

PLOT BULLETIN



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A JOURNAL OF THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ORGANISATION OF THAMILEELAM

COMMENT

When history is recorded, Wednesday, the 31st of October will be written as one of the blackest days in the history of Thamilceelam. On this day, hired mercenaries, the agents of imperialism and reaction gunned down, in a coldly calculated move Shrimathi Indira Gandhi, Premier of India and one of the closest sympathisers of the oppressed people of Thamilceelam.

For approximately 18 years Shrimathi Gandhi had been protecting the Indian people from the evils of imperialism by joining the progressive democratic forces arraigned against the forces of imperialism. **Mrs. GANDHI HAS BEEN KILLED.**

The people of Thamilceelam are shocked and angered at this brutal killing and recognise the bloody hand of the imperialist power behind it.

To secure peace in the Indian ocean Indira Gandhi pressed the case for declaring the Indian ocean a Zone of Peace at the United Nations. As leader of the non-aligned nations she utilised her position to safeguard the right of poor and small countries. At the same time she joined hands with the progressive countries to protect the working-class against the forces of imperialism. **NOW MRS. GANDHI LIES MURDERED.**

She felt for the Tamil people of Sri Lanka and made every effort to find a solution to their problems.

For her uncompromising stand against the forces of imperialism and reaction. Indira Gandhi has been brutally murdered. Murdered by the forces which failed in their attempts to truncate the country. Murdered by the forces which attempted to create regionalism and factionalism.

The American CIA stands indicted with yet another gruesome murder of the head of a Sovereign state.

The People's Liberation Organisation of Thamilceelam joins the working-class and the people of India in mourning the brutal murder of Srimathi Indira Gandhi.

The people's Liberation Organisation of Thamilceelam condemns the forces of imperialism led by the Reagan-Administration and we accuse its terrorist arm, the CIA of direct involvement in instigating the murder.

While anguished at this brutal and cold-blooded murder, the people of Thamilceelam will never allow this spurious victory of the forces of reaction and imperialism to emerge triumphant.

The death of Mrs. Gandhi will only strengthen the will of our people not only to march forwards to attain their cherished goal of setting up a free and independent



state of Thamilceelam, but also to wipe out the menace of imperialism and its attendant forces of terrorism as manifested in zionism, apartheid and racism, wherever they exist.

In this context it is good for us to remember a favourite poem of Mrs. Gandhi, which she quoted to an interviewer some years ago...

"Moan not the dead...but rather moan the apathetic throng, the cowed and the meek who see the world's great anguish and its wrong and dare not speak..."

A Free & Just Society

Sri Lanka's Fascist Attacks on the Muslim Community

The vicious attacks of the racist Sri Lankan rulers on a helpless Tamil community are today well known all over the world. Despite the millions of dollars the present regime is spending in western countries on advertisements to whitewash its tarnished image, the brutality of this and other preceding Sri Lankan regimes will never be erased from the minds of all civilised nations and peoples.

However the Tamils of Sri Lanka have not been alone in their experience of Sri Lanka's chauvinistic policies.

Together with the Tamil community the Muslim community too has been at the receiving end of Sri Lanka's racist policies. The Muslim community has been doubly unfortunate in that the old established leadership of the community has been in the hands of the Colombo-based Muslims, who have fallen prey to the culture of consumerism, and lost their identity. Because of this they also lost interest for the needs and welfare of the poor masses of the Muslim community. As such this leadership with their vested interests has over the years never given voice to the discrimination heaped on the majority of their community.

In order to maintain their positions and influence with whichever political party was in power, this leadership collaborated with the rulers of the day and glossed over the numerous instances of exploitation and injustice, the majority of the community was facing. Today because of the numerous indignities heaped on them, as a direct result of the Sri Lankan state oppression, and due to a natural desire to better themselves, a new leadership is emerging within the Muslim community of Sri Lanka.

This leadership is not Colombo-based. This leadership is an integral part of the poorer sections of the community in the eastern part of the country where the Muslim community is concentrated. These people are mainly involved in the agricultural and fisheries sectors.

Today this new leadership has begun challenging the stand of the old established leadership as well as the fascist rule of the Jayawardene regime.

In the face of total opposition

from all sections of the Muslim community, despite promises as recently as in February 1984 that relations would not be established with the state of Israel, today an interests section has been opened in Israeli Sri Lanka. These and other discriminatory and unjust acts led to a growth of a body opposed to governmental policies. They also challenged the position of the Muslim Ministers in the Cabinet of Jayawardene.

The brutal army attack on the satyagraha organised by the Tamil-Muslim United Front at Kathankudy against the opening up of an Israeli interests section, as well as the presence in the country of the international terrorist organisation Mossad, and the more recent near total destruction of the town of Mannar, a predominantly Muslim town as well as the surrounding Muslim villages was Jayawardene's reply to this rising tide of protests.

Jayawardene even went so far as to warn the community that unless they stopped their campaign against the presence of the Israelis and the opening up of an Israeli interests section in Sri Lanka, another massacre like that of July 1983 could not be ruled out.

However, these two attacks are not isolated incidents against the Muslim community, but are part and parcel of an ongoing racist policy directed against the minority communities in Sri Lanka.

As we have mentioned earlier in this essay, the collaborationist policies of the established Muslim leaders played a major role in suppressing publicity of all ongoing discrimination on the community.

We list below a summary of the major instances of discrimination and physical attacks on the community.

- * In 1974 the armed forces entered the Mosque at Puttalam. The soldiers desecrated the mosque daubed filthy slogans on the wall and killed five members of the community while they were at prayer.

Though there were Muslim Members of Parliament representing the government party at that time, the issue was not raised in Parliament by them. It was left to Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam, the Tamil leader to

raise the issue.

- * In 1976 a new electorate of Seruvawila was carved out by joining the Muthur electorate (a predominantly Muslim area) to 3/5th of the Trincomalee electorate. In this way the Muslims in the area who were the second largest community in Trincomalee have now been reduced to a minority in their own areas.

Since the present regime assumed power, the discrimination heaped on the community has increased many times over.

- * In 1977 soon after the carving out of the new electorate of Seruvawila, and after the Muslim community had been reduced to a minority status, Seruvawila was declared a "sacred city" for Buddhists.

- * The area known as Deegawapi in the Amparai district was a barren land prior to 1952. In 1952 number of Muslim families began colonising the area. Since the present regime came into power in 1977, Deegawapi was suddenly declared a sacred city of the Buddhists and government systematically evicted all the Muslim families who had been living and cultivating on these lands. The lands have been given over to Sinhalese families.

- * In Kinniya which is in the Trincomalee district a Buddhist monk together with Sinhalese thugs has forcibly entered lands belonging to the Mosque at Small Bazaar. The Buddhist monk and his Sinhalese thugs are now intimidating and attempting to drive out the Muslim families living on these lands. The Buddhist monk and the thugs have also begun intimidating the Small Bazaar Mosque authorities and are demanding that these lands be handed over to the monk so that he can build a Buddhist temple on that land.

The Mosque authorities and the Muslim resident living in these lands have made complaints to the police. But the police have refused to take down their complaint and no action has been taken against either the monk or his hired thugs.

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THE BIRTH AND GROWTH

Comrades Rani, and Mary speak to Comrade Jennever of the Voice of
Tamilleelam (VOTE)

The Womens Libration Movement in Thamileelam was started in November 1981 when a number of progressive-minded Tamil women and girls coming from different parts of the Northern and Eastern parts of the country bounded themselves together into the Women's Liberation Movement.

It was the oppression and discrimination the founder members themselves had to undergo at one stage or the other, which made them feel the necessity to set up their own body. The aim was to help women analyse their problems, enlighten them on the character of their oppression and help organise their own movement to overcome those problems.

We made it a point said Comrade Rani to discuss with our friends in detail, in how far we are faced with discrimination and oppression simply because of being women. On contacting various progressive organisations we were able to promote our cause at public meetings and to also start women's groups and seminars at a village level in the rural areas of the Eastern and Northern parts of our country. This contact with the girls and women from rural background was very important for the development of our organisation into one which would be relevant to the majority of our women. Because of this it is quite different from many a women's organisation which is city-bred, based, and run by a small groups of women from elitist background. These groups are not representative of the interests of a majority of our women.

Our starting point was to analyse the life of Tamil women in our society with regard to the different types of discrimination and oppression we are being exposed and subjected to.

- * Discrimination against women starts at birth. When a new-born child turns out to be a daughter, the parents, especially the father, are disappointed. A daughter is looked on as an economic burden to the family.
- * The toys small girls or boys are given, are meant to prepare them for the future role they are to play in our present-day society and thereby help to maintain the status quo. Girls are given dolls — a symbol of their later role as mother-child-bearer and bringing up of children. Kitchen utensils are also given to prepare them for a later day slavery in the household.

- * Teaching materials and literature provided at school are geared towards conveying stereotype notions of man and woman concerning their occupations and functions. Females are depicted in the kitchen or with children on their lap etc. The man on the other hand is shown as studying and earning the family income etc.
- * Good and acceptable women are shown as those who remain indoors and virgins. Men are however admired for being adventurous, while sexual "escapades" add to their stature.
- * Even religions degrades women. Women are looked on as being unclean while having their menstruation cycle. During these times women are not allowed to enter the temple and even certain sections of their own home. Often they are not considered clean enough to cook or play musical instruments.



Thus the fact of being a woman and of having monthly periods is made out to be something dirty and unclean. Religion further discriminates against women by not allowing them to participate in certain religious fasts etc.

- * Even recorded history too, discriminates women and down-grades their role in the historical process. In fact history makes no mention of the role played by women, and needs to be rewritten. This is a major challenge facing man/womankind.
- * Up to their marriage or at least, until their 20's girls are not allowed to leave their home unaccompanied by elders or male members of their families for "protection". Exceptions are few.
- * Girls have very limited opportunities of receiving higher education even though they may have equal or better results than their brothers, who are encouraged to continue their studies. It is not surprising therefore that men are in a privileged position to receive a better education and better employment.
- * In professional life, too, men receive promotions women easily than men, despite equal efficiency and proficiency, especially in the higher grades. Analysing the type of jobs allocated to men, they are of a more responsible nature, where decisions have to be taken independently, while women mostly work under somebody else, executing orders given to them.
- * While men are able to choose and select their marriage partner, the woman is bound by the dowry system. Her marriage

is being decided on, to a large extent by her parents on whom she depends economically to provide for the dowry and donation to be given to her future husband. As the parents are interested to invest their money (dowry) well, they therefore play a dominant role on the partner for their daughter. The woman herself has no choice in the matter.

- * Despite many middle class girls being economically rather independent if they are working, they are yet forced to follow and obey their parents.
- * At the marriage this authority is taken over by her husband. This even if the wife is working and contributing substantially the family income. The husband's ideas are law this way.
- * in the case of both the husband and wife working. The woman has to normally do her office, factory or labourer's job and additionally is held responsible for attending to all household chores, cooking, cleaning, bringing up children etc.
- * In the event the husband dies, the eldest son takes on his father's role in "guiding" his mother, who now depends on him for any decisions to be made in all fields.
- * As a widow, women are kept in isolation from the rest of society. They have to dress in certain way, are shunned by society in general and are not allowed to participate in most festivals and celebrations. They are therefore forced to stay in the background.

Starting with the enormous discrimination women are faced with, it was our close contact with the poorer sections of our society that our analysis became deeper in the sense that we were able to get more clear about the underlying cause of our problems and how we had to face them.

AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE OVERALL EXPLOITATIVE SYSTEM

In analysing the oppression and discrimination women are face with since the emergence of the patriarchal era together with coming from village background, we were able to distinguish the two-fold character of this oppression. On the one hand women are dependent on men. In general this dependency is of an economic nature. But even in instances where this economic dependence is not there, society uses social norms and traditions to

maintain this dependence. On the other hand women are also faced with the economic exploitation which has victimised the whole working-class-men as well as women. However, even here women are being exploited to a higher degree than men.

Having come so far, we tried to find out in whose interest our society had to keep up these norms and traditions, and in whose interest women were paid less wages than men. We realized that it was the prevailing economic system. This mode of production presupposes that women while working in factory field or office fulfil the task of of bringing up their children and attending to the housework as well, while the husband's exclusive role is in the production or the administrative field. As such, the social hierarchy is a necessary outgrowth of this same economic system based on a social pyramid with a small elite on top and a vast majority at the bottom - with oppressors and oppressed. This is reflected again in the relationship between men and women in the role of oppressor and oppressed to keep the system alive. The prevailing political, social and cultural patterns are thus fortifying this present exploitative system.

RACISM-PREVAILING FACTOR OF WOMEN'S OPPRESSION IN THE PRESENT-DAY CONTEXT

We realised that racism is in itself a result of the thinking created by these prevailing economic structures and was being used as a strategy to divide the oppressed of both the Sinhala and Tamil communities and keep them apart.

When the oppression of Tamils for the mere reason of being Tamil increased, with the Sri Lankan government taking more and more recourse to indiscriminate shooting and brutal massacring of Tamil civilian population, arresting teenagers, torturing our men and raping our women, we became more alert to the fact that also we women were being oppressed in the first place for being Tamils and only after this for being women. In these circumstances we also realized that only in securing our survival as an ethnic group, could we continue our fight against the specific oppression which we were subjected to as women. Since the underlying cause of our oppression as women however is the economic and political system, the only chance to end our oppression as women was within a socialist framework. Therefore we had to necessarily join in the national liberation struggle with the goal of setting up

a socialist structure while at the same time emphasising our special problem as a precondition to end our oppression as women as well.

ACTIVITIES

Because of our two-fold perspective, our activities had to be necessarily two-fold as well. On the one hand we were having our own programme which was specifically geared towards women with a long-term objective of stabilising and strengthening our women with a long-term objective of stabilising our women's movement.

On the other hand we joined together with other organisations and parties involved in the national liberation struggle on various occasions to protest against the oppression our community was being subjected to. As such we took part in fasts, rallies, satyagrahas, demonstrations etc.

SPECIFIC WOMEN'S PROGRAMME

Our women's programme has the objective to practically show the exploitative character of the present-day economic system and the prejudices existing against women in society. It is geared to show the strengthening factor of unity as well as that women are capable to manage things on their own. At the same time we tried to practically work out an alternate system on a small scale, where women would work together on an equal basis. All these activities helped us build up our organisational infrastructure.

- * Setting up fair-price shops at central points where we were able to obtain better prices for items like textiles and handicrafts produced by different women and rural women's societies. All profit flow back to the producer societies or the producers after setting aside a certain amount for expending this scheme in other areas.
- * We also initiated the setting up of model-farms which were run by groups of girls or women. These farms were looked on by the community as well as by the Sri Lankan armed forces with suspicion.
- * We helped to run pre-schools in different villages and newly formed refugee settlements. This involvement made us specifically realise how the traditional educational system in itself is geared towards maintaining the status quo and common prejudices. It in turn challenged us to try to develop a different approach which tries

Sorry, No Thanks...

The Rev. KENNETH FERNANDO
Ecumenical Institute for Study
and Dialogue
490/5, Havelock Road,
Colombo-6.
Sri Lanka

18-10-1984

Dear Rev. Kenneth Fernando,

We received your letter and the enclosed statement of the United Religious Organisation on 18-10-1984. We thank you for the same.

The People's Liberation Organisation of Thamilleelam welcomes all initiatives by men of goodwill to stop the genocidal attacks of the state on the Tamil people and create a climate conducive to settling our common problems through a process of dialogue and negotiations.

We are disappointed however at the statement of Rev. Walpola Rahula, the secretary-general of the URO which calls on the Tamil youth "...to refrain from acts of

violence and lawlessness and to participate in the peace process..."

This is a sad, though common misunderstanding of the problem facing the Tamil nation by our Sinhalese brothers.

It must also be pointed out that the appeal to the government is only "...not to take any initiatives against Tamil youth as long as they maintain peace..."

The fact of the matter is that your government is not facing the militant organisations involved in the armed struggle but merely attacking and brutalising innocent civilians.

We therefore request your organisation to call on your government in the first instance to stop its genocidal policies against the Tamils which will immediately create the conditions for dialogue.

Secondly, with all due respect to the secretary general of your organisation and the other monks listed as delegates to the proposed dialo-

The United Religions Organization met on 2nd Oct. 1984.

We are heartened by the fact that negotiations for peace are going forward and we appeal to all persons to participate in the Peace process.

We ask all people to support this effort by special religious observances from October 9th to November 18th.

We appeal to the Tamil youths to refrain from all acts of violence and lawlessness and to participate in the process of making peace. We also appeal to our government to order the armed services not to take any initiatives against Tamil youths as long as they maintain peace.

We appeal to leaders of all communities to meet together for continued dialogue and discussion. The U R O will be willing to help, participate and mediate in the discussions for Peace.

W. RAHULA

Secretary — General, U. R. O.

gue, we must point out that it has always been the Buddhist clergy itself who have at all times blocked the peaceful resolution of the problems facing Sri Lanka.

In 1958 it was the Buddhist monks who forced Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike to tear up the pact he made with Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam. Again, during the 1965 regime of Mr. Dudley Senanayake it was the Buddhist monks who prevented the implementation of the Dudley Senanayake-Chelvanayakam pact. During the black days of July 1983, the Buddhist clergy not only played an active role in instigating the butchering of innocent Tamil civilians, but several of them even actively participated in acts of looting and murder during that government-sponsored pogrom.

Unfortunately even today Buddhist temples all over the country still serve as breeding grounds for racism and hatred towards Tamils whether they be in the south or elsewhere in the country.

Again, even today Hindu temples are being forcefully occupied by Buddhist monks and converted into Buddhist vihares. Some recent examples being the conversion of the Hindu temples at Samankulam and Ulukulam into Buddhist temples by the introduction of statues. At Madhu, a Hindu temple built by the Madhu Road station master Arulanandam and an overseer of the highway department 30 years ago, has now been occupied by a Buddhist monk. At the Hindu temple at Thannimurippu Kurunthumalai in the Mullaitivu division, Cyril

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GRUMENICAL INSTITUTE FOR STUDY AND DIALOGUE

490/5, Havelock Road, Colombo-6, Sri Lanka. Telephone: 86998

Rev. Kenneth Fernando
Director

Date: 9-10-84

Dear

I enclose herewith a statement put out by the United Religious Organization after its last meeting on 2nd October.

The U. R. O. has further requested and authorized me to arrange a dialogue between representative Sinhala, Muslim and Tamil persons with a view to jointly seeking a solution to our ethnic problem. We have kept the Minister for National Security informed about this attempt on our part.

I earnestly request you to participate in the proposed conference and to cooperate with the U. R. O. to solve our problems peacefully.

Our proposal is that the dialogue should be held in a hotel in Singapore probably from 25th to 29th November. The entire cost including air tickets for all participants will be met by the U. R. O., with the different religions contributing what they can.

The Sinhala and Muslim delegates will consist of :-

Ven. Dr. Madagama Vijiranana

Ven. Diviyagaha Yasassi

Ven. Dr. Bellanwillla Wimalaratne

Bishop Oswald Gomis

Mr. H. L. de Silva

Mr. Desmond Fernando

Mr. Godfrey Goonathilaka

Mrs. Kumari Jayawadana

Dr. Carlo Fonseka

Dr. Newton Gunasinghe

Mr. Mark Fernando

Dr. Frank Jayasinghe

This list is subject to change.

The Agenda for our dialogue could be the article "Agenda for a political solution", which appeared in the Lanka Guardian of July 1984. But other issues are likely to surface by the time we meet. Consequently a draft agenda will be prepared in consultation with all prospective participants and sent to you but this can be discussed and modified at the dialogue itself.

I shall be at the Y.W.C.A. Poonemelle High Road, Madras 600-084 from 12-00 noon on October 15th to 12 noon on October 17th. Please meet me there for further discussions and clarification. The telephone No. there is 34945.

In any event I invite you to meet me for a discussion at the Y.W.C.A. at 4-30 p. m. on Tuesday October 16th.

I shall be most grateful for your help, advice and co-operation in this very important effort in which we are all jointly engaged in solve the problems before our country.

Please accept this invitation to participate in the dialogue in Singapore and confirm your acceptance to me.

Yours sincerely,

On Revolutionaries

From its inception the People's Liberation Organization of Thamilceelam (PLOT), having correctly analysed the nature of the Tamil liberation struggle has been making every effort to achieve even a minor degree of unity among the groups involved in the struggle against Jayawardene's rule. In fact, the People's Liberation Organisation of Thamilceelam in itself is the coming together of three distinct groups who merged their identities in the People's Liberation Organization of Thamilceelam.

Unfortunately, even while unity talks have been progressing between the different organisations, EPRLF (Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front) has suddenly come out with a completely unprovoked attack on the People's Liberation Organization of Thamilceelam in the form of a publication. Had the attack been factually correct, PLOT would have welcomed the criticism however harsh it may have been. Sadly the entirety of the attack is pure unadulterated untruths. Unwillingly we are therefore forced to enter into an exchange with this group as the publication has been widely distributed. Hence this expose.

Recognising the similarities in the "stated goals" of other organisations who claim to be left-oriented, the EPRLF being one of them, PLOT put forward a programme earlier this year as a basis on which a common programme could be worked out. Unfortunately after a common basis was reached, at the last moment this "left-wing" group suddenly pulled out and joined hands with one Chandrahasan described by one of his fellow Tamil lawyers as the greatest mistake the late Tamil leader Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam ever made.

Not satisfied with having thus betrayed the left movement of Thamilceelam, the EPRLF leader then went even a step further than fellow left-wing opportunists in the south of Sri Lanka. Unlike Philip Goonewardene who joined the UNP-government in exchange for the post of Cabinet Minister, the EPRLF leader accompanied Chandrahasan like a pet dog around the world, dutifully yip yipping and wagging his tail and giving him (Chandrahasan) credibility among well-meaning but gullible liberals both in Western Europe and a few

Asian countries.

Not surprisingly the governments of these countries enjoy very good relations with the J. R. Jayawardene government. Even less surprising is the fact that neither the marxists of the EPRLF nor their "marxist" leader Chandrahasan visited or even dared approach an even mildly socialist country.

Despite these "lapses" on the part of the EPRLF and its fellow travellers however, the People's Liberation Organisation of Thamilceelam was prepared to overlook the deviations of the self-styled left wingers in Eelam politics in the interests of the people of Thamilceelam, and opposing the enemy common to all of us-IMPERIALISM and its ally, the racist state of Sri Lanka and the final goal of setting up the socialist state of Thamilceelam.

In response to the strident demand of the people of Thamilceelam call

and

ing for unity among the groups involved in the liberation struggle, PLOT once again made a herculean effort to make common cause for an united effort to overthrow the fascist rulers of our land. However even while discussions were in progress, EPRLF came out with a vitriolic attack not against imperialism. Not against the J. R. Jayawardene regime which is picking up and torturing thousands of innocent Tamil youth in Thamilceelam, but against the People's Liberation Organisation of Thamilceelam.

The People's Liberation Organisation of Thamilceelam dismisses the charges of EPRLF out of hand. EPRLF itself never was and never will be a force to be reckoned with, either in the struggle to liberate our land nor ever thereafter, as long as the present leadership persists. The aim of PLOT in even coming to the negotiating table with this group was an attempt to make best use of all available resources for the task of liberating our land. Unfortunately the misguided and ideologically weak leadership of EPRLF is bringing to nought the efforts of PLOT and the demands of our people.

The most dangerous trend today however is the infantile analysis of the group and its attempts to get cheap publicity which is turning the group into an effective tool of

imperialism.

In an effort to change its image as a group of mediocre armchair revolutionaries, EPRLF has chosen an easy path. Instead of action, it has taken to blatant falsehood and claiming responsibility for the actions of others. The one of these false claims was the Batticaloa jail-break where EPRLF "also ran" so to say. The action EPRLF was given responsibility for, was the release of the only woman prisoner held under the notorious Prevention of Terrorism Act and sole political prisoner in the women's wing of the prison--Nirmala Nithiyanthan. Unfortunately, our armchair revolutionaries got cold feet on their way and returned without even going to the women's wing. The other responsibility given to EPRLF was providing transport for *their own* comrades who were also in prison. Unfortunately EPRLF was not able to perform even this function. It was because of this reason that the Gandhiyam vehicles had to be hijacked at the last moment.

However, to cut the long story short, before the political prisoners reached the safety of India, EPRLF spokesmen announced..., 'We done it!'

In a similar manner during the LTTE offensive in April this year, an EPRLF spokesman together with another whom a Dutceman who was present on that occasion described as that "...skinny ex-editor of the Saturday Review ..." shamelessly announced that "...our boys have gone in and within ten days you will hear the good news; that we have

Imperialists

taken power..." EPRLF's false claims are therefore not new, but they are still harmless.

What is dangerous however has been their actions, starting with the childish kidnap of the Allen couple, no doubt on the advice of their "Marxist" leader timed to coincide with Jayawardene's American tour and thereby boost Jayawardene's image of a harrassed democratic leader fighting terrorists. Secondly and more obvious, the Allens were moved freely about Jaffna town while maximum security was in operation. Thirdly, Bishop's House has been under constant surveillance over the past two years. The "boys" took the couple without hindrance from the armed forces, left them in the custody of his eminence and presto...walk freely out of Bishop's

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The Defenders of Democracy

Since the defeats it suffered in Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos in the Indo-China region US-imperialism chose to lay low for a short period of time. However since its being driven out of Iran and its more recent defeat in Lebanon at the hands of the Palestinian people, US-imperialism is on the rise and aggressive once again. Learning from its defeats the US-imperialists are now concentrating more on small, weak and yet unorganised areas of the Third World to impose its will and dictate terms. In this light we see the invasion of Grenada. However basking in the warm glow of its gangsterish offensive in Grenada, the US is now moving more directly to positions of offensive aggression in other countries all over the world. More recently the US has started re-arming a champion of democracy and freedom"—Zia ul Haq of Pakistan.

Dealing a grievous blow to the entire socialist movement, the US-imperialists have apparently reached a compromise of sorts with the People's Republic of China. Coming closer home we also see the manner in which Bangladesh has fallen victim to US - intrigues. Under Jayawardene Sri Lanka moved quickly and surely into the clutches of US-imperialism.

At the behest of his masters at the IMF and World Bank Jayawardene unleashed the "free market forces" on the population. To please the foreign investors he invited into the country, he began curtailing the day-to-day freedoms of the people, especially trade union rights and the right to protest. To take the minds of the people away from their pressing economic problems as well as the loss of freedoms, Jayawardene unleashed, to use a childish phrase "a billa" (a Sinhalese symbol used to frighten children) on the Sri Lankan people - the billa of terrorism. Together with his "billa" Jayawardene also raised racial animosity to divert the people's minds away from their real problems and the issues which were affecting them. To an extent he has succeeded in his aim. For he has been able to take the minds of the Sinhalese people away from their problems. He has in addition got the support of a large number of them for his fascist attacks on the Tamil community.

However finding that he could not suppress the just struggle of the Tamil people by these means, Jayawardene is now making despe-

rate efforts to get military help from his imperialist backers to put down the legitimate aspirations of the Tamil people and maintain his fascist rule in Sri Lanka. In his hour of need Jayawardene, the butcher of Tamils, has turned to a source which has unfailingly aided fascist dictators. Jayawardene did what all dictators and oppressors do he turned to Ronald Reagan and the United States.

In his hour of need the US did not fail Jayawardene. But Reagan faced a small problem—his election year was coming up. In election year Reagan did not want to risk another Lebanon-style fiasco. The President ordered his "Pals" in the Mossad and the British SAS to come to the rescue of his "fellow democrat" Jayawardene. He also ordered his good friends in South Africa who are like Jayawardene fighting "terrorists" to send him (Jayawardene) shipments of arms and ammunition. In response, a grateful Jayawardene is offering the US the services of the finest natural harbour in the world. In this way Jayawardene hopes to suit both the interests of the US as well as his own class interests.

Today the US has put its total support behind the fascist rule of Jayawardene and his efforts to crush the Tamil liberation struggle and the just aspirations of the Sinhala masses. Both Jayawardene and the US have correctly analysed the struggle of the Tamil people under the leadership of the People's Liberation Organisation of Tamileelam as being against the interests of the imperialists as well as the interests of the ruling class. It is therefore no surprise that the US has aligned itself against the masses of the people on the side of the fascist ruling class. Throughout its history the US has always joined the oppressors against the people in whichever part of the world they may come from.

We tabulate below a comprehensive list of US crimes against the suffering people and sovereign states all over the world:

1945-1949 : Between 1945 and 1949 the US invaded China to prevent the popular revolution's victory. The US maintained as many as 113,000 troops, upto 600 aircraft and more than 150 battleships in attempt to

suppress the forces of progress.

1946-1949 : Between 1946 and 1949 the British and US landed a marine force of more than 5,000 men supported by the naval and air forces (more than 200 aircraft) in Greece to suppress the democratic revolution and establish a monarchy in that country.

1947 : In 1947 US marines landed in Paraguay to suppress a popular uprising and establish "democracy". The American forces helped set up a military dictatorship there.

1948-1953 : Between 1948 and 1953 a 90,000 strong US force helped the reactionary government of the Philippines suppress the working people's armed rebellion.

1950-1953 : Between 1950 and 1953 the United States waged a war of aggression in Korea. Some 350,000 troops, 1000 tanks, 1600 aircraft and more than 300 warships were involved in combat.

The American troops used particularly brutal tactics against the Korean people like scorched earth policies, widespread use of napalm, bacteriological and chemical weapons.

1954 : In 1954 CIA-trained mercenaries supported by US aircraft invaded Guatemala. The invasion resulted in the overthrow of the democratic government of Jacob Arbenz and establishment of a military regime. The US involvement in the overthrow of a democratically elected government was because that government intended to nationalise the lands which the United Fruit Company (a giant US multinational) had illegally appropriated from the Guatemalan peasants. Since the overthrow of the government and the installation of the military regime, more than 59,000 people have been brutally done to death by the fascist

CONTD.11

PLOT... ON THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE



In a wide-ranging interview with Comrade Skantha of the Voice of Thamilcelam (VOTE), Comrade Umamaheswaran, Secretary General of the People's Liberation Organisation of Thamilcelam (PLOT) spoke on the possibilities for the formation of a National Liberation Front. Analysing the mood in the South Sri Lanka Comrade Uma appealed to the left-wing forces in that country to stop repeating the mistake of participating in the farce that is parliamentary democracy and called on them to organise the masses

around their day-to-day problems to overthrow the fascist regime which is oppressing both the Sinhalese as well as Tamil masses.

Q.: Comrade Uma, the People's Liberation Organisation of Thamilcelam and you have been stressing the need for unity among the groups fighting for the liberation of Thamilcelam. Could you specifically tell us what exactly you mean by this?

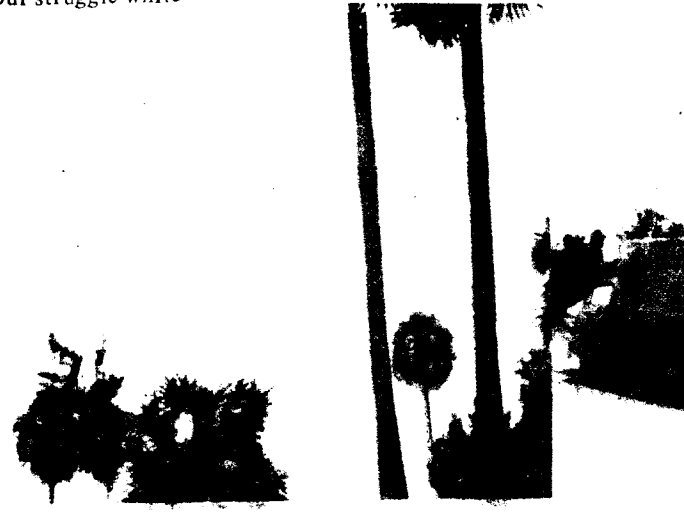
A.: PLOT has always stressed that the present stage of conflict is one of national liberation. Therefore it is necessary for all those engaged in this struggle to join together on a minimal common programme to overthrow the enemy.

Q.: By this do you mean that PLOT would be willing to join any group or organisation irrespective of their ideological standpoint?

A.: I think I must make a clarification here. Our struggle while

being one of national liberation is at the same time an anti-imperialist struggle. This is very important for all of us to understand. Imperialism is attempting to use racism to divide our masses along ethnic lines.

Today the Tamil people face national oppression, the fascist rulers are committing genocide on our people. We therefore, as a first step, take up the cause of the Tamil people in their struggle for national liberation. When I say we must unite with all those involved in the national liberation struggle,



refer to it in this light.

The supporters and agents of the imperialists are Trojan horses within the liberation movement. They are not struggling for national liberation. These people are attempting to use the national liberation struggle to further the aims and cause of their masters in the US and CIA.

It is not surprising that Chandrahasan, son of the late leader of the Tamil people has been chosen to serve the cause of the imperialists rather than that of his own people. The CIA selects its men carefully especially those who would least come under suspicion.

Q.: In light of what you have just



said, how do you look at the TULF ?

A.: Basically the TULF is a national bourgeois party. Unfortunately the organisation has been heavily infiltrated by agents of imperialism. If the progressives among the TULF leadership enounce and break their ties with these and other CIA agents, we can then consider working on a common programme together with them in a national front.

Q.: How does PLOT look on the LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Thamilceelam) and the role they play in the Thamilceelam freedom struggle ?

A.: We have at all times maintained that the LTTE is an important component within the liberation struggle. But we do not agree with the tactics they use in the attempt to achieve these aims. We will be happy however, to

come together on a common programme to help the liberation struggle achieve its goal.

Regarding the other organisations, EPRLF, EROS, and TELO, they too must publicly break their ties with agents of imperialism and join in a national liberation front.

Q.: PLOT has been constantly stressing the need of those involved in the liberation of Thamilceelam, to work together with the progressive forces in Sri Lanka. It appears to many people that the progressive forces in Sri Lanka are still strong in their belief in the parliamentary democratic system operating there, what are your observations on this ?

A.: After the recent elections at Minneriya and Kundasale the opposition parties in Sri Lanka true to form, have once again commenced weeping, gnashing their teeth and claiming that the election was rigged etc.

Every election called by J. R. Jayawardene has been a repetition of this story over and over again. Unfortunately even the progressive opposition parties have never yet failed to provide Jayawardene with the cloak of respectability and legality he gains through the fake elections, he calls from time to time.

The greatest crime these parties are perpetrating is on the innocent masses of Sri Lanka.

Q.: What exactly do you mean by your last sentence ?

A.: Since the Presidential Election and more especially since the blatant rigging of the referendum to extend the life of

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PLOT...

parliament, the mass of the people in the south too had begun to see the futility of the bourgeois parliamentary democratic system and the existing electoral process. Unfortunately for the people of Sri Lanka, the old established parties of the left wing like the Communist Party, the Lanka Samasamaja Party and even Vasudeva Nanayakkare's Nava Sama Samaja Party have failed in their duty to educate the electorate. Instead they have constantly misled the masses on this point and deceived them regarding the value of the vote. Today, once again, at a time when the people themselves have rejected this disreputable system, when opposition to Jayawardene's fascist imperialist rule is growing in the country, these parties namely the Communist Party, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party and the Nava Sama Samaja Party, have been instrumental in blunting the militancy of the people and diverting their attention by participating in yet another fake election.

Q.: What makes you say that the Sinhalese people's militancy was rising? And why do you say that the three left-wing parties blunted this militancy?

A.: The answer to that question lies in the whole socio-economic situation in which Sri Lanka finds itself in today.

A major foreign exchange earner in Sri Lanka in the not too distant past had been the tourist industry. Tourism provided employment to thousands of persons in indirect employment as well as in direct employment. Since the government-sponsored pogrom against the Tamil people of July 1983, and its continued genocidal policies against them, tourism in Sri Lanka is almost non-existent as far as western tourists are concerned. This has led, even according to Sri Lanka's docile press to mass lay-offs in hotels and other agencies involved in the tourist trade. To those to whom the tourist trade provided indirect employment, and they form the majority, this drop in tourists has proved disastrous and led to large-scale loss of income. But by this, do not think that I am a supporter of the organised tourist industry, definitely not. That is however another story.

Coming back to the point almost simultaneously, we have

seen a closure of the US market vis-a-vis the Sri Lankan textile industry.

The cornerstone of Jayawardene's solution to the unemployment problem in the country has been based on employment creation in the Free Trade Zone. The loss of the American markets has proved disastrous. Even the Finance Minister made a special trip to the US to beg Reagan to increase Sri Lanka's quota of Textile exports to the US. These efforts however failed, and today a number of firms in the Free Trade Zone have closed down. This again led on the one hand to direct unemployment resulting from the loss of jobs due to the closure of the factories. Again, there are also a good number of others who indirectly service the Free Trade Zone by providing meals to employees as well as hostel and boarding facilities. Here we see another body of people being rendered unemployed and others who lose their means of livelihood. Additionally, Sri Lanka was losing another important source of foreign exchange as well.

The biggest loss however of foreign exchange, as well as a major source of potentially lucrative employment was the middle eastern countries. Here again simply due to the pig-headed and short-sighted policies of Jayawardene the poor masses of Sri Lanka have been hit hard.

In retaliation for Jayawardene's warm and cordial relationship with the state of Israel, the Middle-East countries have begun rejecting the applications of Sri Lankas seeking employment in their countries. The reaction of the Arab world has been a direct response to Jayawardene's statement that Sri Lanka is a sovereign state and will choose its own friends and relationships. In like manner the Arab peoples suffering under the brutality of Zionism and Israeli expansionism, too, have demonstrated their own sovereignty in deciding whom they want to employ and help.

The net result is that the earnings of the expatriate workers in the Middle East which was second only to tea in terms of revenue earned by the country, was lost. In addition, it has left thousands of young men and women suddenly stranded without any means of employ-

ment.

The loss of these major sources of employment and foreign exchange, through tourism, Free Trade Zone and the Middle East left Jayawardene at a loss.

In desperation he has now turned to the latest but worst form of exploitation-Free Agricultural Zones — which operate under the Free Trade Zone laws. Today vast tracts of the country are being handed over to giant multinational companies involved in agribusiness. These lands comprise entire villages as well as individual peasant landholdings. Today government is attempting to evict thousands upon thousands of Sinhalese peasants from their lands in the Moneragala district.

These moves of the government are being strongly resisted by the peasants who have forcibly stopped, at least temporarily, these activities of the government as well as the companies. This is why I say today the militancy of the Sinhalese people is on the rise. All over the country the people had started protests in one form or the other. This is also why we hold the left parties of Sri Lanka responsible for blunting the militancy of the Sinhalese masses.

Q.: In what way do you say that they are blunting the militancy of the Sinhalese masses?

A.: Without giving leadership to the struggles of the masses, without capitalising on the situation and giving direction to the people's pent-up wrath, the left parties are joining hands with the government to take the minds of the people away from their problem.

For Jayawardene, the holding of these elections has a two-fold purpose. Firstly it diverted the people's attention away from their desperate state, caused by unemployment, loss of foreign markets, and foreign exchange and resultant loss of social benefits. Secondly, the opposition which should have been engaged in using its total resources to organise the people against the oppressive policies of the state, is now wasting its time and energy on an election which even the parties themselves realised they could not win. Instead of concentrating their energies on the pressing problems of Sinhalese masses.

CONT D 11

PLOT...

they ended debating the futile issue of fighting so-called terrorism.

The problems of the people have as usual been forgotten altogether. Unfortunately this has been the continuous failure on the part of the left parties in Sri Lanka.

Q: What do you think has been the cause of the failure of these parties?

A: I do not believe that these parties have not as yet realised the futility of the present parliamentary system. I believe that their difficulty is in taking

the final step. For if they educate their people and make them see how the present parliamentary system only keeps them in a state of bondage, the people will demand of them an alternative to the present system. I think this is their main fear.

Therefore even though they themselves do not believe in this system, they are using it to maintain their own position.

Yet even these positions which they seem to think they enjoy, are fast being eroded.

Q: Do you have any special mess-

age to the progressive political parties in the South?

A: In the name of the suffering masses both Sinhalese and Tamil, I call on these parties to give up these opportunistic tactics, organise the masses around the oppression which is crushing them, educate them on the non-feasibility of the parliamentary system and join hands with us to oppose and overthrow the fascist puppets of imperialism who are attempting to sell our people and country to the imperialists.

and their American backers.

and other barbarous means of warfare.

1958: In 1958, a 14,000 man US marine and land force, supported by the US Sixth Fleet landed in Lebanon and participated in suppressing the popular mass actions of the people.

The aggression of that war did great harm to the country, its people, the economy, the environment and the agriculture. Vietnam is still suffering from the aftermath of that large-scale aggression.

1961: In 1961 American mercenaries attempted an armed invasion of Cuba at Palaya Giron to overthrow the country's revolutionary governments.

1964-1973: Between 1963 and 1973 the United States participated in a war of aggression against Laos in support of the country's reactionary regime in the struggle against

More than 1500 cut throats trained and armed in the US, 80 aircraft and 35 ships took part in the action.

1971-1973: Between 1971 and 1973 the CIA was directly involved in the counter revolutionary coup-d'etat in Bolivia, Chile and El Salvador where democratic governments were replaced with fascist dictatorships.

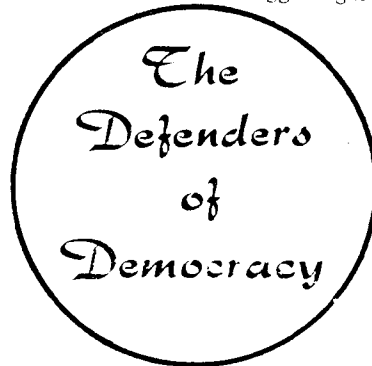
1964: In 1964 the United States, Britain and Belgium sent troops to the Congo to overthrow the progressive regime and suppress the national liberation movement there. Upto 10,000 troops and 60 aircraft were used in the intervention.

1983: In 1983, 800 US marines landed in Lebanon "to bring peace to the Middle East". More than 30 warships patrolled the seas off the Lebanese coast.

1964: In 1964 American troops massacred civilians in the Panama Canal Zone who demanded the withdrawal of the US military and the restoration of the country's sovereignty.

1964-1973: The United States was involved in the war against Vietnam. The US forces used strategic bombers to carry out massive air strikes and US warships shelled civilian targets.

In that genocidal war the US used chemical weapons, napalm bombs



the Pathet Lao Liberation Front. The US forces included more than 50,000 troops, 1,500 aircraft and 40 warships.

1965: In 1965, 40,000 US troops invaded the Dominican Republic "to protect American citizens". The US force was supported by 275 planes and 50 warships. The popular rebellion was cruelly crushed.

1970-1975: Between 1970 and 1975 the United States attempted to suppress the popular movement aga-

inst the reactionary puppet regime in what was then known as Cambodia (Kampuchea). The US force included more than 70,000 troops, 500 planes and 40 warships of the US Seventh Fleet.

1983: In 1983, the US launched a completely unprovoked armed invasion in Grenada. Deposed its democratic government and set up a pro-American puppet regime. The US has now started to set up a military base on the island, and so on to 1984...

...Which country and which unfortunate people are due to feel the loving kindness of the American direct intervention?

CURRENT EVENTS

COLOMBO Nov. 20.

A police station was blown up in a truck bomb attack in northern Sri Lanka, killing at least 40 policemen.

According to reports reaching Colombo the attack was made with a truck load of explosives driven into the two-storey police station by separatist guerillas.

About 45 police officers and constables were inside the building at the time of the attack which took place at Chavakachcheri, some 16 km north of Jaffna.

As army convoys rushed to the scene, several land mines blew up on the road, impeding their arrival.

Chavakachcheri is one of the big police posts in the troubled northern region where guerillas are fighting to establish a separate Tamil state. The police station has been attacked at least four times during this year.

The attack came even as the Sri Lankan armed services were today combing Tellipalai and its surrounding areas in north Sri Lanka for suspected militants following the death yesterday of Brigadier Ariyapperuma, commander of Sri Lanka army's northern range, in a landmine explosion.

At least four police commandos were also injured in a separate incident in Jaffna yesterday.

30.10.1984: Tellipalai. In the small village of Mathamai the army captured arms belonging to a militant group in a house. The arms consisted of 1 SMG, 2 SLR, 1 AK-47, 1 T-66, 1 exploder. The house was burnt by the army. The army also captured an A-40 model car with leaflets belonging to TEL.O.

02.11.1984: At the hartal called to mark the death of Shri-mathi Indira Gandhi a Muslim student (17), Ajith Anver, was shot dead by army personnel in front of Jaffna Hindu College. The reason for the shooting is that the army opposed people mourning for Mrs. Indira Gandhi. On the same day, at Arriyalar, the army indiscriminately opened fire on a passenger train. One person was killed and several were injured. Nanda Kumar was the person who died as a result of the shooting.

07.11.1984: At Urumpirai the army detected explosives on the road. In retaliation the army went into a neighbouring house and killed the father of the house, his two sons and their driver. The wife was raped and her thali snatched. The name of the deceased was Thambipillai Kandasamy. 13 houses including Kandasamy's was reduced to ashes by the army.

Jaffna Kachcheri: The army detected two mines on the road and opened fire. A person working at the kachcheri was killed and another worker taken into custody.

It is reported that the TELA leader Castro and two of his Comrades Balu and Murthy were captured by the army.

day when a group of unidentified persons hurled bombs at a security vehicle near the local railway station.

Both incidents led to tension in the northern peninsula. Life in Jaffna came to a standstill as retaliations by security forces were feared.

The official daily *Lankadipa* reported today, quoting the National Security Minister, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali that the Government would launch a massive project to settle Sinhalese people in the Tamil dominated district of Jaffna.

The move was opposed by the Tamil United Liberation Front leadership, but this would not prevent the Government from implementing its plan, Mr. Athulathmudali told the paper.

Most of the Sinhalese to be settled in the Jaffna peninsula would be chosen from among Sinhala fishermen and ex-convicts. The Sinhalese who would make Jaffna their permanent home were to be provided with State assistance the paper said.

The Sri Lanka Government is of the view that more Sinhala settlers in the northern province would help find short and long term solutions to inter-racial problems, the report said.—Lankapuwath, UNI, DPA & PTI.

Sorry, No...

Matthew has planted a Bikkhu and it is now renamed "Kurunthumaha Raja Vihara". The list is inexhaustible.

I must at this point emphasize on behalf of the People's Liberation Organisation of Thamilceelam that our struggle is not directed against the Sinhalese people, their language and their culture.

We recognise that the Sinhalese masses are also an oppressed people. Unfortunately racism has today eaten into the social fabric of the Sinhalese community and the people are therefore unable to recognise how the state is using racism to divide both our people.

While once again welcoming the initiative of your organisation to initiate a dialogue which could lead to a peaceful settlement of our problem, we call on you, the URO, and its membership to prevail on your government to stop the genocide it is committing on an innocent Tamil community.

We also call on the United Religious Organisation to explain to the Sinhalese people that the Tamil community does not regard the Sinhalese masses as their enemy. Our struggle is against the fascist state that is oppressing both our people. Our message to the Sinhalese people is to join us and help liberate both our peoples, and country which is being sold to the imperialists.

It is only when the ordinary Sinhalese people recognise the nature and causes of the Tamil struggle, can there be any meaningful dialogue between us.

However, let me once again thank you and your organisation on behalf of the Tamil people and the People's Liberation Organisation of Thamilceelam for the initiative you have taken. I am hopeful that the dialogue you have started will prove to be fruitful in the not too distant future.

Yours Sincerely
(Signed)

K. UMAMAHESWARAN
Secretary General

People's Liberation Organization
of Thamilceelam

CONTD. 15

Episodes Of The Revolutionary War

Who is this long-haired man with pistol at his belt?

Who is this man in guerilla clothing, black beret and long cigar?

This man is Che-Major Ernesto Che Guevara. He is the son of a Buenos Aires architect.

On receiving his medical degree he renounced the comforts offered by a professional life and joined the cause of the oppressed peoples.

In Mexico Dr. Guevara met Raul Castro who introduced him to his brother Fidel. Months later he joined the Cuban Rebels' historic Granma expedition.

He fought in the very first battles of the guerilla forces and was soon promoted to the rank of major. At the beginning of 1958 he was ordered by Fidel to invade the central province of Las Villas. He then led his rebel column to the Escambray mountains and there coordinated the efforts of the anti-Batista forces. He was the strategist of the Battle of Santa Clara, the capital of Las Villas, whose fall precipitated the flight of the tyrant.

With the victory of the Revolution, Guevara became the military commander of La Cabana Fortress. Later he was appointed President of the National Bank of Cuba, and then Minister of Industries, a post he held before parting for "other lands that claim the recourse of my modest efforts," as he wrote in his farewell letter to Fidel and the Cuban people.

Commencing with this edition, PLOT Bulletin will serialise "Episodes of the Revolutionary War" in which, Major Guevara describes the life and activities of the rebel forces from the first moments of the guerilla insurrection in the Sierra Maestra.

FOREWORD

For some time we had contemplated writing an account of the Cuban Revolution that would include all its aspects and phases. Many of our Revolution's leaders have also expressed this intention - either privately or publicly - but our tasks are many, the years pass, and the memory of the insurrectional struggle grows dim, making it difficult to pinpoint events that already are part of America's history.

We present here a series of personal memories of attacks, skirmishes and battles

in which we participated. It is not our intention that this fragmentary story, based on recollection and a few hastily-written notes, should be considered a full account of the Revolution. On the contrary, we hope the subject may be elaborated by many of the men who played a role in the struggle.

Our participation in the war was limited to specific areas of Cuba. Therefore we could not possibly describe events and battles that occurred elsewhere. To help our comrades to add their accounts in chronological order, we begin with our first battle the only one with Fidel taking part in which our forces were not victorious: the surprise attack at "Alegria del Pio".

There are many survivors of these actions and each is invited to contribute his personal recollections of these events to the written records of our history. We ask only that the narrator be truthful and that, in an attempt to clarify his position, he does not unjustifiably enlarge on his true role or pretend to have been where we was not. We would ask that after writing a few pages to the best of his ability he make a critical examination of his efforts and eliminate every doubtful fact that does not contribute to the authenticity of his account. In this spirit we begin our memoirs.

— ERNESTO CHE GUEVARA

ALEGRIA DE PIO

ALEGRIA DE PIO is a place in Oriente province, municipality of Niquero, near Cabo Cruz. At this very spot, on December 5, 1956, Batista's forces discovered our hiding place.

We were exhausted from a long painful trek; more painful than long, to tell the truth. We had landed on December 2, at a place known as the Playa de las Coloradas. We had lost all our equipment, and had trugged for endless hours through marshlands and swamps. We were all wearing new boots and by now everyone was suffering from blisters and foot sores, but new footwear and fungus were by no means our only enemies. We had reached Cuba following a seven-day voyage across the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, without food, plagued by seasickness and aboard a far-from-seaworthy vessel. We had left the port of Tuxpan on November 25, at a time when a stiff "northerly" was blowing and all small craft had been warned to stay in port. All this had left an indelible mark upon our troop made up of rookies who did not know what the word "combat" meant.

All that was left of our war equipment was our rifles, cartridge belts and a few wet rounds of ammunition. Our medical supplies had disappeared and most of our knapsacks had been left behind in the swamps. We had spent the previous night in one of the cane-fields of the Niquero Sugar Mill owned by Julio Lobo at the time. We had managed to mitigate our



hunger and thirst by eating sugar cane, but due to our lack of experience we had left a trail of cane peelings and bagasse all over the place. Not that the guards looking for us needed any trail to follow our steps, for it had been our guide - as we found out later - who had betrayed us. We had let him go the night before - an error we were to repeat several times during our long struggle until we learned that civilians whose personal records were unknown to us were not to be trusted while in dangerous areas. It was a serious blunder to release that man.

By daybreak of the 5th we could barely walk. On the verge of collapse, we would walk a short distance and then beg for a long rest period. Orders were given to halt at the edge of a canefield, in a thicket close to the dense woods. Most of us slept throughout the morning hours.

At noon we began to notice unusual signs of activity. Air Force "Piper" planes as well as other type small planes together with small private aircraft began to circle our hiding place. Most of our men went on cutting and eating sugar cane without realizing that they were perfectly visible to those flying the planes which were now circling at slow speed and low altitude. I was the troop physician and it was my duty to treat the blistered feet. I recall my last patient that morning; his name was Humberto Lamotte and that was to be his last day on earth. I still remember how tired and worn out he looked as he walked from my improvised first aid station to his post, still carrying his shoes in one hand.

Comrade Montane and I were leaning against a tree, eating our meager rations--half a sausage and two crackers--when a rifle shot broke the stillness. Immediately, a hail of bullets--at least this is the way it looked to us, this being our baptism of fire--descended upon our eighty-two-man troop. My rifle was not one of the best; I had deliberately asked for it because I was in very poor physical condition due

A Free & Just . . .

The complicity of government in this matter is clear, as the mosque authorities have made representations even to President Jayawardene. But to date neither President Jayawardene nor the two Muslim Ministers in his cabinet have done anything to stop the continuing harassments.

- * In July 1982 violence was unleashed against the Muslim community in Galle on a large scale. Their houses were burnt, businesses attacked and destroyed, the mosque was damaged and the Holy Koran burnt

In addition to attacking the Muslims in the city of Galle, unruly armed gangs of Sinhalese attacked twelve predominantly Muslim villages in the Galle district.

In all these incidents the army and police personnel either helped the attacking Sinhalese mobs or initiated attacks on the Muslims on their own accord.

To date no action has been taken against either the army or police personnel involved in the attack, or the rampaging Sinhalese mobs.

- * On the 30th of November 1982 government attempted to confiscate 496 acres of land belonging to 108 Muslim families in Chelvanayagapuram and a neighbouring village and hand them over to Sinhalese families from the Kelaniya electorate (Kelaniya is approx. 300 miles away from the area). Widespread protests organised by both Tamil and Muslim communities temporarily halted the ejection of the families. It is not known however, when the next attempt will be made to evict these families. It is feared that using emergency powers and the armed forces, government will forcibly evict these people and hand their lands over to Sinhalese families as was done at Kent and Dollar farms in the Vavuniya district recently.
- * Another development adversely affecting the Muslim Community since the latter half of 1983 has been the forcible occupation of traditional Muslim fishing villages by Sinhalese fishermen. Presently Sinhalese fishermen are arriving in large numbers and colonising these areas.

Shortly after arrival, these Sinhalese fishermen begin distributing racist literature

and putting up posters calling on all Sinhalese to drive the Muslims out.

Protests to both government and the police have fallen on deaf ears.

- * Since the state - sponsored pogroms of July 1983 against the Tamil community government set up an organisation named RAPIA which took over the affected businesses. The claim was that RAPIA would help the owners of affected and destroyed industries to either re-start their industries or find buyers for the demolished businesses. Subsequent events however have revealed the reason for setting up this powerful body. RAPIA does not allow Muslim persons or business groups to purchase any of the damaged business places!

THE BIRTH . . .

to fight prevailing prejudices and to create awareness on the existing oppressive structures and mechanisms prevailing in our present-day society. It also helped us to build up the contact and relationship with the mothers in these areas. This contact enabled us to take up concrete issues of oppression and discrimination faced by the children and mothers, with the mothers themselves, in an effort to relate these issues to the prevailing structures and to reveal their underlying causes.

- * In order to increase awareness on women's problems, in order to provide a link between different women's groups as well as to relate the local discrimination faced by women's groups to the wider issues of exploitation and injustice, we commenced publication of a women's journal.
- * Whenever we get an opportunity we participate in meetings organised by other societies in order to publicise women's problems in wider circles and encourage our members to express their problems before an audience.

Through our involvement we got thus engaged with most oppressed section of women of our community and were able to build up an organisational infrastructure throughout the Northern and Eastern regions of the country.

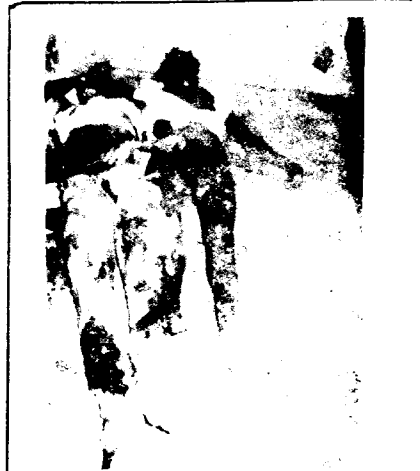
However, as the genocidal attacks by government forces on our community became the order of the day, and as members of our movement themselves fell victim to

The attacks on the Muslim community of Sri Lanka is not a recent phenomenon. Anti-Muslim sentiment has its roots in the Sinhala revivalist era during the 1880's when the Buddhist monks leading Sinhalese revivalism roused anti-Muslim sentiments to rally the Sinhalese masses. Their vicious anti-Muslim campaign led to a widespread anti-Muslim rioting in 1915, when hundreds of Muslims lost their lives, and property, while places of worship were desecrated and defiled.

The People's Liberation Organisation of Thamilceelam recognising the oppression and discrimination faced by the Muslim community, calls on it to join hands in the liberation struggle and make common cause to liberate our land and the mass of our peoples irrespective of class, caste race or religion.

harassment and beatings by the police for the mere reason of having participated in a non-violent action of protest, we began to realize that the non-violent struggle would never enable us to overcome state injustice and state oppression.

Thus we recognized that by just organising economic programmes and exchanging our problems we would not be able to change our position in the long run. We realized that at this moment of time our emphasis had to be on our political engagement. Also we should not isolate ourselves as women from other groups involved in political work fighting for a similar goal as ours. We also felt it important to invite men of similar thinking for our meetings and activities, since, if we want to build up a new system with new values and notions, it is something concerning the whole of society - ie. men as well.



VICTIMS OF VELVETURAI
ARMY ATTACKS

CURRENT...

1.II.84: Two boys were killed by the army at Urumpurai. It is understood that they belonged to the militant group TELA

On the same day Muslim students studying at the Jaffna campus were threatened by the military who suspected them of being terrorists as they participated in the hartal to mourn the killing of the Indian Premier Indira Gandhi

On the same day students at a boys hostel at Wasawillan were tortured by the military for participating in the hartal called to mourn the murder of the Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Military personnel travelling on the Jaffna-Colombo train opened fire from the passing train at civilians at Punkukulam. One person named Shanthan from Chankani was killed as a result and a number of others were injured.

2.II.84: A military truck was damaged when it hit a land mine at Velalai. In retaliation the military burned down 36 houses and indiscriminately opened fire on the civilian population. One person was burnt alive and a cyclist was shot dead. Prior to setting the houses on fire the army personnel systematically looted the homes of all valuables like radio sets, jewelery and other articles.

Livestock belonging to the people too were burnt by the rampaging soldiers. More than 500 persons have been made destitute as a result of the army

2.II.84: Three youth were shot dead by the army at Punalakaduwa. On the same day at Nelliaddy one man was shot dead by the military. At Mullaitivu a youth named Nathan was killed by the military who later claimed that he was killed in a raid at a military camp.

Revolutionaries...

house. Even a baby would have realised that it was a put-up job with the compliance of the armed forces and their erstwhile trainers, the Mossad, who are past masters at similar campaigns.

The master-stroke of EPRLF however was its attempt to embroil the government of India and the state of Tamil Nadu in that childish action and prove Jayawardene's false claims that India is actively helping the militant Tamil groups. In fact, nothing could be further from the truth.

Even at that time, PLOT pointed out the weak strategy involved and did not condemn the act of kidnap. Neither do we do so today, but we would be failing in our duty if we do not clearly expose to the ordinary members of the Front whom their actions help and into whose hands they are playing.

"Failures", the English proverb says "...are the pillars of success". Unfortunately in the case of EPRLF failures appear to be successive pillars. Following on from their kidnap fiasco EPRLF exposed to the Sri Lankan government a host of vital information through an interview regarding the liberation groups, their points of operation and God knows what not. But the most curious action was another attempt to embroil the government of India through another false claim. This time an outrageous claim was made regarding Voice of Tamileelam (VOTE). According to EPRLF, the government of India confiscated the transmitter belonging to PLOT. Why this lie? The EPRLF leadership is well aware that VOTE operates from well within Sri Lanka and Tamileelam. The programme was temporarily halted due to the need for overhauling of equipment.

Was the insinuation that once VOTE recommenced broadcasting

that the government of India had permitted the broadcast ???

PLOT takes this opportunity to reassure EPRLF that while they are busy jetting around the world mouthing high-sounding nothings on first-class air tickets provided by Chandrahasan through his masters in the CIA, the comrades of VOTE are involved in the dangerous job of broadcasting from within in Lanka and Tamileelam.

PLOT also calls on EPRLF to recognise the positive role played by the TELA in the liberation struggle. We remind EPRLF that while they prattle on in climes abroad, TELA is active in Tamileelam.

Finally PLOT calls on EPRLF to take serious note of the points raised in our rejoinder, calls on it to break its links with the agents of imperialism as personified in S. C. Chandrahasan and join with the forces of liberation and those involved in the struggle to overthrow the racist regime of Jayawardene in Tamileelam.

CURRENT...

3.11.84: Killinochchi was declared a Security Zone.

At a village of Edeikaddu in the Atchuvely a bomb blast injured a number of soldiers. Shortly thereafter the military returned in force and began indiscriminately firing at the civilian population.

The military then began looting the houses after they had collected all valuables such as televisions, radio sets, jewelery etc. they began setting fire to the houses. Thirty houses were set on fire and destroyed.

One person died as a result of the shooting and a teacher b named A.

Velapillai was burnt alive. An unknown number of persons were injured.

12. 11.84

The coastal town of Madagal in the northern province was shelled by navy gunships for nearly two hours between 7.00 p.m. and 9.00 p.m.

The population who ran out of their homes in fear of their lives were forced to spend the night crouching amidst the paddy fields in the vicinity. During the course of the week command of the LTTE came into confrontation with a group of soldiers. After a skirmish the soldiers were forced to retreat with heavy losses.

Episodes Of The . . .

to an attack of asthma that had bothered me throughout our ocean voyage and I did not want to be held responsible for the loss of a good weapon. I can hardly remember what followed the initial burst of gunfire. Almeida approached us requesting orders but there was nobody there to issue orders. Later, I was told that Fidel had tried vainly to get everybody together into

the adjoining canefield which could be reached by simply crossing a path. The surprise attack plus the heavy gunfire had been too much for us. Almeida ran back to take charge of his group. A comrade dropped a box of ammunition at my feet and when I reprimanded him for his action he looked at me with an expression of anguish and muttered something like "this is no time to bother with ammunition boxes." He continued on his way toward the

canefield and disappeared from view. He was murdered by Batista's henchmen sometime later. Perhaps this was the first time I was faced with the dilemma of choosing between my devotion to medicine and my duty as a revolutionary soldier. There, at my feet, were a knapsack full of medicine and a box of ammunition. I couldn't possible carry both of them; they were too heavy. I picked up the box of ammunition, leaving the medicine,

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