoken in their country's Parliament. Can any Parliamentarian speak openly with impunity in any of the Parliaments or Senates of this Earth, in the manner in which Sinhalese Members of Parliament had spoken in past?

Sinhalese Buddhist Member of Parliament from Kundasale Mr.D.M.Chandrapala spoke in July 1981 in Srilankan Parliament: Quote "Now Sir.... What should we do to this so called leader of Tamils? If I were given powers, I would tie him to the nearest concrete post in this building and horses whip him till I raise him to his wits. Thereafter let anybody do anything he likes, throw him into the Biere[lake] or

into the sea, because he will be so mutilated that I do not think there will be life in him “

Mr.G.V.Punchinilame, Sinhalese Buddhist Member of Parliament from Ratnapura to explain in Parliament on how cruelly Tamils should be tortured. Quote: “Since yesterday morning, we have heard in this honorable house about the various types of punishment that should be meted out to them. [Tamil Parliamentary leaders]. The M.P for Panadura, Dr.Neville Fernando said that there was a punishment during the regime of Sinhalese kings, namely two areca nut posts are erected, the two posts are then drawn towards each other with a rope, then tie the each feet of the offender to each post and then cut the rope which will result in tearing apart the body. These people [Tamil M.P’s] should be punished that way.

Some members suggested that they should be put to death on the stake, some other members said their passports should be confiscated, still other members said they should be made to stand at Galle Face and shot. The people of this country want and the government is prepared to inflict these punishments on these people.

Before violence erupted or militarist movements took inception, when purely Tamils were pursuing democratic path demanding state autonomy through peaceful means, Srilankan Parliament had debated on how Tamil Members of Parliament should be killed and tortured.

Such hatred possessed only by their predecessors, the Aryan Nazis, is inbuilt in the minds of Aryan Sinhalese. Cruelty is their creed. Barbarianism is their gospel. To teach cannibals to behave in civilized manner if efforts are put, it will yield results. But the Sinhalese who inscribed their language letter Sri with

hot irons in the forcibly exposed bare chests of Tamil women in fifties, Sinhalese who could pluck the eyes of freedom fighters within their prison and to crush it with their boots in sadistic arrogance, will torture the entire Tamil race. World watched helplessly when civilians are killed in so called safe zones. World watched while international agencies could not reach Tamils with medicines and food for internally displaced peoples.

If under unitary Srilanka, Tamils are forced to live it will only be a life worse than a slave, and whoever moots that idea for whatever geo-political compulsion, will be placed as abettors of genocide before future generations and in history.

Before concluding, it is my duty to recall the words of then Srilankan President as published in Daily Telegraph of Srilanka on 11th July 1983. Mr.J.R.Jayawardane with whom innocent political novice Mr. Rajiv Gandhi inked an accord in 1987 had spoken in 1983, as follows: "I am not worried about the opinion of the Tamil people, now we cannot think of them, not about their lives or opinion. The more you put pressure in the North, the happier will the Sinhalese people be here. Really if I starve the Tamils out, the Sinhalese people will be happy."

We urge the United Nations that seeking punishment for war crimes and genocide is not enough. They must realize that Tamils and Sinhalese cannot co exist in unitary Srilankan State. In order to drive home Dravida Peravai had quoted from fiery speeches in Parliament.

UN Secretary General Mr.Banki Moon after meeting Sri Lankan President Rajapaksa and other top officials in Kandy warned during a news conference with Foreign Minister Rohitha Bogollagama that unless the

government can reconcile with the country's Tamil minority, "history could repeat itself." It shows the concern of the UN Secretary General for Tamil cause, but Tamils know from experience that his warning will fall on deaf years.

1. We, Indian Tamils appeal to world nations to send UN Peace Keeping Force to Srilanka, to supervise the rehabilitation and resettlement of Internally Displaced Persons. Srilanka only wants funds but it will not use for resettlement or rehabilitation. It will use to colonize Tamil villages and towns with Sinhalese that is why it is keeping IDPs in barbed wire camps preventing them from going back to their traditional homes even after declaration of success in war by the Srilankan Government.

2. The adamancy shown by Srilankan Government to grant free access to international media and non governmental organization is not only aimed at concealing the usage of banned and chemical weapons used to inflict genocide but it needs time to erase all traces of brutality by its security forces in the final phase of the Tamil Eelam war. UN and Member Nations must impose economic sanctions on Srilanka unless it opens its war zones and concentration camps to international media.

3. We remind the suggestion of General Amnesty made by US President Mr.Barrack Obama. The fate of 9100 LTTE cadres who had supposed to have surrendered, as per announcement by Srilankan Government itself is at peril. Though actual figures are not available, the process of screening conducted by Srilanka is to eliminate these LTTE cadres who should be treated as Prisoners of War in accordance with the tenets of international law. UN must exert diplomatic pressure on Srilanka to grant general amnesty to the LTTE cadres, and these cadres must be absorbed into

the Srilankan army, since Tamil representation in army is almost nil. Tamil regiment in Srilanka cannot emerge in near future, the only way is to give employment to the freedom fighters in the army thereby assuring Tamils that the phobia of Sinhala dominated army need not exist, and safety of Tamils can be left in the hands of Tamil army. Unless General Amnesty is granted world is going to witness mass killings of all able bodied youth in Srilanka, any time in next few weeks.

4. Tamil struggle in fifties started with demand for a federal state. If like USA, a federal model is brought in Srilanka that could be considered by Tamils of Eelam and not the Indian model, which in name only is Union but in reality a unitary state.

5. To ensure the safety of Tamils Srilanka must be forced to allow Condominium .Condominium exists when over a particular territory joint dominion is exercised by two or more external powers. In past England and France exercised control and had rights over the territory of New Hebrides between 1914 and 1980. This gave joint sovereignty of France and Britain over New Hebrides. Historically in British India, India had condominium over Srilanka, and to assure Tamils till the historical wounds are healed and unity emerges, India can exercise condominium over the North Eastern Provinces, which will act as guarantee for Tamil lives against future genocide of Tamils. If not India, UN can have condominium along with Srilanka.

6. India wants to safeguard its geo-political interests, and USA accepts India as regional power in this region. In these circumstances, we urge USA and Nations of the European Union, and Democracies all over the world, member nations of United Nations to help Tamils gain Tamil Eelam, which can be a Protectorate State under India's hegemony.

The twin objectives to support Tamil Eelam Government in Exile, while pursuing to prosecute Srilankan President Mahinda Rajapakshe for crimes against humanity and genocide, needs the support of all Member Nations of UN. Dravida Peravai, a political party of Indian Tamils shares with you its views to generate awareness and also initiate a global debate on how to resolve the Tamil Eelam conflict. Mere lip services for equal rights within Srilanka will not resolve anything, as day be day world comes to know by the adamancy shown by Srilanka to starve Tamils to death during war, to keep Tamils in concentration camps in post war phase, to have kept international media in war to hide its chemical weaponry or brutality and now too to keep them at bay to erase all traces of evidences amount the large scale massacre of Tamils.

With Regards
Yours fraternally
N.Nandhivarman
General Secretary
Dravida Peravai
India

www.dravidaperavai.org.in

TAMILNADU:POWERAT PEOPLE'S COST POLLUTING ITS COAST

N.Nandhivarman General Secretary Dravida Peravai
53-B Calve Subburayar Street, Puducherry 605001, India

PLUNDERING EAST COAST ROAD ENVIRONMENT : 2007

The need for power should not be met at the cost of plundering our environment in East Coast Road. During the visit of Union Power Minister Shusil Kumar Shinde it was announced that 2 power plants would be set up closer to East Coast Road. Immediately Dravida Peravai sent a detailed memorandum to the Union Minister for Power. Later Dr.S.Ramdass, founder of PMK protested. Thereafter the Tamil Nadu Power Minister Arcot N.Veerassamy had gone on record that Cheyyur Thermal power plant will be dropped but Marakanam project will take off. In this background to awaken the Union Government to evolve a Power Policy keeping in mind of global initiatives in renewable energy quest, Dravida Peravai memorandum dated 10 th September 2007 is given below in verbatim.

Our objections to the 2 proposed Mega Thermal Power Projects off East Coast Road

During your recent visit you had announced that the Union Government will be sending an official team to Tamilnadu to study the possibility of setting up one more ultra mega power project, as reported in the media. Though we agree on the need to enhance our

power capacity it should not be at the cost of great human sufferings uprooting people practicing traditional professions practiced beyond 2000 years. In your interview you had mentioned that Tamilnadu Power Minister Thiru.Arcot N.Veerasingam had suggested Marakanam for setting up of 4000 MW capacity ultra mega power project. The Tamilnadu Power Minister had stated that Center had already finalized Cheyyur as the site of one mega power project. We are here opposing the 2-mega power projects and our views are submitted for your perusal.

An attempt was made by National Thermal Power Corporation in 1999 to set up a power plant in Cheyyur when Thiru.Rangarajan Kumaramangalam was Union Minister of Power. The Hindu, a national daily with concern for people alerted people and rulers on Sunday March 21, 1999 issue in a front page story by Thiru.Mukund Padmanabhan under the heading: Proposed Power Plant will be in a Lagoon. "The 3000 acres to be made available to NPTC in five villages in the Cheyyur area lie in low lying area into which there is copious flow of rainwater from the surrounding uplands and a little seawater ingress. The picturesque water body which attracts a large number of birds and is used for fishing acts as storm water run off for an estimated 42 villages in Cheyyur area" wrote Thiru Mukund Padmanabhan a senior journalist in The Hindu.

Dravida Peravai heeded to the warning signals unleashed by Thiru.Mukund Padmanabhan and wrote to the Indian Prime Minister Thiru.Atal Bihari Vajpayee on April 2 of 1999.Dravida Peravai having been admitted as associate party of Samata party and which remained a special invitee to its National Executive ever since 1997 December, had the moral support of Comrade George Fernandes. Hence our memorandum did in fact act as an eye opener. In our

memorandum dated April 2 of 1999, we had urged upon the Union Government to adopt the internationally practiced precautionary principle in preventing pollution.” The term precautionary principle was raised by the German delegation at first North Sea Conference in 1984 when faced with the problem of dealing with one of the world’s most contaminated seas. Since then the approach had been adopted by a number of regulatory regimes including Oslo and Paris Commissions (1989), The UNEP Governing Council (1989), Nordic Council (1989), The Bergen Declaration (1990), The London Convention (1991), The Bamako Convention (1991) The Barcelona Convention (1991) and The UNEP Rio UNCED Declaration (1992).

On September 8, 2007-Asia-Pacific leaders agreed and adopted a "long-term aspiration goal" to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in the region in support of the U.N global efforts, announced Australian Prime Minister John Howard. Under the Sydney Declaration on Climate Change, Energy Security and Clean Development, the goals are to reduce energy intensity by at least 25 percent by 2030 from the 2005 level, and to increase forest cover in the region by at least 20 million hectares of all types of forests by 2020. The non-binding numerical targets indicate that APEC leaders wish to throw their political muscle behind an international push to avert the worst consequences of a warming planet. This is the first year that leaders from the 21 APEC member economies have included climate change discussions in their annual summit.

While other countries follow precautionary principle in India we neither have the intention nor the political will to arrest pollution of our seas, rivers and water bodies. While Salman Khan’s are arrested for single killings, in Cheyyur and Marakanam all the migratory

birds to these water bodies have to lose their natural habitat and the offenders will go scot-free.

LET US HAVE A LOOK AT THE PROBLEMS FACED BY OTHER COUNTRIES THAT HAVE OPTED FOR THERMAL POWER PLANTS:

Quoting China Daily news [Sept 9-2007] “ China’s environmental watchdog warned in Beijing that booming thermal power plants may worsen China’s acid rain pollution if their sulfur dioxide emission is not well controlled. Pan Yue, vice-director of the State Environmental Protection Administration (SEPA), made the remark when reporting to the press the crackdown against the Guiyang thermal power plant in the southwestern province of Guizhou, which had put the newly built power set into use without the desulphurization equipment. “Thermal power plants discharge a large proportion of the country’s total sulfur dioxide emission. If their emissions are not well controlled, the acid rain pollution will probably worsen,” Pan said. Although China’s power production and generation capacity reached the second place of the world by the end of 2003, they still cannot satisfy the soaring economy’s appetite for energy. Reportedly China will suffer from severe power shortage this summer. There are already 24 provinces and municipalities, which set limits on industrial and civil use of electricity. Thermal power plants, accounting for 74 percent of total power supply, spring up to fill the gap.

Exhaust gas discharged by thermal power plants, which are based on coal burning, contains abundant sulfur dioxide a chemical causing acid rain. Statistics show that China’s annual sulfur dioxide emission, of which thermal power emission makes up 34.6 percent, exceeds the maximum of environmental capacity by 80 percent. The resulting acid rain costs

annual loss of 110 billion Yuan (US\$13.3 billion), two or three percent of the annual Gross Domestic Production. China's laws and regulations state that the desulphurization equipment must be designed, built, and put into operation simultaneously with the power sets. Unfortunately, most investors are too eager for instant profits to stick to the rule, according to Pan. SEPA updated the environmental standards for thermal power plants in March, which tightens their sulfur dioxide emission. SEPA also demands all plants install an exhaust gas monitoring system, which could be connected to SEPA's central server. To reduce the thermal power sulfur dioxide emission to 7.84 billion tons in 2020, 80 percent of thermal power plants have to set up the desulphurization equipment before 2005. Besides, SEPA will enforce economic policies including implementing an emission licensing system, add desulphurization cost to the power price and raise the sulfur dioxide emission fee.

CHINA FACES A PROBLEM AND IT HAS ACTED TO CONTAIN POLLUTION DO WE IN INDIA, OR DO OUR COMMUNIST COMRADES DO NECESSARY HOMEWORK TO OPPOSE THERMAL POWER PLANTS? After all China shows the way and it is not America, hence they need not feel embarrassed to oppose thermal power plants and the pollution unleashed by such plants. In 1997 the E.U.-15 member states set themselves the task of doubling Europe's renewable energy sources from 6 percent to 12 percent by 2010. A decade later, even though the contribution from renewable sources had increased in absolute terms by 55 percent, the E.U.'s new Renewable Energy Roadmap admitted that not only was 12 percent unfeasible, but a figure well below 10 percent was more realistic. By January 2007, the original E.U.-15 member states (the E.U. had expanded to 27 states by then) had actually achieved a figure of only 6.4 percent from renewable sources.

So when the E.U. summit in March 2007 upped the renewable energy sources target to 20 percent by 2020, its acknowledgment that the target would prove “challenging” was viewed by most energy insiders as something of a gross understatement. The Roadmap stated that Europe’s renewable share was growing too slowly. To speed things up, a plan was devised for the main sectors: electricity bio-fuels for transport, and heating and cooling. The Roadmap sees electricity as the key sector for producing genuine progress. It argues that if all of the 27 E.U. member states made their national quotas on renewable for 2010 in this sector, the proportion of electricity consumption from renewable would be 21 percent. But only nine E.U. member states – Denmark, Germany, Finland, Hungary, Ireland, Luxembourg, Spain, Sweden, and the Netherlands – are in fact on track. The reality is that unless the present trends change, the E.U. will achieve a target approaching at best 19 percent.

IN INDIA: “In Jharkhand about 9,000 tones of fly ash is being generated everyday from the coal based thermal power plants with present generation of about 1500 MW. Fortunately, the state is utilizing over fifty percent of the fly ash through environmentally sound techniques such as abandoned mine reclamation, Cement Manufacturing, Brick manufacturing etc. Damodar valley Corporation is reclaiming Central Coalfield Limited (CCL) abandoned mine using its pond ash, Tata Power at Jhamshedpur is feeding all its fly ash to Lafarge Cement, ACC and other cement plants. Jharkhand State Pollution Control Board has taken a lead in the utilization of fly ash in the State with the co-operation of Thermal Power Plants, Mining Industries, Cement Industries, Brick manufacture etc”

If in 1500 MW Thermal power plant 9000 tones of fly ash is generated in Jharkand as per Jharkand Pollution Control Board’s statistics, In Cheyyur 4000 MW mega power plant will generate 36,000 tones of fly ash polluting the entire ECR road, about which Deepa

H.Ramakrishnan of The Hindu wrote as The Road Beckons [Metro plus Sept 8 of 2007]. The Road Stinks may be her article if she travels next year in same ECR Road. The Swedish Energy System: Role Model for India Electricity production in Sweden is basically fossil-free. Approximately half of the electricity production comes from hydropower and the remainder is provided by nuclear power. Swedish scientists were among the first to discover the effects of acid rain; this was a focal point in the first UN Environmental Conference in Stockholm in 1972, twenty years before the following conference in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. Swedish industry was also among early world pioneers in demonstrating the first technological solutions for flue gas desulphurization. We live in a world which is known now as global village. If we fail to follow the footsteps of pioneers and opt for outdated un-clean technologies, it is a national shame to the genius of India. Our Planning Commission will have hundreds of committee reports arguing all good things on earth but all remain in paper and only lip service is rendered. Sweden shows the way and our planners will have all blueprints for future ready in their shelves but our Ministers opt for unclean technologies, may be because of other considerations

DROP CHEYYUR –MARAKANAM THERMAL POWER PROJECTS

Dravida Peravai urges the Government of India to have a rethink on starting many more thermal power plants, and we oppose the proposed Cheyyur and Marakanam power projects on the following grounds. • The formal classification in the land registry-adangal records declare that the 2888.06 acres meant for the project is an area comprising salt puramboke and grazing land. In reality it is a waterbody. Survey number 352 at Mudaliarkuppam [274.12 acres] and Survey number 359[103.32 acres] under Panaiyur

villages where National Thermal Power Corporation plans to have the fly ash disposal plant and main site are in fact are water bodies. We are aware of how fly ash is disposed in Ennore Thermal Power Plant and how Pulicut Lake has become dead lake with pollution and waste dumping. Similar fate will befall Kaluveli Tank. • National Thermal Power Corporation in 1999 short listed 4 sites Kovalam near Chennai, Mahabalipuram, Cheyyur and a site beyond Cuddalore. Two days ago a private company which was planning to set up a Power Project near Cuddalore had to face the people's anger when the District Collector of Cuddalore convened a consultative meeting. Police lathi charged and arrested many villagers of Thiagavalli near Cuddalore in September 2007. Tamil Nadu electricity Minister Arcot Veerasamy is uprooting people when their traditional dwellings in order to fill his personal overflowing coffers, people have started to gossip about the fortunes made. Kovalam is a Beach, Mahabalipuram a tourist spot of historical antiquity. Cheyyur where NPTC took the first step, they were halted by our agitations. Now Cheyyur has become once again the target of evil eyes which want to spoil the natural beauty of our coast. Marakanam, an ancient Port known then as Eyilpattinam is the centre of salt pans providing livelihood for thousands for centuries.

Dravida Peravai does not see any valid argument for shifting the focus from tourism promotion exploiting the nature's bounty of our beaches to thermal power generation and converting water bodies as dumping grounds of waste and polluting the air apart from driving salt pan workers out of jobs. • The argument advanced by Tamil Nadu Electricity Minister to bring coal from Orissa by ships, Marakanam harbour will be of use, is just wishful thinking. Apart from 12 major ports which are governed by Major Port Trusts Act, none of the 138 minor or intermediary ports under the

control of various governments are functioning ports. Neither they are economical, viable, profitable for public utility. All minor ports with the exception of minor ports under Gujarat Maritime Board remain monuments of wasteful expenditure. On the way to Chennai in ECR Road we can see Cyclone Shelters in depilated conditions, which are another monument of wasteful expenditure. There had been no plan on how to use these shelters apart from cyclone times; hence they remain without maintenance and use. To develop Marakanam as Port just to bring coal will also meet the same fate. All moneys pumped into development of minor ports by various state governments have led to criminal and wasteful expenditure. This is because the Union Government has no national policy to reduce the traffic congestion in our surface transport.

We have the longest coast in east and west of our peninsula. If only the Union Government had heeded to various memorandums/press statements/port trust minutes, wherein Dravida Peravai had mentioned and argued the need to create a National Seaway Authority and frame policies for cargo/passenger ferries interconnecting these minor ports, travel in roads would be eased in congestion. Only on the event of shifting focus from lorry and rail cargo carrying to carrying cargo by ships and only when inducing people to travel by ships with well connected chain between all minor ports of the country, then ventures like developing Marakanam Port will become profitable. Focus on utilizing our ports for people's usage is missing but focus is on wasting money on port development. Can Government of India order a study on the investments made by various State Governments in the name of developing minor ports and the yields from such investments? If such a probe is made you can find all moneys have created assets which yield nothing draining the public exchequer. • We understand that there prevails a

policy wherein the power generating project need not be situated in states where power is consumed but states can set up power projects near coal mines and the power can be routed through the national grid to reach the beneficiary state. Puducherry Government on August 15 th media release had announced about a coal block allotted in Orissa. We presume Puducherry Government will put up the project in Orissa as per this new policy of the Center. Our question is while Puducherry can set precedent why should not Tamilnadu follow that instead of ferrying coal from Orissa to Marakanam and setting up power projects off ECR road which was meant to promote tourism and not pollution?

Dravida Peravai has reservations about Puducherry Government not selecting big industrial houses in India or going for cleaner technologies in alliance with multinationals but opting for Dr. Jagathratchagan's enterprise which has no expertise in power sector as its partner in the Rs7500 crore mega power projects, and we will come out in detail soon on this. Throwing dalits and fishermen out of their traditional homes and professions in Marakanam_Cheyyur belt by mega projects which have become outmoded in western countries, is a crime against fellow human beings, the citizens of India, who are the real masters as per the lexicon of democracy.

N. Nandhivarman General Secretary Dravida Peravai

FIGHT AGAINST POOMPUHAR POWER PROJECT :2009

The Collector of Nagapattinam District

23.09.2009

Tamilnadu

Respected Collector

Subject: Historical and Environmental reasons cited to oppose the proposed Thermal Power plant regarding

We appreciate the District Collector of Nagapattinam for calling for this public enquiry. Our views will be in Tamil's historical interest and the traditional rights of indigenous communities like fishermen and farmers of Tamilnadu.

Pichavaram to Kodikarai is highly important area for unearthing our civilization since ancient harbours existed in this belt with hidden heritage at sea. It needs to be subjected to researches highly important for marine archaeology and coastal archaeology.

Already 250 km out of 1076 km of Tamilnadu coast is without fishermen. The need for preserving the catamaran people and their traditional knowledge is important. Hence all development projects must aim at protecting indigenous communities like fishermen and farmers and should not uproot them from where for centuries they made a livelihood. In fact more assistance to these communities with new scientific equipments would enable them to earn more foreign exchange to our country's coffers than offering soaps at the cost of public exchequer to projects of plunder. Generating alternative renewable energy like ocean

thermal energy, ocean tidal energy will be more helpful. Developed countries have bid adieu to thermal power. Coal bearing ships and conveyer arrangement will be hazard for the coastal area and will stimulate global warming through carbon discharge. The waste generated from plant will create pollution at sea. Thoothukudi lost its pearl culture of the past cultural heritage by the non ocean oriented people. Bearing these in mind we urge the Government of Tamilnadu to stall all thermal power projects coming up in Nagapattinam District, more particularly the one near Poompuhar.

▼ We all are aware that apart from the Indus Valley excavations, equally important cities of our ancient civilization could not so far be unearthed in South India due to our own lethargy. We have stone inscriptions, copper plates and burial pots and this is not sufficient to establish the greatness of our past. Our literary evidences on submergence of ancient Tamil land illuminate us about our past but western scholars look for more scientific proof. Hence there is a need for undersea-archaeological search to find out our roots. No other ethnic group of Earth possesses so much literary evidences but remains lazy to go to the submerged cities of their ancient land. Though we have a place named as Poompuhar where Dr.Kalaingar M.Karunanithi during his rule erected monuments to recapture the past, it could only serve as tourist spot and could not satiate a researcher's quest to unravel a hidden city of our ancient civilization beneath the bowels of our sea in Bay of Bengal. We all know about the changes that continuously occur and the ancient Port City of Chozha Empire is not the Poompuhar of our times, but it is within the sea nearer or far to current Poompuhar's coast.

▼ Graham Hancock wrote many books out of which *Underworld: The Mysterious Origins of Civilization* by Crown Publishers, New York 2002 containing 760 pages ISBN 1400046122 hardback priced \$ 27.50 is of relevance to our Poompuhar. He undertook marine archaeology in 2002 and brought out as reported in Dinamani that a city with 9500 year old civilization remains hidden off coast of Poompuhar. [Dinamani news clipping enclosed] His earlier books *Fingerprints of the Gods* and *Heaven's Mirror* had mentioned about his findings. But in this latest book, he lays out evidence "based on modern scientific research, comparative mythology, religious and spiritual observances, first hand diving exploration of underwater megalithic structures and ancient maps to demonstrate the likelihood that a technically advanced civilization unrecognized by modern science capable of navigating the globe and with a profound understanding of architecture and building existed and was washed out by global flooding".

▼ Inundation maps created by Dr. Glen Milne of Durham University shows vast tracts of mostly coastal land which were submerged by three waves of cataclysmic flooding between 17,000 and 8000 years ago. Nearly 5 percent of Earth's surface or 25 million square kilometers of land stands submerged. These maps and other sources made Graham Hancock to set his foot in Tamilnadu. Graham Hancock used scuba diving and found many artifacts and evidences roughly 2000 pieces which he displayed in Bangalore exhibition, as per media reports of the day. Graham Hancock had updated Tamil history to 9500 years old.

▼ We like parrots were repeating 2000 years as time limit of our ancient civilization, and when Graham Hancock updated Tamil history with fresh facts, the Government of Tamilnadu which is going to celebrate World Tamil Conference, must take pains to employ

more scuba divers and marine archaeologists to find out about our Kaveripoompattinam. We should honour Graham Hancock in that Conference.

▼The coast or sea near Poompuhar should not be plundered and kept free from industrialization if our ancient glory brought out powerfully by Dr.Kalaignar had to be proven scientifically. Mr. Graham Hancock investigated about our “Kumari Kandam, an anti-diluvia civilization said to have existed thousands of years ago around South India. It is believed to have been a greater center of learning with magnificent academies which may have left a legacy of cartographic and astronomical knowledge which exists today in the ancient Indian texts. Interestingly the author spoke to local fishermen who described often diving to free their nets caught on underwater temples and columns, pyramidal pagodas and buildings with doorways”.

▼Coinciding to our Poompuhar, in Gulf of Cambay to city which is 7500 years old was found but media highlighted that and did not do justice to Poompuhar’s findings. If a scientist within few weeks with the help of National Institute of Oceanography could bring out so many artifacts, is it not the duty of Tamilnadu Chief Minister Dr.Kalaignar M.Karunanithi who instilled in our hearts the greatness of Poompuhar by his powerful pen to employ all scientists, marine archaeologists, scuba divers, and constitute a multi disciplinary State-Sponsored Task Force under Anna University and Tamil University of Thanjavur to explore our exclusive economic zone and our territorial waters in Bay of Bengal at least to begin with to pick up the thread from where Mr. Graham Hancock left in 2002.

▼▼ Dravida Peravai hence appeals to the District Collector of Nagapattinam in the public hearing on

Public Hearing on the proposed 2x500 MW Coal Based Power Plant by M/s. PEL Power Ltd to stop this power project. Allowing such plants to be set up here with whatever technology will disrupt the scientific and historical research that is needed to unearth our past beneath Bay of Bengal off Poompuhar. We are enclosing a map which shows how much land near our coast had been submerged.

This is an indication of how much more land would have been submerged for centuries running into thousands of years back. My article Save the Coast in New Indian Express is enclosed. Letting out effluents or dumping waste into rivers and seas had been going on unabated though technically they will promise to use clean technology and blinded by that promise our environmental agencies will give them clearance. First of all we should bear in mind what all technology we get is outmoded and unwanted in developed countries, hence such technologies are dumped on developing countries like India. If we are really a super power we should follow the Swedish precedent to completely abandon thermal power projects to save its environment. Here it is not only to save our environment but also to prove to the world we are an ancient civilization, we need to keep Poompuhar coast and seas close to Poompuhar free from industrial garbage and litter.

▼Coal based power projects are being set up in Tamilnadu coast. There seems to be a policy which permits setting up of power plants near coal mines, so that through National Power grid equivalent quantum of power can reach the power seeking State. Under this policy a current Union Minister of State before he came to power got a Coal Block allotted in Orissa. In this project of a Tamilnadu politician Puducherry Government's PIPDIC is a partner. This joint venture plans to set up power project in Orissa to generate

power and pass on to the grid so that Puducherry Government will get power without polluting the Union Territory of Puducherry. If a tiny state like Puducherry could follow this route, what compulsion prevails for Tamilnadu to bring coal all the way by ships to set up a power plant in the Nagapattinam coast that too near ancient Port city of Poompuhar?

▼ There seems to be a race to set up more and more ports without planning what products could be brought in or exported from these ports. The Former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee when he visited Kanyakumari announced a scheme called Sagar Mala, which means Garland of the Seas. In fact I mooted the suggestion to create a National Seaway on the lines of National Highways to introduce ship connectivity to all the 138 minor or intermediary ports to bring inland cargo that was coming by Lorries and to ferry passengers. This suggestion through Planning Commission reached then Prime Minister who wanted to make use of existing infrastructure to connect all ports in Indian coast. At that time only Gujarat particularly Gujarat Maritime Board was making good use of its minor ports.

Tamilnadu which launched a Poompuhar Shipping Corporation under DMK rule lost the race by making its vessels ferry coal and did not think of diverting cargo and passengers from road use to sea lanes. Roads could be re-laid year by year but traffic congestion, loss of lives, making more and more lanes, land acquisition etc could be avoided if our existing ports could be connected under the Sagar mala scheme of Vajpayee. Instead opening new ports with no cargo to handle breeds even sand smuggling to Maldives which was caught red handed by you, the Hon'ble Collector. Hence we Dravida Peravai, a splinter of DMK but with great regard for Dr.Kalaingar in view of personal friendship undiminished by parting

of ways, urge Nagapattinam to accord to priority to unearth our ancient city of Kaveripoompattinam and keep this coast free from polluting industrialization.

▼Interestingly the National Institute of Oceanography , Chennai had announced that its scientists in collaboration with Experimental Design Bureau of Oceanological Engineering of the Russian Academy of Sciences had developed a vehicle named ROSUB 6000 capable of exploring the ocean up to a depth of 6 kilometers and can be remotely operated. Though we have to go further deep not only off the coast of Poompuhar but also even beyond our exclusive economic zone, this vehicle could be used to gather further evidences on our submerged Port City of Poompuhar.

▼International Seabed Authority has allocated 150,000 square kilometers of seabed in the Indian Ocean to India for exploration of cobalt, manganese, nickel and copper which are in the form of polymetallic nodules. Well Government of India will be happily exploring Indian Ocean for minerals and metals but let Government of Tamilnadu explore Indian Ocean to discover the lost continent of Kumari and the Port Cities of Chera, Chozha and Pandyas, including the ancient capitals of Thonmadurai and Kavadapuram which our literature speaks.

With Regards
Yours sincerely

N.Nandhivarman
General Secretary Dravida Peravai

PUBLIC HEARING ON KARAIPIDAGAIPOWER PROJECT

The Collector of Nagapattinam District

30.10.2K9

Officials of Tamilnadu Pollution Control Board.

Respected Representatives of the Government of
Tamilnadu

On the eve of the public hearing on the proposed 1820 MW Coal Based Power Plant by M/s. Tridem Port and Power Co. Ltd., & 150 MW Coal Based Power Plant by M/s. Nagapattinam Energy Pvt. Ltd, we are submitting our views to oppose the coal based thermal power plants.

We would like to bring to your notice that within Union Cabinet there is difference of opinion which came to public light after The Hindu, a daily carried out the following news:

▼ The Hindu, English daily reported on July 5th of 2009 that Environment and Forest Minister Jairam Ramesh has written to Power Minister Sushil Kumar Shinde seeking to put an end to laying of foundation stones for projects without proper and formal clearances and advising all state power PSUs like National Thermal Power Corporation, National Hydro Power Corporation , Sutlej Jal Vidyut Nigam and North Eastern Electric Power Corporation to show greater sensitivity to environmental concerns at the highest level.

Under such situation we would urge the Nagapattinam District Administration and Tamil nadu

Government to have a re-think on all coal based thermal power projects.

▼ Recent news from our neighbor China as reported in China Daily dated October 28 th of 2009 states that Chinese Environment ministry had suspended or rejected 29 applications of new construction in petrochemical, steel-making and electricity-generating industries with a total investment of 146.7 billion yuan (US\$21.5 billion). Chinese government has promised that its economic stimulus plan would not compromise anti-pollution efforts and policies would not be loosened to allow more projects to pass environmental examinations. Environmental Protection Minister Zhou Shengxian said the government would abide by strict environmental standards when evaluating new projects.

Unfortunately Tamilnadu is not observing strict environmental standards. It craves for power at all costs.

► Tamilnadu has 4 major thermal power plants producing 2970 MW of power. The Hindu, daily dated 6 th February 2009 carries a confession by the Chairman of Tamilnadu Pollution Control Board. Mr.R.Balakrishnan admits that thermal power plants in coastal areas of the state are not meeting pollution control standards. If truth could come out of Chairman's mouth, our voices in protesting power plants stands justified by international, national and regional yardsticks.

► Thermal Power Plant in Tuticurin, a joint venture between Neyveli Lignite Corporation 89% and Tamilnadu Electricity Board with 11% stake is a 4000 crore project aiming to generate 1000 MW. Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited and Tamilnadu Electricity

Board have joined together to start 1600 MW power project at a cost of Rs.8700 crore in Tuticurin District.

The coal from Neyveli has to be carried by congested roads to Tuticurion. It can be argued that it goes within our state from one part to other. Also by sea route coal may get transported. One can say within the source of raw material i.e. our state power project comes up.

Even this could be assimilated for argument sake but not bringing 4.6 million tons of coal annually from Orissa to Ennore port in order to enable Tamilnadu Energy Company, a joint venture between National Thermal Power Corporation and Tamilnadu Electricity Board to generate 1000 MW at Vallur in Tiruvallore District of Tamilnadu. The cost is 4500 crores.

■ There is a national policy to set up power plants near mine heads, where coal is mined. Under such policy instead of bringing coal from Orissa to Ennore, Tamilnadu could have planned to set up power plant in Orissa and pass on power to national grid and then draw equal quantum here through national grid. By this way Tamilnadu could have had power as well as avoided unnecessary construction of new harbors and unnecessary pollution of our soil.

Mind boggling statistics reveals that Ashok Leyland Project, First Corp Petrochem project, UTL Utility Systems project, Essar Power, GMR Power, Trichy Power Project and Coal and Oil Company of Dubai's project which have planned to produce 1000 MW power each could be avoided if the policy to set power projects at mine head is observed. After all even if power projects are set up same Orissa and Bihar labour have to be brought to work here, since all industries of Tamilnadu and Puducherry uniformly follow a policy to engage only Orissa and Bihar labour

and never to disturb local labour from watching free television and eating Rs 1 per kg rice given by noble leader Dr.Kalaignar.

Empee Power and Infrastructure Ltd aim generation of 1200 MW. A company from Spain aims 2000 MW. Then comes the 4000 MW power project by National Thermal Power Corporation near Thirukuvalai, Chief Minister Dr.Kalaignar's birth place. Central University coming in his home district is welcome but not polluting industries. The rice bowl of Tamilnadu should have agro-based industries and should promote agriculture and fisheries, the traditional people pursuing these professions for centuries or millennium. Similarly 2000 MW power project near Cheyyur also will erase the ecology of Kaluveli tank; a place of haven for migratory birds, and the tourism potential of ECR road will have to be wiped out to dump fly ash everywhere, congesting roads with coal transport.

We urge the Tamilnadu Government to re-think its energy policy. The Memorandum of Understanding signed with Tri-Sakthi Energy P Ltd for 525 MW of power. India Power project, SPIC Energy Private Limited, Chennai Power Company etc for 1000 MW each and Cuddalore Thermal Power Project to generate 1320 MW too are coal based. Reliance plans 3000 MW power project. All these projects are coal based environmental hazards.

☀☀▶ Dravida Peravai lauds only 2 initiatives of Tamil Nadu Power Minister. The Memorandum of Understanding signed with an American firm for generating sea solar power is welcome. The Project that comes in Udangudi of Tuticurin District to generate 100 MW of Solar Thermal Power is welcome. As on January 31st of 2009 out of total national production of 9756 MW of wind energy Tamilnadu

produces 42 percent and this is a good development. We whole heartedly welcome these solar, wind, and ocean thermal power projects. But we oppose the Coal based Thermal Power projects that are coming up in Nagapattinam Districts, for which this public enquiry is called for.

► National Thermal Power Corporation of India is pumping 500 million US dollars in a joint venture with Ceylon Electricity Board to set up a power project at Sampur in Srilanka. India that could not ensure safety sail for Indian fishermen in Bay of Bengal more particularly in Gulf of Mannar and Pak Straits is going to ferry coal to Srilanka from Orissa. From Anuradhapura in Srilanka to Thalaimannar of Tamilnadu both India and Srilanka had planned under sea link to transmit power at a cost of Rs 2200 crore. India that for 30 years had not linked its rivers to help Indian farmers, but now wants to link Srilanka and Tamilnadu by under sea link to bring power to boost the growth of all polluting industries in Tamil soil. If India had annexed Tamil areas of Srilanka and merged North and East Districts of Srilanka with Tamilnadu and created a Tamilnadu State within Indian Union on both sides of Pak Straits, then such link between Tamil states may be welcomed but not the current project.

► Dravida Peravai mooted an idea when the undersigned was Trustee in Tuticurin Port Trust, and took up with Planning Commission and through then Defence Minister Comrade George Fernandes apprised then Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee on the need to create a National Seaway Authority like National Highways. Every state government has minor and intermediary ports under its control but they are idle monuments with no revenue generation with the exception of Gujarat's minor ports. Hence to interlink these 138 minor and intermediary ports for passenger

and cargo traffic, creation of such authority is must, we suggested. Accepting that during his visit to Kanyakumari, then Prime Minister announced Sagar Mala scheme for this purpose, which is yet to take off. We now also urge Indian Government and Tamilnadu Government to go for reviving that idea, to use existing harbors for passenger and cargo traffic, thereby creating jobs for educated fishermen coming out of maritime university. It will ease traffic congestion in roads. Unfortunately the regular hidden incomes through frequent laying of roads will be the only loss to the officials and political bosses. Instead of using Sagar mala scheme to purposefully use existing harbours there seems to be a craze to allow harbours under private only to ferry coal to coal based power plants. This ridiculous policy causes the new creation of Ports in Nagapattinam District which we oppose.

▼Tamilnadu must give clearance to biomass power plants. Times of India dated 29 th October 2009 states that 9 companies have approached Tamilnadu Energy Development Agency for permissions to start biomass power plants. Tamilnadu Electricity Board must give clearance for these 9 companies to generate 487 MW of power. The speed with which clearances came for coal based power projects is lacking here, that too for small quantum of power, which can be termed as tokenism too TN Government lacks political will. The biomass energy produced currently is 111 MW writes Vivek Narayanan in Times of India. Hence according clearances for clean energy is must in days when we sing lullabies on climate change.

▼If India has to reduce its carbon emissions; it would mean a major reorientation of her energy strategy, especially if that warranted a shift from its current coal-based to an oil and gas based energy system. Murthy, Panda and Parikh (2000) examined the consequences of alternative CO2 emission reduction

strategies on economic development and, in particular, the implications for the poor by empirically implementing an economy-wide model across India over a 35-year time horizon. A multi-sectoral, inter-temporal model is used for this purpose. The model has specific technological alternatives and endogenous income distribution with dynamic behavior; it covers the whole economy in an integrated top-down-bottom-up model. Such alternative thinking must dawn on Tamilnadu Government.

▼International Seabed Authority under the auspices of United Nations has earmarked 1,50,000 square kilometers of sea bed in Indian Ocean for mining of cobalt, nickel, copper etc. We are not aware whether any such area is earmarked in Bay of Bengal. If the pursuit to mine sea-bed begins apart from natural gas to minerals, the traditional living sources of fishermen will be totally robbed from them. Even after Exclusive Economic Zones have been earmarked under International Law of Seas by United Nations, the fishermen of India particularly Tamil fishermen could not tap the fish wealth in their countries exclusive zones. Foreign fishing vessels creep in, sneak in, and poach in our zones, and fishermen with catamarans cannot compete. Fish wealth is near their eyes yet their country allows sharks from other nations to rob that instead of arming Indian fishermen with finances and schemes to make a better livelihood. The policy to uproot people from their traditional professions is suicidal, cynical, unethical and anti-national. Yet hand in glove with corporate world that greases their palms for petty gains and better lives today, our political masters are ruining traditional fishermen and agriculturalists depriving them a decent livelihood, thus earning a historical curse on them for their historical blunder.

▼ In precious stone rich Jharkand and Orissa, mining of this wealth which remained in the bowels of earth over which indigenous tribal peoples lived for millions of years is bartered to corporate world. Dravida Peravai had incorporated in its party manifesto that if a dam is constructed or project is set up uprooting people, such uprooted people and all villagers over which these projects come up must be made share holders in the projects that come up. Share the profits with the displaced people, compensate permanently elevating the lives of the deprived than throwing paltry pittance to political class, companies must be told. This includes the harbour and power project that comes up in Nagapattinam District. If a power project comes in Chief Ministers home village, all its villagers must be made share holders in that projects, all the jobs must be given to every educated youth forbidding total hiring of outsiders, and if talent is needed it should be only from Tamilnadu. No contracts labour system, because Chief Minister's home village must emulate a national model for development. Let Tamilnadu plan projects that will not aggravate our climate change. Let Tamilnadu go for clean technologies to generate power like Sweden. If our Chief Minister cannot make Tamilnadu a Sweden in energy, a cleaner Singapore in environment, then no one else in India can envisage and transform people's lives.

With Regards
Yours fraternally
N.Nandhivarman
General Secretary Dravida Peravai

COLONIZATION- DECOLONIZATION AND RECOLONIZATION

N.Nandhivarman

General Secretary Dravida Peravai

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Introduction: History is still shrouded in mystery. Selectively people cling to certain cliché and try to define history as they conceive it. The mindset of the general mass is tuned to listen to one-sided views that put a lid on the truth. Parrots repeat what is taught, and people conditioned to colonial reflexes, sing lullabies for their colonial masters. It is true all humans and rulers are not bad, but to differentiate between bad and good rule, a true historian has a unique role to play. We live in an era of information technology transforming towards nano-technology era. This era of global village brings to us many painful stories of the past, when as bonded labors and slaves our people faced the wrath of colonialists.

Indian born Kumud Merani had produced a documentary titled *Girmit Ki kahani* in Hindi and *Sweet Sorrow* in English on the injustices meted out to Indian labourers who were duped and sent to Fiji between 1879 and 1916. This documentary had won

the Asia Pacific Broadcasting Union Award in the News and Current Affairs category for the year 2004. Similar travails of Pondicherrians taken to French colonies are yet to be compiled from archival materials. These pages need not be kept in dark. What has happened has happened. We have no prerogative to portray what we want to, instead of telling what really happened. India obtained freedom at midnight, but Pondicherry at one fine dawn. Yet there is no comparative study on Pondicherry's decolonization in comparison with other French colonies. Nor there exists a comparative study incorporating Pondicherry's freedom struggle with other freedom movements in former French colonies. There is need for India centric comparative study on British, Portuguese and French colonialism. These remarks are aimed at scholars and Institutions of Pondicherry intending to stimulate and activate them to rectify these lapses in our historical thought. Let us think about our past, present with dreams for future.

Decolonization Drive of 20 th Century:

Decolonization became the societal goal of the peoples under colonial regimes aspiring to achieve self-determination. It reflected in the United Nations General Assembly's proclamation on 14 December 1960 of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples - resolution 1514 (XV). The Declaration states that "the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the United Nations Charter, and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and cooperation, and that steps should be taken to transfer, unconditionally, all powers to the Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories so that they might enjoy complete freedom and independence".

Also in 1960, the Assembly approved resolution 1541 (XV), defining free association with an independent State, integration into an independent State, or independence as the three legitimate options of full self-government

Liberation of Colonies:

Let us have a look at colonies that attained liberation. A British Colony and Protectorate Togo land united with the Gold Coast in 1957 to form Ghana. French administered Togo land became independent as Togo in 1960. Italy ruled Somaliland joined with British Somaliland protectorate in 1960 to form Somalia. French colony of Cameroon's gained independence as Cameroon in 1960 while British ruled northern territory of Cameroon's joined Nigeria and southern territory with Cameroon in 1961. British administered Tanganyika became independent in 1961. In 1964, Tanganyika and the former protectorate of Zanzibar, which had become independent in 1963, united as a single State under the name of the United Republic of Tanzania. Belgian administered Ruanda-Urundi voted to divide into the two sovereign States of Rwanda and Burundi in 1962. New Zealand ruled Western Samoa became independent as Samoa in 1962. Australia administered Nauru attained independence in 1968. Australian ruled New Guinea united with Papua and became the independent State of Papua New Guinea in 1975. That is how the fresh air of freedom was breathed by various colonies in the previous century. Now let us have a look at the time- table of French colonies on their road to independence.

French Colonies towards liberation:

Indo-China gained Independence as Viet Nam (1945) Laos (1949) and Cambodia (1953). French

Establishments in Oceania & French Guiana, Martinique, Reunion, St.Pierre & Miquelon, Guadeloupe and dependencies underwent change of status in 1947. Morocco in 1956 and French Guinea obtained Independence, as Guinea in 1958. French Sudan became independent Mali in 1960. Ivory Coast after Independence changed the name to Mauritania in 1960. French West Africa gained Independence as Dahomey (now Benin) in 1960. Niger Colony became Niger and then gained Independence as Senegal in 1960. French Somaliland attained Independence as Djibouti in 1977. Madagascar (1960) and Comoros (1975) gained independence. New Hebrides is under Anglo-French Condominium. Tunisia attained independence (1956), Cameroon (1960), Togo (1960), and Vanuatu (1980). Italy Somaliland Trust Territory got Independence as Somalia (joined with British Somaliland) in 1960.

Others: East Timor attained independence in May 2002 and joined the United Nations in September 2002 as Timor Leste. In 1963, the Federation of Malaya became Malaysia, following the admission to the new federation of Singapore, Sabah (North Borneo) and Sarawak. Singapore became independent in 1965. Following the ratification in 1964 of Articles of Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar, the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar was formed and later changed its name to the United Republic of Tanzania.

Colonies of Today: United Nations documents issued in 2002 lists the following areas as ones still considered being without self-rule. That means colonialism is yet to be completely wiped out. In AFRICA Western Sahara is first in that list alphabetically. In ATLANTIC AND CARIBBEAN United Kingdom administers Anguilla, Bermuda, British

Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Falkland Islands (Malvinas), Montserrat, St. Helena, Turks and Caicos Islands whereas United States of America rules United States Virgin Islands. In EUROPE Gibraltar is under the control of United Kingdom. In the PACIFIC AND INDIAN OCEANS American Samoa and Guam are with United States. Pitcairn under United Kingdom and Tokelau remain with New Zealand. Since on 2 December 1986, the United Nations General Assembly determined that New Caledonia was a Non-Self-Governing Territory, we can say that New Caledonia is the only colony under France even in this century.

The Catalyst for Change:Decolonization British style:

The aftermath of Second World War, led to rapid disintegration of the European empires. Colonialism downed its shutters. A salubrious breeze of freedom swept colonialism. Colonies became independent states.

Decolonisation and the British Empire 1775-1997
by Professor of Political Theory in University of Wales D. GEORGE BOYCE analyses the ideas and policies that governed the British experience of decolonization. It shows how the British political tradition, with its emphasis on experience over abstract theory, was integral to the way in which the empire was regarded as being transformed rather than lost. This was a significant aspect of the relatively painless British loss of empire. It places the process of decolonization in its wider context, tracing the twentieth-century domestic and international conditions that hastened decolonization, and, through a close analysis of not only the policy choices but also the language of British imperialism, it throws new light on the British way of managing both the expansion and contraction of

empire. With India's declaration of independence it became apparent that it was only a matter of time before Britain's other colonies demanded their own independence. By 1957 only two of Britain's colonies in Africa had gained their independence they were the Gold Coast and Sudan. The rest were to quickly receive their independence between 1957 and 1964. The characteristics of these independences were the methods with which they carried out by the British. They followed the same plan in each colony, which was to prepare the colony for self-rule by training people for the new positions within government and in other sectors which the British settlers had dominated in. This meant the new independent country would be able to support her. It also meant that the likely hood of a power vacuum would be reduced after the British left, opines a comparative study.

Decolonization French way:

France was another great imperial power who decolonised after the Second World War although her reasons and methods were quite different from Britain. Whereas the British realized the colonies were beginning to become a burden the French believed they had to re-assert their national prestige by keeping control of their colonies. This may explain why the French experience of decolonisation was so different to Britain's. French decolonisation was bloody and bitter whereas Britains was quite peaceful and quite painless. France fought two costly and bloody wars over her colonies. The first of these was in Indo-China, which had been under French rule since the 19th Century. During the Second World War Indo-China was invaded and occupied by the Japanese. Vietminh led by Ho Chi Minh fought a guerrilla war against the Japanese. At the end of the Second World War the French intended to retake control of Indo-

China but before they could the Vietminh declared independence. Fighting broke out in 1946 and continued for eight years before the French suffered a massive defeat at Dien Bien Phu. This was the decisive point of the war with an armistice being signed soon after. France had lost much in the war including 91,000 men and their colony. France's African Empire started to decolonise after the humiliating defeat at Dien Bien Phu as riots spread across the French African states. France realized she could not hold her empire together anymore and begun decolonising. All the French African colonies were granted their independence between 1956 and 1960 with the exception Algeria. Algeria held a unique place within the French Empire as it had been formally integrated into France thus making it not a colony but a part of France itself. An armed rebellion led by the F.L.N. (Front d'Libération National) in 1954 led to bloody civil war in Algeria. In 1958 General de Gaulle was persuaded to come out of retirement to end the conflict in Algeria. Charles De Gaulle realized that France could not win the war and that it would be a major strain on the economy to continue it. He begun talks for independence and he and the F.L.N. leader signed a settlement in 1962.

French dream to colonize Pondicherry:

History of French in India is a monumental work written by Colonel G.B.Malleson, which narrates the events that lead to the founding of Pondicherry in 1674 to the capture of that place in 1761. In the reign of Louis XII, in the year 1503, two ships of the merchants of Rouen took to seas and were never heard thereof. This marks the first French attempt to set foot on Indian soil. Though many had the urge nothing concrete emerged. On June 1 1604 a company was established under Kings letters patent,

granting it exclusive trade for 15 years. This also failed to take of due to faction feuds among the founders. 7 years later Louis XIII tried again in vain to activate the company. During 1615 two merchants sought transfer of the company to them, which was stiffly opposed by the company. Hence as compromise formula the King created a coalition of both sides and conferred on July 2, 1615 letters patent. The next year two ships set to sail to India. Commodore de Nets was in charge of the big vessel and Captain Antoine Beaulieu of the smaller vessel. The Dutch crew in Beaulieu's ship obeying the diktats of their government left the vessel of Beaulieu. And Beaulieu had to dispose the ship and join the vessel of Commodore de Nets. In spite of all such travails the venture was profitable. So the company launched 3 more vessels on trip to India. Mont Morenci with 162 men, 22 guns with 450-ton capacity, L'Esperance with 117 men, 26 guns and 400-ton capacity, L'Hermitage with 30 men, 8 guns and with 75-ton capacity, were placed under Beaulieu's chief command. In that trip the Dutch sank L'Hermitage. Next 20 years no further efforts to reach east was undertaken. In 1642 a new company La Compagnie des Indes with Richelieu was launched but before ships could set to sail he passed away. A resting place mid way to Indes became their passion. The first French vessel to Madagascar reached its shores in summer of 1642. The local people resisted French settlers. The company had to incur heavy losses in combating local people and ultimately gave up its claims to Madagascar in 1672. In 1664 French Compagnie des Indes with a capital of 15,000,000 livres was formed. A charter by the Government granted the company exclusive rights for 50 years to trade with India with total exemption from taxation. Government also agreed to reimburse all losses if any. They first went for Madagascar. On March 7, 1665 with four ships and 520 men. They changed its name to Isle Dauphin. Earlier Portuguese had called it Saint

Lawrence. The local revolt against French occupation continued and culminated in the fierce massacre of almost all within the walls of Fort Dauphine. These abortive attempts gradually led to French setting foot on Indian soil and making it a colony of France.

Reason for India becoming a destination:

Why do all colonialists set their eye on India? It is needless here to narrate how French obtained a foothold on Indian soil and how they later became rulers. It is vital to know why India was colonized, be it by the British, French and the Portuguese? The East India Company was founded in 1600 to sell British woolen cloth to India. Their ships arrived in Surat in 1608 with vast quantities of broadcloth but the trade soon faltered and died out. What changed their fortunes was the discovery of cotton, which was completely unknown in the west, says Ms. Crill who had coauthored a book **Trade, Temple and Court: Indian Textiles from Tapi Collections**. Another author of the same book Ms. Ruth Barnes states that Textile trade surfaces repeatedly in the social and economic histories of these times. For centuries textiles were crucial currency in the Indian Ocean trade. If you wanted a piece of the spice trade in the 14 th century, you did not have a chance unless you showed up in the Eastern Indonesia with high quality textiles. Well these textile scholars have stated one reason for India being a popular destination for colonialists. Colonialists came to market their products but were drawn towards buying Indian fabrics. ? Millions of Indian cotton arrived in England at that time, so much so that the wool and linen weavers began to protest and a law prohibiting Indian textiles was passed in 1700? Says Rosemary Crill of the V&A Museum, London in her book.

Decolonisation of French India:

Let me quote verbatim the last rituals performed for decolonising Pondicherry as written in the book *Decolonisation of French India*, since I do not want to be drawn in controversies by writing a new version myself. The procedure incorporated into the joint communiqué— which was simultaneously published from New Delhi and Paris, ran as follows Desirous of reaching a final settlement on the question of the French establishments in India, The government of India and the Government of the French Republic through their representatives in Delhi has engaged in negotiations. As a result of these negotiations the two governments have agreement on the following procedure. All elected members of the representative assembly and the Municipal Councils of the establishments will be met at a Congress on October 18 in the settlement of Pondicherry to consider the joint proposals of the two governments for a final settlement of the future of the settlements and record their decision on these proposals as an expression of the wishes of the people .An arête of the Commissaire de la Pepublique was published on 11 October in the Journal official of Pondicherry with a view to acquainting the people the conditions of the consultation. The Pondicherry Government issued summons to the elected municipal members of the south Indian settlements and the Representative assembly to meet at Kizhur about 10 miles on the border of west of Pondicherry on 18 October at 10 o'clock to decide the future of the French settlements in India. The members of the four settlements whose election was valid up to 1 st January 1954 had been asked to vote on that day either for the continuation of French rule in these settlements or for merger of these

settlements with the Indian Union. The importance of the Congress and the necessity of the members to attend the Congress were expressed in a circular, which was signed by the Secretary General for French India and dispatched to the elected members accompanied by the topographical map of the place where the congress was to be held together with the admission card. There was a proposal to hold the congress at Karaikal, but that was set aside. Kizhur, a tiny hamlet situated in **Indian Territory** was finally chosen in order to avoid the disturbances, which the presence of Goubert and Muthupillai might have provoked if the congress had been held at Pondicherry. Balasubramanian, President of the Representative Assembly acted as presiding officer of the Congress. Out of 178, 170 members voted overwhelmingly in favour of the merger with Indian Union and 8 voted against. The results were declared in the presence of Pierre Landy and Kewal Singh. The period of suspense was over. The usual scene of excitement tension and violence, which had tainted previous elections in French India, was totally absent here in this hamlet. It was so to speak a parody of consultation. France had to agree to this as a sop to satisfy her constitutional requirements and India had to accept this verdict given by the members of the municipal councils and representative assembly whose elections she had protested as irregular. The signing of the treaty at New Delhi on 21 October followed this. The remaining 10 days witnessed the French India authorities make hectic preparations for total withdrawal from Pondicherry and Karaikal. As fixed earlier Escargueil left Pondicherry for France on 31 st October handing over charge to Pierre Landy. The French national flag was removed from the top of the Governors house in the evening of the same day. On 1 November of 1954 at 6.45 in the morning a document of transfer was signed between Pierre Landy representing France and Kewal Singh, Indian Consul

general and Indian Commissioner designate in the official residence of the former. In Karaikal too Boucheney aided by Duvauchelle, an Officer of the foreign department who had recently arrived here, handed over power to the India administration?

Immediately after this the Indian national flag was unfurled over the government house to the tumultuous ovation of thousands of people who had gathered there marking the close of seven-year tortuous negotiations. Throughout the day there was jubilation everywhere in Pondicherry, In Karaikal, in Mahe and in Yenam and the rest of India in this hour of joy. As a result of the historic decision taken at kizhur more than 3 lakh people rejoined their mother country India at the dawn of 1 November thereby ending 240-year-old French rule on the four settlements of South India. The people of India welcomed the residents of the erstwhile French settlements into the larger fold of Indian citizenship. A part of India separated from the motherland is coming back to us on its own freewill Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and President Rajendra Prasad said we should be equal partners in a common endeavor to work for the progress and prosperity of India. The congress of Kizhur facilitated the dissolution of French colonial rule in the French pockets, but French sovereignty over them continued legally till de jure transfer had taken place in 1962.

FRENCH AND FRENCH CITIZENS IN INDIA
PRESENT STATUS: The colonial rule created a new class of citizens, Indian born yet French citizens by option. These Indians have roots in Pondicherry but have their work and homes in France. For those left in the soil of Pondicherry France has constitutional arrangements to look after the interests of Indian born French citizens. This arrangement is unique and

deserves close appraisal. The notification issued by the Rastrapathi Bhavan few years ago had stated that hereafter the Ministry of Non Resident Indians will be named as Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs in English and Pravasi Bharatiya Karya Mantralaya in Hindi which has come into operation now. But within our country we have residing Non Resident French citizens but who are Indians by birth but French citizens by option. It will be interesting to compare with what French does for Overseas French affairs. When French left their former colonies, they left large sections that opted to become French citizens. There are more than 20 million French citizens living abroad in various former French colonies including Pondicherry, which is a Union Territory under Indian Union. One hundred and fifty five delegates are elected by direct universal suffrage by the French communities abroad for a period of 6 years and this body is presided by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France. French citizens in America elect 32 delegates and from Africa 47 seats thus the total of A series of constituencies is 79. In B series there are 76 seats and the break up is 52 seats from Europe and from Asia-Oceania and the Orient 24. Within these 24 seats two are chosen from Pondicherry. Half of the Electoral College is renewed every 3rd year. All former colonies are divided into 52 electoral districts, with one or more delegates per district. A country may have several electoral districts, just as an electoral district may cover several countries. French people residing abroad through their 155 representatives elect twelve Senators to French Parliament. They get elected one-third at a time for 8 years in 2004 and for 7 years in 2007 and for 6 years from 2010

The Constitution of 27 October 1946 (IVth Republic) stipulated that the new Parliament would comprise a National Assembly and a "Council of the Republic" (as

the Senate was called until 1958) within which "the French of the Exterior" would be represented. This may be like our lower and upper houses in Parliament. The National Assembly pondered and decided how to effect this representation. It decreed, in a resolution dated 13 December 1946, that three "Councillor of the Republic" seats (out of 320) would go to personalities representing Non Resident French citizens living in Europe, America and Asia-Oceania-Orient respectively.

For more than two decade the following associations were looking after the interests of Non Resident French citizens in Paris. They are the Union of French Chambers of Commerce Abroad, the French Overseas Teachers Association, the Non-Resident French War Veterans Federation, and the Overseas French Union (Union des Français de l'étranger, UFE), founded in 1927. These four bodies mooted a suggestion for creation of a "high council" by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The then Prime Minister, Robert Schuman, and his Foreign Minister, Georges Bidault signed a Decree setting up the High Council for French People residing abroad. On 7 July 1948. The first High Council was composed of 55 members: 8 ex officio members (the three Senator-Councilors of the Republic, the president and director of the UFE, the presidents of the Chambers of Commerce, of the Teachers Association and of the War Veterans Federation, 42 elected officials, and 5 members nominated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs." The first CSFE elections of 1950 were held in seventy countries of Europe, America, Asia and Oceania, according to a protocol defined in a Ministerial Decree dated 10 December 1949 and signed by Robert Schuman.

Article 24 of the Constitution of 25 September 1958 states, "French nationals settled outside France

should be represented in the Senate." Two Executive Orders were issued, on 15 November 1958 and 4 February 1959 respectively, for organizing this representation and providing the CSFE with new status. The CSFE, while retaining its advisory role, became the sole Electoral College for electing Senators from abroad. Their numbers increased from three to six, two representing Europe and America, one representing Asia-Oceania and three representing Africa. It was thus divided into three sections for the Senatorial elections of 23 April 1959. The CSFE had 84 elected members but it became clear that Europe and America were under-represented in comparison with Africa. The number of Senators was therefore brought up to nine for 1962 elections. After the creation of the Democratic Association of French Citizens Abroad (Association Démocratique des Français à l'Étranger - ADFE) in 1980, the CSFE was reconstituted in 1982. The Act of 7 June 1982 paved way for the election by universal suffrage of Delegates to the CSFE, which (with the exception of twenty-one members chosen for their competence but not having Senatorial voting rights) was no longer a body of appointed personalities. And the election of twelve Senators thereafter is only by the elected members of the CSFE. The Minister of Foreign Affairs defines the objectives and priorities of the assembly chaired by him. The Senators place before the Senate, the National Assembly and the Economic and Social Council the propositions, motions, resolutions and wishes expressed by their electors.

The twelve Senators, ex officio members of the AFE, can introduce Bills or legislative amendments reflecting the hopes and needs of French people living around the world. The French Minister of Foreign Affairs on the basis of their particular qualifications designates the appointed councilors. The members of

the Council may form political groups. The college of Vice-Presidents (or conference of Vice-Presidents) enacts the work of the Council and reports back to the President. The plenary assembly, attended by the ex officio members, the appointed members and the elected members, meets once a year in Paris at the beginning of September.

Members are divided among specialized committees, which prepare reports for submission to the plenary assembly.

The AFE exercises real political authority at the moment when Senators representing French people abroad are elected. Elected AFE members can sponsor a candidate for the French presidential elections. The AFE is "called upon to give the Cabinet opinions on matters and projects of concern to French People residing abroad, and on developing France's presence abroad". They are not prior opinions, however. The AFE could rather be said to fulfill the role of a specialized Economic and Social Council. The Cabinet may consult it, or it may intervene at its own initiative. AFE members, as elected representatives of the various French communities abroad, are concerned to defend the interests of French People residing abroad. They study matters relating to the education of French people abroad, their rights, their social situation, and their economic and taxation problems. The AFE may use background studies to inform the French authorities on specific problems (education, law, social affairs, foreign trade, taxation, etc) affecting the interests of French People residing abroad.

This French experience is novel and it must be studied by the Government of India to evolve novel methods to solve the issues that haunt the Overseas

Indians and the newly formed Ministry must emulate the representative system followed by France. British left India satisfied with getting 2 nominated M.P Seats in the Lok Sabha for Anglo-Indians. France did not plead for seats in the legislature for Franco-Indians. It worked out the above stated arrangements to manage the Indian born French nationals. From Fiji to Srilanka people of Indian origin are there. Will it be advisable if a similar arrangement is made for them under the aegis of the Ministry of Overseas Affairs? Union Territory Act has provision for 3 nominated members but it should be done according to the procedure adopted for Rajyasabha nominations i.e.: educated and social activists alone be nominated. That is another story.

Problems galore left by colonial legacy:

Colonial policy had a couple of goals: (1) to control the supply of valuable raw materials, such as minerals, petrol, wood, plantation crops such as rubber, sugar, pepper, cotton etc., (2) to secure a market for the industrial exports of the colonizing country, (3) country to settle in for the colonizing country's emigrating population, (4) strategic importance. Let us have a look at the problems left over by the colonial legacy. In the colonies, decades, in some countries centuries of colonial rule had resulted in major changes. In many cases, the borders of the colonies had been unilaterally drawn by Colonial powers with little regard for ethnicity and history. The border dispute India has with its neighbours is a left over of the colonial legacy. The contiguity of Pondicherry is missing and the enclave territories separated by miles scattered as dots remain in Indian map, which is also an issue of the colonial legacy and poses problem for gaining statehood to be on par with other Indian states. The infrastructure established by the colonial

administration served mainly the interests of the colonial administration. There are many fields that warrant a study. More information may be in French and their archives. It is high time our scholars scan all such information to provide an in-depth study of Pondicherry's colonization and decolonization.

While such study into past is also needed, there is greater need to study how decolonized nations have faced the challenges in the post-colonial era. We in India are still facing the issues left by the colonial legacy. Let us see the experience of Singapore and Malaysia and the issues, which will be of importance too from our standpoint. Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore stated once that empires never last forever, that either the master and subject races finally merged to a unified society or the empire ends with subject races clashes violently and finally emerging as separate nation and entity. Ironically, his statement can equally be applied to the independent country of Malaysia where race and racial issues are still a sensitive and election issue. Ethnocentrism was and is still not something that can ever be stamped out.

The Kingdom at a Crossroads written by Marijke van der Meer tells the story of Surinam. In the late 18th century the British swapped their South American colony now known as Surinam for Manhattan, then controlled by The Netherlands. For many years the Dutch reckoned they had the better of the deal, after all the British lost Manhattan quite quickly, while Surinam only gained its independence in on November 25 1975.

Professor Oostindie opines that there was not enough time to find solutions to many of Surinam's long-standing issues. "The Dutch government did whatever was necessary to accomplish independence," he says,

"basically this was done by not solving several problems such as the border dispute with Guyana. They offered more development aid than had been conceived of before and they said that all Surinamers, even five years after independence, would be eligible for Dutch nationality, stimulating an exodus to The Netherlands. Today there are just over 400,000 people in Surinam but there are 300,000 people of Surinamese descent in The Netherlands. The whole demographic growth of this nation has been in The Netherlands rather than Surinam. The offer of French citizenship to people of Pondicherry origin by the French created a similar exodus, which needs a comparative study.

Reports from a wild country: Ethics of Decolonisation by Deborah Bird Rose explores some of Australia's major ethical challenges. Written in the midst of rapid social and environmental change and in a time of uncertainty and division, it offers powerful stories and arguments for ethical choice and commitment. The focus is on reconciliation between Indigenous and Settler? Peoples, and with nature.

The above stated problems are just examples and lot remains to be studied about the postcolonial problems left over of the colonial legacies in all former colonies.

Recolonisation and Neocolonialism:

Colonization and decolonization could be understood easily as that process is over and a post mortem is possible. But what about recolonization? This word entered the political discourse in the aftermath of Iraqi invasion by America. America of the 20 th century was not in favour of colonization. But in 21 st century doubts over its moves aimed at recolonization exists in peoples mind. Neo colonialism needs a fresh study.

Now we are one in India, and we cannot think Pondicherry in isolation from rest of India and its burning issues. We live in an area of free markets. You should remember that the drive to market their products and purchase our raw materials only opened the doors to colonial rule few centuries before. History is repeating in a different form. The export and import of toxic wastes justified in the name of recycling is now one of the biggest threats to global environment. The import of toxic wastes by Third World countries is cause of grave concern. Take for example the Ship Building Yard at Alang in Gujarat. 350 ships are scrapped in India every year. According to Central Pollution Control Board 12,428 metric tons of hazardous and non hazardous waste is produced in Alang, which seriously affects soil, water and air.

Dr. Wishwas Rane of All India Drug Action had brought out a comprehensive guide called Banned and Banable Drugs. That guide lists out 23 out of 80 top selling drugs as irrational and hazardous. While our country becomes dumping ground for hazardous pills banned in West, Indian Council for Medical Research has clearly established that a herbal product Vijaysar obtained from a bark of a tree *Pterocarpus marsupium* helps control blood glucose levels, yet it has to take off and enter the markets. Neocolonialism rules the roost, and we fail to resist recolonization by west, which is trying to capture our medical market.

You may be aware that the Suez Canal (1869) and Panama Canal (1915) Sethu Samudram Canal (1860) and Tenth Degree Canal have been mooted to create short navigational routes to bring prosperity to their respective regions and countries. The French initiative to build Siene_Norde Canal is an example for the keen interest evinced by developing countries to promote trade and overall development. You must go back to

the pages of history to know that Thailand then known, as Siam is an enemy country of the British and an ally of the Japan during the World War II. On the conclusion of the Second World War II, one of the last secretive acts performed by the colonial Government of India was the signing of a Peace Treaty with Siam (Thailand). A Peace Treaty between her Majesty's Government and the Government of India on one hand and the Kingdom of Siam on the other, on January 1, 1946 at the Government House Singapore. The signatories were for the Britain Mr. Moberly Denning, Political Adviser to Lord Louis Mount batten, for Government of India Mr.M.S.Aney and for Siam (now Thailand) Prince Viwat Anajai Jaiyant, Lt.General Phya Abhai Songgram and Nai Serm Vinichayakul. This treaty contains 24 articles. Out of this Article 7 assumes importance in the context of this letter.

Article 7: Siam undertakes to construct no canal linking the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Siam (i.e. across the Kra Isthmus) without British consent. (Keesing's Contemporary Archives 1946-48 Vol VI, p 7695). This article had done great havoc to Indian shipping costing our nation billions of extra money by way of fuel imports, in view of shelving of the Tenth Degree Canal project with the imposition of a condition in this Peace Treaty. It has also blocked the economic prosperity of Thailand and held up the development process by half a century and more.

Government of India and Government of Thailand must look into the unfavorable conditions imposed by a colonial rule, that too at the threshold of a defeat in Second World War II on Thailand, an ally of Japan. It is in the interests of India and Thailand that a Canal be cut across the Isthmus of Kra where the isthmus narrows to just 75 miles and to develop this canal vigorously so that a detour of 1500 nautical miles

down the Malayan Coast via the Straits of Malacca and up the Gulf of Thailand in the South China Sea is avoided. The proposed Tenth Degree Canal will be an extension of the Tenth Degree channel in between Andaman and Nicobar islands. The opening of Tenth Degree canal will result in saving millions of tons of fuel for world shipping. The Tenth Degree canal reduces the importance of other major canals of the world namely Suez Canal and Panama Canal. The Tenth Degree Canal would develop Andaman & Nicobar Islands and bring prosperity to its economy.

But instead of thinking on these lines to develop Andaman Nicobar islands, the colonial mentality makes us think of bartering away 23 remote Lakshadweep and Andaman islands to foreigners. In Kerala people had to resist moves to hand over rivers to multinationals. This is how our Moghul rulers, Sultans, Nawabs, Nayaks and other Indian kings opened the doors to colonialism in yesteryears. Let not our soil become a breeding ground for neocolonialism. Let us not welcome recolonisation.

APPEAL TO TAMILNADU POLITICAL PARTIES ON WHAT SHOULD INDIA DO IN TAMIL EELAM CONFLICT:

Every word of this letter springs from my heart. Tamils are emotional but their political responses should be rational. Yes on the question of Tamilnadu raising voice in Indian Parliament or presenting charter of demands for resolving the Tamil Eelam people's plight, we should rise above just one- liners, though one liners will suit for television bytes, we have to present better argument to activate the Union cabinet, unfortunately misguided by bureaucracy . No use in repeating like parrots about political solution without spelling what it is.

As long as article 2 of Srilankan Constitution says "the Republic of Srilanka is a unitary state" there is no room for federalism and all talk about political solution leads only to dead end. This article blocks political devolution. It is needless to teach the enlightened bureaucracy at Indian government that political devolution means creation of states with sovereign legislative power on subjects allocated or earmarked for that provincial administration. Then the other dangerous provision from the Tamils stand point is article 76 which states "Parliament shall not abdicate or in any manner alienate its legislative power and shall not set up any authority with legislative power". Tamilnadu must understand that this article blocks political decentralization by all ways and means. If there is no political devolution or political decentralization, what the Government of Srilanka plans to offer on platter to Tamils is nothing

but slavery. No Indian model state, not even Union Territory status is what Government of Srilanka is having in its shelves as political solution. India that has article 370 in its constitution cannot even get that equivalent for Eelam Tamils. This is the ground reality. Then all crocodile tears for Tamils is nothing but to conceal their inability to restrain or stop the Government of India from its course to clandestinely support the racist Srilankan Government under the Chinese phobia or Pakistan phobia. Ultimately by playing with these phobias, Srilanka gets the support of India too in its genocidal war. Whoever headed or heads the Srilankan Government, they were never for resolving the conflict satisfying the legitimate demands of the Eelam Tamils. This has to be borne in mind. The past must be evaluated before accepting at face value the verbal gymnastics of Srilankan President Mr.Mahinda Rajapakshe.

Minimum Demands that were never met:

The following would have satisfied legitimate demands of Eelam Tamils, if Srilankan Government had offered before launching the current genocidal war against Eelam Tamils.

A] Repeal of the Article 2 of Srilankan Constitution to pave way for the introduction of federal form of governance, or for a con-federal system of government

B] Repeal of Article 76 to allow political devolution

C] Amending the Article 18 to declare that “the official languages of Srilanka shall be Sinhala and Tamil, enforceable throughout the country without any restrictions.

D] Amending Article 9 to delete “the foremost place” granted to Buddhism and to declare Srilanka a secular state. These could be termed as minimum demands that could satiate the Tamils of Eelam. These were the demands voiced from much before British left Ceylon, and were the theme of many broken pacts and failed promises, in which Srilankan Governments are aiming for a place in Guinness Record to be the unique country that adopted ethnic cleansing through genocide successfully, while the conscience keepers of this world remained mute spectators.

The reasons for Indo Srilanka Accord’s failure in 1987:

Before looking back at the broken pacts, let us examine what went wrong with the initiatives of Mr.Rajiv Gandhi. Congressmen are bound to answer why his initiative failed, who misguided him. It is a miserable failure to his foreign policy, which any historian of future will record. The bureaucracy under Mr.Rajiv Gandhi’s government negotiated from 30th August 1985 to 19th December 1986 with the Government of Srilanka. India failed to pressurize Srilanka to create a congenial and peaceful atmosphere in Tamil areas, while both countries negotiated a solution to the Tamil’s problem. As of now the Government of Srilanka pursued parallel military campaign against the Tamils of Northern and Eastern provinces, while negotiating with India. The question that haunts us even today is how a tiny island can defy India, refuse to comply with India’s demand to stop the war machine and negotiate peaceful settlement. Having allowed Srilanka during the time of Mr.Rajiv Gandhi’s governance to opt for sweet dialogues here and aerial bombings to annihilate there at same time, it appears the

bureaucrat under the guise of politician, Mr.Manmohan Singh, could only repeat that historical blunder. But it is not so. We should take into account what Mr.Rajiv Gandhi did, when Srilanka was continuing with military solution.

The stance of Rajiv Gandhi outwardly appeared as above and invited criticism among Tamils. But he launched a diplomatic campaign among the international community to expose the human rights violations bordering on genocide of the Srilankan government. This yielded fruits in past. The need now is to adopt the same approach, for which Mr.Rajiv Gandhi's government had set the precedent. The demands of Tamilnadu should be to urge the Government of India to launch a diplomatic offensive against the Srilankan Government, as was initiated by Mr.Rajiv Gandhi himself during his rule. In middle of 1987, as of now the Government of India intervened to provide humanitarian assistance to Tamils and airlifted food supplies to Jaffna peninsula. This forced Srilanka to suspend war and agree for Indo-Srilanka accord. Now while history is repeating, Mr.Manmohan Singh just sends humanitarian assistance in ships but neither pursues the diplomatic pressure built by Mr.Rajiv Gandhi nor made even an inch forward to clinch another accord during recent visit of Mr.Mahinda Rajapakshe, taking into account the past mistakes.

The Indo-Srilankan Agreement of July 1987 paved way for the temporary merger of Northern and Eastern provinces into a unified North-Eastern Province. This merger was to be endorsed by a referendum before the end of 1988. One Provincial Council was set up in North-Eastern Province as well as 7 other provinces. In order to implement this accord Mr.Rajiv Gandhi sent the Indian Peace Keeping Force in the first week of August 1987. The pressure brought by Mr.Rajiv

Gandhi also made LTTE agree to cessation of hostilities. LTTE also started handing over weapons to IPKF. So far everything went well. Then how this accord was sabotaged and who torpedoed it? A general amnesty was granted under the accord to “political and other prisoners now held in custody under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and other Emergency laws, and to combatants, as well as those persons accused, charged and or convicted under these laws.” Government of Srilanka, known for treachery which current breed of politicians may have erased from memory withheld amnesty to 1250 Tamil political prisoners. This was done by twisting the amnesty clause to say that it applied only to NEP and not offences committed outside North Eastern Province. LTTE retaliated by suspending surrender of arms. Everyone now in Indian Government, especially the so called National Security Advisers, must refresh their memory. All those who swear allegiance to Mr.Rajiv Gandhi must understand that Mr.Rajiv Gandhi almost was heading to resolve the Tamil Eelam issue, but the betrayal of Srilankan Government aborted his peace initiatives. Now, to trust Mr.Rajapakshe that after eliminating terrorism, he has a peace formula under his red towel, which he will wave along with olive branch, would amount to total ignorance of the history of betrayals, for which many Sinhalese rulers till now are held accountable before the conscience of the world.

For further proof that all Sinhala politicians are known for double speak and double act, let me refresh your memory about the 1994 Parliamentary elections in Srilanka on the popular platform of peace at all costs. SLFP leader Mrs.Chandrika Kumaratunge won that election and became Prime Minister. As Prime Minister, she once again reaffirmed her commitment to negotiated settlement. Subsequently in Presidential election in November, Mrs. Chandrika Kumaratunga

won the executive presidency, and instantly she changed her tunes from peace at all costs to seeking peace but not at all cost.

Racial Riots in 1883 hit Christians in 1902 Dalits, in 1915 Muslims, in 1930 Malayalees, then Plantation Tamils and from 1983 Eelam Tamils:

India must tell the diplomatic world that Nazism is not dead, and just because it thrives in a tiny island, it need not be condoned or ignored. The problem with Sinhalese is not Tamil-phobia. They are against everybody. The seeds of hatred are ingrained in their brains. A scholar Kumari Jayewardene, a Sinhalese herself, had chronicled the history of clashes and communal unrest in Srilanka. The starting point of Tamil Sinhala ethnic clashes are considered to be 1983. But hundred years before that, in 1883 the Sinhalese turned their ire against Catholics. The Buddhist religious firebrand Anagarika Dharmapala criticizes the British for their religion. "When the ancestors of the present holders of our beloved land were running naked in the forests of Britain with their bodies painted and later on when their ancestors had gone under the imperial rule of Rome and some of them were being sold as slaves in the market place of Rome, our ancestors were already enjoying the fruits of glorious and peaceful civilization. Buddhism was the religion of the state in Ceylon like the church in England in the British isles" proclaims Anagarika Dharmapala, forgetting what the sacred book of the Sinhalese, known as Mahavamsam says about the first originator of the Sinhalese race. Born to parents who are cross breed between a Lion and a Princess that too born to a brother and sister incest couple, the unruly Vijayan driven by his father with such credentials, landed in Srilanka and married local women, i.e. Tamil, even a Pandyan princess. Then how come Sinhalese can claim racial superiority or purity.

Like Anglo Indians, they are half Tamil, half foreign. So assuming they are racially superior, the Sinhalese called Christians barbarians and launched attacks in 1883. Then in 1915, Sinhalese want to drive away the North Indian and South Indian Muslims.

“The Mohammedans, an alien people, who in the early part of the nineteenth century were common traders, by Shylockian methods became prosperous like the Jews. The alien South Indian Mohammedan comes to Ceylon, sees the neglected illiterate villagers without any experience in trade, without any knowledge of any kind of technical industry and isolated from whole of Asia on account of his language, religion and race, and the result the Mohammedan thrives and the son of the soil goes to the wall.....What the German is to the British that the Mohammedan is to the Sinhalese by religion, race and language. He traces his origin to Arabia” incited the same Anagarika Dharmapala. Violent attacks, arson, looting were unleashed against the Muslim traders in 1915.

Readers of both the quotes from a Sinhala firebrand who planted seeds of hatred between communities and who is one among those who ignited communal clashes must take note of a contradiction in his statement. While speaking about British in 1883 he claims Sinhalese were enjoying the fruits of glorious and peaceful civilization. But in 1915, he admits that Sinhalese have no experience in trade and are without any kind of knowledge. Then how could they be the architects of the glorious and peaceful civilization. And that civilization must be of the Tamils, who can establish right up to Indus valley. In between 1883 and 1915, other unfortunate riots hit the dalits from India, who had gone to Ceylon as plantation labour. The arrogant Sinhalese refused to drink tea plucked by untouchables. Later in 1930 the Sinhalese turned their ire against the 30,000 Malayalees, who had gone

to Ceylon from Travancore-Cochin state. A trade union leader A.E.Kunasesinghe launched the racial fire against them by his fiery speeches.

Between 1871-1881 when coffee, tea plantations came up in large numbers in Ceylon, lots of Tamils from India went there seeking work. They constituted nearly 10 % of the then population of Ceylon. Donoughmore Commission constituted before independence said out of these roughly 50 percent labour were permanently residing in Ceylon. Jackson Report of 1928 said they were around 60 percent. The Soulbury Commission of 1946 stated 80 percent of these labour were permanent residents of Ceylon.

Donoughmore Commission had recommended that for all those who had lived for 5 years and above citizenship rights must be conferred. Ceylonese Government did not accept that recommendation, thus the crisis started. In 1940 both India and Ceylon discussed this issue. Again in 1941 September there was a bi party conference between India and Ceylon. They agreed joint declaration which emanated in this meeting was not implemented. The irony is in 1942 Ceylonese Government itself written to Indian Government requesting India to permit labour to come and work in its rubber plantations. In the first General Elections of 1947 plantation labour had voting rights. They backed the Ceylon Indian Congress and elected 7 members to Parliament. They were the deciding factor in another 20 parliamentary constituencies. D.S.Senanayaka, first Prime Minister of Ceylon amended the 8 th article of the Citizenship Act and disenfranchised plantation Tamils called as Malayaga Tamils. He passed in Parliament the amendment by 1949 and removed people of Indian origin from the voters list. That is how the voting rights of plantation Tamils who chose 7 Members to Parliament were deprived from them. Then Indian origin people were

asked to apply for citizenship. 8, 25,000 people applied for citizenship. Only to 1, 00,000 people Ceylonese citizenship was granted. To resolve this deadlock at London both Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Ceylon Prime Minister Dudley Senanaiyaka talked but could not resolve. In 1954 a pact was signed between Jawaharlal Nehru and Sir John Kotewala, Ceylon Premier. It was never implemented. By 1964, Srilankan Prime Minister Srimavo Bandaranaike and Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri signed a pact, wherein Srilanka agreed to give citizenship to 3, 00,000 persons. India admitted to take back 5, 25,000 persons.

"All American people were once migrants from Europe. Yet no European country foolishly signed a pact with America to take back its citizens. Even after signing such a pact India had left more than 2, 00,000 people of Indian origin in Srilanka. India considers the whole Srilankan problem as one between its original inhabitant Tamils of Ealam and Sinhalese. Dravidian parties have totally forgotten about our people i.e. stateless Tamils of Indian origin. To resolve the hardships caused to these stateless Tamils it is imperative exert due diplomatic pressure. India cannot keep away from any issue of South East Asia. India has left 2, 00,000 of its citizens in Srilanka, when such being the cases how can it keep away? Is it not the duty of India to take responsibility for every Indian citizen on alien soil?" Columnist Rajiv Dhavan wrote an article in The Hindu. "With its open borders South Asia like Africa is a refugee prone region. India discovered this when absorbing the Tibetan refugees in 1959, the Bangladesh refugees in 1971, the Chakma influx in 1963, the Tamil influx from Srilanka in 1983, 1989 and again in 1995, the Afghan refugees from 1980s, the Myanmar's refugees for a similar period and migration and refugee movements from Bangladesh over the years..... In 1995 India

following the Pakistan's example joined the Executive of the UNHCR. Though welcome, this half way attempt seems odd since India refuses to sign 1951 convention. Meanwhile a series of judgments by The Supreme Court and the Gujarat, Punjab, Gauhati and Tamil Nadu High Courts has reinforced the need for humane due process for the Chakmas, Srilankan and other refugees. Some of the judgments expressly recognize the value and worth of UNHCR and invite it to involve more in the refugee questions in India” wrote Supreme Court lawyer Rajiv Dhavan.

Sinhalese against Brahminism:

The Buddhist religious head that had spit venom on Christians, Muslims and Tamils had not spared even the Brahmins. These facts are not taken into account by those bureaucrats in India who support Sinhala rulers. Let me quote the same Anagariga Dharmapala, whose quotes appear in last paragraph too. ‘Brahmanism is only for the three twice born castes. The Brahmins were proud of their mantras. The Brahmin rishis were great in their selfishness. They had spiritual power even to frighten the gods; they cursed the latter when they were angry. It is said that the rishis Durbhasha and Brighu cursed both Vishnu and Shiva. The rishi Gautama cursed Indira. The Brahmin rishis organized the caste system vesting all power in the Brahmins. They organized animal sacrifices. They drank wine, ate beef and took women from the other three castes. It was their privilege. They made laws prohibiting the three castes from taking Brahmin women. They laid down the rule that the issue of Brahmin women by a non-Brahmin husband is to be recognized as Sandala....

The Bhikku sanga became epitome of universal brotherhood and refuge of the high and low. All Asia

heard the law of compassion, the religion of wisdom was preached to all, and the dharma of karuna and pragna was accepted by men and gods, Allah, Jehovah Vishnu, Shiva, Kali, Durga, Jesus were names not yet heard in the civilized world. The European races with the exception of Romans and Greeks were then in a state of barbaric paganism. The ancestors of the British were then living naked in the forest. The Nordic races were still savages.....

The destructive hordes of Islam had then not been born. Buddhism was flourishing in Ghandadhar, Afghanistan, Kabul valley and Turkistan. Two centuries later a new factor came into existence in India which helped to destroy the individuality of Buddha Dharma. Kumarila began to preach his new doctrine which weakened the power of the bhikkus. His successor was the Malabar Brahmin Sankara. Driven out from his native land, young Sankara came to Jabalpore and was admitted to a monastery where he learnt Buddhism. Having studied the Upanishads, he gave a new interpretation to the latter. He poured new wine into old bottles.....

Islam, Brahmanical ritualism and Christianity are the three forces that are at work in India. Brahmins through sheer selfishness rejected the noble Aryan Dharma from its native soil and India fell. Brahmanism is only for high castes. Islam and Christianity are both destructive.....

Dravida Peravai wishes to remind the Brahmins who are against Tamil eelam just because of the Aryan tag attached to the Sinhalese must realize that Sinhalese are not accepting Brahmins as Aryans. The above quoted passages must be an eye opener. In orissa certain hill tribes even today call themselves aaranya Brahmins, like that the Sinhalese take pride in calling themselves Aryans, while ridiculing Hindu gods,

Brahmins and even their spiritual head Adi Sankara. So the love between Indian Brahmin bureaucrats and Sinhalese is not based on strong foundations, but on a mirage.

Sinhala Racism in Parliament:

With due respect to the Indian Parliament, we wish to draw the attention of the Hon'ble Members of Indian Parliament about some of the highly civilized speeches of the Aryan Sinhalese Parliamentarians.

Mr.D.M.Chandrapala, Sinhalese Buddhist Member of Parliament from Kundasale spoke the following words in Srilankan Parliament on July 1981. "Now Sir... what should we do to this so called leader of the Tamils? If I were given the power, I would tie him to the nearest concrete post in this building and horse whip him till I raise to his wits. Thereafter let anybody do anything he likes, throw him into the Beire [lake] or into the sea, because he will be so mutilated that I do not think there will be life in him. That is war."

Can anyone in civilized world in any of the democracies of the world, could have heard such a speech. That speech too is against democratically elected Tamil leaders demanding federalism and not independent state at that juncture. There was no terrorist in Parliament yet if Sinhala Parliamentarian spits such venom, how could Tamils live within unitary Srilanka, the National Security Adviser Mr.M.K.Narayanan, who creates an impression that he misguides Indian Government must introspect and correct his wrong steps, if any.

The Indian bureaucracy, unfortunately inherited from a colonial legacy underestimates the elected representatives and their cabinet. They dream that

India could be ruled by bureaucrats who are not accountable to public opinion. For their conscience to awaken, Dravida Peravai wishes to reproduce more speeches of Srilankan Parliamentarians.

Mr.G.V.Punchinilame M.P from Ratnapura spoke in Srilankan Parliament in July 1981. "Since yesterday morning, we have heard in this Honorable House about the various types of punishment that should be meted out to them {Tamil Parliamentary Members}. The M.P from Panadura Dr.Neville Fernando said there was a punishment during the time of Sinhalese kings, namely, two areca nut posts are erected, these two posts are then drawn toward each other with a rope, then tie each of the feet of the offender to each post and then cut the rope which will result in tearing apart the body. These people should also be punished in the same way.

.....some Members suggested that they should be put to death on the stake, some other Members said that their passports should be confiscated, still other Members said they should be made to stand at the Galle Face Green and shot at. The people of this country want and this government is prepared to inflict these punishments on these people."

If in Srilankan Parliament such barbarian punishments are sought against duly elected Tamil Members of Parliament even in 1981 much before the birth of militant movements, Indian bureaucrats and media who want to uphold the territorial integrity of Srilankan Fascist State, must admit they are fooling themselves and also fooling the world as if they are dealing with a civilized neighboring country.

Having read the barbarian speeches of cannibals, it is time to read the speech of the cunning fox Mr.J.R.Jayawardane, President of Srilanka, which

appeared in Daily Telegraph of 11th July 1983. “I am not worried about the opinion of the Tamil people..... now we cannot think of them, not about their lives or their opinion..... the more you put pressure on the North, the happier the Sinhala people will be here... Really if I starve the Tamils out, the Sinhala people will be happy.”

That is what is happening now under the blood thirsty Mr.Mahinda Rajapakshe’s government. That is why Tamilnadu Chief Minister Dr.Kalaignar M.Karunanithi collects funds and pressurizes the Indian Government to send food and medicines to Eelam Tamils. No Tamil in Tamilnadu will tolerate his kinsmen starving in Tamil Eelam. A land where Poet Bharathi proclaimed that if there is no food for an individual we will destroy the world, will rise like one man to destroy the fascist regime of Srilanka that starves Tamils, kills Tamils, uproots Tamils by aerial bombings, but Tamils and Tamilnadu still hopes that Government of India will save Eelam Tamils from genocide and claws of death, through internationalizing Tamils issue and bringing economic blockade on Sinhala country.

Naked Facts about broken Pacts:

Having traced the thorny issues which India failed to handle in the best interests of Indian citizens or people of Indian origin, now let us look at the various peace proposals which Srilanka aborted in the past.

1. The Bhandaranaike-Chelvanayagam Pact of 1957 signed between Srilankan Prime Minister SWRD Bhandaranaike and Federal Party leader SVJ Chelvanayagam reached in July 1957 was abrogated in May 1958.

2. The Senanaike-Chelvanayagam Pact of 1965 was not implemented even though the pact led to a coalition between Federal Party.

3. Federal Party's model constitution of 1972, submitted to the Constituent Assembly to create a Federal Republic of Ceylon was rejected by the steering committee of the Constituent Assembly.

4. Dr. Neelam Tiruchelvam's report to the Presidential Commission on Development Councils in 1979 also was sent to cold storage.

5. Indira Gandhi Initiative of 1983 resulted in bilateral talks between India and Srilanka, as well as between India and TULF, yielded Annexure C proposals due to the efforts of India's emissary G. Parthasarathy, which was also thrown into dustbin by Srilankan President Mr. J. R. Jayawardane.

6. Draft Bill for Provincial Councils which was endorsed by the All Party Conference in 1984 met the same fate under President J. R. Jayawardane's governance.

7. Thimpu Talks in 1985: TULF and LTTE, TELO, PLOTE, EROS and EPRLF participated in Thimpu talks initiated by Government of India. In that conference all the Tamil parties submitted four cardinal principles as conditions for accepting conflict resolution. A] Recognition of the Tamils of Srilanka as a distinct nationality. B] Recognition of an identified Tamil homeland and guarantee for its territorial integrity. C] Recognition of the inalienable right of self determination of the Tamil nation. D] Recognition of the right to full citizenship and other fundamental rights to all Tamils of Srilanka. All Party Conference proposals formed the basis of Srilankan side. Though talks were aborted a Draft Framework evolved which

should have been placed before Cabinet for approval before it could be adopted. But President J.R.Jayawardane did not do that, and it met its end.

8. TULF presented new proposals to Indian Prime Minister Mr.Rajiv Gandhi in December 1985.The Government of Srilanka submitted its views on that proposals in January 1986. In nutshell the Srilankan Government rejected TULF proposals.

9. Chidambaram Proposals: Srilankan Government discussed with the delegation headed by Mr.P.Chidambaram and in May 1986 sent its own proposals to Government of India. Then the Government of Srilanka formulated the Draft Amendment to the constitution of Srilanka to provide legal frame work to Chidambaram proposals.

10. Government of India prepared a working paper on the discussions held at Bangalore on 18th November 1986 between Indian Prime Minister Mr.Rajiv Gandhi and Srilankan President Mr.J.R.Jayawardane. The Government of Srilanka submitted its observations on the working paper on 20th November 1986. Then on December 19th of 1986 talks took place between two Indian Ministers and Srilankan President. All such exercises led to the India-Srilanka Accord of July 1987 known as Rajiv Gandhi-Jayewardene accord.

11. The fate of that Indo-Srilankan accord is dealt in a separate paragraph above which puts Srilankan Government in dock for breaking this accord.

12. Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of Srilanka was effected in November 1987, and first time provincial councils were set up.

13. The Democratic People's Alliance led by SLFP in its election manifesto for 1988 Presidential and Parliamentary elections offered promises to resolve the

ethnic problem, but that alliance failed to capture power, so promises remained promises.

14. Tamil political parties ACTC, DPLF, ENDLF, EPRLF and TELO submitted proposals to the drafting committee for the All Party Conference of 1990.

15. Thondaman Proposals: This attracted the LTTE which invited Mr.Thondaman to visit Jaffna to further discuss the proposals but Sinhalese opposition especially by a newly floated Sinhalese Defence Organization paralyzed the proposals.

16. Liberal Party proposals to the Committee on Constitutional Reform in 1992 to resolve the ethnic conflict.

17. UNP Presidential candidate for the November 1994 elections Mr.Gamini Dissanayake presented his Vision for the 21st century, but since Mr.Gamini Dissanayake was assassinated in October 1994; his own political party UNP buried the proposals along with him.

18. The up-country Tamils, people of Indian origin, about whom India never applies its thought after branding them as stateless people, submitted their proposals to the Parliamentary Select Committee on Constitutional Reforms in December 1994. The Up country People's Front sought separate autonomous territory for up-country Tamils. This has nothing to do with the North Eastern Province sought as traditional homeland of Eelam Tamils, the original indigenous people of Srilanka. Indian political parties even now are silent on stateless people. The ghost of Mr.Rajiv Gandhi will not haunt over the Autonomous State of Up Country Tamils, hence there is no reason why Indian Government is not taking care of Indian Tamils settled in Srilanka. Up country Tamils are not in

anyway branded as terrorists, in fact their parties had been part of ruling coalitions till date. That does not mean India should not open its mouth about the unfortunate people India also made as stateless overnight thoughtlessly by signing a pact.

19. Basic Ideas of Chandrika Kumaratunga made in 1995 when she promised peace at all costs before winning parliamentary elections but changed her tune to peace but not at all cost, after she won Presidential election.

Dravida Peravai urges the Tamil Nadu political parties and its representatives in Indian Parliament to raise the following questions to the Indian Prime Minister Mr.Manmohan Singh, Indian Minister for External Affairs Mr.Pranab Mukherjee and to the man above the cabinet, The National Security Adviser, who is not elected and hence not accountable to people, so could afford to spit at the face of Tamil's concerns for fellow Tamils across the Palk Straits.

1. Srilankan Governments headed by any President belonging to any political party have never complied with their promises or pacts made with Tamil parties or Indian Government. So many proposals as listed above have been made wasting years and years without yielding any result. India had offered many formulas ever since Indira Gandhi's time to Rajiv Gandhi's time, but none of that was acceptable to Sinhala rulers. Now whole of Tamilnadu echoes its unity by a unanimous resolution in Tamilnadu Assembly in November 2008, urging Indian Government to intervene in Srilanka to end the genocidal war. The weak kneed responses of Indian Prime Minister, and his soft requests made as only lip-service to Srilankan Neo-Hitler Mr.Mahinda Rajapakshe has left a deep scar in the Tamil psyche .Tamils are hearing vague promises with oft repeated

phrases like within “unitary Srilanka” devolution of powers will be offered to Tamils. The list of pacts broken and promises un-kept must awaken Indian Government to look for ONCE FOR ALL RESOLVING this CONFLICT. What is the magical Manmohan formula to resolve the issue to the best satisfaction of Tamilnadu? Let the Government of India spell out?

Eelam as Independent Nation:

To our humble view there is no alternative solution to Tamil Eelam. This is based on simple logic. If a husband and wife cannot live together, divorce is permissible in civilized world. And that logic applies to Eelam Tamils. There is nothing illegal in Tamil Eelam remaining an independent nation. In the developed world particularly Europe has twelve small states, five of which are islands or island groups. Monaco, a small urban enclave on the northern Mediterranean coast, is one of the most prosperous and best known of all small states. With just 32,000 permanent residents (8,000 of whom are citizens) and 500 acres of territory, Monaco is a sovereign state; its independence is somewhat limited, since its big neighbor, France, manages its foreign relations, postal services and defense, while the French franc has served as its official currency. When Monaco can be independent nation with restrictions, why not that option be given to Tamil Eelam, for argument sake, we are asking the world community. Though we won't support independence with restrictions as is the case of Monaco, why not even for debate sake no one proposes Monaco model to resolve Tamil Eelam struggle.

In addition to Monaco, the smaller European territories of this type are: the Principality of Liechtenstein (pop. 31,000), the semi-independent

state lets of Andorra (pop. 64,000) and San Marino (pop. 24,000) and four British territories -- the Isle of Man (pop. 70,000), the Channel Islands (pop. 150,000), the Faeroe Islands (pop. 45,000), and Gibraltar (pop. 29,000) – as well as Vatican City State. With just 700 residents and 109 acres, the Vatican may be the only state in the world with a diplomatic corps larger than its resident population. When Vatican with such miniscule population is independent nation what is wrong in Tamil Eelam being independent nation?

The Caribbean area has a number of small states, the majority islands. According to our adjusted World Bank figures there are 14 states and 15 territories in this class in the Caribbean region, ranging in size from Montserrat (pop. 6,400) to Trinidad and Tobago (pop. 1,300,000). Belize (pop. 236,000), Suriname (pop. 431,000), French Guiana (pop. 168,000) and Guyana (pop. 705,000) are all located on the mainland. Some of the better-known islands include Aruba (pop. 80,000), Barbados (pop. 257,000), the Bahamas (pop. 284,000), Martinique (pop. 412, 00), and Grenada (pop. 94,500). If these tiny countries can be independent nations, what prevents all these countries from endorsing the right to independence to Tamil Eelam. The Netherlands Antilles (pop. 208,000) is home of George Soros' famous Quantum hedge fund, while Bermuda (pop. 63,000) has recently become an important center for the global insurance industry. The tiny British self-governing territory of Cayman Islands (pop. 23,000) has risen to special prominence in recent decades. The Pacific Ocean region has two dozen island states, ranging in size from Fiji (pop. 773,000) to tiny Tokelau, an atoll with just 1,700 residents. If with 1700 people an atoll be independent, why not Tamils of Eelam have their independent nation? Some of the territories embrace hundreds of islands scattered over more than a

thousand miles of ocean. The Indian Ocean is site of four large island groups, including the Maldives (pop. 245,000) and the Seychelles (pop. 79,000), as well as a number of other territories including the French island of Reunion (pop. 718,000). Among the smallest Pacific SSTs, Nauru (pop. 10,000) and Niue (2,100) have specialized in offshore finance, a field where newcomers can have an advantage.

Africa, too, has a number of SSTs – 12 states according to the World Bank count, including the islands of Cape Verde (pop. 416,000) and Sao Tome and Principe (pop. 142,000), coastal Djibouti (pop. 636,000) and continental Swaziland (pop. 969,000), as well as a number of territorial remnants of colonialism, like Ceuta (pop. 69,000) and Melilla (pop. 60,000), Spanish territories on Morocco's Mediterranean coast. Asia, by contrast, has relatively few SSTs, many of which are quite prosperous. The island of Bahrain (pop. 629,000), peninsular Qatar (pop. 724,000), and coastal Brunei (pop. 323,000) are all petroleum-rich monarchies. Thirty-two of the Commonwealth's 53 member countries are small states - mostly with populations of less than 1.5 million. They range in size from micro-states such as St Kitts and Nevis, Nauru, Niue, and Tuvalu with less than 50,000 people each, to countries like Botswana, The Gambia and Mauritius.

The world's political map, dominated by large states, includes many lesser-known small states and territories. Using the World Bank benchmark of 1.5 million populations, there are 56 small states, as well as more than a hundred small territories under the sovereign control of others. A substantial majority of these small political units are islands or island federations, like Fiji in the Pacific or Barbados in the Caribbean. But others are located on the continental main lands, sometimes as coastal enclaves, like

Monaco or Brunei, and sometimes as landlocked (often mountainous) territories, like Swaziland or Liechtenstein. A large number of the SSTs have emerged only recently from colonialism.

“If this is the world scenario, Eelam can be independent, can sustain as independent nation, and its demand for independence does not lack logic. Hence Dravida Peravai appeals to all the member states of the United Nations to arrive at a consensus to extend support to the independent nation of Tamil Eelam. If it is true that the Secretary General is the spokesperson of the suppressed people we urge him to muster support for the cause of Independent Tamil Eelam among the member states of the United Nations” says a letter written by me to the United Nation’s Secretary General in 2006.

Tamil Eelam within Indian Union

Before current foreign secretary Mr. Shivshankar Menon was relieved from Pakistan, on reading about his new posting as Indian Foreign Secretary, Dravida Peravai wrote to him, which will be in our voluminous reports in net world, urging him to consider as last option, to have Tamil Eelam as a state within Indian Union. Eelam Tamils will never accept nor can live in peace under unitary Srilanka. India is concerned that Tamils like Jews should not have a country of their own. If that be so why not absorb Tamil Eelam as another state within Indian Union, I had argued in that letter. Mr. T.S. Gopi Rethinaraj, faculty member of Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, in National University of Singapore, wrote in Deccan Chronicle on 12th November 2008, which needs to be reproduced here.

“Suggestions that the emergence of an independent Tamil Eelam will hurt Indian security interests are disputable because its ethnic and political ties with India through Tamilnadu will be much stronger than a Sinhalese dominated state. However given a chance most of Srilankan Tamils will be happy to live under greater Tamilnadu comprising traditional Tamil areas of North and East of the island as Indian citizens. But India failed to explore the option to integrate the north and east with Tamilnadu when several opportunities were presented that outcome before 1987.”

The thrust here is for all parties to apply their brains to find ways to resolve the Tamil question. India did not fear that West Bengal and East Pakistan will become one Bengali nation, when Indira Gandhi supported beloved Mujibur Rahman’s call for Independent Bangladesh. Then why in Tamils issue unnecessary phobias crop up in the minds of Indian policy framers? To dispel their fears the above said option may be of use.

International Court of Justice to get due compensation for our fishermen. There has been precedents in international inter country matters where issues have been taken to the International Court of Justice. We have recent judgments too wherein decisions by International Court of Justice had been impartial and in the interests of natural justice. Let me quote about a recent judgment in 2002.

The International Court of Justice, principal judicial organ of the United Nations, has today given (17.11.2002) Judgment in the case concerning sovereignty over Palau Ligitan and Palau Sipadan (Indonesia/Malaysia). In its Judgment, which is final, without appeal and binding for the Parties, the Court finds, by 16 votes to 1, which "sovereignty over Pulau Ligitan and Pulau Sipadan belongs to Malaysia".

Ligitan and Sipadan are two very small islands located in the Celebes Sea, off the northeast coast of the island of Borneo.

Tamil Nadu assembly had passed many resolutions demanding the retrieval of Katcha Theevu, and Dr.Kalaignar M.Karunanithi had voiced concern not only about the genocide of Eelam Tamils but also raised the emotional issue of our fishermen.

The lives of more than 1000 fishermen is lost because of this agreement to barter Katcha theevu and it is time that we claim compensation from Srilanka for the lives lost apart from staking our rights to regain Katcha Theevu.

IF ONLY INDIAN COAST GUARD HAD ATLEAST ONCE IN A YEAR HAD CAUGHT A SRILANKAN NAVAL BOAT THAT KILLED INDIAN FISHERMEN OR IF IT HAD FIRED AT THAT NAVAL BOAT, NO INDIAN FISHERMEN WOULD HAVE LOST THEIR LIVES. Government of India owes public apology to Tamilnadu for not protecting its fishermen from the killing squads of Srilanka.

Dravida Peravai is enclosing two booklets, one with regard to Tamil eelam and other with regard to Katcha Theevu. Also some other papers about our campaigns are enclosed. These are enclosed just to introduce our activities over years consistently towards the goals for which now Tamils have joined hands under the leadership of Dr.Kalaignar M.Karunanithi, Chief Minister of Tamilnadu. Let Tamil unity lead to Tamils articulating views clearly in national politics, instead of waiting for bureaucrats to produce panacea for Tamil issues. The article on Sethusamudram published in the Souvenir of MDMK's Villupuram Conference will clearly prove the Chinese designs to control the sea lanes of Indian Ocean by sitting in

Hampanthotta, in Southern Srilanka. The geo political interest of India warrants India to support the liberation struggle of Eelam Tamils and help Tamil Eelam blossom. By such help India can have Trincomalee harbour in its control to put a check on Chinese designs. My personal friend Thiru.Vaiko on many occasions even in public had expressed his unhappiness over my staunch admiration of Dr.Kalaignar M.Karunanithi. I had told him that it is a precedent set by Aringnar Anna. Anna parted with Periyar but Anna considered Periyar always as his leader. I parted with Dr.Kalaignar M.Karunanithi in 1996 when Dravida Peravai was registered as political party with Election Commission of India. But he remains my leader. I have no regrets for charting a lonely course. This is an experimental political party which hopes to be a catalyst. We are not after power or position. If our appeal could make some of the political parties ponder deep or if that could lead to introspection of Mr.Manmohan Singh Government on its clueless policies on Srilanka, we shall be grateful. Just because we mentioned about China, we are not against that country, the enclosed article on border dispute will prove that we approach issues not with emotion but with rational yardsticks. TAMIL EELAM will be grateful to INDIA, if it takes up their cause in United Nations and among world countries through diplomatic channels

With Regards
Yours fraternally

N.Nandhivarman

N.Nandhivarman
General Secretary

STATELESS PLANTATION TAMILS

India should join hands with Norway and participate in peace talks. It is no good to refrain from participation. Between 1871-1881 when coffee, tea plantations came up in large numbers in Ceylon, lots of Tamils from India went there seeking work. They constituted nearly 10 % of the then population of Ceylon. Donoughmore Commission constituted before independence said out of these roughly 50 percent labour were permanently residing in Ceylon. Jackson Report of 1928 said they were around 60 percent. The Soulbury Commission of 1946 stated 80 percent of these labour were permanent residents of Ceylon.

Donoughmore Commission had recommended that for all those who had lived for 5 years and above citizenship rights must be conferred. Ceylonese Government did not accept that recommendation, thus the crisis started. In 1940 both India and Ceylon discussed this issue. Again in 1941 September there was a bi party conference between India and Ceylon. The agreed joint declaration which emanated in this meeting was not implemented. The irony is in 1942 Ceylonese Government itself wrote to Indian Government requesting India to permit labour to come and work in its rubber plantations. In the first General Elections of 1947 plantation labour had voting rights. They backed the Ceylon Indian Congress and elected 7 members to Parliament. They were the deciding factor in another 20 parliamentary constituencies. D.S.Senanayaka, first Prime Minister of Ceylon amended the 8 th article of the Citizenship Act and disenfranchised plantation Tamils called as Malayaga Tamils. He passed in Parliament the amendment by

1949 and removed people of Indian origin from the voters list. That is how the voting rights of plantation Tamils who chose 7 Members to Parliament was deprived from them. Then Indian origin people were asked to apply for citizenship. 8,25,000 people applied for citizenship. Only to 1,00,000 people Ceylonese citizenship was granted. To resolve this deadlock at London both Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Ceylon Prime Minister Dudley Senanaiyaka talked but could not resolve. In 1954 a pact was signed between Jawaharlal Nehru and Sir John Kotewala, Ceylon Premier. It was never implemented. By 1964, Srilankan Prime Minister Srimavo Bandaranaike and Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri signed a pact, wherein Srilanka agreed to give citizenship to 3,00,000 persons. India admitted to take back 5,25,000 persons.

"All American people were once migrants from Europe. Yet no European country foolishly signed a pact with America to take back its citizens. Even after signing such a pact India had left more than 2,00,000 people of Indian origin in Srilanka. India considers the whole Srilankan problem as one between its original inhabitant Tamils of Ealam and Sinhalese. Dravidian parties have totally forgotten about our people i.e stateless Tamils of Indian origin. To resolve the hardships caused to these stateless Tamils it is imperative India too to participate in the peace talks. India cannot keep away from any issue of South East Asia. India has left 2,00,000 of its citizens in Srilanka, when such being the case how can it keep away ? Is it not the duty of India to take responsibility for every Indian citizen on alien soil ?" asked N.Nandhivarman General Secretary Dravida Peravai in a press meet on the eve of his departure to Vijayawada to attend the National executive of Samata Party as a Special invitee. Dravida Peravai had been the associate party of samata party headed by George Fernandes.



[Samata National Executive at Vijayawada: Union Ministers George Fernandes, Nitish Kumar, Digvijay Singh, and Nandhivarman ,others]

Courtesy: Daily Thanthi 15.06.2002 & New Times Observer 10.06.2002

Columnist Rajiv Dhavan wrote an article in The Hindu titled

INDIA'S REFUGEE LAW AND POLICY [Extracts]

With its open borders South Asia like Africa is a refugee prone region. India discovered this when absorbing the Tibetan refugees in 1959, the Bangladesh refugees in 1971, the Chakma influx in 1963, the Tamil influx from Srilanka in 1983, 1989 and again in 1995, the Afghan refugees from 1980s, the Myanmarse refugees for a similar period and migration and refugee movements from Bangladesh

over the years..... In 1995 India following the Pakistan's example joined the Executive of the UNHCR. Though welcome, this half way house seems odd since India refuses to sign 1951 convention. Meanwhile a series of judgments by The Supreme Court and the Gujarat, Punjab, Gauhati and Tamil Nadu High Courts has reinforced the need for humane due process for the Chakmas, Srilankan and other refugees. Some of the judgments expressly recognize the value and worth of UNHCR and invite it to involve more in the refugee questions in India..

This thought provoking article prompted Dravida Peravai to come out with its views.

DRAVIDA PERAVAI QUESTIONED THE WISDOM OF INDIA NOT SIGNING THE 1951 CONVENTION. DRAVIDA PERAVAI URGED THE 40 MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT FROM TAMIL NADU & PONDICHERRY TO COMPARE HOW TIBETAN REFUGEES AND SRILANKA TAMILS ARE TREATED?

"While Tibetan refugees live peacefully with properties and are moving freely in Coorg areas of Karnataka, why Tamil refugees alone are handled like cattle confined to camps? Let our M.P's ponder".

Amnesty International representative spoke , Peoples Watch Henry Tipagne ,DP Gen.Sec Nandhivarman, Professor Lenin Thangappa, Trade Union leader S.Muthu and NCP leader Dheenadayalan were in the Human Rights symposium

"There are 4 lakh of stateless Tamils in Myanmar, The Malayaga Tamils are still stateless. Those who came from Burma left their savings in the banks there, for the recovery of such property why no parliamentarian speaks ?"the statement published in many dailies raised certain questions.[27.09.2004]

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