

ENLFF MEETS RAJIV

An eleven member ENLFF delegation met the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi on 17, September. In a 90 minute frank exchange of views the delegation discussed all aspect of the Liberation struggle. The Prime Minister gave a patient hearing to the ENLFF during the discussions which could be summed up as, a better appraisal of each other positions and mutual understanding.

Earlier in the day the ENLFF had two rounds of talks with the Foreign Secretary Mr. Romesh Bhandari. The main topic of discussion during these talks related to bringing into force an effective ceasefire through a monitoring mechanism.

Even though copies of the working paper, prepared by Mr. Hector Jayawardene who led the Sri Lankan delegation at Thimpu and the Indian officials, was given to the ENLFF no discussions on any of the substantive issues took place.

The ENLFF insisted that an effective ceasefire, unlike the first, is an essential prerequisite to continue any meaningful discussions on a just political settlement. They impressed on the Foreign Secretary that the need to prevent Sri Lankan soldiers killing innocent Tamil civilians was the main objective of the ceasefire.

The ENLFF proved that it was a fallacy for the Sri Lankan government to claim that there war were civilian casualties because they were either caught up in the crossfire between the security forces and freedom fighters or because a small indiscipline section of the armed forces retaliated when they saw their colleagues killed.

Planned attack on Tamil civilians by burning their houses, indiscriminate killings and using the so called home guards or more precisely the armed goondas to uproot the Tamil population were all part of a grand plan by the Sri Lankan government and a deliberate and calculated strategy to ensure that the Tamil people do not enjoy any concentrated political power even if there is a political settlement. Therefore, the ENLFF insisted that all aspects of oppression in their historical

perspective should be considered before arriving at any conclusions.

While discussions were on to determine the modalities of setting up a non-Governmental body to supervise a formal



ceasefire effectively, Trincomalee was being reduced to rubble by the security forces. At least 140 Tamil refugees who had sought refuge in Nilaveli, following the orgy of burning and killing by security forces during the previous fortnight, were killed by the Army in one such senseless massacre.

Amidst rumours that the sea and jungles around Trincomalee had been declared as prohibited zones, Tamil refugees feeling from the atrocities were massacred. Even though it later transpired that in fact there was no such declaration, in effect the security forces had treated the jungles as such and shot and killed many refugees.

While Mr. J.R. Jayawardene had given verbal assurances to Mr. Romesh Bhandari that the army would be confined to barracks, the state controlled Sri Lanka Broadcasting corporation (SLBC) was boasting about "successful combing operations".

When SLBC announced that 15 "terrorist" were killed

by the security forces in the Amparai district while ceasefire discussions were in progress in Delhi, the truth was that home guards had entered a house in Kalvettu in the Amparai district and opened fire on a group of people watching a video film, killing 15 and injuring 10 others.

While appraising the Indian officials on the above matter, ceasefire monitoring

the Sri Lankan Government it became clear that the Sri Lankans did not want findings of any monitoring body to be made public.

Even though 3 people were appointed by the President to sit on the committee it transpired that no effort had been made to either inform them on their appointment or of the terms of reference.

It is reliably understood that at least one member refused to serve on the committees, which did not include any of the persons suggested by the ENLFF.

Meanwhile the Sri Lankan cabinet has had only a brief discussion on the draft paper prepared by Mr. Hector Jayawardene in Delhi. It is understood that there was substantial opposition even to the proposed devolution within the cabinet.

The ENLFF delegation which met Mr. Rajiv Gandhi comprised of:-

Prabaharan, Thilakar, Subramaniam (LTTE),

Sri Sabaratnam, Charles (TELO),

Balakumar, Ratnasabapathy (EROS),

Pathmanabha, Shanthan, Varatharajaperumal and Manoranjan (EPRLF).

During the indirect diplomacy that was carried out by Mr. Romesh Bhandari with

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EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, NEW DELHI,
ON 17-9-1985.

Representatives of Government of India have held discussions with leaders of the ENLFF to bring into force and effective ceasefire.

The Sri Lankan Government has announced that it will observe a ceasefire. The ENLFF have assured the Government of India that so long as Sri Lankan security forces and para - military forces including Home Guards do not carry out any operations against civilian population, refugee camps and Tamil Organisations, they on their part will not undertake any hostile acts.

Government of India believes that the assurances given by both sides in this regard will be faithfully observed and further loss of live will be avoided pending the coming into force of a formal ceasefire arrangement.



PERMANENT SOLUTION FOR TAMIL PEOPLES- RAJIV

Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi speaking at the ceremonial swearing in of new cabinet ministers and ministers of state said that there should be a permanent solution to the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka.

A statement issued by the ENLFF said that "We are confident that the Government of India will strive to find a solution without in anyway compromising the legitimate aspirations of our people to enable them to live with honour and dignity in the Island."

The statement also expressed confidence in Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in his efforts to find a permanent solution.

TWO FORMER TULF MP's SHOT DEAD

Two former TULF MP's, Mr. M. Alalasundaram and Mr. V. Tharmalingam were kidnapped on 2, September in Jaffna and shot dead.

Mr. Alalasundaram (49) represented the Kopay constituency from 1981 to 1983.

Mr. Tharmalingam (67) represented Manipay for 23 years. He was a member of the Sri Lanka-Soviet Union Friendship League and a member of the executive committee of the Afro-Asian Solidarity League.

These political murders were condemned by all major liberation organisations.

In a press statement immediately after the killings the EPRLF vehemently condemned the murders.

Meanwhile people in Jaffna observed hartal in homage to the slain former MP's.

We apologise for the late arrival of the SPOKESMAN. Due to unavoidable circumstances September and October issues are brought out in a single issue - Editor.



EPRLF EELAM SPOKESMAN

When it became known, nearly four months ago, that the drama of 'peace talks' was to be enacted in Thimpu, there was high excitement except, of course, in the Tamil camp. The actors - namely, the Government of Sri Lanka and the Tamil liberation groups - who had fought shy of playing opposite each other were persuaded by the director (Government of India) to perform together amidst rumors that there were possibilities of romance and even domestic bliss to follow in the final Acts.

But, as Act I unfolded, the viewing public sensed that one of the actors was departing from the script whilst the other responded by singing a familiar song. The director intervened to minimise the confusion and he promised the audience that Act II would be based on a more creative script which would be delivered more coherently.

Even as curtains opened for Act II, it was evident not only that the script remained unchanged but also that there was mayhem outside between supporters of the protagonists. An abrupt exit from stage of one group of players followed by manoeuvres off-stage eventually produced what has been claimed to be a new script, written primarily by the remaining players and the director.

Drama apart, the relevant question is whether the Sri Lankan Government has any intention of addressing the Tamil National Question with a view to finding a just solution. If a solution could be found through assurances alone, without deeds to accompany them, Mr. J.R. Jayawardene would have resolved the issue years ago. But the bare truth is that time and again he has proved to be very generous where assurances are concerned whilst been found wanting in implementing them.

It is true that he is the President of the island and that one has to deal with him in these matters; but it is also true that he is the most dishonest and unprincipled of Heads of State Sri Lanka has seen. From the 'Annexure C' episode in 1983 to date the Government of India has had direct dealings with him on the Sri Lankan issue. Is it possible to cite one instance where he has not betrayed his word?

When Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF) leaders were in New Delhi in mid-September to discuss the modalities of ceasefire with the Indian Foreign Secretary, assurances were given by Mr. Jayawardene that Sri Lanka was earnest about seeking a political settlement, preceded by an effective ceasefire. In reality, whilst this discussion was in progress in New Delhi, the Sri Lankan Government created about 40,000 NEW refugees in Trincomalee, either by destroying their homes and property or by forcing them to flee their traditional homelands through indiscriminate killings by security forces and home guards which resulted in the murder of 800 innocent Tamil civilians within a span for three weeks. Indeed, on average more Tamil civilians have been killed each day during the so-called ceasefire than during any comparative period before 18 June.

The objective of the exercise is to reduce, and if possible eliminate, the Tamil population in Trincomalee in order to break the territorial contiguity of Eelam, as a step in the direction of a two-pronged military push into the northern and eastern provinces aimed at the final liquidation of Tamil resistance. Towards this end, the military machine is being beefed up both in terms of men and machinery: Sri Lanka plans to expand its armed forces to 100,000 men wielding sophisticated weaponry; helicopter gunships, fighter planes, gunboats, etc. are new additions to an already expanding armed force.

It is to the credit of Mr. Jayawardene that whilst persuading a military solution he has talked the Government of India into believing that he is seriously considering a political settlement. Because even a cursory study of recent Sri Lankan history will show that the present generation of right-wing Sinhala politicians, who are either in Government or in the opposition, built their political careers NOT on the implementation of popular economic programmes or resolution of historic political issues but, instead, on the racist platform of championing Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinism and of protecting the Sinhala 'race' against the so-called 'Tamil threat' from the north. The United National Party (UNP) and its leader, Mr. Jayawardene, have been the principal exponents of Sinhala racism - we have not forgotten the headlines in the UNP newspaper *Siyarta* which cried 'Kill, kill, kill' urging Sinhalese to murder Tamils during the pogrom of 1958; and the Sinhala right-wing has time and again planned and executed 'Tamil hunts', popularly known as 'race riots', in principle not unlike the 'Indian hunts' which had been carried out in North and South America until very recently.

That the Government of India has been made to believe that Mr. Jayawardene and his Government are willing to accept Tamils as equal citizens and to arrive at just solution is a truly creditable achievement.

What is of immediate concern to us, however, is the repeated expressions of confidence by the Government of India on J.R. Jayawardene's capacity to bring about a negotiated settlement. Although, the Indian government's official stand may have been motivated by its role as a mediator, it would certainly be inimical to the interests of the Eelam People if international public opinion were to misread India's expressions of confidence on J.R. Jayawardene as an overt support for the misdeeds of his government and its proposed "solution", as spelt out in the draft working paper and rejected by ENLF as being totally unacceptable. Further, the whole exercise in masquerading to negotiate has only suited the Sri Lankan government to tide over the Aid Consortium Meeting in Paris in June and will certainly help in the forthcoming Commonwealth heads of governments meeting and in the Conference of Nonaligned Movement later this year. It is our sincere hope that the Government of India will continue to be directed by its stated intentions of offering its good offices to ensure a just and a permanent solution to the Tamil National Question.

is to be reached, the Sri Lankan Government must be made to realise that the military option is irrevocably closed.

In short, the principal villain in the drama has been miscast as the hero, with not a little help from the director. The burning question is: Will the script be re-written?

CEASEFIRE WITH WHOM?

The ceasefire accord, as the liberation organisations and the Government of India call it, and 'cessation of hostilities' as the Sri Lankan Government insists on maintaining, has been extended with a fair amount of ambiguity. Unlike the first agreement which came into effect on 18th June '85 effective for 3 months, its extension did not have a clearly defined agreement by both parties.

Notwithstanding the violations by the Sri Lankan security forces during the previous three months the rationale for an extension, where the ENLF was concerned, was based on the fact that the armed services of the Sri Lankan Government was engaged in mass killings of innocent Tamil civilians, ostensibly as retaliations for attacks on them.

It is ironical that the ENLF, while discussing the modalities of the ceasefire with the Government of India, never complained about their camps or cadre being attacked. The ENLF insisted that the killings of innocent civilians should be stopped and that incidents like what happened in Vavuniya and Trincomalee should not happen again. From the ENLF standpoint, violations of ceasefire did not feature prominently any attack on the militants instead there was earnestness in highlighting the killing and harassment of innocent civilians and it urged the Government of India to exert international pressure to stop these mass murders.

One factor which repeatedly came up was that if the security forces were confined to their barracks, then automatically innocent civilian lives would be saved.

Therefore, the ceasefire arrangements is not intended to stop attacks and counter attacks on the liberation fighters and vice versa but aimed at stopping a genocide process.

LESSONS FROM 'A' PURA

The massacre of innocent civilians in Anuradhapura is amongst the most callous and brutal of its kind executed by any liberation movement. There have been in the history of struggles, several instances of civilians being killed including our own but as far as calculated mass murder is concerned, for whatever reason, Anuradhapura stands without parallel.

The horror and shame of these dastardly actions has been felt and expressed by the liberation movement.

Horror, because of the inability of certain liberation organisations to resolve correctly the 'contradictions amongst the people' and shame, because the movement as a whole has let political murders go on for a decade without either averting and correcting this trend or exposing and punishing the offenders.

Therefore the movement as a whole should collectively bear the responsibility for these actions.

In the reactions and response of many, though admonishing the Anuradhapura killings outwardly, there was a notable ironical satisfaction. A satisfaction born out of the feeling of retribution, of a score being evened are normal feelings of human beings who themselves do not have the power to dole out 'justice'. But the danger is that it was beginning to be justified and theorised as the norm rather than an exception and some sections within the liberation movement itself began to consider this a new strategy i.e. to attack civilian targets as the security forces do.

ERROR LEADS TO DEVIATION

The general acceptance of eliminating and liquidating political opponents and the assumption that the Sinhala people will understand the plight of the Tamil people only if they too are subjected to the same degree of barbarism are the forerunners to this mistaken response.

However, the error broadened into a deviation with the massacre of innocent civilians in Anuradhapura. All major liberation organisations have disassociated themselves, from this actions and issued statements of condemnation.

As regards the Anuradhapura massacre rarely, if ever, in the history of the world revolutionary movement, has an act of conscious and deliberate terrorism of this magnitude been reported. This act, though it sent a clear message to the Sri Lankan regime that the liberation movement was capable of striking deep into the Sinhala heart land at civilian targets, has strengthened the Sinhala chauvinist propaganda against the Eelam liberation struggle locally, regionally and internationally. World public opinion, which, as the vietnamese have repeatedly

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DIVIDE AND RULE Vs. CONSENSUS BUILDING

A correspondent described the members of the delegation of the Government of Sri Lanka at the second round of negotiations at Thimpu as 'petty lawyers' who argued 'as though they were engaged in litigation in a district court, not in serious political negotiations of great consequence to the very survival of their island nation'. This crisis of state-manship - that is, a predominance of politicians and the virtual absence of statesmen - in Colombo has its roots in the British colonial period. Prior to legal independence in 1948, the Ceylonese comprador bourgeoisie, including Tamil and Sinhalese factions, was supposedly schooled in 'self-government' at the feet of their British colonial master; but in fact it imbibed their manipulative tactic of 'divide and rule', rather than learn the art of conflict management and consensus building.

In independent Sri Lanka, Tamil and Sinhalese bourgeois factions interpreted the tactic of 'divide and rule' differently. The Tamil bourgeoisie envisaged a division of the island into two linguistic regions and the sharing of political power (through District/Provincial Councils, Federalism, etc.) so that the Tamil and Sinhalese bourgeoisies would be able to exploit the respective peasants and workers whilst at the same time maintaining a high degree of integration and coordination between the two bourgeoisies through a new decentralised State structure. The peasants and workers, divided along linguistic lines and lacking an institutional framework for class cooperation between them, were not expected to be able to pose a serious threat to the combined rule of the two bourgeoisies.

DIVERSION OF CLASS HOSTILITY - SINHALA PERCEPTION

In contrast, the Sinhalese bourgeoisie understood 'divide and rule' to mean re-directing the class hostility of the Sinhalese workers and peasants towards the Tamil as a whole: both blue and white collar Sinhalese workers were pitted against their Tamil counterparts in the competition for jobs, and the Sinhalese peasants were systematically taught, through colonization schemes in the traditional homelands of the Tamils, that denying land to Tamil peasants is a necessary pre-condition for land being available for Sinhalese peasants; whilst commercial establishments of the Tamil bourgeoisie were reduced to ashes during successive State-sponsored terrorist attacks. The anta-



gonism against Tamil was reinforced ideologically by the selective use of Sinhalese mythology which portrayed the Tamils as mortal enemies of the Sinhalese. A short-sighted objective of the Sinhalese bourgeoisie was the elimination of the Tamil bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie, who were claiming their share of a relatively shrinking economic cake in underdeveloped Sri Lanka, as serious economic competitors. This was achieved by exploiting the division between the Tamil and Sinhalese working classes to virtually destroy the economic base of the Tamil bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie.

FEDERALISM & EELAM TAMIL RESPONSE

The response of the Tamil bourgeoisie to the implementation of this tactic, beginning with the introduction of Sinhala Only in 1956, and the consequent political and economic marginalisation was to seek a greater and still greater degree of political autonomy for a Tamil linguistic region in the north and east of the island where it could establish a secure market for itself.

The Sinhalese bourgeoisie successfully out-manoeuvred the Tamil bourgeoisie as evidenced by the history of 'unkept promises' and 'broken pacts', and this trend culminated in the demand for the creation of a separate State, Eelam, in 1974. The Tamil radical petit bourgeoisie took this demand to its logical extension by launching an armed struggle in the late 1970s.

COLOMBO'S DUAL STRATEGY

The Sinhalese bourgeoisie attributed the inability of Colombo to contain this armed struggle primarily to the support enjoyed by the Tamil liberation groups in New Delhi and particularly in Madras. As a result, Colombo has sought to develop a two-pronged strategy to defeat the liberation groups. On the one hand, the support enjoyed

by the groups in India was to be undermined and, on the other, military operations were to be intensified to crush the liberation movement in the island. The formulation of this strategy coincided with the commencement of peace talks in Thimpu.

Colombo apparently set out to sour relations between New Delhi and the liberation groups by creating the impression that the groups have assumed an intransigent and unreasonable negotiating stance. To achieve this, the delegation from Colombo indulged in brazenly provocative actions at Thimpu II - by presenting proposals which were little different from those rejected at the 1984 All Party Conference by issuing a harsh repudiation of the Four Cardinal Principles put forward by delegates of the liberation groups, and by denying the fact that the liberation groups are the sole and legitimate representatives of the Tamil-speaking people in the island. These actions were supplemented by Colombo's serious violations of the ceasefire agreement including the massacre of hundreds of innocent civilians, including women and children. This resulted in the termination of Thimpu II.

But the liberation groups refused to be provoked into adopting an indefensible position at Thimpu; they insisted merely that (a) the ceasefire be scrupulously observed and (b) Colombo should place a reasonable proposal for the devolution of power, so that constructive negotiations could continue.

COLOMBO'S REARGUARD ACTION

In subsequent private discussions with officials in New Delhi, Colombo's delegation presented a flexible position: for it raised the prospect of continuing the negotiations on the basis of the Ceylon Workers Congress Proposal for a devolution of power, submitted at the 1984 APC, and it also held out scope for a substantial accommodation of the demands put forward by the liberation groups. However, when Indian officials proceeded to reduce to writing Colombo's verbal offers of compromise, the leader of the delegation, Mr. H.W. Jayewardene, staged 'a bitter rearguard action' to wriggle out of some of the commitments made by him. Nevertheless, a draft Working Paper was finalised at the insistence of New Delhi and it awaits approval by Colombo.

All indications are that Colombo did not anticipate this eventuality. The euphoria with which news of the deportation of Dr. A.S. Balasingham, Mr. C. Chandrasenan and Mr. N. Satyendra from India was received in Colombo - on the assumption

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THE NATIONAL FRONT CLERICO-FASCIST OVERTONES

The National Front, formally inaugurated on August 9 at the Asgiriya Temple, is the latest phenomenon to enter the turbulent Sri Lankan political equation. With presence of buddhist heavy weights like Chandrananda Thero (Mahanayake, Asgiriya Chapter), Prof. Mahinda Palihawadana and Rev Sobitha it does have an appearance of a religious pressure group. Besides the leading monks it includes Buddhist organisations like the All-Ceylon Buddhist



Sirimavo Bandaranaike: Contemplating new strategy..... with the Monks

Association and the Buddhist Theosophical society, organisations of young monks, Sinhala associations like the Sinhala Bala Mandalaya. The character of the National Front takes a qualitative leap when the third dimension is added namely the political parties, SLFP and the MEP, with the personal role of the leader of the SLFP Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike given focal attention.

When the leader of a party which had governed for more than half the period in the last 30 years - a person who had been Prime Minister twice joins a new non-political organisation it does elude easy definition within the historical experience of Sri Lanka.

SINHALA BUDDHIST CHARACTER

Its pronounced Sinhala-Buddhist character became blatantly obvious when the NF placed its demands: namely, (i) wipe out terrorism, (ii) all displaced sinhalese to be resettled, (iii) postpone the Thimpu exercise until (i) & (ii) are achieved and (iv) negotiated settlement must be subject to approval by the people at a referendum.

The chauvinistic nature too penetrated the 'national' facade when Mrs. Bandaranaike claimed that the continued existence of the Sinhala race and of Buddhism could be ensured only if the country is saved.

ANTI-INDIAN TENOR

Despite her earlier remarks on her confidence in the good offices of the Government of India, she reinforced the general anti-Indian tenor of the NF when she laid claim to heroism: "We might

have to face various difficulties in carrying out the task that has been undertaken. Even our lives could be in danger, but we have to make this sacrifice for the country" the task being to "Unite all Sinhalese to protect the country race and religion".

Rev. Chandrananda was more direct in expressing his anti-Indian sentiment on behalf of the NF. He said after reading the Front's declarations that, Sri Lankans problems cannot be solved to please India and that Rajiv Gandhi should not attempt to impose any solution.

POPULIST-CHAUVINISTS

The National Front combines chauvinistic, populist and rightist elements of the opposition to the ruling UNP with a certain section of the military too coming under the influence of the new alliance. A sentiment is also growing within the NF



that all power should be handed over to the military. With Mrs. Bandaranaike's demonstrated ability to put down insurgency, as she did in April-May 1971 when almost 10,000 Sinhala Buddhist youth were slaughtered under her command, the new force obviously is looking for the 1971-type leadership, once again with Mrs. B at the helm.

The major difference this time around is to take and exercise all power in the name of the Sinhala race, Sri Lanka and Buddhism whilst earlier it was done in name of the people and in defence of socialism.

Is this an attempt to install a regime in which the Buddhist clergy has a greater influence? A clerico-fascist regime in tandem with a military putsch emanating from the lower-middle ranks of the armed forces could, under the present circumstances, propel to the fore a populist-chauvinist government. The National Front reflects this tendency, hitherto dormant in the Sri Lankan politics.

REPLY TO THE STATEMENT MADE BY DR. H. W. JAYEWARDENE Q.C., ON 12TH AUGUST 1985, BY THE TAMIL DELEGATION:

In our statement of 13th July 1985 we set out the four principles which we consider to be fundamental to any meaningful solution to the Tamil national question. It would appear from the statement by the Leader of the Sri Lankan delegation made on the 12th of August 1985 that the Sri Lankan Government's perception is at variance with our understanding of the nature and content of the four principles that we had enunciated. In the circumstances, we now propose to set out in some greater detail the nature of the basic framework suggested by us and also to place on record some of the reasons which impelled us to assert our inalienable right of self-determination. Our demand for self-determination has evolved and taken shape historically through determined political struggles by our people.

This struggle for political independence took different forms and different modes at specific historical situations unifying and organising our people and strengthening the collective will of the Tamil nation for a legitimate cause. In the late fifties and early sixties, the forms of struggle were characterised by non-violent peaceful agitations based on Gandhian principles of Ahimsa, that unfolded into huge upsurge of peaceful popular

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Tamil national question became a question of self-determination of the Tamil people, a question of an inalienable right of a people to decide and determine their own polity.

The stamp of popular approval was given to the demand for self-determination at the General Elections of July 1977 when the Tamil people voted over-whelmingly in favour of the mandate for Tamil Eelam, which was, in a political sense, an authentic declaration and expression of the popular will of the Tamil nation. Thus, the right to self-determination was already invoked and mandated by our people and our armed struggle for national liberation is none other than a struggle for the realisation of that right. We wish to assert that the issue of self-determination in the Eelam liberation struggle is a historically constituted demand borne out of the concrete conditions of the struggle specific to our situation.

From the basis of our right to political choice, we have enunciated four cardinal principles that are fundamental to the Tamil national question and to the resolution of that question.

**FIRST PRINCIPLE:
WE ARE A NATION:**

Our assertion of the inalienable right of self-determination stems from the fact that we the Tamils of Eelam or Tamil Eelam are a nation. What is a nation? A nation is a historically constituted stable community of people formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life and a psychological make-up manifested in a common culture.

The togetherness of the Tamil people of Sri Lanka is rooted in common history, a common culture and a common language. It springs from a common past, but it is not a function of the past alone. It has been hammered into shape by the discrimination of the shared present - a discrimination which has treated separately and which has inevitably nurtured that which has been separately treated. It is a togetherness which has given strength and direction by a growing conviction that the Tamil people will together shape a common future where they and their future generation will live in equality and in freedom.

**SECOND PRINCIPLE:
RIGHT TO HOMELAND**

As a nation, we, the Tamils, have an inalienable right to our homeland. We have an identified territory, a historically given homeland, a land of our toil which we call Eelam or Tamil Eelam, that includes all the geographically contiguous areas that have been the traditional homeland of the Tamil-speaking people in the country.

The Sri Lankan State since its inception to power in 1948 has been pursuing a deliberate policy by enacting citizenship and introducing colonisation schemes, usurping the right to ownership of property, disturbing the demographic composition of the population, dismembering the Tamil areas and thereby flagrantly violating the traditional integrity of the Tamil homeland. Without a homeland we shall cease to exist as a people due to the process of assimilation, integration and ultimate annihilation. We, therefore, proclaim our fundamental right to safeguard and protect the territorial integrity of our homeland.

**THIRD PRINCIPLE:
RIGHT TO SELF-
DETERMINATION:**

The Tamils are a nation and constitute a people within the meaning of that expression in article (1) of the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights which reads: "All people have the right of self-deter-

mination. By virtue of their right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."

We are not only a people but also by any test we are today a subjugated people living in fear for the safety of our lives and property. It is the inherent right of a subjugated people to free themselves from an alien subjugation. This is the right of self-determination the international community has come to recognise as one of the peremptory norms of General International Law. In upholding this right, we as a people, have the liberty to determine our political status to freely associate or integrate with an independent state or to secede and establish a sovereign independent state.

**FOURTH PRINCIPLE:
RIGHT TO FULL CITIZENSHIP AND OTHER
FUNDAMENTAL DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS:**

We wish to state categorically that the plantation Tamils are an integral part of the Tamil people and no solution to the Tamil national question will be complete without resolving the problems of citizenship and fundamental democratic rights of the plantation Tamils. We have, through our struggle for the Tamil people, earned the right to represent the plantation Tamils. These are our people, nearly one million of them who toiled in blood, sweat and tears to build up the Island's economy, who were disfranchised by the State and were robbed of their basic human rights and suffer the worst form of dehumanised and degraded life. Having been robbed of their right to citizenship, our people in the plantation areas, the most exploited and economically backward of all peoples of Sri Lanka, have been totally alienated from the political life and welfare system.

By denying the vast majority of the people of their fundamental freedom the Sri Lankan State stands indicated as a violator of international principles and norms and guilty of crimes against humanity. We demand that the Sri Lankan Government should forthwith terminate the conditions of statelessness of these people by recognising their civic rights and political liberties.

We have outlined the basic principles that are cardinal to the Tamil national question and fundamental to our freedom struggle. These principles set out in the statement constitute that legitimate national aspirations of our people.

The enumeration of these principles, which are inalienable rights of our people,

Lessons From.....

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pointed out, is of vital importance for the victory of a liberation struggle, has been adversely affected.

This public opinion, it must be pointed out, was built up over many years of tremendous effort and at great financial cost by our sympathisers and by progressives the world over. This act has reduced sympathy for the cause of Eelam liberation amongst the international community and more significantly among the progressive forces in the Sinhala community.

**CONSEQUENCES OF
THIS DEVIATION**

Armies deployed by bourgeois regimes dig their own graves slaughtering innocent civilians. When the general populace perceives a threat to its collective existence they take-up arms in self defence. Liberation forces should not indulge in similar behaviour for it will also bring similar results, which could only be counter productive.

While the Sinhala bourgeois regime has been forcibly attempting to arm civilians, actions of this nature would no doubt force the civilians to demand arms. Even if one denies the story that following the Anuradhapura massacre the local Sinhala population stormed the Kachcheri and the police station demanding weapons, it cannot be denied that in principal they would be right in doing so.

Surely our strategy should be to unite the many, to isolate the enemy and divide and destroy it.

The tactics employed at Anuradhapura only would 'unite the many' against the liberation movement. The rear-base of the regime, the Sinhala people, was solidified as a result and the vestiges of popular democratic forces, anti-racists and solidarity movements were weakened.

If Anuradhapura was an attempt to strike a "balance of terror" and deter the Sinhala army and chauvinists from slaughtering Tamil civilians, the subsequent killings in Delft, Anuradhapura and the East only proves that this theory of deterrence does not work.

Or if it were an act of reprisal for the killing of innocent Tamil civilians in Valvettithurai by the Army, there is no excuse to attack

does not entail that we are opposed to any rational dialogue with the Government of Sri Lanka. We wish to make it absolutely clear that my meaningful discussion for a lasting solution to the Tamil national question cannot be worked out unless the Sri Lankan State recognises these inalienable rights.

equally innocent civilians in Anuradhapura.

**MORAL OF LIBERATION
MOVEMENT Vs BOURGEOIS
ARMY**

A liberation movement must never aspire to out do the bourgeoisie in terrorist atrocities. In fact they should take all precaution to desist from the temptation to encourage the people to engage in such reprisals and more importantly refrain from direct actions themselves. The Anuradhapura massacre indeed is a decadence into barbarism and should be condemned without reservation and seen that it is never repeated in the future.

Most national liberation struggles are fought by the majority of people against a foreign occupier or aggressor (the US in Vietnam, the French in Algeria) or a group (the Whites in South Africa, Somoza regime in Nicaragua) that is numerically smaller than the occupied peoples. A special feature of the Eelam National Liberation struggle is that it is waged by an oppressed nation which is attempting to defeat a chauvinist capitalist Sinhala regime. Hence it is strategically important not to engage in actions that would unite, mobilise and possibly arm almost the whole Sinhala nation against the Eelam Nation. Therefore, the importance of winning over sections of the working Sinhala masses, or at least to neutralise those sections that cannot be won over, cannot be underestimated. Anuradhapura does not in the least help the latter process.

The world is aware of the Nazi-like genocidal massacres conducted by the Sri Lankan armed forces. As revolutionaries before us have taught us, the fundamental distinction between the oppressor regime and the people must be recognised and observed scrupulously in practice. Civilians must not be harmed. The liberation forces must not become a mirror image of the oppressors' armed forces. Their behaviour and morality should be qualitatively different from that of the reactionary forces. Our war is a just war. The Sri Lankan states' is unjust. This moral factor is more important than temporary material advantages that the enemy may have.

It is the duty if the progressive forces within the Eelam liberation movement to condemn without reservation such acts.

'Certainly one of the most important factors determining the future direction of the Eelam liberation movement will depend on correctly resolving the contradictions amongst the people'.

BATTICALOA JAIL BREAK:**THE LONG MARCH TO FREEDOM**

Two years ago, on 23 September 1983, Tamil freedom fighters made history when about 60 of them held prisoners at Batticaloa made good their escape with the assistance of the Peoples Liberation Army (PLA), the military wing of the Eelam Peoples Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF). The incident which came at it did in the wake of July '83 anti-Tamil Pogrom gave new impetus and hope to our struggle. The following is an account of one escapee

The dastardly killing of a total of 53 Tamil political prisoners on two separate occasions (25 and 27 July, 1983) within the four walls of Welikade Prison in Colombo by hired killers was the culmination of brutal and inhuman treatment of Tamil prisoners at the hands of Sri Lankan security forces. The Welikade massacre was planned and executed by the Sri Lankan State to terrorise Tamil freedom fighters into submission; that this was a gross miscalculation on the part of the Sri Lankan racist State was proved by subsequent events.

International outcry over the Welikade massacre forced the Sri Lankan regime to transfer the survivors and Tamil political prisoners held in other prisons situated in Sinhalese areas to the Batticaloa prison in Eelam. This transfer once again underlined the insecurity of Tamils who live among the Sinhalese. Moreover, when the Sri Lankan rulers transferred Tamil prisoners and other refugees to Eelam, they effectively laid to rest their oft repeated claim that there is no traditional homeland for Tamils in Sri Lanka.

The prisoners were housed in the Batticaloa prison as a temporary measure, with the intention of moving them back to a new prison, which was under construction, at Homagama in the south. Given the horrific events at Welikade, 'going back to the Sinhalese areas meant going to a slaughter'. So, the Tamil political prisoners took the decision to escape.

Contact was established with PLA comrades outside; with their help, arms, hacksaws, blades, first-aid materials,

open cell-doors; they overpowered all the guards, obtained the keys to other cells and released the rest of the prisoners. The PLA also secured escape vehicles, which carried the escapees and sped past the establishments of unsuspecting security forces. The escapees were broken up into small groups, each of which made its way north independently of others.

The journey to freedom was not without hazards. Two prisoners were unable to



etc. were smuggled into the prison. They also followed the movements of security personnel on roads outside the prison in order to discover the safest time for escape.

The escape had to contend with many obstacles: the prison was situated on an island; and there was a Police Station and Army and Air Force camps in the vicinity of the prison. Besides, there remained the stupendous task of transporting the escaped prisoners to Jaffna and then to Tamil Nadu. More than once, the escape was planned for a certain date only to be abandoned due to a variety of reasons. But time was running out since news was received that the prisoners were to be taken to Colombo to face trial. It was no longer possible to postpone the escape and it was fixed for the night of 23 September.

At the appointed time and on a signal received from comrades outside, the first batch of escapees sawed through iron bars and broke

walk due to injuries received at the time of their arrest; consequently, they were carried all the way in makeshift stretchers. It was a journey of over 100 miles through jungles and across rivers; through areas often infested with security forces who were on the lookout for us. But trekking through Eelam proved to be a rewarding experience: all the way the freedom fighters were generously assisted by the people and they were overwhelmed by their love and affection. The journey was completed in 19 days. It is significant that not a drop of blood was shed during or after the jailbreak. Although the Sri Lankan regime mobilised its armed forces to trace 'the most wanted men', it was unable to catch a single escaped Tamil political prisoner.

Two years have passed since that historic jailbreak. The escapees rejoined the ranks of the freedom fighters; some have since sacrificed their lives whilst others are in the forefront of the struggle to liberate Eelam.

MAIN FEATURES OF THE EXTENSION OF CEASEFIRE

(Though there is no agreement on all aspects, the following were steps required to be taken by the Sri Lankan Government immediately).

1. Security forces to be withdrawn to barracks. No patrolling/search/destroy missions to be undertaken.
2. Home guards/civilian/Voluntary forces to be disarmed and no curfew to be imposed.
3. Status quo with regard to settlements (colonisation) to be maintained. No effort, direct or indirect, to change the demographic pattern to be made.
4. Surveillance/prohibited zones to be lifted completely. Fisherman should be allowed to move freely to make their livelihood.
5. No new camps to be established. All camps opened since 18th of June, 1985 should be closed.
6. All check posts of the security forces to be removed.
7. PTA & other emergency regulations should be withdrawn. No arrests connected with past acts under the PTA should be made.
8. All those in custody against whom no charges had been filed upto 18th June should be released.
9. All those driven out of their houses should be allowed to return to their homes.

Sri Lankan State must refrain from the following:

- A. Induction of men and military hardware from outside.
- B. Carrying arms when "security forces" move outside camps.
- C. Attacking civilians (including Ex-MPs) and their property.
- D. Burning civilian property, including private, public, industrial and commercial property.
- E. Destroying movable property and hijacking vehicles.
- G. Looting, robberies, extortion and harassment of traders and others.
- H. Attacking fishermen.
- I. Stopping the mobility of people especially in plantations.
- J. Induction of mercenaries from agencies like SHINBET, SAS, KMS (Kini Mini Service).

MONITORING CEASEFIRE

An independent civilian body acceptable to both parties should be created to monitor ceasefire violations.

This would be an interim arrangement until such time that an international body could take up this task.

This body will also visit prisons, examine conditions and facilities provided and monitor the release of prisoners.



Crime's against humanity committed by the Sri Lanka armed forces..... they kill poor, innocent civilians

INTERNATIONAL

South Africa Fighting Apartheid

On July 21, the Botha regime declared a state of emergency in 36 magisterial districts. The security forces were given a free hand, for an unspecified period, to suppress the disturbances. Even without the proclamation of emergency more than 500 Africans had been killed in the preceding few months.

Soweto, Sharpeville, Sebokeng, Biopatang etc., are already, etched on the pages of history of the struggle against the white racist regime. While the enemy is clearly identified and the struggle is being waged against apartheid tyranny, white supremacy and imperialist exploitation, there is also another dimension of the struggle emerging in South Africa: the signs are pointing towards sustained revolt and even revolution.

The roots of struggle in South Africa go deep into history. Though the fires of revolt have flared fitfully on occasions there has never been a period of acquiescence. In the period following the upsurge of popular revolt in the early 1970's, which culminated in Soweto and connected uprisings in 1976, the South African ruling class woke up to the fact that there could not be a military solution. This realisation that military domination by itself would not frustrate the people in the long term and, therefore, some sort of political accommodation would have to be found to compensate for the structural weakness of apartheid was significantly visible in the Botha regime. More significantly there were also murmurs within the military establishment that they could not control the popular upsurge by the means available to them and that a rethinking was necessary in the political sphere.

COSMETIC REFORMS

The result was the new constitution which only managed to shed the blatant trappings of white supremacy partially and attempted to install a more cumbersome and sophisticated scheme which had the "divide and rule" policy as its main objective.

The new dispensations for coloureds and Indians in the new constitution is based on two main principles:-

- * the continued exclusion of 70% of the African population from any participation even in the farcical bourgeois democratic parliamentary structures.
- * the inclusion of coloureds and Indians into an alliance with the white minority on racist terms under

democracy in South Africa.

Even before the new constitution came into force mass protests and actions erupted all over the country not only against these cosmetic reforms but also against the whole system of oppression and aimed at the abolition of apartheid.

white control and domination, thereby divide and destroy unity amongst the oppressed masses.



In addition the new constitution was specifically designed to help those imperialist powers backing South Africa to claim the South Africa was slowly but surely moving along the path of gradually abandoning the shape, form and content of apartheid under the influence of the new policy of "constructive engagement".

In the referendum held amongst the white constituency, which attempted to give respectability to this constitutional sham, the regime managed to get the support of only 50% of those voters but claimed a huge victory. No referendum was held amongst the Black, coloured and Indian voters for obvious reasons.

UNITED OPPOSITION

The separate referendum held amongst the coloureds and Indians showed that only under 18% voted while in the urban areas the poll was a derisory 4%. This too after large scale electoral rigging, police intimidation and violence. The result was a resounding victory for the United Democratic Front which campaigned for a boycott. It was made clear that the coloureds and Indians were not interested in exercising their voting rights because the "rights" which the new constitution offered was valueless as white domination at all levels was entrenched in the new parliament.

The new constitution also did something else to white democracy. Presidential rule, now introduced to the extent that it never existed, killed off Westminster style

In the months that followed the movement against apartheid gathered momentum and engulfed all four provinces of the country. When the police force failed to suppress the rising tide of opposition, the army was called in by which time hundreds of Africans had already been killed. Simultaneously armed actions by the anti-apartheid militants intensified beyond all expectations.

The militant response on a single day, June 24, accounted for eight explosions, one of them causing a serious fire at a fuel storage depot in the Bantustan of Transkei; another badly damaged an electric power station. Grenades were used extensively in the townships of Kwatema, Sakana and Duduza near Johannesburg. Most of the armed actions were ascribed to the 'Umkhonto we sizwe' guerrillas, who have been responsible for 50 operations this year alone.

The fury of the people was also directed at fellow Africans who had gone to the other side of the barricades seeking illusory benefits and to accept the crumbs that were being thrown under the table by the Botha regime. In eleven months 360 black policemen and 240 members of the municipal councils including 27 mayors have been attacked. Their homes had been set ablaze. Other methods also have been used to persuade people not to serve the racist regime. Only 5 out of 38 municipal councils set up have survived while the others have been totally discredited in the eyes of the population.

Thus, the entire system of government created for black participation, instead of the right to be in parliament, has been paralysed.

THE BATTLE CRY

On the Industrial front, with a massive devaluation of the Rand which has sent shock waves through the national economy, the decision of African miners to start a general strike on August 25 at the gold and coal mines has shaken the ruling class. The miners are demanding for the immediate end to emergency rule and that their wage demands be met.

There are threats of withdrawals of foreign investments and an effective enforcement of the trade embargo which would directly affect the South African state.

Meanwhile Botha has not only tried to suppress the struggle by the use of brute armed force but also has had recourse to concessions and to rescinding of some laws. However, these measures have not affected the foundations of apartheid.

As an ANC member remarked "we are not fighting to shift in the same loo as the Whites". Despite the removal of "Whites only" signs from buses, railway carriages and public lavatories, halting of forcible settlements and lifting the ban on mixed marriages, it is blatantly obvious that the regime is only attempting cosmetic reforms to perpetuate white domination.

Painful blows at the regime has been delivery by both organised political/Trade Union Groups as well as by the masses in general.

The determination with which the new constitution was resisted and ignored and the heroic confrontation on the withdrawal of emergency is testimony to the resolve of the African people to win their freedom at all cost. The beginning of the end of the bankrupt apartheid regime is within sight.

As an ANC leader declared the task of the ANC is to "raise the level of violent confrontation between the people and the apartheid regime".

END TO THE BLOOD TYRANNY

Divide & Rule.....

cont. from page 3

that the strategy of turning New Delhi against Tamil liberation groups was succeeding - rapidly evaporated as the draft Working Paper took shape. Because the peace process, rather than discredit the militants in the eyes of Tamil-speaking people in Eelam (as Colombo no doubt hoped), instead now required Colombo to consider a viable basis for negotiations towards a political solution, involving a devolution of power, in full view of world opinion for the first time.

This eliminated a rationale - namely, the failure of the peace process - for a military push towards a 'final solution' to the national question in Sri Lanka. However, the political momentum in Colombo is clearly in the direction of a military solution since preparations by way of arms purchases and training of military and para-military personnel have been in progress, in violation of the conditions of ceasefire and under the pretext of a need to eradicate 'residual terrorism' after an agreement is reached between Colombo and Tamil liberation groups. Moreover, the draft Working Paper was not discussed at the first Cabinet Meeting, after Colombo's delegation returned home, held on 4 September; and the next meeting scheduled for 11 September was cancelled with no reason being given; and there is no indication that the document was discussed and approved at any subsequent Cabinet Meeting.

CONCEPTUAL LEAP NECESSARY FOR SOLUTION

But some officials in New Delhi appear to believe that this political momentum could be shifted towards a negotiated solution and that the President, Mr. J.R. Jayewardene, is the person who is most likely to effect this change. This change is not merely a function of political will; it involves a drastic conceptual shift from the crude exploitation of 'divide and rule' to a sophisticated strategy of conflict-management and consensus-building. The President, and his party, have displayed no surmountability in the past; so there is no rational basis for New Delhi's expectation that he could learn this strategy now. Therefore, the chances are that New Delhi will be disappointed.



Para Cont. from p.4 Col.1

resistance demanding autonomous self-government. The struggle took a different form in the mid-seventies when the non-violent peaceful campaigns had failed to be an effective mode of agitation and resistance against the ever mounting State repression and terrorism, and resulted in the advancement of the popular struggle into a revolutionary armed resistance. Thus, the

TAMIL PRISONERS FAST UNTO DEATH

Tamil prisoners detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) for more than 18 months have begun a relay 'fast unto death', to protest against their illegal detention.

This protest begun on 8, August had already claimed one life. Suresh, a student of the Jaffna University was the first martyr in this heroic protest.

Like Bobby Sands MP, who died in the Irish prisons, Suresh has led the struggle against the draconic PTA, under which thousands of Tamil youth are detained without any charges brought against them.

The fast unto death (in the infamous Welikade prisons) is to be continued as a relay, with Suresh, Kanagaratnam, Karnnakaran, starting that fast on 8, August with Manoharan and Yogeswaran following when the first three have sacrificed their lives.

Their objectives are to:-



Solidarity demonstration

- * expose the inhuman treatment of prisoners in the Sri Lankan prisons.
- * protest against the illegal detention beyond 18 months.
- * Demand that they be treated as political prisoners.

Meanwhile widespread demonstrations and protests were held all over Eelam in support of the heroes fasting in the Welikade prisons, the theatre of death, where 53 Tamil prisoners were murdered by the Sri Lankan

authorities.

Students of the University of Jaffna are continuing a 3 day relay fast in support of the Welikade prisoners.

These protests, demonstrations and fasts were held in all major towns in Eelam including villages like Ottisuttan, Muthian Kattu, Katsilaimadu, Karuvelankandal, Kulaamurippu, Pasaradi and Varanthapuram.

Tens of Thousands of men, women and children participated in these demonstrations.

MULHIRIGALA BYE-ELECTION

24hr CURFEW FOLLOWS VIOLENCE

A 24 hour curfew was imposed on 13 September in Mulhirigala following widespread violence after the parliamentary bye-elections.

It is reported that the ruling party goondas prevented people from casting their votes in opposition strongholds which resulted in clashes between supporters of the UNP and the SLFP.

At least two people were killed and 8 others were seriously injured.

This phenomenon called post-election violence has become a permanent feature in the Sri Lankan political life. Even though there were clashes between the victors and the vanquished previously this became a regular feature since 1977 when the UNP came into power.

Whether it be parliamentary bye-elections, district council elections or village council elections the two predictable factors are victory to the UNP and thuggery by the UNP. This thuggery has been perfected into a fine art, so much so that missing ballot boxes, closed polling stations, intimidation of election

agents are regular events which does not even raise an eyebrow.

Elections of any form are viewed with cynicism by the Sinhala masses. Use of a private army to suppress all forms of opposition is one of the methods adopted by the J.R. Jayawardene regime to consolidate itself and remain in power.

Attacks on supreme court judges, Trade Unionists student activists, intellectuals and human rights movements have become a norm under the present regime. Together with the oppression of the Tamil people non-fascism has taken root in Sri Lanka.

STATEMENT ISSUED BY COMRADE N.K. KRISHNAN, SECRETARY, NATIONAL COUNCIL, CPI.

The mass massacre of Tamils perpetrated by the Sri Lankan armed forces in Trincomalee has exposed in a shocking manner the hollowness of all the pretensions of the Jayawardene regime about seeking a negotiated political settlement of the problems of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. According to various reports, the number of refugees who have fled from their homes from the areas surrounding Trincomalee alone is nearly 50,000. With the cease-fire lapsing on September 18, it has become obvious that the Sri Lankan armed forces and Home Guards are stepping up their barbaric offensive against the Tamils in a pre-planned way. The Jayawardene regime is also inducting arms from the Imperialist countries on a massive scale.

U.S. Imperialism and its allies are doing everything behind the scenes to wreck a peaceful negotiated settlement of the problems of the Tamils in Sri Lanka and accentuate the conflict.

Pro-Imperialist forces are working from all sides towards this end. Sri Lanka has today come to occupy a strategic place in Imperialist plans to militarize the Indian Ocean on the one side and to encircle and pressurize India on the other side. The Jayawardene regime is acting as the tool of Imperialism in the reckless course it is embarking on. It has already granted substantial base concessions to the USA in Sri Lanka.

The Communist Party of India vehemently denounces the State terrorism being carried out by the Jayawardene regime against the Tamils and demands an immediate end to it. The

issue must be treated as an all-India issue and not of Tamilnadu alone. The cease-fire in Sri Lanka must be strictly implemented and its period extended so that favourable conditions are created and time given for a negotiated political settlement. No such negotiated settlement can come without the devolution of substantial powers to the Provincial Councils, a measure which the Jayawardene Government has shown no willingness to concede so far.

The CPI calls upon all democratic forces in India to back the just demands of the Tamils of Sri Lanka, demand an end to genocide against them and expose and fight the Imperialist conspiracy to keep the conflict alive in Sri Lanka. The Government of India must intensify political and diplomatic efforts directed towards this end.

12 SEPTEMBER 1985

cont. from page 8

- * Army personnel, Home Guards and some Sinhalese youths went on a rampage in Trincomalee town especially in the Tamil majority Weeranagar locality.

SEPTEMBER

- * On Sept. 4, about 20 Tamils were killed and 75 houses burnt by the rampaging crowd. In Uppuveli on the same day 20 Tamils were killed in addition to several houses being burnt.

- * On 6.9.85 Sri Lankan army looted Tamil houses and burnt them in 20 villages spread in between Mugatankulam, Periapalaiankulam, Neriakulam, Mudalaikulam in Chettikulam area.

- * A mini bus carrying 35 Tamil passengers from Colombo to Jaffna was hijacked between Anuradhapura and Medawachia on 5.9.85 by Sinhalese anti-social elements and taken to a nearby village Aruthagana and set on fire killing 34 of the 35 passengers.

- * 3 Tamil youths from Killinochi who went to Anuradhapura were killed on their way back to Killinochi on 6.9.85.

- * On Sept. 6, 40 Tamil civilians were killed by Security Forces and Home Guards. 50 Shops and 250 houses of Tamils were also burnt on the same day, at Trincomalee.

- * On the night of Sept. 7-8 Sri Lankan Security Forces set fire to 25-30 Tamil houses in Trincomalee. On Sept. 8, they were reported to have killed 8 fishermen and sunk 5 fishing boats off the coast of Trincomalee.

- * Lord Krishna Temple in South of Trincomalee was destroyed Sri Lankan Security men on the night of 8th Sept. 85. Idol was disfigured and thrown out of the Temple.

- * A private bus in which 35 Tamils were travelling set on fire by the armed Sinhalese backed the Sri Lankan army. All the occupants were burnt alive. It took place at NILAVELI in Trincomalee on 8.9.85.

- * More than 300 houses and shops including petty shops on the road side were set ablaze and the valuables were looted by the armed Sinhalese. (second week of Sept. '85).

- * More than 45,000 Tamils in and around Trinco. fled for safety to a nearby jungle, some to the Indian coasts and nearly 300 perished in the arson. The attack on the unarmed

Tamils was jointly committed by Sri Lankan Army, Sri Lankan Navy, Airforce and the Armed Sinhalese. (second week of September '85).

- * 9 lorries carrying food supplies to refugees in Batticaloa were attacked and 17 Tamils (Drivers and Cleaners) were burnt alive together with the lorries.

- * Jesudas, a youth from Batticaloa was shot dead and the body was burnt by the Army.

- * A young Muslim girl and her father travelling by lorry from Vavuniya to Mannar were stopped by armed homeguards at Madawachi and had their belongings stolen. The 18 year old girl was gang raped.

- * The army opened fire in Kupilan in the Jaffna district injuring 3 people.

- * A train carrying food supplies to refugees in Trincomalee was derailed by armed Sinhalese and the engine was burnt. The incident occurred in Thambalakamam.

- * Army opened fire on a tractor Trailer carrying 17 Muslim cultivators killing 4 in Tampannai in the Amparai district.

- * Two students Sathesh Kamatchi Sundaram and Bharathidasan Nallaiah both aged 16 were shot dead by the Army in Chenkaladi in the Batticaloa district.

- * 40 youths from Vantharumullai, Chenkaladi, Chithandi and Kiran in the Batticaloa district were arrested by police.

- * 4 people travelling in a van were shot by the Army in Murukandy in the Killinochi district. The driver died on the spot.

- * A lorry carrying paddy to Jaffna was attacked by men carrying automatic weapons. The driver Rathinam and two other occupants of the lorry are still missing.

- * One person was killed when the army open fire near Marukanthai Vinayakar Temple in Trincomalee.

4 NEW POLICE COMMANDO CAMPS IN THE EAST

Police commando force in the Eastern province has been further reinforced following the establishment of 4 new camps in Pothuvila and Akkaraipattu in the Eastern province.

National Security Minister Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali visited the new camps on 14.9.1985.

EPRLF EELAM SPOKESMAN

ALIBROTHIES COM-
MUNTED BY THE ARMED
SERVICES FROM 20th
JUNE - 20th SEPTEMBER

LAST WEEK OF JUNE

* The Sri Lanka army opened fire on two young men riding on a motor bike at Murunkan in which one was killed while the other escaped. The army burnt the dead body.

* In Kokku Udayar in Mannar, four youths were shot dead by the security force and their bodies were burnt.

* At Pattithidal in Muthur the security forces killed two youths.

* The Sri Lanka army continues to patrol Trinco area and continues to harass innocent Tamil civilians

* Air Force personnel of Thampalagamam camp near Trinco conducted raids and searches in Trinco area. They had beaten and robbed the Tamils and also raped many Tamil women. Commandos of Alioluwa Police Station were also involved in these raids.

* Tamils who attempted to re-settle in their burnt-out villages at Kilivetti, Mallikaithivu and Third Colony were shot at and chased away by the security forces.

* On 23.6.85 an old man was shot dead by the security forces at Kilivetti.

* Tamil farmers of Trinco area who attempted to resume their farming operations and tried to conduct harvest of their crops were shot at by the security forces 2 were shot dead.

* Sri Lankan Navy personnel continue to harass fisherman in the northern coastal belt.

* Fishermen from Velvettithurai, Thondamanaru, Point Pedro and Thalaiyadi who reventured out to sea for fishing were fired at and beaten with barbed wire by Sri Lanka Naval personnel. Their catch was also robbed.

* At Akkaraipattu, road-blocks and search operations by security forces continue and the Tamil public are harassed by the forces.

* In Mannar two youths riding a motor bike were shot dead by army without any provocation.

* In Trinco area dynamite was thrown near Tamil houses in order to frighten them away from the area.

* Armed forces put up posters in Trinco city, carrying the words "Trincomamalai belongs to the Sinhalese".



Home guardes being trained:
trigger Happy Lumpen elements

JULY

* On 2.7.85 two youths Joseph and Johnson riding a motor bike was ambushed by police commandos led by Inspector Thiagu Pillai at ARASADI THIVU, Batticaloa. Joseph was killed and Johnson was taken prisoner.

* On 8.7.85 at Kumburumulai, Batticaloa, Government press building is being changed to army camp. 13 truck loads of Tamils were forcibly brought to prepare sandbag fortifications.

* Same day army conducted intensive patrolling at Kilinochi, Mullaitivu and Vavuniya.

* Same day at KIRAN, Batticaloa, Police Commandos indiscriminately attacked Tamil civilians of the area.

* On 9 July shop keepers who took part in hartal in Mullativu were attacked by Sri Lankan Security Forces.

* On 10.7.85 Security Forces burnt many Tamil houses in Batticaloa.

* On 10 July in Amparai and Akkaraipattu areas, people were searched.

* On 11.7.85 at Sambalathivu, Trinco, Police destroyed more than 50 houses.

* On 11.7.85 at Kaduvandikudi and Mudur Security Forces arrested Six Tamils.

* At Kokkillai, Pattukudiyirupu, Periyakulam,

Pudiamalai in Mullathivu district Home Guards attacked Tamil civilians on 11.7.85.

* On 17.7.85 about 200 Tamils were arrested in combing operations at Araipattai, Batticaloa.

* On 12 July in a few villages in Vavuniya, people were attacked and several houses were burnt by Security Forces.

* On 18 July at Poonagarai, Security Forces raped a

girl who was later admitted to hospital.

* Security Forces continuing to harass Tamil pilgrims to Thandamalai Murugan Temple in Batticaloa.

AUGUST

* On 3 Aug. Commandos had robbed Rs.25000 from a shop in Killinochi.

* A Tamil refugee camp at Thiriyai, near Trincomalee



armed forces.....
they kill
poor, innocent
civilians.

was attacked by a group of unidentified gunmen on Aug. 10. Eleven Tamil refugees was killed.

* On Aug. 10, the local police killed 15 Tamils and injured several others while burning down 100 houses and shops in Vavuniya town.

* On Aug. 14, Security Forces shot dead 3 Tamils at Pavatkulam, south west of Vavuniya town. Their bodies were thrown into their houses which were set on fire.

* On Aug. 16, Security Forces personnel resorted to indiscriminate firing and arson in Vavuniya town, following a land mine blast which narrowly missed a passing security forces vehicle. About 200 Tamil residents were killed and over 100 Tamil houses burnt, rendering more than 1500 persons homeless

* On Aug. 17, 18 Tamils were killed and 9 others seriously injured by army personnel near Trincomalee

* During a combing operation in Colombo (3rd week of Aug. '85), the police raided "suspected militant hide-outs" in Kotahena area and took about 200 Tamils into custody.

* On Aug. 18, 2 Tamils were killed by Home Guards at Anbovellipuram and 3 Tamils were killed by the army at Valachenai.

* On Aug. 19, Security Forces personnel killed 12 Tamils and injured 13 others at Pavatkulam, following which the Tamils are reported to have vacated the village.

* On Aug. 19, 6 dead bodies from Marivilla in Mankulam area of Mullaitivu district were "discovered" by the Sri Lankan police.

* On Aug. 19, 20 Tamils were killed by Home Guards and Sinhalese at Pankulam, Trincomalee District.

* Following rampage by Sri Lankan Security Forces at Vavuniya and Trincomalee, over 8000 Tamils

Batticaloa district. A Hindu Temple was also burnt. On the same day 4 Tamil villagers were killed by army personnel near Thirukkivil and 19 fisherman who were taken away are feared killed.

* On Aug. 25, army personnel burnt 20 Tamil houses in Tirukkadalur, Trinco district.

* On Sept. 2, Sri Lankan Army and Home Guards burnt down 40 Tamil houses in Veiviyakulam and Chettikulam in Vavuniya district.

cont. on page 7

500 ACRES LAND REQUISITIONED IN VAVUNIYA FOR AIR BASE

Following the order to requisition land for the expansion of the Vavuniya Air Base Government surveyors are engaged in determining the new boundaries.

500 Acres of inhabited land has been earmarked for this project and the people who live within this area have been issued with quit notices.

The land earmarked for the air base include 200 permanent houses, a Catholic church, 2 Hindu Temples, 5 Rice Mills and two small irrigation Tanks.

Two tanks, Irrappaikulam and Soosaiapparkulam have already been filled for this purpose. Several acres of small holder agricultural land which were irrigated by these two tanks are now without any irrigation facility.

Several thousand Tamil people have been affected by this callous decision of the Government.

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

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

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