

Tamils' Liberation Organisation



AN OPEN LETTER TO MR. A. AMIRTHALINGHAM, LEADER OF THE T.U.L.F.
FROM THE TAMILS' LIBERATION ORGANISATION.

Dear Sir,

At the peak of national oppression of our small nation by the national chauvinism of the big Sinhala nation, when the Tamil speaking masses of Tamil Ealam sought desperately to proclaim their right to self-determination, when the classes polarised into a single movement to wage a national struggle for secession, your Party assumed the leadership of the national movement and asked for a clear mandate from the people to wage a struggle for liberation. Your Party Manifesto explicitly stated that: "The Tamil Nation must take the decision to establish its sovereignty in its homeland on the basis of its right to self-determination. The only way to announce this decision to the Sinhalese government and to the world is to vote for the Tamil United Liberation Front".

The people expressed their wish to secede and looked forward to the implementation of your political programme, which is stated in your Manifesto thus: "The Tamil speaking representatives who get elected through these votes, while being members of the National State Assembly of Ceylon, will also form themselves into the 'National Assembly of Tamil Ealam' which will draft a constitution for the State of Tamil Ealam and to establish the independence of the Tamil Ealam by bringing that constitution into operation either by peaceful means or by direct action or struggle".

Since the General Election until now, since you have assumed the vital political position as the Opposition leader, since the catastrophic communal riots of August last year, your Party has not taken any concrete political action nor contemplated any, for the goal for which you pledged. Instead, you have been

engaged in a secret dialogue with the leaders of the Sinhala bourgeois dictatorship, headed by J.R., who, as you are aware, has a historical record of racialism, religious fanaticism, and national chauvinism, whose ultimate intention is to annihilate the national identity of the Ealam Tamils under the guise of national unity, and territorial integrity. By such collaborationist policies, which you claim are tactically necessary, you have managed to produce minor concessions which are totally insignificant to the national question, nor will they lead to the path of national liberation but will certainly cause irreparable damage to the revolutionary and progressive aspirations of an oppressed nation seeking national liberation and socialist transformation of society. It is of no surprise that the Tamil bourgeois leadership, since Independence, has a disgraceful historical record of an invariable policy of attempting to collaborate and coming to terms with the ruling class of the oppressor nation to retain its own power and privileges to the detriment of the oppressed Tamil masses; a policy of similar intent and content your Party has been pursuing for the last quarter of a century, impairing the freedom struggle of our people, thereby causing the perpetuation of national oppression which resulted in severe socio-economic disadvantages to the Tamil nation.

The forces that were generated through years of national oppression, the forces that have become radical and revolutionary, the forces that are sincerely committed to revolution and socialism, the forces that have an acute, awakened political consciousness, the forces that cannot be enchanted by emotional phrases but believe in revolutionary thought and action, the forces that your Party struggles to contain with false, utopian promises, are now disillusioned and disenchanted with your political practice which is impracticable and impotent, devoid of any concrete, realistic programme of action that can lead to a mass revolutionary struggle for national liberation. You still uphold the outdated political concepts of Ahimsha and Satyagraha, which you have experimented with and found it unworkable against a repressive State apparatus which operates with military oppression against peaceful agitation. You are certainly aware that non-violent methods of agitation, whatever form and character it may assume, will be disastrous and will soon be defeated and crushed. Tamil Ealam will not be achieved by prostrating in front of guns and boots of the oppressor nor by the killing of time in house-arrests and jails. Our people are no more enchanted by such absurd methods of political agitation which will certainly increase military oppression and prolong the struggle indefinitely. Yet you continue to preach this dogma of defeatism, this dead gandhian doctrine of Ahimsha, which is abominable to all revolutionary and freedom fighters of the contemporary world who are constantly confronted with extreme violence and severe oppression. The Gandhian example, you praise and preach, is a unique event in colonial history, unfolded in a historical conjuncture when British imperialism was compelled to implement a policy of decolonisation of the penetrated colonial social formations with the programme of linking these so-called independent countries in a global neo-colonial empire called the Common wealth. Indian national independence, was in fact not an achievement of Gandhi's Ahimsha, but an imperialist plot to perpetuate the exploitation of the Indian sub-continent by granting Independence without antagonising the indigenous bourgeoisie.

You say you are opposed to violence yet you fail to understand the moral distinction between the violence of the oppressor and the violence of the oppressed. The violence of the oppressed is not violence in that derogatory sense, it is a struggle against the violence of the oppressor, it is a strive for freedom and liberation against slavery, it is a fight to uphold one's right and dignity. To fight for the freedom of the oppressed nation, to actualise the right of self-determination which is the right to secede and form a State, is to fight the oppressive State machinery, is to fight the armed machinery by which the State practises its oppression. To fight an oppressor is not violence, to fight injustice, inequality, and inhumanity is not violence, to fight violence is not violence; it is a fight for freedom, equality and human dignity, which is a highest virtue and a noble task.

We do not want violence, but when violence is forcefully thrust upon us by the State oppressive machinery, when our national identity is threatened by the ultra-nationalist policies of the ruling class of the oppressor nation, we have no other alternative but to prepare ourselves to fight against the violation of our freedom with violence, if necessary. We are not alone in our fight against national oppression: there are other progressive and revolutionary forces in the south who are committed to revolution and socialism, who are prepared to fight along with us for the emancipation of all oppressed masses; a fight which has to be fought against the common enemy of all, the real oppressor - the capitalist state and its bourgeois managing directors.

Your Party is blind to the contemporary historical conjunctures, to the world liberation struggles, to the revolutionary methods and strategies employed by freedom fighters all over the world. Your sermons on peace and non-violence and the absence of any realistic practical programmes of action for a liberation struggle shows that your Party has no real intention to embark on a struggle but to continue the politics of the mouth whereby succumbing a progressive revolutionary movement to the sinister plots of the bourgeoisie of the oppressor nation.

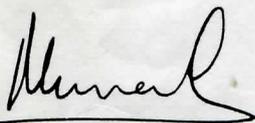
It is now clear to us that your Party is using the slogans of Tamil nationalism to maintain its bourgeois hegemony, to protect its power and privileges. Your Party also uses the slogans of socialism, of socialist transformation of our social formation, yet your Party turns a blind eye to the multiple contradictions that exist within our social structure, to the suffering of the oppressed classes and the depressed castes, to the frustrations of our youth to the suppression of our women. Your ignorance of class contradictions, of the laws of social and historical development, of the revolutionary upsurge of the oppressed masses shows clearly that your slogan of socialism is nothing but reactionary conservatism coloured by vulgar marxism, a utopian brand of socialism which ignores the dialectical contradictions that exist in the material conditions of reality.

Your Party pledged to develop friendship with the progressive forces in the south that 'recognise the aspirations of the Tamil Nation', yet you have not taken any positive steps to seek such understanding with revolutionary forces of the Sinhala people. In your political

practice you show little inclination to Tamil plantation proletariat who constitute themselves as the vital revolutionary force whose role is important for the liberation of Tamil Ealam, as well as for a social revolution in Sri Lanka. Instead of gaining the support of these people for our national struggle, you made pacts with Thandaman whom you know very well is a capitalist reactionary who is prepared to betray the Tamil masses for his own gains.

You ignore the most important revolutionary and progressive forces of the country whose collaboration is a necessity to gain the liberation of Tamil Ealam. Instead, you are collaborating with the most reactionary bourgeois elements whose inner motive is to destroy all progressive movements, particularly our national liberation movement. Their only motive is to hinder, slacken and eventually crush mass movements, which are revolutionary in character, which will challenge the power and privileges of the ruling class. We therefore express our vehement protest to such collaborations which we fear will lead to the capitulation of our Nation's quest for freedom to bourgeois conspiracy.

We do not believe in peaceful agitations nor do we believe in terrorism as a method of liberation struggle. We are revolutionaries. We are socialists. We believe in revolution and socialism, we believe in mass revolutionary struggles. We believe that the national liberation struggle of our people is progressive and radical and must be led along the path of revolution and socialism, must be led to our liberation and to the emancipation of the whole country.



~~General Secretary~~
Tamils' Liberation Organisation