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I would like to thank the organizers of this important conference for allowing me to address the participants and panelists. The Tamils on the island of Sri Lanka are engaged in a struggle to ensure their very physical survival and to exercise their right to self determination.

The recent years have been oppressive for downtrodden people. The subjugated people must stand united in ensuring that the right to resistance remains as fundamental human right to preserve their primary right to live as human beings with security and dignity. The world must recognize the international law proposition that the suppression of this right of self-determination amounts to an act of aggression and that where such acts of suppression are committed there is responsibility in the government as well as the personnel, both military and political of the government, which commits such acts of aggression. The governments and personnel involved must be brought to justice. Accountability is an essential component of peace.

In May of last year in a small strip of land called Mulliavaikal, more than 300,000 innocent Tamils were pushed into death trap. The Sinhala chauvinist regime and its military, ignoring humanitarian laws and civilized norms, engaged in genocide of the Tamils. Last year the International Community failed to take any action to protect civilians and remained silent while the 21st century's most horrific crime against humanity was unfolding in front of its eyes. During the last few days of the conflict more than 50,000 civilian lives were taken; tens of thousands of people were seriously injured and more than 300,000 people were detained in barbed wire camps.

According to Gordon Wess, a former UN official, more than 40,000 Tamils were killed during the final phase of the aggression. Tamil civilians were subjected to indiscriminate aerial bombing and shelling by the Sri Lankan armed forces - 99% Sinhalese - killing innumerable Tamil civilians, not to mention serious bodily and mental harm, along with the destruction of civilian infrastructure, and civic institutions of the Tamils.

More than 300,000 Tamil civilians were denied relief by the Sinhala-dominated government. International NGO's, which had been providing relief to those in need, were ordered by the Sinhala government to vacate the Tamil areas in which active conflict was occurring; thereby

denying food, shelter, medicine and other essentials to innumerable innocents. This was a calculated effort to bring about the Tamils' physical destruction in whole or in part, an act of Genocide.

As the Trial Chamber of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia has pointed out "the constitutive intent of the crime of Genocide maybe inferred from the very gravity of the discriminatory acts. [Case no II-94-2.R61 Prosecutor v. Nikolic]

Pursuant to theories advanced by philosophers Buchanan and Fernando R. Teason, Tamils in the aftermath of the Genocide campaign have a stronger argument for the creation of the state of their own as a remedial measure, as a measure for self preservation, as a measure for self defense, and as a measure of correction of gross injustice.

Article VIII of the Genocide convention provides "any contracting party may call upon the competent organs of the United Nations to take such actions under the Charter of the United Nations as they consider appropriate for the prevention and suppression of acts of Genocide." Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter coupled with the above article provide a legal basis for the creation of an independent Tamil Eelam.

We join together with the subjugated peoples of the world and wish them success in their own battles. We look forward to marching with them towards the same goals of justice and democracy for persecuted peoples. We hope that they in turn would extend their fraternal arms to embrace and help this new idea that has been born of forming a transnational government when the struggle on the homeland fails due to brutal suppression and lack of political space. On behalf of the Transnational Government of Tamil Eelam, I wish the Conference all success. It meets appropriately in Ireland where a freedom struggle was fought on the basis of ideas. Let us hope that the Conference will give rise to fresh hope, new ideas and formulations for conserving the right to self-determination and bringing freedom to the persecuted peoples of the world.

Thank you.

TGTE Interim Chief Executive

Visvanathan Rudrakumaran