



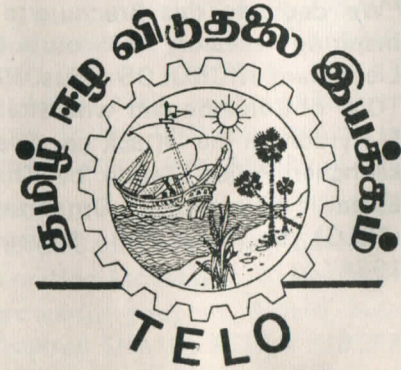
FINAL VICTORY IS OURS

- FATHER OF THE NATION, THAMIL EELAM, THANGATHURAI

*Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization
(Propaganda Unit)*

FINAL VICTORY IS OURS

TELO Publication - 5
January,
1985





"We dedicate this Brochure to the inspiring memory of our Late Lieutenant NICHOLAS alias NEWTON of Colombogam who attained Martyrdom in the attack on Chavakachcheri Police Station by Thamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO) on the 20th November 1984".

INTRODUCTION TO LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Individuals and Organisations appear from time to time to uphold human dignity. They sacrifice everything to affirm that "EVERYONE HAS A RIGHT TO LIFE, LIBERTY, AND SECURITY OF PERSON". The post independent Ceylon witnessed the birth of Leaders and Liberation Organisations who strive to liberate that part of Ceylon known as THAMIL EELAM from the clutches of Sri Lankan Sinhala-Buddhist Chauvinism. A band of dedicated and dynamic youths, wedded to the cause of Liberation of Tamil Nation, stood up to face Sri Lankan State Terrorism, in the form of torture, cold and calculated murder, arson, destruction, and rape.

While facing the State Terrorism some youths in the process paid the supreme sacrifice while others were languishing in the Sri Lankan jails, or Torture Chambers known as military camps or were on the run, not only in their own homeland but in foreign climes. Some of these youths felled by the brutal hands in the most heinous manner at the welikade prison included martyrs to THAMIL EELAM cause, like THANGATHURAI, KUTTIMANI AND JEGAN OF TELO. The Tamil nation beholds these young men with admiration and are proud that these young men appeared on the THAMIL EELAM scenario to decide the destiny of the Tamils.

Our late revered Leader, THANGATHURAI, a 'Martyr' to THAMIL EELAM Cause, founded fourteen years ago the pioneer Liberation Movement, to liberate the TAMIL NATION by a powerful people's Armed Struggle. That Movement christened THAMIL EELAM LIBERATION ORGANISATION (TELO), as it claims, is the nucleus for all other Liberation Movements of Tamils is not an exaggeration!

THAMIL EELAM LIBERATION ORGANISATION has a unique, long and detailed history in our Struggle.

The Dock-Speech of our late honoured leader in the Sri Lankan Fascist Court is a dynamic one, a milestone in our history. It has given an impetus to our National Liberation Struggle.

The Dock-Speech is a clarion call to **TAMIL NATIONALISM** and a warning to Sinhala chauvinistic Government- the perpetrator of Sinhala-Buddhist Chauvinism, about the rise of People's Revolution, It is also a verdant reflection of the creation of the **THAMIL EELAM-a 'LIBERATION ANTHEM'** calling the **THAMIL EELAM PEOPLE** to unite-an introduction to the History of **THAMIL EELAM LIBERATION**.

It is but apt to say that this Speech that stirred the conscience of the **TAMIL NATION** and 'which certainly will kindle the hearts of the right-thinking and progressive Sinhala people- can be called the **'LIBERATION VOICE OF THE THAMIL EELAM LIBERATION ORGANISATION'**.

This Brochure contains the summary of the historical background of our Movement and conveys in full the historically famous speech delivered in the Sri Lankan Fascist Court on 24th February, 1983.

SOVEREIGNTY OF THE 'THAMIL EELAM'

If the **TAMIL NATION** is in the throws of extinction at the hands of the Sri Lankan Fascist Armed Forces today, it is because, in the past, the Tamil bourgeois contributed in no small measure to this Crime. The Tamil bourgeois conniving with the Sinhala bourgeois committed this treachery for their own political ends and economic benefits. This colonial-oriented education heritage and capitalistic thinking, first betrayed the **TAMIL NATION**, to colonialists and then, to the Sinhala bourgeois. Lack of political consciousness and awareness among the **TAMIL PEOPLE** was responsible for the darkest days in our history.

DECLARATION FOR LIBERATION

Since the dark days in our history, to the present day, on one hand, Sinhala bourgeois parties articulate Sinhala-Buddhist Chauvinism, and, on the other hand, they indulge in racial discrimination and ostracism and, in the socio-economic and political aspects, they oppress the **TAMIL NATION**. Thus, the **TAMIL NATION** today has neither Freedom nor Liberty and, of late, it has lost its Right to exist.

The Sinhala-Buddhist Chauvinistic bourgeois unholy alliance explicitly exhibits their scant regard for the **TAMIL PEOPLE'S** feelings for Freedom, for Justice, and for Equality. The clear evidence of discriminative 'Higher Education Act', denial of Equal Rights on Employment opportunities, Colonisation, 'Prevention of Terrorism Act', and above all, needless to say, lies the economic strangulation of the traditional **TAMIL AREAS** which are deprived of positive investment and development.

'Prevention of Terrorism Act' is a blanket Licence for the Sri Lankan Fascist Security Forces to kill the TAMIL PEOPLE at random. This Act is not an anti-Terrorist measure but, prompted by a sinister motive to extinguish or annihilate the Spirit of TAMIL PEOPLE for Freedom. It instils in every Tamil individual a desire to take part in the historic struggle for liberation. If cause and effect are scientifically sound concepts, then who initiated, who let loose a reign of terror, and what are the people's reaction to this, should provide a historically sound chronology to the present Armed Struggle of the TAMIL PEOPLE. When the TAMIL LEADERS adopted the passive resistance on the Gandhian-Ahimsa principles, the chauvinistic fascist Sri Lankan State, first let loose a reign of terror against the defenceless TAMIL MASSES. The only arms with which the innocent Martyrs faced the brutality of the Sri Lankan Fascist Armed Forces in the early 'sixties' are the weapons called 'Non-Violence'. Was it not the State which unleashed a reign of terror through its brute Armed Forces in the first place ?

What we witness today is resistance by a determined TAMIL PEOPLE to the legalised State-Terrorism. The so called 'terrorists' are none but the Freedom Fighters of the TAMIL NATION, nurtured and politically nourished by successive chauvinistic Sinhala Government's legislations aimed at oppressing the TAMIL NATIONALISM and such enforcement of legislations as to mete out torture and death. 'Freedom Fighters' are not born they are made. The ill-conceived socio-economic-political policies of the State and their chauvinistic alliances with imperialistic forces are precursors for total annihilation of the TAMILS as a Nation. This policy of annihilation of the Tamil People is being scrupulously

executed through economic exploitation, forced colonisation, and last but not the least, by licensed State Terrorism on the innocent TAMIL PEOPLE. These are the factors that contributed to the rise of the revolutionaries amongst the Tamils. These factors also laid the foundation to conceive an Armed Struggle, popular upsurge, and ultimately a revolution, to attain our goal of a free Tamil Nation.

JUSTIFICATION FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

In order to liberate our people from the clutches of:

- i) socio-political-economic exploitation;
- ii) licensed State Terrorism and genocide

secession is considered the only inevitable solution - a solution forced on the TAMIL NATION. Only by regaining its lost dignity and sovereignty that the TAMIL NATION can liberate itself from its present predicament. If the desire to become free is the underlying internal force for national liberation struggle, then creation of a socialistic THAMIL EELAM is its pragmatic expression.

The State that we are struggling to create, will be an independent socialist one. It will cherish and uphold our heritage, safeguard our language, culture, and above all, our way of life. In addition, it will guarantee us direct control of our socio - political - economic spheres, which have been too long in the hands of our adversaries.

The creation of a Socialist Thamil Eelam is not a fantasy but a reality. It is not a pipe-dream that we harp on; rather, it is a rational and realistic objective that we are

determined to achieve, at the alter of Martyrdom, so that it will guarantee us our Freedom.

FUTILE STRUGGLE

The bourgeois Tamil Leaders and their agents so far have failed to nurture in us their view and alternate means to fight for Freedom. On the contrary, what they preached to us over the years was ineffective discarded old political concepts, such as 'non-violence'.

TELOISTS' CONTEMPORARY STRUGGLE

Our bourgeois leaders have been reluctant to understand the political reality of the situation. They refused to realise that State violence aimed at suppressing our people can be countered only by similar means, and tactics. Our Tamil leaders not only refused to accept this basic and realistic argument, but also continued to maintain their stand that Parliamentary forum of struggle, talks and pacts would eventually lead to our liberation. Their unrelenting commitment to non-violence for solving our problems as opposed to our enemies-the State Terrorism - will ultimately lead the people to reject their leadership.

TELO'S ALTERNATIVE PATH TO FREEDOM STRUGGLE

The Sinhala Government and their Armed Security Forces with the backing of steam-roller chauvinistic Buddhist majority see to it that the Tamil leadership is prevented from using the Parliament as a forum to win their Freedom. Brute force has been let loose on the innocent masses to suppress their legitimate demands.

which could have been met with just a symbolic gesture on the part of the government. Thwarting of their genuine aspirations, subsequent frustrations and disillusionment of realising socio - economic - political objectives drive the masses to espouse the cause for an Armed Struggle through revolutionary mobilisation for mass insurrection and revolt. Here lies the progressive Spirit of the TELO.

TELO is conceived only after analysing the real political situation in Sri Lanka. It is intended to fight the Fascist State of Sri Lanka. The assessment of the past dictates that only a popular struggle based on mass cooperation could achieve a real SOCIALIST THAMIL EELAM. The need for an independent Tamil Eelam is really a historical necessity. To achieve this objective, TELO formulated a programme which is logically coherent and politically viable.

An Armed Struggle by the People against the State Tyranny and oppressive machinery, is strategically effective and it could bring us liberation. Moreover, only such a revolution could guarantee us a Socialist Tamil Eelam. Establishment of a Socialist Tamil Eelam is realisable only when national liberation of our traditional homeland is achieved.

Our late LEADER THANGATHURAL, in order to emphasise and elucidate the reason behind an Armed Struggle, said : "WE ARE NEITHER LOVERS OF TERRORISM AND INSURGENCY NOR MENTALLY RETARDED PATIENTS. WE ARE HONEST AND RESPECTABLE MEMBERS OF AN ORGANISATION THAT STRUGGLES TO RE-ESTABLISH THAMIL EELAM". Our Armed Struggle is not a programme of a few committed radicals.

If it is so, then our programme is not clear in its objective to people who say that whatever the commitment of a few selfless people may be, a few armed men cannot successfully lead a popular revolution of the masses to the ultimate establishment of a Socialist Tamil Eelam. Our Movement is based on well-defined socialistic objectives, to seek and establish a People's Movement. Only such a mass-based Movement could achieve its goal. Furthermore, ours is not a movement controlled and lead by persons of individualistic egoistic personalities who lack clear vision and ideological commitment. Also ours is not a Movement manipulated by opportunistic foreign Powers to achieve their selfish interests. Ours is a Movement with a set objective to guarantee Independence, Sovereignty and Unity, under a Socialistic Set-up.

TELO AND INTERNATIONAL LIBERATION ORGANISATIONS

Imperialist Governments the World over pamper the Fascist Sri Lankan Chauvinist Government by providing Arms to terrorise our masses. They also provide moral support to the Government in International forums. Furthermore, they also provide funds to the Sri Lankan Government to perpetuate its capitalistic exploitation. The U. S. imperialism through the Sri Lankan Government exploits the satellite economy of the island and expropriates its vital resources.

All over the World it is the imperialistic forces that initiate the process of oppression and exploitation. Then with the connivance of their agents they rule over on the human misery, terror and oppression. As a challenge to this, pockets of resistance crop up in the form of national liberation struggles. National liberation struggles vary only in their content and extent. Certain struggles

have so far been successful while others continue in the process. As a liberation movement, we oppose any form of State repressive measures that are poised towards extermination of liberation movements. We extend our moral support to all revolutionary movements struggling for social justice and freedom. We extend to them our solidarity in earnestness.

In this context, our late LEADER said, "OUR REVOLUTIONARY AIM IS BROAD INDEED. LET IT BE KNOWN THAT WHETHER THE STRUGGLE IS IN AFRICA OR IN LATIN AMERICA, WHEREVER THERE ARE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OUR SOLIDARITY COULD BE COUNTED. WE REACH THOSE PEOPLE, WHO SUFFER, IN ORDER TO BE FREE OF OPPRESSION AND MISERY".

Similarly, if in the future the Sinhalese masses wage a liberation war against the exploitation of the State, and its pro-imperialistic rulers, we will certainly provide our sincere political and moral support for their liberation struggle

FATHER OF THE NATION

Among the liberation movements which claimed to struggle or which are struggling to achieve THAMIL EELAM, TELO occupies a unique position unsurpassed by any other organisation. TELO remains the pioneers in this field and is a base for many a liberation movement and its leaders. Our late LEADER THANGATHURAI can justifiably claim as the founder of the THAMIL EELAM LIBERATION MOVEMENT twelve years ago. He recognised that for the emergence of THAMIL EELAM, an armed struggle by the masses is the only way, and to translate this into action, to make it a reality, he formulated ideas and evolved ideological content and organisational rules.

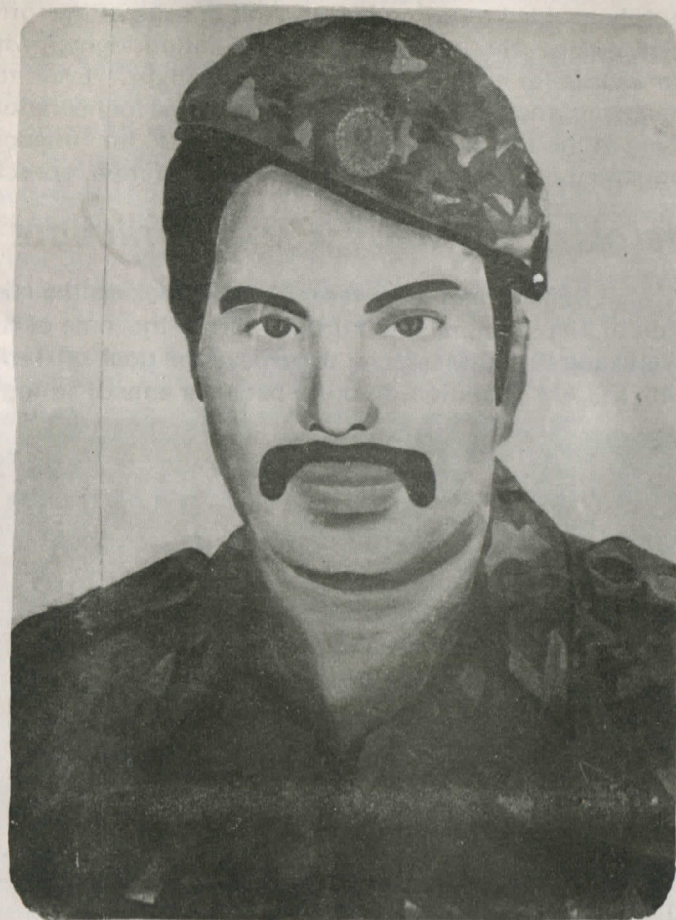
He planned the working pro-

gramme and practical and tactical warfare of our movement. To put it in a nutshell, our LEADER was convinced that only ideologically sound and logically coherent programme could achieve THAMIL EELAM liberation. He set out to outline such a programme with great clarity, vision and judgement. Thus emerged TELO's basic programme for Liberation of Thamil Eelam. This made our LEADER an ideal liberation fighter, and the idol of adoration for TELOISTS in his cultured and mature political thinking, his public spirit, his deep faith in the ideals he stood for, his social consciousness humane approach to individuals and issues, his courage even in the face of death, his impartial judgement, his adherence to right and justice.

Finally, he organised and guided the TELOISTS in the revolutionary path aiming at achieving the liberation of THAMIL EELAM. He was wedded to THAMIL EELAM so deeply that he offered the supreme sacrifice by laying down his life on the altar of martyrdom. His martyrdom will certainly remain as a beacon-light and his spirit would guide the TELOISTS and activists in their struggle.

GENERALISSIMO KUTTIMANI

Thangathurai owes his strength and organisational success to Kuttimani's military prowess. Kuttimani who is a pioneer liberation fighter and a very courageous person was always at the vantage of armed liberation struggle until he fell a victim to the State organised Prison massacre in 1983. He joins the rank of other martyrs like our late LEADER THANGATHURAI and JEGAN. His shrewd tactical manoeuvres and moves and his natural handling of firearms effectively, sent shockwaves among



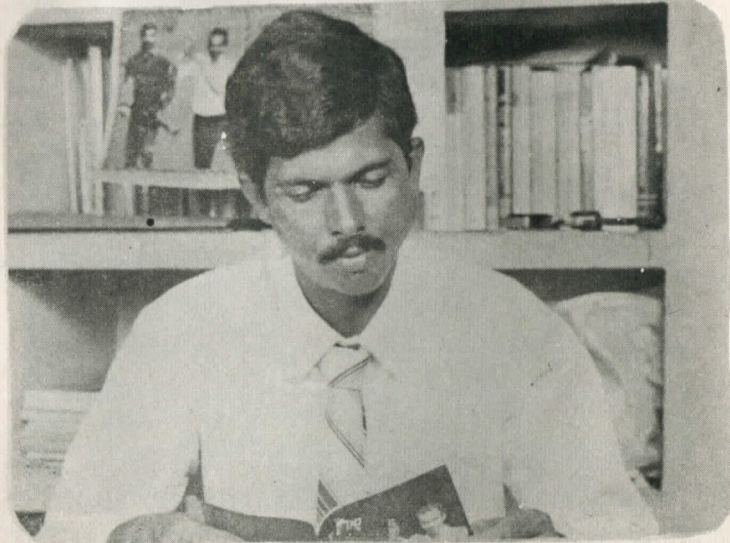
"SRI LANKAN ARMY SHOULD IMMEDIATELY WITHDRAW FROM THE TERRITORIES OF THAMIL EELAM. OTHERWISE WE, TELOISTS, WILL FORCE THEM TO DO SO".

GENERALISSIMO KUTTIMANI

the Sri Lankan Armed Forces and, Police personnel purposely avoided arresting him at sight in spite of the official order. He was a selfless liberation fighter who cared less for his personal safety or welfare. Even the hangman's noose failed to quench his thirst for liberation. Even at the throes of death his feelings for freedom prompted him to deliver a memorable liberation speech.

TELOISTS TOWARDS A MASS STRUGGLE

Sri Sabaratnam, the present leader, took up the mission of Thangathurai and Kuttimani from the time of the Wellikade Prison Massacre, to achieve the goal of THAMIL EELAM liberation, through people's armed struggle

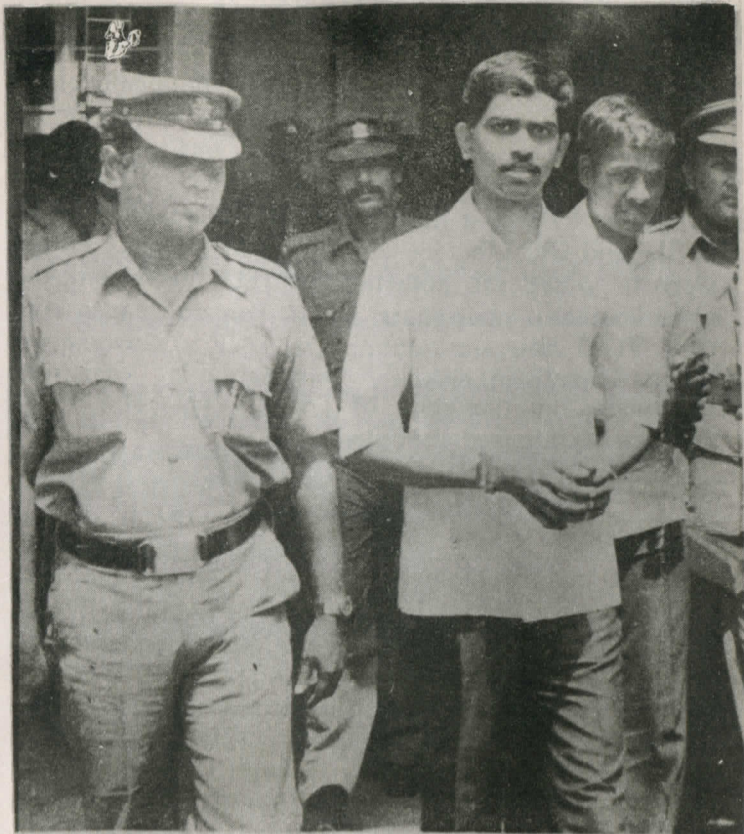


"INDIA'S SECURITY IS LINKED WITH OUR LIBERATION"
- LEADER OF TELO **SRI SABARATNAM**

against the Sinhala Chauvinist government and its imperialist masters. In spite of the massacre of our leaders, which is really a great loss for the movement, the TELOISTS have advanced well militarily and politically under the able and wise guidance of Secretary - General Sri Sabaratnam who was a co-fighter and was groomed by the late leaders. In order to widen the scope of the activities of TELO, it has formed a United Front with EPRLF and EROS to face the common enemy. With a view to widen the activities of TELO movement, the other liberation movements made common cause with the TELO and are fighting the UNP Government and its imperialist masters. This battle is destined to achieve the liberation of THAMIL EELAM through a broad mass-based struggle

TELOISTS' STRUGGLE AND INTERNATIONAL IMPACT

TELO holds in high esteem those Martyrs who laid down their lives for the liberation of the TAMIL PEOPLE. The death sentence passed on these Martyrs, the arrest of comrades THEVAN and SIVAPATHAM, KUTTAMAN's nomination as M. P. while still in Prison and the memorable speech delivered by our late Leader THANGATHURAI in Court have all brought international recognition and support to the TAMIL PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT. The Sri Lankan authorities' inhuman treatment of our comrades during their imprisonment and the physical torture inflicted on them by the brute Sri Lankan Armed Forces were condemned at Puthuvai State Assembly in the year 1982, The Assembly members demanded unconditional release of our leaders. Moreover, in India, the Tamil Nadu State Assembly, adopted a Resolution condemning the Sri Lankan government and called for quashing the death sentence passed by the Sri Lankan Courts exculpating our leader.



"YOU CAN HANG ONLY ME; NOT THE THAMIL
EELAM".

—FORE FRONT FIGHTER OF TELO **JEGAN**

On the 2nd of April 1982, in Germany, the Pakistan, Peoples' Party, registered their solidarity with our cause by displaying placards depicting our slogans when public demonstrations and marches were held. They also congratulated us on our taking to revolutionary struggle.

In order to expose the venality of the fascist and dictatorial rule of the chauvinistic Sri Lankan government over the TAMIL MASSES, to the comity of nations at the international level and to counter the government's claim that we are 'terrorists', we accepted the proposal of nominating KUTTIMANI as M.P. This action was symbolic of our disapproval of the government's claim and also to prove to the World that our struggle has mass backing and support. We neither believe in nor advocate the Parliamentary system which the TULF and the previous political organisations are so desperately wedded to.

The dynamic Court Speech of our late LEADER at the Court Room of the Fascist Sri Lankan State will convince many a liberation movement all over the world, of our national liberation struggle. It will certainly bring us Worldwide acclaim, with political, moral and material support.

We yearn for their support which will be a cementing factor for the unification and strengthening of our struggle

Therefore, TELO, with the support of Worldwide progressive forces, can prolong its hopeful struggle for the ultimate liberation of THAMIL EELAM.

The submission of the father of the nation Thamil Eelam, Thangathurai At Sri Lankan High Court.

(On 24 th February 1983, at the High Court, Colombo)

Honoured Judge !

We have already objected to a Court of Sri Lanka subjecting us to an Inquiry. Despite that objection a Case has been framed against us and it has gone on for nearly four months now. For certain reasons we had to participate in the proceedings ourselves. Our Counsel has already brought out categorically through the somersaults made by the Sri Lankan Policemen during his cross examination and through his legal arguments and through our own evidence, the various acts of torture inflicted on us and their premeditated nature.

When the British Government entrusted the fate of the Tamils to a group of Sinhalese Politicians, the Tamil people never clamoured for freedom for themselves. The Tamils naturally never suspected that they would in course of time be made second class citizens in this country. But some Tamil leaders very prophetically asked for bigger representation for the Tamils. This was justified by later events when the Upcountry Tamils were deprived of their franchise. What the next 25 years saw was not only the deprivation of Tamil lands as well. For over 20 years the Tamil leaders had expressed their protest in Parliament and outside very peacefully, and adopting the principles of Ahimsa and Satyagraha. But what happened ?

In 1956 the Tamil leaders sat down to peaceful protest on Galle Face Green. Thug violence was unleashed

on them. Later, when the Tamil Leaders and the Tamil people sat in peaceful Satyagraha in front of Kachchery, Jaffna, the Sri Lankan Army did not fail to react with uncivilised violence. In which chapter of your long history on democracy are you going to incorporate these events ? Not one, not two, but there has been a continuous series of thuggery and violence inflicted on the Tamil people over a period of 36 years. How many chapters will you need to record this 36 year villainy ? How many Tamils have been robbed of both their lives and their material wealth ? There have been Tamil women whose chastity has been offended in the very presence of the family members. Tamil cultural wealth preserved for generations has been put to flames. What a mockery to think that these could be compensated by a few lakhs of rupees ? These acts of devastation and humiliation have only strengthened their resolve. We never missed an opportunity to make the Sri Lanka Government conscious of our mind. Twice in two elections the Tamil People have recently reinforced their aspirations.

Is it not ridiculous for a Government that promotes race killings, to look at us and call us 'TERRORISTS' ? While on the one hand celebrations were going on marking 50 years of Parliamentary Democracy, on the other the Tamil members of the same Parliament were subject to midnight arrests, and the house of one Member of Parliament was set on fire. These are not acts that you can do in a civilized World with your heads raised high. You talk of terrorism and robbery. Has this country seen anything to compare with the State weaponry ? It is not that the people are ignorant of what happened to the material possessions robbed from the Tamil people and then recovered. We have even heard of influential Sri

Lankan Government politicians terrorising people with revolvers! If anyone wants to say that these are not acts of terrorism, that will be the biggest joke of the century.

Allegations are made that we are trying to divide the country. When were we undivided after all? OUR TRADITIONAL LAND CAPTURED BY THE EUROPEAN INVADERS HAS NEVER BEEN RESTORED TO US. WE HAVE NOT EVEN MORTGAGED OUR LAND AT ANY TIME TO ANYONE IN THE NAME OF ONE COUNTRY. OUR LAND HAS CHANGED HANDS OFF AND ON UNDER VARIOUS REGIMES, AND THAT IS WHAT HAS HAPPENED. WE HAVE YET TO REACH A STAGE WHEN WE CAN HAVE OUR LAND FOR OURSELVES. WHAT WE ASK FOR IS NOT DIVISION BUT FREEDOM. WHY WE ASK THIS IS NOT BECAUSE OF NARROW THINKING. WHAT WE HOPE TO ACHIEVE IS NOT ONLY THE EMANCIPATION OF THE TAMIL PEOPLE BUT ALSO THE GREATER GOOD OF THE SINHALESE PEOPLE THEMSELVES. Why? Because, thereafter, the so-called Tamil problem will cease to be a livelihood for opportunist Sinhalese politicians. That will provide a chance for the Sinhalese people to free themselves from the political, social and economic shackles that bind them today and realise where their true slavery lies. There is no Testament in the world that declares that a people who fight to recover from their true slavery lie. There is no Testament in the World that declares that a people who fight to recover their own rights or work for their self determination are guilty of sedition or terrorism. Had you endorsed our basic human rights at the very beginning, this situation would not have arisen. You had not only not recognised our rights, but also for the purpose of clinging on to political seats of power you had been injecting into the poor innocent Sinhalese people hate and venom over the

past 35 years. That not all the Sinhalese people have fallen victims to your Racist poison, has been proved by the fact that many of them, during the times you had brought about race riots had time and again rescued Tamils from armed thugs and complete extermination. It has been customary for every Opposition Party in Sri Lanka that wants to come to power, to obstruct any settlement of the problems relating to the Tamils and rouse the Sinhalese people for that purpose.

As against that, for a ruling party to permit racist violence, as it has done during the past, is more reprehensible. If the relationship between the Tamil people and the Sri Lanka Government has reached the present deplorable state, that responsibility lies squarely with the present dispensation. For the past quarter of a century the ruling governments have, like parrots, kept on repeating the same threadbare statement "We will solve the Tamil problem". Whether we accept your solutions or not, what honest attempts have you made to solve the problems of the Tamils while holding out the bogus promise of solving the problems of the Tamil resistance. What have the Tamil people asked you? Not economic benefits, not employment opportunities. That no such benefits could come from you is a fact well-known to them. Even if you do come forward to grant those benefits, what guarantee can you give the Tamils that they could live with self-respect in this Island in the future. Whatever you give them without giving them the feeling of self-respect will be alien to them IN THIS ISLAND. IN THIS ISLAND THERE ARE SANCTUARIES EVEN FOR WILD ANIMALS BUT UP TO NOW THERE IS NO SANCTUARY IN ANY PART OF THIS ISLAND WHERE THE TAMILS CAN LIVE WITHOUT FEAR. Nor are we left with any hope of finding one in future

The Deputy Solicitor-General, in the course of his examination, turned to Yogachandran and asked him, "Do you intend using this Court of Law as your Platform". Of what use are platforms. It was you who brought us to this box and heaped accusations on us, You not only throw lies at us but also try to make out that we are liars. We merely came out with the truth, that is all we did and that does not make us stage-performers. Truth does not require platforms and spotlights. Truth has its own glory. No power on earth can suppress it for ever.

WE ARE NOT LOVERS OF VIOLENCE NOR VICTIMS OF MENTAL DISORDERS. WE ARE HONEST FIGHTERS BELONGING TO AN ORGANIZATION THAT IS STRUGGLING TO LIBERATE PEOPLE. To those noble souls who keep on prating "Terrorism, Terrorism" we have something to say: Did you not get frightened of terrorism when hundreds of Tamils were massacred in cold blood when racist hate spread like fire in this country of yours? Did terrorism mean nothing to you when Tamil women were raped? When Cultural treasures were set on fire? When hundreds of Tamil homes were looted? Why, in 1977 alone, 400 Tamils lost their lives reddening the sky above with their spattered blood; Did you not see any terrorism when that happened? Is it only when a few policemen are killed in Tamil Eelam and a few million of bank money are robbed that terrorism strikes you in the face. Did your thoughts and feelings become deadened when it concerned Tamil Lives and Tamil properties or are your minds incapable of conceiving the very idea of Tamil sufferings?

You must not run away with the thought that our

sole objective is to establish the Tamil Eelam, Tamil Eelam remains certainly an objective because we have learnt through bitter experience over the past several years that it is only by establishing a State of Tamil Eelam can the Tamils live with self-respect. But our vision is broader than that. **OUR VISION IS GLOBAL. WHEREVER THERE IS OPPRESSION WHEREVER THERE IS VIOLATION OF HUMAN DIGNITY WHETHER IN AFRICA OR LATIN AMERICA, WE ARE PREPARED TO LINK HANDS WITH THE OPPRESSED AND THE UNDER DOG.** When our vision is so global, how can it fail to take into account the future good of the Sinhalese, our co-nationals in this country. May I mention this? We will not stop raising our voice on behalf of those people. There is nothing that prevents two neighbouring nations living in co-operation. Even nations with differing policies get together for the common economic good and for the purpose of common security. We have to safeguard the collective good of this Island. If at any time in future a common organization has to emerge which could withstand the political and economic onslaught made against the Third World countries particularly in the areas surrounding the Indian Sub-Continent, you can be sure that Tamil Eelam will rise to the occasion and lend its might in all co-operative endeavours that will raise the quality of the people in this part of the world.

I want to ask this question to my Sinhalese friends: Would you accept as correct and justified the various acts of oppression that the Tamil people have suffered until now not only in our own land but in various parts of your land as a result of the various acts of terrorism and thuggery? Would you also consider it wrong any

attempt on our part to free ourselves from the uncivilized oppression of your government? Or, would you consider that this present eyewash under the guise of a trial conducted under special Laws incorporated into the normal Laws of your country as an act of fairness on people like us who are fighting for a noble ideal of human freedom? Or, does it mean that you don't care whatever happens because the victims are Tamils only? If that is so, our sympathies are with you. BELIEVE ME OUR FREEDOM IS AN ASSURED FACT SOME DAY OR OTHER. ONCE THAT HAPPENS YOUR LAW BOOKS AND TERRORIST LAWS CANNOT TOUCH US. THEREAFTER YOU WILL BE THE SOLE "ADVERSARIES" OF THE VERY LAWS THAT OPPRESS US NOW.

Will you urge your government to stop the injustice against us and acknowledge our Sovereignty? Will you, as a first step towards this and towards the eradication of terrorism, urge your government to recall the Sri Lankan Police Force and the Armed Forces - the wholesale merchants of terrorism - from our soil? I leave it to you to decide whether you will show the world how broadminded you are. Though belonging to a different nation, as fellow citizens living in the same Island, we have participated in the inquiry hoping for your understanding. Today we have made our position quite clear. If the understanding that flows from this prompts you in the future to raise your voice on our behalf, our hearts will be filled with satisfaction. I WISH TO TELL YOU SINCERELY HERE AND NOW THAT EVEN IF THIS UNDERSTANDING DOESN'T BECOME A REALITY, WE WILL THROW THE FULL WEIGHT OF OUR SUPPORT BEHIND YOU WHEN YOU RISE UP IN THE FUTURE TO FREE YOURSELVES TO SHATTER THE

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FETTERS THAT SHACKLE YOU NOW.

Through this Case we have made our real position known to the world and in particular to the people of this Island. This is the joyous feeling that is uppermost in our mind. It is the people's verdict that is important to us; we are confident it will definitely be in our favour. Even a hundred fabricated Cases against us and all the slanders that may be poured on us, are not going to bother us one bit hereafter.

It is we who are going to win through this kind of action of yours. The consequence of your verdict won't touch us, they are something alien to us. We will not flinch from embracing death or spending the rest of our lives in Jail, content as we are that we have done our duty. All these are merely commonplace incidents in the history of a Nation's struggle for Freedom. We were fully conscious of what we were doing; hence, there is no question of disappointment.

WE ARE FIRM BELIEVERS IN THE SAYING THAT WHAT ONE SOWS ONE REAPS. THAT IS WHY OUR MINDS ARE CALM; THE SEEDS WE SOWED WERE NOT SEEDS OF POISON, OUR ARROW-HEADS WERE NOT DIPPED IN VENOM. BUT MY FERVENT PRAYER IS THAT INNOCENT SINHALESE PEOPLE SHOULD NOT HAVE TO REAP WHAT POWER HUNGRY SINHALESE POLITICIANS HAVE SOWN. THE FINAL VICTORY IS OURS.

While thanking our Lawyers, the Organizations and the People who have spoken up for us and supporters of us, we ask the people to unite, as this is the only path to Freedom.

“LONG LIVE TAMIL!

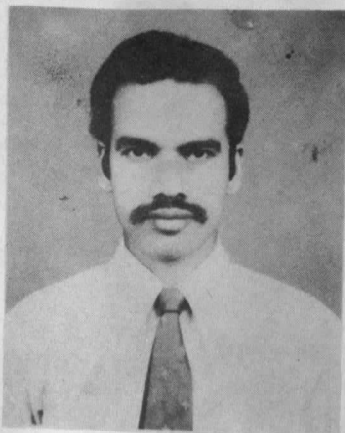
LONG LIVE THAMIL EELAMI

MAY POVERTY, NUCLEAR THREATS AND HUNGER

DISAPPEAR !”

TELO PUBLICATIONS

1. NAAM VANMURAI MEETHU KAATHAL KONDA MANA NOYALIGAL ALLAR (TAMIL)
First Edition, May 1983
Second Edition January 1984.
2. TELO ON A MISSION (ENGLISH)
November 1983.
3. JAMUNAICKARAIYIL EELAP PUYAL (TAMIL)
December, 1983.
4. URIMAI MEETCHIYIN RATHTHA OTTAM (TAMIL)
July, 1984.



"OUR TRADITIONAL LAND CAPTURED BY THE EUROPEAN INVADERS HAS NEVER BEEN RESTORED TO US. WE HAVE NOT EVEN MORTGAGED OUR LAND AT ANY TIME TO ANYONE IN THE NAME OF ONE COUNTRY. OUR LAND HAS CHANGED HANDS OFF AND ON UNDER VARIOUS REGIMES, AND THAT IS WHAT HAS HAPPENED. WE HAVE YET TO REACH A STAGE WHEN WE CAN HAVE OUR LAND FOR OURSELVES. WHAT WE ASK FOR IS NOT DIVISION BUT FREEDOM. WHY WE ASK THIS IS NOT BECAUSE OF NARROW THINKING. WHAT WE HOPE TO ACHIEVE IS NOT ONLY THE EMANCIPATION OF THE TAMIL PEOPLE BUT ALSO THE GREATER GOOD OF THE SINHALESE PEOPLE THEMSELVES.

FATHER OF THE NATION , THANGATHURAI