

EPRLF EELAM SPOKESMAN

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No 1



Comrade K. PATHMANABHA

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Secretary - General

on the Origin, Ideology and Programme of EPRLF

Q The Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) is now clearly identified as a significant politico-military factor within the Eelam National Movement. Yet, the origins of EPRLF its ideology and structure has remained a mystery to those not closely associated with its genesis and subsequent growth. An elaboration of the above by you, as the co-founder of the EPRLF and its Secretary-General, will be of immense value to our readers.

★ *Ans:* The origins of EPRLF, as in the case of other liberation organizations or groups within the Eelam national liberation struggle, share a common legacy—namely, the legacy of national oppression that has now assumed the proportions of genocide. Yet, each organization has its own specificities. In many instances, they are closely interwoven with each other and yet fundamentally different in ideology, organizational structure etc. It is not my intention here to go into depth on the history of the widening and deepening of national oppression against the Tamil-speaking Peoples of Sri Lanka (ie the Eelam People). Neither do I wish to refer to the various myths and realities that surround the origins of our fraternal organizations within the Eelam Movement. What I shall focus here, are only those elements of immediate relevance to

the origins of our Party, the EPRLF, and to certain aspects of our organizational structure.

As you are aware, the early 70s witnessed certain new tendencies within the Eelam National Movement. These tendencies were based on the realization of the inadequacy of passive forms of resistance, and grew out of extreme discontent and frustration with the impotence of the traditional Tamil Parliamentary leadership, as well as the "parliamentary Left" in providing a viable programme for the emancipation of the oppressed Eelam People.

One such manifestation of this tendency was the emergence of the Tamil Students Federation in 1970. Despite the display of immense courage and determination, the emerging tendency was still incoherent, in con-

ent and programme, and spontaneous, in nature. As a result, the thrust of resistance against national oppression was, to a large extent, individualized, fragmented and adventurist. Yet another limitation of this phase of the struggle was its narrow social base, comprising mainly of youth and students who had been cruelly affected by institutionalised racism in the fields of education and employment. However, with the widening and deepening of national oppression against the Eelam People by successive Sri Lankan governments, it became clear that all social classes and in particular, the broad toiling masses were beginning to bear the brunt of the full fury of Sinhala chauvinism. Similarly, the Sri Lankan State with its authoritarian and dependent bourgeois characteristics began to resort to fascist-type of dominance and repression. The conditions were now ripe for the emergence of a mass-based movement. However, it was not a mass-based movement in the traditional sense of constituting an electoral base for Tamil chauvinist parliamentary parties. Instead, the movement reflected a social base

that was seeking, not only emancipation from national oppression, but also social transformation. Unfortunately, the subjective conditions—namely, the formation of a revolutionary vanguard—was yet to be satisfied.

In 1975, the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (not the present TELO) was formed with the objective of satisfying the subjective conditions necessary to launch a mass-based armed struggle. A similar tendency within the Tamil expatriate radical intelligentsia based mainly in London, led to the formation of the Eelam Revolutionary Organizers (EROS). I wish to point out here that the founders of EPRLF and its present-day leadership, along with some leading figures belonging to some of our fraternal organizations within the Eelam liberation movement, played a key role in the formation of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization and the Eelam Revolutionary Organizers.

Due to state repression and the mass arrests that took place at that time and the inherent weakness associated with youth adventurism the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organiz-

ation ceased to function. As far as the EROS was concerned, although it had a Working programme which gave primacy to military training as well as economic projects that served as a cover for subversive and underground forms of mass mobilization, in practice, it had its own limitations. By late 70s, criticisms began to surface within EROS as regards the nature and style of its leadership which was highly centralized and personalized. Yet another criticism was that since the leadership was based externally, it was insensitive to the demands from the base. Some of these demands included a fundamental restructuring leading toward democratic-centralism and a working programme necessary to widen and deepen political work and mass mobilization.

Arising out of this internal debate and owing to the intransigence of the London-based leadership, a vertical split occurred, with the majority tendency convening an Organizers Conference in October 1981. At this Conference the EPRLF was born. In addition, the following decisions were taken:

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UNITE TO STRUGGLE — STRUGGLE FOR UNITY



EPRLF EELAM SPOKESMAN



Our readers would have, no doubt taken note of the fact that the pages of the present issue of SPOKESMAN do not carry any gruesome pictures or details of the on-going genocidal situation prevailing in the Northern and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka. The international news media has responded reasonably well to the task exposing the murderous assault by the Sri Lankan armed forces on the Tamil civilian populace. The proceedings at the United Nations Human Rights Conference recently concluded in Geneva has also, undoubtedly, contributed to focusing world attention on the sheer magnitude of human misery and destruction that has been meted out to the Eelam People by the racist and degenerate J. R. Regime. Suffice it to say, what we are witnessing at this very moment is a deliberately contrived genocidal situation that is aimed at terrorising our People into submission. As far as the Sri Lankan State is concerned, this state of affairs is an absolute precondition and at the same time inseparably linked to its pursuance of a military solution.

It is not our intention here to state the obvious or to give a graphic depiction of the present. What we propose to do in this column, as well as in this issue, is to reflect on some of the objective and subjective factors which have led to the present state of affairs. We shall also reflect on what ought to be done in order to transform the present, so as to create a future that would offer our oppressed People Peace, Democracy and Social Progress.

Let us now look back for a moment. The peace-process mediated through the good offices of the Government of India, two years ago, gave rise to mixed feelings in the hearts and minds of our People. While their hearts filled with joy at the prospects of peace, yet, they enjoyed no peace of mind. Their rational minds refused to accept that peace could be obtained so simply, given Sri Lanka's past and sordid record on broken pacts and unkept promises (See SPOKESMAN, August 1985). The Thimpu Talks collapsed and hopes of Peace were shattered. But, that these hopes were illusory did not take long to register in their minds; and their resolve to continue to resist against State Terrorism and national oppression, only became strengthened.

There was yet another reason which enabled our People to withstand all hardships and sufferings, despite the collapse of the Thimpu Talks namely, that despite the presence of six organizations representing our People, they spoke with one voice. In fact, when the Sri Lankan government delegation sought to score a psychological victory at Thimpu Talks by characterizing the six Eelam organizations (TULF, TELO, LTTE, PLOT, EROS and EPRLF) as "six groups representing interests of certain Tamil groups in Sri Lanka", the representative of EPRLF, speaking on behalf of the entire Tamil delegation, argued in the following manner:

"We wish to state emphatically that the six organizations comprising of the Tamil delegation at the Thimpu Talks are not mere negotiators of a clientele - we are a liberation movement who are the sole legitimate representatives of the Eelam People. We also wish to point out that a liberation movement does not drop from the skies; it grows in response to the widening and deepening of national oppression against a People and is in turn nurtured and sustained by the support and confidence that it enjoys from the People."

This bold challenge issued by the Tamil delegation has now turned out to be a damp squib. While the Sri Lankan State and its imperialist and Zionist allies are carrying out a well-coordinated and orchestrated diplomatic and military campaign, the Eelam Resistance stands divided. The sectarian-adventurist policies of the LTTE and the MOSSAD-type divide and rule policies of the Sri Lankan State are some of the determining factors leading to the present state of affairs. As Comrade K. Pathmanabha, our Secretary-General, recently highlighted in a Press Statement, the failure on the part of all patriotic forces to close ranks and forge unity would be tantamount to nothing short of a betrayal of our beloved Eelam people and the abdication of our historical tasks.

However, looking forward it is heartening that new initiatives are now being taken to forge a Democratic Front. As far as the EPRLF is concerned, our resolve to forge a united front with all patriotic and democratic forces remains as firm as ever. It is also encouraging that here is a consensus that emphasis be given to the formulation of a concrete and a coherent programme prior to the proclamation of the Front. It is our fervent hope that our next editorial will announce the glad tidings while ringing the death-knell to our enemy.

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1. The EPRLF leadership and organizational structure shall remain secretive till such time as the condition were created for its open proclamation,

2. The Political and Working Programmes adopted at the Organizers Conference shall be implemented through a network of frontal and mass organizations. These frontal and mass organizations were to be formed giving priority to the following tasks:

(i) The organizing of the radical intelligentsia, progressive sections of the petit-bourgeoisie and students under one unitary organizational framework;

(ii) The mobilizing of all working people of Eelam, in particular, landless agricultural workers and poor peasants, fishermen and the plantation proletariat, for the struggle against national oppression and class exploitation and towards the raising of political consciousness.

(iii) The raising of social consciousness against caste oppression and to smash the atrocities perpetrated in the name of casteism;

(iv) The raising of social and cultural consciousness against the oppression of women and the eradication of the dowry system which is degrading to, both, men and women.

(v) The forging of fraternal links with the socialist countries, revolutionary - democratic governments and nations in the forefront of the struggle against U. S. Imperialism and the various national liberation struggles.

3. Thirdly, the decision was also taken to form the Peoples Liberation Army (PLA) which would work closely with our

mass and frontal organizations, but subordinate to the political leadership of the EPRLF.

By 1983, it was decided that the time was appropriate to proclaim the EPRLF as the vanguard of the mass and frontal organizations that had begun to function soon after the 1981 Organizers Conference. Accordingly, on 4th April 1983 a March was organized by all the frontal and mass organizations in protest against State Terrorism and the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA). At this march which was broken-up by the Sri Lankan security forces through the use of brute force, the EPRLF was proclaimed. To sum up, while the EPRLF was born in October 1981 at the Organizers Conference it functioned secretly behind a network of mass and frontal organizations till its proclamation before the people in April 1983.

Another historical phase of EPRLF's growth and structure was the convening of our First Party Congress in June 1984. The successful conclusion of our party Congress was itself indicative of the fact that the EPRLF, since its formation in 1981, had acquired the characteristics of a Marxist-Leninist party. While Historical and dialectical materialism was reaffirmed to be the philosophy of our party, democratic-centralism constituted the main prop of the organizational structure. At this Congress, our political programme clearly identified the present phase of the struggle to be that of a *National Democratic Revolution*. Our working Programme, in addition, to formulating methods and forms of work aimed at fusing mass mobilization with armed struggle, also gave primacy to the forging of a United Front with all patriotic forces.

Emphasis was also given to forging of links and the formulation of a common programme with the progressive, democratic and Left forces working amongst the Sinhala people.

Our international perspective is inseparably linked with the world-wide struggle against U. S. Imperialism, Zionism and Racism. No struggle that is legitimate, enjoys the popular support of the oppressed people and reaches out in solidarity with the struggles of all oppressed peoples can be destroyed. I wish to take this opportunity to appeal to the Socialist bloc, the world communist and workers movements, revolutionary - democratic governments, national liberation movements and all peace-loving peoples of all nations to reach out to us so that we can reach out to them.

Q. In the popular mind, a Marxist-Leninist Organization is automatically associated with instant revolution that seeks to install the "dictatorship of the proletariat" In fact, the Marxist-Leninist orientation of EPRLF has led to it being branded in certain circles as being "romantic - revolutionaries" or as the "ultra-left. On the other hand, it is sometimes identified as a nationalist organization functioning under the guise of a Marxist-Leninist Party. We wish to have your comments on these misperceptions.

★ Ans : Yes. Some of the misperceptions that you have mentioned do exist. These are either

based on ignorance, or the product of rightist propoganda which seek to portray the Left as the product of utopian or totalitarian ideologies.

Firstly, I wish to state categorically that EPRLF is a Marxist-Leninist organization. It is also correct to state that we emerged out of the Eelam National Movement. However, we began to orient ourselves to the task of building a revolutionary vanguard, so as to create the conditions for the transformation of a national movement into a struggle for national and social liberation. We are engaged in a struggle which not only strives to liberate the Eelam People from national oppression, but to also emancipate them from class exploitation and other forms of oppression based on caste, sex, religion, regional parochialism etc. In short, we see national liberation to be inseparably linked with social liberation, where one has no meaning without the other. I have already mentioned in my response to your earlier question as regards the method and programme based on which the EPRLF is striving to achieve the above tasks.

Secondly, I wish to state categorically that we are revolutionaries. But, we are not utopians who believe in an instant revolution, based purely on certain ideals. Since we firmly believe in Historical and dialectical materialism, we also know that before we seek to transform realities, we must first understand them. I shall now proceed to elaborate on some concrete objective realities

that exist in Sri Lanka today.

We see Sri Lanka as a country, which immediately after de-colonization from British colonial rule, came to be subjugated to the present phase of Imperialism-namely, neo-colonialism and neo-globalism under the hegemony of the U. S. The struggle for national liberation is, therefore, not yet complete. In addition, Sri Lanka is a country with two distinct and identifiable nationalities (ie the Tamil and Sinhala nationalities) and two national minorities with close ethnic ties with the Tamil nation (ie the Plantation Tamils and the Islamic people). The peoples of Sri Lanka came into interaction, based on conflicting unity, and within a single juridico-political and administrative entity under British colonialism. This colonial legacy of national and ethnic formation which could have developed into a peaceful and harmonious co-existence in the post-colonial era, instead, degenerated into varying forms of national oppression, nurtured through Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinism and made acute by the very nature of the Sri Lankan State - ie Dependent and Authoritarian.

It is in the above context that we argue that if the Eelam National Question in Sri Lanka is to be resolved, the entire Sri Lankan social formation must undergo a fundamental, revolutionary transformation. However, at Present, the concrete objective conditions do not exist in Sri

Lanka that would facilitate a total revolution, instantly and immediately. In the meantime, the Eelam people are left with no option but to continue to struggle for the recognition of their inalienable right of self-determination which includes the right to secede, if they so desire. The task of EPRLF, therefore, is to fuse the Eelam National Movement with the struggle for fundamental, revolutionary transformation into a coherent programme that

would unleash the patriotic, revolutionary forces lying dormant and fragmented amongst the Tamil and Sinhala masses. It is this that we have identified as the phase of a National Democratic Revolution which is necessary for the creation of the objective conditions and the satisfaction of the subjective conditions necessary for peace, democracy and social progress. for all peoples of Sri Lanka.

SPOKESMAN is an English language paper published by the EPRLF to.

- convey the political line of the **EPRLF**
- provide current information and analysis pertinent to the **EELAM** liberation struggle;
- serve as forum to build relation of mutual solidarity between progressive organisations, parties, national liberation movements, countries etc., and the **EELAM** revolution.

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International

Philippine Crisis and U.S. Imperialism



We reproduce here extracts from the fifth in a series of lectures on **Philippine Crisis and Revolution** delivered by, Comrade Jose Maria Sison at the Asian Center University of the Philippines. Comrade Sison, the architect of the underground Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and the founder of its military wing, the New People's Army (NPA), was incarcerated in prison by the fascist Marcos regime for over a decade and was released by the Aquino Government soon after the ouster of Marcos.

Comrade Sison and his wife, Comrade Julieta Sison have since been on a lecture tour of several countries. It must be noted that Comrade Julieta is a member of the National Council of the *Partido ng Bayan* (People's Party) widely recognized to be the legal front of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP)

The extract of the lecture given below is entitled "Crisis in International Relations." And was delivered on 29 April 1986.

The foundation of US-RP relation is defined by a series of unequal treaties, agreements and laws. These have been called special relations, so special that spell US control of both the domestic and foreign policies of the Philippines.

On the day that the US granted bogus independence to the Philippines in 1946, the US-RP treaty of General Relations was signed by the president of the semicolonial republic. This treaty recognized the perpetuation of US property rights and the US military bases and required the formulation of Philippine foreign policy under the wings of US foreign policy.

The U.S.- Bell Trade Act of 1947 extended the period of free trade, spelled out the subordination of the Philippine peso to to US dollar and required the Parity Amendment in the Philippine constitution.

The Laurel - Langle Agreement of 1954 did not only reaffirm the Parity Amendment, but also unconstitutionally

extended its coverage to all kinds of businesses, including the holding and utilization of private agricultural loans.

The US-RP Military Bases Agreement of 1947 puts in detail US violation of Philippine sovereignty and territorial integrity through US Military bases sitting on extensive tracts of land. The agreement practically allows US military forces to control the entire country by exempting them from Philippine jurisdiction even outside of the bases, and by allowing them to be expanded or increased upon the decision of the US.

The US-RP Military Assistance Pact of 1947 ensures US control over the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

The Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement of 1951 allows the US to plant US economic and technical advisers in every strategic branch of the Philippine government.

Agents of US-AID (and its predecessor agencies)

have not only been economic and technical agents of US monopolies, but have also doubled as cultural aggressors, CIA Agents and advisors and trainers of the Philippine Constabulary and local police agencies in crowd dispersal and counterinsurgency.

The US-RP Mutual Defense Pact of 1951 allows the US to use aggressor troops to intervene in the internal affairs of the Philippines under the pretext of securing "peace" and "mutual security."

The Manila Pact of 1954 created the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) for the "regional defense of Southeast Asia. It could be invoked to involve the Philippines in US adventure in other countries in the region, and to involve SEATO member-countries, mostly non-Southeast Asian countries, in Philippine affairs. But the SEATO was paralyzed by contradictions between the US and other member-countries.

The Agricultural commodities agreements are governed by US Public Law 480, otherwise known as the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act. Through these agreements, the US disposes of its surplus agricultural products by dumping them on the Philippines

US governmental agencies like the AID, USIS, the Educational Board, and the Peace Corps, and foundations like the Asia Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, and Ford Foundation play an important role in the Philippine cultural and educational system. Exchange programmes for various sec-

tors and travel, study and research grants are used to glorify the "American way of life" and propagate antinational and anti-democratic ideas.

In the entire semicolonial period, US-RP relations have always been in crisis and fallen deeper in crisis from decade to decade. This crisis in US-RP relations springs from contradictions in a US-dominated Philippine society.



The US was able to impose unequal treaties and agreements as the foundation of its continued domination of Philippine and foreign policy because the US presented itself as the liberator of the country from Japanese occupation and the giver of Philippine Independence, took advantage of the devastation of the country and the hardship of the people, and unleashed the rabid anticommunist propaganda of the Cold War.

The US was able to use Philippine expeditionary troops in the Korean war in the early 50s and use Philippine foreign policy and Filipino agents in counterrevolutionary activities in Southeast Asia, especially in Indonesia, and Indochina during the 50s and 60s.

At the Afro-Asian people's conference in Bandung in 1956, the delegation of the Philippine

government headed by Carlos P. Romulo stood as an apologist of US foreign policy rather than as a defender of Philippine sovereign interests and a supporter of the newly liberated countries and national liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

But in the 60s, the national democratic movement in the Philippines was resurgent, and strongly

opposed US armed intervention and aggression in Vietnam. The use of Philippine mercenary troops in Vietnam always faced strong opposition from the people and in the Philippine Congress and the press.

Another strong demand of the national democratic movement was the broadening of Philippine foreign relations and the establishment of diplomatic and trade relations with socialist countries in view of the worsening economic and foreign trade crisis, especially in the late 60s.

In the later half of the 60s, the US was able to enlarge its special economic privileges in the Philippines through the Foreign Investments Law, the Export Processing Law, and other laws.

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State Terrorism Grips The South



★ A new wave of repression has engulfed the south of Sri Lanka. It is a well documented fact that the Israeli Secret Service has sent approximately 300 of its "SHINBETH" agents to revamp and centralise the intelligence agencies of Lanka's police and armed forces. They are now centralised under the National Intelligence Bureau which is an organisation well known for its brutal and inhuman methods of interrogation, torture and killing and dumping the bodies of political detainees while in custody. These terror methods perfected by the Israeli Secret service by experimentation on Palestinians and other Arabs are now being taught to the N. I. B. goon squads, who are being put thr-

ough their spaces by the SHINBETH.

Their brutal and sinister methods of hunting down their victims who happen to be most often Sinhalese human rights and political activists who have repeatedly voiced their strong criticism against the illegitimate authoritarian regime of J. R. Jayawardene, and those who have resisted his repeated genocidal attacks against the oppressed Tamil people living in the NORTH AND EAST of Sri Lanka.

In this general atmosphere of repression and violation of basic human rights which are abhorrent and intolerable in any democratic society. The practice of arbitrary arrest detention torture and disappearance has brought a new dimension to the struggle for democracy in Sri Lanka.

* In reply to a question asked by the late Mr. Sarath Muttettuwegama (MP) in parliament, the Minister for National Security Lalith Athulathmudali bragged, "There are two sets of people who have been arrested. I want to tell you that one is a group of people who

are mostly Sinhalese speaking extremist elements. They are people linked with the PLOT. The total number arrested was 49 and at the moment there are 41. If the Hon member for Kalawana was prepared to discuss with me later ... I may be able to tell you more, but at the moment security considerations constrain me from giving more facts..... There is another group connected with the E. P. R. L. F. of them so far 11 people have been arrested"

* They are not members or prominent members of any recognized political parties But these people like the first group, are also Marxists. They are pledged to conduct an armed revolution on Marxist lines together with the E.P.R.L.F to overthrow the government of Sri Lanka (HANSARD — APRIL 25 1986)

Quite recently the arrest of Ms. Pulsara Nayani Liyanage, lecturer in the English department at Vidyalandara University, and a human rights activist of the Movement for Inter Racial Justice and Equality (MIRJE) sent shock waves around

womens organisations academic, and human rights circles in Sri Lanka and abroad because she was the first Sinhalese woman intellectual to be taken into custody under the draconian P. T. A. (Prevention of Terrorism Act)

Pulsara Liyanage's arrest and subsequent interrogation that she is now undergoing in the notorious 4th Floor by N. I. B. officials, has raised much concern. She had just undergone major surgery twice and was constantly being monitored for loss of blood pressure. It was in this regard that several opposition members of parliament made a special appeal on her behalf to have her released on medical grounds.

In order to overcome the international pressure and agitation to have her released. The national security minister has filed charges against her together with 23 other persons who are indicted on 14 counts...

In this case, 23 persons are indicted on 14 counts under the emergency regulations and the Prevention of Terrorism Act with "conspiring to over-

throw the legally constituted government of Sri Lanka by violence, collection and possession of arms, ammunition and explosives, committing robberies, sending people to India for military training attempting to incite the people to overthrow the government by violence, spreading disaffection among the people and possessing explosives within the security zone of Colombo."

The accused are alleged to have committed the offences along with Madapatage Wimalasena, Kaluarachchige Dhanapala and others at Colombo and other places between August 1, 1983, and April 30, 1986.

The accused are Ahangama Vithanage Mario Daya Jayatilake De Silva alias K.K.H. Thomas George alias Joe Seneviratna Dayapala Tiranagama alias Loku Silva, Pulsara Nayani Liyanage alias Pulsi, Chintan de Silva alias Kamal, Purnaka de Silva alias Lalith alias P. L. periyasamy Muthulingam alias Muthu, K. Pathmanabha alias Ranjan, Ramanujan Manikkalingam alias Mohan, alias Ram, R. A. Jayaratna

How The Children of Shinbeth Work

Once retired cop called Terrence Perera has been reinstated to head the "SPECIAL OPERATIONS UNIT" which is a heavily armed N. I. B. unit answerable to the minister for national security and no one else.

Reports coming in from those close to arrested persons reveal that Tactics of arrest and detention long associated with repressive regimes in South Africa, Latin America and Phillipines in Asia, under the Marcos dictatorship are being put into practice in Sri Lanka.

- People are followed and picked up from the street, in unmarked vehicles by persons in civil clothing.
- houses and lodging places are raided at night normally the early hours of the morning. So that there will be few witnesses.
- Torches are flashed into faces of 'suspects' to blind them and prevent identification.
- Cloth hoods and leather nooses are used to disorient and temporarily asphyxiate the victims to prevent any resistance.
- Private homes and offices are used as places of detention and interrogation for (eg.) Penrith estate at

Avisawella (A J. E. B. D. state controlled Plantation Board Estate) is one such place.

• Families are never informed as to the cause of arrest, deliberate deception is also resorted to, prevent families pursuing inquiries.

In order to extract information prisoners are hung from ceilings and beaten with weighted pipes or poles for at least two or three days without any questions being asked.

• During period of interrogation all prisoners have to sleep on bare cement floors.

• The victim is deprived of food, water and sleep to break down morale and resistance. (the little food that is provided is prepared without salt.)

• Sharp instruments, lighted matches etc. are forced into the fingertips of victims.

• Electric shocks are given to the more sensitive parts of the body for (eg) Breasts and genitals.

• victims are forced to inhale fumes emanating from burning pots of chillie powder.

• In some extreme cases prisoners have had pythons forced into mouths of victims, while others have been forced to eat human and animal excreta.

alias Jegan, Kariyawasam Indipolage Sarath Gaminl alias Stanley, Piyadasa Gallage alias Cyril, Liveris Caldera alias Dicky, Godidigamuwa Mudiyanalage Dharmasena alias Ralahamy, Haputantrige Karunasena Dayananda alias Santha, Kandamullage Karunaratna alias Leo, Miriyagalla Kankanamalage Karunaratna alias Sudha, Christom Ranjith Kumara Henry, Iqbal alias Ibbā, Thuihandige Sarath Silva alias Podi Silva alias Somasiri Silva, Kor-alalage piyadasa alias Manager, Ariyadasa alias Deraniyagala Ari and W. Chitrasena alias Michael.

on November 1985 the Minister of National Security announced that several People, mainly, Sinhalese, suspected of having separatist terrorist links have been arrested by security authorities. The Minister named two leftwing groups, the Samajawadi Janatha Viyaparaya (Socialist people's Movement-SJP) and the Janatha Vimukthi peramuna Nava pravathavaya (JYPPN) as having alleged links with one of the main armed Tamil groups.

At least one hundred persons were reported to have been arrested in this connection in Decem-

ber 1985, although some recent reports put the number at 200.

The deteriorating situation is further borne out by the January 24th, 1986 report of the UN Working Group on Enforced and Involuntary Disappearances, which has documented 194 cases of such 'disappearances' in Sri Lanka.

It has also not been possible to get the state to give these prisoners any special status as 'political' prisoners. The PTA Advisory Board, which has been authorised to look into the

position of those persons detained under the PTA is also only able to make recommendations to the state which need not necessarily be implemented.

SPOKESMAN sees the continuing arrests and detentions as a gross violation of the democratic rights of free political expression and a further indication of the authoritarianism that has characterised Sri Lankan policy in recent years.

It is in this light that SPOKESMAN seeks to alert all political parties and groups, mass organisations, human rights groups and activists and other concerned persons in Sri Lanka and abroad

to join hands in bringing pressure to bear on the Government of Sri Lanka.

1) To repeal repressive legislation which violates the democratic and civil rights of the people of Sri Lanka;

2) To release all political prisoners as a token of good faith and intention to bring about a negotiated political solution to the ethnic conflict;

3) As an interim measure, to afford to all detainees minimum rights, treating them as political prisoners.

EPRLF Extends Revolutionary Salute to Palestinian Martyrs



The PFLP announced the martyrdom of a group of heroes who fell while defending the Palestinian revolution, camps and armed presence in Lebanon. The PFLP pledged to the martyrs to continue struggling, no matter how great the sacrifices required, in defense of our revolution and masses until achieving all of our people's aims: to return to Palestine, exercise self-determination and establish an independent Palestinian state, under the leadership of the PLO, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Below is a summary of the lives and struggle of the seven martyrs of the PFLP:

Omar Yousef Oufi was born in 1959 in Tulkarem, Palestine. He joined the PFLP on March 3, 1979. His nom de guerre was Sultan Abdul Muhsen Hasan; he attained the rank of captain in the PFLP's military forces. He was married and had two daughters. He was martyred in Maghdousheh, Lebanon. This heroic martyr was an example of generosity and sacrifice, struggling for the revolution and the masses. In 1982, he participated in resisting the Zionist invasion, and in the battle of confrontation in Sidon and Beirut. He participated in the liberation of the Lebanese mountains from fascist control, and in fighting the Zionist occupation. He was martyred while defending the revolution, camps and armed presence in Lebanon.

Dhaher Hamid Abu Azrah, whose nom de guerre was Abu Firas Dhaher, was born in 1947, in Gaza, Palestine. He joined the Palestine Liberation Army in the September 1970 battles against the regime in Jordan, and the 1971 battles in Jarash and Ajloun. He fought in the October 1973 war. In 1975, he joined the PFLP, and participated in the battles against the fascists in Lebanon. He participated in the resistance against the Zionist invasion of South Lebanon in 1978, and in the defense of besieged Beirut in 1982. He attained the rank of captain, and was married and had seven children. He was martyred in Maghdousheh on November 29, 1986, while defending the camps and Palestinian nationalist presence in Lebanon.

Ahmad Arabi Ali was a Yemeni, North Yemen in 1952. He joined the PFLP in January 1985, and attained the rank of lieutenant in its military forces. He was married and had two sons. He was a model of sacrifice. He participated in the battles in Keifan and Eitat, in defense of the national democratic program in Lebanon. He was martyred on November 29, 1986, in Maghdousheh, while defending the Palestinian camps and nationalist presence in Lebanon.

Ali Dhayan was from Turkey, born in Ankara in 1954. This martyr was a model of generosity and sacrifice. He was an internationalist struggler, having fought in the ranks of the Turkish Communist Labor Party, the Popular Front

for the Liberation of Turkey and the Armed Struggle League in Turkey. His nom de guerre was Melik Ismael Ahmad, and he served as an assistant in the PFLP's military forces. He was martyred in Maghdousheh on November 29, 1986.

Azzo Ibrahim Ahmad Mustafa was a Palestinian born in Oman in 1968. He joined the PFLP on June 29, 1986, and took the nom de guerre Abu Ali. He was martyred on November 28, 1986, while defending the Palestinian camps in South Lebanon, and the revolution's right to continue the armed struggle.

Ismael Khalil Rashwan was a Syrian, born in Damascus in 1966. His nom de guerre was Mohammad Mahmoud Sabri. He was martyred in Maghdousheh on November 24, 1986, while defending the Palestinian camps and armed presence in Lebanon. He had previously participated in the battles in Eitat and Kifon in defense of the national democratic program in Lebanon.

Ahmad Al Masti was a Palestinian, born in Beirut, Lebanon, in 1967. He joined the PFLP in 1984, and took the nom de guerre Guevara Yassin Haddad. He was an exemplary fighter who gave many sacrifices for the cause. He was martyred on December 4, 1986, while bravely defending Shatila camp.

TIGER CLAIMS EXPOSED



If the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam were to be believed, he is the man who was not. He was very much present in flesh and blood to say in a Mark Twain refrain that the LTTE propaganda about his having been liquidated physically was "highly exaggerated". He was there today at the EPRLF press conference to prove he is alive.

K. Suresh, the field commander of the Peoples Liberation Army (PLA), the military wing of the EPRLF said that he had survived all attempts by the LTTE to kill him. He was all the time attending to his work in organising resistance to the Lankan army. He accused the LTTE of standing in the way of India's efforts to find a solution to the Tamil ethnic problem. Its policy of liquidating the other Tamil groups had, indeed, encouraged the Lankan army in its offensive.

Suresh said that the LTTE was spreading disinformation by tainting the news sources. He said the EPRLF was concentrating its fire only on the Lankan troops and the people of Eelam knew about this.

He termed as false propaganda the reports that the LTTE alone counted. All the other Tamil groups were held in high esteem by the People of Eelam, he said.

Ketheeswaran denied a report from Colombo that three militant groups including the EPRLF, which were 'banned' by the LTTE had formed a 'democratic front' to fight the LTTE. The groups were in

the process of forming a front to fight the island government's offensive, but it was certainly not anti-LTTE, he said.

Ketheeswaran disputed the LTTE's claim that it was the sole representative group of the Tamils in Sri Lanka, saying that all the militant groups had contributed to the struggle. He, however, hastened to add the differences between the LTTE and other militant groups would not continue forever. Exchange of prisoners and arms between the different groups was necessary for a patch up, he said.

At least 300 EPRLF men, mainly political workers, were being held and reportedly tortured by the LTTE in their camps, he said, but declined to give the number of LTTE men held by the EPRLF.

To join fast

Ketheeswaran, the spokesman of the EPRLF who introduced Suresh to newsmen said that his group would join the token fast to be observed in front of the Triumph of Labour statue on the Marina at the invitation of the Tamil United Liberation Front.

The (EPRLF) would not heed Sri Lankan President J. R. Jayawardene's call to the militants to end hostilities as it would amount to a "surrender", Ketheeswaran said.

No doubt the Sri Lankan army had made some gains, especially in the eastern province, but "it does not mean our struggle is finished".

India's recent condemnation of the economic blockade and military offensive



Comrade K. Suresh
(Politbureau Member)

in the island's northern and eastern provinces had boosted the morale of the militants, Ketheeswaran said and added "our struggle will continue with or without India's support".

Asked if the EPRLF found the latest proposals to end the crisis agreeable, Ketheeswaran said the proposals had not been officially communicated to the groups, and they did not know what they were.

Ketheeswaran said arms supply to Sri Lanka by its allies would have to stop before the EPRLF could participate in any negotiations with the island government. The group also wanted the government to end the military offensive and lift the economic blockade.

(COURTESY,
NEWS TODAY, 24-02-87)

Womens International Day



The 8th of March is observed the world over as the International Women's Day. This day symbolises solidarity with the struggle for emancipation of all oppressed women. It also symbolizes solidarity with the struggle of all peace-loving Peoples for Peace, Democracy and Social Justice.

We reproduce below the ideological position of the Womens's Front of EPRLF which appeared in our SPOKESMAN of August 1985. To Quote:

No oppressed group or class can eliminate the oppression it suffers by merely being the passive recipient of emancipation handed down from the oppressing group or class. On the contrary, only through a persistent struggle waged against the oppressor can the oppressed win its emancipation. Working class women, who constitute the overwhelming majority of women, are no exception. Their struggle is directed against the bourgeoisie, both men and women, and working class men are natural allies of working class women in this class struggle. Victory for proletarian man and women is an absolute pre-condition for the subsequent emancipation of women as women.

The fact that working class women have recognised that (a) the primary contradiction is the class contradiction and that (b) the conflict of interests rooted in the 'gender gap' is secondary, has been evident, for example, in the participation of women in National Liberation Movements alongside their male counterparts. Whilst the emancipation of women as women has proceeded within such movements, oppressed women rarely elevated their demand for emancipation above their participation in Liberation movements. The attempts by bourgeois women to retard the participation of women in the ongoing class struggle and thereby perpetuate the exploitation of working class women, must be resisted.

(Cont. From Page 4)

Also in the late 60s, the US pushed the formation of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as a bloc of regional economic cooperation and free trade and as a political bulwark against the impending revolutionary victories of the Indochinese peoples.

In 1970, anticipating its withdrawal from or defeat in Indochina, and recognizing the worsening economic and financial crisis of the world capitalist system, the US decided to explore the opening of diplomatic and trade relations with the People's Republic of China.

From 1970 onwards, the economic and financial crisis in the Philippines had worsened due to huge deficits in foreign trade and balance of payments. These deficits could be covered only by large doses of foreign loans. The crop and mining facilities had been overexpanded in the Philippines and elsewhere. And export income for the country was going down.

The imposition of the fascist dictatorship in 1972 would result in the aggravation of the agrarian and semifeudal character of the economy, the wastage of resources in

infrastructure and other show-off projects, military buildup, and the unlimited remittance of superprofits by the multinational corporations and unbridled graft and corruption.

Through his 1973 constitution and decrees, Marcos expanded the extraordinary privileges of US multinational corporations. At certain junctures during the Marcos fascist dictatorship, there had been steps taken by the regime to relieve itself of grave problems, and to widen diplomatic relations.

With US consent and with the purpose of being stricken off the blacklist during the oil embargo in 1973, the Philippines improved its relations with the Arab countries to the point of voting in favor of Arab and Palestinian countries in the United Nations and elsewhere.

Other motives of the Philippine government in improving its relations with the Arab and Islamic countries was to strengthen its position against the Moro National Liberation Front in the Islamic Conference, and to get a share of the construction boom in the Middle East.

In 1975, Sino-Philippine relations were established. Subsequently, the

Philippines also established relations with more Eastern European countries, including the Soviet Union. But under constraint of US imperialist control, the Philippines was never able to avail itself fully of trade and other economic relations with the socialist countries. Occasionally, Marcos would threaten to engage in counter trade or barter trade with them in order to dispose of its surplus commodities and to get productive and essential goods in return. Also, at rarer times, he would threaten to secure productive equipment from socialist countries on a deferred payment. But he was merely making boasts to embellish his singleminded policy of serving the interests of the US and Japanese multinational firms and falling deeper into the debt trap. At certain times, he would also threaten to join the conference of nonaligned countries. But he was well satisfied with being a conference observer. He had absolutely no interest in dismantling the US military bases in the country.

In 1978, Marcos entered into a five-year protocol agreement on the US military bases, which pretended to recognize Philippine sovereignty over the said bases but assured the US military forces of unhindered use

of base facilities and the prerogative of participating in counterinsurgency operations under the pretext of securing the bases.

So far, the Aquino government has not issued any foreign policy declaration departing from the well-entrenched foreign policy dictated by the US. On the other hand, there are indications articulated by the current regime that the same basic foreign policy will remain.

The Aquino government is determined to conform to the dictates of the IMF, World Bank, the foreign private creditors and the US and other multinational firms. This government is eager to attract the multinational firms, receive US bilateral assistance tied to special privileges for US firms and to the US military bases, beg for better terms on the accumulated foreign debt and get the country deeper in to foreign indebtedness.

There is no indication that the new regime will resort to countertrade with socialist countries so as to dispose of its mainstay export commodities and get productive and other essential goods in return or to build industrial plants payable on installment by a portion of its annual product or income. The regime, however, has decentralized and de-monopolized

trading with socialist countries. (the monopoly used to be operated by Marcos and his cronies through the Philippine International Trade Council.)

The regime continues to be dependent on US military supplies and economic support funds that are tied to the US military bases. Considering the economic and political crisis of the ruling system and the inevitable desperation of those who fix themselves within this system, the regime is bound to extend the life of the US military bases, unless political and diplomatic preparations are made for the opposite possibility.

The Philippine government continues to pay lip service to peace and neutrality in southeast Asia, but has not acted decisively to gain membership in the conference of nonaligned countries by abrogating the US bases in the country.

The Philippine government cannot perform a creditable role in the Third World struggle for a new international economic order, and for freedom, justice, progress and peace as long as US imperialism and the local reactionary classes continue to ride roughshod over the Filipino people and determine Philippine foreign policy.

EPRLF Condemns Badulla-Amparai Massacres

The bomb blast in Badulla on 18th January which blew up a passenger bus consisting mainly of Sinhalese, and the attack on a Sinhala village in Amparai District in early February constitutes a flagrant act of terrorism and a heinous crime against humanity. We have consistently condemned all acts of terrorism against innocent and non-combatant civilians, whether they be Tamil or Sinhalese. If any organization with the Eelam Liberation Movement is responsible for these acts of terrorism, we wish to once again remind them that our struggle is against the racist and neo-fascist Sri Lankan State, its external imperialist allies and internal collaborators and puppets. Although, EPRLF considers it legitimate to strike the enemy deep within his own territory, they should be restricted to economic and military targets. We do not have any illusions that in

so far as there is no peace and stability for the Eelam people and the areas inhabited by them, neither the Sri Lankan State nor the agencies of U. S. Imperialism and Zionism which are extending material support to the degenerate J. R. Regime, can be permitted to enjoy the luxury of peace and stability. However, we are also of the conviction that our armed struggle should not take on the perverse form of terrorism, where the main targets are non-combatant civilians.

We take this opportunity to extend our condolences to the loved-ones of those killed or maimed in these senseless massacres. We assure our Sinhala brethren that our sentiments are shared by the Tamil people who have experienced the worst forms of state and individual terrorism.

VICTORY TO THE EELAM LIBERATION STRUGGLE

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