
Indo-Lankan accord

And

the course of action

open to **THE LEFT**

PRICE. 5.00

NAVA SAMA SAMAJA PARTY

Introduction

Confirming our prognosis the events of the few weeks there after which include the tragedies of Trincomallee and the war that was unleashed soon afterwards are now matters of historical record. Consequently the left has suffered a retreat within the mass movement. The Indian forces have consolidated their position and power in the North and the East. But yet the mass restlessness is simmering. Under these circumstances the attempt to implement the provincial Councils will provoke struggles both in the North and the South, once more. There can be no peace nor freedom under the regime of JR.

The only force capable of ousting the regime of JR and expelling the Indian force is the united force of the left. Any attempt by the Sinhala Chauvinist capitalist leaders to oust JR will necessarily result in the division of the country. PLOT lead by Uma Maheshvaran and EPRLF lead by padmanabla have already expressed their wish to work within a united left front. Similary even Balakumar of EROS had stated his willingness to fight together with the left. This demonstrates that there is a mass pressure to present a left alternative not only in the south but in the North too.

In the meantime the SIMP and CPSL had announced on Oct; 16th that they had formed a unite front and that they had adopted a code of conduct. They have presented their respective programmes and policies and the code of conduct as the basis offered for a united left front. As soon as these documents are available every left party will be duty bound to examine and consider the same. We hope that these documents

would be made available especially to the NSSP LSSP and the Three left parties that emerged out of the Tamil liberation struggle. What ever the substance of these documents be, the left parties can come together only on the basis of not giving way to another bourgeoisie leadership relying on the strength of the mass movement in ousting the regime of JR and aspiring to establish a left government. If not, the kind of front that could be formed is a broader based one with short term objectives of fuelling the immediate mass struggles. The five party front formed in last July was one like that. We of the left should be prepared to work within even board fronts, which are formed for immediate needs of action in addition to being in fronts with a socialist objective to be realized within a left government. Yet we cannot postpone the bringing in to being a left alternative, which we have repeated reiteratedly as our primary task.

Vickramabahu.

21.10.87

Let us prepare a mass struggle combining the North and the South against the Comprodore regime of JR

Why the Accord ?

The accord between Rajive and JR was signed in order to rescue his regime against a number of forces opposed to him. Those forces were as follows.

01. The movement of agitation for a general election launched by the 5 parties viz. SIMP-CPSL, NSSP of the left together with the SLEP and the MEP and the struggle of the doctors, students and the workers in the health sector that bounced in the atmosphere of this agitation. This force was steadily rising from the picket lines of March and later the defiance of the May day. At the same time the rebellious and guerilla activity of the Sinhala youth was growing.
02. The repressive efforts made to subdue the military struggle of the Northern youth had become bankrupt. The result was the hatred of the government by the entire Tamil people and the increased disapproval of the world opinion.
03. The difficulties of obtaining loans from the lending agencies including the IMF and the W.B. increased, They pressurized the government to achieve a stability even by obtaining assistance from the Indian rulers.
04. Rajive and the Indian rulers were forcing the government to reach settlement and was even preparing for a direct invasion for a number of reasons.

What happened on 29 th July:

Facing up to all these forces of opposition JR expected at least temporarily to strike a new equilibrium. This is the reason for his agreement with the Indian capitalist Butas the accord was revealed, a new momentum was gathered by the oppositional forces as our party- had always anticipated. Clearly a division came about within the five party front. The division between the working class and left forces on the one hand and the SLFP MEP and JVP on the other was clinched.

At the same time the Tamil youth including prabhakaran had announced their opposition to the surrender of arms and the reestablishment of JR's regime in the North and the East. On the other hand the pro imperialist pro Yankee conspiratorial forces of the bourgeoisie lead by Premadasa of the government and Anura of the SLFP basing themselves on an Anti Indian stance became operative.

Mobilizing the Sinhala P.B. smarting under socially oppressive conditions a so called "patriotic front" remerged based on chauvinist and semi fascist lines whilst the JVP was the main factor of this political force, it received the willing support of not only the SLFP and MEP but even of Premadasa. It even had an influence in the armed forces.

At this time the left forces were incapable of coming forward to oust the regime of JR, nor were it able to supercede the chauvinist semi fascist forces or overwhelm the ultra nationalist forces in the North while striking an alliance with it's progressive mass forces for this purpose. Had the left been already engaged in the matter of unifying the Sinhala-Tamil and Muslims masses

around a left alternative with a socialist potential, and had it offered a revolutionary democratic solution to the Tamil National Oustation then such an intervention would have become possible, at the time. But instead the SIMP and the CPSL the two major forces of the left, were more optimistic of the good result of the accord. Our party by itself could not present itself as the left alternative while turning our back on Major left parties. In the circumstances the left movement did not proceed against the regime of JR. Though the government was thoroughly shaken by the mass uprising at that time, those who sought to take advantage of the situation were none other than the pro-imperialist, semi fascist conspirators who wanted to establish a totalitarian regime by removing JR. But yet the conspirators could not move on as planned due to the alertness of the workers who were on the streets (through without a leadership from the left) and the left masses in general on the one hand, and due to the well tempered preparedness of the plantation workers for their own defence, on the other.

The greater emphasis was on conspiratorial action, as was proved once more by the incidents of 18 th of August. The attack on the parliament on 18th was not merely an action of the Pet. i. Bourgeoisie rebels as is clear to the many.

Has JR become more strengthened

Yet ,though the apparatus of JR collapsed he was not custed in the process. He was able to maintain himself because of the support of the Indian force on the one hand and the indirect support of the left movement and the plantation workers, on the other. Accordingly he unleashed the Military police reppression against the Sinhala Pettit Bourgeoisie. Thousands were arrested in the south.

Extraordinary measures were imposed on the Buddhist clergy. The emergency powers were enhanced against the masses.

At the same time prices of certain food items were increased. The grants to pivenas were suspended, whereby the cut back on education was pursued. The programme of privatization of the state sector and corporatization was being pressed forward. He also sought to consolidate his regime in the North; for this he improvised the interim administration proposal. He was able to utilize the Indian forces for all these measures. JR and his Indian colleagues were able to intensify the conflicts between the militants of the North and lead them into clashes and also they did bring about clashes between the Tamils and the Muslims.

But the voice of opposition is rising against these conditions and manouvers. The insurgency in the south is intensifying and spreading despite police repression. Agitational rumblings can be heard. For this very reason the government had to give permission for meetings of the opposition parties. At the same time the youth of the North are newly bent on mass actions like satyagraha, and political struggles. JR has not been able to establish his regime in the North. Racial conflicts are on the increase. JR has no complete confidence either in his party or his armed forces. He is able to demonstrate even this amount of strength only because the left forces still remain silent. On the other hand the mass hatred seem to explode in confused, and cruel forms only for this very same reason.

What should be the task of the Left.

The two major parties of the left Viz the SLMP and CPSL are still hopeful that they could get JR to resolve the problems with the support of the Indian armed forces. ie by working out the provincial council for the North and the East. They even hope that the economic policy could be moved from its present openness to a left position. The view of the LSSP is also similars to this. Even the left inclined youth organizations of the North appear to work with a view to have the provincial council established in terms of the accord. But what JR is about, in the midst of all these conflicts is the stabilization of his military police regime with the support of India. While showing that he is implementing the accord, he is in fact doing what is necessary to safeguard his pro imperialist regime. He is offering an alliance to the very pro imperialist conspirators within his government. In these circumstances the mass hatred is being intensified but the leadership to it is yet being given by the chauvinist Pettit Bourgeoisie youth organizations both in the North and the South.

For this reason the threat of semi facist conspiratorial forces will exist.

The W.C. organizations are still silent. The major parties of the left have so far not advanced any course of action. This is a very dangerous situation. Activization of the TRADE UNIONS and the left is an urgent necessity. An alternative from the left opposed to the government ought to be advanced. The immediate demands to be made in general are as follows:

01. The release of all political prisoners.
02. The removal of the proscription imposed on parties and organizations.

03. Stop privatization.
04. Lift the emergency. Repeal the prevention of Terrorism Act.
05. Bring down the cost of living and increase the wages.
06. Re-instatement of the 1980 strikers and the withdrawal of the indictment against the leaders of the satyagraha.
07. Open the Universities and allow the student councils.
08. Remove the repressive rules imposed against bikkhus and the pirivenas.
09. Remove water rax imposed on the peasants.
10. Stop the alienation of lands to the multin ationals.

An active agitational movement should be launched on these and similar demands by the leadership of the left.

The particular demends to be advanced in relation to the NORTH and EAST should be as follows:

01. The formation of an interium administr- ation immediately in the NORTH and the East, constituted with representatives of mass organisations. All armed groups to be brought under this administration.
02. Hand over the civil administration including police powers within these areas to the interium administrations.

03. Colonization land distribution and restoration work to be done under the interim administration.
04. Hold the provincial council elections under the supervision of the interim administration. The left should also take the initiative to launch an agitation in the NORTH and EAST by unifying all democratic and militant mass organization around these demands. The left should also act on the question of the completion of the citizenship rights being granted to the tamil plantation workers and regarding their demands for a monthly wage and their housing and land needs, On this footing the tamil plantation workers of the hill country too can be drawn in to this agitation.

This is the only way:

If left would only commence the mass agitation on these lines in the NORTH as well as in the SOUTH the possibilities will open for the removal of the regime of JR and the expulsion of the Indian forces and thus pave the way for the establishment of a left revolutionary power. This is the only way in which we can break the imperialist stranglehold achieve national reconciliation and free our selves of the Indian bourgeois domination. The only way in which our country and the people can be saved is by this course. We reiterate that the left should accept and offer the right of autonomy and self determination if the confidence of the people in the NORTH and EAST is to be won.

If a unified left fails to act in this manner the accumulated hatred of the masses would explode as a chauvinist and semi facist outburst. Also the hated bloody regime of JR would finally collapse on to the back of the left and even if the presidential elections is to be held in 1988 in such circumstances a semi facist chauvinist reactionary could become elected. If this were to happen the country would be divided and two reactionary regimes would emerge. The left should unify its forces and develop as an alternative against JR if this calamity is to be averted. We ask you to intervene in this task.

Dr. Vickramabahu Karunaratne,

General Secretary,

NAVA SAMA SAMAJA PARTY.

26th September 1987.

17, Barrack Lane,

Colombo 02.

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