

# Tamil TIMES

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## THE GHOSTLY RESORTS OF PARADISE



*Sri Lanka's tourist hotels and sandy beaches have been deserted by tourists because of widespread violence and disruption.*

*(picture by courtesy of Weekend, 27.11.88)*



*Voters queuing up to vote during Sri Lanka's North-East PC Elections*



The Editor and publishers of Tamil Times wish their readers and well wishers  
a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year



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## SRI LANKA'S LONG PARLIAMENT – AN END IN SIGHT

President Jayawardene's version of Sri Lanka's 'Long Parliament' is to be dissolved on 20 December. The present parliament, controlled by the ruling United National Party with a four-fifths majority, was elected in July 1977 for a period of six years. It should have been dissolved and new general elections held by July 1983. Instead, its life was prolonged by the subterfuge of a rigged referendum in December 1982. For the first time since independence, the people of the island were deprived of their right to periodic elections, and thus bringing an end to representative democracy through Jayawardene's constitutional skulduggery which he was able to perpetrate with his steam-roller majority in Parliament.

Whatever the infirmities or imperfections of the Sri Lankan electoral process, it was a remarkable phenomenon of every general election held since 1948 that on each occasion the people brought about a change of government by the exercise of their vote. By bringing an end to this healthy process by questionable means, Jayawardene inflicted unprecedented injury and damage to the entire body politic of the country. A post-colonial model third-world democracy was turned into a neo-authoritarian state with the imposition of an Executive Presidency in which enormous powers, with no parallel in any democracy, were vested.

President Jayawardene's sole rationale for imposing the Executive Presidency and subjecting the people to suffer his version of the Long Parliament was stability and peace. But as his reign ends after eleven-and-a-half years, the people are facing the gravest crisis in their history with neither stability nor peace.

The gravest of human rights violations occurred during his rule. The democratic rights of the people were eroded to the core. The independence of the judiciary and the rule of law were undermined. Thousands of Tamils perished in state-sponsored mob violence as the security forces failed to provide security to the victimised Tamil people. In the process of seeking a military solution to the ethnic conflict, thousands died, many more thousands were incarcerated and tortured. The military might of the state was employed to bomb and terrorise a section of its own people. Tens of thousands of Tamils left the land of their birth in search of physical security and over one hundred thousand fled to neighbouring India. As

foreign elements inimical to the interests and security of India were inducted under the guise of prosecuting the ethnic 'war', and as the exodus of Tamils into India increased, the inevitable happened – Indian involvement in the affairs of Sri Lanka. Today, over 50,000 foreign troops are present in the island presenting a sad commentary on the reign of President Jayawardene.

The country is today rocked and wrecked by murder, mayhem and widespread violence and destruction. The entire fabric of the state institutions is crumbling, and there is virtual anarchy throughout the country. Fascist and semi-fascist elements have emerged from within the governmental structure and outside in the form of the JVP/DJV terrorising the mass of the people with naked and brutal violence and death.

From his presidential palace, the omnipotent President issues proclamations which do not seem to work any more. The country is teetering on the brink. Even his own Prime Minister would appear to be distancing himself from the President. His Ministers have begun to resign and some have taken flight to foreign lands. Jayawardene, who has been described as the wily old twentieth century fox, would appear to be left with no more tricks to play upon his beleaguered people. At last he appears to have decided to throw in the towel.

On 3 December President Jayawardene addressed the nation on TV. He announced that the Parliament would be dissolved on 20 December, the day after the Presidential elections. One wonders whether this decision on his part was a response to the relentless popular pressure for dissolution, or his unwillingness to afford the benefit of a four-fifths majority in Parliament to the incoming President.

In the course of his address, President Jayawardene made a significant statement: 'My connections with the governments of my country end when the newly elected President assumes office soon after the announcement of the 19 December election results. My association with elected parliaments and members, both in the Government and the Opposition, end on that date'. Judging by the enormous damage caused to the country and its people during the last eleven years, this statement, if acted upon, will go down in history as the most remarkable and productive contribution Jayawardene would be making to his country during his 45 year long public life.

# COLOMBO NEWSLETTER

by Chithra

## A PRESIDENTIAL POLL AMIDST VIOLENCE

As the date for the Presidential election is drawing near, many parts of Sri Lanka continue to be seriously affected by widespread violence, murders, enforced strikes, sabotage of essential services, shortage of food and fuel, and disruption of transport, postal, telecommunication, medical services and power supplies.

Large areas of the country are gripped by darkness after sunset as over 100 electricity transformers have been destroyed by arson. All areas to the south of Ratmalana (which is just 10 miles from the capital, Colombo) have been without electricity for a number of weeks. Very many areas in the North Central Province are also similarly affected. The destruction of the electricity substation at Anuradhapura has resulted in electricity being cut off even to the northern Jaffna peninsula.

Breakdown in power supplies have disrupted even hospitals forcing medical staff to cancel urgent operations. Rail services have been disrupted by tracks and bridges being blown up. Roads have been blocked by felling nearby trees. Private and public bus service vehicles have been set on fire in several places.

Due to shortage of food supplies, prices have skyrocketed. Even the availability of salt has become scarce in an island surrounded by sea.

Civil administration in southern parts of the country has come to a grinding halt as public employees are prevented by threats from turning up for work. Even top state administrators like Government Agents and Assistant Government Agents have reported sick

### ELECTION WORK CRIPPLED

In spite of the fact that President Jayawardene has succumbed to the main demand of the opposition and JVP that the Parliament should be dissolved and the date for the general elections should be announced - Parliament is to be dissolved on 20 December and elections to be held on 15 February -, it would appear from the unrelenting campaign of violence, sabotage and enforced work stoppages that the JVP is determined to disrupt the Presidential poll to be held to December 19.

The threats directed at state employees to keep away from work has resulted in disruption of work in a large number of election offices in various parts of the island, especially in the southern province which has virtually crippled the preparation of ballot papers and other work in con-

nection with the Presidential election. The breakdown of postal and transport services had already dealt a serious blow to the distribution of postal ballot papers. A senior official of the Elections Department confirmed that work in connection with the forthcoming elections have been almost paralysed by threats, and added 'We have encountered problems in almost every province and the number of election offices affected is vast.'

The predicament in which the civil servants are placed in is amply demonstrated by letter dated 29 November sent to President Jayawardene by the State Administrative Services Association (SASA). The letter pointed out that members of the Association were unable to carry out their duties due to threats from unidentified persons on the one hand and from the security services on the other; and that there have been conflicting and threatening demands made from both these parties 'which had driven fear into public servants and their dependents'.

### CIVIL SERVANTS DETAINED

Making reference to the attempt by security service personnel to compel civil servants to attend their work places 'forcibly', even essential services could not be performed satisfactorily in the absence of other workers and supporting services.

Having referred to the 'humiliation caused by taking officers forcibly to their places of work', the letter points out: 'A large number of SASA members as well as those in other services are called upon to perform election duties at the forthcoming Presidential elections. We are afraid that if urgent problems of today are not resolved early, the situation would not improve before the election. Officers such as GAs, AGAs and other election officers are put under immense pressure in making election arrangements on account of threats directed by several elements referred to earlier'.

Nearly 200 civil servants including officials working as Government Agents' officers and 15 heads of government departments in the provinces have been detained in custody of the armed forces in the southern areas since 1 December and sent for work in their offices, according to a report in the 'The Island' of 3 December. The report added that most of these officials had not reported for work and taken into custody by the security forces. In the Hambantota district a large number of public servants had been taken into custody. The government's view would seem to be that state employees should turn up for

work despite threats to themselves or their families, but if they kept away due to fear, they would be forcibly taken to work at gunpoint!

It is also learnt that the government has made contingency plans to appoint army officers to replace Government Agents are keeping away from work. Already in some areas this step has been taken as in the case of Brigadier Daya Wijesinghe who has been appointed Acting Government Agent for the Badulla District.

### OPERATIONS INTENSIFIED

Operations by the security forces have been intensified, particularly in the southern parts of the island where the JVP is considered strong and hundreds of Sinhalese young persons alleged to be connected with the JVP are said to have been rounded up. Nearly 1000 persons have been detained in the Boosa Detention Centre in southern Galle. A government communique issued on 28 November stated that over 400 'suspected subversives' were taken into custody during the house-to-house search operations carried out following a 48 hour curfew imposed on the AGA's divisions of Hanwella, Kaduwela, Homagama, Kesbewa, Piliyandala, Horana and Moratuwa.

Reports from the deep south indicate that as many as over 200 persons might have been killed or made to 'disappear' during some of the most intensive military operations conducted by the security services, particularly by the Special Task Force.

### DRACONIAN RESPONSE

The violent campaign by the JVP has been responded with draconian measures by the government which have included the promulgation of new emergency regulations similar to the ones applied in the northern and eastern provinces against Tamil militants. These regulations enable security service personnel to bury or cremate dead bodies of persons killed by them without post mortem or inquest. Death sentences have been extended to offences such as threatening others with death or bodily harm, or duplicating or distributing letters carrying death threats to others, organising, participating or joining in illegal marches or processions or forcing work stoppages or keep workers away from work.

The government also announced that trials in respect such offences would be held speedily by special courts presided over by specially appointed judges without a jury. But members of the judiciary would appear to have expressed reluctance to deal with such cases.

Despite the intensification of operations by the security services and government draconian measures, the JVP's campaign of disruption and violence has become more intense and widespread enveloping areas and activities which have hitherto remained beyond its reach.



The 'Weekend' of 27 November reported with a front page banner headline which read '46 SLAIN WITHIN 36 HOURS - KILLING FIELDS OF SOUTH LANKA':

'At least 13 suspected subversives and two security personnel were among the 46 persons killed during the past 36 hours. 31 persons were killed by suspected subversives for their alleged link with the ruling UNP'.

The 'SUNDAY ISLAND' of 27 November reported with the headline: '35 KILLED IN TWO DAYS OF VIOLENCE':

'Two soldiers, a police constable and 32 persons including a SLFP organiser at Amparai were killed and fourteen army and police personnel wounded in violence reported in the country during the past 48 hours'.

The 'SUNDAY TIMES' of the same date editorially commented:

'Five hundred murders in 40 days, 324 murders in the south between October 15 and November 15 and murders of 115 civilians and six security forces personnel in the North and East. These were the gruesome statistics read out by Parliamentary Affairs Minister, Vincent Perera, in Parliament last Thursday (24.11.88). Since November 15, at least another 80 people have been killed making these forty days perhaps the most gruesome in the islands' history, excepting the race riots and the insurgency of 1971'

'The Island' of 1 December reported:

'Over 200 people have been killed during the past fortnight in a series of attacks reported from various parts of the country. Most of the victims were

either political activists or supporters of the United National Party(UNP) or the United Socialist Alliance (USA), senior security officials disclosed. According to these officials, the aggregate number of people slain since October 15,1988 was over 600.

'In a string of violent incidents reported in the country during the past 48 hours, over 17 people including a district leader of Nava Sama Samaja Party (NSSP) and a key member of the Communist Party were shot dead.'

#### BROADCASTING BY ARMY

It is also learnt that the government has brought in service personnel to take over functions relating to news and announcements by the broadcasting organisations, the Rupavahini Corporation and the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation following 'final warnings' received from the JVP about continuing with their broadcasting duties.

Persons belonging to both sexes, who can easily be identified as service personnel are seen performing certain broadcasting functions. The government has already withdrawn the contingents of the Special Task Force (STF) stationed in the Eastern Province and brought them to the capital to guard the buildings housing the broadcasting services and other vital Government Departments.

The biggest worry for the government and other opposition political parties is whether the forthcoming Presidential elections can be held with adequate election officers to man the thousands of polling stations, whether sufficient security could be provided for

those officers willing to perform their duties and whether the people will turn out to vote without being intimidated by threatened or actual violence by the JVP.

It is said that the government is faced with the problem of finding nearly 90,000 security service and police personnel exclusively for deployment on December 19 for the Presidential elections. About 16,000 police personnel were employed when the Referendum was held on December 1982, but the army was not deployed. At present the government can muster a maximum of nearly 55,000 police and military personnel which includes those who are deployed in the northern and eastern provinces who have to be withdrawn from there to make them available to be deployed elsewhere.

How to find the extra security service personnel is the problem with which the government is currently engaged in. It is also a problem for the opposition, more so for Mrs Sirima Bandaranaike who is confident of winning at the Presidential poll.

It is understood that consideration is being given to draw some sections of the Indian Peace Keeping Force which is in the north and eastern provinces to be deployed in some areas of the south to provide the necessary security. It would be the height of irony if that were to happen, because both the leading contenders in the Presidential elections Mr. R. Premadasas of the UNP and Mrs Bandaranaike of the SLFP are presently going round the country promising to send back the IPKF if either of them win!

### Election Results

#### Administrative District - Batticaloa

Electoral District	No. of votes received by each party										
	E.P.R.L.F.	%	U.N.P	%	S.L.M.C.	%	No. of Rejected votes	%	Total Polled	%	No. of Reg. electors
Batticaloa	46006	59.30	476	0.61	29594	38.15	1495	1.93	77571	77.16	100536
Paddiruppu	48394	98.23	86	0.17	175	0.35	610	1.24	49265	87.27	56452
Kalkudah	32546	71.22	194	0.42	12331	26.98	629	1.38	45700	75.80	60288
	126946	73.58	756	0.44	42100	24.40	2734	1.58	172536	79.41	217276

EPRLF - 8 seats SLMC - 3 seats UNP - Nil

#### Administrative District - Ampara

Ampara	20	0.36	5338	95.03	40	0.71	219	3.9	5617	5.97	94068
Sammanthurai	7968	20.9	147	0.38	28983	76.03	1020	2.67	38118	84.75	44975
Kalmunai	12626	31.85	111	0.28	26441	66.71	460	1.16	39638	89.93	44075
Potuvil	25140	40.06	1704	2.71	34972	55.73	932	1.48	62748	75.75	82833
	45754	31.31	7300	4.99	90436	61.89	2631	1.8	146121	54.94	265951

EPRLF - 4 seats SLMC - 9 seats UNP - 1 seat

#### Administrative District - Trincomalee

Seruwila	4840	54.39	3764	42.30	295	3.31	8899	18.66	47693		
Trincomalee	25379	73.81	7732	22.48	1272	3.7	34383	61.36	56026		
Mutur	12311	33.16	24006	64.69	810	2.18	37127	76.44	48570		
	42530	52.89	35502	44.15	2377	2.96	80409	52.80	152289		

EPRLF - 5 seats SLMC - 5 seats

EPRLF - 41 seats
ENDLF - 12 seats
SLMC - 17 seats
UNP - 1 seat
Total - 71 seats

The ENDLF had a total of twelve of its candidates uncontested in Mullaitivu (5) Vavuniya (4) and Kilinochchi (3). The EPRLF had 24 of its candidates uncontested comprising 19 for the Jaffna district and 5 in the Mannar district.

DECEMBER 1988

## EPRLF ASSUMES CONTROL OF NORTH-EAST PROVINCIAL COUNCIL

A Varatharaja Perumal, deputy leader of the Eelam Peoples Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF), has been sworn in as Chief Minister of the North-East Provincial Council. The newly constituted PC officially commenced functioning on 5 December when 41 members of the EPRLF and 12 members of the ENDLF were ceremonially sworn-in as PC Members before Lt. General Nalin Seneviratne, the Governor of the N-E Provincial Council.

The 17 members of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress and the solitary member of the UNP who were elected to the PC at the November 19 election did not attend the swearing-in ceremony.

It is learnt that the EPRLF, by virtue of its majority, will assume control of the administration of the North-East, but has decided to include in the Provincial cabinet members belonging to other political parties including a Muslim, a Sinhalese and a member belonging to the Sri Lanka Communist Party. Dayan Jayatillake, a well known southern intellectual and who was recently acquitted after being charged with conspiracy to overthrow the government, has also joined the provincial cabinet. A spokesman for the Front said that anyone who is willing to cooperate was welcome to join on equal terms. The Front was also endeavouring to negotiate with the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress and Eelam Revolutionary Organisers (EROS).

### PC ELECTIONS

There were mixed reactions to the way in which the PC elections were held on November 19. In the north there was virtually no contest as only nominations were received from the EPRLF and ENDLF, and therefore no elections in the sense of the people being offered the opportunity to vote for the candidate of their choice. Hence any view as to how voters would have responded on polling day would only be speculative in the face of the LTTE's call for a boycott.

In the east, however, there was a contest between the EPRLF, SLMC and the UNP. The voter turnout of nearly 64 per cent has been described as a snub to the LTTE whose boycott call was not fully followed. On the other hand it is viewed as a reflection of the people's genuine desire to express themselves through the democratic process, for peace and an end to armed violence.

It is reported that polling centres were extremely short-staffed. In fact some personnel belonging to the Sri Lankan army were airlifted to Battica-

loa to act as Senior Presiding Officers. In some polling stations, voting which was to commence at 7am did not start till 11am. It is also said that the visible heavy presence of EPRLF cadres had the effect of undue pressure upon the voters.

Some others regarded the turnout of such large sections of the voting population as spontaneous response by the Tamils and Muslims who wanted to see an end to the violence. A Catholic priest said, 'People are fed up with the killing, they want to be at peace, and they want to be left alone'. The fact is that even the most optimistic estimation did not anticipate such a turnout of voters. The threatened bloodletting and bomb explosions did not materialise. However, there was a very low poll in predominantly Sinhala areas of Amparai, where the JVP's call for a boycott would appear to have been heeded.

The outcome of the elections in the east has certainly given a tremendous boost to both the EPRLF and the SLMC which won 17 seats apiece. The UNP managed to win only one seat and was virtually routed.

The EPRLF had already in its bag 24 uncontested seats in the northern province and won 17 seats in the eastern province thus emerging as the dominant group with 41 seats in the 71 member PC.

The EPRLF entry into the electoral fray was a dangerous gamble, and it was a gamble for political and physical survival. As opposed to the LTTE line, the EPRLF message was that the people had to come out and vote for the candidate of their choice if they wanted peace. They recognised the limitations and inadequacies of the Accord and the powers conferred on the Provincial Councils, but in the absence of a consensus among the militant groups, only elected representatives of the Tamil people could legitimately negotiate for increased powers. It also offered the prospect of peace and friendly relations with all other groups including the LTTE.

There is no doubt that the Indian government and the IPKF played a key role in stage managing the entire operation in seeing that the elections took place in relative peace. The elections were a test of the IPKF's capacity to deliver what India had promised Colombo. It is also no secret that the Indian government and the IPKF gave all the help and protection the EPRLF needed to participate in the electoral process.

Other militant groups have criticised the EPRLF as 'stooges' of India, and when confronted with this criticism, a spokesman of the EPRLF said:

"The LTTE does not want any other group to exist or function. They are against building a Tamil consensus. Their unilateralist claim that they are the sole legitimate representatives of the Tamil people is unacceptable to other political or militant groups. They claimed the right and power to ban and liquidate all other groups or persons who expressed opinions contrary to theirs. The LTTE killed a large number of our members two years ago. Even now, they are doing the same. We are prepared to unconditionally negotiate with them on any issue. We have publicly called for negotiations among the groups. But the LTTE wants to talk to us only with their guns. They want to continue with violence unconcerned with the sufferings of the people. Their sole aim is to achieve total power for themselves. But we want to build a political consensus, bring peace and offer the people the right to choose their representatives through elections. But the LTTE is bent on massacring our members. So we had to get help from somewhere to defend ourselves. LTTE always got help from India. They received weapons and money more than any other group. They got large sums of money even after the Accord was signed. So what is wrong with the EPRLF getting help from India to protect ourselves? The day that LTTE stops killing our members and allow us to peacefully work amongst the people, we will require no more help from anybody".

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## MADRAS NEWSLETTER:

by Arjuna

WILL SRI LANKAN EVENTS INFLUENCE  
TAMIL NADU ELECTIONS?

*Before Pongal or after Pongal?* At the time of writing, this was the trifling question to be decided in respect of the election date in Tamil Nadu. Should the election be held one week before Pongal, on January 7, or one week after, on January 21? The 7-day poser was explained to New Delhi pressmen by Governor Alexander who said that Pongal celebrations in Tamil Nadu usually last a week: hence the two dates. Much as this Pongal discussion might satisfy the average naive Indian readership, there are deeper overtones to it than meets the eye. The Delhi decision-makers are certainly having an eye fixed on the muddled pre-polls goings-on in Tamil Nadu, but the other eye is permanently fixed on Colombo. There are higher stakes involved in the date-fixing business than a mere Pongal: and these higher stakes have everything to do with the rapidly deteriorating situation in south Sri Lanka, the Presidential election fixed for December 19, the kind of scenario that is likely to prevail either before, during or after the election, and the hard options that could face the Indian government, depending on the fall-out.

**Policeman of the Indian Ocean**

While historians have ample time to rummage the past and political commentators can go on ruminating about the present, it is the harder task that awaits government policy-makers: they have to envisage the future and plan for it. That could include providing for a variety of extreme possibilities. Given the current uncertainties in the corridors of power in Sri Lanka, with India getting deeper into the Sri Lankan mire, it cannot be surprising if various 'game plans' have already been mapped out in Delhi to meet every kind of extreme situation that may develop in Colombo. Whether the Tamil Nadu election is fixed for the 7th or 21st, either way India might find herself sucked into the Sri Lankan imbroglio well before that. How the Congress-I fares in Tamil Nadu could therefore depend not only on how Sri Lanka emerges out of the looming crisis, but also, more pertinently on how India would emerge out of it! After the one-year old Indian military intervention in north-east Sri Lanka, the end to which is still not in sight, followed by the recent military operation in the Maldives, - irrespective of the dissimilarities of issue involved in both - the possibility of an Indian military intervention in the whole of Sri Lanka is not one that is any longer academic or purely hypothetical. The role of the policeman of the Indian

Ocean now sits easier on the shoulders of Delhi.

**Bilateral Agreement**

The recent statement by Indian External Affairs Minister Mr. Narasimha Rao that neither government can take a unilateral decision on the future of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement which was clearly a bilateral one is not only indicative of an aggressive shift in Indian policy, but is tantamount to an open challenge to the two major Presidential candidates whose strong views on the accord are well-known. It is interesting to note that the reaction to this in Colombo was sharp enough to worry Delhi political circles. Chairman of the ruling United National Party Mr. Ranjan Wijeratne said: 'The IPKF came to Sri Lanka at the invitation of President Jayewardene and they will return when he wants them to. Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi himself has acknowledged this every time the question came up.' Even Dr. Wickramabahu Karunaratne, general secretary of the Nava Sama Samaja Party backing the candidature of Sri Lanka Mahajana Pakshya's Ossie Abeygunasekera, the third candidate, was forthright and said it in more plain language. He said: 'If the masses are united in what they want, what Minister Narasimha Rao wants will not count'. More recently, at a luncheon meeting of the Foreign Correspondents' Association of Sri Lanka in Colombo, Indian High Commissioner was asked what would be India's response if the newly-elected President demanded the withdrawal of the Indian Peace Keeping Forces. His reply left a lot of room for interpretation, but on the face of it, it sounded ominous. He said 'the consequences would be unpredictable'. It is impossible to ignore the fact that the Delhi-Colombo axis is showing strains at both ends.

**Indian Nationals Killed**

Meanwhile, what is the ground reality in south Sri Lanka? For the first time after the accord, three Indian nationals were sought after and gunned to death, and the life of a fourth hangs in the balance. According to a published report, about 25 armed men, believed to be JVP activists, staged a dawn attack on the homes of two senior technologists, Mr. S.K. Bansal and Mr. R.S. Kota, at the joint Indo-Sri Lanka Sugar plantation in southern Moneragala. Mr. and Mrs. Bansal were killed on the spot and Mr. Kota critically injured. All Indian nationals have since then been evacuated to Colombo and many families sent back to India. The tentacles of violence are

reaching out steadily and mercilessly, from the deep south in Ruhuna, westwards to Colombo, and quietly spreading to the Central and north-central provinces, sparing no segment of political opinion, whether it be UNP or SLFP, or CP or SLMP or NSSP. Since any form of violence, as the past has shown, has to end up with the Tamils, then that eventuality has to be foreseen, unless something very dramatic happens meanwhile. Given the sorry spectacle of a government bereft of all will, and unable to see its way through the woods, the only dramatic role that one could assign to anyone should necessarily be cast on the leading actor in the scene - the Indian government. As to what shape it will take, what the consequences would be, are matters that have to await Christmas and Thai Pongal, but there certainly cannot be any doubt that they would have a direct impact on the Tamil Nadu elections; either favourable to the Congress-I which could enable it against present odds, to regain power after twenty years in a wave of patriotic euphoria, or completely adverse which could ruin its chances of capturing power in Tamil Nadu, possibly for another twenty years.

**Hopeful new Year for Eelam Tamils**

There is one glimmer of hope for the Eelam Tamils however in this complex situation: not because of the recently concluded Provincial Council 'elections' or that some kind of Tamnil administration is being set up in the north-east under IPKF auspices. For the first time in several years, Tamils are ceasing to be direct combatants in a conflict situation. The long drawn out first phase of the battle saw the Tamils being a party to the conflict with the Sri Lankan State. Then came the one-year startling switch with the Indo-Sri Lanka accord, when the Indian government donned President Jayewardene's battle dress, leaving the Tamils floundering in a state of bewilderment and despair, finding their own protector teaming up with the enemy. A 'natural ally' turning against them was itself unnatural, and like all unnatural phenomena, it could not possibly last. Water, they say, finds its own level, and flood waters do not stay for ever. One probably sees the course of history steadying itself. The Indian government and the Sinhala State are for the first time looking at each other, eyeball to eyeball. As to who will outstare the other is a foregone conclusion. The important truth for the Tamils would be to realise that this exercise has to conclude at the expense of the Sinhala State, not at the expense of the Tamils. Looked at from that perspective, the Tamils can certainly look forward to a more hopeful New Year, irrespective of whether the DMK or Congress-I wins power in Tamil Nadu.

## CHIEF MINISTER OF NORTH-EAST P.C. — A PROFILE —



A. Varatharaja Perumal

He carries neither gun nor grenade. He never has. But Annamalai Varatharajah Perumal, the 35 year-old Chief Minister of the north-east council doesn't dissociate himself from his gun-totting comrades who, for five long years fought the Tamil cause on the 'battle fields' of the north and east. "We carried guns for political purposes and for defending ourselves, not for killing people" says the man who turned to Marxist literature when he couldn't find answers in a nationalist movement. "I understood the need for a social commitment."

In the northern village of Kottadi where his father controlled a labour gang at the local co-operative store, Varatharajah learnt what it was to be part of the oppressed village, where men and women struggled for existence, where barriers of caste and class were rigidly observed. He had just turned ten when his father deserted the family leaving his mother to cope with three young boys. "My mother made muruku and vadais and sold it to the nearby tea kiosks to feed and clothe, and send us to school."

It was the beginning of a long, hard road for the young Varatharajah when a few years later his mother suffered a stroke and was paralysed. "I continued what she had started" he says "doing the same business". He had by then passed his 'O' levels and

### NOW, TAMIL IS ALSO OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

The Sixteenth Amendment to Sri Lanka's Constitution enacted on 8 December made constitutional provision for the Tamil language to become an Official Language of the country alongside the Sinhala language.

No one voted against the amendment

since remaining in school was no longer a possibility, he studied at home for his 'A' levels.

"I was about twelve" he remembers "when two movements influenced and inspired me". "They were the Federal Party here, and the DMK in south India." But his active involvement in politics came in the early seventies.

The Tamil United Liberation Front agitation against the 1972 Republican constitution, had him and a number of young men in the north join the campaign. They burnt copies of the constitution, and hoisted black flags. "We were called the 'Kalu Kodi Karayas', 'the black flag boys.'" Punishment came soon enough at the hands of the law, which was six months in jail.

"When we were released we found that the Tamil Students Federation had collapsed. We replaced it with the Tamil Youth League. It was not an organisation. You can call it a movement. A boycott, a protest march, or a hartal brought the boys together. But 1975 saw an end to that with the TULF by clever manoeuvring taking it under its wing."

"Then came the Tamil Eelam Liberation organisation, (not today's TELO) which saw the ideals of socialism enter a Tamil movement for the first time." That didn't last either and by August of the same year Varatharajah was back in jail for a crime he says he had nothing to do with — the killing of the then Mayor of Jaffna Alfred Duraiyappah.

He spent two years in the jails of Jaffna, Bogambara and Welikade. "I used up that time for study", and when he came out of jail he entered the Jaffna University and read economics, and in 1981 took up the post of Assistant lecturer at the Jaffna University.

Dallying with the politics of the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students (EROS), Varatharajah became a full-time member of the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) in 1981. "The militant groups were all very friendly then and there was no rivalry. We moved freely in and out of each other's homes" he says with some regret at the painful parting of the ways which was to lead some years later to bitter and bloody internecine warfare. July 1983 he terms the turning point when most of the groups turned to the gun.

The EPRLF has about 300 members. "Membership is governed by a certain political criteria and therefore limited. But in a broad sense we have about 4000 members, 1000 of them full-time." "We are not a separatist

party and separatism was never our slogan. What we fought for was the right to self determination for the Tamil people and the recognition of our peoples' integrity and dignity by the Sinhalese leaders and autonomy for our region."

An impassioned orator, the fire and brimstone breathing revolutionary is now very much on a tight rein as he prepares himself to take office.

Did he think that one day he would be called upon to take such high office? "Never" he says. "Not till last week then our leader comrade Padmanabha declined the post and the central committee decided on me." "My ambition was to study. It still is." But his total involvement in politics has left him no time for anything else.

Married into a political family Varatharajah, the father of three daughters, believes that with the goodwill and co-operation of the people, peace will return to the battle-scarred north and east.

Varatharajah knows only too well that he has a daunting task in hand. But with a platform rhetoric now replaced by a quiet humility, the man fashioned out of the turmoil of years of social change, looks ahead with confidence.

— by Rita Sebastian.

## PLOT man killed in Male

'Vasanthi', a former PLOT area leader in Jaffna was one of those killed in Male during the coup attempt on November 3. Although PLOT has officially denied having a hand in the attempted coup, unofficially they claim it would have succeeded if a second boat with their cadres hadn't been delayed. The delay prevented their taking over the telecommunication station and therefore made it possible for President Gayoom to call for international help, writes Rita Sebastian reporting for the INDIAN EXPRESS (Nov.15) from Colombo.

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# OPPOSITION FRONT'S MANIFESTO FOR SOLUTION OF ETHNIC CONFLICT

*The establishment of two units with substantial devolved powers, one for Tamils and the other for Muslims constitutes the cornerstone of the programme announced by the opposition front of five parties for the resolution of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. The front comprises of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and four other minor parties namely the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna, All Ceylon Tamil Congress, Liberal Party and the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress. However, it would seem that the SLMC has still not signed the Manifesto.*

*The Manifesto states that there shall be a 'predominantly Tamil unit comprising what is the combined Northern and Eastern Provinces but excluding the area covered by the predominantly Muslim unit'. The Muslim unit shall comprise of 'the predominantly Muslim areas in the Amparai District as the base and identified predominantly Muslim areas in the Batticaloa and Trincomalee districts'.*

## OPPOSITION FRONT'S MANIFESTO

### Part 1 Constitutional Reform

1. A mandate shall be sought for a new constitution that guarantees national independence, territorial integrity, true democracy, fundamental human rights and protects the unity of Sri Lanka and the quality of all communities and persons, for the purpose of re-establishing peace.
2. Among the principal features of the new constitution will be:—
  - i) The abolition of the Executive Presidency and the conferment of executive powers on Parliament and the Cabinet.
  - ii) A Bill of Rights which will not be subject to executive convenience.
  - iii) A Parliament elected by a new system of proportional representation.
  - iv) The adoption of judicial review of legislation.
  - v) A Human Rights Commission with substantial powers consisting of representatives of all recognised political parties and human rights organisations which shall be competent to review any allegation of a violation of human rights and to grant the speediest possible redress. The granting of access to our prisons and to places of detention to such a Commission so that the conditions in which persons are imprisoned or held in custody shall be subject to public scrutiny.
  - vi) The inclusion of the provisions of section 29 of the Soulbury Constitution as an entrenched provision of the new Constitution.
3. The Rule of Law and the independence of the judiciary shall be assured.

### National Priorities

4. The state of emergency shall immediately be lifted.
5. All political prisoners shall unconditionally be released.
6. The Prevention of Terrorism Act shall be repealed.
7. The Indo-Sri Lanka Accord shall be abrogated and the Indian Peace Keeping Force will be called upon to leave Sri Lanka.
8. The Provincial Councils shall be abolished.
9. Power shall be devolved to several directly elected units of devolution encompassing the whole island. 10.i) All para-military organisations such as the Special Task Force, the Intensive Operations Training Unit, the National Auxiliary Force, the National Armed Guards, Town Guards, the Manpower Mobilisation reserve and the Green Tigers shall immediately be dissolved. ii) All Foreign mercenaries and military advisers shall be asked to leave.
11. The following commissions shall be appointed inter alia:
  - i) To inquire into post-election violence and other forms of political victimisation.
  - ii) To inquire into the burning of the Jaffna Public Library, the public market, private homes and the disruption of the District Development Council Elections in Jaffna and similar acts elsewhere in Sri Lanka in 1981.
  - iii) To inquire into the communal riots of 1983.
  - iv) To inquire into the operations of the Indian Peace Keeping Force in the North and East.
  - v) To inquire into all acts of political violence including abuses by para-military forces.
  - vi) To inquire into killings in a mosque in Puttalam in 1976. b) To inquire into the riots in the Eastern Province in 1985.
  - vii) A. A permanent commission to inquire into all abuses of power, bribery, and corruption. On this commission shall be conferred the authority to recommend punishments which shall include imprisonment, confiscation of movable and immovable property and the sale of such property by public auction, the proceeds of which shall be distributed to the needy.

- B. The proceedings of this Commission shall be subject to the rules of evidence and judicial review of its findings shall be permitted.
- viii) The Department of the Bribery Commissioner shall be activated from its present lethargy.
- ix) All assets of politicians and public servants shall be declared annually and be available for public scrutiny.

### The Economy

12. The economy shall be reorganized on the basis of a mixed economy recognizing the roles of the public, private and co-operative sectors, to suit national needs.
  - a) State enterprises shall not be privatised.
  - b) There shall not be any discriminatory restrictions or controls on trade, commerce, imports and exports.
13. An export and import bank shall be inaugurated, imports and exports shall be streamlined and all steps shall be taken to eradicate waste and corruption.
14. The system of taxation shall be reviewed so as to facilitate investment, economic growth and employment.
15. a) It shall be the responsibility of the Government to ensure that all persons of working age be provided with employment or be given some form of income for their sustenance. Employment will be provided free from all unwarranted influences such as political influence, nepotism, and all other forms of favouritism. b) Opportunities for employment abroad shall be enhanced, with appropriate safeguards.
16. There shall be an immediate reduction of the prices of milkfoods and all other essential foodstuffs and all basic consumer items shall be made available without any shortages at reasonable prices and shall be efficiently and promptly distributed.

17. It shall be the responsibility of the state to ensure essential foodstuffs freely and at reasonable prices while protecting the interests of producers and consumers.

### Education

18. Education shall be the responsibility of the state. In keeping with the concept of free education, resources shall be divided equally irrespective of race, language, religion or economic conditions, a national education plan shall be made and implemented, rejecting the White Paper on Education of 1978 and the system of continuous assessment.
19. Steps shall be taken to enhance the educational freedom of university and school students.
20. The medium of instruction shall be the mother tongue.
21. i) The teaching of and gaining proficiency in the official languages shall be compulsory provided that the level of proficiency in a language that is not the mother tongue shall be at a lower level. ii) The teaching of the national language shall be compulsory.
22. All schools shall have the right to teach those subjects of its choice other than compulsory subjects and to use whatever time of their choice in teaching these subjects, subject to a national plan that encompasses the needs of all ethnic communities.
23. A comprehensive review of education shall be undertaken, the proportion of the budget allotted to education shall be increased, and priority shall be given to underprivileged schools, revitalisation and upgrading of rural schools that have been forgotten under the present regime, the increase of wages for teachers and the improvement of school libraries.
  - a) There shall be a provision of facilities for the study of electronic industries, computer studies, management studies and foreign languages.
  - b) In addition to the provision of free books, free school meals will

be provided and uniforms and equipment shall be given at subsidised rates.

24. The dignity of the teaching profession shall be re-established.

25. A new Universities Act shall be introduced which protects the independence of students, academic freedom and the traditional freedom of university societies.

26.i) State patronage shall be conferred to protect the historical and cultural value of pirivena education

ii) Religion shall be taught in schools by specially qualified persons

iii) The religious advisory committee on education shall be restored.

iv) Arabic shall be restored as a subject at the G.C.E. O'Level examination.

v) Schools in the plantations shall be upgraded to ensure an equitable distribution of educational resources.

vi) The North Colombo Medical College shall immediately be nationalised.

27. In admissions to universities, consideration shall be given to students with restricted educational opportunities.

### Media

28. Complete freedom in all three media; press, radio and television shall be guaranteed.

29. A new Press Council Act shall be introduced to guarantee the freedom of the press, including the freedom of individual journalists against the owners of newspapers, the preservation of high standards of journalism and the promotion of genuine choice in newspapers.

30. Legislation shall be enacted which will make any attempt to intimidate journalists, broadcasters or the owners of newspapers and broadcasting stations, a criminal offense.

### Health

31.i) It shall be the duty of the state to provide for health requirements and the health service shall be reorganised so as to enable all persons to have equal health facilities.

ii) All steps shall be taken to develop indigenous medicine (Ayurveda, Siddha, Unani) and traditional medicine.

iii) Steps shall be taken to alleviate the shortages of medicines in hospitals in the state sector and prompt steps shall be taken to reduce the prices of medicines in the open market.

iv) A committee of experts shall be appointed which shall have full authority to control the quality of medicines and medical implements and to recommend their appropriate standards.

### Housing

32. Steps shall be taken to ensure that each family shall eventually have its own house.

i) A National Housing Bank will be established to provide credit facilities for private house-building. Provision shall be made for interest free loans of Rs.25,000 to low income groups and for loans of up to Rs.100,000 at extremely low rates of interest.

ii) A system of rural housing schemes shall be evolved that will provide housing without altering the rural character and environment.

iii) A system of low cost urban housing complexes shall be constructed for the use of low income urban dwellers, giving priority to slum dwellers.

iv) Abolition of the Water Tax which has been a tremendous burden to urban residents.

v) Houses shall be also constructed for the use of plantation workers.

vi) The fuel adjustment charge on electricity shall be abolished.

vii) All Housing loans in the Northern and Eastern Provinces and other areas affected by violence shall be rescheduled.

33. A three year agricultural plan shall be implemented in order to achieve self-sufficiency in food items, particularly in rice.

To Achieve this:

i) Agricultural activities will be developed on a scientific basis, fully realising the vital place agriculture has in the economy of Sri Lanka.

ii) The water-tax imposed on the farmers will immediately be abolished.

iii) Agricultural loans unpaid by 1988 shall be cancelled.

iv) A speedy programme will be introduced to provide land for the landless peasants.

v) Land which had formerly belonged to farmers and was vested in multinational companies, shall be restored.

vi) Producer and consumer co-operatives will be established outside government control and will ensure the protection of the rights of producers and consumers.

vii) An agricultural banking system will be established in order to facilitate obtaining agricultural implements, agro-chemicals and fertilizers at reasonable prices and to encourage agricultural activities.

viii) Rural tanks will be restored and reconstructed forthwith.

ix) The Agricultural Insurance Scheme and the Farmers Pension Scheme shall be re-organized for the benefit of farmers.

x) As in the cases of tea, rubber, and coconut, a subsidy scheme will be introduced for the cultivation of rice, minor small holdings and other subsidiary crops.

xi) Considering it to be a national need, dairy farming will be developed as a national industry.

xii) An urgent programme of work will be introduced to make Sri Lanka self-sufficient in milk. While assuring milk producers a reasonable price, milk consumers will be provided with milk at subsidised rates.

### Industry

34. Industry will be developed on a national plan recognising it as a vital sector for economic independence and national development. To achieve this:

i) Steps will be taken to free local industries from all unhealthy obstacles and to develop them through the grant of incentives.

ii) Incentives will be given to promote export industries.

iii) Incentives shall be given to industries which practise workers participation and profit sharing.

iv) A programme of work for agro-chemical production, dairy farming and fisheries will be introduced.

v) Monopolies in local level industries will be eliminated by means of competition.

vi) Opening up of new large scale heavy industries shall be undertaken with the approval and under the direction of the state.

### Fisheries

35. A plan for the speedy development of the fishing industry will be implemented. At present fisheries is a virtually neglected industry comprising of 2% of the national product.

For this purpose:

i) While eradicating the obstacles to national economic development, deep sea fishing shall be done with the approval and under the direction of the state.

ii) A system of mechanised boats shall be introduced.

iii) A plan for community development which includes housing, insurance and income guarantees and a pension scheme will be introduced for the fishing community.

iv) The system of fisheries harbours will be modernised and activated and a network of fisheries harbours shall be developed.

v) Loans in the fisheries sector shall be rescheduled.

### Transport

36. A national transport system which will co-ordinate the transport system on land, air and sea will be introduced. Both state and private sectors will be incorporated into this plan.

### Workers Rights

37. All trade union rights shall be protected including for workers in the Free Trade Zones.

a) The July 1980 strikers shall be restored to their positions with full compensation and the full restoration of their rights.

38. The Essential Services Act shall not be abused.

39.i) Legislation shall be enacted strengthening the right to strike and those who use violence to intimidate workers and prevent the exercise of their rights shall be prosecuted.

ii) Legislation shall be introduced to strengthen the right of peaceful picketing while protecting the rights of workers who do not wish to strike.

40. A system of profit-sharing whereby a proportion of shares shall be allotted to the workers of each enterprise shall be introduced.

### Women's Rights

41.i) A Prevention of Sex Discrimination Act shall be introduced which prohibits any form of discrimination against women in employment or in social or cultural opportunities and which will enact the principle of equal pay for equal work. ii) A Commission on Equality for Women shall be appointed which will recommend reforms to improve the rights of women. Such a commission shall also conduct projects for the elimination of discriminatory attitudes towards women. iii) Maternity leave up to a period of five months shall be given to all women.

### Social Rights

42.i) All legislation, that discriminates against the rights of the person shall be repealed.

ii) There shall be no interference with the personal laws of any religion which shall be protected.

### Social Service

iii) The prevention of malnutrition by the provision of nourishment introduced as required to mothers and children

iv) A scheme of social insurance to ensure basic needs in old age, shall be introduced.

### The environment

43. Steps will be taken to prevent the destruction of the environment and to preserve the ecological balance. Some of the measures to be taken in this regard are:-

- i) The promotion of reforestation which shall be undertaken under a coherent reforestation plan.
- ii) The prevention of destruction of forests.
- iii) The prevention of soil erosion and the silting of river beds.
- iv) The protection of fauna and flora.
- v) The preservation and promotion of national parks and game reserves.

### Culture

44. The cultures and traditions of all ethnic groups shall be protected from all cultural invasions and influences that pose a threat to them and a cultural reformation shall be undertaken that safeguards the identities of all sections of the community.

45. All historical and national heritages will be protected.

46.i) A National Theatre Trust will be established which will promote and sponsor indigenous theatre in all three languages. The National Theatre Trust will be administered by an independent board and the theatre it sponsors shall not be subject to restrictions of politics or personal morality.

ii) A National Film Trust will be established which will promote films of intellectual and artistic content and provide centres where films of quality in all three languages shall be screened.

iii) A National Publishing Trust will be established that will sponsor literary and other works of quality so as to promote the

publishing industry. Writing of quality in Sinhala, Tamil and English (by Sri Lankans) shall be so sponsored.

### Foreign Policy

47. A foreign policy of positive non-alignment that safeguards Sri Lanka's independence and territorial integrity shall be adopted.

48.i) Considerations of human rights and democracy shall have considerable importance in the conduct of foreign affairs. Accordingly support shall be extended to those who are victims of political persecution and the violation of human rights.

ii) All state and economic relations with Israel shall be immediately severed.

iii) All dealings with the racist South African Government shall be severed forthwith.

Full solidarity shall be extended to the Namibian independence struggle and SWAPO shall be recognized as the representative of the Namibian people.

### Defence

49. A Security Council under the head of the government shall be established with responsibility for internal and external defence.

50. Confidence shall be restored in the system of internal and external defence to enable all citizens to live in peace and harmony.

### Youth and Sport

51. A national plan on sports activities shall be implemented to encourage the effective participation of people with a view to achieving physical and mental development and a recreation.

52. A National Youth Council shall be organised to ensure full participation of youth in the national development process.

## THE RESOLUTION OF ETHNIC PROBLEM

### PART II

#### Unit of devolution

- a) The concept of devolution is accepted for Sri Lanka.
- b) There shall be a predominantly Tamil unit comprising of what is the combined Northern and Eastern Provinces but excluding the area covered by the predominantly Muslim Unit.
- c) There shall be a predominantly Muslim unit comprising the predominantly Muslim areas in the Amparai District as the base and identified predominantly Muslim areas in the Batticaloa and Trincomalee Districts.
- d) The rights of all persons in each unit shall be on the basis of absolute equality.

#### Devolution of power

a) All state powers, legislative, executive and judicial, except those reserved to the centre shall be devolved to democratically elected bodies called Regions. Parliament shall, however, be able to override legislation of the regions by a 2/3 majority of its whole membership.

b) The subjects that are essential to ensure the sovereignty, the territorial integrity and the unity of Sri Lanka, they are:-

- (i) Defence - Army, Navy, Air Force and Police.
- (ii) Foreign - Foreign Policy, Foreign Exchange and foreign Trade.
- (iii) Transport - airways and airports, shipping and harbours, railways, waterways, highways.
- (iv) Money - monetary policy, fiscal policy, consolidated fund, currency, customs.
- (v) Communications - posts and telecommunications, radio, television.
- (vi) Electricity
- (vii) The Supreme Court to be seized with
  - a) Constitutional matters
  - b) centre-region relations
  - c) where one of the parties is a Government Department or Corporation
- The Court of Appeal
- (viii) Emigration and citizenship
- (ix) Elections
- (x) Natural Resources
- (xi) National Education
- (xii) National Health
- (xiii) National Planning
- (xiv) The sea.
- (xv) Archaeological Sites

#### Land

- (i) There shall be an immediate freeze on all on-going colonisation until an acceptable principle of land allocations is put into effect.
- (ii) There shall be no state-aided colonisation in such a way as to

change the demographic complexion of any area.

(iii) Where demographic imbalances have been created through schemes of land settlement since 1971, priority in future land allocations in those areas will be given to correcting such imbalances and restoring the status quo ante with regard to the demographic proportions of those areas.

(iv) State land available for allocation will be made available to the landless of the area.

(v) Areas from where people have been forced out of lands they have habitually inhabited (including refugees) shall be identified and such inhabitants shall be rehabilitated in those areas completely.

(iv) All persons shall be free to purchase land, live and carry on their livelihood in any area of this country.

(vii) A Land Commission reflecting the ethnic groups will decide on land policy and land alienation on the basis of the foregoing principles.

#### Citizenship

(i) Existing legislation shall be the basis for citizenship. There shall be an immediate implementation of acts of Parliament relevant to citizenship.

(ii) All disabilities that exist in Law for citizens of Sri Lanka by registration shall be removed.

#### Law and order

(i) The police force in any area shall reflect the ethnic composition of the area and shall be responsible to the Chief Executive of the region.

(ii) The Armed Forces of the country shall be enlisted strictly on the basis of ethnic proportions.

(iii) Recruitment to the Armed Forces shall take place immediately so as to bring them to reflect the percentage of the ethnic composition of the country.

Language

(i) Sinhala and Tamil shall be the official languages

(ii) English shall be the national language.

#### Finance

The regions shall have power to obtain finances with the approval of the centre.

#### Representation

The distribution of Parliamentary seats shall reflect the ethnic composition of the country. The electoral system shall be reviewed to ensure this.

#### Constitution

The provisions under the various headings above shall be enshrined and entrenched in the Constitution and shall not be changed except with the approval of the legislatures of all Regions.

Continued on p.21

## Rohana Wijeweera on JVP's present campaign

# VOWS TO FIGHT 'INDIAN IMPERIALISTS' AND 'TAMIL EELAM TERRORIST FIFTH COLUMNISTS'!

(The Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) is playing a major role in the present violent political development in Sri Lanka. Its leader, Rohana Wijeweera, replied in writing to certain questions submitted to him by the Sinhala daily, 'Lankadeepa', and reproduced here are his replies translated and published in the 'Sunday Times' of 6 and 13 November 1988.

**Making JVP's position clear on its attitude to the Tamil Militant**

*Question:- The JVP poses a big problem to us. Though it is said that many people have been arrested no one is doing JVP political work publicly. If so how is it that your movement has become such a major force?*

*Answer:-* Who says that many people have been arrested? Does it imply that numerically many people have been arrested or is it that most members of the JVP have been arrested? It is only government leaders and the leaders of the suppressive government forces who say that most of our members have been arrested. Actually during the past five years a large number of JVP members, leaders and faithfuls and innocent members of the public have been arrested.

There have been a large number of disappearances. Among them are the politbureau member and member of the JVP secretariat, Comrade Sumith Atukorale, the JVP's Tangalle organizer and lecturer Comrade Sathyapala Wannigama, the organizer for Tissamaharama constituency and member of the district committee of Hambantota Comrade Wijedasa Liyanarachchi.

Though a number of people have been arrested and many have been tortured after extreme cruelty they constitute only a small number of JVP members. It is true that many have been taken into custody and more are being arrested. But the number of new members is much larger. The newcomers are willing to take all the responsibilities of those who have been arrested. Therefore, the JVP has become a tree which can never be cut down or removed completely.

In addition it is not correct to say that there are no people who are doing JVP political work publicly. Comrade Sumith Atukorale was arrested in Nattandiya on April 16th when he was riding a bicycle publicly. He was arrested and murdered.

Comrade Wannigama was arrested and murdered after torture when he was going home to see his sick mother.

Comrade Wijedasa Liyanarachchi was arrested and brutally murdered when he was on his way to look after his work in Hultstorf where he was handling Habeas Corpus applications for hundreds of patriots who were imprisoned.

Therefore, JVP members are among the public and carrying out their political work. They distribute party literature among the people, put up posters, organise protest rallies, have discussions with opposition parties, organise labour protests and strikes, hold political classes and discussions and publish and distribute 'Rathu Balaya' (Red Power). These are things that are done publicly, unitedly with the people and with the blessings of the people.

You have not still joined the people's movement and therefore you do not see it. Therefore join the patriotic peoples movement today, then your problems will be solved. Then you will meet those who are working publicly, then you will understand why the JVP has become a powerful political force. It does not matter if you were in the wrong place politically all this time. Give it up and join the patriotic people's movement.

### DJV not our armed division

*Q. What is the connection between the Deshapremi Janatha Vyaparaya and the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna? Is it true the DJV is the armed division of the JVP?*

*A.* The Deshapremi Janatha Vyaparaya is not the armed division of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna. That story is incorrect. It is being spread by the UNP, Ceylon Workers Congress coalition government which has established a record of misleading the public, the leaders of the United Socialist Alliance comprising the Communist, Sama Samaja, Nava Sama Samaja and Mahajana parties, who followed them, the Indian imperialists and their fifth columnists.

The Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna is the party guiding the poor Sri Lankan masses who are leading the freedom struggle of the nation and the country. It has still not set up an armed division.

But the JVP has constantly reiterated its right to do so, firstly for its own protection and secondly to protect its country's independ-

Groups, which he denounces as 'Tamil Eelam Terrorists' and 'Fifth Columnists of India Imperialism, Mr. Wijeweera labels all other political parties both of the government and the opposition as agents of 'Indian expansionists'. Taking refuge in 'patriotism', as all extreme Sinhala chauvinists have done in the past, he liberally invokes the names of Sinhala Kings of old like Dutugemunu and Wijebahu whom JVP seeks to emulate.

ence and territorial integrity, the freedom and independence of its people, to win back the democratic rights of the people, secure their human rights, create peace in the motherland, and to see that our children and grandchildren inherit a free country that is not dominated by a foreign power. The JVP has reiterated its right to do so, at a time when Indian invading armies have brought a third of the country under their control and are killing and chasing Sri Lankans from their villages, when Indian troops have trained and armed their fifth columnists up to their noses, especially the EPRLF, and are through them arming members of the NSSP (at this very moment, EPRLF terrorists are training several members of the NSSP in Ampara to carry out acts of violence against the JVP), the Communist Party, and Mahajana Party.

When Indian imperialists are using their spy service to plot the assassination of the leaders of the JVP which is the only obstacle to their plans to swallow Sri Lanka, and have ordered all their agents in Sri Lanka to carry out the plot, and when the Green Tigers, state terrorists, and the UNP traitors recently recruited to the armed forces, carry out acts of violence and terrorism against the JVP under their orders.

But the establishment of an armed division is a very complex, responsible and difficult task. We will set up an armed division when it is needed and is appropriate. When we do so we will proclaim it. The Indian invaders will not withdraw undefeated. Indian leaders have clearly and categorically been told that they will not return without achieving their goals. The Indian troops will not withdraw voluntarily when Mrs. Bandaranaike wins, or when Mr. Premadasa asks them to.

No one should have any doubts about this. Nor should anyone be in two minds about this. How can we accept what Mr. Premadasa or Mrs. Bandaranaike say? The Indian troops can be, and will be sent back only when they are defeated by a future Patriotic Peoples Army of the JVP leadership, which will be created to protect the country and the nation. I ask all of you to have faith in this. The Patriotic Peoples Army will comprise of the fighters of the Patriotic Peoples Armed battalions, the patriots in the present legitimate security forces, and everybody in the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna. Such an army will be needed because the present armed forces have failed totally to protect the motherland and its peoples from the armies of the foreign invaders.

### Foreign invaders

Today, the Sri Lankan armed forces are not fighting to save the north and east and the motherland from the grip of foreign invaders. Today they are being used to destroy the patriotic people and the JVP which stands against the Indian occupation forces and their fifth columnists, the Tamil Eelam, terrorists. Therefore a new army is needed for the liberation of the country and the nation. We accept that. We declare our right to act on this. And we will act when necessary.

But the present Deshapremi Janatha Vyaparaya is not the armed division of the JVP. You ask what the connection between the DJV and the JVP is. As far as we are aware, the Deshapremi Janatha Vyaparaya is a mass peoples organization. There are members of the JVP, as well as non members in it. A wide section of patriotic people belong to it. We believe that some members of the UNP, the SLFP and other groups, who are against the Indian invading armies who are against the fifth columnists of the Indians who are against the Tamil Eelam terrorists, who are against India swallowing Sri Lanka, who oppose the merger of the north and east who are against the second Kandyan Convention of Rajiv Gandhi and Jayewardene, who are against the Provincial Councils and who do not want Sri Lanka to be another Sikkim, are also in the DJV.

It may be that each of these groups is responsible for tasks which they can accomplish according to their training and ability. The reason such an organization was born was the cruel repression of the government with its Indian imperialism that such a wide peoples organization came into being. As far as we are aware, it is basically an organization dedicated to the protection of the patriotic



people, and the country.

All of you know that the coalition government of the UNP and Mr. Thondaman's CWC used violence against their opponents right from the start. They indulged in acts of terrorism against the SLFP and the JVP in particular. This situation was highlighted at Mahiyagana, Kekirawa and Biyagama.

Violence was used against academics, artistes, members of the judiciary, the working class and students. You may remember how a powerful member of the government once boasted of those acts that 'the elephant has so far only shaken its trunk'. A short while after our party was proscribed, it began secretly killing our members. The beginning was as far back as 1984, when Sarath Wijesinghe, a member of the JVP and a student of the Anuradhapura Technical College was arrested and murdered. The more the government came under the control of the Indian imperialists and their fifth columnists, the Tamil Eelam terrorists, it began killing the patriotic people who opposed them. When the public protested peacefully against the Jayewardene-Gandhi pact of betrayal, 142 people were shot. It is in this situation that the Deshapremi Janatha Vyaparaya was born on a solid foundation. It cancelled the monopoly that Mr. Jayewardene and the Indian fifth columnists held on the use of violence. It is an important progressive act. It is correct that patriotic people get organised to protect themselves and their country. We will help them. Support them. We respect them.

#### JVP led national protest

**Q:** *If there is no link between the Deshapremi Janatha Vyaparaya and the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna, would it be correct to say that besides issuing press releases, your party has not been involved in any active politics since 1983?*

**A:** I believe the previous question would have clarified the connection between the DJV and the JVP. Leaving that aside, who says that the only thing the JVP has done since 1983 is issue press releases? How can saying so be correct? Since 1983, is issuing press releases all that the JVP had done? In the past five years, who agitated against repression by the state, the betrayal of the country, and the illegal extension of the government's term? If it wasn't the JVP then who was it? How many JVPers have been arrested during those campaigns? How many have disappeared? How many sacrificed their lives?

Comrade Padmasiri who sacrificed his life during the student struggle at Peradeniya in 1984 was one of our members. Since then, have not thousands of our members and leaders been arrested, and killed, and our politburo member Sumith Atukorale sacrificed his life merely because we only issued press releases? If it was not the JVP, then who printed and distributed lakhs of leaflets exposing how the government was betraying the country and destroying it, who conducted the political classes throughout the country, who held educational camps, who produced cassette tapes to communicate our ideas, and who secretly printed and published newspapers? It they are not JVP members, who are at the helm of students and workers struggles, to day? Who are they?

Was it not the JVP that organised the entire nation's protest on the day that the pact of betrayal became one year old? Was it not the JVP that organised a national protest to help the people of the east who opposed domination by the north? Who organised the mammoth processions in the east and the south that brought back memories of the 'box formation' of 1947 to the Brigadiers and Colonels who retreated from the north leaving the Indian invading armies to take control? If it wasn't the JVP, then who was it?

#### Vijaya was JR's Agent

**Q:** *We believe that the objectives of the SLMP founded by Vijaya Kumaranatunge, one of the radical leaders of the SLFP, and your JVP which respects socialism were the same. If so shouldn't you join the SLMP instead of the SLFP?*

**A:** Your idea is totally wrong. Vijaya Kumaranatunge was not a radical leader within the SLFP. He was never a socialist. The Mahajana Pakshaya and the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna do not have the same objectives. Vijaya Kumaranatunge aimed to fulfil his ambitions to power by using the cheap popularity he had from his acting and his marriage into the Bandaranaike family to mislead and deceive the people as many capitalist politicians have done in Sri Lanka and other places.

First he tried to achieve those goals by aligning himself with Mrs Bandaranaike, but clashed with Anura Bandaranaike, and joined Mr. Jayewardene's Indian imperialists and their fifth columnists and tried to achieve them.

There is nothing common between the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna and such a man or such a party. **The Mahajana Party, and Mr. Vijaya Kumaranatunge supported Indian imperialism. They are active within the country as an additional battalion of it. He went to Madras as an agent of the Jayewardene government and had secret talks with the fifth columnists of the Indian imperialists. He had meals with them.**

**He went to Jaffna and put his arms around the shoulders of the Indian agents, terrorists Kittu and his deputy who had massacred entire villages of Sinhala and Muslim people along with infants. He used Sri Lankan soldiers as targets when he practised with a weapon with Kittu's deputy.** He supported the pact that betrayed our country. He supported Provincial Councils. Our intelligence has reported that it had been proposed at the UNP's Working Committee that he should be allowed to win the Chief Ministership of the Western Province and that he used to split the opposition votes at a Presidential election in return for his support of the pact and the provincial councils. The proposal had been rejected.

The respects paid by Mr. Jayewardene at his funeral tells the same story. The difference between the two parties can be shown clearly in the way Vijaya Kumaranatunge was treated, and how Wannigama, Wijedasa and Sumith of our party were treated.

We treat the SLMP as a power hungry, treacherous lot of Indian agents. That is facing the truth. Today Ossie Abeysunasekera is trying to fulfil the needs of the UNP and India at the request of Mr. Jayewardene and instruction from India. Today they are nursed from the Indian breast. So how can we join them?

#### Govt. murdering our leaders

**Q:** *If you are fighting against capitalists, why are you silent when those who oppose the government, and those who are poor are killed, while the rich people, and the protectors of capitalism are free from harm?*

**A:** Today, those who oppose the government are members of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna. We are also the politicians of the poor. The government is murdering those who are against it. These are our members and our leaders. It is we who raise our voices and fight against it. Under the circumstances, isn't your question meaningless nonsense?

#### Sirima's 'Saree-pota' is weak

**Q:** *Although you accuse the United Socialist Alliance of propping up the UNP, today isn't your party trying to come to power hanging onto the 'saree-pota' of the leader of the SLFP, which is another capitalist party?*

**A:** The fact that the United Socialist Alliance is propping up the UNP is a truth that is so clear that it does not have to be proved today. I feel that Mr. Jayewardene himself has accepted this now. The true policies of both parties on the pact, the Indian invaders, Indian imperialism, Provincial Councils, the north-east merger, and the suppression of the people are the same. Both of them have the same stance on the basic questions of today. The two are involved in secret talks. They are in total agreement in their opposition to the JVP in particular.

Those of the USA came to power clinging to the SLFP leader's 'saree-pota' and used that power to suppress and oppress the people. They have now forgotten that. But we have not. Now the SLFP leader's 'saree pota' is not strong. It has become weak. It has become a rag by Pieter, Colvin, Vasudeva, and Vijaya Kumaranatunge hanging on to it. So Pieter, Vasudeva and Colvin have gone in search of new 'saree-pota'. The situation is such that today the SLFP leader is looking for some 'pota' to cling on to. Therefore the question of our party hanging onto the SLFP leader's 'saree-pota' to come to power does not arise.

#### No faith in govt. announcements

**Q:** *The government has announced that it has lifted the proscription on the JVP. But why don't you come back to the political platform democratically?*

**A:** Because there is no democratic political platform in Sri Lanka. Because we have no faith in the government's announcements. Because we have understood the government's intentions well. Because we know the objectives and intentions of Indian imperialism, of Tamil Eelam terrorism, of the UNP, the Green Tigers, police officers who have unjustly got promotions by murdering people, the United Socialist Alliance, and Indian agents. Because it has become our duty and responsibility to restore Sri Lanka's territorial integrity, national independence, freedom, sovereignty of the people, basic human and democratic rights, and to establish peace. Because it has become our talks to chase out the Indian troops, repeal the pact of betrayal, dissolve the Provincial Councils, and chase out the Jayewardene-Thondaman coalition government.

The task of creating a new era to solve the country's problems, of providing a new leadership, of building a new nation is in our hands. After accomplishing this and giving the people true democracy we will come to the platform and show you our faces. Friend, please be patient till then.

#### JR didn't hold elections in '83

**Q:** *Why is the JVP, which came forward to establish a farmer-worker socialist government now cooperating with the SLFP in an attempt to come to Parliament? Do you, like the old left, believe that socialism can be achieved through the Parliamentary system?*

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A: Socialism is not something built to enable someone to go somewhere. It is a social system that has to be built up laboriously and knowledgeably. To build it, one must achieve state power by defeating the classes that exploit the poor. For this one needs the leadership of a party of the proletariat, which has the need, the knowledge, dedication, the plan and courage for it. If the classes that exploit the poor, who are a minority hand over state power to the proletariat which is the majority peacefully, we of the proletariat are willing to accept it peacefully.

But history shows that instead of handing over power, they try to remain in power by force, using violence. In such instances, the poor classes have to make a valid response. Our belief about Mr. Jayewardene is the same. He did not hold the general election which was scheduled for 1983. We oppose Indian imperialism as well as fraudulent elections and military conspiracies. We will try to form a line of all those we are able to do so for this purpose. This is not an attempt to enter Parliament. We are trying to harness as many forces as possible to prevent our country from falling prey to Indian imperialism. This is not a simple or narrow task. It is a complex and extensive task.

**We won't participate in polls**

Q: Why don't you contest the Presidential elections since the proscription of your party has been lifted?

A: Who believes what Mr. Jayewardene and his proteges say about the proscription being lifted? Wasn't Sumith Atukorale killed after the proscription of the party was revoked? Weren't two student leaders and a young union leader abducted at Ratnapura and tortured and murdered at Koslanda while a ceasefire was in force, besides the proscription being lifted?

What is the forthcoming Presidential election? Can you believe that it will be clean? We will not participate in it whatsoever. It is nearly six years since the date general elections should have been held. Yet that government is still in power. That government has betrayed the country. Has invited foreign invaders to the country. Has set up Provincial Councils without consulting the people. Has conspired with India to merge the north and east, to return the Indian fifth columnists to the north uncontested, and hold an election in the east which is unacceptable to us. (That government) destroys patriotic people.

Under these conditions we will not fall into the trap set by Indian imperialists and the Jayewardene government. We reject all pseudo elections and their results whatever they may be. We will lead the people to victory against them.

**JVP doesn't issue orders**

Q: Since your orders inconvenience the ordinary people, why don't you find an alternative method of conducting your protests? And why doesn't your party take some action against people who use your name for their protection rackets and personal vendettas?

A: Our party does not issue orders. We only make requests of the people. Now (the government) has betrayed the country. Has rendered the people of the East homeless orphans.

People who ask for justice and fair play, are destroyed. Students who demand their rights are shot and their bodies burnt. The difficulties imposed on the people because of all this is not small. The people will have to make considerable sacrifices to change all this.

The members of our party are willing to sacrifice their lives for their country and people. When our members are willing to lead the people at the risk of torture and death, the people will have to make at least a small sacrifice to liberate the country and its people, and to win their rights.

The battle for the liberation of the country and the people will not be waged on a velvet carpet. We have always acted in a manner that will inconvenience our people to the minimum. Please don't doubt this. If we receive complaints about our name being used in protection rackets and personal vendettas, they can be considered and action taken. If you have complaints of that nature, announce them through posters, as people in different parts of the country are already doing. Then the people will take suitable action.

**I salute the courageous students**

Q: How do you view the contentious situation that has arisen in the Inter University Students Federation and among school children over various issues?

A: The agitation of the school children is part of the agitation of the general public. History shows us that students and youth have often given the lead in struggles against injustice and have been responsible for awakening the people, particularly when the working class and other sections of the people fail to take the lead either through the fault of their leaders, or out of fear of suppression or for some other reason. There are plenty of examples of this in world history.

The students of Sri Lanka were involved in the struggle from the beginning because of the correct leadership they had. The students have given a good start to the struggle at a time when the working class and other sections of the society have not come forward due to fear of suppression on the one hand, and bad leadership on the other. Now we can see the working class and the others rising up and following the avenue they opened up with the correct leadership. We can see the working class taking the lead to fulfil their historic task. Our students are risking their lives in their struggle to win student rights, on the one hand, and for the common rights of all people on the other for the freedom of the motherland.

I salute the honest, and courageous students and youth who are risking their lives for justice and fairplay on behalf of all patriotic people. It is the struggle facing the nation that is translated through them. Their contribution to the freedom struggle of the nation is immense. To be free Sri Lanka of the future will be grateful to them for the success of the first stage of the national freedom struggle.

**People know truth from lies**

Q: A certain group are breaking into houses at night in several parts of the country and are robbing gold jewellery and cash in the name of the JVP. If they are not members of the JVP, what will your response to their actions be?

A: I have answered this question earlier. The armed forces have set up units to organise false protests in the name of the JVP, and to declare true days of protest as false. But they are unsuccessful because the people have learnt how to differentiate between truth and lies. The patriotic people have now learnt to identify JVP activities and activities that are not of the JVP. Similarly the people have learnt how to give the right answer to these false JVPers.

**Equal treatment for all races**

Q: Can you say something about how your Peramuna will solve the problem of Tamil separatism if it comes to power through the ballot or some other means?

A: The Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna should be and will be appointed to power by the patriotic people led by the poor people. Our policy statement and programme states very clearly how we will solve the national question when we assume power. Besides this we have published a complete study of the national question. It has a clear explanation of how we will solve it.

There are two main reasons for the crisis in Sri Lanka today. One is the disparity between races. The other is interference by foreign imperialistic forces. Today, the second factor is using the first to achieve its ends. First we will solve the first problem. We will abolish the disparity between races and solve the national question on the basis of total equality. We will not treat any race differently because of its race, neither will we give any particular race any special privileges. Restrictions will not be placed on any race. We will appear for peace and unity between races. Thereby we shall remove the first factor. That is a political solution.

We will not allow the second factor to use the first. But the second factor cannot be removed by a simple political move under the present circumstances. Today a military solution is also needed for these problems. We will provide that solution without the least hesitation. We will take steps to militarily defeat the Indian imperialistic forces and their fifth columnists. It can be done. If there is anyone who has the slightest doubt about this, it will soon vanish. Think about how little Vietnam defeated the mighty American imperialism, how the powerful French imperialists were beaten, and how little Cuba and little Nicaragua defeated mighty American imperialism. **Under the leadership of Vijayabahu I think of how our ancestors defeated the powerful Chola empire. This problem has only such a combination of political and military solution. We will make such a solution succeed. We are at present preparing the ground for it.**

**The Common candidate**

Q: What action would you take if the common candidate wins the election and fails to abrogate the Indo-Lanka accord which you opposed from the beginning?

A: We will never agree to any common candidate or common front. As a former Chief Justice H.N.G. Fernando once said, we JVP leaders are not men who can be easily tricked.

We can consider supporting a common candidate and a common front only if the following conditions are met before any election is held: The dissolution of Parliament and all Provincial Councils, the repeal of the Provincial Councils Act, the Indian troops be ordered to leave (we do not say the withdrawal of Indian troops because they will not withdraw when Mr. Jayewardene orders them to) the dissolution of all agencies whose term has been extended, the disarming and disbanding of all militia of the UNP, (not coopting

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them to the armed forces) the withdrawal of all weapons issued to members of the UNP, thugs, and to members of the United Socialist Alliance.

The cancellation of all promotions given to police and army officers on unfair external influence instead of seniority and merit, the promotion of all officers on seniority, merit and fair play, the disbanding of the anti JVP propaganda unit set up by the 'I section' of the armed forces, the disarming and disbanding of the Green Tigers state terrorists, the disbanding and disarming of all private armies of MPs, the disbanding of the Counter Subversive Unit of the police, the banning of all activities of the Indian Intelligence Agency RAW, and the arrest of all its local agents, the prohibition of all interference in the country's internal affairs by Indian imperialists, the unconditional release of all political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency, the resignation of Mr. Jayewardene from the Presidency, the most senior member of the Supreme Court asked to form a caretaker government, and the acceptance of a Presidential and General election held by this caretaker government, the defeat of the Indian invasion, the solution of the national question on the basis of equality, the acceptance of a common program of pure democracy and socialism that will protect the freedom, independence, sovereignty and integrity of the nation, the acceptance of the composition of a government of national salvation, and the acceptance of the condition that if in the end a common consensus cannot be reached, that the victorious common candidate and all others withdraw, and seek a fresh mandate from the people.

Without these conditions, we will not join the Jayewardene government's election games. Therefore the question of what we will do if the common candidate does not abrogate the pact does not arise. **We pledge that we will intervene and abrogate the pact chase out the invading Indian Army, and protect the country's territorial integrity, national freedom, and reassert the sovereignty of the people. There will be no mercy from us for anyone who betrays the motherland and joins the enemy.**

**Q: Prime Minister R. Premadasa does not speak against the JVP. He publicly states that the JVP should not be held responsible for the acts of violence in the country. What is your ieda of his actions?**  
A: Whoever they may be, we judge people by the things they do and not on what they say.

#### No democratic path in Sri Lanka

**Q: Please explain the obstacles that prevent your party from returning to the democratic path.**

A: There is no democratic path in this country today. It has been completely negated by the Referendum of 1982, the proscription of the JVP in 1983, the pact of betrayal of 1987, the Provincial Council Act of 1988, and the merger of the northern and eastern provinces in 1988. Therefore how can we return to a democratic path that does not exist?

Was the failure to hold the general election in 1983 the democratic path? Was the conspiratory proscription of the JVP in 1983 the democratic path? Was the eastern province merged with the northern province in 1988 in the democratic way? Was the invading Indian army brought here in the democratic way? Are thousands of patriotic youth arrested, tortured, killed, burnt and made to disappear in the democratic way?

Is the military conspiracy to protect the minority rule which is protecting the Indian interests amidst the protests of the majority democratic? No. Where there is no democratic path it is impossible to walk on one. Today we are risking our lives in the struggle to win back the democratic path for the people. No one can think of a democratic path as long as the Indian invading armies are here and as long as Indian spies are active here and the illegal government that is indebted to India is in power. Therefore, instead of dreaming about paths that do not exist, we have come forward to direct the objectives of the nation on the one that does exist.

#### Tigers? At the right time

**Q: Is the JVP not acting against the Tigers while Sinhala people are being massacred and driven out of Trincomalee, Ampara and Medawachchiya because it fears being labelled racist?**

A: No. Absolutely no. Like Dutugemunu, we do not eat hot rice haphazardly. As the old woman showed Dutugemunu, we methodically cool the hot rice and eat it. **The Tigers were instructed, ordered, armed and trained to kill Sinhala people by Indian imperialists. The Jayewardene-Thondaman government is an agency of those Indian imperialists.**

**We know very well where we should start, and where we should end. Therefore friend, please watch without getting excited. Like our brave ancestor Wijebahu the first, who began at Sithulpahuwa and ended at Mantota, our people power has the courage, strength, knowledge and enthusiasm to end not at Mantota but at Indraprasthi Pura if Necessary.**

We will do everything we have to do methodically, at the right time and at the right place. We are not in two minds about that. Today we are providing the leadership to the struggle for the rights of the people of the east. Tomorrow we will join the people to punish all criminals.

#### No compensation for foreigners

**Q: Explain the economic policy you will adopt if you get the opportunity to be a future leader of Sri Lanka.**

A: First, the JVP will act to improve the living conditions of the people by acquiring all national wealth and resources held by foreigners without paying them any compensation, preventing foreign racketeers from exploiting national resources and the peoples labour. National resources will be developed, the people will be relieved of all burdens of debt, privately held monopolies will be broken and a system of common joint industry will be introduced.

A clear description is in our policy declaration. Unemployment, inflation and poverty can be eliminated by those policies alone, and the true problems of the people can be remedied. There is no means of developing the country or solving the problems of the people outside our policies.

#### No JVP protest without reason

**Q: How can the posters and letters that come in the name of the JVP or the DJV, banning meetings or ordering shops and factories to close be accepted as genuine? Can't other people also put up bogus posters and letters?**

A: Yes. The army's 'I section', the Gajaba regiment, the NSSP, and Communist Party have on several occasions issued such orders declaring false protests attempting to mislead and blunt the people's struggle. But the people were intelligent enough to discern the truth. The Janata Vimukthi Peramuna does not organise protests without reason or meaning. It does nothing without a reason. The Patriotic People know this. Therefore the people cannot be tricked.

#### We didn't ask for care-taker govt.

**Q: The President has stated that he is willing to dissolve Parliament, and hold Presidential and General elections under a caretaker government. What is your response to this, which was one of the JVP's main demands?**

A: We did not ask for a caretaker government under his leadership. He has agreed but not to our demands. Our position has been explained earlier. However, we do not have the slightest faith in Mr. Jayewardene.

#### Anura's offer of 3 ministries

**Q: Mr. Anura Bandaranaike has stated that he will give the JVP three important portfolios if the SLFP comes to power. What is your ieda about this? Will the JVP contest the general elections?**

A: Anura Bandaranaike has not become President yet, to give portfolios. There is no need to get excited about that. The SLFP has never come to power on its own. They resorted to tricks to come to power. We are not Colvins or Keunemans. They have no real solution to the country's present problems. In the face of the present problems and people's struggle, they have already been written off. Though they talk of dividing up portfolios what have they done for the rights of the people?

#### We are totally opposed to Eelam

**Q: Ossie Abeygunasekera has said that at the JVP convention at the New Town Hall on April 6, 1982 you had declared you were willing to give not one but two Eelams. If so, why are you against Eelam now?**

A: Only the members who attended the meeting know what took place there. If the newspaper reports of that day were correct, I did not attend the meeting because I was seriously ill.

**I have never agreed to even a piece of Eelam, let alone Eelam. The policy statement and manifesto of our party which was first drafted by me categorically states that we are against the division of the country. Our position on the national question is very clear.**

The whole country knows that. Our stance on Indian imperialism is also equally clear. It was when I first returned to Sri Lanka from the Soviet Union as far back as 1965 that the people were warned about the threat of Indian expansionism. Later, it was subject of the third lecture of the five held before 1971.

The warning we made more than 20 years ago has come true before our eyes. What we said the day before yesterday happened yesterday. What we said yesterday has become true today. What we say today will become the true tomorrow. That is because we act on clear, uncomplicated vision.

**We were always against division. We are against it today. We will oppose it tomorrow. We will never allow it to happen. That is our unchanging policy. We are not liars and cowards who are trying to find a place in society while living off an Indian purse. We are totally opposed to Tamil Eelam which is a conspiracy of Indian imperialists.**

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# ARMAMENTS FOR AN ASIAN CALIGULA

He was blessed with a first name (Junius), which sounds very similar to one of the Caesars, who gave us the month July. Even after his 1977 general election victory, many Sri Lankan journalists played up this similarity of the name to image-building to be on par with the Roman Emperor. Now, after the passage of eleven years, fortunes of our Junius had plummeted so much so that, this reign can only be equated to that of one of the notorious successors to Julius Caesar.

Haven't you heard of Gaius Caesar? Well, this rascal is more popularly documented in history as Caligula, who ruled the Roman Empire between 37 and 41 AD. How did he get this name? As a child, Gaius grew up in his father Germanicus's camp amongst the soldiers and he got an irrepressible liking to the soldier's boot (caligae), so much so that his name became established as Caligula (meaning 'little boots'). Historians say that, soon after he succeeded to the throne, Caligula's subjects were rejoiced. And for eight months, the Emperor delighted everybody by general concessions. Then, by some unknown causes, the Roman Emperor had a severe illness and became insane. Result was a disaster. Ruthless Caligula turned the state into a cruel autocracy and trampled his subjects by the sheer force of his monstrous cruelty and vice. After a disastrous four year reign, Caligula was assassinated in 41 AD.

## Truth and Discipline?

Our Junius was enthroned to the Presidency of Sri Lanka on Feb. 4, 1978. I have in my possession a book issued by the Sri Lankan Ministry of Plan Implementation. It has a lengthy title: "The J.R. Jayewardene Government; First Three Years July 1977-June 1980, a Diary of Events". It states, what our Junius did on Feb. 5th 1978.

"In keeping with the tradition of ancient Sinhalese Kings, President J.R. Jayewardene visited Sri Dalada Maligawa in Kandy to pay homage to the Sacred Tooth Relic. Later he called on the Mahanayake Theras of Asgiriya and Malwatte and took their counsel. The President pledged that he would act according to truth and discipline. In the afternoon the President made his historic Address to the Nation from the Pattiruppuwa of the Sri Dalada Maligawa. In his address the President pledged that he would as head of the country and its people, carry out the heavy responsibilities of his office devoid of racial, communal or religious bias. He also promised that it would be his endeavour to bring about unity, peace, prosperity and progress to the country... Dancers and drummers from all 22 districts of the Island

Sachi. Sri Kantha  
(University of Tokyo, Japan)

participated in the pageant which was witnessed by a crowd of over one million." Well, it was a real coronation of a Ceylonese Caligula. Within a week, our Junius left on his first overseas trip to Australia.

## Dismal Record

Now, a decade had passed and the world knows the dismal record of the reign of our Junius Caligula. Tables 1 and 2 provide some figures on our Caligula's taste for armaments. The 1987 Year Book of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

On Feb.14, 1978, our Junius presented a keynote address entitled, "World and Regional Political Trends", to the Regional Commonwealth Conference gathering at Sydney. In that address, he "called for the creation of a World Disarmament Authority within the United Nations System to control the production, sale and use of arms". Lofty ideals indeed from one who boasts publicly that he derived his political philosophy from Mahatma Gandhi.

states, that under our Junius Caligula's despotic reign, "growth of military expenditure was over 500% in real terms since 1981. Original defence allocation for 1986 had to be almost doubled during the year 1986 and military spending rose to over 20% of available government revenue... weapon purchases have included small arms, field artillery, helicopter gunships, light air craft, patrol boats, landing craft and troop carriers. Many of these items have been bought urgently and it can be assumed that the terms of purchase have often been unfavourable".

In comparison to Sri Lanka's military expenditure, India's military expenditure increased from 4843 million US\$ in 1977 to 7912 million US\$ in 1986, in constant price figures. Pakistan's military expenditure grew from 1175 million US\$ to 2533 million US\$ during the same period. In 1984, India spent 4.0% of its GDP for military, while in 1983 (the latest figure available) Pakistan spent its 5.4% of GDP on military.

The Stockholm Institute's report also comments that, (a) the 8 Fast Attack Crafts delivered by Israel were

Table 1; Sri Lanka's Military Expenditure (1977-86)

Year	Amount in current price figures (million rupees)	Amount in constant price figures (million US\$ at 1980 prices)	As % of GDP
1977	478	45.3	1.3
1978	560	47.3	1.3
1979	804	61.3	1.5
1980	971	58.7	1.5
1981	1,051	53.9	1.2
1982	1,500	69.4	1.5
1983	1,800	73.1	1.5
1984	2,600	90.5	1.7
1985	4,280	147.0	2.7
1986	10,700	346.0	?

Source: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Year Book 1987.

Table 2: Sri Lanka's buying spree of major conventional weapons in 1986

Supplier	Weapon Designation	Weapon description	Number
China	Y-12	Transport	6
Israel	Dovra Class	Fast Attack Craft (missile/torpedo armed)	8
Italy	SF-260 TP	Trainer	8
Singapore	Type 33 M	Landing Craft	2
UK	HS-748-2	Transport	2
USA	Model 212	Helicopter	7
	Model 412	Helicopter	4
	Super King Air	Transport	1

Source: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Year Book 1987.

Continued on p.19

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# JVP TURNS ITS GUNS AND BOMBS AGAINST SLMP

The Sri Lanka Mahajana Party (SLMP), its leaders and those of the United Socialist Alliance have become frequent targets of JVP bombs and guns. Four persons were killed and at least 30 others injured on 2 December when a JVP gang hurled grenades and fired shots into a rally held at Kadawatte near Colombo in support of the SLMP Presidential candidate, Osie Abeygunasekera.

Those killed in the incident were D. Senaratne, a Vice President of the SLMP who was addressing a large gathering of people at the time of the attack, Mahinda Vithanage, a body guard of the Presidential candidate, Lakshman J. Rohana and Dharmadasa. Among the injured were Dr. Wickremabahu Karunaratne, Secretary of the N SSP and two police officers.

The attackers, six in number, had arrived at the meeting after hijacking a private coach filled with civilian passengers. The six men had boarded the bus at Mhara junction with several parcels containing grenades and one man who was armed with a gun had forced the driver off the bus and driven the bus to the meeting place at Kadawatte. On reaching, the gang opened fire and threw grenades into the crowd. At the same time some other JVP men who were in the crowd hurled bombs at the stage where the speakers and the Presidential candidate were.

It will be recalled that the JVP

assassinated Vijaya Kumaratunga, the popular leader of the SLMP a few months ago as he was getting out of his residence in Colombo. Many members of the SLMP, N SSP, CP and L SSP have become frequent victims of JVP gunmen in recent months. It is learnt that the main targets of the JVP at present are the SLMP Presidential candidate, Oswin Abeygunasekera and the N SSP leader Vasudeva Nanayhakara.

This is not the first attack on a SLMP rally. On October 17, three persons were killed and 35 others were injured when a bomb and gun attack was mounted by the JVP upon the maiden rally held in support of the SLMP candidate at Grandpass in Colombo. The fatal victims in that attack were M.D.M. Chandrawimala of the N SSP, A. Jayantha and S.B.A. Chandrasiri. Those injured included Vasudeva Nanayakkara and Y. P. Silva, General Secretary of the SLMP.

This attack occurred as Vasudeva was addressing a gathering of over 15,000 people and specifically referring to the fact that several members of the USA had been assassinated by the JVP/DJV.

The SLFP, CP and L SSP have condemned the attacks on the SLMP rallies. A USA statement condemning the attacks said, "It is fully in line with the campaign of fascist terror and killing that this combination (JVP/DJV) had unleashed in recent times to

assassinate anyone who differs from their policies, to destroy democratic norms and processes and to create conditions of anarchy and chaos that will prevent the people from using their votes to choose who should represent them and which policy should be followed.

"It is not an accident that this attack should have been directed against the left and radical forces who are on the forefront of the fight to stop the designs of these a fascist-like terrorist and safeguard the democratic rights of the people", the statement added.

The SLMP's presidential candidate has incurred the wrath of the JVP by publicly calling for a 'political and military defeat of the JVP' which he has described as 'fascist' and 'terrorist'. The SLMP has adopted a positive attitude on the ethnic question and consistently stood for equal rights to all ethnic groups in the country including the grant of full citizenship rights to plantation Tamils.

Ossie Abeygunasekera has said that he did not perceive India either as an imperialist power or an expansionist power. The SLMP, while supporting the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord, was prepared to 'go beyond the Accord' in finding a lasting solution to the current ethnic conflict. The only way to save the country's youth from being attracted by fascism was to politically and militarily defeat the JVP and such movements.

## Continued from p.17

in addition to six delivered earlier. (b) Model 212 helicopters from the USA was for counter insurgency duties and was delivered via Singapore.

### Sermon in Sydney

Now, what will one think about our Junius Caligula's record on disarmament, after his 1978 sermon in Sydney at the Regional Commonwealth conference? Roman Emperor Caligula's atrocities were attributed to insanity. Though our Junius is lucky not to be tacked outrightly with that "label", few diplomats had some doubts about his sanity too. The prestigious TIME magazine (May 11, 1987) reported that, "some diplomats in Colombo suggested that Jayewardene had been acting 'capriciously' lately". This assessment was made during the Vadamarachi campaign of the Sri Lankan army. One should note that a respected news magazine like TIME rarely uses this type of expression to comment on the actions of a country's "leader". What our Junius did then was also unprecedented, isn't it? Who in his normal senses would have ordered to

aerially bomb the defence-less people in his so-called "own" territory?

For more than ten years, the modern-day Caligula did many things to bring disrepute to the nation he "ruled"; (1) He tinkered with the Constitution so much so that it became a laughing stock everywhere. (2) He trampled the human rights of normal citizens. (3) He commanded an army (both within the parliament and outside the parliament) to verbally and physically assault the Tamils. The list goes on and on.

Now comes the international verdict. The NEWSWEEK (Oct.3, 1988) had provided a scathing criticism of the mis-rule of this Asian Caligula, with a title, "A National Sigh of Relief; Exit Jayewardene, pursued by a howl of criticism". Some excerpts are worth quoting here.

1) "It is unlikely that history will be so kind to Junius R. Jayewardene... the tide of public opinion was already turning against him... It was he who unwittingly touched off bloody anti-Tamil riots in July 1983 by staging a

state funeral for 13 Sri Lankan soldiers who had been slain by the LTTE. 2) "Under Jayewardene's rule Sri Lanka collapsed into ethnic warfare... Since 1983, when the Tamils began their push for a separate state, more than 8,000 Sri Lankans have been killed. Jayewardene not only refused to negotiate seriously with Tamil extremists, but he seemed unwilling to accept the reality of their revolution. 'He should have moved quicker, further and more forcefully to address Tamil concerns before it was too late' says a Western diplomat in Colombo". 3) "Jayewardene, who professed a strong belief in democracy, was at the time prone to fits of authoritarianism."

Comedian Charlie Chaplin, who had no respect for any politician, once said in his inimitable style: "I remain just one thing, and one thing only - and that is a clown. It places me on a far higher plane than any politician". Now, what's the difference between Chaplin and Jayewardene? Whereas, Chaplin made millions laugh at his clownish art, Ceylonese Caligula made thousands cry by his clownish 'heart'.

# ETHNIC CONFLICT – A HIGHER DIMENSIONAL APPROACH NEEDED

(Point of view of an octogenarian Tamil)

J.K. RETNANANDAM

The warp and woof of the fabric of any peaceful society, especially the heterogeneous one like ours, are Justice and Righteousness. When these shrink, the entire fabric also tends to shrivel or tear up. Herein lies the crux of the communal cleavages that have been convulsing this country. Without recognising that our ethnic problem has spiritual and moral overtones, our leaders have been dabbling at the material level of cunning diplomacy and distorted democracy, ignoring the higher dimension. They have been countering the symptoms and reactions obvious that symptoms are only the outward manifestations of inner causes and reactions are responses to actions. Things happening outside have an intrinsic relation to whatever is happening inside. The outer turbulences are signs of inner restlessness. So until the basic causes inside are uprooted, we shall be wallowing in our outer wars and woes.

The lingering stormy conditions ravaging this land are a clear pointer to the existence of certain transgressions of the law of Righteousness. The elusive ethnic issue is one such condition and another is the swiftly spiralling violent situation in the South. But the culpable parties shirk their responsibilities, either being unwilling or unable to mend matters. They do so either (a) 'knowingly' not wishing to risk losing their privileged positions, or (b) 'unknowingly' or 'determinedly', being blinded by psychological blocks or biases or emotionally swayed, or (c) sometimes due to pure 'ignorance' since the majority of our common masses are incapable of independent judgement and dance to the tune of interested inciters, which they miscall 'public opinion'.

## Hollow and hypocritical

Prayers and Poojas, Piriths and Pinkamas, Pereheras and Processions, are good in themselves, but when there is a political tinge they seem hollow and hypocritical. On the other hand they will bear greater fruits if accompanied by conciliatory talks by the Priesthood and persons of power and influence, with appeals for tolerance, for magnanimity, for repentance and forgiveness. There should be also exhortations for purification of hostile hardened hearts and cleansing warped minds. In short it should be emphasised that to love one's fellowmen of whatever race, religion, or caste etc. and to respect their inherent integrity and rights are 'musts' in every religion.

The belated appearance of the National Amity Movement (NAM)

having under its ample wings some NGOs and like bodies who have been steadfastly striving to build bridges of inter-communal understanding is a silver lining in the very dark Sri Lankan skies. It is refreshing that among other matters taken up by this Peace movement, pride of place is given to the re-establishment of human rights which have been torn to tatters during recent years. It is the duty of every right-thinking citizen to lend his utmost support to this national effort for Peace, particularly in the context of the fact of the fast spreading upheavals in the South. Let Peace volunteers be fortified by the elevatory Biblical Pronouncement:

*"Blessed are those who hunger and thirst after 'Righteousness'"*

inspired by the words of wise Edmund Burke:

*"It only remains for the good ones to be silent for the evil men to triumph"*

enlivened by the words of the late Reverend Martin Luther King.

*"The greatest tragedy of this period of social transition is not the strident clamour of the bad people but the appalling silence of the good one"*

*"I am of the opinion that my life belongs to the community and as long as I live it is my privilege to do for it whatever I can."*

## Souls so dead

Unfortunately there are in this land Persons with souls so dead who never let themselves have said, "This is our own, our native land, and we will not let barbarism blight it." The vast majority of the people, barring those self-interested opportunists, long for peace, but many of them are reluctant to stick their necks out for fear of danger which may strike from any side. For possibly the same reason our educated women who crusaded vigorously and forcefully for equal sex rights, have kept a low profile, when human rights belonging to both sexes are scorned and trampled upon by Governments and combatants. Wake up dear sleeper, before you are struck down in your sleep. You cannot any more be complacent, content that the fighting and suffering are in the distant North and East. Let us hasten to assist organisations that are genuinely interested in promoting Peace and not the interests of one side or another.

Our foremost task should be to try and effect an attitudinal transformation in mass thinking – from 'War

psychosis' to 'Peace consciousness', from 'enmity' to 'friendship', from 'opposition' to 'cooperation', etc. Let us not allow ourselves and those around us to be deluded by negative emotional impulses. Most unthinking people's thoughts have been conditioned by the barrage of biased belligerent blabberings. Weaning such brain-washed cases could best be done by recourse to the very reverse process by which they reached that undesirable state.

## Warm hearts and cool heads

So propoganda by persons of prominence and moral courage and rectitude, with the active assistance of the media, must begin that process. The ground is at present favourable for sowing such good seeds after the people's sordid experiences since the violence escalated. Warm hearts and cool heads are a sine-qua-non for any progress and an effort is needed to bring about this change of attitude. Thought is a vital element, being a potent force for good or bad depending on its nature. Thought is a continuous creative factor in our daily lives, for what we think and know permeates everything we do and all that we are.

"As a man thinketh, so is he" confirms the Bible. **So positive thoughts of those who have been harbouring illwill and hateful hearts against those they did not and do not agree with, must change by conscious effort,** remembering that to be swayed by emotion or prejudice is wrong. "Emotion is fire" said the Buddha and deterrent to 'right thinking' – one of the eight-fold path to Nirvana. The Mahabaratha makes a like pronouncement thus – "Unless and until you solve the inner battlefield, Dharmakshetra, you cannot solve the outer battlefield, Kurukshetra". These truths must be re-inculcated in our people. Satanic acts have made our people forget what they learnt in Temples, Kovils and Churches and at their mothers' knees.

Another path to peace in our circumstances lies in assigning a back-seat to our brain-fagged politicians in decisions on the ethnic issues, brain-fagged not by finding solutions but by subtle moves to consolidate their positions. It is a desideratum of high priority. Politicians have forfeited this right by the confused way in which they allowed the problem to snowball during three and a half decades into its present dismal dimensions. Even now they don't seem to have changed their outlook. Sometimes they resort to indiscreet acts without any thoughts for the sentiments of others and thereby



cause further alienation instead of reconciliation.

### Vadamaradchy heroes?

For instance, was the decoration of the 'heroes' of Vadamaradchy with all its publicity an event that was so very necessary and that too on the case of the fact that the Tamil people were at the same time bemoaning the loss of the innocent non-combatant lives and property that they suffered as a result of that cruel expedition? Again consider the stark contrast of such callous action with the civilised way in which the victor, King Dutugemunu, ordered that all passing the grave of his fallen foe, King Elara, should dismount and walk the distance. What is deplorable is the absence of any moves to reconcile the estranged parties and these are being pointed out not to find fault, but to stimulate action on conciliatory lines.

Let us not be satisfied that the IPKF is trying to bring about peace. The role of a peace-keeping force is to keep the fighting factions from direct confrontation by its superior muscle. But they are not bothered about all the pent-up repressions, oppressions, resentments and festering hatreds, consequent on the long drawn out battles. Once the lid of force is moved, all those bottled-up feelings will burst and pollute the air. Such catastrophe can be averted only if Real Peace is restored - 'Real

Peace' meaning the condition of those who live in harmony with God, their Fellowmen, Nature and themselves. Peace is not the opposite of war but the presence of well-being of the individual and the community. This state is not reached by evading the issues or crude repressions but by facing them truthfully and disposing them righteously.

### Federal system

For such a happy eventuality to take place, it cannot be through Provincial Councils. They are only additional financial burdens on the State with no commensurate benefits. Neither will the Tamils be satisfied with the powers invested in them. The Tamil people have long been seeking autonomy in their traditional homelands. The Federal system as proposed by the B-C pact, seems the nearest to fulfilling Tamil aspirations, while meeting Sinhalese opposition also. The ethnic problem that was bristling with numerous difficulties has now been reduced to solving the single question of the state sponsored colonisation of the EP, which too, it is hoped will be a belated gift in the manner of the Tamil Language being recognised as an official language and the civic rights of the up-country Tamils being restored, both after prolonged denials. Now under the proposals set out above, the bulk of the opposition will whittle down and outstanding issues solved.

The federal system has in it the advantages of granting the Tamil speaking people the autonomy they seek, while the Sinhalese people will retain the three features, important in their eyes - Sovereignty, Integrity and Unity of Sri Lanka. The USA, USSR, India, Yugoslavia, Germany and many others are federated states. They are not divided but bound together into single Governments, by the smaller Federal units.

If this system of having unity in diversity is not an acceptable solution, a caretaker government is the alternative, to take over governmental duties until a solution is found after which a democratic set up could be considered. The composition of the caretaker government is of the highest importance. It must be exclusive of politicians and have in it honourable men and women of proved integrity, racially unbiased and straight-forward in all dealings.

Let us not be overawed by the sad events that have engulfed us. Let us profit by the mistakes made. Let us find solace in the words of the ancient Sages and Saints. "Every experience in life is a kind of crucible into which Nature throws man to mould him so that he may blossom into higher consciousness. **Whenever he fails to learn,** the same experiences are given over and over again until the lesson is learnt."

Continued from p.11

### Employment

In case of employment in the state sector, corporations and other semi-government institutions, priority shall be given to the people of the area on the basis of competence. In relation to determining competence, consideration shall be given to the educational facilities available in the relevant areas.

### Time frame

The above provisions shall be implemented or steps taken towards such implementation within six months.

Continued from p.16

### Ethnic problem political solution

*Q: What are your views on the present ethnic crisis? Since you have opposed the Indo-Lanka accord as a solution, what is your solution to the crisis?*

*A: I have already answered that question. All parties that ruled this country or participated in the process must take the blame for not solving the ethnic crisis and for its being used by Indian imperialists. The ethnic problem can be solved politically only on the basis of equality. The foreign imperialistic invasion that is taking place in the guise of solving the problem has to be defeated militarily. We will shoulder the responsibility of doing so.*

### Negotiations

Any ethnic problem which may arise hereafter shall be resolved forthwith by means of direct dialogue amongst the representatives of the ethnic groups and steps shall be taken forthwith to implement such consensus as may emerge from the said dialogue. NOTE- Human Rights, education, the Constitution, the Accord and the Provincial Councils, the Prevention of Terrorism Act, Political Prisoners, Para-Military Forces and commissions of Inquiry are dealt with in the first part of the common programme.

### Students fight for peoples rights

*Q: Security agencies say the JVP is behind the student unrest. If this is true, what is the objective of having students lead campaigns?*

*A: The JVP is involved in every principled and just campaign of the people. The objective of the students campaigns is very clear. They are agitating for their rights on one hand, and agitating for the rights and freedom of all the people as future citizens. The objectives are the freedom and liberation of the nation, the independence and territorial integrity of the country, the sovereignty of the people, to win the democratic and human rights of the people and to establish lasting peace with dignity.*

A few sentences of some answers have been left out on legal advice as they referred to matters which are subjudice.

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**MATRIMONIAL**

**Jaffna Hindu parents** seek qualified working partner for their 29 year old graduate daughter working in the U.K. British citizen. Reply M256, c/o Tamil Times.

**Jaffna Hindu Tamil father** seeks bride from permanent citizens for son, 29, professionally qualified, holding executive position. Details to M265 c/o Tamil Times

**Sister** seeks partner for unmarried sister, 44 years, Tamil Catholic, confidential secretary, Colombo. Please write to M 266, c/o Tamil Times

**Jaffna Hindu parent** seeks professional for attractive, fair, accountant daughter, 27. Send horoscope Box 3543, Winnetka, California CA 91306, U.S.A.

**Sister** seeks Tamil partner in Canada for her graduate sister, 28, fair complexion, 5'6". Reply to M 267, c/o Tamil Times

**Jaffna Hindu parents** settled in London seek suitable working or qualified partner for their son, 31 years, professional engineer, employed in London. Please chart and other particulars at the earliest. Reply to M268 c/o Tamil Times.

**WEDDING BELLS**

We congratulate the following couples on their recent marriage

**Charles Mohan** (son of Mr. & Mrs. Gunaratnam Page) and **Renuka** (daughter of Mr. & Mrs. S.G. Mather of 135 Wemborough Road, Stanmore, Middx) on 29.10.88 at South Harrow Methodist Church, Middx, U.K.

**Hugh** (son of Mr. & Mrs. Jackson) and **Indra** (daughter of Dr. & Mrs. K. Thiagarajah, 92 Windmill Hill Drive, Bletchley, Milton Keynes) on 27.8.88 at Walton Hall, Open University, Milton Keynes, U.K.

**Dr. Nimalaraj** (son of Mr. & Mrs. C.V. Thamootheram of 25 Rajasinghe Road, Colombo 6, Sri Lanka) and **Dr. Kisholi Anusuya** (daughter of Mr. & Mrs. V.M. Vaikunthanathan of 98 Harrington Road, Madras 600031, India) on 30.11.88 at Connemara Hotel, Madras 600002, India.

**Forthcoming events**

**January 7th, 6.30pm** Vijayanarthalaya presents Vijayambigai Indrakumar and her students in 'Sleeping Beauty' and a variety of Indian Dances at the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 4a Castletown Road, London W14. For tickets and information tel: 01-471 2039

**Chundikuli Prize Day**

The Annual Prize giving of Chundikuli Girls College was held on Thursday 29th September at 9.30 a.m. Dr. A.R. Ganeshamoorthy, Consultant Anaesthetist and Dr (Mrs) Jayathevy Ganeshamoorthy were the chief guests. The function was presided over by Ven. Dr. Kanagaratnam, Archdeacon, Jaffna. Mrs. L.P. Jeyaweerasingham, the Principal read the annual report. The vote of thanks was proposed by Mrs. A. Murugadas and seconded by Miss Niranjana Sothirajah, the Head Girl.

**IN MEMORIAM**

**T. Somasekaram**  
Departed 5th January 1988

*"He needs no tears  
Who lived a noble life!  
We will not weep for him  
Who lived so well;  
But we will gather round and tell  
The story of his life;  
Such homage suits him well  
Better than funeral pomp  
Or passing bell"*

Fondly remembered and sadly missed by wife Haima; children Kannan, Niranthari, Ungi and Ketheecharan; grand children Anuca and Rishi; brothers Dr. Raja Muthaiah, Ramnathan, Yoganathan and sisters Mrs Cheevaratnam, Mrs Velaiuthar, Mrs Nadarajah and all members of the family. - 'Kripa', 34 Pamancade Lane, Colombo 6, Sri Lanka.

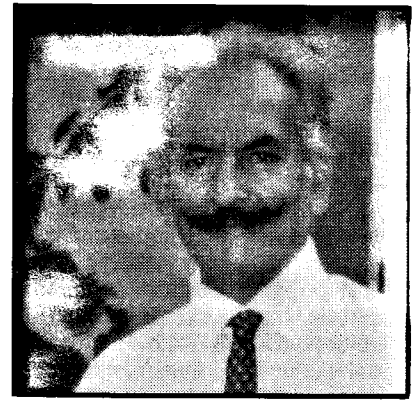
In ever loving memory of



**Dr. T. Thambyahpillai**  
(Research Fellow, Imperial College, London)  
who passed away on 4th December 1984

*We feel so sad  
Since you passed away,  
Time is meant to heal,  
But it seems like yesterday,  
That you walked along the path,  
And knocked upon the door,  
Happy memories pass,  
How we miss you so,  
We wish you were here.  
Sad moments never go.*

Your loving wife and children, Meenalosani, Sivakamasunthari and Shiyamalanayagi.

**OBITUARY**

**R.C. Thavarajah** (Retired Senior Superintendent of Police) - Beloved husband of Kamala Thevy (Staff, Vembadi Girls' High School), brother of Mrs C.T. Rajadurai and the late Jeyarajah, brother in law of Vivekanantha (Colombo), Mrs Nalayini Kanagasabai (Staff, Colombogam Maha Vidyalaya), Bavananthan (Staff, Jaffna Central College), Sarvananthan (Germany), Dr. Sreetharan (U.K.), Mrs Thevy Soccalingham (Canada), Mrs Chiyamala Thevy Muhunthan (Colombo), Krishnananthan (Kerala, India), uncle of Dr. Jeshuran, Mrs. Thanaranjini Mithrathasan, Mrs Gnanarajah (all of U.S.A.), Mrs Navaranjini Jeyarajah (Colombo), Mrs Raguram Thiruchelvam (U.S.A.), Mrs Vasanthakumari Rajeswaran (New Guinea) expired on 11.9.88 at 'Airy Dale', 51 Point Pedro Road, Jaffna Sri Lanka. - U.K. Tel. No. 01-656 8522.

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## 'MULTI-RELIGIOUS CONCEPT' IS ANATHEMA TO THE BUDDHIST SANGHA!

In a letter addressed to the UNP and SLFP candidates in the forthcoming Presidential elections, Prime Minister R. Premadasa and Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, the Sri Lanka Amarapura Maha Sangha Sabha have said that the multi-religious concept and multi-religious centre concept are contrary to the Sri Lankan constitutional provision giving foremost place to Buddhism and Buddha Sasana.

The letter called for the immediate establishment of a Ministry under a Cabinet Minister called the 'Ministry of Buddha Sasana' to take measures to foster the Buddha Sasana.

The other issues urged in the letter by the Sangha Sabha are:

● In all matters related to administration, reform and development which are of relevance to the propagation and the future of Buddha Sasana the views of the Maha Sangha as a supreme organisation should be sought and the views so obtained be respected.

● Multi-religious concept and multi-religious centre concept are directly opposed to the foremost place given to Buddhism (Buddha Sasana). In all State and national level activities the

Buddha Sasana should be given the foremost place and not be assigned a position of more equality with others.

● No action that would bring discredit or belittle in any way the Buddha Sasana either nationally or internationally should be indulged in and in such an event suitable remedial action should be taken.

● Employment programmes opposed to Buddhist conception of right Livelihood (Samma Aajeewa) should not be included by the Government when preparing its economic development plans and the national economic framework should be designed in accordance with Buddhist economic values.

● Buddhist education principles, which combine knowledge with moral training should become the basis of an education system which should impart technological knowledge relevant to the present day. Any subject of training to give skills for livelihood that could instil cruelty in a child's mind should be excluded from the curriculum.

● Laws of the country should be framed to be in conformity with the fundamentals of Buddhist ethics.

● The State should not encourage the consumption of liquor, gambling and immorality, all of which are harmful to the 'mores' of society and action should be taken to stop the use of the media whether directly or indirectly for advertising and promoting these vices.

● The present communication media be used not for undermining Buddhist values but for the protection and fostering of the underlying concepts and moral values of Buddhism.

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