

ABEL

the disappeared...



Fortnightly

Bilingual

Mabelfortnightly@gmail.com

Issue No. 21 2021 November-30

+14167669544

Designed by Samantha

Editor: Arumugam Gopal

Special Editor: Thozhar Thiagu

[Pluralism under attack](#)

AS IN INDIA SO IN SRI LANKA: ONE COUNTRY, ONE LAW!



Sri Lankan President Gotabaya Rajapaksa has appointed a 13-member Presidential Task Force to study the implementation of the concept "One Country, One Law" and to prepare a draft Act.

An Extraordinary Gazette Notification has been issued establishing the Presidential Task Force of 13 members for one country and one law. The taskforce will be chaired by Ven. GalagodaaththeGnanasaraThero.

Mrs. Jeewanthi Senanayake, Senior Assistant Secretary to the President has been appointed as its Secretary.

The other members of the Task Force are Professor Dayananda Banda, Professor Shanthinandana Wijesinghe, Professor Sumedha Siriwardana, N.G. Sujeewa Panditharathna, Attorney-at-Law Iresh Senevirathne, Attorney-at-Law Sanjaya Marambe, Eranda Nava-

rathna, PaniWewala, MoulaviMohomad Ulama Council, Galle, MohomadInthikab, Lecturer, KaleelRahuman, and Azeez Nizardeen. Not a single Tamil name!



The gazette states that focusing on the fact that administration of justice, its implementation and protection under the law should be fair by all as set out in the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, and also that it is indicated under fundamental rights therein that no citizen should be discriminated against in the eye of law on merit without special treatment on the ground of nationality, religion, caste or any other grounds. What a cruel joke!

Furthermore, the implementation of the concept; one country, one law within Sri Lanka is reflected as a methodology of ensuring nationally and internationally recognized humanitarian values. What a concern for humanitarian values! From a State credibly alleged to have committed crimes against humanity and war crimes! The Sri Lankan state continues to maintain that its war against 'terrorism' was a humanitarian one! Maybe, its genocide of Tamils could be claimed to be a humanitarian genocide!

The Task Force is entrusted with the following tasks

1. To make a study of the implementation of the concept; One Country, One Law within Sri Lanka and prepare a draft Act for the said purpose, and
2. To study the draft Acts and amendments that have already been prepared by the Ministry of Justice in relation to this subject and their



ABEL



the disappeared...

Fortnightly Bilingual

Editor: **Gopal Armugam**Special Editor: **Thozhar Thiagu**

Designed by Samantha

Issue No. 21 2021 Nov30

Contact No. +1 (416) 766-9544

E-mail: abelfortnightly@gmail.com

appropriateness and if there are suitable amendments to submit a proposal for the purpose and include them in such relevant draft as is deemed appropriate.

The Task Force should submit a report to the President once a month and the final report should be submitted on or before February 28 next year, the relevant gazette notification said.

The head of the Task Force GalagodaAththeGnanasaraThero is the public face of the country's leading anti-Muslim campaign group, BoduBalaSena (Army of Buddhist Power, or BBS). He is widely [accused of inciting inter-communal violence](#), including two deadly anti-Muslim [pogroms](#) in June 2014 and March 2018. Convicted of contempt of court for a separate incident, Gnanasara was sentenced to six years in prison but received a presidential pardon from Rajapaksa's predecessor, Maithripala Sirisena, in his final months in office. The act of clemency came after intensive lobbying by Sinhala racist monks and an upsurge of anti-Muslim sentiment in the aftermath of the 2019 Easter bombings, a series of attacks on churches and tourist hotels carried out by a small group claiming allegiance to the Islamic State, or ISIS.

Observers across the Sri Lankan political spectrum, including some Buddhist nationalists, expressed dismay – at times, outrage – that the president could name someone whose disrespect for the law and hostility to Tamils, Muslims and non-Sinhala Buddhist minorities are a matter of public record to head a commission ostensibly designed to [prevent “discrimination” and ensure “humanitarian values”](#). Critics have called the appointment [“irrational” and even “incomprehensible”](#).

The Rajapaksa government is [deeply unpopular](#), including among large sections of its core Sinhala Buddhist constituency, and desperate to divert public attention from its economic mismanagement. There is thus a clear if deeply unfortunate logic for it to bring



back to the fore the best-known proponent of a theme that was key to getting the president elected: fear of Tamils and Muslims as a source of [“religious extremism”](#). While it was in one sense surprising to see the open affirmation of Rajapaksa’s active support for the controversial monk after many years of distancing himself from Gnanasara, tight links between Sri Lankan government officials and the Buddhist clergy are nothing new. The [Constitution of Sri Lanka \(1978\)](#) gives Buddhism the [“foremost place”](#) in the country’s religious landscape and the state the duty to “protect” it.

There is nothing comforting in this history, however. The Sinhala Buddhist majoritarian nature of the Sri Lankan state – i.e., the extent to which the state represents and enforces majority interests at the expense of the rights of other communities – has had disastrous effects on the country’s ethnic and religious minorities. The state’s transition from being structurally discriminatory to openly hostile toward Tamils (who are Hindu or Christian) – a process fed by Sinhala politicians’ warnings about the threat the community allegedly posed – ultimately led to three decades of devastating civil war, which culminated in the Mullivaikkal genocide.

In November 2019, Gotabaya Rajapaksa’s successful campaign for Sri Lanka’s presidency made much of the slogan “one country, one law”, which had [gained popularity after the 2019 Easter bombings](#). Its ambiguity was useful: at one level, it could be interpreted as merely asking for uniform treatment of all citizens and resonated with voters angry at the impunity with which politicians and their powerful supporters are able to violate the law.

But its discriminatory implication was also obvious from the start, hinting at a need to “protect” the Buddhist nature of state and society. by eliminating what remains of the



separate rules and treatment that are historically available to Tamils and Muslims.

With the arrival of BBS ultra-nationalists on the political scene in late 2012 – whose message was amplified by the smaller militant Sinhalese groups Sinhala Ravaya and Ravana-Balakaya – the public portrayal of Sri Lankan Muslims rapidly took on more overtly hostile forms.

At the height of its influence, in 2013 and 2014, BBS dominated news coverage and [helped set the political agenda](#) through rallies, speeches and vigilante actions aimed at containing the threat Muslims’ alleged [“extremism” posed to Sri Lanka’s Sinhala Buddhist character](#). The range of allegations promoted by BBS and like-minded organisations, often through online hate speech, was broad and shifting. They claimed that population growth meant that Muslims would eventually overtake the Sinhalese majority; that Muslim-owned businesses were secretly distributing products to sterilise Sinhalese in order to keep their numbers down; and that the [system of halal food labelling](#) was encroaching on the religious rights of others and covertly funding Islamist militants. More generally, conservative religious practices adopted by increasing numbers of Muslims in a quest for greater piety were read by ultra-nationalists as evidence of growing “extremism” that threatened other communities. These charges were based on either outright falsehoods or malicious misinterpretations of complex social and religious developments

among Sri Lankan Muslims. We cannot help being reminded

The anti-Muslim rhetoric helped set off inter-communal violence late in the presidency of Gotabaya's brother Mahinda Rajapaksa (2005-2015). These years saw a series of [attacks on Muslim-owned businesses](#) (with many alleging that Sinhala business rivals were backing the attackers) and disruption of political meetings held by anyone daring to challenge the Buddhist militants, against the backdrop of mass rallies denouncing the alleged threat posed by Muslims' "extremism". In a [June 2014 speech](#) in the town of Aluthgama, Gnanasara declared to a large crowd: "This country still has a Sinhala police. A Sinhala army. If a single Sinhalese is touched, that will be the end of them all [Muslims]". Minutes later, hundreds of his supporters marched through a nearby Muslim neighbourhood, [sparking two days of devastation](#) that left three Muslims and one Tamil security guard dead. Sinhala rioters, many of them brought in from outside the area, targeted mosques and Muslim-owned shops and homes for arson and destruction. The police were widely accused of standing by or even assisting the rioters.



Despite government denials, many independent observers opined at the time that the Mahinda Rajapaksa administration was actively supporting the BBS and other anti-Muslim campaigns. They suspected the government of executing an electoral strategy designed to consolidate the Sinhala vote behind the government, which projected itself as the defender of Sinhalese Buddhist identity. The appearance of Gotabaya Rajapaksa, then defence secretary, at a BBS event in March 2013, and his known connections with senior monks associated with the group, fuelled the speculation. More tangible evidence of state backing lay in the fact that police gave BBS and like-minded groups permission to hold rallies at a time when government critics were not allowed to do so. Police took no apparent action, moreover, to prevent or investigate repeated vigilante raids on Muslim-owned shops or violent efforts to silence critics of militant Buddhist organisations. Nor was anyone prosecuted for any of these crimes. Multiple sources revealed that Senior Deputy Inspector General of Police [Anura Senanayake](#), who worked closely with Gotabaya at the time, led efforts to persuade victims not to press charges. Following Mahinda's defeat in the January 2015 election, officials announced they had [evidence of close ties](#) between

Buddhist militants and military intelligence units, confirming what Muslim community leaders had previously been claiming.

With the 2015 [election of President Maithripala Sirisena](#), representing a united opposition determined to end the Rajapaksas' rule, the strategy of demonising Muslims for electoral ends seemed to have failed. Sirisena's yahapaalanaya (good governance) coalition won in part through strong Muslim and Tamil backing based on its promises to end the BBS-led reign of terror. But while the new administration stopped tacitly encouraging anti-Muslim violence and hate speech, it lacked the political courage – and possibly the necessary support within the police and intelligence agencies – to crack down on Buddhist militant groups.

After a brief lull in anti-Muslim activism, 2016 and 2017 saw a series of small attacks on Muslim businesses by unknown assailants, encouraged by sustained hate speech campaigns in traditional and social media, backed by effective local networks. In February 2018, Buddhist militants in Ampara [damaged a mosque and Muslim-owned shops](#) as the police looked on, following social media rumours that a Muslim-owned restaurant had injected sterilising chemicals into Sinhala customers' food. The following month, [four days of anti-Muslim rioting](#) shook the central hill district of Kandy, sparked by the death of a Sinhala man assaulted weeks earlier by four Muslim men. Gnanasara visited the victim's family and later joined other militant leaders to address a crowd of protesters just hours before the riots began. Videos later appeared to show local politicians from the Rajapaksa family's party, the Sri Lanka PodujanaPeramuna, taking part in the mayhem. Two people were killed, many injured, hundreds of Muslim-owned houses and shops destroyed, and at least a dozen mosques damaged. The violence was severe enough for President Sirisena to declare a state of emergency, during which the army eventually brought things under control.

President Sirisena, Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe and senior ministers all condemned the violence and promised tough action in response. But despite hundreds of arrests, including of several prominent Buddhist activists, no one was held accountable for these incidents, which included [well-documented attacks on Muslims by security forces](#), with eyewitnesses speaking of numerous cases of [complicity between the police and Buddhist rioters](#). In August 2018, courts eventually convicted Gnanasara of contempt of court and criminal intimidation of a prominent Sinhala human rights activist. Many hailed his six-year sentence as a landmark, though Gnanasara has faced no jail time for attacks on

or other actions against Muslims, and most of the slow-moving criminal cases against him in lower courts [have now been dropped](#).

The partial victory over impunity was, however, short-lived. In 2019, in the aftermath of the [horrific Easter Sunday](#) suicide attacks, the Sri Lankan state for the first time adopted policies that directly discriminated against the Muslim minority. With tensions running high, President Sirisena's government used the post-bombing state of emergency to prohibit the niqab, or full face covering, invoking national security concerns (the ban was rescinded in August 2019 when the emergency was lifted). It also enacted new rules for government employees that, in effect, barred the full-length abaya, worn by many Muslim women teachers, especially in the Eastern Province (these were later withdrawn after being challenged by Sri Lanka's Human Rights Commission). Anxious to salvage his sinking political fortunes as the November 2019 presidential election drew near, Sirisena then pardoned Gnanasara. The nationalist monk immediately [leapt into the political fray](#), joining his peers in protests demanding the resignation of Muslim ministers Rishad Bathiudeen and Azath Salley, accusing them – to date without convincing evidence – of involvement in the Easter attacks.

For many Sinhalese, especially Christians, as well as some Tamils, the Easter attacks seemed to confirm earlier warnings of a growing threat from “Islamic extremism”. Authorities responded to these fears in the attacks' aftermath with what appeared to be the criminalisation of Muslims' everyday practices. Police arrested more than two thousand Muslims under emergency and terrorism laws, in all but a few cases with no evidence of links to the bombings or any threatening behaviour; they picked up many merely for having a Quran or other religious materials in Arabic script at home.

After the Easter bombings, the previously failed electoral strategy of shoring up Sinhala support through vilification of Muslims gained new traction. Gotabaya announced his candidacy just days after the attacks, promising to eradicate new forms of religiously motivated terrorism just as he had previously destroyed the Tamil Tigers when he was defence secretary. At the polls, Gotabaya received overwhelming support from Sinhala voters, including many Catholics who had not previously backed him. The new president himself seemed to acknowledge the strategy's success, declaring in his [inaugural speech](#) given in front of a Buddhist shrine:

“I knew that I could win with only the votes of the Sinhala majority”

Within months of taking office, Gotabaya deepened the state’s hostility toward Muslims on several fronts. His administration used COVID-19 lockdowns and ad hoc village-level quarantines to harass the community, which pro-government media outlets accused of spreading the virus. More damaging was the government’s decision on 1 April 2020 to ban burial of anyone even suspected of having died of the disease. Announced the day after the first Muslim victim died, the decision was justified by a claim – quickly [rejected by the World Health Organisation and Sri Lankan experts](#) – that the virus could spread from interred remains through the groundwater. The policy, which stayed in place for nearly a year, had a profoundly cruel effect on Muslim families, who were forced to cremate their loved ones’ bodies against their religious convictions. The Eelam Tamils stood in solidarity with their Muslim brethren in opposing this crooked policy.

It was rescinded on 26 February, after a [global advocacy campaign](#) that sought to mobilise the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation and member states of the UN Human Rights Council, which was due to assess Sri Lanka’s human rights record weeks later. Even after the ban was lifted, however, Sri Lanka has allowed burials in only one remote location, heavily guarded by the military – a limitation that continues to impose hardships on Muslims, as well as the smaller number of Christians and Hindus who choose to bury their dead.

On 12 March, the government also announced [new regulations](#) for “deradicalisation” of those “holding violent extremist religious ideology”. Issued under the draconian Prevention of Terrorism Act, the rules allowed the defence ministry to detain anyone accused of causing “acts of violence or religious, racial or communal disharmony or feelings of ill will or hostility between different communities or racial or religious groups” for up to eighteen months, without any judicial process or oversight. Human rights lawyers and Muslim leaders quickly filed suit in the Supreme Court, which in August put the measures on hold until it decides the case. Even if the court quashes the regulations, however, the government’s clear intention to establish a “deradicalisation” program leads some to believe it may enshrine similar powers in revisions to the counter-terrorism law it is presently preparing.

The regulations were issued without evidence that any significant number of Muslims in Sri Lanka posed a threat to security or would benefit from a program along the contem-

plated lines. They did, however, offer the government a face-saving way to release some of the hundreds of Muslims arrested after the Easter attacks who are still detained, in some cases without charge, by putting them into a “deradicalisation program”. Holding large numbers of Muslims in special camps for another year or more, as the proposed deradicalisation program would do, however, would risk contributing to a collective sense of humiliation and anger that could itself push some toward “violent extremist religious ideology”. As Muslim activists regularly warn, the risk is particularly high as long as the government’s approach leaves no room for the possibility that Buddhists could promote their own forms of violent extremism.

Overlapping enquiries into the Easter bombings have, meanwhile, been politicised in ways that appear aimed at keeping alive fears of Muslims as a source of insecurity. As part of its broader attack on the independence of police and courts, Gotabaya’s government replaced the entire team looking into the bombings soon after coming to power, [arrested the chief investigator](#), Shani Abeyssekera, on what appear to be trumped-up charges, and demoted other officers. Another key investigator [fled the country](#) fearing arrest. The administration has also refused to act on the key recommendations of a separate commission of enquiry – appointed by President Sirisena – into the bombings. These included, among others, prosecuting Sirisena, who is now a key government ally, and banning BBS, whose anti-Muslim incitement the commission found had contributed to the bombers’ turn to violence in a process of “[reciprocal radicalisation](#)”.

In what seems to be an attempt at maligning Muslim leaders, the Gotabaya administration also detained or charged a number of prominent Muslim personalities, seemingly without credible grounds. Ex-minister Bathiudeen faces terrorism and extremism charges – despite having been cleared of links to the Easter bombings by the presidential commission of enquiry. On 2 December, a court released another Muslim lawmaker, Salley, after he had spent eight months in jail, citing lack of evidence. The prosecution of [human rights lawyer and political activist HejaazHizbullah](#) for his supposed links to the Easter terrorist attacks also appears to be groundless, relying in part on [coerced testimonies](#).

The government’s approach has angered Sri Lanka’s Catholic leadership, which has accused it, and the president himself, of [covering up the “masterminds” behind the Easter bombings](#). Church leaders suggest that the [government has been protecting Sirisena](#) and refusing to follow up on evidence uncovered by the presidential commission that implies

military intelligence officers had contact with some of the bombers before and on the day of the attack. Backed by Pope Francis, Colombo's archbishop Cardinal Malcolm Ranjith has called for an international investigation. Following an October online meeting that aired church criticisms, the police summoned one of the cardinal's top advisers for three days of questioning.

Stung by growing criticism of its handling of the Easter bombings investigation, and facing a grave economic crisis that has badly damaged its popular support, including among Sinhala Buddhists, the Rajapaksa government signalled with Gnanasara's appointment that it is returning to the "one country, one law" agenda that helped get it elected.

Given the concept's vagueness, however, and the deep contradiction between it and the explicit privileges that Buddhism enjoys under the constitution, no one is sure what Gnanasara's task force will actually do. While it can, in principle, look into the practices of all religious and ethnic groups, few observers doubt that it will focus its attention on the Muslim minority. It is expected to consider reforms to the madrasa education system – Muslim leaders have submitted proposals to the government – as well as government plans to regulate activities in mosques, monitor the import and translation of the Quran and other Arabic texts, ban the niqab and burqa, and outlaw cattle slaughter (an industry dominated by Muslims and often criticised by Buddhist activists).

Gnanasara's task force also seems certain to weigh in on long-discussed changes to the Muslim Marriage and Divorce Act, a new version of which the cabinet [approved in August](#). Over the past years, Muslims and others have bitterly debated possible reforms to the Act, with complicated overlap between human rights and [feminist critiques of the legislation](#) as patriarchal and oppressive and Buddhist nationalist criticisms of Muslims having their own marriage and family law.

Sri Lankan law enshrines distinct traditions of family law for Sinhalese in Kandy and Tamils in Jaffna, as well as for Muslims, but [this Act has come in for particular criticism](#) on account of allowing polygamy, setting no minimum age for marriage, requiring no explicit consent from the bride and establishing all-male courts to hear divorce cases. But Gnanasara's involvement in government efforts to alter it will likely weaken the leverage of Muslim feminist reformers pushing to strengthen women's marriage and divorce rights and strengthen resistance to change from the all-male communal leadership,

which [has argued that feminist criticisms of the law, in effect, endorse Buddhist militant portrayals of Islam as a backward religion.](#)

It remains to be seen, however, how far the government will allow or encourage Gnana-sara to go. On the one hand, Buddhist nationalists appear to see “one country, one law” as a call for “a single law” that gives pre-eminence to Buddhist institutions while denying those of other religions official recognition. Some top officials clearly see things the same way: it was particularly revealing that Gnana-sara’s appointment was followed three weeks later by a series of [large-scale Buddhist religious ceremonies](#) in the sacred city of Anuradhapura, featuring the president, cabinet and top military brass alongside the Mahanayakes, Sri Lanka’s most powerful Buddhist clerics. The two days of ceremonies were grand displays of the government’s project of more fully integrating state, military and Buddhist clergy on the basis of an overtly Sinhala nationalist political vision. On the other hand, in a December meeting, Foreign Minister G.L. Peiris [assured ambassadors](#) from Muslim countries that Sri Lanka would “continue to retain” “personal laws specific to Muslim, Kandyan and Tamil communities”. Moreover, to date, Colombo has carefully calibrated its anti-Muslim policies so as to keep the backing of its hardline Buddhist nationalist supporters and win a degree of [international support for helping “counter violent extremism”](#), while maintaining good relations with economic and political allies in the Muslim world.

The government may as yet have no precise agenda for the task force, but given Gnana-sara’s charisma and theatrical skills, he is a potentially powerful, and dangerous, asset for reframing political debate, deepening divisions between Tamils and Muslims and possibly even provoking a new round of anti-Muslim unrest. He has been central in propagating Buddhist nationalist ideology over the last decade.

One cannot miss the striking similarity between the Indian and the Sri Lankan drives towards ONE COUNTRY, ONE LAW (add: one religion, one language, one nation, one party, one leader). Denial of pluralism is a facet of fascism, and consistent democracy requires pluralism in all fields.

PANDORA PAPERS

Sri Lankan power couple piled up luxury homes, artworks and cash offshore as ruling family rose and rose

Scilla Alecci



Secret files reveal Rajapaksa ruling family member and husband used secret companies to stash riches around the world.

In early 2018, workers in a London warehouse carefully loaded an oil painting of Lakshmi, the Hindu deity of wealth, onto a van bound for Switzerland.

The painting, by 19th-century Indian master Raja Ravi Varma, depicts the four-armed goddess clad in a red sari with gold ornaments and standing atop a lotus flower. It was one of 31 works of art, altogether worth nearly \$1 million, that were being shipped to the Geneva Freeport in Switzerland. That vast, ultra-secure warehouse complex, larger than 20 soccer fields, stores among its many treasures what the BBC once called “the greatest art collection no one can see.”

The owner of “Goddess Lakshmi,” and the artworks in transit with it, as recorded on the packing slip, was a Samoan-registered shell company with an unremarkable name, Pacific Commodities Ltd. But a cache of leaked documents from Asiaciti Trust, a Singapore-based financial services provider, indicates that a politically connected Sri Lankan, Thirukumar Nadesan, secretly controls the company and thus is the true owner of the 31 pieces of art. His wife, Nirupama Rajapaksa, is a former member of Sri Lanka’s Parliament and

a scion of the powerful Rajapaksa clan, which has dominated the Indian Ocean island nation's politics for decades.



The confidential documents, obtained by the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, show that as the country was ravaged by a bloody, decades-long civil war, the couple set up anonymous offshore trusts and shell companies to acquire artwork and lux-

ury apartments and to store cash, securities and other assets in secret. They were able to amass and hide their fortune in secrecy jurisdictions with the assistance of financial services providers, lawyers and other white-collar professionals who asked few questions about the source of their wealth – even after Nadesan became a target of a well-publicized corruption investigation by Sri Lankan authorities.



As of 2017, Rajapaksa and Nadesan’s offshore holdings, which haven’t previously been made public, had a value of about \$18 million, according to an ICIJ analysis of a Nadesan trust’s financial statements. The median annual income in Sri Lanka is less than \$4,000.

In emails to Asiatici, a longtime adviser of Nadesan’s put his overall wealth in 2011 at more than \$160 million. ICIJ couldn’t independently verify the figure.

The records describing the financial machinations of Nadesan and Nirupama Rajapaksa are among more than 11.9 million records from Asiatici and 13 other offshore service providers obtained by ICIJ and shared with global media partners as part of the Pandora Papers investigation. The two-year investigation found billions pouring out of impoverished and autocratic nations and into private accounts listed under the names of shell companies and trusts, often hidden from courts, creditors and law enforcement.

Among the results: Governments around the world are starved of desperately needed resources, and global wealth is concentrated into ever fewer hands. In Sri Lanka, where economists say the income gap between the poor and the rich continues to increase, lax tax regulations have been a boon for the wealthy and powerful. The rest of the country which is still recovering from the civil war, has been left with little to invest in schools, health care and other social programs.

Piyadasa Edirisuriya, a former Sri Lankan finance ministry official and now a lecturer at Australia’s Monash University, says that offshore financial services firms could stop illicit money flows by conducting due diligence on clients and monitoring their transactions. “But in international financial centers, many don’t do that,” he said. “That is why people in countries like Sri Lanka can earn money in corrupt ways and easily use these tax havens to send them overseas.”

Sri Lanka's president is Gotabaya Rajapaksa. Nirupama Rajapaksa's late father was his cousin. The president's older brother, Mahinda Rajapaksa, is prime minister. Human rights groups have accused the brothers of war crimes. Former government officials have alleged that the family has amassed a multibillion-dollar fortune and hidden part of it in bank accounts in Dubai, Seychelles and St. Martin. At least eight family members and loyalists have been investigated by authorities and some have been charged with crimes including fraud, corruption and embezzlement, according to media reports.



Nirupama Rajapaksa's husband, Nadesan, faces allegations that he secretly helped one of his in-laws, a government minister, build a posh villa with government funds.

In a 2015 affidavit, Gotabaya Rajapaksa claimed that he and some members of his family had been the targets of a "vindictive and vicious campaign."

In response to questions from ICIJ, Nirupama Rajapaksa and Nadesan said that their "private matters are dealt with by [the couple] properly with their advisers" and did not comment on their companies and trusts.

Nadesan added that the 2016 charges against him are "spurious and politically motivated."

Asiaciti said that the firm is “committed to the highest business standards, including ensuring that our operations fully comply with all laws and regulations.”

It did not comment on the services it provided to Nadesan and Nirupama Rajapaksa.

A dynasty rises amid civil war

Civil war ravaged Sri Lanka for a quarter-century. The seeds of the conflict go back to 1948, when nationalists, led by Don Alwin Rajapaksa, granted certain citizenship privileges to the Sinhalese majority, alienating the country’s ethnic Tamil minority. Animosity boiled over into open conflict in 1983, when the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, an insurgent group, killed 13 government soldiers.

The years that followed were marred by torture, abductions, arbitrary arrests and the massacre of civilians, by the separatists and by government forces. One of the army chiefs leading the fight against the Tigers was Gotabaya Rajapaksa – Don Alwin’s son. Gotabaya was nicknamed “The Terminator” because of his reputation for ruthlessness.

The leaked records show that as the conflict intensified, Nirupama Rajapaksa, now 59 years old, and her husband, Nadesan, were establishing shell companies and trusts in off-shore jurisdictions. The reasons, according to a client review in the leaked files: “confidentiality and estate planning.” Other powerful elites in the region, including relatives of Indonesian and Filipino autocrats Suharto and Ferdinand Marcos, have followed the same playbook.

In 1990, Nadesan, a British-educated businessman and trustee of several Sri Lankan Hindu charities and temples, set up a trust and a shell company in the Channel Islands, British crown dependencies off the coast of France.

The company, Pacific Commodities Ltd., would collect millions of dollars, an internal document shows, advising foreign companies doing business with the Sri Lankan government. One client was Contrac GmbH, a German manufacturer that supplied airfield buses for a project involving the country’s national airline company, now SriLankan Airlines.

Contrac said the company was not able to comment on the project. The case is “31 years old and therewith far too old for our physical and data archive,” a spokesperson said..

As the civil war escalated in May 1991, Rajapaksa and Nadesan set up Rosetti Ltd., another shell company, on the Channel Island of Jersey. It would provide consulting services “mainly in relation to inward investment into Sri Lanka,” according to confidential documents.

The couple used Rosetti to buy a luxury apartment in Sydney, near Darling Harbour. They used the same shell company to buy three apartments in London, one by the Thames River that they resold a few years later for \$850,000, and two worth more than \$4 million that were rented out “on a commercial basis.”

The properties have not been previously linked to the couple. Buying them through the Channel Islands company virtually ensured as much. The jurisdiction allows companies incorporated there to shield their true owners from public view while paying relatively little if any taxes.

As the offshore fortune continued to grow, Nirupama Rajapaksa entered politics. In 1994, she was elected to the Sri Lankan Parliament.

Power couple

In 2009, the Sri Lankan army killed Tamil chief Velupillai Prabhakaran, effectively ending the quarter century-long civil war.

Mahinda Rajapaksa – Gotabaya’s brother – was hailed as the leader who had defeated the rebels. Despite war crime allegations by European Union officials and other foreign observers, he won a second term in the 2010 presidential election.

Rajapaksa assigned himself the defense, finance, ports, aviation and highways portfolios and retained Gotabaya as secretary of the Ministry of Defence and Urban Development. He named another brother, Basil, minister of economic development and yet another, Chamal, became speaker of Parliament.

Nirupama Rajapaksa got a government post, too: deputy minister of water supply and drainage.

Altogether, the Rajapaksa family controlled up to 70% of the national budget, the Al Jazeera news channel reported.

In the world of international finance, government officials like Nirupama Rajapaksa and their families are considered “politically exposed persons,” or PEPs, and are supposed to be subjected to extra scrutiny – in case, for example, they are exploiting their positions for financial gain. Financial services providers are required to alert authorities if they suspect clients are involved in illegal activity.

Asiaciti began to include Nadesan in a special register for PEP clients. After 2010, Niru-

pama Rajapaksa's proper name rarely appeared in the leaked documents related to her family's offshore holdings, and she was sometimes mentioned only as "wife of the settlor," the files show https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/21072241-asiaciti-review_-nadesan-trustw.

Asiaciti officers said they screened some of Nadesan's transactions for suspicious activity and checked media reports for allegations of criminal behavior, documents show. The files indicate that the oversight was flawed. An internal inspection report suggests that the Asiaciti officer in charge of anti-money-laundering reviews didn't provide detailed information on Nadesan's background — which could have raised concerns about the wealth flowing out of Sri Lanka and into his offshore accounts. And Asiaciti employees were "unable to locate" periodic records on assessments of the client's activities.

Asiaciti told ICIJ that the firm maintains a "strong" compliance program. "However, no compliance program is infallible," it said in an emailed response.

"When an issue is identified, we take necessary steps with regard to the client engagement and make the appropriate notifications to regulatory agencies," the firm said.

After his wife assumed her government post, Nadesan began to transfer assets to new secrecy jurisdictions. Asiaciti set up a trust for him in New Zealand in 2012 and later moved it to the Cook Islands in the South Pacific, a jurisdiction that U.S. law enforcement agencies consider "vulnerable" to money laundering, with laws that protect trust beneficiaries from court judgments.

Asiaciti also transferred Pacific Commodities from the Channel Islands to Samoa, another South Pacific island nation, which is on the European Union's blacklist of noncooperative countries because of its "harmful preferential tax regime."

By this point, Nadesan's consulting company had become the owner of an art collection, which included paintings by noted Sri Lankan cubist George Keyt and by Indian artists Jamini Roy (known for combining Indian and Western styles) and Maqbool Fida Husain (known as the "Picasso of India)." By 2014, the collection would grow to include 51 pieces with an estimated total value of more than \$4 million. Some of the art was stashed in a London warehouse; other works were stored in the Geneva Freeport.

John Zarobell, San Francisco University associate professor and an expert on the economics of art, said art is seen by some collectors as just another commodity, like real estate or gold. “It’s one of those assets that you can use to diversify [your portfolio] and pass that value to others,” he said.

The couple’s rental properties were yielding thousands of dollars in income, sometimes paid in cash. In London, agents working for Nadesan would vet prospective residential tenants. In Sydney, a contractor would check that the TV, window blinds and other accessories in the couple’s luxury apartment were working properly.

Amid the flurry of offshore activity, Nadesan bought a 16-acre plot near Colombo, which would later come under scrutiny by investigators.

In Colombo, Nadesan became chairman of a state company that owned the local Hilton hotel. He presided over galas attended by members of high society.

In 2014, as the Sri Lankan government considered legislation to allow dual citizenship, Nadesan applied for a Cyprus passport after depositing \$1.3 million in a bank there, according to the confidential files. “Citizenship-for-sale” programs like Cyprus’ have been exploited by corrupt politicians and criminals to travel visa-free in the European Union and transfer money into EU countries without much scrutiny. The files don’t say if his application was successful.

As a government minister, Nirupama promoted local industry, shaking hands with Asian prime ministers and giving interviews. In one, she expounded on the difficulties faced by female politicians in a male-dominated environment.

“As women, we have better qualities than men and are more honest and are less vulner-

உரிமைத்தமிழ்த்தேசம் படிக்க கீழே சொடுக்கவும்

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1F-0oGy3P6KkTtDheJcCEI7EEO-XNERTT/view?usp=sharing>

able to bribes and corruption,” she said in a 2014 interview with a local magazine. “If we had more women running the country, it will be good.”

Reversal of fortune

In 2015, the Rajapaksa family’s fortunes shifted dramatically. Dogged by accusations of corruption and authoritarianism, Mahinda Rajapaksa lost the presidential election to a former ally who campaigned on a promise to reform. Soon after, a spokesman for the incoming cabinet told reporters that people close to the Rajapaksa government had secretly transferred \$10 billion to Dubai, a notorious tax haven. “More than our country’s foreign reserves,” the spokesman added.

Mahinda Rajapaksa denied any wrongdoing. Several other Rajapaksa family members would also face corruption investigations.

Nirupama lost her deputy minister job.

A year later, she and her husband were implicated in a \$1.7 million embezzlement case involving the 16-acre plot that Nadesan had acquired six years earlier.

In March 2016, financial authorities summoned the couple to give statements about the plot, upon which a villa had since been built. Prosecutors suspected that the villa actually belonged to Basil Rajapaksa, the former economic development minister, and were trying to determine whether he had used public funds to build the villa with Nadesan’s help.

In a court deposition reported by local media, the villa’s architect testified that Basil Rajapaksa’s wife had attended a groundbreaking ceremony presided over by the presidential astrologer, and that the minister’s office had approved the construction plan, which included a gym, a swimming pool and a surrounding farm.

Leaked files show that, as the investigation continued in the summer of 2016, Nadesan began preparations to open a Dubai bank account for his investment company, which owned a Dubai-registered asphalt firm.

In confidential emails to a bank officer, he introduced himself as the husband of a politician in “semi-retirement” and owner of a 60-room hotel on the eastern coast of Sri Lanka. He signed the emails “TN.”

When the bank employee requested all statements from company bank accounts in the United Arab Emirates, as well as other business records, to comply with the bank’s due

diligence policy, Nadesan was alarmed. He emailed Asiaciti officers instructing them to limit the amount of information they disclosed: “WE CANNOT [yield to] EVERY WHIM @ FANCY A BANK REQUIRES WITHOUT GIVING ANY COMMITMENT THAT WE WILL BE ON BOARDED,” he wrote in all caps. “THESE ARE CONFIDENTIAL SENSITIVE INFORMATION[.] WE HAVE TO DRAW A LINE AT A POINT”

“Kindly note [that the company] is NOT going to exhibit all bank accounts it holds in the UAE . . . under any circumstances, even if an account is not going to be opened,” Nadesan told the bank in a separate email.

In October, Nadesan was arrested on embezzlement charges related to the land and the villa east of Colombo.

Just before his arrest, he wrote a personal letter found in the leaked files to the new Sri Lankan prime minister, Ranil Wickremesinghe, proclaiming his innocence. Nadesan said he wasn’t aware until he read news reports that Basil Rajapaksa had built a house on his property. Then he sold the land, he said, to avoid “harm to [his] name and reputation.”

“I request your good self to appreciate that I have not done anything improper or illegal and do justice by me,” Nadesan wrote. “My transactions are transparent and matters of records.”

Nadesan denied wrongdoing and said that the case is based on a non-credible witness. The charges “amount to a travesty of justice,” he said.

Asiaciti officers placed Nadesan and his trusts under “high risk ongoing monitoring,” noting that the criminal case was “still in progress,” internal records show. In an Asian Tribune news article attached to a client review form, Asiaciti officers highlighted in yellow some details of the case, including that Nadesan was “barred from leaving the country.”

But the firm continued to work for Nadesan, managing his trusts and shell companies, which at that point held about \$10 million in assets. Four years later, in 2020, Singapore’s financial authority would fine Asiaciti \$793,000 for failing to implement anti-money-laundering policies and to identify clients at risk of committing financial crimes.

The goddess of wealth and prosperity

In the midst of the corruption investigation, Nadesan hired movers to transfer his London-based art to the Geneva Freeport.

As with other so-called free ports, clients of the 133-year-old Geneva Freeport, both individuals and companies, can store and trade goods held there without incurring customs duties or sales tax.

Anti-money-laundering experts say free ports are increasingly taking on a role played by private banks in protecting wealthy clients' identity and financial dealings. Clients can use the Geneva warehouse complex, majority-owned by the Canton of Geneva, as a place to dodge taxes on their valuables and shield them from creditors and investigators.

Art traffickers have used the Geneva Freeport to hide crates of looted Roman and Etruscan antiquities, among other relics, and to launder money, according to Swiss prosecutors and the Italian police. (The Freeport's managers have since implemented due diligence checks on antiquities, its chairman, David Hiler, told Reuters.)

In 2016, Swiss authorities seized a painting by Amedeo Modigliani after ICIJ's Panama Papers investigation revealed that the \$25 million painting had been stored for years at the Geneva Freeport under the name of a Panama shell company.

The painting, "Seated Man (Leaning on a Cane)," had remained hidden in a room in the Freeport managed by the Geneva-based art-storage company Rodolphe Haller SA. The same company stored Nadesan's collection.

In late 2017, Nadesan requested that six works by 19th-century Indian master Raja Ravi Varma be set aside for his personal use, according to emails between Asiatic officers and the art-storage managers. One of them was "Goddess Lakshmi."

Nadesan's advisers said he "hopes" to borrow the artworks from his trust, the owner on paper.

"If you're trying to conceal your ownership through a trust, lending something to yourself makes it kind of look like you don't own it," Zarobell, the art expert, said. "That may just be a kind of sleight of hand."

In January 2018, before the van-load of art arrived at the Freeport an employee at the Rodolphe Haller company opened a new account for Nadesan. The name on the account was not Nadesan's or his wife's but that of their offshore company Pacific Commodities

Ltd., the leaked files show.

“Please note that for confidential [reasons] only authorised officers of [Asiaciti] can give instructions or be informed about the account,” the Rodolphe Haller officer wrote in an email.

Rodolphe Haller did not respond to ICIJ’s request for comment.

Nadesan instructed Asiaciti that upon his death, the art, as well as the apartments in London and Sydney, would belong to his two children, who in the meantime had obtained Cypriot citizenship, according to the leaked files.

A few months after the art transfer, a Sri Lankan media outlet reported that authorities probing Nadesan’s offshore holdings had discovered a Hong Kong bank account holding \$22 million owned by a company linked to Nadesan named Red Ruth Investments Ltd.

The Pandora Papers reveal that the company had received annual loans of \$140,000 from Rosetti Ltd., the Jersey company owned by Nirupama Rajapaksa and Nadesan. The records show Red Ruth then distributed funds to other shell companies and Nadesan’s Cook Islands trust.

Nadesan said that he was not aware of the authorities’ investigation into his company Red Ruth.

Back in power

At the end of 2018, the Sri Lankan government elected in 2015 began to crumble. Many in the Sinhalese majority opposed proposed constitutional reforms that appeared to threaten their prerogatives. The new president abruptly fired the prime minister and installed presidential predecessor and former opponent Mahinda Rajapaksa – an attempt to benefit from Rajapaksa’s popularity, according to political analysts.

Parliament declared the appointment illegal and annulled it. But the political crisis turned out to be a boon for the Rajapaksa brothers. In November 2019, Gotabaya Rajapaksa, the former wartime defense chief, was elected president.

He promptly appointed Mahinda prime minister and dished out plum government roles to other family members.

In January 2021, the new president appointed a government commission to review criminal allegations – including land deal-related embezzlement charges against Nadesan – brought by the previous government against Rajapaksa allies. Over the objections of hu-

man rights advocates and other critics, the commission recommended the charges against Nadesan be dropped. The case is ongoing.

Contributors:

Margot Gibbs, Echo Hui, Mario Christodoulou, Kentaro Shimizu

TAMIL EELAM NATIONAL FLAG DAY



Tamil Eelam National Leader Hon'ble Velupillai Prabhakaran introduced and hoisted the Tamil Eelam National Flag on the occasion of the Second Martyrs' (Great Heroes') Day, the 21st of November 1990.

The Parliament of the Transnational Government of Tamil Eelam in its special session on the 24th of October 2021 resolved and declared that the 21st of November every year henceforward would be the Tamil Eelam National Flag Day.

Today, the 21st of November 2021 is hereby proclaimed, for all the world to know, to be the Tamil Eelam National Flag Day, a special day for the flag that has creditably been the National Flag of the Tamil Eelam Nation for the past 31 years now.

This flag which represents all the people belonging to the Nation of Tamil Eelam across the globe stands for the sovereignty and the right to self-determination of the Tamil Eelam community. It is a reminder of the immeasurable supreme sacrifice made by the Eelam Tamil community fighting for its retrieval and emancipation from foreign rule and Sinhala-Buddhist hegemony.

This flag, the Tamil Eelam National Flag, which is a means of carrying the History of the Liberation struggle, built upon the great dedication of the Martyrs, to the present-day youth and to the future generations, heralds a future when the Tamil Eelam that blossoms tomorrow would majestically stand among the comity of states at the United Nations and on the international stage.

On this, the Tamil Eelam National Flag Day, we solemnly swear by the flags we proudly

hold, and loudly proclaim for the whole world to hear that, on the basis of the right to self-determination of the Tamil Eelam people based on human ethics, we would work courageously with indomitable spirit to establish our rightful separate state of Tamil Eelam and a free society where social justice prevails, overcoming all and any obstacles that may come our way.

TGTE SALUTES THE MARTYRS



Today is the MaveerarNaal, the National Great Heroes Day.

We cherish the memory of those who sacrificed their lives for the cause of liberation and salute them from our hearts.

The Martyrs, beloved children of our Nation, swam the river of fire and overcame all odds to realize the dream of liberation and establish our presence on the global stage.

They fought for a new life not only to be nationally free from Sinhala Buddhist supremacist domination, but for attaining social freedom from male domination, casteism, religious inequality and regional disparities. They fought for social justice and social

equality. They had lofty dreams and great ideals to be realized. While facing the enemy our heroes were clear in their minds that their objective is based on human ethics. They were aware that they have not occupied the territory belonging to any one else, but were fighting with a sense of historic duty and moral courage to clear their own land from occupation by the aliens.

They were liberation fighters who were aware of their fight being based on the political rights of the people of Tamil Eelam having the sanction of international conventions which uphold the right of nations to self-determination.

Our Great heroes defeated disproportionately huge Sinhala armies with superior firepower and won many a battle with their moral courage. It was Napoleon who said moral strength was thrice powerful than military strength and this was amply borne out by our Heroes. They replaced dreams with reality and lived the thirst of freedom in our midst and fell to the soil to be potent seeds.

The fight of our Heroes was to protect us from genocide by Sinhalese hegemony and to build up a new society on the soil of Tamil Eelam based on social justice and equality. The war waged by our heroes was in solidarity with the oppressed peoples of the world and had a world view to support progressive changes.

Our Heroes carried their mission on with the global political understanding that the present world order turns not on the wheel of moral ethics, but on the axis of interests and with geopolitical attention. They guided the struggle in accordance with the evolving opportunities understanding the concerns of the international powers in mind.

Though our Heroes were always willing to acknowledge the possibilities of coordinating the interests of world powers and those of the people of Tamil Eelam, they would never compromise the latter for the sake of the former.

Hence in the international power equation of interests their 'justice' tilted in favor of Sri Lanka and they attached the tag of terrorism to our Heroes and our liberation movement and denied us political recognition, and joined hands with the Sinhala rulers in waging a war of genocide.

Our Heroes fought the war till their last breath and rose to be the history of our Nation.

They continue to guide us in our political journey to this day. They are our guardians, our guiding stars. So long as we hold our Martyrs at heart our nation will never swerve from its chosen path and will never fall a prey to the enemy's machinations. Let us salute them and pay our heroic respects to their memory.

The TGTE joins our Tamil brethren all over the world in saluting our Great Heroes.

Dear People,

We are contemporaries of our Great heroes and witnessed their valor and sacrifice, their love and concern for the people of Tamil Eelam, and lived their history. We have partnered them in their, and the liberation movement's, efforts at gender equality, social justice, regional parity, environmental health, protection of nature, well-being and education.

We have seen how the de facto state established by our National Leader performed its duties in moments of crises and how it handled the tsunami that struck us on the 26th of December 2014. We have seen how our women felt secure under the de facto Tamil Eelam state, how the menace of drug abuse was stamped out and how people believed and trusted the Tamil Eelam police.

Had our Homeland been under the Tamil Eelam de facto state during the present Corona pandemic period, we are sure, it would have led the world by example in tackling the virus, controlling its spread and saving human lives.

As such we are pained to see the persistent attempts to brand our heroes and our liberation movement as terrorist. The Government of Sri Lanka, we are aware, is not alone in this respect. For certain powerful states, we understand, it is part of their political strategy. Yet we cannot ignore this and would oppose this as part of respecting the memory of our Heroes. We feel it our bounden duty to pass on the true history of our Heroes and the Liberation movement to the coming generations. The TGTE's efforts in this regard have to be seen against this background. We see the legal process not as absolute but as part of the political campaign towards this end. We are also taking this campaign to countries like India and the USA other than Britain where we have scored a limited success.

The UK has of course revived its proscription of the LTTE, but has clarified that the Tamil Eelam National Flag has not been banned. This has opened up new opportunities for our struggle. It was an act of paying respectful homage to our Heroes that the TGTE declared November 21st as the Tamil Eelam National Flag Day and celebrated the day this 2021.

இனவழிப்புக்கு நீதி கோரி
ஆபேல் நீத்யின் பாதை

தொடர் உரையாடல்



**தோழர் த்யாரு
ததேவிஇ**



**தோழர் செந்தல்
இளந்தமிழகம்**



ZOOM ID 864 136 8094
PASSWORD 12345

சனி இரவு 7



LIVE

தமிழ்த் தேசிய விடுதலை இயக்கம்

நாகதஅ: விடுதலைப் புலிகள் மீதான தடைநீக்கச் சட்டப் போராட்டத்தின் அடுத்த கட்டம் என்ன?



தமிழீழ விடுதலைப் புலிகள் மீதான பிரித்தானியாவின் தடைக்கு எதிரான சட்டப் போராட்டத்தில், தமிழீழத் தேசியக் கொடி தொடர்பிலும், சுயநிர்ணய உரிமைப் போராட்டம் தொடர்பிலும் வெளிப்பட்டுள்ள பிரித்தானியாவின் நிலைப்பாடு புதியதொரு அரசியல் வெளியினைத் திறந்துள்ளதாகத் தெரிவித்துள்ள நாடுகடந்த தமிழீழ அரசாங்கம், தடை நீடிப்புக்கு எதிரான அடுத்த கட்ட நடவடிக்கை தொடர்பில் சட்டவாளர்களுடன் கலந்தாலோசிக்கப்படுவதாகத் தெரிவித்துள்ளது.

தடைசெய்யப்பட்ட அமைப்புகளுக்கான மேல்முறையீட்டு ஆணையத்திடம் நாடுகடந்த தமிழீழ அரசாங்கம் தொடுத்திருந்த சட்டப்போராட்டத்தின் முதல்கள வெற்றியாக, பயங்கரவாதத் தடைப்பட்டியலில் விடுதலைப் புலிகளைத் தொடர்ந்தும் வைத்திருக்கும் பிரித்தானிய உள்துறையமைச்சரின் செயல் சட்டமுறைமைக்கு முரணானது என ஆணையம் தனது தீர்ப்பில் (ஒக்ரோபர் 21-2020) முன்னராகத் தெரிவித்திருந்தது. இத்தீர்ப்பு வெளிவந்த அடுத்த 28 நாட்களுக்குள் எழுத்துப்பூர்வமாக

ஆணையத்திடம் தாக்கல் செய்யப்பட வேண்டும் என்ற நிலையில், தமிழீழ விடுதலைப்புலிகளைத் தடைநீக்கம் செய்யும் ஆணையை, உள்துறையமைச்சர் நாடாளுமன்றத்தில் முன்வைப்பது மட்டுமே உரிய அடுத்த நடவடிக்கையாக அமையவேண்டுமென நாடுகடந்த தமிழீழ அரசாங்கம் தனது வாதுரையில் தெரிவித்திருந்தது.

தமக்கு 90 நாட்கள் அவகாசம் தருமாறு ஆணையத்திடம் பிரித்தானிய அரசு தரப்பு கோரியிருந்தது.இந்நிலையில் விடுதலைப் புலிகள் தொடர்பிலான புதிய ஆதாரங்களுடன் தடையினை நீடிப்பதாக பிரித்தானிய உள்துறை அமைச்சு தெரிவித்துள்ளது.

யூலை 2020ல், கிளிநொச்சியில் வெடிமருந்தொன்று தயாரிக்கப்பட்டுக் கொண்டிருந்த வேளை, தவறுதலாக அது வெடித்துவிட்டதாகவும், இது கரும்புலிகளின் தற்கொலைத் தாக்குதல் வெடிமருந்து போல் இருப்பதாகவும் சொல்லப்பட்டது.

டிசம்பர் 2020ல், பேருந்தில் கைது செய்யப்பட்ட தம்பதிகளிடத்தில் கிளைமோர் குண்டு கண்டுபிடிக்கப்பட்டதாகவும், இவர்களில் ஒருவர் முன்னாள் போராளி என்றும் சொல்லப்பட்டது.

இவ்விரு சம்பவங்களின் அடிப்படையில், விடுதலைப் புலிகளின் இராணுவப்பிரிவு சிறுசிறு குழுக்களாக விடுதலைப்புலிகளின் நோக்கை நிறைவேற்றுவதனை இலக்காகக் கொண்டு பயங்கரவாத நடவடிக்கையில் ஈடுபடுவதாக கருதுகின்றோம் என பிரித்தானிய உள்துறை அமைச்சு தெரிவித்துள்ளது.

மேலும் தமிழீழத் தேசிய துக்க நாளான மே18ல் (2020) சிறிலங்காவின் சுற்றுலாத்துறை அமைச்சு, மட்டக்களப்பு மாநகரசபை மற்றும் இந்தியாவில் கேரளாவில் உள்ள சிறிலங்கா துணைத்தூதரக இணையத்தளங்கள் 'சைபர் தாக்குதலக்கு' இலக்கானதாகவும், இந்த இணையத்தளங்களில் 'தமிழீழத் தேசியக் கொடி' அல்லாது, 'விடுதலைப் புலிகளின் கொடி' தரவேற்றம் செய்யப்பட்டிருந்ததாகவும் உள்துறை அமைச்சு தெரிவித்துள்ளது.

இதேவேளை சுதந்திரமும் இறைமையும் கொண்ட தமிழீழத் தனியரசினை இலக்காக கொண்டு தமிழ்மக்களின் அரசியல் போராட்டங்களுக்கு விடுதலைப் புலிகள் மீதான தடை இடையூறாக இருக்கின்றது என்ற நாடுகடந்த தமிழீழ அரசாங்கத்தின் வாதுரைக்கு பதிலளிக்கும் வகையில் ' சுயநிர்ணய அரசியல் போராட்டங்களுக்கு'

தடைவிதிக்கப்படவில்லை என உள்துறை அமைச்ச தெரிவித்துள்ளது.

அடுத்து வரும் 42 நாட்களுக்குள் தடைசெய்யப்பட்ட அமைப்புக்களின் மேன்முறையீட்டு ஆணைக்குழுவில் மேன்முறையீடு செய்யலாம் என்ற நிலையில், தடைக்கு எதிரான சட்டப் போராட்டத்தின் அடுத்த கட்டம் தொடர்பில் சட்டவாளர்களுடன் ஆலோசனை நடத்த இருப்பதாக நாடுகடந்த தமிழீழ அரசாங்கம் தெரிவித்துள்ளது.

பல்வேறு நாடுகளிலும் விடுதலைப் புலிகள் மீதான தடையினை நீக்குவதற்கான சட்டப் போராட்டம் என்பது, சர்வதேசத் தளத்தில் தமிழர்களது அரசியல் போராட்டத்துக்குப் புதியவெளிகளைத் திறக்கும் என்ற நிலையில், தமிழீழத் தேசியக் கொடி மற்றும் சுயநிர்ணய உரிமைப் போராட்டம் தொடர்பிலான பிரித்தானிய உள்துறை அமைச்சின் நிலைப்பாடு, புதியதொரு அரசியல் வெளியினை திறப்பதோடு இதனை கூர்மைப்படுத்தி எமது இலக்கினை அடைய வேண்டும் என நாடுகடந்த தமிழீழ அரசாங்கம் தெரிவித்துள்ளது.

உருத்திரகுமாரன் உரை:

சிறிலங்காவில் தமிழினவழிப்பு நடந்ததை

அரசுகள் அறிந்தேற்க

குடியியல் சமூகம் நிர்ப்பந்திக்க வேண்டும்

தமிழ் மாவீரர்களின் புனித நினைவுகளை நெஞ்சிலேந்தி என் கருத்துரையைத் தொடங்குகிறேன்.

இனவழிப்புக்கு இரையானவர்களின் நினைவேந்தலுக்கும் அவர்தம் கண்ணியத்துக்குமான பன்னாட்டு நாளைக் கடைப்பிடிக்க இன்று இங்கே குழுமியுள்ளோம். உலகெங்கிலும் நடந்துள்ள, இன்றளவும் நடந்து வரும் பெருந்திரள் வன்கொடுமைகளுக்குச் சான்று பகர இன்று இங்கே குழுமியுள்ளோம்; “இனி ஒருபோதும் இது நடவாது” என்று உறுதிசெய்து கொள்ள இன்று இங்கே குழுமியுள்ளோம்.

லெம்கின் சொன்னார், இனவழிப்பு என்பது மாந்தக்குலத்துக்கே எதிரான

குற்றமாகும். அது ஒரு குழுவைச் சேர்ந்த அனைவரின் வாழ்வுரிமையையும் மறுப்பதாகும் என்கிறது ஐநா பொதுப்பேரவையின் 96(1) தீர்மானம். ருவாண்டாவுக்கான முன்னாள் பன்னாட்டுக் குற்றத் தீர்ப்பாயம் அதனைக் குற்றங்களுக்கெல்லாம் குற்றம் என்று முத்திரையிட்டது. அதுவே குற்றங்களுக்கெல்லம் தாய்க் குற்றம். அது குற்றமெனும் கோபுரத்தின் உச்சியிலிருக்கும் குற்றம் என்று முன்னாள் யுகோஸ்லாவியாவுக்கான பன்னாட்டுத் தீர்ப்பாயம் வண்ணித்தது.



1948ஆம் ஆண்டு முழுப்பேரழிப்பின் அடியொற்றி ஐக்கிய நாடுகள் அமைப்பு இனவழிப்பைத் தடுக்கவும் தண்டிக்கவுமான ஒப்பந்தத்தை இயற்றியது. அதன் உறுப்பு 1 இனவழிப்புக் குற்றத்தைத் தடுப்பதையும் தண்டிப்பதையும் ஒப்பந்தத் தரப்புகளின் மீது ஒரு சட்டக் கடப்பாடாக விதித்தது. உறுப்பு 2 இனவழிப்பாகிய குற்றமாக அமைந்திடும் இனவழிப்புச் செயல்களை இனங்காட்டிற்று. அவையாவன:

(அ) குழு உறுப்பினர்களைக் கொலைசெய்தல்;

(ஆ) குழுவைச் சேர்ந்தவர்களுக்கு உடலளவிலோ மனத்தளவிலோ கடுங்காயம் விளைவித்தல்;

(இ) குழு முழுமையாகவோ பகுதியாகவோ உடலளவில் அழிவுறும் நிலைக்கு வழிகோலும் திட்டப்படியான வாழ்க்கை நிலைமைகளை வேண்டுமென்றே குழுவின் மீது சுமத்துதல்;

- (ஈ) குழுவிற்குள் பிறப்பைத் தடுக்கும் நோக்கங்கொண்ட வழிமுறைகளைத் திணித்தல்;
 (உ) குழுவிலுள்ள குழந்தைகளை வலுவந்தமாக வேறொரு குழுவுக்கு மாற்றுதல்.

தமிழ்த் தேசத்தின் சார்பில் நான் விழைவுற்ற படி, இனவழிப்புக் குற்றத்துக்கான பொறுப்புக் கூறலையும், எதிர்கால இனவழிப்பைத் தடுக்கும் வழிமுறைகளையும் ஆய்வு செய்திட சிறிலங்காவில் நடந்த இனவழிப்பை ஓர் எடுத்துக்காட்டாகக் கொள்கிறேன்.

2009ஆம் ஆண்டு, போரின் இறுதிக் கட்டங்களில் சற்றொப்ப 40,000 மக்கள் கொல்லப்பட்டிருக்கக் கூடும் என்கிறது ஐநா வல்லுநர் குழு அறிக்கை. ஐநா உள்ளக ஆய்வு அறிக்கையின் படி சற்றொப்ப 70,000 மக்களுக்குக் கணக்குத் தரப்பட வில்லை என்பதற்கு நம்பகமான சான்றுண்டு. நம் நினைவில் வாழும் ஆண்டுகை அருள்தந்த ராயப்பு ஜோசப் அவர்களின் பார்வையில், அந்நேரம் சிறிலங்கா ஆட்சியாளர்களே தந்த தரவுகளின் அடிப்படையில் 1,46,679 மக்களுக்குக் கணக்குச் சொல்லப்படவில்லை. சிறிலங்கா அரசு அந்நேரம் இழைத்த ஐந்து கடுமையான மீறல்களை ஐநா வல்லுநர் குழு அறிக்கை இனங்காட்டிற்று: அவையாவன:

- 1) பரவலான குண்டுவீச்சினூடாகப் பொதுமக்களைக் கொன்றது.
- 2) மருத்துவமனைகள் மீதும் மனிதநேய இலக்குகள் மீதும் குண்டுவீசியது,
- 3) மனித நேய உதவி தர மறுத்து,
- 4) உள்நாட்டுப் புலம்பெயர்ந்தோர், தமிழீழ விடுதலைப் புலிகள் என்ற ஐயத்துக்குரியவர்கள் உட்படப் போருக்கு இரையானவர்களும் உயிர்பிழைத்தவர்களும் மனிதவுரிமை மீறல்களுக்கு ஆளானது,
- 5) போர் வலையத்துக்கு வெளியே நிகழ்ந்த மனிதவுரிமை மீறல்கள், ஊடகங்களிலும் பிறவகையிலும் ஆட்சியாளர்களைக் குறைகூறியவர்களுக்கு எதிரான மனிதவுரிமை மீறல்கள் உட்பட,

ஐநா வல்லுநர் குழு கண்டடைந்த முடிவுகளில் 1. 2. 3 ஆகியவை இனவழிப்பு ஒப்பந்தத்தின் இரண்டாம் உறுப்பின் அ, ஆ, இ ஆகிய உட்பிரிவுகளுக்குப் பொருந்தக் கூடியவை ஆகும். இருப்பினும், இரண்டு ஐநா அறிக்கைகளும் சரி, சிறிலங்கா பற்றிய

மனிதவுரிமை உயராணையர் அலுவலக (OISL) அறிக்கையும் சரி, 2009ஆம் ஆண்டு சிறிலங்காவில் நடந்த துயர நிகழ்வுகள் தொடர்பாக இனவழிப்பு என்ற சொல்லைப் பயன்படுத்தவில்லை.

அவர்கள் திரும்பிப் பார்த்துச் சொல்லலாம், குற்றமிழைத்தவர்களின் மனநிலையைச் சொல்வது கடினமென்று. இனவழிப்புக் குற்றத்தின் குற்ற நோக்கத்தை நிறுவ வேண்டுமே, அது கடினம் என்று அவர்கள் சொல்லக் கூடும். எந்தக் குற்ற வழக்கிலும் போலவே குற்ற நோக்கத்தை நிறுவ முடியும். நேரடிச் சான்று கொண்டோ சுற்றுச் சான்று கொண்டோ நிறுவ முடியும். புதுமக்காலத் தகவல்தொடர்புப் பொறிகளும் அப்போது கிடைத்த வேவுத் தகவலும் இருக்கும் போது, குற்றங்களுக்குத் திட்டமிட்டதற்கும் அவற்றை நிறைவேற்றியதற்கும் குற்றமிழைத்தவர்களிடையிலான தகவல் தொடர்பிலிருந்து நேரடிச் சான்று திரட்ட வாய்ப்புண்டு. போரின் இறுதிக் கட்டங்களைப் பல்வேறு நாடுகளும் ஐநாவும் செய்மதிகள் வழியாகக் கண்காணித்தன என்பது பரவலாகத் தெரிந்த செய்திதான். நேரடிச் சான்றே இல்லையென்று வாதத்துக்காக ஏற்றுக் கொண்டாலும், பொதுச் சூழல், தாக்குதலின் விச்சு, இழைக்கப்பட்ட வன்கொடுமைகளின் அளவு, அழிவுச் செயல்கள், பாகுபாட்டுச் செயல்கள் போன்றவை குறித்து சுற்றுச் சான்றினூடாகவும் குற்ற நோக்கத்தை நிறுவ இயலும்.

மேலும், இனவழிப்புக் குற்றம் இழைக்கப்பட்டதாக ஐநா அறிக்கைகள் சொல்லும் என்று எதிர்பார்க்கப்படவில்லை. எதிர்பார்க்கப்பட்டதெல்லாம் இனவழிப்புக்குற்றம் இழைக்கப்பட்டதற்கு நம்பகமான சான்று உள்ளதென்ற கூற்று மட்டுமே. ஆனால் ஐநா தன் அறிக்கைகளில் "இனவழிப்பு" என்ற சொல்லைப் பயன்படுத்தவில்லை. இது தமிழ்ச் சூழலில் தனித்துவமானது மட்டுமன்று, வேறு பல சூழல்களிலும் அப்படித்தான் இருந்துள்ளது. இனவழிப்புக் குற்றத்தை மானிடத்துக்கு எதிரான குற்றங்கள் அல்லது போர்க் குற்றங்களாகக் குணங்குறிப்பதே ஐநாவின் முயற்சியாகும். காரணம் என்னவென்றால், இனவழிப்புக் குற்றம் நிறுவப்பட்டால் இனவழிப்பு ஒப்பந்தத்தில் ஒப்பமிட்ட தரப்புகள் நடவடிக்கை எடுக்க வேண்டிய சட்டக் கடப்பாடு உள்ளது. ஆனால் புவிசார் அரசியல் கணக்குகளால் நாடுகள் நடவடிக்கை எடுக்க விரும்பாதுள்ளன.

போஸ்னிய முசுலிம்களை செர்பியர்கள் படுகொலை செய்த போது அமெரிக்க அதிபர் மூத்தவர் புஷ் அதனை இனவழிப்பாகக் குணங்குறிக்க மறுத்தார். ருவாண்டா இனவழிப்பின் போது கிளிண்டன் ஆட்சி மனத்தை மயக்கும் சொற்சிலம்பம் ஆடிற்று. விளக்கமாகச் சொல்வதென்றால், அந்த நேரத்தில் அவரது ஊடகச் செயலர் என்ன சொன்னார் தெரியுமா? நூறாயிரக்கணக்கான மக்கள் படுகொலை செய்யப்படுகின்றார்கள், இனவழிப்புச் செயல்கள் நடந்து கொண்டிருக்கக் கூடும் என்றார். இதற்கு ஒரு செய்தியாளர் கேட்டார், “எத்தனை இனவழிப்புச் செயல்கள் சேர்ந்தால் ஓர் இனவழிப்பு ஆகும்?” தார்ஃபர் இனவழிப்பின் போது இளையவர் புஷ் முதலில் இனவழிப்பு என்ற சொல்லைப் பயன்படுத்தவில்லை. ஆனால் குடியியல் சமூகமும் ஊடகங்களும் குரல் எழுப்பியதைத் தொடர்ந்து அவர் இறங்கி வந்தார். குற்றம் எவ்வளவு கொடுமையானது என்பதைப் படம்பிடித்துக்காட்ட “இனவழிப்பு” தவிர வேறு எந்தச் சொல்லாலும் முடியாது.

இது தொடர்பில் கனடாவைப் பாராட்டக் கடமைப்பட்டுள்ளேன். ரோகிங்க்யா இனவழிப்பை அறிந்தேற்ற முதல் நாடு அதுவே. சிறிலங்காவில் நடந்த இனவழிப்புக் குற்றம் குறித்துப் பன்னாட்டுப் புலனாய்வு வேண்டுமென்று 2019இல் ஒருமனதாகத் தீர்மானம் இயற்றியமைக்காகவும் கனடாவைப் பாராட்டுகிறேன். ஆனால் அந்தத் தீர்மானம் வெற்றுப் பேச்சாகவே இருந்து வருவதையும் நான் குறிப்பிடத்தான் வேண்டும். இந்தத் தீர்மானத்துக்குப் பொருளுட்டம் தர கனடிய ஆட்சியாளர்கள் ஆவன செய்வார்கள் என நம்புகிறேன். இனவழிப்பு என்ற பெயரை மறுப்பது, இனவழிப்பை இனவழிப்பு என்று அழைக்கத் தவறுவது அக்குற்றத்தைச் சொற்பக் குற்றமாக்கிக் குற்றத்துக்கு இரையானவர்களை இழிவுசெய்வதாகும். சுருங்கச் சொல்லின், அரசியல் அமைப்புகள் இக்குற்றத்தைக் குணங்குறிப்பது சட்டத் தேவைகளைக் காட்டிலும் அரசியல் பார்வைகளைப் பொறுத்ததாகவே உள்ளது. ஒறுப்பச்சமிலாக் குற்றம் (தண்டிக்கப் பெறும் அச்சமில்லாத குற்றம்) எனும் கேட்டை அணுகுவதிலும் அரசியல் பார்வைகளுக்குப் பங்குள்ளது. தமிழினவழிப்புச் சூழலில் இதைப் பார்த்துள்ளோம். ஐநா ஆணையரின் அறிக்கை கலப்புப் பொறிமுறை அமைக்கப்பட வேண்டும் என்று சொன்னாலும், பின்னர் அனைத்துலகக் குற்றவியல் நீதிமன்றத்தின் பார்வைக்கு அனுப்பச் சொன்னாலும், ஐநா மனிதவுரிமைப் பேரவைத் தீர்மானங்களை

முன்மொழிந்த நாடுகள் பொறுப்புக் கூறல் எனும் பொருட்பாட்டை சிறிலங்காவிடமே விட்டுவிடத் தீர்மானித்து விட்டன.

சிறிலங்கா அரசே, அதாவது அந்தக் கொடுங்குற்றங்களை இழைத்ததாகக் குற்றஞ்சாற்றப் பெற்றுள்ள அந்த அரசே உள்நாட்டுப் பொறிமுறையை ஏற்க வேண்டுமெனக் கோருவது அற நோக்கில் நிந்தனைக்குரியது மட்டுமன்று, இயல்பறிவை இழிவு செய்வதும் ஆகும். ஆனால் பொறுப்புக் கூறலை நாடும் போது இதனை அரசுகளின் கையில் மட்டுமே விட்டுவிடுவதற்கில்லை. இன்று குடியியல் சமூகத்துக்குள்ள முக்கியத்துவத்தையும் முதன்மைச் சிறப்பையும் கணக்கில் கொண்டால், குடியியல் சமூகத்தைத் திரட்டி அரசுகளைச் செயல்பட வைக்க முடியும். தமிழினவழிப்புக்கான பொறுப்புக்கூறல் தொடர்பில், செல்வாக்குமிக்க குடியியல் சமூகக் குழு ஒன்று அனைத்துலகக் குற்றவியல் நீதிமன்றத்தில் சிறிலங்காவுக்கு எதிராக சட்ட நடவடிக்கை மேற்கொள்ள இயக்கம் தொடங்க அணியமாகி வருகிறது. இந்த நடவடிக்கை தொடர்பாக வரவிருக்கும் நாட்களில் முகன்மையான அமைப்புகளிடமும் பேசுவோம்.

இனவழிப்பால் பாதிப்புற்றுத் துயருற்ற நாமும் சிக்கலை நம் கையில் எடுத்துப் பொறுப்புக்கூறலுக்கான வழிமுறைகளை வடிவமைக்க வேண்டும். இது தொடர்பாக நாடுகடந்த தமிழீழ அரசாங்கம் பாதிப்புற்றவர்கள் முன்னெடுக்கும் பன்னாட்டு நீதி என்ற ஒரு முன்முயற்சியைத் தொடங்கியுள்ளது. அறிந்து கொள்ளும் உரிமை, உண்மையறியும் உரிமை ஆகிய உரிமைகளின் அடிப்படையில் ஐநாவிடம் ஏற்கெனவே இருக்கும் சான்றினைப் பெறும் செயல்வழியில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ளோம். முன்னாள் ஐநா தலைமை வழக்குத் தொடுநர் பேராசிரியர் குளும் சொல்கிறபடி, சற்றொப்ப 120 நாடுகளில் தனிப்பட்ட குடிமக்கள் குற்றவியல் வழக்கு நடவடிக்கைகள் மேற்கொள்ள வாய்ப்புகள் உள்ளன. நான் கவனப்படுத்த விரும்புகிற இன்னொரு செய்தி என்னவென்றால், இந்தக் கொடுங்குற்றங்களைச் செய்தது ஒற்றைத் தனியாள் அல்லது ஆய்தப்படைகளின் ஒற்றைப் பட்டாளம் அன்று. இவை அரசே செய்த குற்றங்கள். மனிதவுரிமை உயராணையர் அலுவலகம் சிறிலங்கா குறித்துச் செய்த புலனாய்வு (OISL) அறிக்கையில் கண்டுள்ள படி, தமிழர்களுக்கு எதிராக இழைக்கப்பட்ட குற்றங்கள்

அமைப்புசார் குற்றங்கள் ஆகும். ஆனால் இறைமைசார் சட்ட விலக்குரிமை எனும் திரைக்குப் பின்னால் பதுங்கிக் கொள்ளும் அரசுகள் பன்னாட்டு நீதிமன்றத்தின் சட்ட நடவடிக்கை மேற்கொண்டால் தவிர மற்றபடி பொறுப்புக் கூறலிலிருந்து தப்பி விடுகின்றன, நாம் உள்நாட்டுத் தீர்ப்பாயங்களில் இந்தக் குற்றங்களுக்காக அரசை எதிர்த்து உரிமையியல் வழக்குத் தொடர முடியாது. ஆகவே, அரசுகள் இறைமைசார் சட்ட விலக்குரிமையைத் தற்காப்பு வாதுரையாகப் பயன்படுத்திக் கொள்ள முடியாதபடி கனடியச் சட்ட விலக்குரிமைச் சட்டத்துக்கு ஒரு திருத்தம் கொண்டுவருமாறு கனடியச் சட்டமியற்றுநர்களை நாகதஅ கேட்டுக் கொள்கிறது. இந்தத் திருத்தம் அரசுகள் இறைமைசார் சட்ட விலக்குரிமையை ஒரு தற்காப்பு வாதுரையாகப் பயன்படுத்துவதிலிருந்து இனவழிப்புக் குற்றத்துக்கு விதிவிலக்கு அளிப்பதாக இருக்க வேண்டும். தமிழர்களுக்கு மட்டுமல்லாமல் உலகெங்கும் பாதிப்புற்ற மற்றவர்களுக்கும் இதனால் நன்மை விளையும். இவ்வாறு இன்று நாம் ஒரு கூட்டணி அமைத்து இத்திட்டத்தில் பயணம் தொடங்குகிறோம்.

இன்று நாம் பேசிக் கொண்டிருக்கும் போதே சிறிலங்கா அரசு தமிழர்களைக் கட்டமைப்பியல் இனவழிப்புச் செய்வதில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ளது. தமிழ்ப் பண்பாட்டு அடையாளங்களை அழிப்பதன் மூலமும் தமிழர் வாழும் தாயகத்தை வன்கவர்வு செய்வதன் மூலமும் அவர்கள் இதனைச் செய்கின்றனர். லெம்கினும் பன்னாட்டுத் தீர்ப்பாயங்களும் சொல்லியிருப்பது போல, பண்பாட்டு இனவழிப்பு என்பது இனவழிப்பு ஒப்பந்தத்தின் எல்லைக்குள் வராது என்னும் போதே அந்தச் செயல்கள் குறிப்பிட்ட தேசத்தை முழுமையாகவோ பகுதியாகவோ உடல்வகையில் அழிக்கும் நோக்கம் குற்றமிழைப்பவர்களுக்கு இருப்பதைத் தெளிவாகக் காட்டுவன ஆகும்.

இனவழிப்புக்கு ஆளான தேசம் பன்னாட்டுச் சட்டத்தின் அடிப்படையிலும் அறநெறிகளின் அடிப்படையிலும் ஈடுசெய் நீதிக்கு உரித்துடையது. சுதந்திர அரசின் வடிவிலான ஈடுசெய் நீதிதான் சிறிலங்காவில் எதிர்காலத்தில் இனவழிப்பு நிகழாமல் தடுப்பதற்குள்ள ஒரே வழி என்று நாம் உறுதியாக நம்புகிறோம். ஈழத்தமிழர்களாகிய நமக்குத் தன்தீர்வுரிமை (சுயநிர்ணய உரிமை) என்பது உள்ளார்ந்த பிறப்புரிமை ஆகும். பண்பாட்டு இனவழிப்புக்கும் உடல்வகை இனவழிப்பு நிகழும் ஆபத்துக்கும் எதிராக

ஆவேல்

காணாமல் ஆக்கப்பட்டவர்

+14167669544



மாதமிரு முறை இருமொழியேடு வடிவமைப்பு: தோழர் சமந்தா

இதழ்; 21: 2021 நவம்பர் 30

Mabelfornightly@gmail.com

ஆசிரியர்: ஆறுமுகம் கோபால்

சிறப்பாசிரியர்: தோழர் தியாகு

நம்மைக் காத்துக் கொள்ள நாம் இந்த உரிமையைச் செலுத்த வேண்டும் என்றும் நம்புகிறோம். இனவழிப்பைத் தடுப்பதற்கு வெளிநிலை வடிவில் தன்தீர்வுரிமையை நாம் செலுத்த வேண்டும். நாம் உடல்வகையில் அழிந்து போகாமல் பிழைத்திருப்பதற்கே கூட இறைமை கொண்ட சுதந்திரத் தனியரசின் வடிவில் தன்தீர்வுரிமையைச் செலுத்த வேண்டும். கனடிய உச்ச நிதிமன்றம் எடுத்துக்காட்டியது போல் வெளிநிலைத் தன்தீர்வும் ஈடுசெய் நீதியும் பின்னிப்பிணைந்தவை ஆகும். இரண்டும் ஒரே நாணயத்தின் இரு பக்கங்களே.

இனவழிப்பினால் பாதிப்புற்றுத் துயரப்பட்ட மக்களுக்கு நீதி தேடும் முயற்சிக்கு இந்த முக்கியமான நினைவேந்தல் நாளில் நம்மை மீளர்ப்பணம் செய்து கொள்வோம், "இனி ஒருபோதும் இது நடவாது" என்று உறுதி செய்து கொள்வோம்!

