

**EPRLF  
EELAM**

# SPOKESMAN

Official Organ of the Eelam Peoples Revolutionary Liberation Front

August 1985

## Thimpu Talks – First Round

# DECEIT OR DELIVERY

The first round of the Thimpu Talks held between the 8th-13th July, which was received with mixed feelings by the Eelam People, is now expected to go into the second phase beginning on 12th August.

The position taken by the Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF) prior to the Thimpu Talks were that, till such time as a truly congenial atmosphere prevails and a return to normalcy is established all over Eelam, the peace talks itself would be a farcial and a futile exercise. However, in view of the prior recognition of the good offices of the Indian Government in initiating the peace process, and on the basis of certain assurances and clarifications given by representatives of the Indian government at a series of meetings in New Delhi with the leaders of the constituent organizations comprising the ENLF, (ie. LTTE, TELO, EROS and EPRLF), the ENLF took the decision to attend the Thimpu Talks.

The ENLF, further, took the decision that the main focus of discussion at the table would be on the modalities of ceasefire and that the burden of coming out with a sane and a rational solution would be placed on the Sri Lankan delegation, in view of the bitter experiences of negotiated settlements in the past which amounted to nothing more than broken pacts and unkept promises.

The tactics to be adopted at the Table was conveyed by ENLF to the delegates representing PLOT and TULF, and was accepted. The stage was, thus, set for the delegates of the four organizations comprising the ENLF, PLOT and TULF to speak with one voice as the delegation of the Eelam People which continued to hold true throughout the Conference.

To the disappointment of the Sri Lankan Government, which was gleefully expecting fissures to surface between the organizations represented at the Talks, the Thimpu Conference also served as an arena in which the legitimacy of the Eelam Liberation Movement was firmly established. The fact that a liberation movement had sat across a Table with a government which it had virtually forced to the table through the force of arms

and had demanded from it a return to reason and sanity, and the fact that the delegates of liberation organizations proclaiming themselves as the legitimate representatives of the Eelam were jointly-hosted by the Governments of India and Bhutan has, undoubtedly, been taken note of in the international arena.



King, Jigme Wangchuk (centre) with some members of the Eelam delegation. (left to right) Varatharajaperumal (EPRLF) Sivasithamparam (TULF), Amirthalingam (TULF), Ketheshwaran (EPRLF) & Ratnasabapathy (EROS).

The Thimpu Talks now occupies a distinct stage in the history of the Eelam National Liberation Struggle. However, the sheer bankruptcy and the provocative nature of the proposal placed on the table by the Sri Lankan delegation indicates neither a return to sanity nor reason. It is clear that the task of the Eelam Liberation Movement is far from over and that the Eelam People have a long, arduous path to traverse before a just, rational and long-lasting solution could be found.

The proposal placed by the Sri Lankan delegation, obnoxiously announced as a fresh set of proposal, amounted to nothing more than what was placed by the Sri Lankan government in the penultimate stages of the APC in December 1984. In any event, a tactical decision was taken to give a "hearing" to the proposal lest the prior rejection of the proposal was misperceived by world opinion as a case of unjustified intransigence on the part of the Eelam delegation. The "hearing" was followed by a prompt and a categorical rejection on the 12 July.

A statement to this effect,

prepared by the ENLF and accepted with minor modifications in relation to form by the TULF and PLOT, was placed before the Sri Lankan delegation. The statement pointed out that "all sections of the Tamil people strongly condemned and totally rejected the proposals" when they were first presented. It said further that "with callous unconcern for the wave of repression let loose on the Tamil people since December, 1984 the revival of the defunct proposals of

Despite all attempts by the Sri Lankan delegation to dodge the issues pertaining to the modalities of ceasefire, the Tamil delegation persisted in highlighting the point that a peace process involves not merely discussions on "substantive issues" (in any event there was nothing substantive about the proposal placed by the Sri Lankan delegation), but also the initiation of steps to ensure a return to normalcy in the affected areas in Eelam.

delegation was presented with four cardinal principles and was urged by the Eelam delegation to come back for the next round with proposals consistent with these four principles. They are, the Recognition of:

- \* Tamils of Sri Lanka as a district Nationality
- \* An identified Tamil homeland and the guarantee of its territorial integrity.
- \* The inalienable right of self determination of the Tamil Nation
- \* The right to full citizenship and other fundamental democratic rights of all

cont. on page 4

Dear Readers,

In an atmosphere clouded by the propaganda on slught of the Sri Lanka Government against the liberation movement and the complex issues involved are in danger of being diluted by certain interested parties, we bring to you the SPOKESMAN.

It is our duty to expose the Sri Lankan regime as it attempts to build its military muscle to impose a West Bank type solution on the people. At the same time the forces which have hitherto kept in the background are beginning to force their way into the movement with their bourgeois ideology. Therefore it is also our duty to counter them ideologically and expose these renegade forces in their attempt to undermine the progressive nature of the Eelam liberation struggle.

The task is doubly important at this present juncture where, on the one hand the Regime is masquerading as the "angel of peace" while on the other hand certain interest groups are beginning to exert their narrow specific interests in the movement.

In the pages of the SPOKESMAN we also intend providing detailed analysis of events, their background, in-depth view of the Eelam liberation struggle, research documents and the on going debates on specific issues within the Eelam Liberation Movement.

SPOKESMAN will be published monthly at present with an objective of bringing it out fortnightly in the near future.

Editor.

A last minute attempt was made by the Sri Lankan government to undermine the integrity of the organizations represented at the Talks, by levelling allegations that while EROS was responsible for the assassination plot against J.R. & EPRLF, TELO and LTTE were responsible for organizing the public protests in Jaffna against the Thimpu Talks. Both these allegations failed to carry any weight and was quickly exposed by the Eelam delegation as a malicious campaign to undermine the increasing legitimacy of the Eelam liberation movement in the international arena.

Despite the rejection of the proposal, the Eelam delegation was determined to go through the peace process initiated by the Indian government and to give peace through negotiated settlement another chance, failing which, to make it clear to international arena that if peace could not be obtained by the force of reason then the Eelam Liberation Movement has no choice but to obtain it by the force of arms.

In this regard, the Sri Lankan,

**UNITE TO STRUGGLE — STRUGGLE FOR UNITY**





EPRLF  
EELAM

# SPOKESMAN

The himalayan land of the Dragon was the venue of talks between the Tamil representatives and the Sri Lankan Government, an event not envisaged even a few weeks ago. Apart from the insignificant proposal of the Government delegation presented at the talks, this meeting is historically significant in several aspects. The same protocol extended to both delegations by the Bhutan Government, the Tamil representatives speaking in one voice and the recognition as legitimate representatives in the political arena of the hitherto "terrorists", are significant features. For the first time in the history of oppressed Tamil people the offending state power was forced to come to the negotiating table by the sheer force of armed struggle carried out by the liberation movement.

The representatives of people of Eelam had gone to the negotiating table not having given up the demand for EELAM. Eelam is not negotiable. They have gone to Thimpu reserving the right to go back to the demand for Eelam, the Tamil nation, if the Sri Lankan Government does not come up with a just and rational solution.

Even if we give the Sri Lankan Government the benefit of doubt on counts of sincerity and honesty, despite a sordid history of broken promises abrogation of pacts and genocidal conduct, their presence in Thimpu is most certainly a direct consequence of the mature liberation struggle of the Tamil people.

Internally, the failure of the attempted military solution, collapse of the economy dependent on foreign commercial borrowings and investments, falling tea prices to a new low, empty tourist hotels, rapidly rising cost of living and the capability of the liberation movement to strike deep into the Sinhala heatland have all combined to force Colombo to wear a softer mask and appear reasonable.

Internationally, Colombo must be obviously concerned about the tougher line taken by the Aid Group. The urgency in advancing the Thimpu meeting is also based on the US's reluctance to give military hardware directly to Sri Lanka and the assurances given to Washington and other donor countries that Colombo will attempt a negotiated settlement. This is essential to Colombo in order to bring at least temporary peace which will enable it to woo the donors, essential to pursue its economic policy. It is no accident that the ceasefire came into operation on 18 June and the aid consortium met in Paris on 20 June. So, the regime's anti-Indian posture too was quickly rethought to accept Delhi's mediatory role. Hence, the apparent willingness to find a political solution.

Yet, Mr. H.W. Jayawardene heading the Sri Lankan delegation at Thimpu, not only presented a proposal which was condemned as inadequate and rejected earlier but had the insolence to present it on the very same stationery on which it made its first appearance at the APC in December 1984. Genuine concern indeed to find a lasting solution.

Just prior to the Thimpu exercise, the National Security Minister, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali announced what amounted to pre-conditions the Tamil people must accept. The present constitution, unitary state structure, the National flag, special status accorded to Buddhism and the democratic structure of government were featured in the list. All these mentioned by the minister would be contained under the present constitution except the last which could be regarded as the form of government. The proposal placed at Thimpu is consistent with these pre-conditions. One can expect future proposals too to take into account the above. The real question is whether a lasting solution could be found within the 1978 constitution which will adequately deal with the legitimate aspirations of the Tamil people. This constitution based on an internalised mythology and self perception that the Sinhala people are the only inheritors of Sri Lanka and the custodians of buddhism undermines the reality that there are two nations in Sri Lanka. The pre-conditions, necessary stilts on which stands state power, are the major obstacles to a rational political solution.

In his concluding statement at Thimpu, Mr. Jayawardene said that their proposals "describe the extent to which autonomy would be enjoyed within the ambit of a United Sri Lanka and a unitary constitution." As far as Sri Lanka is concerned 'united' is not synonymous with 'unitary'. Even while using the term 'united' all precaution had been taken to undermine this concept. To be united there should be two or more components. But the Government refuses to accept that there is a Tamil national component along with the sinhala national component. As for the unitary aspect, it should be decided by both parties and not unilaterally decided by one alone.

A conceptual difficulty of Colombo has been the confusion between administrative mechanisms with that of power sharing. Colombo takes the position that "whatever scheme adopted must be applicable to the whole island without favouring one particular section of the people". An excellent principal indeed! The question is not one where Ruhuna, Rajarata etc., are asking for their right of self-determination because of oppression from the centre. The question is posed in a concrete manner. The Tamil people are oppressed as a nation by the Sinhala Government. Therefore a political solution has to be found to solve the problem of national oppression. It has been the modus operandi of this government to always skirt around this fundamental issue and focus attention on specific administrative matters. Colombo will be well advised to resolve this conceptual difficulty before they try to resolve the main problem.

Delhi could assist Colombo in separating issues and clarifying confusions. How ever Delhi should approach its mediatory role with caution. Colombo will no doubt attempt to persuade Delhi to recognise its sincerity individualised in the person of the president J.R. Jayawardene. Projected to the world as the only Sinhala politician capable of finding a solution, he would bring in an aspect of "personal guarantee" into play for any solution circumventing changes in the constitution. Even as a mediator Delhi's position should be directed towards finding a lasting solution and not "any solution" to bring peace in the short term only.

It would be inconceivable for the Tamil people to accept any solution within the existing constitution. Therefore any solution, if it were to be negotiated must proceed from the acceptance in principle by the Sri Lankan Government to restructure the present constitution. It would be a futile exercise to go on talking if the constitution cannot declare Sri Lanka as a secular state and the existence of two Nations. This should be the starting point of any future negotiations, including the second round at Thimpu, without absurd discussions on administrative mechanisms. These would constitute relevant negotiating points after the basic constitutional change.

Even though the Tamil people have drawn their own historical conclusions on the Sri Lankan Government, the International community will also look for some answers to questions about Sri Lankan intentions and capability. Is the present regime capable of advancing proposals worthy of discussion? Is Thimpu yet another attempt, as the APC was used following the July 1983 pogrom, to strengthen their military capability to pursue the military option? Would they be able to break free from their Frankenstein Monster, sinhala chauvinism, even if they present reasonable proposals?

The second round at Thimpu will probably provide some answers.

## CPSL Stand on National Question

SARATH MUTTETUWAGAMA MP for Kalawana in Parliament

As far as we are concerned, Sir, I want to reiterate the position of the Communist Party in respect of this matter. We have our own solution, which is a solution that can only be brought in a socialist way. It has been worked all over the world in socialist countries. There are autonomous minority ethnic groups within socialist countries. Some are federals; others are autonomous bodies. That is another matter. However, while conceding to the Tamil people their right to determine their own future, the Communist Party itself does not advocate the setting up of a separate State. We do not advocate it, not out of some great power chauvinism that we feel as Sinhalese, not because of some old history: we do not advocate it because we do not think it will be in the interest of the working people of either the Sinhalese or the Tamil Community. We do not advocate it because we do not think that the small States that would result from a carving out of Sri Lanka States which Lenin characterized as dwarf States we do not think that dwarf State of that nature would be able to retain their

political independence, would be able to exercise their economic viability or even in fact, to retain their geographical feasibility, because they will be too small; they will be swallowed up by other States. We do not advocate the setting up of a separate State, but we certainly feel that the Tamil people, just as much as the Sinhalese people, are entitled to all the rights that we have. We believe that Tamil people must be given some high degree of autonomy to run their own affairs, to decide the course of their lives, to decide what they should do for themselves and for their future children. We believe unless that is done there will be no settlement and we call upon this Government you have been dilly-dallying for so long, you have failed in the military option, you have not exercised the political option, you are frightened you who have the responsibility of ruling this country, to get together with the other parties and solve this problem. Otherwise, you are going to lead all of us into a situation where would not know whether they are coming or going.

## A Muslim delegation

### meet ENLF

A Muslim delegation from Sri Lanka, headed by former Education Minister Dr. Badiudin Mohmud met the ENLF and exchanged views on the position of Tamil speaking muslims especially in the Eastern province.

A cordial exchange of views was followed by the EPRLF representative in the ENLF providing an account of their position regarding the muslim population. They were assured that the interests of the Muslim community and their separate interests in the Eastern province would be protected in Eelam.

A statement issued by the muslim delegation after the meeting said, "the Tamil leaders have understood the muslim anxieties on the matter (referring to the incidents in the Eastern province in April). There was a consensus among the leaders that recurrence of similar incidents should be prevented and that the necessary climate for Tamils and Muslims of Eastern province to live in peace and amity permanently restored".

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# ON CEASEFIRE & NEGOTIATIONS

Together with the LTTE, TELO & EROS The EROS The EPRLF is at present engaged in the tactics of "ceasefire & negotiations" to counter the Sri Lankan regime in the international arena where they have launched a diplomatic offensive against the Eelam liberation struggle.

As far as we are concerned, 'LIBERATION OF EELAM' is neither a slogan designed to win votes nor an extremist slogan arising out of our personal desires. It is a conclusion arrived at by the dialectics of politics through a scientific process.

There is a body of opinion that the problems of the people of Eelam could be resolved in a peaceful manner without continuing our armed struggle. We can not ignore this world opinion, as if it does not exist, and continue with our struggle. It is our duty to demonstrate through various diplomatic and political means available to us, that conditions for a peaceful settlement does not

exist in Sri Lanka and that we have no other option but to struggle for our liberation.

On present objectives..... It is also our duty to demonstrate very clearly that we are not opposed to peace. It is to bring peace in the long term that we have embarked on armed struggle.

Our present objective is to demonstrate to the international community

- \* the oppressive nature of successive Sri Lankan regimes and its effect on the people of Eelam.
  - \* that there is no other political solution other than EELAM for our people
  - \* That armed struggle is the only way to achieve Eelam
- Our success in this will only enable us to further our struggle with firm resolve and determination.

On Sri Lankan intentions..... The intentions of the Sri Lankan government in the present 'ceasefire & negotiations' are to,

- \* postpone the intensification of our struggle

\* strengthen itself in the political, economic and military spheres

\* strengthen the corrupt and backward elements within the Tamil community

On the Indian role..... If anybody should even entertain the view that our struggle should continue at the expense of Indian goodwill and friendship it would only be a manifestation of blind bravado divorced from reality. Acting with this view would destroy our liberation struggle and also drive it into the arms of anti-Indian imperialist forces. As long as Indian interests are not in contradiction with that of the people of Eelam, it is our duty to see that the liberation struggle and Indian friendship are not put into jeopardy.

The Indian Government on the other hand should correctly identify the relations between Indian interests, peace in the Indian ocean and the interests of our people and act accordingly.

Excerpts from On Ceasefire & Negotiations by Comrade K. PATHMANABHA  
Published in Tamil by the Information and Propaganda Department

On Liberation Organisations.. The only legitimate representatives of the people of Eelam are the organisations involved in armed struggle. Only they reflect the hopes and aspirations of the people. This legitimacy was not obtained through the bourgeois democratic process. The people themselves have directly given it to us. It is also true that no single organisation or a united front of organisations have obtained international recognition as the sole representatives.

Though democratic, progressive and proletarian forces recognise the just struggle of our people they hesitate to accept that the liberation of Eelam is the only way out for us.

Some may raise the question of how the liberation organisations differ from the old parliamentary leadership, when we too have gone to the negotiating table.

I would like to point out that Firstly, this is only a tempo-

rary ceasefire.

Secondly, that we have not laid down our arms. We have only given them a temporary rest. If the Sri Lankan government goes back on the initial agreement, for whatever reason, our weapons will be ready to pound on them.

Thirdly, while the Sri Lanka Government strengthens itself militarily, we too have the same opportunity to do the same.

Lastly, if no acceptable solution can be presented by them within the specified period our armed struggle will be intensified in the future.

We are not people suffering from a pathological condition demanding a separate state. We want to live in peace with freedom, equal rights, security and human dignity. Therefore we say that it is only through the liberation of Eelam that we will achieve this objective.

As far as the EPRLF is concerned we give primary importance to the united front i.e. the ENLF.

I am proud to say that the 'ceasefire & negotiations' was a collective decision of the ENLF, without one imposing its will on the other.

## GUEST OF EPRLF

CICIL WICKRAMANAYAKE was arrested on suspicion by the Jaffna vigilance committee and handed over to the EPRLF. An extract of his experience published by the Ceylon Daily News appears below:

"We are very sorry for any inconvenience caused to you, and for any fears you might have had. We are not going to kill you. You are our guest. You are under our roof and we want you to feel that you are our guest".

These reassuring words were spoken to me by the leaders of the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front, seven of them who walked into the room in which I was confined "somewhere in the peninsula".

It was about 10.30 on the morning of Friday, June 28, twenty one hours after I had been taken into custody by a group of youngsters in Jaffna town, who had been suspicious of my movements in the town and handed me over to members of the EPRLF.

As a newsman I felt that I could not do justice to my coverage of activities in the North and East unless I got an interview, meeting some of the leaders face to face.

And here I was now, face to face with them.

I began my second and longer visit to the North on June 24 when I took off, in the company of the only woman doctor to volunteer for service there, Dr. Roshnara Guneratne, for Palaly on the morning fight from Ratmalana.

For old time's sake I stopped at hotel yalta for a bottle of beer, which I drank and paid for. I was getting up to leave when a group of about ten youngsters, who had apparently followed me, surrounded me and began to fire questions at me in Tamil.

Of course they were not satisfied with my explanation. This was what I had been waiting for. I told them I had nothing to do with the police or army but that I was a retired journalist whose hobby was photography and that I had come to see the town of my boyhood.

With such a tame and silly explanation, it was natural that they should take me.

A few minutes later I was bundled into the Morris Minor taxi, blindfolded with my own blue handkerchief, and was unloaded at what appeared to be a church.

My pockets were emptied and all my papers and other little things, like rolls of film, purse, identity cards and so on taken and put into a plastic bag which was later returned to me.

I was given a clean, freshly washed sarong, and my safari suit now with empty pockets, was hung on the only chair in the room. My captors were courteous from this point onwards, but still had their guns at the ready, following

me with them, even to the toilet.

Sleep was out of the question. Questions were many, and each time I was just falling asleep, the light would be switched on, guns cocked and re-cocked, and the light would be switched off again.

Even in the dark, I could hear the low conversation of my two guards, and the rattling of their guns as they apparently practised cocking and re-cocking.

In the morning there was a marked change in the demeanour of my captors. They were smiling.

Around ten o'clock, they came, the leaders of the EPRLF, together with an interpreter. Shortly before that my cameras and all other belongings were returned to me, down to the last cent. Not a single thing was missing. Even my Parker ballpoint pen, a gift from a very good and dear friend was returned. And I had been allowed to keep my watch with me at all times. They often asked me what the time was!

I got my interview.

I did not ask for their names. They did not offer to introduce themselves, other than say they were the representatives of the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front.

The young men were all well dressed in shirt and long, shoes and socks or slippers.

They spoke in courteous tones, in voices that were clear and concise.

They indicated to me in no uncertain terms that they were preparing for a final armed struggle till either they had won what they were fighting for, or were annihilated in the process.

They told me they were using the four month 'cessation of hostilities' to prepare for the final struggle. I am inclined to believe them.

Once again they apologised profusely for any pain of body and mind I might have suffered. They even invited me to drop by again in Jaffna, any time I wished, and make contact with them and be their guest.

Before they departed, one of them brought in a colleague from a local newspaper to interview me. This colleague, at their dictation, wrote out a 'pass' for me, on the back of the 'pass' issued by the commanding officer at Jaffna Fort, to enable me to enter the Fort again.

"If, after we have dropped you, you are stopped by anyone", they told me, "show them this pass and you will not be interfered with by anyone in Jaffna. I can guarantee you that," said the leader as he signed the 'pass'. That is my souvenir of my scoop!

We chatted for some time, now as friends, rather than as captor and captive. I called him son, and he called me father. "You must come again to Jaffna," he told me.

"We can meet again as friends and you can come with us anywhere you like to go. We will take you and you will be quite safe with us."

I accepted his invitation in the spirit in which it was given. We may never see each other again; but then again, we might. I look forward to meeting him, the boy who reminded me of my own son Jumbo, and who even polished my pair of shoes!

Four o'clock. It was time for the goodbyes. Handshakes, embraces, even a few tears on my part. Tears of relief? Joy? Sadness? Who knows!

We drove through the town, and as we passed buildings partly demolished, they turned to me, the three lads in the car with me, all armed, and said, "This was done by the Army, not by us."

Before they dropped me, they went to various news agency offices to give the news that they were releasing me.

When I asked them why, the lad replied, "So that if, by chance, you are shot by the police or army as you go back to the Fort, they will not be able to say that we shot you."

That was certainly not very cheering for me. As they drove past the barrier near the entrance to the Fort and turned right and drove about two hundred yards on where they dropped me, I began to wonder whether I was not jumping out of the frying pan into the fire!

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# ENLF PROTESTS OVER CEASEFIRE VIOLATIONS

"We have evoked the principle of self-determination as a consequence of the collapse of a co-existent unitary system of Government, as a historical necessity to have our own polity to protect and preserve our National identity from gradual and systematic annihilation by State organised genocide."

**TEXT OF THE STATEMENT ISSUED ON JULY 20, 1985**

At the outset, we, the constituent member organisations of the Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF) wish to express our vehement protest over the continuous military violence and terror unleashed against our people by the Sri Lankan armed forces in flagrant violation of the truce agreement. The continuous state terrorist violence in the Tamil homeland, the failure to provide an acceptable political framework as a basis for negotiations at Thimpu conference, the refusal to honour the commitments agreed upon in the ceasefire accord, the belligerent provocative statements made by the Government leaders, clearly indicates that the Sri Lankan government has no sincere intention to bring about a fair, just and permanent solution to the Eelam national question by peaceful political practice.

Having agreed to implement a set of pre-conditions to create a congenial atmosphere and conditions of normality in Tamil areas as a gesture of goodwill for peace dialogue, the Sri Lanka government is deliberately promoting state violence particularly in the Eastern Province instilling terror and tension among the Tamil civilian population in that region. The creation of such uneven conditions in the North and East, we strongly suspect, is a devious strategy advanced by Sri Lanka to systematically alienate and eventually bifurcate the Eastern Province from any possible integration of that region in the structural unity of the Tamil homeland.

In callous disregard to the commitments pledged in the ceasefire agreement to



**K. Pathmenabha**  
EPRLF

suspend all induction of arms the Sri Lanka government is fast building up its military machinery with massive purchase of military hardware from Pakistan, China and South Korea. In the meantime, utilising the conditions of ceasefire to its advantage, Sri Lanka has accelerated the process of militarisation of Sinhala civilian settlers in the most sensitive bordering areas of Vavuniya, Mullaitivu and Trincomalee.

Though the Sri Lankan government originally agreed to lift the sea surveillance zone as a pre-condition for ceasefire it later refused to abide by its pledge. The Sri Lankan delegation at the Thimpu conference promised to release a section of the political detainees numbering 643, but so far no action has

been taken to set them free. Such violations of pledges which is characteristic of Sri Lanka's art of political deception, make us deeply suspicious of the 'good intentions' of the Island's rulers.

We participated at Thimpu conference in appreciation of India's initiative and good offices to find a permanent solution through peaceful negotiations. Our willingness to enter into a rational discourse with Sri Lanka is also prompted by our genuine desire for peace. We are fighting for a legitimate cause. We are engaged in a struggle to bring peace, freedom and security to our people. Therefore we were prepared to talk and explore all possibilities to seek an everlasting solution that guarantees the liberty and dignity of our people.

To our dismay and disillusionment Sri Lanka did not respond positively at the Thimpu deliberations. The Sri Lankan delegation submitted an old package of proposals that had already been found totally unacceptable to our people. Such a

display of intransigent, irreconcilable attitude amply proves that Sri Lanka is not serious nor sincere in finding a just solution to the Tamil issue. On our part, we have proposed four principles, which are crucial and cardinal for any meaningful solution to the national question, principles that embody the legitimate national aspirations of our people. These principles call for - the recognition of Tamils of Sri Lanka as a distinct nationality, recognition and guarantee of the territorial integrity of Tamil homeland, recognition of the right to national self-determination of the Tamil nation, and finally, the recognition of the right to full citizenship of the plantation Tamils.

The basic principles that constitute the very foundation of the Eelam freedom movement, have been evolved historically through decades of bitter struggles. These principles articulate the political aspirations and the national will of our people. Sri Lanka has outrightly rejected these concepts at a Cabinet meeting recently without discussing the significance of them with Tamil representatives. We are well aware that these principles outlined by us are inconsistent or rather, contradictory to the unitary structure of the present Sri Lankan

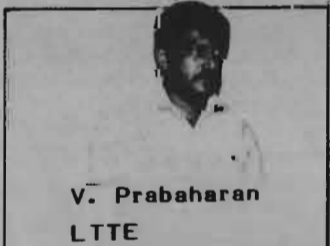


**Sri Sabaratnam**  
TELO

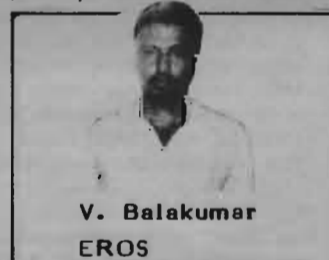
constitution. This constitution, as far as we are concerned, is an institutionalised structure of Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinism that upholds Sri Lanka as primarily a Sinhala nation with Buddhism as the privileged state religion and Sinhala language as the only official instrument of communication. Within such a racist system that does not recognise the very existence of the Tamil nation, it is impossible to work out a practical, viable framework for a lasting political solution.

We have evoked the principle of self-determination as a consequence of the collapse of a co-existent unitary system of Government, as a historical necessity to have our own polity to protect and preserve our national identity from gradual and systematic annihilation by State organised genocide. Our people have a legitimate right to shape and design their own political destiny.

We therefore demand that the Sri Lankan Government should recognise the inalienable rights of our people and put forward a new set of proposals in keeping with the principles enunciated by us. We wish to state categorically that any meaningful, lasting solution cannot be evolved unless Sri Lanka recognises the legitimate national aspirations of the Tamils of Eelam.



**V. Prabaharan**  
LTTE



**V. Balakumar**  
EROS



## THE 12TH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL

For Anti-Imperialist Solidarity,  
Peace and Friendship!

The 12th World Youth and Student Festival held in Moscow from 27th July saw over 20,000 young people gathered from over 150 countries. The gathering in the Soviet capital this year, which also marks the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II, was inspired by the ideals of peace, friendship and solidarity.

The collective portrait presented of the youth of the world today with their diverse concerns, complex problems had one particularly striking feature. Their anti-

imperialist stand. If their solidarity is based on anti-imperialism this is because imperialism stands as an obstacle to peace and friendship amongst people.

They were also meeting at a time of mind boggling scientific and technological revolution, of unprecedented development in industry and agriculture, unparalleled productivity of labour and accumulation of food. Yet as some western sociologists say, over a billion people of this world today are not needed in modern production and are worthless consumers. In other words they are merely extra mouths to feed because no profit could be made through their consum-

ption either now or in the future.

In this background, where more than half the delegates to the Festival were from the poor countries their reiteration of their anti-imperialist position and of peace brought alive the slogans of an earlier generation, which had met in war ravaged Europe in 1947.

The Festival called upon the youth of all countries to frustrate the intrigues of militarism, redouble efforts to stop the arms race and avert and threat of nuclear war. It also stressed the need to prevent the arms race in space.

cont. from page 1

Tamils, who look upon the Island as their country.

In the concluding session, representatives of EPRLF pointed out to the Sri Lankan delegation that they were not being "sent back to Colombo empty-handed but with a clear message that in the name of peace they come back with proposals based on our exposition of the aspirations of the Eelam People and worthy of their consideration".

Whether the Eelam Liberation Movement would be compelled to go back to arms and prepare the people for a protracted liberation struggle will be determined by whether the Sri Lankan government is genuine in its stated intentions to solve the Eelam National Question peacefully and in a

sane and rational manner. The First Round of Talks gives no such indications.

cont. from page 3

Would the sentries guarding the entrance to the Fort think I was a terrorist and shoot me? I was carrying my cameras in a bag provided by them. Would that make me look like a terrorist?

When the car was out of sight I began to walk back to the Fort. In my right hand I held the army pass, now also the EPRLF pass.

It was an experience of a lifetime. Would I repeat it? Certainly, "because I know who holds my future, and I know who holds my hand."



## Terms of ceasefire

The following four phase plan for a ceasefire, between the Sri Lankan Government and the Liberation Organisations, came into effect on June 18.

"Talks", which were to take place during phase IV of the agreement, were advanced to phase II in order to create a "congenial atmosphere" for an acceptable political solution, on the advice of the Indian Government.

The details of the agreement is as follows:

### Action to be taken by Sri Lankan Government

### Reciprocal steps by the militants

#### Phase I: Start on June 18. For three weeks

1. Government will lift restrictive legislation on use of roads and vehicles and suspend enforcement of the Prohibited Zone.

Stop using Prohibited Zone as staging area for carrying men and material.

2. New settlements will be suspended.

Stop attacks on civilians—both Sinhalese and Tamils—in the North, East and elsewhere.

3. Security forces will carry out cordon and searches and operations in the presence of local officials and magistrates.

Cease attacks in the North, East and elsewhere on government offices, economic targets and private property. Stop induction of men and material in the affected areas from outside Sri Lanka.

4. Lift Surveillance Zone and stop infusion of further resources to Armed Services and police establishments.

#### Phase II: Three weeks

1. Security forces will suspend raids and suspend curfews.

Cease attack directed against convoys of security forces including police, establishments, mining of roads, railtracks and bridges. Stop carrying of arms.

#### Phase III: Two weeks

1. Observe ceasefire.

Observe ceasefire.

2. Police stations which had been closed down will be reopened and the law and order function will be carried out by the police.

3. Amnesty will be declared and those in custody against whom charges have not been field will released. (Those who have been charged will be released after the conclusion of successful discussions).

#### Phase IV

Secret talks on substantive issues for reaching a political settlement to take place between the emissaries of the Government and representatives of the Tamil political leadership and Tamil militant groups. The venue of these talks could be a third country acceptable to both sides. Every effort should be made to maintain the secrecy of these talks and, in any case, of the course of the discussions. The search for a solid foundation for a political solution must be completed within a period of three months from the date of declaration of the ceasefire and the amnesty. Depending on the result of those secret talks, open and direct dialogue between the Government and the representatives of the Tamils can commence as soon as the necessary groundwork is considered to have been laid.

## RED SALUTE WE SALUTE THE COMRADES WHO FELL IN BATTLE



RAJAN



Capt. SIVALINGAM  
(Siva)



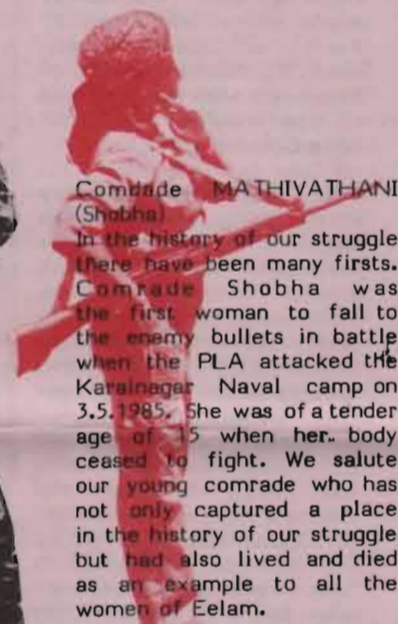
Capt. SUNTHARALINGAM  
(Velu)



Lt. VIJAYAKUMAR  
(Ganesh)



Lt. SELVARAJA  
(Sinnavan)



Comrade MATHIVATHANI  
(Shobha)

In the history of our struggle there have been many firsts. Comrade Shobha was the first woman to fall to the enemy bullets in battle when the PLA attacked the Karainagar Naval camp on 3.5.1985. She was of a tender age of 15 when her body ceased to fight. We salute our young comrade who has not only captured a place in the history of our struggle but had also lived and died as an example to all the women of Eelam.

### The Emancipation of 'Women': Equalisation of Opportunity versus the Equalisation of Exploitation

cont. from page 6

of bourgeois men, participate in the exploitation of working class women either as professionals who hire female labour of as housewives who employ women and children as 'servants'. In fact, bourgeois women have a vested interest in preserving exploitative capitalist social relations in general but they seek to modify them in order to eliminate constraints to their own economic and social advancement. So, the call by bourgeois women for the emancipation of all women is a universal demand which in fact cloaks the particular interests pursued by them.

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 men 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 give primacy to emancipation of all women can only serve to retard the participation of women in the ongoing class struggle and thereby—to perpetuate the exploitation of working class women.

### Muslim Delegation

cont. from page 2

The delegation arrived in Madras on August 3 on a five day mission. They met the TULF & PLOT and had similar discussion. Meanwhile, various other muslim organisations had questioned the legitimacy of the delegation to present muslim opinion in the Northern and Eastern provinces. Muslim organisations with close working relationship with the EPRLF had also expressed their doubts about the delegation's credentials.

The eight member delegation also included Mr. Abdul W.M. Ameer, Dr. A.M. Mohamed Shababdeed, Mr. M.M. Mustapha, Mr. A.L. Abdul Majeed, Mr. M.M. Zahair, Mr. S.E.M. Mashoor Moulana and Mr. Hamavi Hanifa.



## INTERNATIONAL

# NICARAGUA: UP AGAINST US STATE TERRORISM

19, July 1985 marked six years of Nicaraguan independence. American agent dictator Somoza was overthrown by the victorious sandinistas. Yet, American imperialism is attempting to undermine the victory of the people of Nicaragua. It is the duty of all progressive forces to defend the Nicaraguan Revolution.

During the past week, the Contras murdered 29 Sandinista soldiers, damaged two bridges, and raided La Trinidad, a picturesque town of about 8,000 people situated 40 miles south of the Honduran border, killing innocent women and children. This latest atrocity is further tragic incident in the counter-revolutionary war waged by the United States' Government against the people of Nicaragua with the intention of overthrowing the Sandinista Government.

The counter-revolutionary attack began almost immediately after the Sandinista revolution when, in 1980, a group of five Nicaraguan businessmen formed themselves into the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN). Simultaneously, the US Central Intelligence Agency reorganised and regrouped ex-dictator Somoza's National Guard to form the Contras. At a secret meeting in Guatemala, arranged by the CIA in August 1981, links were established between the FDN and Contras; and, subsequently, the then

director of FDN, Edgar Chamorro, was placed on the CIA payroll at US \$2,000 per month plus expenses. The Contras have been trained by the CIA and financed by the US Government.

Other acts of aggression against Nicaragua included staging military exercises in Honduras, holding joint naval exercises with Honduras and El Salvadorian ships off the coast of Nicaragua, deliberate and provocative violations of Nicaraguan air space and territorial waters, and formulating and implementing plans for the sabotage of economic targets within Nicaragua. And after the Nicaraguan harbours

petroleum tanks in Punto Corinto were blown up, the FDN 'discovered' after the incident that it had been responsible for carrying out the attack.

The rationale for continuing this counter-revolutionary war against Nicaragua must be sought in the commitment of the US Government to keep the American continents 'free' of 'Communist penetration'. Earlier, the region to be protected had been the American hemisphere and, after the Cuban revolution in 1959, the US Government launched a programme of economic blockade and military aggression designed to topple the Cuban Government.



were mined by the CIA in 1984, Chamorro was instructed to release a press statement, drafted by the CIA, in which FDN claimed responsibility for mining the harbours. Similarly, when the

Although this failed, the CIA was more successful in overthrowing Salvador Allende's Government in Chile and the US Government inaugurated a plan for assisting the economic 'development' of



GENERAL UNION OF EELAM STUDENTS (GUES), Student body of the EPRLF, demonstrate outside the US Consulate in Madras on July 19.

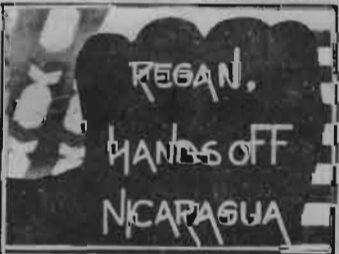
Latin American countries through a project named 'Alliance for Progress'. In practice, this amounted to more financial support for the private sector and, therefore, for the comprador bourgeoisie and increased military assistance for the despotic neo-colonial regimes.

In other words, the US-backed programmes aimed at preventing future socialist revolutions but they achieved the opposite: they strengthened the forces which fuel successful revolutions.

Petty bourgeois intellectuals in the US attempted to provide the ideological supports for this bankrupt strategy. For in 1974, a US political scientist argued that each socialist revolution in the past, beginning with the October Revolution, had taken place under a unique set of political and economic conditions, both domestic and foreign; that the probability of such conditions repeating themselves was remote; and, therefore, that the chance of another socialist change in the world and in Latin America in particular was almost non-existent at least until the end of the 20th century. First Grenada and then

Nicaragua proved them wrong.

The Reagan administration took office in 1980, when the Western economies were into the fifth year of economic recession, which is still with us. Protecting existing markets in Latin America and then where possible became imperative for the rejuvenation of the US economy; the invasion of Grenada was part of this strategy and the destruction of the Sandinista Government is the next objective. The Reagan administration intends to maintain its 'unblemished' record, of not having 'lost' an inch of soil to Communism anywhere in the world after the election of Ronald Reagan as President in 1980. But Nicaragua is not Grenada, and the Reagan administration has yet to discover that history marches forward impelled by an inner logic which is not under the control of any individual or government.



## NAIROBI CONFERENCE

### THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN: EQUALISATION OF OPPORTUNITY Vs. EQUALISATION OF EXPLOITATION



The United Nations Decade for Women was inaugurated at a conference in Mexico in 1975. This was followed by a midway conference in Copenhagen in 1980 and the final conference to Appraise the UN Decade for Women was held last month in Nairobi. It was attended by more than 2,000 delegates from about 160 countries and the aims of this last meeting was to review progress made during the Women's Decade and to adopt Forward Looking Strategies, a massive 372-paragraph document which spells out measures to be implemented between 1985 and the year 2000, with a view to removing legal,

institutional, cultural and other barriers to the advancement of women in society.

Such measures are urgently needed because, it was argued, that despite recent advances women earn only 10% of world's income and own less than 1% of world's property but perform two-thirds of all work hours. This relative deprivation of women was to be overcome by ensuring that women enjoyed the same economic opportunities and social rights as men.

Strategies proposed for achieving this objective revealed the difference in conceptualisation of women's

exploitation between western delegates and delegates from underdeveloped countries.

The western delegates generally emphasised the 'gender gap', the sexual difference between men and women, as the cause of women suffering exploitation. Consequently they tended to view legislative remedies as the principal means of overcoming the negative effects of the 'gender gap'. In contrast, delegates from underdeveloped countries saw the exploitation of women as a necessary manifestation of exploitative economic and social structures. A transformation of these structural constraints

was seen as an indispensable pre-condition for establishing equality between men and women.

This apparently radical demand for structural change is in reality not very different from the explanation based on the 'gender gap' since they both seek equality of rights and opportunities between men and women within the framework of capitalist social relations. For bourgeois women, this means improved opportunities for economic and social advancement; for proletarian women, 'equality with men' means to be subjected to the same exploitation suffered by working class men.

This fundamental difference in the impact of 'equality' upon women belonging to different social classes would be seen as precluding any reference to women as a monolithic social entity.

But the opposite has been the case. The debate at the conference has emphasised exploitation of women as women, and the implicit conclusion has been drawn that there is more in common between bourgeois women and proletarian women than between men and women belonging to the working class. However, bourgeois women, as 'junior partners'

cont. on page 5



# SRI LANKA'S SORDID RECORD

## ON NEGOTIATIONS & PACTS

The process of negotiations between the Tamil and Sinhala Political leadership just prior to Independence, concentrated on evolving ways and means of ensuring human and minority rights of the Tamils within a unitary framework. It is in this context that the Soulbury Commission appointed in 1944 by the British, was accorded its terms of reference, namely to "consult with various interests including minority communities concerned with the subject of constitutional reforms in Ceylon".

Accordingly, the Commission received representations from various Tamil and Sinhala organizations, groupings and individuals on a variety of "formulae" that would safeguard the interests of the "minorities" within a unitary Sri Lanka. The Ceylon Tamil Congress, the sole Tamil political party at that time, presented the case for balanced representation in the legislature between the elected representatives of the Sinhalese, the minority Tamil nationality and other minority communities. No case was presented for either regional autonomy or a federal system of government. The Sinhala political spectrum represented in the pre-Independence State Council expressed their opposition to balanced representation, but extended their rhetorical commitment towards parity of languages. This was manifest in the 1946 Report of the Select Committee of the State Council entitled, "Sinhala and Tamil as Official Languages".

Based on the above rhetorical commitment to parity of status by the Sinhala political leadership, the Soulbury Commission considered the demand for balanced representation to be redundant. Instead, a safeguard clause was inserted in the Constitution (i.e. Clause 29a, b and c) which sought to prohibit the enactment of any legislation which discriminated against or imposed any disabilities (or conferred privileges) on any community or religion that did not apply to persons of other communities or religions.

With this so-called "safeguard" clause, it was assumed that the emerging tendencies towards Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinism, (ie. the ideology that equated Sri Lankan "nationalism" with Sinhala supremacy based on the "vision" that the Sinhalese were a "chosen race" destined to preserve Buddhism and the Sinhala Aryan supremacy), could be countered from assuming the dimensions of institutionalized racism against the Tamil people and other minorities. This

optimism prevailed even within the Tamil political leadership which, in any event, was more concerned with narrow political gains than in representing the wider interest of the Tamils. Neither the Sinhala nor the Tamil political leadership had any vision of nation building. The dawn of "Independence" from British rule and the transfer of power from Westminster to the dominant Sinhala nation and its political leadership was also the dawn of national oppression against the Tamils.

The parliamentary acts of 1948 and 1949 which made the plantation Tamils stateless and voteless and the "Sinhala Only" Act of 1956 which made Sinhala the official language and the language of administration even in the traditional homelands, were in direct violation of the so-called safeguard clause enshrined in the Constitution. In addition, the state-aided colonization schemes which sought to settle the Sinhalese in the traditional Tamil homelands constituted not only a violation of this "safeguard" clause, but also a direct assault aimed at undermining the territorial integrity of the Tamil people. Another blatant act of discrimination which conferred privileges on the Sinhalese and imposed disabilities on the Tamils, was the education policy of the early 70s which required a Tamil student to gain more marks than this Sinhala counterpart to qualify for entrance to the Universities. This coupled with the Sinhala Only Act of 1956 dealt a double blow on the Tamil youths, since they now had to face not only discrimination in public of eroding opportunities for higher education.

The 1972 Republican Constitution removed at one stroke even the token constitutional safeguard that existed in the preceding Soulbury Constitution. Further, while Article 9 extended constitutional status to the Sinhala Only language policy, Article 6 specifically mentioned Buddhism as the religion which would be given the "foremost place". In addition, the State was entrusted with the fundamental duty to "protect and foster Buddhism". In this manner, the 1972 constitution gave Sri Lanka the status of a non-secular, Sinhala-Buddhist State. The Tamil people who had lived together with the Sinhalese people for over 2000 years with their respective distinct heritage, culture, language and socio-economic and political history were, thus, relegated to the status of "aliens" in their own traditional homeland. Although, the Federal Party, the domi-

nant Tamil Parliamentary Party of that time, submitted before the Ministry of Constitutional Affairs a federal form of system to be incorporated in the Constitution, it was rejected outright. In any event, the proposals themselves were incoherent and lacked conviction.

The 1978 Constitution, formulated by the present State Assembly dominated by the United National Party retained most of the elements of national oppression against the Tamil people contained in the 1972 Constitution. Although, Tamil was made the national language along with Sinhalese, Sinhala continued to be the sole official language and language of administration over the Tamil areas. In addition, the 1978 Constitution provided the legal framework for "Constitutional dictatorship" and centralization of power, thereby, undermining all scope for regional autonomy or federal form of government in Sri Lanka.

The passage of the Sinhala Only Act of 1956 and the on-going process of state-aided colonization over parts of the traditional homeland of the Eelam People, led to widespread peaceful agitations by the Federal Party with the support of broad sections of the Tamil people. In August 1956, the following Resolution was passed at the Annual Convention of the Federal Party held in Trincomalee:

1. The replacement of the present pernicious constitution by a rational and democratic constitution based on the federal principle and the establishment of one or more Tamil linguistic states or states incorporating all contiguous areas in which the Tamil speaking people are numerically in the majority as federating unit or units enjoying the widest autonomous and residuary powers consistent with the unitary and external security of Ceylon;
2. The restoration of the Tamil language to its rightful place enjoying the absolute parity of status with Sinhalese as the official language of the country;
3. The repeal of the present citizenship laws recognizing the right to full citizenship on the basis of a simple test of residence for all persons who have made this country their home;
4. The immediate cessation of colonization of the traditional Tamil speaking areas.

Armed with this resolution, the Federal Party went in for negotiations with the Sri Lanka Freedom Party-led coalition government. The Bandaranayake-Chelvanaya-

gam Pact, which resulted out of these talks, had as its basic premise the statement that "the Government was not in a position to discuss the setting-up of a federal constitution or regional autonomy or any setps which would abrogate the Official Language Act". Instead, an agreement was reached on the establishment of Regional Councils with powers over specified areas such as agriculture, co-operatives, land and land development, colonization, education, health, industries and fisheries, housing and social services, electricity, water schemes and roads. In addition, powers were to be given in relation to taxation and borrowings.

Not only did the B-C Pact come nowhere close to the demand for a federal form of government contained in the 1956 Resolution of the Federal party, it faced the same fate that was to befall all negotiated settlements between the Tamil parliamentary leadership and the respective Sri Lankan Governments. The B-C Pact was unilaterally abrogated by the Prime Minister, S.W.R.D. Bandaranayake, in response to agitations by the chauvinist Sinhala-Buddhist organizations and political parties led by the present President, J.R. Jayawardena. What the Tamil People received, instead, was the 1958 anti-Tamil program with unspeakable loss of lives and property.

Anti-Tamil programs were, thereafter, used as instruments of terror by the Sri Lankan Governments in an attempt at terrorizing the Tamil People into submission. The subsequent Senanayake-Chelvanayagam Pact of 1966 and the Regulation for the "reasonable use of Tamil" in the same year were non-events as far as meeting the grievances of the Tamil People were concerned.

The Sirima-Sashtri Pact of 1964, aimed at resolving the problem of the stateless Tamils, is another illustration of the bitter experience of the Tamils with negotiated settlements. Firstly, no consideration was given to the wish of the plantation Tamils as regards the choice of citizenship. Secondly, the agreement pertaining to the proportion of those to be repatriated to India and those to be given Sri Lankan citizenship was slow in being implemented, further, compounding this human tragedy. Despite the expiry of the Pact in 1983, the status of more than 500,000 plantation Tamils remains ambiguous and uncertain.

Another classic case of meaningless negotiated settlements are the representa-

tions made before the Presidential Commission of 1980 set up for the purpose of establishing District development Councils which was expected to bring about a considerable degree of devolution of power. The Commission Report ultimately appeared with two parts the 'Main Report' and a 'Dissenting Report' submitted by the Tamil United Liberation Front. The dissenting Report recommended that the D.D.Cs function as agencies primarily responsible for planning the development of the district, with a sufficient degree of autonomy in which subordinate law-making powers, including those to raise revenue by taxation and other means are important. Needless to say, the recommendations made by the TULF which in any event came no where close to the elements of decentralization manifest in the B-C Pact of 1957, were not taken heed of. What the D.D.C. amounted to was not decentralization in any sense of the term, but the delegation of power from the Centre to "all the President's men". The following extract from a statement issued by J.R. Jayawardena to a delegation of Buddhist priests highlights the actual character of the D.D.Cs. To quote: "They do not have the powers that even Municipal Councils, Urban Councils or Town Councils possess. In this way the executive powers of control of Development Councils are in the hands of the District Ministers and the Executive Committees chosen by the President without whose consent these Councils have no power to do anything. If the need arises the President can dismiss or change all three parties". (Communique from the Presidents Secretariat, reported in the Daily News, 21.08.1980).

The Culmination of the farcial nature of negotiated settlements in the Post-Independence period is, of course, the All Party Conference which merely afforded the Sri Lankan Government a smokescreen behind which it pursued the only strategy that is committed to - namely, a military solution in which state terrorism and genocide are inseparably linked.

In the comedy that followed, instead of reaching an consensus of opinion the President submitted his proposal, which was rejected not only by the Tamils but also by the Sinhalese people including some cabinet Ministers. In the one year that this process took to complete, the military option of the regime was concretised with the help of imperialism.



## SRI LANKA BUYS MORE ARMS

In a Government to Government deal with Pakistan, Sri Lanka has purchased 4 brand new helicopter Gun Ships, to add to the 6 Bell 212's already with the Air Force.

The deal with Pakistan is believed to be underwritten by the US. Further negotiations are in progress to purchase 6 more within the end of the year.

In another such arrangement, the Pakistani's are training 60 Army commandos in anti-Guerrilla armed combat.

The Bell 212 helicopters are fitted with versatile 50mm. and 7.62 mm guns.

The State Trading Corporation has purchased 20,000 shot guns including a large number of Self Loading Rifles (SLR) to be distributed to Sinhala homeguards.

Sri Lanka Navy in the meanwhile will get 18 more gun boats from China.

An SAS team, headed by one General Smith, is presently engaged in training the Army in Katukurundha.

**Students given Armed Training:** Senior Sinhala students from some of the Leading schools in Colombo are being trained in the use of fire arms. The Ministries of Education and Defence are co-ordinating this surreptitious training programme given by the security forces. The institutions involved are Royal, Ananda & Nalanda Colleges and D.S. Senanayake and Mahanama Maha Vidyalayas.

## Sinhala Settlers on rampage

Incidents to looting arson and intimidation have been reported from Mankulam, in the Vavuniya district.

Following the Dollar and Kent farm incidents last year, where ex-convicts were settled, the Government provided firearms to new settlers in Tamil areas.

Once again these settlers are reported to be active with the armed services providing them protection. This has caused anxiety amongst the Tamil people in the Vavuniya district.

Several families have been forced to leave the area in fear, in the last few weeks.

## Tourist, Refugee Raped

A French woman, holidaying in Kalkuda, a beach resort in the Eastern Province, was taken at gunpoint and raped by the Army.

In another incident a young woman inmate of the Valai-chenai refugee camp was abducted by the Army. She was later taken to a government building in Vakara where she was abused and raped.

## 2 die in Polikandy

One soldier was killed and 3 others were injured in an encounter between the Army and the L.T.T.E.

The dead soldier was named as G.K.K. Perera. It is reported that the battle lasted several hours.

Earlier on the same day (21.7.85) the security forces opened fire at a group of people decorating a pandal for the Amman Temple festival, killing one while two others sustained severe injuries.

## HARTHAL IN EELAM

Harthal was observed by the Tamil people in the North and East on 25 & 26 July as a remembrance of the 3000 people killed in the July '83 pogrom.

All commercial activity ceased when shops put up shutters. Transport services were suspended on both days. Both, Public and private sector offices and schools remained closed.

## Navy Kill 3 in Karainagar

Three people were killed and one sustained injuries when Naval personnel opened fire at a group of people at the Karainagar bus stand.

According to eye witness account the naval men drove up to the bus stand in two armoured vehicles and began shooting at unsuspecting civilians on 22.7.85.

The incident occurred four days after the ceasefire was declared.

Those killed were  
Arumugam Thambiah (63)  
Subramaniam Sothinathan (26)  
Sinnathamby

Tharmalingam (45)

The injured person was named as:

Kanagasabai  
Lambotharanathan (45)

## Plot to kill JR - a Govt

## Fabrication

The alleged plot to kill J.R. Jayawardene, the President was announced the day after the Eelam representatives at Thimbu rejected the proposal presented by the Government delegation.

This sensational disclosure was made by the Government spokesman in Colombo. According to the official version, 120 kg of gelignite was found in two packages in a jeep 3kms away from the President's residence and that 3 Tamil youth were arrested.

The whole episode, as reported by the Government sources, smells fishy the way this sensational discovery was allowed to fizzle out without much ado.

The discrepancies in the statements by the police and the Minister for Information, the fact that there was enough media publicity to the President's illness & cancellation of all official engagements and the timing of the disclosure all indicate that this is yet another badly handled fabrication of the Government.

EROS, who were implicated with this incident have categorically denied any involvement.

## Mass Protest in North & East

Wide spread protests and demonstrations took place following the announcement of the ceasefire on 18 June. People protested over ceasefire violations by the security forces and expressed their absolute lack of any confidence in the government to solve the problems of the Tamil people.

and subjected to torture.  
\* Grant citizenship rights to all Tamil plantation workers.  
\* End all Sinhala colonisation in Eelam.

Over 20 demonstrations took place in the Vavuniya, Jaffna and Mannar districts. Ten of thousands of men and



One of the many protests against ceasefire and Negotiations in Jaffna.

Among the slogans and chanting, following demands were featured prominently.

women participated including the aged, Children and students.

- \* Withdrawal of all draconic laws including the removal of surveillance and prohibited zones.
- \* Removal of all security forces from the North, East and the plantation areas.
- \* Release all those detained

These spontaneous protests by the people also demanded that the liberation organisations continue to struggle to establish a socialist Eelam.

## Referendum must for any political Solution

### - Asgiriya Mahanayake

"The Government cannot unilaterally decide on any political solution to the Tamil people. Any political solution must be put to the people and they should decide at a referendum before it is adopted" said Ven.Chandranada Thero, the powerful Mahanayake of the Asgiriya chapter.

Speaking at a ceremony commemorating 25 years in public life of Mrs. Sirima Bandaranayake, the Mahana-

yake further said that, "the Buddhist clergy will oppose any solution that gives the Tamil people their rights and betrays the Sinhala people".

9000 MONKS PROTEST: Meanwhile more than 9000 Buddhist monks have sent a signed memorandum to the President demanding a general election and a referendum on any negotiated settlement. This campaign is headed by the Mahanayake of Asgiriya.

## July '83 pogrom remembered



**VICTORY TO THE EELAM LIBERATION STRUGGLE**