

மனதில் இருந்து அழியாத எண்ணங்கள்

Thoughts That Never Leave The Mind



SOLIDARITY SCREENINGS GLASGOW

Issue 7: November 2025

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Whisper in their ears

Another explosion
Tore away from gravity
Sliced through the cosmos
Light waves ahead of sound waves
Elucidate that brightness to the stars.

In the heat of their last breadth
Of those unique souls
Destroying the destructive ship
The ocean heaved once more.

Keep looking sons and daughters
The footprints of freedom sculptors
The true allies of humanity
You will find them here.
Let the interpreters on this globe
Interpret their heart.
Let the researchers on this globe
Research their dedication.

Oh, the waves that kissed them last
When you touch the shores
Whisper in the ears of our people
When freedom is won they will be back.

By: Barathy

("Kaathoodu sollividu" in "Kaathoodu Sollividu", Publication Section - LTTE Women's Division, 1995. Note: This poem is about the black tigers of the movement). Archival research courtesy of Rebecca Dharmapalan.

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Images in this booklet shared for educational and archival purposes only.

Solidarity Screenings Glasgow Manifesto



This manifesto is a guiding document that outlines Solidarity Screenings Glasgows: objectives, principles and strategy. It is aimed at our audience, team and collaborators.

Solidarity Screenings is a film screening initiative based in Glasgow, Scotland. Re-building genuine solidarity through the medium of film is our contribution to the cultural front. We hope to further the growing revolutionary movement in Glasgow. Presentations, booklets, the Solidarity Book Exchange, shared meals and discussions accompany our screenings. The screenings are free of charge to remain accessible to our audience.

Our work is an act of solidarity with liberation struggles internationally. It began in response to Al-Aqsa Flood in October 2023 in support of the Palestinian struggle for national liberation. Initially our primary focus was Arab cinema. We have since broadened our programming, although Palestine always remains our compass. We uphold Al-Thawabet, the fundamental principles of the Palestinian struggle.

The aim of our work is to confront our audience with educational and agitational screenings that move us towards liberation. Glasgow has a rich history of solidarity with movements worldwide. By highlighting under-recognised struggles, we want to build on this history - celebrating with and learning from them. Capitalism instills a pervasive nihilism in every facet of society. We oppose this. We are revolutionary optimists who are guided by anti-imperialist feminist working-class principles. Solidarity Screenings is rooted amongst its audience. Our programming is oriented around what educates and agitates the people - rather than the curators' subjective ideas of 'taste'. Moreover, we aim to create a space that fosters transformative and revolutionary discussion. Guiding questions inform the free-flowing dialogue post-film. The films are only the first step; we must release them from the confines of the screen. Ultimately, our audience teaches us how to continuously improve each event through active engagement and constructive criticism.

A few things remain pertinent in our practice: Each screening comes with a particular purpose and theme. The presentations are the medium that conveys this most clearly. Accordingly, it is crucial to orient ourselves around liberatory and revolutionary movements. We recognise colonialism as an ongoing reality, rather than an evil of the past. We must expose it and uphold the right to resist by all means necessary. Through this we oppose imperialist narratives and disinformation that attempt to put a wedge in our solidarity.

Solidarity Screenings is a collective effort. Collaboration is an essential pillar of the project. We are always keen to have more people involved, whether as a volunteer or guest curator.

If you align with this manifesto and would like to join our efforts or collaborate organisationally, please contact us at solidarityscreeningsglasgow@gmail.com.

Solidarity Screenings upholds the The Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of 'Israel' (PACBI). We urge our collaborators to join us in amplifying and publicly endorsing PACBI. For more information please see: <https://tinyurl.com/45ybenyk>.

Effective, Disciplined, and Feared: the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam

Sinthujan Varatharajah

August 2019 [*Published in The Funambulist Issue 25: Self-Defense*]

In July 1975, the mayor of Jaffna, Alfred Duraiappah was assassinated near a Hindu kovil in Jaffna. Duraiappah's supposed assassins, 21 year-old Vellupillai Prabhakaran and his small armed group, the Tamil New Tigers (TNT), rose to sudden infamy across the Indian Ocean island — whether we call it Ceylon, Sri Lanka, Ilankai, or Eelam (when specifically referring to the Tamil parts). The assassination of the controversial Tamil mayor, who over the years had been branded by many locals as a traitor to the Tamil cause, marked the coming-of-age of the novel Tamil guerrilla group led by their young frontman. They were to change the history of the country and its people.

Over the decades, the group, renamed in 1976 to Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), now more commonly known as the Tamil Tigers or simply iyakkam (movement), was to become one of the most organized, effective, disciplined and feared guerrilla organizations globally. Often described as indestructible, the LTTE became the first guerrilla organization in modern history to establish an army composed of a cavalry, a navy and an air force. Starting off with only a handful of cadres in the 1970s, the LTTE was quickly able to emerge as the leading Tamil guerrilla force. At its peak, the Marxist group was made up of thousands of cadres from various socioeconomic, regional and religious backgrounds. From the early 1980s onwards, about a third of the LTTE's members were Tamil women. This was, considering the patriarchal, orthodox and casteist nature of Tamil society, revolutionary to say the least.

Known for their relentless commitment, their military finesse, political steadfastness, technological innovations and media savviness, the LTTE was highly effective in their struggle for an independent Tamil homeland. From 2002 until 2009 they even managed to run a de-facto state during the shaky ceasefire period (2002–2008) with Sri Lanka, paving the way for self-rule for Tamils from Colombo. However, following the inception of the War on Terror, the LTTE's footing was increasingly under threat.

The organization, so far believed to be indestructible, fell victim to the global drive to criminalize non-state actors who engaged in armed struggles against existing nation-states. As a result of intense and cunning lobbying efforts by the Sri Lankan state and the Sinhalese overseas diaspora, the Tamil liberation movement was over time declared by 51 countries as a "terrorist organization." This changed the stakes of the resistance movement, its ability to source material, financial and political support from abroad, and therefore also its longevity.

The so called "War on Terror" arguably turned the cards in favor of the Sri Lankan state. In 2009 it finally helped the Sri Lankan Army in its brutal destruction of the group in what many describe as a genocide. This wouldn't have been possible, hadn't the Sri Lankan government received tremendous support from around the world.

Sympathies, intelligence and material support from capitals across Europe, the Americas (including the United States and Cuba), Israel, Iran, Pakistan, India, China, Malaysia, Thailand, all the way to Australia were channelled towards the Colombo-based government. States that would otherwise be considered arch-enemies were somehow able to unite under a common agenda in the case of Sri Lanka. Why? The LTTE as an armed non-state actor had become so powerful and influential in its methods that the organisation amassed ideological enemies worldwide and had to be destroyed by any means possible.

Based on its setup, methods and achievements, the LTTE was indeed in many ways a vanguard organization. It was arguably far ahead of its time and far ahead of similar groups across the world. The Tamil resistance group was to heavily change the course of history of this island, particularly the fate of Tamil people. And importantly, they were come to strongly influence armed struggles of stateless and oppressed peoples across the world. Their destruction was thus to become a lesson for other liberation movements elsewhere who carefully monitored the developments on the Indian Ocean island.

Accordingly, the LTTE quite literally became a global litmus test for how to deal with insurgent groups and people. The jungles and the beaches of the Vanni region where the 2009 genocide occurred turned into a global laboratory for similar cases to be played out elsewhere. Sri Lanka was



Self-built LTTE submarine. / Photo by Adam Jones (2014).

later to capitalize from its victory by providing workshops for militaries around the world on how to crush armed resistance movements based on the example of the LTTE. Their tactics were later to be applied in places such as Myanmar, Colombia, and Kurdistan.

No External Body

When the LTTE was destroyed, the many sacrifices made by tens of thousands of ordinary Tamils who joined the organization (and those who were alternatively forced to fight for them) became history. Following their brutal defeat, the Sri Lankan flag was placed again, after years of absence, on top of Tamil land, towns, streets, people and cemeteries. But the victor's justice didn't just mean the destruction, re-engineering, occupation, and colonisation of Tamil lands and people, but also the rewriting of history. It came hand in hand with the erasure of experiences, memories, trauma and narratives of the Tamil population as a whole, including the many who were forcefully displaced.

Though the LTTE was flattened in the (inter)national discourse to become a mere "terrorist organization" — infamous for child soldier recruitment and suicide bombings, void of any political legitimacy — much of the Tamil population remembers the LTTE differently.

For them, the LTTE remains the most important Tamil liberation organization fighting for the rights and dignity of their people. The LTTE wasn't seen as an external body who, as some continue to accuse them, have hijacked the Tamil people's cause. Instead, they were seen

as a group that was born within their ranks and was thus made up of their own relatives, neighbors, classmates and strangers who all refused to accept the Tamil people's fate within a Sinhala supremacist state. The group was indeed an intimate part of the Tamil social fabric, and continues to be even after its destruction.

Therefore, to understand the trajectory of the LTTE and Tamil people's emotional relationship to the group, we are urged to look away from the (inter)national discourse towards the political circumstances that have given birth to the group. For that, we need to take the particular spatial locality and temporal moment the group was founded into account. It provides us an opportunity to not only contextualize the group in the fragmented landscape it emerged from, but also work towards demystifying and devillifying them.

A History of Disenfranchisement

In 1972, when the then seventeen year-old Vellupillai Prabhakaran founded the Tamil New Tigers, Ceylon (later Sri Lanka/Ilankai) had merely been independent for 24 years following more than 400 years of European colonial rule. At the time of British departure in 1948, the last European colonizers had left the island with a constitution that safeguarded the status of minorities within this newly founded multi-ethnic country. But when the young island-state was handed over to the

LTTE women's wing group who defeated a unit of the Indian Peace Keeping Forces during the Indian occupation in the late 1980s.



Sinhalese ruling class, they soon started to one by one dismantle these minority protections.

This process started in 1948, the year of independence, when the Citizenship Act was passed. It barred Tamils of indentured laborer descent (who made up 11% of the overall population at the time) the right to citizenship. This law later led to the deportation of hundreds of thousands of them to India. Effectively, Sinhala representation in parliament rose dramatically at the expense of Tamils. Eight years later, the Sinhala Only Act (1956) was passed which elevated Sinhalese to become the sole official language of the state. Tamil was downgraded and had no official place or use anymore. Tens of thousands of Tamil civil workers who had no proficiency in Sinhalese had to resign as a result and emigrate to other Commonwealth countries. Employment within the civil sector was from thereon de-facto reserved for Sinhalese people.

The language law touched the Tamil people's right to equality and sense of dignity at its core and led to the emergence of a Satyagraha movement, a non-violent resistance movement inspired by the Indian independence movement. This growing Tamil disobedience movement was under the leadership of the Federal Party, a Tamil party which was formed as a breakaway fraction from the All Ceylon Tamil Congress. The party was fiercely pro-Tamil but was similar to most other Tamil parties in the country — except for the Ceylon Workers' Congress — made up of upper-caste (Vellalar) male elites hailing from Jaffna. This came to influence their political decisions.

This particular social milieu that these men originated from was over decades shaped and conditioned by parliamentary principles that were taught, learnt and practiced when Ceylon became a British crown colony and when colonial missionary schools were widespread across Tamil regions. They, as a result, held strong beliefs in the possibility of accommodating Tamil rights and a parity status within a united island and through parliamentary means. In other words: they lacked the capacity to imagine achieving Tamil rights through other means than those they were exposed to.

Months of continuous Tamil protests, boycotts, hartals (strikes) and sit-ins across the island led by the Federal Party were increasingly met

with sporadic outbreaks of racial violence by Sinhalese people. In 1958, the first systematic anti-Tamil pogrom broke out as an act of retaliation against Tamil demands for equality. Up to 1,500 Tamils were slaughtered while Tamil property was systematically destroyed by Sinhalese mobs across the island. The 1958 anti-Tamil pogrom triggered the first waves of Tamils fleeing the country. It became the signifier for the terrible future to come for Tamils under Sinhalese rule. At the time of the pogrom, Vellupillai Prabhakaran, the leader of the LTTE, was only four years old. He would later attest to how the events of 1958 had deeply shaped his political views as an adult and pushed him to the politics he was to later practice.

With years passing and the situation of Tamils within the country worsening, frustration amongst Tamil youths increased. This frustration was no more just aimed at the Sinhalese-centric state and its representatives, but also towards older, upper-caste and bourgeois sections of Tamil society who continued to adamantly believe in parliamentary means and a federal state framework as a solution to the so-called "Tamil question." But in the face of the ever rising tide of anti-Tamil violence, Tamils increasingly felt helpless and defenseless. The state their leaders were busy negotiating with was no more upholding its supposed duty of protecting them but doing right the opposite: attacking them.

The question of self-defense suddenly became central for Tamils, particularly to younger ones.

In 1972, when then 17 year-old Prabhakaran founded the Tamil New Tigers, he was part of a generation of Tamil youths who had grown tired of non-violent means of resistance which have over and over proven to be futile in the face of violent Sinhala fascism. Only the year before, in 1973, the Standardization Act was introduced. It left Tamil students requiring higher entrance grades than most Sinhalese to receive university admissions. Tens of thousands of Tamil youth were as a result barred from higher education, facing economic precariousness and uncertain futures. Youth unemployment rates amongst Tamils rose to an unseen level, producing a mass of angered, young and idle people without prospects for a safe and secure future. Prabhakaran and his peers were part of this very generation.

In the LTTE's foundational year, a new state constitution was introduced which changed the name of the island from Ceylon into the Sinhalese name Sri Lanka. This new constitution also enshrined Buddhism the foremost position in this multi-religious country, deteriorating even further the stakes of Tamils in the country. Frustrated with the state of affairs, and with the appeasement politics of the Tamil political elite, Tamil youth of various socioeconomic backgrounds started in the 1970s to organize to self-defend against Sinhala supremacy. For them, the solution looked different to that fathomed by the Tamil political establishment. In their eyes, the only way to achieve Tamil rights and self-determination in times of Sinhala supremacy were through armed self-defense.

One of the first were the Tamil New Tigers under the leadership of Prabhakaran.

Challenging Casteism

Hailing from the small fishing town of Vellvettathurai, Prabhakaran and his peers were of Karaiyar caste origin (fishermen). This made the group stand out in a Vellalar-dominated Tamil political landscape, in which all leadership roles were allocated to Tamil Vellalars. Within this social fabric, they emerged as an anomaly that shook up the status quo — and their emergence was to naturally cause social ruptures.

LTTE bike platoon north of Kilinochchi in 2004. / Photo by Qz10.



In Jaffna, the Karaiyar caste formed the second largest caste group amongst Tamils. Unlike all other castes, who were not just weaker in numbers but also considered lower in ritual status by Vellalars, the Karaiyars had a long history of challenging Vellalar dominance. When the Tamil New Tigers were formed, they therefore also tapped into a history of anti-Vellalar rebellion. Their emergence was thus not only a critique of the existing Tamil polity, but also of the socioeconomic status quo within Tamil society and more specifically Vellalar supremacy. This was to deeply shape the politics of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

In 1976, following years of anti-Tamil violence, the Tamil demand for federalism was replaced for a demand for full-on Tamil independence from Sri Lanka by all major Tamil political parties. The burgeoning Tamil armed resistance movements integrated this demand into their mandates. From early on, the LTTE however didn't just aspire to create an independent Tamil state, but also sought to establish a casteless and egalitarian society within it. This wasn't just a matter of plain rhetoric for them, but also reflective in who the LTTE was made up of.

As a Karaiyar-led group, the LTTE often fell victim to its own beliefs. It was belittled by the Tamil ruling class, of whom many favored youth groups that were dominated by Vellalar young people. Each of them reflected a particular socioeconomic identity. Within only a few years, the LTTE however rose to become the most successful of them all. By the early 1980s, even many Vellalars started to join the movement. The Vellalar elites from thereon started to develop an ambiguous relationship to the group. This tension can be felt all the way to the present.

The presence of Vellalars within the ranks of the LTTE never led to a parity status within the group. Until the very end of the war, a statistical overrepresentation of people of non-Vellalar background continued to exist. While many Vellalars ideologically and materially supported the group, those who died on the battlefields were often times cadres from non-Vellalar backgrounds. It reflects the deeply entrenched caste inequalities within Tamil society which to a large degree still remain unaddressed to date. While the LTTE was able to re-engineer some of the power dynamics for medium and oppressed caste members, they lacked a social and political strategy to create long-lasting effects on casteism amongst Eelam Tamils. Nonetheless, the LTTE's role remains critical in this regard. For many non-Vellalars specifically, the LTTE

became a platform for identification, mobilization and self-respect. They opened up spaces that couldn't have been even imagined prior to their inception.

A Yearning for Dignity

On May 18 2009, Sri Lankan TV channels aired the images of an undressed and mutilated body of a Tamil man laying on the ground, surrounded by a mass of Sinhalese soldiers.



Maaveerar Naal commemoration (Martyrs Day) in a (now destroyed) LTTE cemetery.

The images originated in Mullivaikkal on the northeastern coast of Eelam where the most brutal mass killings of Tamils took place in 2009. The images were said to depict the body of Velupillai Prabhakaran whose murder symbolized the defeat of the LTTE.

On that day, Sri Lanka's civil war was suddenly declared as over. And Tamils were left to wonder what had happened, and what was left of their people, their resistance and their yearning for dignity and self-rule. The brutal destruction of the LTTE and subsequent killing of 146,679 Tamils in 2009 alone didn't just leave a deep void amongst Tamils

but also a profound and unresolved trauma across different Tamil geographies and generations. 10 years later, Tamil mothers still protests for their disappeared and presumably tortured and murdered relatives in Eelam. Meanwhile, Tamil rights are still trampled upon day in and day out. Many Tamils have subsequently lost hope in the post-war reconciliation rhetoric and a fair solution to their problems from the Sri Lankan state. As the level of frustration amongst Tamils is rising by the day again, the question of self-defense has become as critical as it has been in the past.

Instead of asking if, the question seems to rather be one of when history will repeat itself.

To consider the LTTE means to place them into the landscape and time that has given birth to them. For most Tamils, the LTTE remains a necessity in the face of Sinhala fascism. For them, they are the ultimate fulfillment to their legitimate right to self-defense. Today, in light of Sri Lanka's unwillingness to provide a meaningful resolution to the conflict in the absence of any armed Tamil resistance group, the LTTE's role in providing dignity, pride and defense to Tamils has become ever so clear. The stakes of Tamils are clearly more fragile today than they were before.

The LTTE's politics reflected the social origins of the group. It didn't just advocate for racial justice, but also caste and later, to some degree, gender justice. By doing so, it upset some of the most fundamental pillars of Tamil society and changed not just the realities on the ground, but also Tamil people's capacity to imagine a future different than their present. One in which dignity and self-respect is no more dependent on the caprices of a Sinhala or Vellalar polity; and one in which being Tamil can mean walking with your head held high and eyes directed straight ahead, into a future that isn't tainted by death and loss.

Taking up arms for Tamils wasn't just a means to fight back, but also a way to understand that they too had a right to remain unharmed and safeguarded from the violence of Sinhalese people and their state; and that weapons do not just means erasure, but also hold the potential to create alternative futures.

Radicalizing Her: Why Women Choose Violence

Nimmi Gowrinathan

December 2006

Below are excerpts from Nimmi's book:

MOVEMENT

"When the women I have known joined the Tigers, they set their lives in multi directional motion. They would begin to move: from home to training camp, from a training camp to the base, from the base to the battlefield, to another battlefield, and another. . . until they were taken captive, detained, hidden away, and were suddenly still. In any insurgency this movement is a continuum of conscious resistance. Memories of the aggressive mobility of war are marked with peaceful moments of reflection. Retreat can be read as a symbol of defeat, but it is also strategic—a central part of forward movement. The retreat is both tactical (to preserve resources) and thoughtful: an interlude for critical thinking, analysis, and recentering of political purpose (a space that activists off the battlefield often struggle to recognize as critical to movement building), before the next advance.

The most often repeated myth around the female fighter posits that her psyche—empty and untethered as it must be — was co-opted by the militancy, or "brainwashed." While many of the women I met over the years were indeed shown propaganda videos and participated in other forms of socialization into the movement, they describe their years on the battlefield, in both advance and retreat mode, as a deliberate participation in a process—one with access to a previously forbidden political space and where consciousness evolves slowly over time. Through movement a political sense of self emerges. A fighter, a woman, willing and able to resist all forms of captivity, even the rebel leadership itself." (p16)

"As a mother hen would tuck her chicks under her wing in times of danger, so the Tamil people affectionately embraced the fighters and took them in among themselves."

Thamizhini, *In the Shadow of a Sword: The Memoir of a Woman Leader in the LTTE*

ADVANCE: THE BATTLEFIELD

"When I meet Sandra, a senior commander now in Bogota's branch of the FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia—People's Army), she has just been pardoned. A red headband pulls her hair back over her ears to reveal mouse-shaped gold earrings, each enlivened by a tiny red stone. With all the markings of the softly feminine, she pushes back the sleeves of a sweater adorned with a gold heart before she sits stiffly on the broken couch. A deep scar cuts across her left cheek and deepens as a dimple would, just slightly, when she speaks. She wants to be clear, from the outset: "I am not demobilized. I am still a fighter. A member of the FARC."

Sandra is impressed that I know "Los Tigres." In the particular mythologies incubated inside the resistance, the Tigers held a special place. She has read about women in the Tigers and those in the PKK (Kurdistan Worker's Party): both made a separate state seem possible. "When I first joined the FARC there weren't a lot of other women joining," Sandra tells me. The decision required cutting ties from your family completely. "No family wants to be known as tied to the guerrillas." As with the Tigers, entry into the FARC came with parallel initiations of political education and military training. I gently prod for her experience of military training, the rigor and difficulty. She responds with an insight into her own foot-soldier philosophy: "Everything in life is a process, isn't it?" People, she muses, are "animals of habit," and once you commit to life within a movement your body and mind adapt to a new way of being. Women, Sandra feels, are seen primarily for their role in the family. In fact, she tells me, "they are political subjects. Willing to work. Leaders, who draw people to them. Men are just not as good." She hesitates and mumbles an insincere sorry to the gentleman who has accompanied me.

Sandra doesn't believe she was socialized (or brainwashed) into the FARC. She is wary of theorists outside the movement. She considers the FARC "like a university," where the injustice she saw around her began to make sense. "Before joining the FARC I didn't just witness the killing of the few people, activists, who wanted social change—there were mass killings." It was Sandra herself who recruited more women into the FARC. While she often relayed the FARC's rules that spoke to gender equity, she cautioned them that this was not always the reality. As the number of women cadres grew there were internal conversations. "We asked them not to underestimate women's capabilities." Some men understood; others didn't. In her own battalion Sandra is most proud of having cultivated political perspectives. "I was the one who helped the women who needed to build their political stature."

My Unwritten Poem...

Write my unwritten poem
That is my plea to you.

So many thoughts...
But I cannot come since
My gun is at the boarder
So write my unwritten
poem
That is my plea to you.

Behind my fuming gun
My body may be crushed
My emotions will remain
Making you reflect, then
Write my unwritten poem
That is my plea to you.

Memorials may rise in our
name
In our liberated land,
Not for you to cry over
Nor for flowers and
incense.
It is to strengthen your
resolve.

By: Vaanathi

("Eluthaatha en kavithai" in "Vaanathiya
Kavithaikal", LTTE Publication Division, 1992)
(This was Vaanathi's last poem written just before she was
killed in the attack on the Elephant Pass on 15th July 1991.)

So...

Write my unwritten
poem
That is my plea to
you.
In my purposeful death
In the Tamil Eelam
that rises
You will roam for
certain.

Then...

My unwritten poem
Will stand before you.

Those...

Who knew me
Who understood me
Who embraced me
Who loved me
Look within my
unwritten poem.

There...

You will find all the
maaveerar
Smiling at you.



Archival work courtesy of @political_moothevi.

"The mental transformation she undergoes when she understands that she can protect herself; that she can redeem herself from the social constraints she has known from her birth, and come to value herself; that when duties and responsibilities are given to her she may have the opportunity to make independent decisions; and the sense of dedication she feels above all things, mark an important phase in her life. We were spurred on in the most rigorous combat training by the thought that we women of Eelam would one day write stories of bravery, like the women who joining the battle in the Chinese Red Army, in Palestine and in Telangana."(p77)

Thamizhini, In the Shadow of a Sword: The Memoir of a Woman
Leader in the LTTE

The Life and Death of a Revolutionary Tamil Journalist in Sri Lanka

Mark Whitaker

December 2006

Below are excerpts pulled from Mark's book:

"Sivaram's own political ends, his project of 'disseminating' knowledge about how counter-insurgency and counter counter-insurgency work as forms of power, took precedence. Hence, almost a year before the LTTE unleashed 'Unceasing Waves III' – the counter-attack that in six days retook all the land that Jaya Sikurai had originally taken, and eventually also captured Elephant Pass, the gateway to Jaffna – Sivaram had laid out his prescient speculations.

Sivaram was largely silent, under both his own name and his nom de plume, in 2000 and 2001, for his efforts were devoted to TamilNet. He did, however, give some important talks during this time, largely, for 'strategic reasons' – that is, to influence strategic policy – in Western venues to specialists interested in his geopolitical picture of the region. It was during this period, however, that Sivaram really formalized his views about 'counter-insurgency' and nationalism.

That is, he began to come up with a more systematic theory about how counter-insurgency works (and how it helps form and maintain modern nation-states), and a separate theory – or, rather, set of what he called, à la Foucault (1977), 'counter-knowledges' – about how this must be opposed. In this light, he began to see the LTTE as a counter counterinsurgency force, or as a kind of counter-state in skillful if painful evolution.

In 2002, Sivaram devoted his energies, for a while, to the Northeastern Herald, but only really re-emerged as a journalist in a big way (apart from TamilNet) in 2003–4 when he reopened his Taraki column and, under his own name, began another series in the leading Tamil-language daily, Viirakeesari. Only then, especially in his Viirakeesari columns, did Sivaram really present himself both as an unapologetic nationalist (something he had never ceased to be) and as an unabashed fellow traveler

– albeit still clearly for his own reasons – of the LTTE.

Nonetheless, I have never felt, nor, I believe, can it be shown from Sivaram's writings, that he was ever an uncomplicated fan of the LTTE. The Sri Lankan cause to which Sivaram was devoted, and for which he was prepared to die, was, as he always put it, 'justice for the Tamil people.' And by 'justice' he had long meant either Eelam or a Sri Lankan state so restructured that Tamil people could never again be dominated by a Sinhalese majority acting strictly on its own behalf. But any fragile hope for this 'justice,' he believed, rested upon maintaining a precarious military-political parity between a united Tamil public and the Sinhalese (as he perceived it) state – a parity he saw as constantly threatened by modern counter-insurgency techniques.

Since this parity in turn depended upon the military prowess of the LTTE, the LTTE, for good or ill, was the best he felt he could hope – at least for the present. For Sivaram, to defy what his military and political logic told him was practical for reasons of his own ideological preference would have been tantamount to committing the very kind of Empedoclean folly he had so railed against in our discussions back in 1984. No, he felt he had to carry on with what actually was, and while one could debate some of Sivaram's political principles here (as I had, since 1984), or even his analysis of the post-ceasefire situation (I would not dare), his consistency was clear."

[...]

"...'Basically,' said Sivaram, settling into the chair by my desk, and simultaneously editing a TamilNet article on his mobile phone, 'this is the argument I made in that lecture.'

Sivaram said that there were four basic things he tended to look at when thinking about counter-insurgency. First, there was the history of counterinsurgency as a practice. Focusing on Britain, the former colonial power with the greatest influence over Sri Lanka, Sivaram saw the origin of counterinsurgency as lying in the colonial wars of the nineteenth century. Moreover, he believed C-I generally remained 'still basically colonial in character.

The wars in Sri Lanka and Ireland are basically wars of internal and real colonialism.' But Sivaram felt that C-I in its modern form found its start

in Britain's successful C-I war in Malaysia and in its other post-World War II colonial wars. (Many other European states, of course, used C-I too – for example, the French did in Algeria – but Sivaram liked to focus on Britain, India, and the US because their practices eventually so influenced Sri Lanka's war.) In any case, to really get a sense of this history, Sivaram urged me to look up the writings of Frank Kitson, a British army C-I commander who honed his skills in Kenya 1953–5, Malaya 1957, Cyprus 1962–4, and Northern Ireland 1970–2. Kitson's unself-conscious memoir, Sivaram claimed, provided the most reliable if upsetting history of what went on in C-I campaigns (Kitson 1977). Moreover, to Sivaram's mind, Kitson's earlier book, *Low Intensity Operations* (1971) provided the most succinct C-I cookbook for states interested in suppressing dissent of any kind at every level. For almost all the tactics were there: the use of penetration agents, the mounting of psychological operations (or 'psyops' – that is, propaganda, misinformation, PR), the making of fake political concessions to split the opposition, the wielding of army counter-terror, the cordoning off of communities, the deployment of informers in hoods, and, somewhat less forthrightly, the 'rough' interrogations and 'wetwork' (that is, the hooding, torture, 'turning,' disposal, or dispatching of captives) that underlie so many C-I campaigns.

'I gave the fucking book to Karuna,' said Sivaram, shaking his head disgustedly. 'That bugger always liked to borrow books. He never gave it back.'

Second, Sivaram believed one had to look at C-I's modern manifestations, particularly at what he called the 'post-Cold War theories of terrorism and counter-insurgency.' He said: 'I see all this as an outgrowth of what was being done during the Cold War. But now what is being done has evolved into something else, into this discourse on terrorism and what some Pentagon theorists call "warriorism".' Sivaram felt that while this new discourse was still based on 'traditional counter insurgency practice,' 'terrorism' had now become 'part of the conceptual baggage of counter-insurgency...

I presented a paper about all this in 1998 at the University of Oslo to a couple of people from the Norwegian foreign ministry in which I argued that it was all based on the concept of asymmetric warfare – basically guerrilla warfare in a new garb. In asymmetric warfare the US has to face an enemy quite different from the Marxist guerrillas of the Cold War.

But, I must also say, you could see that their new enemy was being constructed, that they [were] fighting enemies they themselves created – [in] Afghanistan, Iraq; but Iraq might be different: we will see – whereas in counter-insurgency the enemy [started out] quite real. [In any case] in the post-Cold War world organizations like FARC [in Colombia], and the PKK [the Kurds], and the New People's Army, and a lot of these guerrilla organizations that were forces to be reckoned with, have seen some decline. This is all because counter-insurgency works.'

[...]

'Granting for the sake of argument that all this is so,' I said, 'how do you fight this? How do you counter C-I?'

'As I said before, in the 1994 article that I wrote about C-I, I did not understand the LTTE's strategy: because I saw C-I succeeding, while the LTTE seemed to be only thinking about dazzling victories in the north.' But by 1996–7, Sivaram claimed, he had shifted his view and come to the conclusion that there were six basic ways you could head off C-I. And, again, he ticked them off as a list.

If the target of the state is to break the will of the target population as a whole, counter it by concentrating your military resources to create a zone of control where the population would be committed to the cause. 'And thereby,' he explained, 'you undermine the state's project of breaking the whole population's will by keeping a part of the population from being subjected to these tactics. This is why the LTTE pulled out its troops from the east, let the C-I go on there, and concentrated in the north. You create a liberated zone by concentrating your resources rather than by scattering them. This way of countering C-I has to be parallel to the development of a conventional army as efficient, or more so, than the state's forces because you have to have the sophistication and power to counter the Jonomiesque 'I am not interested in real estate' move against your fixed base. And also an understanding that if the enemy wants you to do something, you don't rise to the bait. You never work according to the enemy's timetable.'

Then Sivaram ticked off another counter C-I tactic:

2. Counter-media like Al Jazeera and TamilNet – these may be the only two examples in this whole wide world. 'Counter-media,' said Sivaram,

explaining, 'breaks the obfuscation and helps the population stay focused on the injustices. And it also shakes the population out of the stupor induced by the normalization of injustice. For example, in Batticaloa, when we local journalists and some Eastern University lecturers – including Yuvi [i.e. Dr Yuvaraj Thangaraj, who is Meena's husband, Sivaram's brother in law, and a member of the Readers' Circle] – started a campaign to explain and campaign against the Prevention of Terrorism Act [PTA] and the emergency regulations, we found that there was a generation of young people in Batticaloa who had grown up thinking that this was normal law. We constantly came upon people who thought that it was normal, very normal, for the police or army to walk into your house, arrest you, or beat you up. They believed, this generation – just took it for granted – that if you are arrested, you are tortured. The surprising thing – and you can search TamilNet for these seminars – even old men from the era of normal law had forgotten a thing called a "search and arrest warrant." That is what I mean by the normalization of injustice. Hence, now the LTTE uses arrest warrants. It feels it has to dismantle the gains made by counter-insurgency and rebuild the will of the people. To rebuild a sense of their sovereignty. And you find them burning blue film cassettes in Jaffna. Then the Pongu Tamil [literally, 'Tamil uprising'; referring to a series of popular demonstrations in Tamil Sri Lanka and the diaspora] was another thing aimed at rebuilding the will of the people. Hence, our campaign against the PTA was successful to the extent that the Tigers, for the first time, took up the issue of the PTA being removed as part of restoring normal life in the north-east.' Sivaram went on to say that I should include a discussion of TamilNet and the Sri Lankan security forces' use of Tirukkivil hospital in the east (see TamilNet 2002). 'The STF was just camped there for 15 years. People just took it for granted that the army could be in the Tirukkivil hospital that they could park themselves in a functioning hospital, so that patients had to go through an army checkpoint to go to the hospital. But in the TamilNet I have fought a big war against this normalization of injustice. They are still there, but at least it has become controversial now.

'And rape,' he said. 'We started focusing on these things in English. If you read the ceasefire agreement (the CFA), you will find this whole thing about restoring normalcy. The key word is dismantling the gains of counterinsurgency. At least the people have realized that this is fucking wrong, and [in the case of the Tirukkivil hospital] the STF is negotiating this. But it's all about restoring to people their dignity and their sense of

direction and rights.'

'And are there any other counter C-I practices?' I asked. According to Sivaram, there were three more:

3. Burn the porn. The LTTE says: if you are using it as an individual that is fine; but don't make it a distraction or destroy a student and people. If you are an adult, don't take school children, or whatever.
4. The LTTE campaign to stop drugs.
5. Fuck the moderates with the TNA [Tamil National Alliance]. 'A couple of us did that,' said Sivaram proudly, sadly, somewhat drunkenly.

But by this time it was very late, well past twelve, and the rest of the house was asleep. Rubbing my eyes, I suddenly realized, with a quiet internal 'ah,' that herein lay the reason why Sivaram had become so publicly enthusiastic about the LTTE after the ceasefire. That is, first and foremost, because he had become convinced that supporting the LTTE's centralizing power in the Tamil community was prerequisite to defeating the kind of divisive C-I practices that had for so long devastated Tamil Sri Lanka; tactics that were continuing, he clearly believed, albeit more subtly, in the stalling tactics, shadowy intelligence warfare, and support of Karuna of the current Sri Lankan government. I also realized, however, that Sivaram, in his old way, was still trying to influence the Tiger with whom he was dancing. His efforts to get the LTTE to take up the issue of the Prevention of Terrorism Act showed this clearly. He was not a member; he was a mesmerizer. He was not a new acolyte brightly aglow with the fresh blush of a new faith, but an old seducer, cool-eyed and calmly stalking, dazzling with experience, still intending, as always, to ease Tamil nationalism out of its old leanings and toward a fruitful tryst with the rationalism, justice, and egalitarianism he himself favored for the Tamil people, and that he feared most others had forgotten or betrayed. But this meant, in turn, that even his coldest calculations were still underlain by passions he rarely revealed, except when seriously in his cups. For ultimately it was his old romance with history; his staunch, almost existential belief in life's (always?) potential fecundity; as well as his anger that a history should be gainsaid or anyone's possibilities suppressed, that Sivaram was trying to whisper into the ear of Tamil society. And why did Sivaram feel nationalism, leaving aside the question of the LTTE, was the way to this mother-lode?

Well, by that time we had both had too much to drink. I was incapable of putting the question properly, and so began a desultory argument about whether it wasn't fair, after all, and nonetheless, to consider the LTTE a fascist organization. I cited the critics: Amnesty International, various UN agencies, and Hoole and the UTHR(J). But Sivaram was contemptuous, especially of Hoole – saying loudly, pounding the table, 'Let history judge!' He was not happy when I reminded him that Tony Blair had said exactly that to justify the invasion of Iraq. Sivaram responded by suggesting I had completely forgotten our discussion of several months before about nationalism and so, as we argued, I found myself trying to remember what we had actually talked about.



Taraki standing in front of destroyed state tank.
Image courtesy of Tamil Guardian.

Sri Lanka: Racism and the Politics of Underdevelopment A. Sivanandan 1984

Below are excerpts pulled from A. Sivanandan's article:

There have been no race riots in Sri Lanka since independence. What there has been is a series of increasingly virulent pogroms against the Tamil people by the Sinhala state - resulting in the degeneracy of Sinhala society and its rapid descent into barbarism. And all this has been achieved in the name of Sinhala civilisation and Buddhist enlightenment - within a matter of thirty-five years - by the concerted efforts of politicians, priests and private armies.

... The government-controlled press picked up the racist themes and launched its own campaigns against the Tamils, highlighting racially inflammatory stories and giving different versions of events in the different language papers. Anything that happened in the North, from bank robbery to common assault, was described as terrorism. There was no news of Jaffna except sensational news - no ordinary people there leading ordinary lives - and a culture was growing up in the South which viewed all Tamils...as terrorists.

...The government was setting itself up for an armed confrontation with the Tamil youth. And when, in July 1979, a Tamil police inspector was shot dead in Jaffna, the President clamped down a state of emergency in Jaffna District and sent in Sinhala troops, under Brigadier Weeratunga, with orders to wipe out terrorism within six months. The combined police and army operations, under emergency laws and then under an even more horrendous Prevention of Terrorism Act* (which combined the worst features of both the British and South African Acts), resulted in the mutilation and murder of three youths, the disappearance of three others,** the detention and torture of several people and the terrorisation of the whole population.

At the end of the six months, the spectre of terrorism that Mathew and Co. had summoned up and the President had sent troops to 'wipe out' had been made flesh by the army - and provoked the counterviolence of the Tamil youth. From now on, it was war against the state and its occupying army...

...It was a politics, however, that ran against the grain of an open economy which, of nature, lets a thousand capitalist flowers bloom. The top level entrepreneurs (Sinhala and Tamil), as Newton Gunasinghe points out, could now unfold into their next phase of expansion and make it to the export markets through joint ventures with foreign capital.²⁹ But the middle entrepreneurs, who had thrived in the hot house of state protection to produce their import-substitution goods, were pushed out into the cold by foreign imports. The effect of liberalising trade, however, and setting it free of government cooperatives was to give the middle level Tamil entrepreneurs, who had not been cosseted by the state, an edge over their Sinhala counterparts.^{***} Jobs, too, were becoming less difficult for Tamils to get with the growth of trade and commerce, tourism and the service sector - areas in which proficiency in the Sinhala language was not particularly advantageous. For the poorer classes, both Sinhala and Tamil, migration to the oil-rich Middle East was opening up a veritable eldorado of instant riches and consumer culture.

But none of these developments went North and East. If it was indeed capitalism that was flourishing in the rest of the country, it was making no headway in the Tamil areas. The Tamil youth were still trapped in a racist educational system and denied economic mobility.

Tamil land in the North, where it was not being state-settled by Sinhala colonists, was not going to be irrigated by the Mahaveli project either. The small market-gardener in Jaffna who produced cash crops like onions and chillies and potatoes was hit by the imports of these commodities from India and Pakistan. Tamil industry did not have government blessing or blandishment to inveigle foreign capital. The Trincomalee port in the East might still gain some attention from imperial interests but, for that very reason, would remain an exclusive concern of the Sinhala state. Whatever tourist industry there was on the east coast - and the Tourist Board which gave out the licences was run by De Alwis - was in Sinhala hands. And even where the Mahaveli might still reach out to the predominantly Tamil district of Batticaloa, Sinhala colonists would be brought in to reap its benefits. What under-developed capitalism could not develop, state racism had to contain. And when the resistance to that racism reached, of necessity, the proportions of armed struggle, the containment policies of the state would seek a military solution...

^{**} The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, who grew out of the Tamil New Tigers (TNT), were the first group to take up armed struggle. Other groups have sprung up since then but, whatever their temporary differences, they all are, as far as the Tamil people are concerned, their common liberators. And it is in that generic sense that the term is used here.

^{**} The government was at one stage to propose the banning of bicycles in Jaffna.

Archival work courtesy of @anushax.



Reflections on Maaveerar Naal

Nyabagam

November 27, 2025

"In Tamil there is no word for hope. In the earliest incarnations of my activism I tried to locate it, tattoo it on my skin, attach it permanently to myself. I was sure it would be the driving force of my work. Instead, the word handed over to me by my unsuspecting mother was the only one she had available: faith. At the time it felt like a poor woman's hope. But once one decides a tattoo is necessary, the letter must be inked, even where the remaining remains to be determined (p54)."

Nimmi Gowrinathan, Why Women Choose Violence

After 9 years, I returned to Tamil Eelam during Maaveerar Naal last year. My last visit to Eelam involved being shuttled around in a van from family/friend home with my folks. This time, I made the trip up North alone, taking the nine hour night bus ride from Colombo to Jaffna. Three Tamil teenage boys were responsible for getting me and the other riders up by daybreak. The bus was colorfully decorated, blasting Tamil love songs from the 90s all night long. We stopped for bathroom breaks with roadside *thethani* and sweet bread.

When I got to Eelam, I was determined to learn more about this commemoration day.

I visited three 'formal' commemoration sites: two in Jaffna and one in Kilonochichi. By formal, I mean DIY-made sites with the Sri Lankan state's tacit approval. A resident told me these sites were allowed just this year without as much harassment. In previous years, Sri Lankan state officials, often the army stationed across the North and East, or residents (mainly Sinhalese), immediately took down or destroyed these. Tamil people nevertheless found ways to resist and remember. Every lit flame and bowed head symbolises a deep resistance to the Sri Lankan state's repeated attempts to quash the memory of the dead. It is a reminder that Tamils, wherever they are in the world, will remember the legacy of their heroes - formal or otherwise - especially in the Tamil homeland, the very soil where thousands of Tamil people are embedded and the root of the struggle for liberation remains.

This was my first time seeing these memorials and when I understood

- a memory is not just a recollection of the past you carry yourself. Memories are shared, transformed across time and place.

The first commemoration space was in the heart of Jaffna, right next to Nallur Temple. A memorial of Lt. Col. Thileepan sits outside of a makeshift wedding-like tent structure. In Tamil, Thileepan's name is preceded with the honorific *thiyaga theepam* - light of sacrifice. Thileepan was a political wing leader of the LTTE who began a hunger strike on September 15, 1987 in front of Nallur Temple. Thileepan put forward five demands to the Indian government following the signing of the Indo-Lanka accord in July 1987.

1. All Tamils detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act should be released.
2. The colonisation by Sinhalese in Tamil areas under the guise of rehabilitation should be stopped.
3. All such rehabilitation should be stopped until an interim government is formed.
4. The Sri Lankan government should stop opening new Police stations and camps in the Northeastern province.
5. The Sri Lankan army and Police should withdraw from Sri Lankan government to 'homeguards' should be withdrawn under the supervision of the Indian army.



He passed away after 11 days - at 23 years old - on this hunger strike. His death sparked widespread grief and anger across the Tamil homeland.

The tent itself was decorated with photos and epitaphs of martyrs. I had heard and seen images of commemoration sites but I was in awe of how much attention and care went into documenting each (un)known martyr. Incense, bananas, and flowers donned the photos. Seeing these names, many who were martyred at my age (28), I was reminded how much young people have struggled and sacrificed for a liberated land.



My cousin took me to the second site. He shared stories of the city as we drove around in hot, humid monsoon weather. He pointed out to Chemmani Lane, where Chemmani-Sindubathi's burial site is. The site, now under investigation as a mass grave site from the conflict, is named after Krishanthi Kumaraswamy, was a Tamil schoolgirl in Jaffna, Sri Lanka who was raped, murdered on 7 September 1996 by six Sri Lankan Army soldiers, and allegedly found at this site. Just this summer 2025, excavation work at site in Jaffna's Nallur division has led to the recovery of martyrs skeletons, the first belonging to an infant under the age of one. I learned about these horrifying events through Kumanan, a Tamil photojournalist who has been documenting the state's genocidal acts and also the people's resistance and determination to find their disappeared loved ones.



He remarked, 'There's an old story. Anyone who bikes across Chemmani lane at night gets a flat tire - without fail. I didn't believe it, obviously. But then, one I went with my mates, and I couldn't believe it. Because that's exactly what happened to my mate.' He laughed in disbelief. 'I need to try it again, not at night..'

The memorial site was right across from a Sri Lankan military base. I was upset that the state could not even give people a sense of safety when mourning their loved one, but felt proud of the people here

who felt emboldened to continue these commemorations nonetheless. Older men sat outside tending to the fires in the rain, playing old Tamil songs and humming along. Yellow and red flags covered a huge tent with stones decorated with flowers. One of them nodded at me and told me it is necessary and important for the heart for young people to see this and remember what happened.

The last one was in Kilinochchi. During the armed conflict, Kilinochchi was the administrative stronghold and de facto capital of Tamil Eelam. Red and yellow bunting stretched for hundreds of yards. A massive entry way led to the site (roughly translating to 'Great Warrior's Resting Place'), music rang through, and garlands decorated the names of fallen soldiers.



Today, I am lucky to work with a team honouring a commemoration of Maaveerar Naal in Glasgow, Scotland. I am reminded of the Tamil writer A. Sivanandan's quote - "We are here because you were there." Govan and Ibrox neighborhoods are home to Glasgow's Tamil community. Many Tamils came here as a result of the armed conflict and subsequent displacement. They too remember - and resist.

All images authors own.

Point in Time - Linking International Struggle

Editor's Note

November 2025

This booklet reflects the Tamil struggle and commemorates the heroes who have fought for liberation of a free Tamil Eelam. We call attention to linked struggles across the world. Former Tamil fighter, Malathi, in a conversation with scholar Nimmi Gowrinathan, writes:

"The struggle happens in many places, in many different ways."

Imperialism is entering a period of re-alignment. The US puppet "israel" has agreed to a farcical ceasefire in Palestine. A "peace agreement" has been made between Russia and Ukraine, in which the exploited peoples of Crimea, Ukraine, and Donbass will be thrown under the bus. As US imperialism achieves "peace" agreements, it points its guns on different regions, ready to subjugate and massacre.

With the resumption of the so-called "war on drugs," their first target is Venezuela. This nation-state represents the closest link to the US rivals of Russia and China, a position they have been forced in by decades-long US aggression. Colombian newspaper *Neuva Democracia* writes:

"Even though the military aggression looks like a sign of strength, in reality it is that of weakness, a maneuver that powers use in time of crisis, war, when their hegemonic control in the world declines as imperialist powers, and when there are sparks everywhere."

Meanwhile, the political crisis of the US-backed Marcos regime in the Philippines has been intensifying. While Marcos and his lackeys steal billions of pesos from necessary infrastructure projects, 80% of which is from flood control projects, the US maintains rule with its iron grip on the Armed Forces of the Philippines. The calls of the Filipino people to oust Ferdinand Marcos Jr. and Sara Duterte and establish genuine national democracy grows day-by-day.

We wish to honour the martyrs of the CPI(Maoist), comrades Hidma, Rajakka, Raje, Shankar, Chaitu, Kamlu, Mallal, and Deve who were

captured unarmed and brutally executed by the Indian state. These martyrdoms signal a continuation of the intensifying fascist repression in India. Comrade Hidma has been a fighter of liberation for decades. His struggle and his spirit will continue to imbue the revolution. Thousands of peasants marched carry his corpse despite the attempt of the Indian state to stop them.



Madvi Hidma was a highly respected and beloved cadre of the Communist Party of India (Maoist), as evidenced by the farewell ceremony. Upon his arrival in the village, hundreds of villagers gathered to receive the bodies and begin the cremation ceremony. The bodies were placed on a single funeral pyre and cremated, with offerings from the Adivasi peasants, who even provided their own clothes and sheets to ensure the flames burned more intensely. Sketch of Comrade Hidma.

The Lebanese state, a puppet of the US, continues to prevent the reconstruction of the South while the Zionist entity murders more and more people. Since the "ceasefire" between Lebanon and "israel" on the 27th of November, more than 270 people have been killed and 850 wounded. The flag of resistance has not fallen in Lebanon and the path of struggle will be taken soon again. The resistance was born in worse conditions!

We condemn the traitorous and neocolonial nature of the Irish Free State. As reported by An Phoblacht Abu, a Dublin Republican was raided in his home in the early hours of the morning, then taken to a free state barracks. To the free state, Revolutionary Irish Socialist Republicanism is a threat. We express our utmost support for the genuine republican movement in opposition to the sell-outs of both the free state and the occupied north.

The revolutionary and anti-imperialist youth movement in France grows. A conference held in Paris 8 University bringing together over 300 people. The Student Union Federation, the Anti-Imperialist League, Kanak organisations and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine shared decisive lessons, showing the unity of the international proletariat and peasantry, the importance in theory (that is past experience) in guiding our political work, and in being combative.

The motto "From strength to strength, from victory to victory" is a key takeaway for us here in Glasgow. Since then, the French state has unleashed a wave of repression with some students on suspension. Security guards have attempted to prevent anyone with administrative issues from entering the University. In response, students circumvented the guards and are holding a blockade! These brave students dared to struggle, and they will dare to win.

The Brazilian state attacks against the peasantry and the League of Poor Peasants continue to escalate. The Public Ministry of Rondonia launched an operation, resulting in 20 people detained and 1 person murdered so far. An indigenous Guarani-Kaiowa peasant in Mato Grosso do Sul was shot in the head as a repressive measure to peasants taking back their land. The LCP and the peasantry continue to resist despite the deployment of the National Force and the Military Police. Just last week, a latifundium (a landlord estate) was torched. The struggle in the Brazilian countryside continues to heat up, the revolutionary storm is brewing.

The Palestinian National Resistance has been at the forefront of the anti-imperialist struggle for a long time. They do not stand alone.

A mass hunger strike of political prisoners has been called. So far, 6 people have joined: Qesser Zuhrah, Amu Gibb, Heba Muraishi, Jon Cink, T. Hoxha and Kamran Ahmed. Their 5 demands are:

- 1) End all censorship – Prison authorities monitor, block, and confiscate prisoners' letters, calls, and publications.
 - 2) Immediate bail – Some prisoners have been held on remand for nearly two years without conviction.
 - 3) Right to a fair trial – Key documents between state officials and arms manufacturers remain undisclosed to defendants.
 - 4) Deproscribe Palestine Action – Counter-terror laws are being used to target those engaged in protest and direct action.
 - 5) Shut Elbit down – Elbit Systems has secured £355 million in contracts and a pending £2.7 billion deal with the Ministry of Defence.
- We express our most heartfelt love for the political prisoners of our

movement, until victory. Prisoners for Palestine has called on us to support the prisoners by filling out this form: <https://actionnetwork.org/letters/demand-the-government-respond-to-prisoners-for-palestine>.

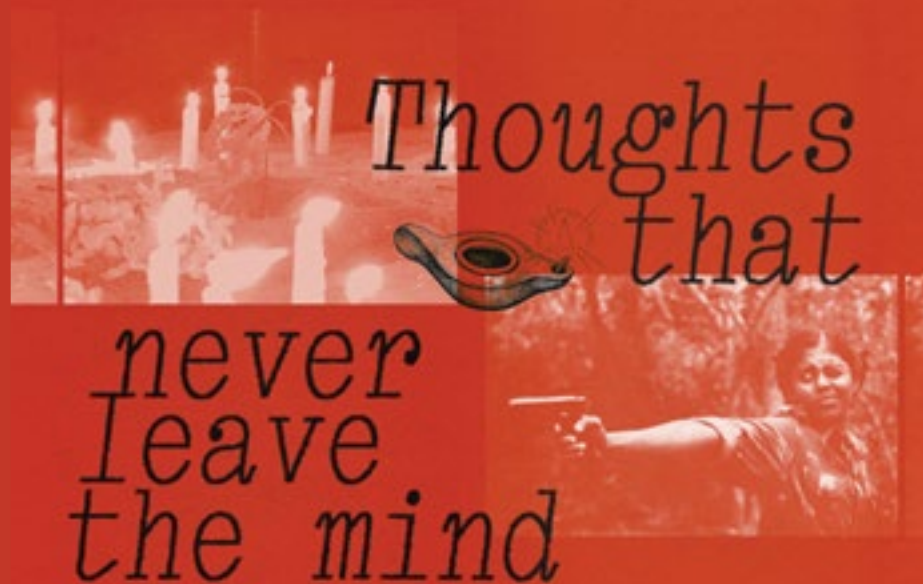
We highlight linked struggles, albeit briefly, to show - despite what the imperialist media says about the death of revolution - they are wrong. These struggles did not erupt out of thin air. They come from constant study and reflection of what came before and what is happening now, taking those lessons and applying them creatively in our own contexts.

We are sure that we will see the same in Scotland. The SNP shows that they are not interested in dignity, independence and genuine democracy. Rather, they are interested in ruling only a "devolved" Scotland. Workers continue to lead the fight for dignity. The first strike at a Starbucks in the UK will take place at in The Village Hotel in Govan, Glasgow. Workers are demanding the Real Living Wage and to be paid for their overtime work. The first megapicket is on the 28th of November at 5pm. Come out and support (tomorrow!).



QR Code: Prisoners for Palestine has called on us to support the prisoners by filling out this form.

மனதில் இருந்து அழியாத எண்ணங்கள்



A Commemoration of
the Tamil Struggle for Liberation on
MAAVEERAR NAAL (Great Heroes' Day)

Solidarity Screenings Glasgow



Nov 27th 2025, 6:30PM
Free Meal and Film Screening
Maslow's Community Hub
Govan, G51 3BQ