

# NAVA SAMASAMAJA NEWS LETTER

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NAVA SAMASAMAJA PUBLICATION



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## AFTER THE JUDGEMENT

Oppositional capitalist parties pinned their hopes on the presidential election petition - in particular, Mrs. Bandaranaike, for whom the time was running out. However, the opportunist Left leaders of the LSSP and the CP were more excited about it as they have put all their hopes on Mrs. B. For some reason best known to themselves, they appear to believe that Mrs. B. could guarantee a place for the Left in the coming future. Hence, they were against any action which could change the balance of forces within the opposition. The result was that they were against or gave only lukewarm support to all mass activities of the opposition. This only sealed the foregone conclusion of the election petition, i.e. sanctification of the presidential election fraud.

The judgement has virtually displaced her from the position of authority and by hanging on to the leadership, she could do only one thing: allow DUNF to overtake SLFP. In fact Gamini, the strategist of the DUNF, has realized this. Hence, they are going ahead penetrating the SLFP youth base. They have the other advantage that they are not tied down by a confusion on 'socialism'. They are for a "liberal democratic capitalist society" whatever that could mean, for a neo-colonial state like ours. They have, quite rightly, concluded that those who reject capitalism it is not for them to organize. For the SLFP, socialist sheep's clothing was an advantage in 1960's but like all things, it has the opposite effect now. Unfortunately, opportunist lambs of the old left do not want to see the truth. Lalith and Gamini, prooably argue: why wear sheep's clothing when the capitalist wolf is having a hey day in Lenin's motherland. They are of course mistaken, but it will take some time to realise this.

Premadasa is stable in a situation of unstable equilibrium. With outward peace he has ventured to attack the T.U. movement and the general democratic movement with several emergency measures. However, it is quite possible that he will retreat before things get out of hand. On the other hand, these steps will expose DUNF and SLFP both. They will have to explain what they will do to continue the same economic policies, which they do not reject. The so-called IMF-backed development strategy is a complete package. No one will be able to resist consistently unless they aim at establishing a revolutionary regime i.e. Worker and peasants'. One interesting factor that has emerged is the new agitational centre around inter-university students' federation. Capitalist leaders both within and outside the government have warned that this is JVP regrouping. No doubt there is an atom of truth in that, if one believes that JVP ever with all its degeneration did represent the rebellion of the rural youth against the establishment. Rural rebellion is regrouping, yes, but within a context of changed balance of forces. Proletariat is emerging out of defeats it incurred both in TU and political field.



While JVP cannot be the same without Wijeweera, many rebels are outside the JVP parochial straight jacket and that is a positive tendency. The same cannot be said about the Tamil youth though Prabhakaran has lost his prestige in the recent period. Our party still remains a banned party under Prabhakaran. Obviously, the LTTE regime does not believe in workers' rights, though they are so close to their adversary in the south.

27 September 1992

Vickramabahu Karunarathne.  
General Secretary

### TAMIL NATIONAL QUESTION

01. The Nava Sama Samaja Party fully defends the 4 — point peace plan put forward by the Tamil Parties to the Government and the Parliamentary Select Committee.
02. It should be noted that this is a minimum — level plan falling short of the NSSP's position on the Tamil National Question, viz., the right of the Tamil — speaking people to self-determination with full autonomy for the North and East including a separate Tamil military regiment for their security.
03. However, the NSSP believes that it is illusory to expect either the Parliamentary Select Committee or the Government to accept and implement even this 4 — point plan. Nevertheless, in case there is a favourable response from the Parliamentary Select committee with regard to this plan, the NSSP will not only defend it but also press for its implementations as a transitional programme.
04. In this connection the NSSP also wishes to stress that the Tamil / Muslim Parties should lose no more time to join hands with the progressive and other minority forces including the Plantation workers in common struggles against the ever rising cost of living, privatisation and other anti-democratic measures of the Government, especially because these struggles and the Tamil national liberation struggle are not mutually exclusive but should indeed go hand in hand, particularly for the latter to gain greater strength. It is therefore absolutely incumbent upon the Tamil / Muslim Parties to switch to a new perspective of taking power with a new composition of these forces. It is no utopia but is achievable even electorally if these forces come together and struggle hard to win over the masses from Premadasa, Sirima, Lalith and other capitalist leaders.
05. The NSSP would stress that it is the duty of all those forces which claim to be democratic to defend the 4 — point peace plan.

143/3, Kew Road,

## The way out for the Tamil Speaking People

V. THIRUNAVUKKARASU

**General :**

Though rather well-known to observers of the Sri Lankan politico-military scenario, it is not altogether inappropriate to recapitulate briefly the events leading up to the ongoing war in the North & East of Sri Lanka and the current major offensive on Jaffna code-named "Operation Earthquake". It should be noted that this was preceded by a number of such operations in the past, such as "Operation Vadamardchy", "Operation Jayasakthi", "Operation Valampuri", "Operation Thunderstorm", "Operation Balavegayasi & II" etc. Furthermore, during its presence in the North & East, the so-called Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) also launched a number of operations with "Operation Pawan" as its major offensive on Jaffna.

The now 10-year-old war has cost around 50,000 lives and many thousands have been maimed. The annual military expenditure has risen sharply from Rs. 1.37 billion in 1983 to Rs. 12.7 billion in 1987 to Rs. 20-odd billions in 1992. The total expenditure between 1987 and 1992 alone is Rs. 86 billions. The destruction caused to property will also doubtlessly run into hundreds of billions, to say nothing of the pillage and plunder by unscrupulous armed forces personnel and other anti-social elements. At least 700,000 people have been rendered refugees and consigned to squalid refugee camps, living on miserably inadequate rations, falling victim to serious malnutrition, and under sub-human conditions of health and sanitation. The rations worth Rs. 315/- (less than 8 US dollars) per week per family of 5 members and above have since been halved by the Government allegedly for lack of funds, while vast sums are ploughed into the war.

It must also be mentioned in this connection that the military expenditure which was 0.7% of the G.N.P. in 1977 rose to 5% by 1988, and the food subsidy came down from 5% in 1977 to 0.7% by 1988. It is clear that essential welfare subsidies have subsequently been further pruned due to the ever-increasing military expenditure.

**Anti-Tamil riots of 1958 and 1977 :**

In the post — 1948 period, i.e. with the advent of 'Independence' from British rule, the country witnessed 2 major anti-Tamil riots, besides a number of intermittent outbursts and bloodletting, in southern Sri Lanka. The first was in 1958, during the SLFP-led regime headed by S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike who, in 1956, caused to make "Sinhala Only" the official language, ignoring



the Tamil language altogether. This served as a further step on the path of oppression of the Tamil-speaking people initiated by Sri Lanka's (then Ceylon) first UNP Prime Minister D. S. Senanayake by (1) decitizenising and disenfranchising the Plantation Tamil workers aimed as a deadly blow to those workers as well as the then powerful Left movement, and (2) State-sponsored colonisation of parts of the North & East with Sinhala population, thus diastically changing the demographic composition of those areas as borne out by the Government's census figures.

The 1958 riots broke out following the abrogation of the Bandaranaike—Chelvanayagam Pact which sought to redress and resolve the grievances and problems of the Tamil speaking people. The abrogation was triggered mainly by a campaign spear-headed by former President J. R. Jayawardena coupled with the exhortation dished out by the UNP journal "Siya Rata" to 'awake, arise and kill the Tamils'. The riots turned out to be so barbarous, with even bellies of pregnant women being ripped open in broad daylight that it was then described as man's inhumanity to man, posing also the question whether it signalled the end of the road between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. (Tarzie Vitachchi's "Emergency '58")

The second occurrence was in 1977, soon after the UNP headed by J. R. Jayawardena was returned to power. Of course 1977 proved to be far worse than 1958. Both in 1958 and 1977 the Tamil victims were able to flee to their native North & East at least to vouchsafe their physical safety. Mind you, J. R. was returned to office in early 1977 on a manifesto which explicitly identified and pledged to address the genuine grievances of the Tamil speaking people in the matter of education, employment and land settlement in particular. Having thrown that pledge to the winds once returned comfortably to office with a substantial percentage of the Tamil votes as well, J R declared in a speech in Colombo that if the Tamils wanted war, it would be war, if they wanted peace it would be peace.

#### **The 1983 pogroms :**

Then came the July, 1983 anti Tamil pogroms, the worst holocaust ever, the pretext being the killing of 13 soldiers in Jaffna by the LTTE. By then the security and safety of the Tamil speaking people in the North and East itself had become imperilled with the progressive beefing up of Sinhala armed forces in those areas. (It will be recalled that these forces were first posted to Jaffna in the early 1960s to suppress the non violent satyagraha campaign launched by the Federal party under the leadership of S. J. V. Chelvanayakam). The Tamil youth that had already become disillusioned and exasperated by the early 1970s due to the ever shrinking access to higher education resulting from the then SLFP — LSSP — CP coalition Government's policy of media wise standardisation, plainly detrimental to the Tamil students. Coupled with the magnitude of the death and destruction caused particularly in July 1983 which included the massacre of Tamil prisoners at Welikande jail and even the gouging of their eyes, the Tamil youth chose the path of all out armed struggle as the way out, and the Government responded by stepping up its repression.



### **The ensuing war and the conomic blockade :**

The war which then ensured, which began to take its toll ever increasingly, has today assumed monstrous proportions particularly in so far as the Tamils and Muslims in the North are concerned. Tied to this bloody war is a host of restrictions tantamounting to an economic blockade which as of now has already debilitated the bulk of the population, with serious malnutrition invading most families — a consequence worse than the war in itself. There continues to prevail an acute shortage of food, fuel, medicine etc. In Jaffna vital drugs such as anti biotics and all varieties administered to heart, cancer and psychiatric patients are not available at all most of the time. Even dressing material is seldom available at a time when large numbers of civilians too are getting wounded almost daily in the ongoing military operations.

Death rates have increased as a result. Infant mortality rates have also risen in Jaffna. During a 7-month period 283 infants died — 235 of whom were still born. 90% of the mothers (and 60% of children) are malnourished. There are large numbers of premature births with badly underweight babies. Malnutrition is the prime reason for this state of affairs. Non-availability of proper ante natal clinical care and war time shocks have also been contributory factors, according to Jaffna's Obstetrician and Gynaecologist, Professor Sivasooriyar.

### **Disruption of education :**

What is more, education is seriously disrupted in the war-torn areas. The students, like anyone else, have to live in constant fear of aerial bombardments, artillery shell fire etc. — with even refugee camps and examination centres being targets on certain occasions. Thus, one can easily imagine the extent to which the psychology of the student population is damaged and their education derailed. Moreover, the continual lack of electricity supply and the acute shortage of fuel like kerosene, for instance, has affected the students immensely. Standards have begun to drop sharply as evident from the hitherto unheard of low performance at the university entrance GCE(AL) Examination held in April 1991. Even in such an extenuating situation, the Government resorts to the pernicious policy of media-wide standardisation via the stipulation that students in the North & East who sat the above-mentioned exam have to secure some 30 marks more than students elsewhere (in Engineering and physical science) for admission to the University.

### **Economy at standstill — Genocidal war continues :**

In the economic sphere, the agricultural, industrial and fishing sectors are at a near-standstill. Further, the construction sector has ground to a halt for want of building materials. Thus, all the sources from which the bulk of the people used to derive their incomes have dried up, and therefore it is not hard to imagine the plight of the people so heartlessly deprived and condemned to a battered and brutalised existence fast reaching Somalian conditions, especially with the recent halving of the already meagre refugee rations. It is thus abundantly clear from all accounts that it is a genocidal war in every sense of the term.

**Political solution — long line of futile exercises :**

On the political plane, it took over 3 decades and, above all, external interference for the ruling class to remove some past blunders even on paper. For instance, Tamil was granted the status of an official language under the 13th amendment following the Indo—Sri Lanka Accord of July, 1987. And, the Sinhala “Sri”, the exclusive introduction of which on motor vehicles number plates in the 1950s caused quite some tension and bloodshed, was recently dropped altogether. Attempts by successive Governments to provide some solution under pressure proved to be too little too late each time, and naturally every such attempt proved to be futile. Both the Sinhala and the Tamil capitalist leadership that had almost always worked hand in hand are responsible for this situation. The Old Left parties too have to share the responsibility or compromising with the capitalist forces.

**The way out :**

What is the way out of this impasse? Firstly, the NSSP had made it clear that the Mangala Moonasinghe Parliamentary Select Committee is yet another exercise in futility. Of course, there are illusions being dished out that it is capable of bringing forth some solution. Secondly, the NSSP reiterates that there is no other way to resolve this question except on the basis of the right of self-determination of the Tamil-speaking people being inscribed in the Constitution, and regional autonomy for the merged Northern and Eastern Province with powers over security, land settlement and allocation of adequate resources from the national product.

That it is fruitless for the Tamil and Muslim parties to entertain any hope that either the UNP or the SLFP will bring forth a viable solution to the problem should be crystal clear. Instead of following the beaten track of trying to negotiate with the oppressors, those parties should join hands with the oppressed who, indeed, form the majority of the population: the workers, the peasants, the plantation workers, the students etc. This is their hitherto untried, but historically inescapable task and the NSSP will fraternally exhort them unceasingly to take this path. The sooner they do so, they nearer will be the goal of national liberation.



## INDIA NOTES

India has rapidly become dependent on imperialism, put in the strait jacket of IMF. well landed into a course of endless crisis.

In social cost terms millions will die. We have already heard of the hand-weavers of Andhra reduced to literal starvation resulting in the death of at least a hundred of them. It is entirely due to the new duties and the reduction of subsidies. Similarly, in almost every sphere the price is being paid with the lives of the poor who constitute the large percentage of the population. This includes the toll of the communal violence, caste murders and State violence engendered and now aggravated by the policies of the government. The tensions will heighten in the States by an increase in the secessionist trends. The fabric of the society which is already under heavy strain will threaten to tear apart as the living standards of the vast majority will take a clear downward curve, throwing up the worst muck in the bed of society.

As we are already witnessing, the frenzy of the middle classes who face the fierce living conditions smell the rank of Hindu chauvinism and semi-fascist movements. The backwardness of the illiterate hordes whipped up by emotions and blind devotion is seen producing the stress troopers of the VHP. However, movements of nationalities and communities for autonomy or secession act as an antidote to Hindu chauvinism, while BJP seeks to identify India on the basis of Hindu which excludes the Muslims and the Christians by their definition. The cry is that the Muslims should either to go Pakistan or to their grave. While fanning Hindu nationalism the BJP is carefully holding itself back to prevent a serious confrontation with imperialism. Advani will not be even a poor imitator of Khomeini in this matter. The Indian society will go through worse barbaric conditions than anytime after the partition. All these catastrophic economic conditions arising from the new policies of dependence together with the objective demands of history equally provides a gateway for the left political forces to enter into the centre of the arena. The reluctance as seen from the CPI, CPI, (M)'s approach and style is the biggest roadblock for India's future. Notwithstanding the collapse of the Stalinist States and the dispersal of their kept parties the strength and determination of the left forces in South Asia and particularly in India has been sustained. This is also due to the utter incapacity of any other political forces of the bourgeoisie or of the petty-bourgeoisie to carry out any one of the major tasks facing India. The myth of the progressive bourgeoisie and its anti imperialism is exploding. The CPI and the CPI(M) have split and new parties calling themselves Marxist and Communist have been formed with substantial bases in Several states. The CP (ML) tradition has on the other hand given rise to another substantial political formation in the IPF. This is seemingly the likely patterns the crisis the Indian left would take. This signifies an

urge of millions of people at the base of society to move forward on class lines though groping for the ideology and the strategy.

The Left parties can be sharply divided on these issues. Nevertheless they share a common theme-socialism and a common acknowledgement-class politics. Based on this major premise the left parties of India could set up a forum where all experience and thought could be shared and exchanged. The left parties of the entire South Asia could find a forum of this kind a new strength and means to illuminate their respective paths. All South Asian countries are faced with the same kind of disaster with Indian rulers openly and completely becoming servile to, and dependent on, imperialism as they are today.

VASUDEVA NANAYAKKARA

September 1992

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SRI LANKA.



**Text of the speech delivered by Comrade V. Thirunavukkarasu at the 1st Congress of the United Communist Party of India at Guntur, Andhra Pradesh from April 25 to 29, 1992.**

Comrades of the Presidium and Comrades,

As you all know now, I represent the Nava Sama Samaja Party (NSSP - New Socialist Party) of Sri Lanka. It has always been our earnest and fraternal desire to establish close links with the Indian Left movement especially because we regard the Indian sub-continent and in fact the entirety of the South Asian Region as a single geo-political entity as part of our international perspective. And it is in this process of making more and more contacts that the NSSP came to be invited to participate in this the first Congress of the United Communist Party of India (UCPI) and we express our fraternal thanks for the invitation.

02. On this happy and solemn occasion, the NSSP takes great pleasure in expressing revolutionary greetings to the UCPI. Also the NSSP salutes the UCPI for rightly denouncing Stalinism which has been the root cause, firstly, of the degeneration and eventual collapse of the Eastern European regimes. It is heartening to find that, undaunted by the subsequent collapse of even the Soviet Union, the UCPI is forging ahead with considerable vigour and enthusiasm and we wish all success to this Congress which is a further step in the future growth of the UCPI from strength to strength.

03. Having said thus, I would now proceed to say that the collapse of the Eastern European regimes and of the Soviet Union is of course a temporary set-back to socialism. This collapse is the culmination of the evils of Stalinism. Predicting that this danger was in store, Trotsky started the Left Opposition in 1927 and carried on a relentless struggle to combat it until he was murdered by Stalin in Mexico in 1940.

04. And since Stalinism was mistakenly identified with Socialism over the past nearly 5 decades, it has to be borne in mind that what has collapsed is Stalinism and not socialism. We note that both the CPI(M) and the CPI which held their Congresses recently re-affirmed their faith in the validity of Socialism and Marxism-Leninism, declaring that the set-back caused to the Communist movement was due to mistakes, distortions, an excess of ideological deviations and so on and so forth. But regrettably they have not identified the forces that committed those sins.

05. Imperialism gloats over the so-called demise of socialism but is itself in crisis with the recession still on unabated. Unemployment and inflation are very serious problems not only in the US but also in Germany, France and England. John Major's recent victory in England was due to the fact that the Labour Party did not offer a credible and valid alternative. However, with

the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the consequent change in the world balance of forces imperialism has momentarily gained added impetus to force open economic policies down the throats of 3rd world countries through the World Bank and the IMF. Their nostrums, which include currency devaluation, privatisation and withdrawal of welfare measures, are disastrous to 3rd world countries. In this connection one is reminded of what Mr. Davison Buddhoo said in a lecture session in Madras recently as reported in the "Hindu" of 1.4.1992. Mr. Buddhoo, a Grenada-born Economist worked for sometime with the World Bank. He later joined the IMF and left its service after 12 years "in revolt against the traumatic and genocidal policies pursued by the IMF in relation to third world countries". Thus it is essential for India too to bear in mind that the prescriptions and conditionalities of the World Bank/IMF are uniformly applied to all 3rd world countries.

06. I now crave your indulgence, Comrades, to make a brief reference to the situation in Sri Lanka. President Premadasa keeps boasting that his Government would never submit to the dictates of the lending agencies, but in practice unquestioningly and devoutly adheres to the policies dictated by the IMF on privatisation, cut backs on social welfare measures etc.

Where repressions and various forms of human rights violations are concerned the Premadasa regime's record speaks for itself. According to a recent report, Sri Lanka has the highest record on "disappearances" (i.e. abductions and killings) of persons and various other forms of violation of human rights. Repression was at its height during 1989/90. In the name of combating Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) terrorism, around 60,000 youths were butchered in southern Sri Lanka.

07. On the Tamil National question, the 10-year-long war between the Government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) continues with no end in sight. This war has claimed the lives of about 50,000 people besides causing colossal destruction to property. Furthermore, especially since the present war commenced in June, 1990, well over 1 million Tamil-speaking people have been rendered refugees, including about 150,000 that are presently in India.

In addition to the death and destruction thus caused the economic blockade imposed on the war-torn Northern and Eastern Sri Lanka, has resulted in unprecedented hardship, starvation, malnutrition and what not, resulting in horrific mental and physical damage to the Tamil-speaking people, spelling virtual doom especially to the younger generation. Sri Lankan refugees presently in India are being sent back in batches to the North & East of Sri Lanka. They are once again sent to refugee camps since it is not yet safe for them to return to their homes. Dealing with LTTE is one thing, but approaching the question of the refugees is another. In other words, there has to be a humane approach to handle the refugee problem.

08. And now, Comrades, a word about our Party. The N SSP was founded in 1977, following a split in the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, (LSSP) the oldest Left party in Sri Lanka. The split had arisen as a result of the LSSP's degene-



ration on the National Question and its virtual addiction to political alliance with the bourgeoisie. On the Tamil national question the NSSP stands uncompromisingly for the right of the Tamil-speaking people to self-determination and regional autonomy on the basis of complete equality and liberty.

Also, it fights vigorously against privatisation of especially the vital sectors of the economy such as, for instance, the Plantation and the Banking sectors. It participates in joint anti-Government struggles but is completely against any political alliance with the bourgeoisie. It participated very actively in the recent 180-mile Long March (Pada Yatra) campaign highlighting its total opposition to privatisation, communalism and so on.

09. Let me conclude my brief speech, Comrades, by saying that in the context of the increasing thirst for hegemony on the part of the imperialist forces in the world today, it is all the more imperative that we of the 3rd world should gear ourselves to offer collective resistance to the deadly tentacles extended by imperialism. In this respect one of our immediate tasks is to make the most conscious and constructive efforts to develop a South Asian perspective as a part of the concept of the internationalism that we are committed to.

10. It is the fraternal appeal of the NSSP to the UCPI to endeavour untringly, unswerving from the tenets of Marxism-Leninism, to achieve the greatest possible unity of all the Left and democratic forces to resist imperialist machinations and to reach our cherished socialist goals since socialism is the only alternative to barbarism and annihilation of mankind. Thank you.

April, 1992.

4th August 1992.

Dharmasiri Senanayake Esqr.  
General Secretary,  
Sri Lanka Freedom Party,  
Convenor of the Opposition.

Dear Friend,

As transpired at the discussion on 26th July, 1992 we believe that it will not be possible to arrive at a no-contest pact, let alone a joint Front, under a common symbol for the purpose of elections. As we explained before, a joint front should have a common programme and the ability to carry out such a programme. As far as we can see the primary tasks to be carried out immediately are —

1. Reject conditions placed by the IMF/W. Bank; in particular, reverse the programme of privatisation.
2. Accept right of self determination of the Tamil speaking people and defend the 4-point proposals of the Tamil parties.
3. Land to the tiller and abolish the water taxes and cuts in agriculture subsidies.
4. Overthrow the dictatorial constitution and establish a democracy based on work-place councils

Obviously the joint opposition cannot agree on this national democratic programme, let alone mobilising forces to carry out these tasks.

Hence the only alternative left is to contest separately while agitating together against the government. Hence we propose that —

1. We contest separately under separate Symbols.
2. Issue a common leaflet asking people to vote against the government.
3. During the election campaign to hold joint meetings (at least one per district) .
4. Jointly face thuggery and malpractices of the pro-govt. forces.
5. Help each other with polling agents.

While keeping to this electoral agreement, we must carry on with the present joint campaign to build a mass movement to oust the present regime.

Yours Sincerely,  
Dr. Vickramabahu Karunaratne.  
Nava Sama Samaja Party.



**REMOVE ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST CUBA COMRADE  
NIEL WIJETILAKE AT THE MEETING TO COMMEMORATE THE  
CUBAN REVOLUTION HELD IN COLOMBO ON 29/8/92**

“Cuba is faced with a deep-going political and economic crisis consequent on the collapse of the USSR and Eastern Europe and states Exploiting this situation the American imperialism has strengthened its economic sanctions recently i.e. further aggravating the crisis. Why? Because, at a time when anti imperialist forces worldwide are weakening, Cuba alone is steadfastly refusing to surrender to imperialism. Today, even those who are treating socialism with suspicion are rather enthusiastic about Cuba. Therefore, the broad masses throughout the world should come forward to defend Cuba” so said NSSP polit bureau member Neil Wijethilake at the commemoration meeting of the Cuban revolution held at Colombo Public Library auditorium on 29th of last month.

The meeting, presided over by Comrade D. E. W. Gunasekera, was addressed by the Cuban Ambassador Aldo Fino Endrick, Gamini Dissanayake Mavai Senathirajah, Suresh Premachandran, K. P. Silva, Dinesh Gunawardana, Y. P. de Silva, and Nihal Perera. Comrade Neil Wijethilake said “Mere determination is not sufficient to resolve the problems and that it is the direct result of bureaucratic socialism that reigned supreme under stalinist dictatorship, in Russia” In Cuba too there is born strata of people with a high standard of living and enjoying high cultural standards because of the revolution. The masses are not prepared to tolerate bureaucratic socialism where proletarian democracy is not prevalent. The proletariat and the broad masses should be taught to recognize democratic institutions.

It is not the freedom to hold elections as Bush says. We condemn the imperialist propaganda about free elections. We know their so-called democracy.

Our minister of Foreign Affairs has sent a congratulatory message to this meeting. These congratulations are of no use to us. We challenge the government to issue a statement demanding American Imperialism to withdraw economic sanctions against Cuba, They cannot issue such a statement.”

**“HARAYA”**

1992. 05. 21.

## JUDGES ON TRIAL

Normally, litigation is confined to courts where the public will not come to participate in proceedings or in expressing views. In such circumstances the judgements are accepted unquestioningly as they do not participate and do not express views on the outcome.

The Presidential election petition would have had the same results if the judges stuck to the laws viz. keeping to the mandatory period of six months. It was immoral to have let the Executive President whose election is challenged continue functioning as the Chief Executive for so long as now more than three years. This is where the court connives in filirustering on one of the most crucial of matters to the people as a whole and the nation. Also during this time the highest of the judiciary received and accepted perks from the government which is once more identified with the President. Salary increase, lands for houses, vehicles. This happened due to the whole affair getting extended beyond six months and this happened while the living standard of ordinary people went down due to inflation and welfare cuts. As Marx said, material benefits change thought processes and here, the judgement.

Time-frames are set according to the nature and importance of the case to the entire society and the impact of its proceedings and judgement will have. In this case it is precisely to prevent the challenged Executive exerting direct or indirect influence on the court. 'Shall' was transformed into 'may' without any right to do so. One would ask of course how on earth could the judges have gone through all the evidence etc., within six months? This is no defence for breaking the law with regard to the time-frame. In that case the judiciary should have refused to sit in judgement and referred it back to parliament and the people, thereby saving the law from misuse. Judges are there to interpret the law, and the parliament alone makes the law.

'Shall' has been interpreted to mean 'may' in some instances but never like in a situation where the person whose election is challenged is allowed to continue with Presidential powers including the prerogative of appointing judges some of whom were the judges who heard this very case.

All these doubts suspicions, inferences, and so on could have been and should have been avoided if the court kept to the time-frame. This is precisely why a time-frame has been set down.

How could have the judges kept to the six-month time-frame and also tackled the mass of evidence that parties brought forth in the course of the hearing? The situation is well known to judges and they are familiar with it when they will call for evidence in the form of affidavit and oral testimony in the case of witnesses selected by the judges. When one examines the mass of evidence given, there is very little dissimilarity and contrast in the evidence.

Almost all the evidence in this case is unique for the singular absence of contested issues. In effect, both parties laboured to establish that there was no free and fair election.

If the judgement was given within six months by the above process whatever the judgement might have been, there would have been no controversy as there was no mass participation in the proceedings of the court and as the people would have taken the judgement in the ordinary course of things. Faced with overwhelming evidence adduced by both sides as to the unfree and unfair nature of the election, the possible effect of the verdict on the election petition might be different, the people are not able to accept a judgement that retains this election. It will be considered downright dishonest on the part of the judges to declare that such an election is valid enough to let an Executive President remain in office.

The judges saw very well how the President used executive power to assault the functioning of democracy on the occasion of the impeachment, when he prorogued parliament and then, using executive power, 'prevailed' on the members to retract and finally engineered the principal architect of the motion viz. the Speaker, to go back on his original stand. The M. Ps who signed were quickly appointed to function in ministries with perks such as new vehicles and unlimited fuel, leave alone the widely claimed black magic and sorcery indulged in inside the very hallowed chamber of the parliament. The extent to which Premadasa had gone to survive in office is food for thought: for all people in this country with regard to his possible conduct in respect of this petition that might have unseated him.

Undoubtedly, the Supreme Court will be held in contempt and ridicule by all democratic forces of this nation. Let these judges bear the responsibility. This entire episode proved what Marx has said about courts of law in bourgeois society that they are mere instruments of the establishment to save the rulers from the masses who may want to change fundamentally the nature of the society. Judges have de facto sanctified what the President was doing in this country, ie. subjugation to foreign capitalist powers, the genocidal war on Tamil Speaking people, killings and disappearances of youth, privatisation and loss of workers rights abolishing paddy land act with burdens on the peasantry and the continuation of a constitutional dictatorship.

Dr. Vickramabahu Karunaratne.  
*General Secretary.*



## **ILLANGARATNE — UNCOMPROMISING FIGHTER FOR THE DOWNTRODDEN.**

T. B. Illangaratne, the leader of 1947 general strike, pioneer of nationalisation movement will be remembered by the downtrodden people of this country as a fighter against reaction and imperialist forces. He was a pioneer of the socialist movement in the Kandy area, though he was not a member of the Sama Samaja Party. He valiantly fought the reactionary establishment in the Kandy area to become a popular leader of the people.

As the left wing leader of the populist forces which swept the country in the 50's he pioneered the nationalisation movement. He was the builder of the co-operative movement in this country.

However, T. B. wrongly believed in a coalition of forces as the way out and the method to defeat the imperialist forces until his split from the SLFP and the formation of the USA. Thereafter, he put all his efforts to find a viable alternative to both the UNP and the SLFP. Though he was disillusioned in the end with the SLMP, he never retreated from the decision to seek a left alternative.

He was never a member of the Nava Sama Samaja Party or never subscribed to Marxism. But he will remain in the memory of the oppressed masses in this country as a militant union leader and a fighter against imperialist forces.

## **BANNING THE LTTE BY THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT**

We vehemently condemn the hilarious action taken by the Indian Government in banning the LTTE. It is an open secret that the Indian bourgeoisie pampered the LTTE with a view to interfering in the internal affairs of the Sri Lankan Government. That is why the present action makes it hilarious. The principal reason for the banning is the utter failure of that strategy and their failure to use the LTTE as their pawn.

At the same time we condemn the impotence of the Sri Lankan Government for aggravating the national question. The failure of the government to find a political solution and the suppression of the Tamil movement in general gave birth to the LTTE and pushed them towards fascist-style Action.

The ban will not defeat the LTTE, but will make them heroes instead. The LTTE can be defeated only through a political solution which will confer on the Tamil speaking people autonomy based on their right to self determination.

1992 May 25.



### MAKE THE "JANA GOSHA" A SUCCESS

The action committee of the opposition has decided to declare the 1st July, as the day of "Jana Gosha" protest campaign.

"Jana Gosha" will commence at 12.35 p.m. All progressive intelligentsia and all those who cherish democracy and national independence should come out on the occasion and protest against the undemocratic and communal policies of the tyrannical government. We should show our united protest against the high cost of living brought about by the adoption of policies dictated by the World Bank, privatisation, unemployment and all other criminal acts of this government. We should vehemently show our protest against the oppression, disappearances, arrests and the communal war unleashed against the Tamils. We should prepare ourselves to topple the autocratic administration and tear up the dictatorial constitution.

The people can take part in the "Jana Gosha" protest campaign from any place of their choice. However, it will be appreciated, wherever convenient for the people from Colombo and its suburbs and in the case of outstations to gather in a location and take part in the "Jana Gosha" making it a strong protest.

22.6.1992.

### NAVA SAMA SAMAJA PARTY AND THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTION

It has been reported that the Local Government Election are scheduled to be held in 1992 and that the SLFP and the opposition political parties are getting ready for them. Hence it is appeared that these parties have accepted the devolution of powers in general are foolishing opposing the rights of the Tamils for autonomy.

The N SSP hopes to contest the Local Government Elections independently and candidates for various districts are being selected presently while the list of candidates will be prepared by the district leaders such lists will have to be approved by the central committee. Provision are also be made for popular leftists activists to contest as our party candidates, while we are making arrangements to contest separately are also making all attempts to enter into a no contest pact with other opposition parties.

1992 June 22.

## **“JANAGOSHA” PROTEST A SUCCESSFUL STEP IN THE MASS STRUGGLE**

The “Jana Gosha” protest campaign where hundreds and thousands participated makes a decisive landmark in the course of peoples struggles. It turned out to be an impregnable wall of brave activist against the government’s might and thuggery. It was a mighty spectacle throughout the length and breadth of the country from workplaces shouting in unison “Bring down the cost of living; Stop privatisation; stop the genocide in the North; Bring back those who disappeared, Free political prisoners; and Drive away the Government. The broad masses joined in this slogan shouting and at some palaces the “Jana Gosha” Campaign took the form impromptu demonstration.

Comrade Marakolamarage Ariyasena who lost his life in the course of this protest, will no doubt go into history along with heroes like Kandasamy, Somapala and those who lost their lives in the haital. Those who sustained injuries at the hands of the thugs signify their determination to march forward in the face of reactionary thuggery.”

The arrest of Dr. Vickramabahu Karunaratne, General Secretary of our Party and others stands out as a very significant occurrence. Demonstration which flout the Emergency Regulations have really brought fear into the hearts of the administration. They are quite aware if mass movement of this nature are allowed to gather momentum, the day will not be far for lakhs of people to take to the street in defiance of their authority. Hence this brutal suppression.

The “Jana Gosha” campaign is ample proof that the masses are getting enlightened and are coming out for action. By not extending support to this phenomenon the Lalith - Gamini leadership is further exposing its slavish constitutional mentality. It has been confirmed that they are not prepared for any extra legal struggle. The aim of our Party is to take this path of mass-struggle and build up a mass organisation capable of toppling the government. We believe that it is the only path that will lead to the overthrow of the government and its constitution and the establishment of a worker-peasant democratic rule in the country. The “Jana Gosha” campaign also proved that the masses are not yet ready to activate themselves through all island-wide general strike.

But the day is not far for such an occasion to materialise in the near future.

The attention of the opposition should be directed towards winning the confidence and co-operation of the Tamil speaking people in general and the plantation workers in particular.

1992, July 03.

**WITHDRAW THE COURT CASE AGAINST VICKRAMABAHU  
AND OTHERS.**

Dr. Vickramabahu Karunarathne, General Secretary of Nava Sama Samaja Party, A. Jayasinghe, Director Peoples Transport Services, Ravi Gunasekera, a participant in the 1980 July Strike, Upali Leveliyadda District Secretary of the NSSP, T. A. Somapala of the Kandy Retail Traders Union, P. Premasiri a full timer of NSSP, Somasiri varsity student and Harischandra Silva Executive Committee Member of the Peradeniya University Employee's Union were arrested and produced in court for allegedly taking part in a demonstration at Kandy on the "Janagoshha" Day. We vehemently condemn this undemocratic action. The assault on these participants who were walking peacefully on the public road is not only undemocratic but is also a flagrant abuse of the law.

In whatever way we look at, it cannot be an offence to walk on the road peacefully, shouting slogans such as "bring down the cost of living, stop privatisation. Stop the genocidal war in the North, Free all political prisoner etc."

We demand that the cooked up case be withdrawn immediately.

**WE DO NOT TAKE PART IN THE FELICITATION MEETING  
FOR SIRIMA.**

We wish to announce that we have no connection whatsoever with the rally that is being organized for the 26th instant at Nittambuwa to felicitate Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike.

Posters and propaganda literature bearing names of speakers from our Party have already been distributed but without the approval of our Party.

We wish to further announce that although we take part in the joint anti government protests, we do not associate ourselves with the politics of the SLFP.



## CONDEMN THE MURDER OF MUSLIMS

We condemn the LTTE terrorists repeated massacre of Muslims living in the Eastern Province. Even yesterday too, 10 innocent Muslims have been killed at the Batticaloa Railway Station.

It is not only the Tamil people but also all sections of the population who are facing death today as direct result of treacherous war unleashed by the Premadasa regime i.e. his genocide campaign against the Tamils.

Consequent on this war the LTTE has directed its guerilla campaign against the Muslims and it has become a threat to the Sinhala Villages also. The government has to take full responsibility for their unnecessary deaths and destructions

The Premadasa administration has correctly analysed the war and the LTTE action and he is perpetuating this war to safeguard his rule. He has strengthened the war machinery and is shifting its burden on the people.

The Premadasa Government has no political policy or solution to the situation in the North. He is perpetuating his administration by carrying on the war and discussions that bear no fruits.

This government which has failed to find a political solution to the problems in the North and to stop the war or the LTTE terrorism should resign forthwith. All those parties and people organizations who value democracy should put up a strong and united protest to topple the government.

1992 Aug. 07.

## **WE CONDEMN THE ASSAULT ON PROVINCIAL COUNCIL MEMBER COMRADE. SUNIL MENDIS.**

We condemn the assault and causing of injury to NSSP Provincial Council Member Comrade Sunil Mendis by thugs including the North Central Provincial Council Chief Minister when the former was leaving the Council Chamber on 20.7.92., He has been admitted to the Anuradhapura Hoslpital.

The debate should have ended in the Chamber itself. But in fact the Chief Minister thought it fit to behave like a common thug. This goes to show that the UNP administrators are not prepared to honour at least principles of bourgeois democracy now. These rulers who have miserably failed to find solution to the long standing problems beseting the country are now trying to suppress the leadership of the masses by resorting to thuggery and terrorism. The attempt at stabbing and attacking with chains on the trade union activists by the UNP thugs exposes their tactics.

We request all parties and organizations that value democracy to condemn the attacks and organize themselves to defeat this trend

## **STATE HOOLIGANISM CONDEMNED**

We condemn the unashamed hooliganism perpetrated by the thugs of the government opposite Fort Railway Station. They beat up local as well as foreign journalists and robbed them their video cameras. This incident took place while the DUNF was collecting signatures for the million-signature campaign demanding the resignation of the President. This again goes to show that suppression of the freedom of speech and the democratic rights of the people. This practice has become an everyday habit of the Premadasa government. Tyranical nature of the murderous administration is fully exposed and it is being amply provep in the eyes of the entire world that it has now lost its right to rule.

## TRAGEDY IN THE NORTH

The death of Major General Koboekaduwa and other officers brought to the surface the tragedy that engulfs millions of this country. The ruling elites who shed crocodile tears for Denzil and other military leaders are responsible for this senseless, genocidal war in the North which accounts for nearly 50,000 mostly workers and peasants of all communities murdered during the last decade. The tragic death of these militarymen shows clearly how arbitrary and ruthless is the violence involving 15 millions of poor people mostly Tamils. Who are involved, in this violence were prime victims of this war.

The irony of all however is that Major General Kobbekaduwa kept on repeating that war and repression is not the means but that a political solution was needed to end this Tamil rebellion. He had the courage to point out that social economic and political reasons are behind this rebellion, in spite of the fact that he was in the top leadership in directing the war.

Let this be an opportunity for all those who stand for democracy and peace to rise up against the war and demand peace based on right of self determination of the Tamil speaking people.

09th August 1992.

## GROWING THREAT TO DEMOCRACY

The Nava Sama Samaja Party expresses its concern over the attack on Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali and a few other members of the Democratic United National Front. It was reported that Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, one of the leaders of the DUNF, and former National Security Minister was attacked while he was engaged in canvassing support for the party. He has identified the persons as pro Premadasa or government sponsored thugs.

It is a basic right of a political party to express its views and canvass support. This incident clearly shows the growing threat to democracy.

The Nava Sama Samaja Party condemns this act vehemently and calls upon all opposition political parties to rally round to face the threat.



## EMERGENCY REGULATIONS TO PROTECT RAPACIOUS EMPLOYERS

The new regulations enacted under emergency powers are a brutal expression of the attempt of the government to protect the unscrupulous employers. It is ironical that this happened few weeks after JCTUO leaders have met the IGP to protest against the actions of police officers who have taken the law into their hands to attack trade union leaders on behalf of the employers. Trade Unions have shown to the government time and again, that many employers observe law in the breach and make use of concessions granted by the government to rob the country of its resources. In many cases they have not observed even the elementary legal norms in relation to workers' salary and welfare.

On the other hand many who are aware of the social cost and environmental hazards related to many export oriented ventures have started lawful and absolutely necessary investigations and criticism of these projects. They expected government to intervene and bring new laws and regulations to protect the fundamental interest of the country and the people.

Now exactly the opposite has happened. The Premadasa regime has brought in new regulations not against the rapacious exploiters but against the very people who were asking for a redress and protection. Now the profit hungry racketeers will make use of the emergency regulations that claim to protect export business to ignore all the laws and to exploit mercilessly our labour and resources. This a dangerous law which is aimed at frightening of any protest from workers and giving unlimited powers to employers who can direct police intimidation by mere complaint.

It is necessary for trade unions and mass organizations to organize a mass movement to stop this tragic step of the government.

## **What the NSSP Stands for**

- ☼ Full support to all anti-imperialist struggles.
- ☼ The unity of the working class the world over
- ☼ The right of self-determination of the Tamil speaking People in Sri Lanka and of all oppressed nations in the world.
- ☼ Complete democratisation of Society.
- ☼ A real agrarian Revolution.
- ☼ Women's Liberation.
- ☼ Preservation of the environment,
- ☼ Peace Freedom Justice.
- ☼ The socialist future of humankind.

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