

# THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF TAMILLEELAM

**Proletarian Perspective**

There hangs  
a nation's map  
suspended with sorrowful lines

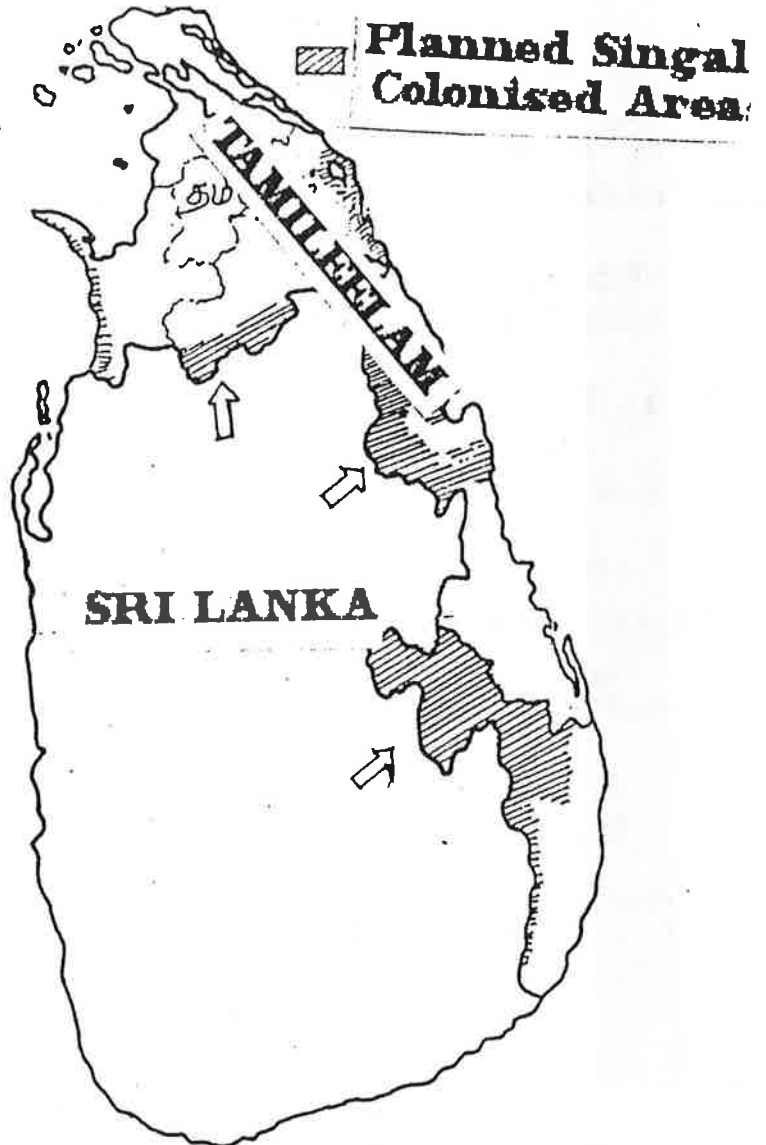
The hitherto  
blood shed  
the agony  
the fire  
the burning heart

All these for ?  
to be enslaved again ?

Does revolution bloom  
with hired army ?

We be rooted  
on our land  
on our strength  
on our own

No matter, we win or lose  
we shall ever live  
Even the struggle shall blossom  
for generations to come.  
- Cheran (translated from Tamil)



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**Against  
Imperialism**

**led by US  
Imperialism,**

**Sinhala Buddhist**

**Chauvinist State,**

**Indian  
Expansionist**

**state and**

**Counter  
-revolutionary**

**eliques.**

\* Advance the national liberation war of Tamileelam people in the light of Marxism Leninism, Mao-setung thought.

\* Fight for autonomy of up-country Tamils and minority Muslims.

\* Unite with Srilanka sinhala people who support the right of self determination including right to secession of Tamil people.

\* March forward in the line of New democratic Revolution of Ceylon.

\* Comrades of all revolutionaries patriotic and democratic forces - COME LET US UNITE.

\* We will Unite with genuine revolutionaries and National patriotic Democratic forces of all over the world

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## The fourth war of aggression

In order to provide sunlight to the people Jaffna, the military of Srilankan - buddhist chauvinist state is unleashing a planned war. Would the world believe? In the last year the peoples alliance headed by Chandrika had won the parliamentary election, and was awaiting the victory of presidential election. With the slogan that "I will end the war and bring peace" the Chandrika govt came to power utilising the heartfelt expectations of the people of Tamil Eelam and Sri Lanka. The same Sri Lankan govt headed by Chandrika is waging a war of national oppression against the people of Tamil Eelam & Tigers for the last 6 months with the so-called white Lotus propaganda that is "war today and peace tomorrow".

In the pretext of fighting the Tamil terrorists who are obstructing the sun light to the Jaffna people, a genocidal war against Tamils, titled as the Sun Shine military operation is conducted to wipe out the tigers as well as the people, since two and half months. The war started by the 51st & 52nd division of Sri Lankan army was expanded with the inclusion of 53rd command division and special task force engaged to encircle and capture Jaffna, from Nov. 1995. The army which advanced rapidly to hoist the 'lion flag' in Jaffna before the rainy season & the martyrs day stands defeated in both. With the intention of encircling and annihilating the remaining people of Jaffna and Tigers, having captured the 'Navarkuli' bridge and has declared a war time, prohibited orders against free transportation at Kilali (Kadaleri) of Jaffna.

In the midst of m/c guns, firings bomb explosion, roaring sounds of tankers of various size, and alarming sounds of Sinhalese army shouting as 'charge' - 'charge' - the screams of Tamil People, is torturing our ears. The brutal war of governmental forces keeps moving step by step with the call of "advance - consolidate and again advance and consolidate".

Today, people of Tamil Eelam are remembering the cruel faces of the nasty intentions of Indian govt supporting the Sri Lankan army from behind, and their atrocious face of aggressive war in the span of two months when the Indian aggressive army entered with the 'Operation Garland' in 1987 to capture Jaffna with their military strategy 'Pavan'.

The war plan of Chandrika govt to seize Jaffna is creating a catastrophe on the people and land of Jaffna, beyond ones imagination.

By wiping out the people and driving them away as refugees they establish their military control over the land. Thus, they are flooding their sunlight. With the capture of Jaffna govt secretariat (Kacheri) buildings, the war thirsty govt and army are up to feet for their victory.

To celebrate the seizure of Jaffna, the Sri Lankan govt, the political parties, religious & national chauvinist organisations are immersing the Sinhala people, under the waves of Sinhala national chauvinism'. Even before the dawn of new year, the crackers were piled up for celebration. The white lotus plan has been unleashed by the govt in order to gain the support of broad Sinhala masses for the war of national oppression waged only in the interest of Sinhala ruling class and imperialism, and to weaken the Sinhala patriotic revolutionary forces and to justify the war of aggression. Apart from instigating & pushing it forward, the Chandrika govt bans and strictly censors the domestic & multi-national non-governmental organisations coming forward to help the Tamil refugees.

The annual meeting of these institutions supposed to held at 'Pendhotai' was stopped by Sinhala national religious chauvinist forces numbering more than 3000. The politicians and the bureaucratic class were colluding with this.

The Government asking the people to celebrate the military victory over Jaffna. Another pretention have started to recruit 10,000 army personnel with short term training scheme. The Chandrika govt. has started to acquire the govt administration in Jaffna, and to compensate the human resource lost in the war and re-organise the army to wipe-out LTTE in the east, again. In order to compensate losses in the air force, and side by side to support the military for the continuance of genocidal war, presently they have hired the M14 war planes and pilots for the period of 6 months. Six armoured helicopters were ordered to purchase from Israel. As the people of Srilanka and Tamil Eelam who were oppose to the national oppression, exploitation and by the Srilankan-Tamil ruling classes and imperialism, the

Chandrika govt can never offer peace but only war solution. "Even if the war subsides, peace won't come at once" is what Chandrika says.

The confidence, doubts and fears encouraged through the entrance of Chandrika, the peace propaganda, ceasefire, talks and political solution, violation of ceasefire on April 19th, the position of betrayal of Tamil leaderships, the exchange of 27 kg documents related to the Rajiv assassination, the political diplomacy of Chandirka in the international institutions has been totally shattered by the three military operations and wars of Chandrika govt nakedly exposing the govt. It is proved that her govt, is a govt of Sinhala-budhist chauvinist state, in the eyes of people of Tamil Eelam. The war on Jaffna has made the Jaffna people to stand against the govt with more vigour. Even the Tamils from Europe and Canada who felt tired of war, will not confide with the govt. Now the atrocities of the military, is increasing in the east.

The Tamil people from the east will be forced to oppose the govt. The arrests, vigilance, search, huntings and the corpses floating in the river will explode the hatred of the people against the govt regiments. The Sinhala govt will attempt to bring the civil administration of Jaffna, under its control, with the help of Sinhala administrative officials along with the renegade tamil leaderships. Even this will create a situation that the people of Jaffna are not with the government On the whole the basis of the antagonism between the Srilankan govt. forces and the people of Tamil Eelam and the consciousness of the people, will remain as before. The struggle and the liberation fighters has got to unite with the people more and more. It is time that the liberation fighters started thinking. In the national liberation struggle of Tamil Eelam, after 1985, in Jaffna the govt armies were confined to the main camps only. The militant movements attacked the small military camps. They stopped the armies which tried to come out of camp. Since the Indian army entered in 1987 and got out in 90 the army personnels who tried to come out were largely confined in the main camps such as Palali, Kaarainagar, Kangesnthurai, Aanaiyiravu & Poonaryn, except for a few small & big confrontations, by and large, Jaffna remained under the control of LTTE for last 5 years. The rule of LTTE in Jaffna remained as a model of the forthcoming Tamil Eelam. Tax collection, self reliant economy, a Tamil Eelam bank, a chamber of Commerce

of Tamil Eelam with an annual income of Rs.160 million, Judicial courts, law colleges, new legislation in which severe punishments were awarded for the rape, violence & sale of liquors. Police, Traffice police, Jails, Immigration, Emigration were the administrative setup of LTTE govt in Jaffna. But the salaries for the govt employees were given by the Srilankan govt.

In the ongoing struggle the people of Jaffna have shed their blood and tears, directly experienced how the Soccialist, Tamil Eelam of LTTE govt will be ?. The Tamil Eelam people were seeing with their own eyes how their future social, economical, political and cultural life will be ? The broad masses of workers peasants and fisher folk of Jaffna, had understood about their life of social equality, once again in the LTTE rule. On the whole, they have seen the difference between the Srilankan govt and LTTE govt, as clear as the daylight. The lessons got out, from the loss of Jaffna becomes a vital issue for people of Tamil Eelam especially for the people of Jaffna, for the LTTE-fighting for the national liberation - and for the all the patriotic-democratic forces. The role and victories-and defeats of LTTE in the struggle against the national oppressive war enacted by Srilankan Government, becomes important historical evidence. For all those who aspired to advance the struggle forward, the political and military line and the trends of struggles of Tamil Eelam is forcing them to think deeply. In 1987, with the development of people and LTTE in the struggle, for the Indian army it took two months to capture Jaffna. But today after the five year rule & control LTTE, over Jaffna, even the Srilankan army has taken the same period to bring it under its control. Changes should be brought out, finding the basic political and ,military reasons for the losses and its inherent problems. In the midst of mighty military operations of Srilankan Govts and imperialists. Does it mean, that regions like Jaffna comes under the control of Liberation fighters for some time and again loss it, and at some other time the same will be repeated till the final victory.

- ☆ In the guerilla struggle against the national oppression, is this loss, is inevitable in the geographical, economic and political background of Tamil Eelam? A special law?
- ☆ Strategically in what stage does the peoples national liberation war of Tamil Eelam struggle, lies?

- ☆ What is the assessment regarding the defensive and offensive battles of LTTE when they said and say that this is the final war- the last war of liberation of Tamil Eelam people?
- ☆ What are the political and the military basis, to define Jaffna as a liberated zone?
- ☆ What does it mean to call it a liberated zone- without an armed peoples army?
- ☆ How could it be called a liberated zone while the enemy army is in the camps, within the same territory.
- ☆ What is the meaning of a real liberated zone?

The peoples liberation struggles of China and the Vietnam were fought against the reactionary domestic governments American and Japanese imperialisms for more than 25 years. How did they defeat their enemies, who possessed an armed human strength of 5 lakhs and a modern army, airforce and navy, equipped with the most modern weapons and the well trained men? The American people conducted mammoth struggles against the American aggression on Vietnam. They demanded an end to the war. They struggled to bring back the army. The enemies put economic sanctions and destroyed industries and agricultural lands. Indulged in many mass murders. How could the people of China and Vietnam withstood against this ? They faced the war with war. How did they attained national independence and peoples liberation. Which are the social forces that led the war? How did they united all the domestic struggling forces and even the smaller forces with lesser strength, to fight against the principle enemy? How did they defeat the enemy of the people and country. Today there is a restoration of capitalism even in China and Vietnam. They are following the foot steps of American and Japanese Imperialism. So, can we say that there are no possibilities to follow the path of Chinese and Vietnamese war of liberation. The same is reflection in our movements also.

The people of Tamil Eelam, the fighters and their supporters world over, are expressing their frustration and hatred because of the last twelve years war, and the questions of national independence and peoples liberation. Why do they raise time & again so many questions, doubts and lacks confidence.

The experiences of Tamil Eelam struggle- from

where these questions are raised - the socio-economic and political basis of them - the ideology and policies of the movements, and their practices, the political and military errors which becomes its basis should be found out.

Unless the leadership of these movements analyse these and bring necessary changes, it is highly impossible for national liberation struggle and war to continue even an inch forward. Even if, either Jaffna, Killinochi other areas come under the control of LTTE, if the Srilankan Govts and imperialisms wage a cruel war to regain those lost areas, it is inevitable that we loss again, to the enemy. Now, it is the time to observe the few wrong approaches of the LTTE who are playing the determinant factor in deciding the raise and fall of the struggle.

From the beginning, instead of relying, believing and depending on the broad masses, the young men and woman primarily relied only on arms, and developed the entire movement in such a way that either our men kill enemy or resort to suicide (howmany fighters killed themselves consuming poison? Even after the jail breaks there are instances of death in Tamil nadu also.) considering themselves as the sole movement in a dicatatorial process, ban or wipeout of the other fighting organisations amounted to strengthen the hands of the enemy indirectly. so many of them came forward and were trained to fight unthinkingly, or they were made to runaway to foreign countries. From the grass root level fighters within the organisation, upto the top level leaders like Mathiah were done away bureacratically without no just reasons, in the contention of leadership many people liquidated who had fairly well experienced in the warfare, has weakened the movement a lot.

When the LTTE controlled Jaffna they drove out thousands of Tamil Muslims from their native lands (though LTTE accepts this, they are not ready to offer any immediate relief); no step was taken in resolving the economic problems of the majority of working people of Jaffna who were backward in their living conditions socially and economically; due to the mistakes committed in establishing equality in social status; since they took side in favour of the very rich, and dominant forces both directly and indirectly; even in the question of taxation, emigration and in the works of war preparations, they act in accordance with interest of the rich; all these has made the LTTE, to get alienated from the

workers peasants, fisherman, government employees and from petty traders. In recent years the young as well as the old are not willing to join the LTTE army and stand isolated, the leadership which do not realise the reasons for this, depends on recruiting young kids to build regiments. It exposes the physical and psychological weakness of the war. It has made the adults (who are supposed to fight) as spectators to enjoy and feel the agony as well, to see the adventurist deeds of these young kids, ( in defeat of Veli Oya attack many young male and female kids were killed)

In the five long years of LTTE rule in Jaffna the people were not given enough training in arms either to defend themselves from enemies attack or to fight against the enemy the forces. The armed peoples army were not build. Peoples were only used to carry sand bags to build protective barriers, to dig bunkers and to build the graves. But the govt is giving military training compulsorily to Sinhala youth who were above 18. Today even for self defense people are not able to fight the government forces with arms. Had the LTTE led the people to fight against the government with arms, the advancement of the army could have been stopped to a great extend. It could have reduced the losses of LTTE fighters and helped them to retreat to other areas and fight effectively against the governmental forces. Could have scattered the enemy regiments. What happened actually? The LTTE ordered the people to get out of their houses and were asked to move to other areas as in the past. Even today the LTTE are not participating the people in struggles instead changed the majority into spectators.

Again, instead of propagating the justness and political demands of our struggle internationally, and mobilising the support of the world masses and unite with them, only the victory and defeats of attacks were propagated. This make the feeling of seeing a film. Instead of functioning by considering the long term needs and gains , annihilating the enemies in a narrow outlook, (Rajiv, Padmanaba) in foreign countries has provided an opportunity to suppress the peoples movements and supporters of the respective countries ( everyone knows its effect in Tamil nadu.) The petty bourgeoisie pure militarist ideology of the LTTE, will not allow them to make fundamental changes in their political line, military line or their approaches towards struggle. But, the LTTE leadership should change some important approaches

which were detrimental to the struggle; and it is possible. Prabhakaran and LTTE leaders were broadcasting their speech on the great Martyr day and they were taking vows to be firmly loyal to the aims of the martyrs to continue the struggle to the end. If Prabhakaran and other LTTE leaders show the same seriousness to analyse the reasons for the retreats, and the loss of Jaffna, and take efforts to think and change their line, and if they come forward boldly to admit their mistakes in front of masses, and try to change their line, all the people of Tamil Eelam, and the patriotic-revolutionary democratic forces will welcome it. The Tamil Eelam struggle will advance further only through the leaderships who are prepared to learn lessons and are ready to correct their mistakes.

In the critical stage of today, it is a necessary task to the patriotic, revolutionary democratic forces of Tamil Eelam to unite themselves. It is a fact, that there is an organisational base and even development of the movement to contribute in the war front. To formulate and establish the main political line becomes the principle question of today. It is necessary to oppose the genocidal war of Srilankan Govt and to support the LTTE in the war of national oppression and to pressurise the LTTE to rectify their mistakes, and to do that, to get united with people becomes essential. The Provo calls up on all the patriotic revolutionary democratic forces of Tamil Eelam, who are recognising the Thimpu demands as the political package plan to resolve the national question of the people of Tamil Eelam, to come forward unitedly for the struggle.

Now it is the apt time, to oppose the war of national oppression of Chandrika govt; to expose the fraudulent political package plan of the government, to isolate the traitors of Tamils, to take forward the liberation struggle of Tamil Eelam in a revolutionary path and to broaden our field of activity, among the broad masses.

November 1995

Editorial Board.

## Let us uphold the "Thimpu demands"!

Because of the on going war in Srilanka, Lakhs of Tamil people have either migrated or living as refugees in Tamil Eelam, Srilanka or elsewhere. Thousands of muslim people have also become refugees. Lakhs of refugees are there in Tamil Nadu, European countries and Canada. The question before 10 Lakhs and more refugees (30 % people of Tamil Eelam) and the Tamil people from the north and eastern province is fear, what is our future? Is there a gurantee for our life anywhere in the world at present. Only this disperation and disgusts are haunting their life. The people could not bear the limitless anti-tamil-national-anarchist activities of the Sri Lankan govt. forces, and the struggle groups who have become the betrayers. On the other side the bureacratic trends of Tiger leadership prevents the concious unity and supporting fully in the national liberation struggle. How the national liberation struggle to defend the independence of Tamil Eelam land and social liberation of the people will be in the next stage. What the Tiger leadership will do next ?

This is what is anticipated by the terribly scared Tamil Eelam people and the struggling militants. People from Tamil Nadu and world over who extend their sympathy and support to our struggle stand with anxiety and expectations.

How the next step of national liberation struggle of Tamil Eelam, will be ? Today the main responsibility of this lies with the Tigers leadership who are continuing as the determinig force and the partriotic - revolutionary democratic forces who want to continue the struggle in a revolutionary path. With the "Guirella" military line of how to face the war of national oppression of Chandrika govt, and defeat it, especially by exposing the dubious political pact of the govt, through peoples' struggle. We should convert our political solution as the backbone of the struggle. The political package of the govt. which doesn't respect the hither to struggle of the Tamil national people, which doesn't solve the national question, will amount to be a treacherous plan to mislead the development of the struggle; It will be a mere piece of bone thrown to broaden the countrywide bureacracy that will serve rapidly and directly to the national chauvanist fundamentalist-internal ruling class of imperialism and the state structures. Instead, the Thimpu demands which recognises the right of self determination of Tamil Eelam

People; controls any foreign intervention, and as a political power package-should taken forward openly among the broad masses of Tamil Eelam. Under our demands of political package plan the Tamil People should be mobilised. Except in the wartorn area, we should take up this in north south SriLanka and in every country in the world where the Tamil Eelam refugees live. Through this, Tamil Eelam People will understand now their future would be consciously unite in the struggle with their political demands, will extent their support. Tamil Eelam people will conduct massive anti govt. agitations demanding the implimentation of their political package plan.

It is possible to demand through open peoples struggle to pressurise the Chandrika Govt. to accept our political package plan through the people of the countries and its Governments where they have migrated as refugees, to demand to pressurise to stop the Srilankan Government war.

But, our past struggles are different " Srilankan Government should put forward a political package plan", " We are ready for talks and our doors for peace are open"-to the extend that they spoke. these words play all movement leaderships- including the LTTE didnot show any inclination to openly put forward a political package plan for talks, propogate it and to push the people struggle to demand that the govt. should accept the plan and initiate talks with struggling movements. They donot have belief in the political consciousness & struggles of the broad masses. These young men and women who are ready to take up arms believe that the modern weapons itself can accomplish everything. They say that political knowledge for the few in the leadership and a few political advisers are enough for the struggle. The demands like, "Their respectice movements should be recognised", "we want self determination we want Tamil Elam" are limited to their level of slogans, leaving their inner essence or superficially they say that " if the govt. put the package plan forward, we are ready to examine it". Just see the press interviews of Baby Subramaniam, and Balasingam, just before the Sunshine military operation. Will a solution be possible through talks? Answer: "you should put this question to the Srilankan Govts, if the govt. stops war in the north and east to create favourable situation, we are ready for peace" Right, If the govt. stops war- if it cre-



ates a favourable situation- what type of favourable situation?" Ready of peace. Peace on what basis. only Tiger leadership should know this. Should not the world people know this ?

Even the Indo-Lanka accord was signed between two governments. No accord was signed between the Srilankan govt. and militant movements. What is the basic difference between the political package plan of 1987 and the Tigers political package pact proposed by the Tigers ( who rejected and fought against the govt. plan) and the revolutionary patriotic democratic forces. To what extend we put it in front of the people. To what extend the broad masses of Tamil Eelam people struggled grasping this? or rejected this ? Tigers are a determined Guirella fighters. What the tiger leadership is for ?. Whether rejected or accepted, whether they will fight or compromise they will not become a thing for either a total rejection or acceptance for all times of Tamil Eelam struggle should advance by rectifying the past mistakes and weaknesses.

Unlike the UNP, the Chandrika govt has proposed a political package plan. With that pretext and with the pretext of violation of seizefire by Tigers, is waging a cruel war of Tamil ethnic cleansing saying it as military solution to Tigers and peace for the people. The trecherous leadership like PLOT, EPRLF, TELO, TULF, EPDP, CTC - and middle liners and those who speak of 'peace-yes with democracy', have all are upholding the package plan. These vibheeshanas gang say that in the history of Sri Lanka, the Chandrika's political package plan is a package for Liberation of Tamils. The plan is basically a right one. They find problems only with the few alterations, rectifications and problems of implementations. As a policy, they have accepted this plan it seems. These leaderships who fought once upon a time to include these demands policies- " The Thimpu demands plan" and all such demands are left in air, one betraying the militants and people who invested confidence in them. Because of their political careerism & with the lust for powers and position, they support the Chandirka govt. and its package plan. This gang of betrayers are trying hectically to make Tamil people to accept it.

Tigers are fighting against the govt forces, defeats and victories are taking place. Tigers are losing control over Jaffna-the Tiger leadership has stepped back. The loss in Jaffna has largely weakened Tigers both politically and militarily. It is explicit if the govt.

stops war and initiate talks with Tigers, Tigers will also come for talks. How the Tiger leadership will confront the political package plan of Chandrika govt during the talks?

They will not betray like the other Tamil leadership by accepting it as it is today's package of Chandrika.

What the tiger leadership will do, if the govt brings some changes in the package to change a policy, regarding the govt power structures, recognition and priority to Tiger? This remains as a question to every one including Tiger militants.

If the LTTE doesn't agree with the govt package plan, then what is the political package of LTTE?

As per a recent statement of Balasingam "autonomy for Tamil people, within the federation". What is the relationship with the Tigers slogan of "Tigers aspire Tamil Eelam" or the Thimpu demands even proposed by Tigers in 1985. Which one of the 4 Thimpu demands is resolved through this "autonomy within federalism". Infact what is seen is that LTTE also losing track regarding a political package plan that can resolve the national problems of Tamil Eelam people.

Do you think that you can win independence by militarily. Balasingam reply " Independence is not the right word. We have the right to decide our political targets. What is meant by right to self determination, Let us leave aside how the Tigers will conceive the principle of Right to Self determination. I and explain it there any contradiction of language between the Tigers policies and slogans of "National independence of Tamil Eelam", aspire for Tamil Elam", Socialist Tamil Eelam' and what Balasingam call independence is not the right word". Or is there any contradiction in the real socio economic political targets and objectives of Tigers? The peoples dream of their targets-national independence of Tamil Elam land, and the socio economic-political independence- are mere dreams. The sacrifices and heroic death of all liberation fighters including the tigers are only to be kept for display in the graveyard. The independence for Tamil Eelam is the independence for socio-economic and political life of the people, and this independence is not the right word. The Tamil ruling classes who are exploiting the Tamil land and people by suppressing & oppressing, claimed independence for Tamil land and people in order to mobilise the whole Tamil national people against the sinhala ruling classes, MNCs and imperialism who were posing competition and hurdles to them. Because the govt. and imperial-



ism are ready to come down to annex the Tamil ruling class with them, to enslave the Tamil land and to exploit and oppress the Tamil people, the word-national people independence-has become wrong unnecessary and meaningless. When they say that 'We have the right to decide our political targets' they mean only the interests of the Tamil ruling classes.

Laldenga -who gave the leadership to Gorkha national peoples struggle in India, fought for the demand of separate nation. Later when they gave up the demand for separate nation in favour of the compromise plan of Gorkha national council of Indian govt even later he said " we are not struggling for a real demand of separate nation. That is not possible also. Even we don't need it. But to get the power we needed, to threaten the Indian govt to mobilise the people behind us, the demand for separate nation was necessary" The treacherous Tamil leaderships though not say it explicitly, the Laldenga statement very much reflects in our struggle also.

In the talks conducted by Tigers with Chandrika govt.-in the first six months, the proposals for political package failed, they started to negotiate regarding the removal of economic blockade, and a few military demand in favour of the movement. When the govt tricks and activities became unbearable tigers violated the siezefire, there were condemnation with questions raised among the Tamil Eelam people and the people world over as well. The Srilankan govt the imperialist media and news papers and Indian govt propogated that the Tigers and the revolutionary patriotic forces as 'war mongers', To an extend enemies gained out of it. Chandrika govt gained support in SAARC, non aligned movement, UNO, and common wealth for their propaganda. Even then, because of three severe military compaigns of the Srilankan govt, has brought terrible loss to Tamil people, the international sympathy and support for the Tamil Eelam people and for those who fight for them has increased much.

If the govt agrees for siezefire and come forward for talks then what could be the political package proposed by tigers, on behalf of the Tamil Eelam people. All those who have the concern in the Tamil Eelam peoples struggle, accept that the Thimpu demands should be the basis for package plan.

The popular' Thimpu demands were put forward amongst the Tamil Eelam people and world people by the genuine revolutionary democratic forces, and recognised by the peace loving human right movements-

was a political package demand jointly placed before by the liberation movements on behalf of Tamil Eelam people, during the talks between the Tamil leaderships and Srilankan govt-with Indian central govt, at the capital of Bhutan in 1985. Since the liberation fighters stood firmly with these demands, the JR govt started to confuse the talks. Indian govt debarred Balasingam, Chandrahasan and Sathyendra. The movement leaders were kept under house arrest. Even the Indian govt has to get back, budging to the protests of people from Tamil Eelam, Tamil Nadu and world over. The Srilankan govt got exposed worldwide.

In the post 1985, the heroic struggles waged by the LTTE and Tamil Eelam people against the Sri Lankan govt and Indian aggressive army are very great. Then, why the tigers leadership is hesitating to put forward the Thimpu demands, as the political package plan. Does the development of LTTE and their struggle mean that they comedown to give up the political package demand, placed prior to 1985? Can the sacrifices, losses and sufferings of the militants and people, be made so cheap?. No, never If the LTTE and its leadership are firm in this, then they have openly declare that Thimpu demands, as the political package plan of Tamil Eelam people, for the talks with Chandrika govt. should conduct and encourage peoples struggle in support of this political package plan among the people of Tamil Eelam and world over. Should demand the international community to pressurise Chandrika govt to acknowledge this plan.

Then, and only then, we can expose the treacherous political package plan of peaceof Chandrika. The Tamil Eelam people will reject this treacherous plan and the betrayal groups. When the Srilankan govt reject the political package plan that will give a just resolve to the Tamil Eelam national question, (if the Chandrika govt-which is more peace oriented than JR govt also rejects it) If they deny to acknowledge the world wide peoples pressure, - the world people will support our political package plan - Tamil Eelam people and the Liberation militants. The Chandrika govt will be isolated in international level.

The Tamil Eelam people might continue the armed struggle against the Chandrika govt and military forces, The Tamil Eelam people will participate in it consciously. People from Tamil nadu and world wide will continue to support our struggle. This becomes the todays and immediate and principal tasks of the patriotic, revolutionary, democratic forces of Tamil Eelam.

Even LTTE leadership will come forward to this. We wish that they should come forward.

The intention of ruling classes of Chandrika govt, the Indian govt and imperialisms is to confine (in a planned way) deceive and stagnate the liberation struggle of Tamil Eelam people and the leadership of the movements- with in the treacherous political package plan. If the movements survive, then by intensify the war of national oppression, by helping to intensify the weaknesses among the fighting leadership, by intensifying hatred and desperation by isolating the fighting leaderships and to again to deceive with the same treacherous political package plan. How the fighting leaderships of Tamil Eelam movements are going to break? or will they be washed away with it?

With the completion of military campaign-war to seize Jaffna- the Chandrika govt will convert its political package plan into a propaganda war with a loud voice. The treacherous Tamil leaderships who have accepted this, will blow their trumpets to make the Tamil Eelam people deaf. the people and refugees who are soiled by war, will pray for peace at all costs.

The LTTE will have to suffer heavily to fulfill their losses and manage the defeats. And at the same time may even continue the attacks against the govt forces. If they want to stand firmly in struggle, the leadership will change its political-military line (at least to an extent) or will attempt to change a few tactics. The demand of patriotic revolutionary democratic forces of Tamil Eelam is,

To LTTE leadership,

Recognise the organisations and movements who want to fight against the Sri Lankan govt, and want to stress the Thimpu demands for talks- to function. Remove the ban on them. Release the fighters and foremost leaders of those organisations, not only for the anti govt propaganda, their right to take up arms struggle should be acknowledged in practice, and implemented. The Tigers should help the muslim refugees, who were evacuated by the Tigers- to come and resettle again in their respective areas.

Thimpu demands

1. The Sri Lankan Tamils should be recognised as a nationality.
2. The Sri Lankan Tamils have specific homeland of their own should be recognised.

3. The right up self - determination of Tamil nation should be recognised.
4. All citizen rights and other fundamental rights of all Tamil who has Sri Lanka as their country should be recognised.

In today's crisis ridden situation, LTTE cadres at the lower level, the people from the LTTE controlled areas the internal and foreign supporters of LTTE should compell the LTTE leadership to do this. Instead if the LTTE leadership either add and subtract to the political package plan in their talks with govt, or fall in the package plan of Chandrika govt or come to power either by federalism, autonomy or they reject the Thimpu demand by participating in the talks regarding autonomy and federalism, the LTTE cadres who have understood the Thimpu demands, and the justness of Tamil Eelam people who are struggling for the Thimpu demands, and the revolutionary, patriotic, democratic forces will register their protest to the LTTE leadership.

From the people of Tamil Nadu and world over who are supporting this in every way, may have to get isolated. If the Thimpu demands are also not placed forward, and this betrayal to the objectives of Tamil people and to the sacrifices of LTTE fighters be written in history.

All the struggle front organisations of Tamil Eelam who are concerned about the national independence of people of Tamil Eelam and the socio-economic liberation of the people should place the Thimpu demands in front, for the recognition of the political package plan. When the talks are conducted on behalf of Tamil Eelam people through our literature and struggles we should propagate in a planned manner, among Tamil Eelam people and world people, should take up and participate in peoples' struggles. To fulfill this tasks peoples organisations, parties in Sri Lanka, and world over-who recognise the national liberation struggle of Tamil Eelam people, should conduct peoples struggle, demanding the recognition of Thimpu demands for a political solution and to stop the war waged by the Sri Lankan govt. They should demand the govts of their respective countries to pressurise.

1995 - December.

## The National Liberation struggle of Tamil Eelam and Muslim people.

- \* Starting from kathangudi, Eravur, Pothuvil, Akkaraipatru veedhi, Alingi pothanai, finally upto the five border villages of Polanaravai, 150 muslims were killed.
- \* The muslim leadership has orgained to observe the evacuation day as blackday on 1992 to condemn the Polanaruvai killings and to observe the 2nd anniversary day of the evacuation of muslims from Jaffna and Mannar districts by Tigers.
- \* The London branch of Liberation Tigers has denied any responsibility for the polanaruvai killings.
- \* More than 100 students from Jaffna university have burnt the portraits of Premadasa and Prabhakaran in protesting against these killings.
- \* There should be a seperate muslim regiment organised in Lankan army to protect the muslims.
- \* This has been demanded by Ashraf, from the govt and also has promised to allot 10,000 muslims for the purpose.
- \* A one man committee of vise Admiral Anand D' Silva has been appointed to probe into the Polanaruvai killings.
- \* Govt has said that a new border security forces of 5000 personnel, will be sent to protect the border villages.
- \* To consititute a seperate committee of muslims under the joint provincial council of north and east in order to ensure the security and uniqueness of muslim people.
- \* This is one of the 4 point demands put forward by the 8 tamil parties to resolve the ethnic dispute.
- \* "When the govt fails in its duty, people have the right to weild arms ...." Ashraf (Muslim Congress)

Among the chaotic scene (Political acrobatics) taking place in Sri Lankan political arena regarding the ethnic question, even the above said news becomes prominent with the continuation of war. The ethnic

chauvinist forces who want the minority nations of tamils and muslims, to kneel down permanently before the sinhala - buddhist big nation chauvinism, is continuously attempting at every historical juncture to rupture the good relations - prevailing among tamils and muslims for centuries, and to stop the two oppressed nations to get united against the big nation chauvinist Sri Lankan govt. And noticeably, in recent times this has been speeded up.

Such reactionary chauvinist forces and govt, are functioning so skillfully to protect their pseudo national, ruling class interests in order to retain their power bases among the ethnic chauvinist, religious base and divide the people to clash. The Premadasa govt is adopting a policy of repress and suppress the tamil - muslim minorities and thereby weaken them at all level and creating a conflict between them and there by promote the sinhala buddhist big nation chauvinism, and to prolong their state power from ruin. The govt machinery is engaged directly and indirectly to implement this. The functions of narrow minded religeous - ethnic chauvinist forces among Tamils and Muslims are put to good use by the govt to advance their chauvinist - anti people policies.

Even the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam who are waging a war on behalf of Tamil nation, opposing the sinhala - buddhist big nation chauvinist govt of Sri Lanka, posses only a narrow out look with regard to the policies, ways and means to the development of and victory of the national liberation struggle of Tamil Eelam. It has the same out look with regard ot how to stop the planned colonisation of the govt and how to stop the land occupation. In order to stop the sinhalese colonisation of the govt in the border areas of Tamil Eelam. It indulges in killings as an act of threatening the people who come up there. The killings with such pure militarist out look has more and more served the tactics of the govt. Even that situation where the fall-out and counter effects of the narrow methods of struggle and political - military line of liberation Tigers, were only made use of by the govt, - has changed. The liberation Tigers movement has taken a stand that it is prepared to punish the national minorities in Tamil

Eelam area by using the Tamil ethnic chauvinism and with its authority and sanction of only one movement. What does it all expose when the muslim people from northern province especially the Jaffna - Mannar districts were driven out in November 91 and when the govt activities in the borders of Tamil Eelam could not be stopped, and they are not ready to learn any lessons from the past activities ? It has exposed the Liberation Tigers of their national chauvinism of Tamil Eelam, their face of Tamil national chauvinism and their military anarchist expressions. The killings of muslim people and evacuations has only started shattering the development of peoples struggle its moral strength of self determination of Tamil Eelam, against the big nation chauvinism of Sri Lanka govt; no one-including the Liberation Tigers and other Liberation fighters who can analyse the contemporary situation of the Tamil Eelam struggle, - can deny this fact.

The ruling class forces of Tamil - muslim ethnic groups which has taken pro Sri Lankan govt stand, and the reactionary forces of religious fundamentalism, and the ethnic chauvinist forces, are attempting both directly and indirectly, and both from inside and as well as outside, by their ruling class ideology and divide to rule activities, disrupt the united strength of the oppressed minority ethnics, - the peoples fighting strength against the sinhala big nation chauvinism, and the patriotic struggle continuing under the leadership of the working class. As long as they are like this, they serve the Sinhala chauvinism by any means, the Sri Lankan govt will remain in pretention. Like this, all the anti-people forces, with their anti-democratic aspirations, are benefitted by provoking the fire of clashes among the Tamil and muslim people by rooting the methods of dividing, among the masses of the oppressed minority. The revolutionary patriotic forces who wants to develop the struggle against Sri Lankan govt and imperialism, should get awakned to build the unity of Tamil and Muslim people, to strengthen the path of Liberation of the Tamil Eelam - recognising the unique ness of the minority nations.

In the history of Sri Lanka, the sinhalese buddhist chauvinism and the chauvinist parties like UNP, SLFP who captured the seats of power alternatively were unleashing a planned ethnic oppression on the Tamil and Muslim minorities and were occupying their land and populations. The 1981 year senses shows (table No1) it explicitly

### POPULATION - ETHNICITY WISE EASTERN PROVINCE

Table - 1			
Ethnicity	Before 100 Years	Year before when the Britishers handed the power to sinhalese	In the last population senses
	1881	1946	1981
Muslims	4300134.5%	109024 39.0%	315201 32.2%
Tamils	75408 59.1%	13605948.0%	411451 42.4%
Sinhalese	5947 4.6%	27556 9.8%	243358 24.9%
Northern Province			
Muslims	10416 3.5%	18183 3.7%	52638 4.7%
Tamils	289481 95.6%	449958 93.8%	1023229 92.0%
Sinhalese	1379 0.4%	9602 2.0%	33149 2.9%

Note : It is to be noted that, in northern province the muslims were driven out by Liberation tigers in 91.

#### Amparai District

Muslims	98270 46.3%	161481 41.5%
Tamils	50480 23.8%	79725 20.5%
Sinhalese	62160 29.3%	146371 37.7%

Note : Only in the year 1963 the amparai district was formed newly deviding it from mattakalappu. From 1981 to tilldate, the sinhalese colonisation is taking place speedily as per the govt plan. Even the name of the Amparai district has been changed to a Sinhalese name as "Thigamaduvalla".

If we see with these informations, it can be understood, how the Sri Lankan sinhalese chauvinism and govt are colonising in a planned way with a firm resolute to make the Tamil and Muslim ethnic a minority in their own traditional homeland. From 1948 when power was transfered from England to Sri Lankan ruling classes. ( Even before 1948 the Sinhala big nation chauvinism has pounced upon the minority national, religious people, for the first time) the Tamil and Muslim people continue to face the ethnic discrimination policy ethnic massacre and state terrorism with the background of a state power. In the Sri Lankan areas the Muslim people were affected worstly by State terrorism in 1976 at puthalam, in 1982 at Caali and Paanandhurai.

When the struggle for the self determination of the oppressed Tamil Eelam surpassed various stage and has reached the stage of armed struggle and even when the stand of Tamil should secede, the Muslim people supported it. Hundreds of Muslim youths came forward to join the Tamil Eelam national movements.

We should clearly find the ways, intentions of the reactionary forces, classes who work so tirelessly to break the unity of both these ethnic people by the recent killings of Muslim people and the retributed killings of Tamils. Then only a proper solution to this problem can be found out. The unity of Tamil and Muslim people could be established again in reality. The Sri Lanka govt continues to be the economic and political representative of the sinhala ruling class and as a faithful agent of the foreign - imperialist countries. And hence it implements such favourable political and economic policies so that the whole of Sri Lankan people are exploited by the foreign international imperialist institutions, through open economic policies and allow the internal ruling classes to plunder the people and more and more severely exploit them. while in the economic competition internally between the Sinhala ruling class and the ruling class of the minority nations the sinhala ruling class defeats its competitors using the state power (this is what they say as the development of free capitalist competition) and at the same time, with the intention of stopping the united struggle of the exploited people merging the ethnic, religious, differences against ruling classes and imperialisms and struggle for their social-economic development, political Liberation and principally to isolate the majority of sinhala exploited masses from the other exploited ethnic people, the sinhala buddhist ethnic chauvinist govt and ruling classes have both these as their basic policies of their life, inter mixed with the religious chauvinism. In many occasions this masked ethnic chauvinist policy of Sri Lankan govt is safer for pro imperialist forces. So, the chauvinism promoted by the leaders and protectors of ethnic chauvinism in Sri Lanka, and its ruling political parties, to protect and develop itself has opened the path for its own distinction.

Among the social contradictions, in Sri Lanka, when the nationality contradiction between the Sri Lankan govt and the Tamil Eelam nation has got transformed as the principal contradiction, the path of revolution for the self determination of Tamil Eelam nation has become the main path. Under this situation the rela-

tion between the oppressed nations assumed a new dimension. The Tamil Eelam national Liberation struggle has got to unite all the ethnic people, groups in the same camp - oppressed by the sinhala chauvinist Sri Lankan govt and imperialisms - against the national oppressions. Considering the distinct character of the minority muslim ethnic people living with in the borders of Tamil Eelam, a political time based on equality and unity has to be drawn up and implemented. Under such conditions, the protests and struggles of the muslim people who are oppressed by the Sri Lankan ethnic chauvinism, has moved towards to unite with the path of national Liberation struggle of Tamil Eelam. And particularly the struggle of Tamil Eelam nation has reached, the stage of armed struggle against the govt. The situation, where muslim people has to struggle unitedly with Tamil nationality has emerged. It was very much essential for Sri Lanka chauvinism govt to hatch conspiracies and adopt a divide and rule policy against oppressed nations, such that, they do not get united in the war of liberation. For this purpose more concessions are given to a section of ruling class from muslims and continue to retain them under their control. But the rebellion of the northern & eastern muslim peasantry (Ashraf could use it up well) who were subjected to the ethnic oppression and land grabbing, has gone out of control from the hands of pro - Sri Lankan (colombo) muslim ruling class leadership. and support and unite with the national struggle of Tamil Eelam nation.

The Sri Lankan govt adopted two tactics to avoid the integration between the Tamil and Muslim ethnic people. One is to show concessions to the selfish leadership who stand in front of muslim people second, is to create conflicts by direct intervention, and pave way for it. The planned sinhala colonisation along with muslim colonisation in a planned way - is just one expression of this (so far in about 25 villages bordering mattakalappu, and polanaruvai, are covered. In the pretext of providing security to these colonised areas, army is made to stand there. With its genocidal armies (not the military or police, but the border security forces, blackcats, During the years 1989, only these forces killed innocent sinhala people, students and youths under the cover of suppressing the JVP fighters) itself the govt conducting the killings on muslim and sinhala people and the blame is shifted on to the Tamil Eelam militant movements and attain two types of gains out of that; one is to vulgarise the struggles against ethnic

oppression to attempt to divide the Tamil and Muslim people and the Tamil and Sinhalese people permanently. In the beginning days these tactics of Sri Lankan govt was very difficult and self exposing. But the killings (Anuradhapuram, Eravur) of Sinhalese - Muslim people by the liberation tigers in mossad style, become a very convenient thing for the govt. Enriching itself further the govt conducted many more planned killings and showed the way to get escaped from it and to malign the Liberation struggle of Tamil Eelam. The opposition and the ethnic misgivings of affected people born out by the killings conducted alternatively by the tigers showing lions and the lions showing the tigers, was very well utilised by the Sri Lankan govt to unleash a propoganda campaign both inside and outside (especially in the muslim countries) the countries in order to rupture the unity between the Tamils and muslims and reap the benefit. Utilising the spontaneous opposition from the affected Tamil muslim people, the govt itself engineers the killings from the background, by inciting the goonda elements. The killings of Tamil people at karapola, muthukal, are the two historical incidents demonstrates this truth to us. It is worth noticing a few news items which says about a few individuals and militant groups from the betrayal groups which has joined hands with Sri Lanka govt in such killings. In the same way, a few muslim fundamentalist groups have taken a degenerated stand to declare 'a holy war' to fight against the Tamil people. In essence this will also amount to serve the ethnic chauvinist Sri Lankan govt.

The muslim people from northern and eastern provinces have joined with Tamil national people on the basis that the Tamil Eelam national Liberation struggle will give them independence, self protection and Liberation from the oppression they face (for example, The book titled "The muslim people and Tamil Eelam Liberation struggle" has been dedicated to the first islamic heroic Tamil fighter Lieutenant 'Jeenatheen' - who became a martyr in the warfield of the national liberation war, from the Liberation tigers movement.)

But no groups from Tamil Eelam nationalist movements could emerge as the real representative of muslim people of gaining their great confidence and fulfilling the expectations of muslim people. And those who came up with the stories of defeating all dubious stories of the pro-colombo selfish leaders prevailing among the muslim people and to build the fort of unity

of Tamil - Muslim people are today, are trampling even the very national dreams of Tamil people is a regrettable thing. One reason for this is, the unique nature of muslim people and their whole set of socio-economic political and cultural problems, should have been acknowledged, and whole heartedly stay among them, and integrate their general & specific demands with the policies of Tamil Eelam national demands, were not taken up for action. Without exposing the enemies of the muslim people, both from their own ethnicity and outside individuals among muslim people were selected to establish their own ethnicity and outside, only few individuals among muslim people were selected to superficial outlook of Islamic Tamils, Tamil muslims of Tamil Eelam, on the whole, the first large second large minority nation of muslims - both fighting the sinhala big nation chauvinist oppression, should unite with their own distinct characters and rights and should fight against the big nation chauvinism of Sri Lankan govt. In this, understanding the prevailing positions relations among the both oppressed minority nations, neither proper political slogans propoganda nor organising work has taken place to unite both the ethnic people under the united demands of Tamil Eelam. These national movements, from the outlook of - Tamil speaking Islamic Tamils Tamil speaking plantation workers, put forward a stand point saying that the muslim people and the Tamil plantation working people are just fraternal Tamil ethnic people. A few other organisations went a step ahead and drew the map-inscribing the regions where the plantation people live, and a few others expressed their ideas regarding the plantation people, to just shift their living places to north and eastern borders. Because the armed struggle against big nation chauvinist Sri Lanka govt, is being conducted by the traditional Tamils, they also came out with the idea of they were the sole representative of the "Tamil ethnic nation that has been united". It is worth remembering the PLOT leadership trumpeted that they were the real representative of muslim people, having included a muslim representative among their organisational delegation during the 'Thimpu talks'. The many ethnic groups (Tamils, Muslims, and plantation Tamil people) oppressed by the sinhala big nation chauvinism and the govt, though they are inter connected by the social, economical and living conditions and even geographical links, instead of working with the policy of uniting the various ethnic groups in the struggle against the chauvinist govt and imperialisms only from the strength that

among nation, it is the big and of course the fighting nation - This petty bourgeoisie ideology of claiming the sole representative of all oppressed minority nations, has led the Tamil national movements.

### **Regarding the broad masses from the oppressing sinhala nation:**

The Sri Lanka sinhala big nation chauvinist govt has upheld the ethnic chauvinism and buddhist religious chauvinism to stabilise itself among the sinhala people. Hiding that the Sinhala capitalist class and imperialism are responsible for the problems of social, political - economy of sinhala majority people, and showing the other nations as responsible, and to stop the exploited Sinhala people, workers, peasants class of majority nations getting united with other ethnic people, workers and peasant class, is a matter of importance. The Sinhala ruling classes and the govt continue to score victory in this. The "Sinhala - Buddhist - ethnic chauvinist" has been stabilised popularly among the Sinhala people. The history is that, all including the left and the right have become scapegoat to populism in fighting the ethnic chauvinism. It is to be noted that though the left-ist revolutionary forces in Sri Lanka have clarity in this matter, that they are still in a weak position. Today the sinhala broad masses has been immersed fully in the ethnic chauvinism. Being shipped and unable to find out their real enemy of their national sovereignty and social development, are made to see the oppressed peoples struggle of Tamil Eelam nation, with enmity, though they are fighting their common enemy. They have been profoundly tied up by the magical weapons of ethnic religious chauvinism by the ruling classes are cheating the innocent Sinhala govt - as the holy war, as the war of liberation of Sinhala people and as the final war for the national peace. By increasing the war fund and with the mobilisation of human resources necessary for the war, it protects the capitalist class interest and its imperialist inclination is the people's interests. Infact, only by keeping the broad Sinhala people still tied with ethnic religious illusions, is able to continue the national oppressive war against the people of Tamil Eelam nation. Every forces that continue the liberation struggle of the Tamil Eelam nation, have to show the Sinhala people, exposing by fearing the mask of Sri Lankan ruling big nation chauvinism and of imperialisms. This has to be done in two ways. Firstly, to show that politically Sri Lankan govt and ruling class and imperialisms are our enemies, that sinhala people are our friends,

that our enemies are also their real enemies. This should be made to understand and appeal to fight against the real enemies.

Through all our propoganda and agitations we conduct, we should make the changes in the concious level of the broad masses of sinhala. Secondly, as the result of the war we wage against the state, the economic impositions conducted by the govt against the sinhala people, and the loss of human resources, will create a deeper impact on the Sinhala masses. Should lead the struggle, peoples protests against the Sinhala govt and imperialisms, with the Sinhala broad masses understanding its deeper implications. This will happen in the process of continuation of war. But to co-ordinate that to sharpen the contradiction between the broad masses and the state, and that developes in the revolutionary line, not allowing the other section of ruling classes to make use of the peoples struggle against the enemy, and to make them support the struggles of oppressed nations for self determination including the right to secession and finally to unitedly struggle with the patriotic revolutionary forces who stand firmly in the national struggle of Tamil Eelam nation; all these has got to be done from a planned political - organisational line.

Our experience, got from the last 10 years of war is something different. The liberation tigers who are indulged fully in the war against the Sri Lanka govt have not worked with understanding of the differences between the Sri Lankan govt and Sinhala broad masses. Here also it got expressed as the Tamil national chauvinism and as shortant tactics. Innocent Sinhala people were sacrificed at many stages - functions with the hope of creating a crisis to the govt by killing Sinhala people. It thinks that it is a fast method to develop the Sinhala people. It thinks that it is a fast method to develop the Sinhala people's hatredness on the govt.

The attacks on the Sinhala people is also make use of, to arouse the Tamil people (against the govt) living in the border areas, and change them to become guarillas. On the whole it has taken many shortcut activities like the only way to stop Sinhala colonisation is to kill the Sinhalese from those colonies. But none of these has taken the national liberation struggle forward. Has not even developed the conciousness among the sinhala people, that the peoples struggle for Tamil Eelam is a just one. As such, it has not polarised the Sinhala - people against the Sri Lankan govt systematically. The people inside and outside the country has not recognised



the movement of Liberation Tigers even as national movement, instead have acknowledged only as a Tamil ethnic chauvinist movement, fascist Tigers. The narrow out look of LTTE about sinhala people and its short-cut - selfish activities have only pushed to the stage of strengthening of the ethnic chauvinist wall, the Sri Lankan govt attempts to raise between broad masses of sinhala nation and the oppressed people of Tamil Eelam nation.

It is an objective fact, that the movement of Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam is one of the national forces fighting on behalf of the oppressed Tamil Eelam nation against the Sri Lanka chauvinist govt, and distinctly contribute - continuously in the war against oppression, and inspite of the weaknesses in their political - military policies and functionings - remain as a force waging a war against the state. Representing the hegemonistic class of Tamil nation, this movement also represents the limitless national chauvinisms, and the chauvinist trend born out of the oppressed Tamil nation. As a result, it engages in attacks on the oppressed minority - nation of muslim people, and the broad masses from oppressing Sinhala nation. Above all, with the hegemonistic pride and from its aspiration, can the only representative of Tamil nation, it suppresses the democratic rights of the people, from various classes of Tamil Eelam nation, against the ethnic oppression., Banning the struggling forces it smashes them. It fails to realise that, in a way, all these activities will strengthen the Sri Lankan govt and the enemies of Liberation tigers. Only because of the Tamil bourgeoisie class struggling against the Sinhala big nation chauvinism, standing on the side of Tamil people, and Liberation Tigers, representing them - are seen with many reactionary characters, with their struggling methods, do not mobilise the people from all nations against big nation chauvinism and imperialism, but becomes a struggle for a mere bargaining power with the govt.

In a situation like this, the tasks of the struggling revolutionary patriotic movements against oppression, the proletarian class view of the oppressed nation : to pave the way for all class forces to struggle against the principal enemies - the Sri Lankan ethnic chauvinist govt and imperialisms - under one camp, the class forces who are stumbling block to this, and if they continue to struggle against the govt - for two reason, it should involve that to attack the Sinhala people and muslim people; or even by showing the reason of wiping the co-struggling forces, by weighing it equally with the principal enemy - the Sri Lankan govt, it should not

indulge in such counter activities, instead by criticising and confusing the specific activities of Tigers, should also illustrate clearly that how it affects the struggles and how it misleads the affected people.

And because of the reason, that today the liberation Tigers are the only force waging a war, there is a mockery in criticising, condemning and educating the people regarding any of their very worst activities which misguides or weakens the struggle, will become a favourable one, for the Sri Lankan govt. Will, evacuating the muslims from the northern region, and killing Sinhala people from the border villages and wiping out the progressive democratic forces engaged in the national liberation struggle of Tamil nation, take the national liberation struggle of Tamil Eelam people forward? Whether we are criticising these reactionary aspects, or not, but these activities will be a favourable one for the big nation, Sinhala chauvinist govt of Sri Lanka.

And hence, we should stand firmly and continue struggle for national independence sharpen the war against the common enemy by supporting the struggle of Liberation Tigers against the Sri Lankan govt. should demand to struggle in the right path against the common enemy that may weaken its struggle and jeopardize the unity of oppressed Tamil and muslim people. That is not only to educate the Liberation Tigers, but to unite the people from all the oppressed nations and fighting forces, in the national struggle of Tamil Eelam independence, against the Sri Lankan govt and imperialisms and to isolate the selfish, bureacratic, compromising forces from the majority masses and to develop the struggle of progressive revolutionary path of the national struggle of the working people. And this is what we should do also.

- ★ Let us develop the unity of the ethnic Tamil & muslim people!
- ★ let us unite under the path of patriotic revolutionary path of Tamil Elam!
- ★ Let us condemn the killings of muslims, Tamils, and Sinhala people in the border areas!
- ★ Let us unite with the sinhala peoples revolutionary struggles against the Sri Lankan govt and imperialism!

1993 November

## Let the fraternal relation of people of Tamil Eelam and Tamil nadu grow!

### World wide repatriate refugees of Tamil Eelam!

#### Let us unite with the world people!

In Sri Lanka, the Sinhalese national chauvinist govt and imperialisms are waging a national oppressive war against the people of Tamil Eelam. In the post 1948, major portion of the history of neo - colonialism was written with the denial of national rights to Tamils, ethnic riots territorial encroachment genocides by the Sinhala-budhist chauvinists . Since then, the people of Tamil Eelam who could manage to escape the murderous onslaught of the Srilankan Government got parted from their own land, lost the kith and kins and repatriated from their place to other parts of their own land as well as to other countries worldwide, inorder to save their lives.

In the ethnic riots and genocides meted out to the Tamils and Srilanka in the pre 1983 period, forced them to move towards Tamil Eelam as refugees. But the 'Black July genocide' unleashed countrywide during 1983, drove them to escape to every nook and corner of the world. Even the world people welcomed these abandoned people embarrassing them. The 90% of the migrated refugees, entered the neighbouring Tamil nadu who were asserting their pride of language and nationality and with their celebrative national consciousness and they extended a warm welcome, to the refugees with the humanness and sense of democracy. Seventy percent of such refugees were socially and economically backward, were mostly from peasants, fisherman, industrial workers, and government employees.

During that period even the Indian central and state governments and the ruling classes of India, supported the struggle for the right of national self determination of Tamil Eelam, with the intentions regional expansionism.

The liberation movements were supported at all levels both directly and indirectly, by providing them

shelter, funds, weapons and conveyance.

And hence, in every refugee camps of Tamil nadu and all activities of the movements, there was an unwritten sanction even ensuring their free movements. During that period the whole hearted support of Tamil nadu people were at its peak. All the basic problems of the refugees like food , fund, shelter, medical, educationa were solved to a great extent.

And at the same time, a few scattered anarchist activities. which were undemocratic and not respecting the feelings of the people, were started in the refugee camps. The refugees opposed these with their own limitations and had complained them to the officials of Tamil nadu. But, for the politicians, officials of that time, it was a primarily necessary thing to make use of these movements, even the justful constitutional demands of refugees were rejected. And were neglected. In a few camps, the refugees who were with the sense of justice, were subjected to the joint pressures and threats from police and the movements, with that climate of pompous the injustice committed against the refugees were rolled under the carpets. A few refugees who were raising their voices against the illegal kidnappings, within camps, smuggling of drugs were taken to the midst of ocean and shot down and thrown them in to the sea.

In the history of Tamil Eelam refugees, a new situation also emerged in the post 1987 due to the changes in policies of central and state governments in supporting the liberation movements of Tamil Eelam, and the conflicts which took within the struggle arena- of these movements for contention of leadership, more and more people of Tamil Eelam, and grassroot levels of cadres of movement also were driven out of their own soil. Religious descrimination had its share in increasing the number of refugees. The indogeneous people of north-the muslim religious section of Tamil Eelam nationality-were driven out as refugees to east and other parts of Srilanka by the LTTE.

Even though, the people of India and the world supported the war against aggression - waged by the Tamil Eelam people and LTTE, the political stand of Government of India, though was in a vague at that time, but later got shifted to that the Tamil Eelam people should not be given the status of refugees. The entire refugees should be brought under the control of Indian Government by using the tactics of pressurising by unleashing a slander combine, and they were driven out of the country. "Rajiv Gandhi assassination", and 'Padmanabha killing' came as a bone to the plan of govt. As it exists in the govt forces, the general regiment, special task force, anti terrorist squad - the refugees of Tamil Eelam were divided into General camp, open camp, special camp, Special camp for LTTE, special camp for cats- with these divisions the husbands, wives, mother, children were seperated- without any descrimination.

"The Srilankan citizens who are outside the camps and have not registered their names in the local police stations and those who do not possess a passport are arrested under the foreigners registration act and are housed in special camps. If they are willing to proceed to go to their home country at their own expense and if there are no criminal charges against them, then they freely allowed to do so". This is a part of the letter of Defense Minister.

By imposing strict restrictions on the movement of the refugees in their day to day life and are forced to leave India and compelled both directly and indirectly to state it in writing that they are leaving the country voluntarily. The government started increasing the severe restrictions on the basic amenities and needs such as food, shelter, health, free mobility and education. All the humanitarin and democratic-sympathetical support of the people of Tamil nadu, were blasted to pieces. A few upper class people of Tamil Eelam who were living comfortably in big cities like Madras, Tiruchi, Bombay and Bangalore are indulged in drug pedalling, kidnappings, forgery and all such anti social activites.

By showing these anti social activities as a pre-text, they have started indulging in vulgar propaganda about lakhs of innocent refugees and liberation fighters and are kindling hatred in the minds of people of Tamil

nadu and India-against the refugees. On the other hand, extracting huge amounts every month as bribe, form these anti social elements and they were allowed to function freely. Whereas, those who gave petition for the fulfillment of their nececities, and those who sought to end the atrocities of officers-were all branded as Tigers and are shifted to special camps after a prolong enquiries and insults is what happening continuously.

Violation of human rights, undemocratic measures of suppression, forcible evictions, are the atrocities committed against the innocent refugees, were condemned by all the revolutionary democratic organisations and human rights organisations.

Even the UNHCR intervened in this regard. The following are the few highlights of the Governments approaches regarding protecting refugees

- \* There were 200 refugee camps in 1992. But today there only 115. Fourty thousand refugees were repartiated within a period of two years. Deportation of another 7000 refugees were delayed due to the outbreak of flood and they are likely to be send in January 1995.
- \* The refugee camps at Mandapam, Kottapattu, Vilangudi, Periyar nagar, Anayur are only properly organised camps. The sufferings and agony in all other camps during rainy and summer is behind explanation.
- \* The Paambaru dam camp got largely destroyed in the cyclone of 92 dec, and 40 huts in Dharmapuri camp were burnt to ashes in a fire accident. Though hundreds of petitions were given, no action have been taken.
- \* In most of the camps there are no basic amenities like Toilet, water, electricity.
- \* With regard to special camps in Hider Mahal Camp there were 415 person are housed out which 126 are children and all of them are branded as 'Tigers'. In Tipu Mahal 113 persons were forced give statement as 'Tigers'. there are 514 persons housed at the special camp in Vellore. The Puzhal camp of M.G.R. District and in Tirupathi special

camp of Salem District 930 persons are housed and they are branded as cadres of EPRLF, TELO, PLOT, ENDLF.

\* 162 of those who have not registered as refugees and those who questioned the authorities are housed at the special camps in Thuraiyur, Changelpattu, Melur, Tirvidai Marudur. Those who are in special camps cannot come out. No one can go to see them. There are special reasons which do not have contact with outside world. From 25 March 1994 there was a really hunger strike in Thiruvaiyar Camp to highlight the issues like the lack of conveyance for food and water restriction to read news papers, no interviews were allowed. The refugees living in camps have lost even the freedom to go to outside for work. Even if permitted they should leave by 7.00 a.m. and come back before 6.00 p.m. Who will and where will get employment. If one has to go outstations, he has to bring permission from Thasildars and Revenue Inspector. And that too for three days only. If anyone goes without a written permission one has to face the enquiry conducted by the Revenue officer and Q branch.

\* If there were any killings or looting takes place anywhere in Tamil Nadu or if the camps are located anywhere near the places where the dreaded poacher Veerappan moves about, the camps are subjected to a thorough search.

\* The financial Assistance provided by the government is as follows:

Head of the family Rs.130 pm; Children above 12 years Rs-120 pm; First Child below 12 years Rs. 75/- pm; other children below 12 years Rs.37.50/- pm. the rate of ration are provided is as follows:

Refugees aged above 12 years-400gms rice per day. Refugees aged below 12 years- 200gms rice perday. Kerosene oil 3 ltrs to 10 ltrs per month per family. Sugar 2 kgs for month for a family. It is needless to say that one cannot exist with such meagre assistance and inadequate provision.

\* The refugees therefore face untold miseries of hunger and starvation. Pregnant women go without medicines. Children suffer from lack of nutritious food and milk. Neither they have cash nor can they work to earn. As a result some of them in camps adopt unfair means and are forced to take up degraded professions in our society, just to earn quick money.

\* The government has banned even the voluntary organisations doing some reformist works in the refugee camps.

\* Students from the refugee camps are forced to abandon their education. How can they afford to continue their studies by bribing in lakhs and thousands. The children of school age are compelled to sell lottery tickets or work in liquor shop and provision stores for very meagre wage. The students having no opportunities for further studies are feeling despiration.

\* Thus, the refugees in Tamil Nadu camps are treated in a very inhuman way. The refugees are denied the right either to express this or to fight against it. While the revolutionary democratic organisations, human rights organisations come forward to voice in support of refugees they are termed as pro LTTE, as supporters of armed culture, who are disturbing peace and are arrested in NSA, TADA. The supporting voice of the people of Tamil Nadu continue to echo surpassing all this.

Apart from India, there are migrants refugees of Tamil Eelam in Europe, United States and middle east countries. The refugees in these countries are living in a better condition. The Government of those countries have given them the status of refugees, while it is being denied in India. It was only Sweden has entered to an agreement with the Srilankan government to deport the refugees migrated after 1992. Due to the growth of racist, ethnic fascist forces in those countries the refugees from other countries are forced to face the attacks. The refugees of Tamil Eelam, are also part of those International victims of various countries. However the governments of those countries have not denied their rights-

to freedom of expression, to place the problems before and the right to struggle in a small way. But, in Tamil nadu when the world emperors of Tamils rule, the Tamil Eelam refugees are denied even the status of refugees. The refugees do not have the rights even to express their agony of their lifes even to the Tamil brothers. When the refugees express their demands to speak, unite and organise meetings-they were locked in special camps. The deception of potraying the voices of refugee people, as the roaring of 'Tigers' and the refugee camps as the forts of terrorism is prevailing. The leaders of Tamilnadu who pose themselves as champions of Tamil cause are drawing out plants for spending crores of rupees for the international Tamil Conference. They pay no attention to the problem of Tamil Eelam refugees. Such self styled 'revolutionary leaders' pretend to make Tamil flourish. It is nothing for their business if the race of Tamils face destruction. Now it is time to awake. The problems of the Tamils in general and of the Tamil Eelam refugees in particular should be discussed in the proceedings of the international Tamil conference. Cunning desires of the so-called leaders to divert the people from real problems should be exposed. This is the duty of every enlightened participant of the conference.

Today the problem of refugees have attained importance in the world level. Due to the domestic ethnic communal conflicts, and due to the plunder, neo colonial oppression, national oppression wars of ruling govts and imperialism, the sons of the soil are compelled to move out of their motherland to cross any mountain or ocean to safegaurd their lives. Even in countries where they go for asylum are feeling more and more oppression and isolation. Since the imperialsim is an international phenomena, the refugees cannot escape the spider net of imperialism and its national oppression in any corner of the world. The refugees, who once went abroad to safeguard their lives from the murderous hands of their govts, but today, they were prepared desperately to get back to their motherland. That even if they are killed, it is better to die in their own soil. While comparing the refugees of Rwanda Tanzania, Somalia, Palestine, Kurdisthan, Bosnia only the Tamil Eelam refugees are scattered all over the world. The Tamil

Eelam refugees in those countries, should develop the relation with the people of those countries, by voicing for the rights of the refugees guaranteed in the international refugees law.

Only when the national oppression of the Srilankan chauvinist Government and imperialism are brought to end, and attain the national independence of the Tamil Eelam people will put an end to the uprooted refugees life.

### **Central and state government of India should:**

- \* **Come forward to accord refugee status to the Tamil Eelam refugees.**
- \* **Guarantee Fundamental and democratic rights to the refugees.**
- \* **Fulfill the basic need of refugees.**

### **The people of Tamil nadu and India should**

- \* **Come forward to support the justified demands of the Tamil Eelam refugees.**
- \* **Extent support to the struggle of self-determination of Tamil Eelam.**

**Pressurise the government in this regard.**

### **The Refugees of Tamil Eelam should**

- \* **Fight for their rights in the camps**
- \* **Make the world know of their problem.**
- \* **Fight to bring about a change of life.**

1994 November.

## OUR OUTLOOK

In the mid nineteen seventees Chandirka while in France for her studies participated in the processions conducted against American aggression on Vietnam in the streets of France. She lost her father at the hands of a chauvanistic budhist. Her husband was the target of the mercenaries of UNP. The ruling classes of Srilanka and the super powers had brought her into power by propagating that having lost her husband Kumaranatunga anihilated by UNP mercenaries the young widow will bring solution to the problems of nationality of Srilanka and the war of ravages. People voted hopefully and on the expectation that the problem should be solved. As much as the Indian People are not liberated even though Mahatma Gandhi wore the handwoven lion cloth and struggled for their freedom, the future of the nation and the people are not determined by the widows only since they faced losses and suffering in their lives. It is only determined by the interest of the class for which they stand to support. For this even the leader of armed struggle cannot be an exception.

Within ten months after Chandrika came to power the fake promises are being unmasked before the Srilankan people. It is becoming clear that the United Srilankas ceasefire, peace are not childs play. The economic political policies of the Peoples's Alliance Government have paved the way for the super powers and the local compredor classes of Srilanka to suck the last blood of the Srilankan people. Not satisfied with the exploitation of the old independent commercial zones Chandrika has created two more new independent commercial zones for America and Japan to provide for the investment and exploitation by the multi national companies. Export villages are being constructed to earn foregin exchanges by searching for natural resources at the nook and corner of the nation. The estates where the plantation workers dwell are getting privatised. Because of this workers who lived on half fill stomach go hungry today due to unemployment. Peasants commit suicide along with their family burdened due to debts, incapacity to repay loans, non availablity of subsidy in agricultural sector and hike in the prices of inputs. The citizenship could yet to be granted till now to Tamil estate workers. There is no limit on control of

beuracracic power in the issuing of the identity cards and ration cards (in this condition state has declared that the constitution is about to be changed). The country is kept open to the multi national companies (MNCs) and to the transnational companies (TNCs) by signing in the world trade organisation. Unable to compete with large scale monopoly capital the medium and small scale trade organisation are being closed down. Again the war in the north and east by the state and the large war expenses, loss of human lives have increased the suffering of the Sinhalese people. This anti national, anti people policies of the PA Government and its consequences compel the sinhala people to struggle. Now it is understood that who is responsible for this peacelessness and for the break up of war not only in the Tamil Nation but also in Srilanka! Is it in the interest revolutionary patriotic peoples movement leading the liberation of the nation and the people or otherwise the PA Government of Chandirka representing the interests of the ruling classes of Srilanka and the super powers. Answer for this question will show the interest of the class the politics and whether one is on the side of just war or on the side of unjust war.

The worry of Chandirka Government and the superpowers is that the Tamil Eelam nation could not be brought under their control as they supress and exploit the oppressed the Sinhalese. Only after the spirits of the Tamil nationality was throttled by this anti national anti people exploitation and suppression, the rights of Tamil national self-determination was suppressed by the ethnic riots ethnic genocide and the ethnic war did the just for national self determination with the right to scede has its content, the national liberation war that broke out.

Till now unjust war by these demons could not defeat the just war of the people of Tamil Eelam. Inorder to divert our struggle and to suppress us in some other ways they used the Chandrika Government. Stoppage of war and the talks are its outward expressions talks between the tigers and the Government on the 19th of Chithirai was broken by the Tigers. On the 25th " limited military operation" of the Government was started. On 27th Chandrika participated the meeting in France

held by twelve countries and the five financial institutions which aid Srilanka and declared that she was prepared to mortgage the Lankan interest to the super powers. On 28th she met 20 major international investment institutions. There she assured that peace could be established to suit their investment and exploitation. For the first in their history the Tigers by using their surface to air missile shot down the two planes of the Government at Palali. More than hundred Government soldiers and two foreign reporters were killed. It was a great shock to the Srilankan Government. In Tigers calculation this attack should cause a setback to the Government in getting foreign Aid. But Chandrika returned successfully with the loan amount. It was a military victory as far as Tigers were concerned. As far as the Government was concerned it was a victory in getting international aid. Reciprocally it is a defeat for both while the other motives were taken into account. The attack threatened not only the Srilankan Government but also the Indian Government and the super powers. The states joined military head quarters was dumb founded. The army planes to northern direction were stopped. It faced crisis in the shifting of ammunitions, distribution of arms distribution of food for 20,000 soldiers encircled in Poonagari camp. Vavuniya aerodrome was transferred to Anuradhapuram. There was desert with in army units. Tigers and their supporters were proud of their encirclement and the final war.

Chandrika begged for protection from the Indian government and from the super powers. It was immediately rewarded, Indian Government accepted to provide limited military assistance .It continues as to supply military arms planes, provision of military training in mining and sapping indirect help rendered by airforces and Naval support at Pak Canal, suggestions to buy American, UK planes that could escape counter attack by Tigers Missiles. The main reasons for the Indian Government not coming forward to openly to send the military or the experiences of 1987 and the fourth coming elections. The report published by the 'European economic social nations' on 19-5-95 has asked for an embargo on the sale of arms to the Tigers and the tamil militant groups by the member states. SAARC nations are pressurised to bring the tigers to the negotiation table. In the ASEAN organisations Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia condemned the tigers. In the 8th conference of the SAARC nations held at New Delhi

it was decided to observe the 84th resolution strictly to eradicate the terrorist forces in the South Asia with mutual co-operation. (They could not follow these policies in the case of cold war between India and Pakistan) America has come forward to provide direct military help to the Government.

International situation helps Chandrika conveniently. On the otherhand gives pressure to the Tigers to return for talks. Now Australia has come forward, as in the 90's, to make efforts to bring both the Tigers and the Government to the negotiation table. Super powers want to make compromise with the Tigers than to eradicate it totally. Chandirka Governemnt is helped on both counts. (The genius in imperialist policy could do only this ) Now Srilankan Government gave the ' war declaration on tigers'. In the north bombs were rained. The east in the Pothuvil village more than hundred houses were set to fire and the people were burnt alive. Ban on transport economic embargo Ban on fishing were imposed. The surroundings of Colombo, searching and arresting of Tamils continued. The north and east the war had been broken open upon the Tigers and on the people. 15,000 people are displaced. Now talks are being conducted with the other betrayal groups.

There is only one question before the militants including the Tigers struggling for the right of self-determination of Tamil Eelam nationality. Do we go for talks by putting forward the minimum basic political demand or Thimpu (talk) demand? Or do we compromise even without holding the demand of Thimpu and betray the people and the nation. Out of these two only one path is before us. The preletarin revolutionary and revolutionary patriotic forces must put forward the first line. The same should be propagated among the people with in the country and outside the country. We must oppose the second line of comporimise, the line of national subjugation. We must be prepared for a joint struggle with anyone who uphold the first line.

Editorial Board.  
APRIL 1995



## May Day News

First day of May and the red flag stained with the blood are the evidences of those who worked for the cause to get the approval of 8 hours duty for all the labourers in the entire world-the Chicago city labourers, who struggled against the ruling state and the capitalists. May day is observed by international proletariat and its frontiers in memory of the struggles of their elders and their sacrifices. It is the day for analysing the struggles in the nations and the countries of the contemporary world and for finding out the right path to develop the struggle with the analysis of the positive and the negative sides and for being proud of it and for getting inspiration to struggle till the end to attain the goal. For these, May day is to be observed as the day to raise the philosophy of Marxist-Leninist and the Mao thought as the guiding principle.

The revisionist left parties trade unions of the bourgeoisie and even the ruling facists states to cover up their exploitation and oppression of the people present themselves as the heroes of the historical day of the militant proletariat. By merely observing this day as a holiday and distributing sweets they attempt to dig at the spirit of May day.

Buit beyond all this the conscious working class see the importance of the May day as part of the revolutionary struggle. In this day it works to raise the consciousness of the entire workingclass and establish the revolutionary trade unions and integrate the working class movement.

It is said that after Chandrika came to power it was believed she will solve the nationality question; eradicate the war; bring peace; stabilise the deteriorating economy which was degenerating due to the corruption bribes beurocratic abuse. It was suggested that she will provide for peace and freedom of all working class labourers peasants and fisherman (it was only to be like a magicians act)

The first May day of the Peoples' Alliance Government was celebrated luxuriously. The Medias and the ruling class politicians try to show the Government of Chandrika as the workers Government, proletariat government.( She was equivalent to Pope bringing

peace for Tamil Eelam) It was reported that the five year programme will provide 250000 employment through 20,000 medium, small scale industrial training programmes. In the industrial sector Chandrika declared that she would remove monopoly of the big industrial trade and establish 'free competitive economy', 'humane capitalism.'

Infact the country's budget provided for 75% for the investors and by signing up of WTO, the Government has guaranteed to the MNCs and TNCs by opening up Srilankan product patents and the economy for their looting. This is the policy of the Chandrika Government.

Its consequence is that except for the collaborators of foreign investors all other small and medium capitalists and Industries are being closed down. This humane capitalism, free competition promised by Chandrika has led to the closure of 60 Institutions in 8 months. Workers are being retrenched. Already 14% people are jobless. Mordenisation has led to retrenchment of workers without any alternative for them. As a consequence of 'Globalisation' policy foreign investors and Financial institutions are forcing the government to curtail the rights of workers and Trade Unions. It is declared through Chandrika that workers should eschew from any form of struggle and concentrate on production for two years if liberalisation should succeed.

All these show that whether it is UNP or PA government, all parties do and act against the interest of the people; all are puppets of international monopoly capitalists; they are the national traitors; they only act as the hangman of the working class. The Minister of labour of Sri Lanka returned after a visit to the central East countries last month. He issued a report that it brought an opportunity for employment for 25,000 workers. The Central East countries there are 30,000 Sinhala Tamil Women working primarily as housemaids. Only in Lebanon there are 60,000 men and women workers. They are not paid properly as per an agreement they are to pay a part of their salary to the agents.

There is no guarantee of permanency. They are also not provided any special reliefs.

In the Central East Asia hard life of workers caused 2 suicides out of 1000 women due to psychological atrocities especially sexual atrocities and sexual violence. The state and the Minister who never bothered to solve the problems of these workers claimed for registrations of these personnel at the external labour directorate, since non registration by them had caused a big loss in foreign exchange for the country. The Minister claimed that the recent visit to the central East country had led to an agreement on this with the counter part. These people require foreign exchange and power only. The Sinhala and Tamil plantation workers are raising their voice against privatisation of hillside estates. Here, it affects the Tamil workers more particularly since they have to face the racial difference as well. Their struggles (Job gurantee wage raise, housing, trade union rights) or being suppressed raising the bogy of militants of North East having infiltrated among the plantation workers. Their just struggle gets branded. They are thus being alienated from the Sinhala workers.

Thus the government of Chandrika is not differ from the UNP in the matters of mortgaging the country to foreigners, exploitation of workers in the nation wide, and in mixing up social, religious dominating forms. The problems give to the poitical economic policies of the Chandrika government and the problems abandoned by UNP all led to a nation wide struggle during the month of Karthikai. Workers came on to roads putting forth many demands .The struggle for the problems of Hostel of the University Students, the strike by the employees, the strikes by the unregistered asst. Medical Officers affected the new populist Government that found fault with UNP for all these problems and suspected UNP hand behind all these acts and tried to divert the attention from the problems thus exposing their real face.

Along with these she induced the Troskist revisionist TUs to release statements to this effect. The leaders of the TUs who have been agents of the capitalists due to their vested interests or due to their trotskyst line advised the workers not to become 'prey' in the evil designs of the few political parties and settle their prob-

lems by just means and avoid any form of struggles within the working area.

Thus, on the one hand the proletariat and the working class are affected by the politics of exploitation and suppression by the state machinery of the ruling Govt., on the other hand they are being divided between TUs of Bourgeoisie, revisionist parties. It is the immediate task of the Revolutionary working class to learn from its past experiences and to form revolutionary TUs in order to change the working class. Revolutionary Trade Unions do not fall from the heavens. The politics behind the reactionary TUs shall be exposed. The revolutionary political demands and struggles introduced by exposing that the Political demands and the class interests of the TUs of the Trotskyist and the Bourgeoisie parties have not differed. The inception, development and the life of the revolutionary Proletariat party is closely related to this. We should not forget the experiences of the Sinhala Communist Party. We should remember the self criticism by the Comrade Shanmuganathan that the lack of interest shown in developing TUs while organising parties, as much the same was not being done in the case of parties while organising TUs, are both serious errors.

Due to the continuous war of ethnic oppression and the economic embargo the people living in the Tamil Eelam part, the workers, peasants and the fisherman and all sections of the people face starvation to death due to nonavailability of the next days meal. The participation of the working section of the people with or without bold in the struggles for equality of nations and independence against the Ethnic oppression by the state is invaluable. In the national struggle, Taking positions on the Tigers inclusive, the sacrifices of the people of Tamil Eelam have strengthened the cause. But in reaping the fruits of the struggle by the movements, including the Tigers, it is only the Bourgeoisie section of the Tamils who benefit from these. They utilise this only to develop their class interests.

In the national struggle for Tamil Eelam against the ethnic oppression the workers, fishermen and the peasants have failed to develop their own independent movement representing their class interest, through their fighting for freedom of the national interest. The war state affair is not going to as such. They have lost their right to express independent political opinion, form

organisations. All the authoritarian movements including the Tigers have restrained the rights of expression of the workers class interests, revolutionary democratic thoughts. The voices raised in favour of these rights are being curbed, harassed, even killed in the areas where these movements have their foot hold and only a fascist authority prevails.

They have barred the may day celebrations of the independent alternate political groups thinking that as though it is their own property. Industries are closed down. The Agriculture lands are burnt. The fishermen were banned from fishing. If these are expressions of the Sri Lankan states' oppressive forms workers, students, peasants have participated in the production of war services. But those peoples voices have no weightage. They have no rights to organise. Even the thoughts on working class are banned. This is the order of the Bourgeoisie engaged in the national struggle. From Tigers to all other Bourgeoisie representatives hold the same line. The Tamil Eelam workers should breathe through Tigers or the Bourgeoisie.

15 years after the national liberation struggle Tamil Eelam workers, have understood the various forms of chains that bind them. While fighting against the Sri Lankan Governments, they should form their political party that represent their class interest. They should try and Unite the forces inside and outside country that is stranded and disbursed. In order not to allow the struggles of Tamil Eelam to be compromised by the Tamil Bourgeoisie and to stop betrayal of the national struggle, let us take a pledge on this May day.

In the refugee camps of Sri Lanka and Tamil Eelam Tamil Eelam workers, peasants, fishermen are dying for want of food.

**No Dry food needed.**

**Open all industries.**

**Grant permission to use arid land.**

**Remove embargo on fishing.**

Our fundamental right to express, write, meet and organise should be ours. This is what they assert to the bureaucrats who visits the camp.

**MAY 1995**

## **Palestine and Tamil Eelam**

"The armed national liberation struggle of Palestine people" was considered as a model for the liberation struggles of national self determination and national liberation of the oppressed nationalities world over. The people of Tamil Eelam, considered the Jew racial chauvinist govt inpar with the ethnic chauvinist govt of Sri Lanka. They could realise that American imperialism is the international leader of these oppressing ethnic chauvinist govts. They fought against the oppressing ethnic chauvinist governments and the imperialisms - headed by America - at the background; supported the palestinian people struggle for national independence. They sought the support of those people, to the struggle of national independence of Tamil Eelam. Developed the political relationships.

From the time when the national liberation struggle of Tamil Eelam got transformed to armed struggle, a close relationship with the palestine peoples struggle, also started developing. This relation did not stop at political level such as anti imperialist national liberation struggles to establish national govt and the struggles for Independence of nationalities against the govts indulged in ethnic cleansing and ethnic suppression. With the palestine liberation movements who had a the long history of armed struggle and experiences, palestinian - Tamil Eelam movements who had similar views regarding the polities activities and paths of national liberation struggle in the era of imperialism, developed fraternal relations in military affairs and planned organisational works.

While the people of palestine and Tamil Eelam are fighting the ethnic chauvinist govts of their own countries and imperialisms - for national Independence when the American imperialism is imposing its mad war on the Arab countries (especially - Iraq) - who do not budge to surrender or come under its control, while Israel army is raining bullets on south Lebanon and thousands are made refugees - all in the pretext of attacking the Isbulla movement, when the 400 palestinian refugees debarred by Israel last year are not taken back,

keeping away in countries like Syria, Lebanon, Jordan who participated in the middle east peace talks, that Palestine movement and Israel govt forgetting, and keeping away everything, with the help of an indirect leader - the Norway govt - the decision has taken after the talks, conducted so swiftly and almost secretly.

Under the leadership of war monger Clinton, with the presence of 3000 diplomats on 13th of this month at the capital city of America, the Palestine - Israel peace accord was signed with the national flag, national anthem, and without Wine. (Clinton described it as a revolution)

Does this accord have any solution to the sufferings, goal targets, the blood shed of the Palestinian people over the last 50 years? No..... not at all. The foreign affairs minister says of the Palestinian movement. The Palestine people's basic demand of right to self-determination has not been recognised. Independent Palestine is not recognised. No way has been shown to the Palestine refugees scattered world over who wanted to return to their motherland; destroying and killing. All these issues of the Palestinian movement have to be recognised.

This accord just says that it gives a "temporary autonomy" to regions like Gaza, & Jerico. Only education, culture, tourism, health and police - of the region will come under the control of this autonomy council. All the other rests with Israel. It is agreed that in 5 years time, this accord will be implemented to conduct an election for Gaza, Jerico region - within 10 months to discuss about the pulling of Israel army from here within 2 years and 5 months. As Arafat puts it "It is an important stage in the history of the Palestine people". A full truth soon the Palestine people will come out to show the path, the path of their advancement. This accord does not give any of the rights, the Palestine people demanded and fought for. So, it is clear that, their determined national independence struggle will continue.

One can see the beginning of this also. Four important executive committee members of PLO have resigned, condemning the accord. Among them, Faruk Kadani - the foreign affairs minister is an important member. "Kamas" a strong movement in the Gaza region has condemned this accord as anti-Palestine people, and also has conducted mass agitation against it. The Isbulla

Movement which has a wide support among the Iran and Lebanon people, has conducted processions with the slogans against the Israel, America, Lebanon and the Palestine leaders in the agitation protesting against this accord. Has shown even military-protests against Israel. The progressive patriotic movement under the leadership of Joeh Abbas condemning the accord has declared that it will continue the Palestine peoples struggle against the Israel Jewish chauvinism and American imperialism. The 15,000 Palestine refugees in "vakkaniil" in Jordan have conducted protest against the accord and the people have announced that the struggle will continue.

The American Imperialism and the Zionist Israel govt. has adopted a new tactic in the Palestine struggle. The total strength of all the Palestine peoples movement opposing them has been destroyed and disfigured through Arafath. By creating a civil war situation among the Palestine-movements, has brought stagnation and change of direction of war and has made it such that the peoples's confidence is shattered from within. What the determined Palestine people will do with their long experience of struggle is explicit. But one should wait to see what Yasser Arafath will do. It is sure that the people & militants of Tamil Elam will continue to support the Palestine peoples struggle for right of national self-determination and to establish the national govt.

Imperialism and the reactionary ethnic chauvinist govts are working in a giant speed to suppress and oppress the national Liberation struggles breaking at every corner of the world. With the changing international and national situations, the American imperialism with its new world order is indulging in signing accords between govts and the moderate compromising, bureaucratic leadership of the liberation movements easily with its international connections, both through coercion and surrender methods. With its powerful communication medias, propagate that they are for peace. The movements in the struggle area with aforesaid characters through their anti democratic, anti people, pure militarist activities are in subjective need to fall prey to the manipulation tactics of the enemies utilising the very same people-brothers who are supposed to fight for the national independence. They attempt to destroy the liberation fighters who fight for national independence and peoples democracy. The

Patriotic freedom fighters who are fighting for national liberation and democracy should defeat this tactics of imperialism, reactionary local governments and compromising leaderships. It becomes a very essential precondition for this to struggle resolutely in the national independence struggle of Tamil Elam people, to conduct the anti-imperialist struggle consciously to take up the national demands rightly combined with democratic demands of the broad masses, to arm the people, in war to stand firmly with the support of people from their own country and the world over. Only a progressive patriotic revolutionary democratic organisation can accept this and will have the strength and energy to implement it in practice. To build and develop it becomes our duty.

As it has happened in palestine, another 'game' of such a peaceful accord, might be attempted in the Tamil Elam question also between the imperialists under the American leadership and the " indirect leaders" and govts, intervene and bring the Srilankan govt. and the Tigers with out much noise. This can be anticipated.

**The Tamil Elam people will fight against any kind of peace accords that do not ensure the recognition of right to self determination of Tamil Elam people**

**The homeland of Tamil Elam with northern and eastern provinces combined,**

**The right to have own residence for the Tamil & Muslim refugees,**

The tigers who are determined in the slogan of " Tamil Elam homeland - is the tigers desire" will also fight. The revolutionary national independence struggle of Tamil Elam people will stand in shoulder to shoulder with the palestine peoples Struggle.

July-92.

## Let us Recall the memory of Mao's centenary

The Centenary Birthday celebrations of comrade Mao (Dec. 26-1993/94) are being conducted at the international level at various planes and forms -in each and every country. The marxist - Leninist parties Organisations, groups and revolutionary people are waging class struggle continuously against their ruling reactionary feudal and capitalist forces. Through that class struggle they are further strengthening mao's thoughts in their mind and confirm the strength of mao's thoughts to the world. As per mao. "In this epoch of struggle between Imperialism and proletarian class struggle countries are demanding freedom, nations are demanding Liberation and people, the revolution".

Mao led the New Democratic Revolution of Chinese people through the uncompromising struggle against the imperialism the enemies of the world and the chinese people and against Fuedalism and Capitalism, the internal enemies of the chinese people, Mao also led the communist International movement in the correct way through his relentless struggle against infiltration of Capitalism and revisionism of old and new varieties. He as well protected the fundamental principles of Marxism - Lennism. We now recall the great contributions and sacrifices rendered by comrade Mao, the great International leader of the proletarian class.

But, at the same time, world level rituals are being performed against Mao and Mao's thoughts. For example revisionist communist party of China and its Government has let for sale Golden wristo watches with the enamel of Mao's figure for Rs. 5000/-. A special watch studded with Diamond stones has been auctioned for Rs. 3 Lakhs on the one side they are celebrating Mao's figure (i.e., his printed posters) on the other side they are misinterpreting and bruing Mao's thoughts and revolutionary activities. Throughout the world, old, new, revisionist left parties, modern (New) Left, Trotskite parties, Neutralistic opportunist parties are celebrating Mao's Centenary as a custom and ritual. On

the other hand, capitalist and Imperialist intellectuals are writing volumes after volumes fictitiously about the private life of Mao in a vulgar manner.

In fact, with the great pleasure of diluting the world socialist Revolutionary bases (soviet, Chinese, Eastern Europe...) into the path of capitalism, Capitalist, Imperialist forces, reactionaries are brutally attacking world proletarian classes, Marxist - Leninist - Mao thoughts and their founders (Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin Mao) by all means. The imperialist pens are anxiously trying to demolish deep respects the people world over, have in their mind towards the individual life of proletarian Revolutionary leaders. But, all kinds of (old, new) fascist forces, Novels, are destroying and redirecting the revolutionary essence of Marxist - Leninist - Mao's thoughts from within while talking high Marxism-Leninism.

The old revisionists had directly, by means of both thought and action, tried to destroy the fundamentals of MLM thought, its philosophical spirit, and tried to continue the exploitation of the proletariats and the world people. The new revisionists are now trying to infiltrate and indirectly destroy MLM thought by wearing the Mask of Marxism - Leninism. There is no other difference between them (old and new revisionists) in their mind, thought and action or in celebrating Mao Centenary as rituals and customs.

### **Let us uphold Marxist - Leninist - Mao Thought :**

On the one hand Right from its birth throughout its 150 years of entire history the Marxian scientific Socialism, had been ridiculed, and continuously attacked by the capitalist imperialist philosophers. On the other hand the revisionist and reactionary philosophies had continuously misdirected it with the mask of anti capitalist, and Imperialist by declaring themselves to be on the side of Marxism. And made it to do counter - revolutionary practices. Marxism with its Dialectical materialistic approach, with the scientific approach of Historical materialism; through the continuous and uncompromising struggle of the proletariats; with the political and philosophical and organisational hegemony of the proletariats had won over the exploitative Imperialist, capitalist philosophies and its idealistic, metaphysical tendencies.

Marxism is a practical philosophy. The Socialist revolution and communism are inevitable in the History of Mankind. It has been tested first in the Paris commune (1871) and developed further with its experience in the socialist revolution of 1917 led by Lenin and in the New Democratic revolution of the Chinese people led by Mao in 1949. Thus, the Marxist - Leninist Philosophy, that has been made into a social Reality has confirmed the leading role of proletariat class and communist movement in the Development of world History. Thus the exploiting classes and the imperialists who had been overthrown by means of class struggle and forcible revolution are attacking vigorously by all means, the revolutionary socialist governments, the communist parties and its leaders. The socialist governments had countered that kind of dangerous attacks and practices with the help of high sacrifices of the people in the socialist countries with the support of the oppressed and exploited people, world over.

But when the capitalist restoration leaders appeared in the leaderships of the communist parties, and when they tried to demoralise and topple the socialist governments by reactionary methods they were defeated by correct proletarian ideology, by great mass movements, by proletarian Dictatorship and by democratic practices. The socialist bases were safeguarded. The international communist movement marched forward with this kind of fight between Marxism - Leninism and revisionism. In the world here. These socialist bases were great driving force for the oppressed nations and peoples struggle against the imperialist colonisation. The socialist revolutions which spread in this way and the social charges and progresses it brought were engraved in the history of the world communist movement.

In the Soviet Union comrade Stalin, after the death of comrade Lenin, and comrade Mao in China led forward the socialist governments through their fight against and the capitalist restoration, revisionists, and counter revolution of their own countries. They Led the world communist movement and gave guidelines to push forward the world socialist revolution of the proletariats. In the Soviet Union after the death of comrade Stalin Khrushchevite revisionist capitalist roaders (who came out by attacking Stalin) who captured the state power and in China Hua-Ku Feng, and Deng revisionist capitalist restorers (these revisionists were in the beginning the glorifiers of Mao) who captured state

power after the death of Mao, completely dropped the Marxist - Leninist fundamentals, and put forward revisionist - capitalist principles against the socialist path. They began to convert the socialist bases into imperialist capitalist countries and states. And became the betrayers of the world proletariats and the oppressed people.

The two kinds of revisionists capitalist roaders the enemies of proletarian revolution and proletarian internationalism, influenced their revisionist deviations inside the revolutionary path of the international communist movement and developed the communist parties which collaborated with them into revisionist - capitalist parties.

The "Great debate" concluded by Mao and the Chinese communist party against the Russian brand of revisionism, exposed the capitalist restorers of inside China and at the international level; they were defeated. The Marxist - Leninist forces of the world stood sternly by the side of marxism - Leninism and fought against the Kuruchevite revisionsm both at national and international level. They had drawn a line between Marxism - Leninism and Revisionsim; and continued class struggle uncompromisingly against imperialism and the reactionaries of their own country. Thus the world proletariats gained the Historical contributions of Mao and the Chinese communist party.

But when Hua-ku Feng, and the Deng clique captured power in china we cannot see such a great debate in the world proletarian movement. ( In China chiang ching who fought for the socialist path and Marxist - Leninist fundamentalist was jailed with in a night) when Stalin and Mao were alive in the socialist bases the revisionists who came forward with "productive force principles" back tracked, when they were unable to face the ideological struggle of the proletariats. But when the situation became ripe, by topping the governments they consolidated their position. Again in the international communist movement revisionist capitalist ideology became dominant.

After 1978, a situation came that there is no socialist based in the world. By fighting against the domination of Hua -Ku-Feng, Deng theories (The three world theory) in the world proletarian movement, small ML groups came to the forefront. They tried to safeguard the fundamentals of Marxism - Leninism by putting forward the differences between socialist path and the

Chinese revisionist capitalist path. But the outcome was very little that they were only able to consolidate themselves by the side of Marxism - Leninism.

The revisionist domination, (Kuruchevite and Deng revisionism) which infiltrated into the General line of the International communist movement, is directly as well as indirectly influencing MLM thought, communist movement, parties, organisations and groups at the international level politically and organisationally. Because of this the Marxist Leninist Movement is lagging behind in assessing the activities of imperialism, politically and organisationally taking forward the class struggle and in reorganising and building a unified party. The proletarian forces are facing big setbacks in reaching an agreement among them in the general line of the international communist movements. These parties, organisations, and groups who are upholding MLM thought, in this era of Mao Centenary should try to understand the new changes in the forms of imperialism after the second world war, all kinds of revisionist tendencies against Marxism-Leninism, the ideological essence of Mao's struggle against class collaborationists, to educate ourselves from the great ideological contributions he gave to the international working class, understand them fully and by propagating them let us uphold marxism-Leninism-Mao thought.

Marxism-Leninism is science. Science will never sidetrack debates. Those that are afraid of debates are not science. The great debate now going on in the international communist movement is influencing the communists, the revolutionaries and the revolutionary peoples of all countries to think seriously about the problems they are facing about a revolution in their own countries, and in the world. From these great debates peoples will identify which is right and which is wrong; which is real Marxism-Leninism and which is phony. By this great debate the revolutionary forces throughout the world will be unified. All Marxist-Leninists will develop politically and ideologically and will get more strength to practice Marxism-Leninism in their own countries in a better way. Thus Marxism Leninism will be enriched further and will reach new heights.

### **New Democratic revolution is the part of World Socialist Revolution.**

In the capitalist countries the working class will overthrow the capitalist class through socialist revolu-



tion. Socialism, under the leadership of proletarian party and proletarian dictatorship will lead towards communism. The proletariats through the world will overthrow the world capitalist class through world socialist revolution. A free communist society will emerge without exploitation and oppression. These are the proletarian ideologies put forward by Marx and Engels. They uphold the proletarian class struggle and hail 1871 Paris Commune.

When capitalism reached its higher stage of monopoly-capitalism Lenin with his concrete analysis of monopoly capitalism clearly explained the fundamentals of Imperialism. He declared " Ours is the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution'

Imperialism cannot escape further from this stage. The proletarian revolution is the only way out. Imperialism had created colonies, so the World Socialist revolution will be proletarian socialist revolution in the capitalist imperialist countries and in the colonies the revolutions will be in the form of anti-imperialist struggle. Thus he put forward the link between the two revolutions very clearly. Through 1917 October revolution the ideological outcome of Marxism was proved.

The fact that the revolutions in the colonial and semi-colonial countries under the leadership of proletariat will be a part of world Socialist Revolution, was well accordance with the theory of New democratic Revolution put forth by Mao. In the countries where capitalist Revolution has not taken place, the revolution will not be under the leadership of capitalist class and it will also not be in the form of old type of democratic revolution but it will be a peoples Revolution in the form of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle. It will be under the leadership of proletariats with the cooperation of workers and peasants at the widespread mass level. This was clarified by the theory of New Democracy put forth by Mao in 1940. During the same time, another publication, 'Chinese Revolution and Chinese Society' put forth specific analyses and specific revolutionary paths. Since in the New democratic revolutions in colonial and semi-colonial countries, there will be the leadership of proletariat and the continuation of proletarian dictatorship, the New democratic state will become a socialist state over a period of time. 'Chinese Revolution will have to pass two stages. First, the new democratic revolution and then socialist Revolution. These two will be essentially of two different revo-

lutionary tendencies. At a single point of time, they will be different but they connected with one another. Socialist Revolution is possible only after the revolution with the capitalist Democratic character. Democratic Revolution is the pre-requisite for socialist Revolution. Socialist revolution is the inevitable continuation of Democratic revolution. In the two revolutionary phases the first one creates the ground for the second. Between these stages, it is important that capitalist Dictatorship does not intervene. This development is in accordance with marxist philosophy.

Taking into account of the unbalanced social development, undergrowth of productive forces, consequent people's political, economic, cultural and thought development in these countries, Moas has stated that through the prolonged peoples's war only, people's revolutionary struggle can succeed. Mao, estimating the specific historical phase of China and class forces, has drawn the specific military strategies for concrete situations of China. "A small spark can form wildfire", "Red politics can remain in China", " Struggle in Chikang Hills", published in 1928-30 and "strategical problem of Chinese Revolutionary war" compiled the Chinese Revolutionary experiences in 1936 Marxist Leninist philosophical view point, are important works. These are subject to the general rules that the revolution of a specific country demands a specific strategy and tactics, armed and violent revolution is the basis for capturing the political power by the world proletariat.

The New Democratic revolutionary phase and Social revolutionary phase, which are related to one another, under the leadership of proletariat in the colonial and semi-colonial countries will witness the different configurations of working class. During the Democratic phase of the revolution, it can join with the twin natured National capitalist class and struggle, was theoretically and practically proved. In these two different revolutionary phases, the working class will align with different forces. Due to the twin nature of the National capitalist class, it will participate in specific conditions and at specific periods, in the revolution against Imperialism, hegemonistic capitalism and War lords. But, at some other times, it may support counter revolutionary forces and serve big bourgeoisie. The proletariat must join with them only in specific conditions and specific activities. During the Democratic Revolutionary struggle against the reactionary forces of Imperialism and feudalism, the necessity of three major weapons, party, united front and army was theoretically and prac-

tically proved by Mao.

Regarding National Liberation Revolutionary development against Imperialism and colonialisation after the second world war and about the birth of New colonialisation, Mao's contributions have differentiated ML stand from revisionist stand.

In the Asian, African and Latin American countries the struggle against Imperialism and colonialisation became intense as ever before and the National Liberation Struggles have progressed. Imperialism and colonial rule were cornered. On the one hand, expansion of Socialist areas, steady progress in Socialist path, Socialist Revolutionary struggles in Imperialist and capitalist countries, National Liberation struggles in colonial and semi-colonial countries have shattered the world Imperialism. But, Imperialists and colonialists have compromised with the Imperialist and colonialist dependent Big comprador bourgeoisie and feudal lords in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. New compradores of Imperialism have changed the ruling class power, political and economic domination and exploitation of Imperialism has continued. Imperialism have retained their old colonies as New Colonies. In certain countries when British Imperialism went out of front door, the American Imperialism entered through the back door. Several countries had become the fighting places for the old colonialists and New colonialists. Basically, the Imperialists have turned Asian, African, Latin American countries into their New colonies.

Kuruchevite revisionism, starting from 1956 and extending upto 1960's theorised that colonialisation has disappeared, National Liberation movements have arrived at a new phase in economy and consequently pushed back the Anti-imperialist struggle. It has proved itself as a theory to serve the Imperialism.

In New phase in the economy meant the political freedom and Imperialist dependent economy. Similar revisionist tendencies can be identified in three world theory of Deng, which once again relegated the Anti-Imperialist struggle to the backyard. The ruthless exploitation and oppression of Asia, Africa and Latin American people by the Imperialists and colonialists and the political, economic and cultural domination beyond the limits have opened everybody's eyes. After the Second World War, Imperialism is adopting new forms of exploitation. But those who denied it as New colony are shouting now that it is recolonisation. The

New forms of exploitation by Imperialism can not be set against the definition of New colony. An interguing question is asked that if it is new colony, will National Liberation struggle become primary and the New Democratic Revolution secondary? If you are for new democratic revolution, have you given up National Liberation struggle?

It is all due to the mis-understanding of the essence of New colony, and New democratic revolution. Mao, while talking about the National characters in the New Democratic Revolution, has explained two different National characters. " First, Chinese peoples national liberation against Imperialism, second, all suppressed nation's freedom with in China', Mao has stated regarding the content of New colony as follows:- "Truths are clear. After Second world war, Imperialists have not given up colonial rule. They have merely changed the form as New colony. imperialists in certain places have been compelled to give up direct colonial rule and conduct exploitation in the New colony through their select trained agents. This is an important aspect of New colonialisation. Imperialists under the leadership of America have formed military camps, military bases, 'confederations' and 'Economic societies' and puppet regimes and enslave and control their colonial countries and the 'independent' countries. Either through Economic aids or in some other forms, they are retaining their colonies as market for their products, as the source for raw materials and as a target of capital export. They are swindling the wealth of these countries. They are sucking the blood of people in these countries. Further, to interfere in the internal affairs of these countries and to dominate in the military, economic and cultural aspects of these countries, they are utilising UNO as a tool and weapon. In these countries, if they can not continue their "peaceful" rule, they conduct military coup and change the rule and they involve in sabotages or intervene directly militarily'.

America is functioning tactfully and ably in forming New colony. It steals out the colonies and influential regions of other Imperialist countries. It wants to establish its hegemony over the entire world.

This New colony is very dangerous and brutal colonial form. New Democratic Revolutions in colonial and semi-colonial countries and the New Democratic Revolution struggles in New colonies are a part of world socialist revolution.

## Let us progress towards the unity of International Proletariat Revolutionary movement.

In the International communist movement and in the communist parties, a struggle has been constantly waged between Marxist path and revisionist path. Struggles against and exposures of revisionism have paved the way for success to Marxism. Before the Soviet Socialist Revolution, the central issue debated was whether the proletariat should capture power through violent armed struggle? or through parliament?. After the revolution, though proletarian Dictatorship has continued, it was a problem whether to move towards communism with the class struggle or to give up class struggle and restore capitalism? In this issue, Lenin exposed and defeated the revisionist path and capitalist, Imperialist dependent essence of that path enunciated by Bernstein and Kautsky. By the Soviet Revolution, second international's opportunist and revisionists path had been pushed back. Violent Revolution and Proletarian Dictatorship had to be continued, was proved. But, revisionists had been continuously trying in new and modern forms to give up proletarian Dictatorship. While talking about this. Lenin said the ' Revisionism is neither an accident nor a sin or mistake committed by individual persons, but it is a social product of a complete historical epoch'. Stalin, following Leninism, theoretically and practically defeated the revisionists. After the death of Stalin in 1953, the Kurushchev clique, which captured the ruling power, proposed the revisionist path of Bernstein and Kautsky, with the support of their ruling power, in the soviet and international communist movement. In the name of ' Revolutionary changes in the world situation', there peaceful principles about imperialism, war and peace were proposed. They were the clear revisionists. peaceful transition to socialism through parliamentary path, and the path of transition from socialism to communism have clearly slowed Kuruchev clique's revisionist policy of restoring capitalism. Chinese communist party under the leadership of Mao, has conducted struggles against Kuruchevite revisionism at the highest level of both the parties to retain the comradeship among the brother countries in the communist international. In the conference of International communist movement, held in 1957, also the Kuruchevite revisionist path was proposed. 'World without war, good will of imperialists, peaceful transition' were proposed which were blatantly

against the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Avoiding the direct exposure of Kuruchevite Revisionism, so that the Imperialism does not utilise them for its own interests, Mao and Chinese Communist party tried to expose slowly and calmly the capitalist restorer, infiltrated in to the first socialist base, among the soviet party, Marxists-Leninists and the parties in the third International to reject him.

In April 1956, the theoretical struggle began with the essays on ' A few more points on the Historical experience of proletarian Dictatorship and the necessity of proletarian Dictatorship during the transition from socialism to communism was emphasised on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. War, peace, Imperialism and peaceful path to socialism were critically exposed. In 1960 at Bucharest conference, Russian party and Revisionist leadership openly charged Chinese communist party and Mao as dogmatists, left extremists and did their revisionists path of restoring capitalism.

In the Chinese communist party also, the forces under Liu Shao chi, proposed the Kuruchevite revisionist path. Simultaneously, both in Chinese communist party and in International communist movement, post revolutionary restoration of capitalism has to be fought against.

Lenin has explained the social, political, economical and cultural basis of this restoration and emphasised the continuation of class struggle.

- i. The thrown out exploiters will try in thousands of ways to recover their paradise.
- ii. In petty-bourgeoisie conditions, new elements of capitalism will spontaneously spring up.
- iii. Due to the influence of capitalist class, and corrupted condition of bourgeoisie class prevalent everywhere, from among the affected working class fronts, Government servants, new capitalist elements and politically degenerated people may appear.
- iv. The siege of International communism, danger of Imperialist military intervention, conspiracies to disrupt quietly are external conditions for the continuation of class struggle in a socialist country.

Mao understood Leninism on this basis and put forth that, only fighting against Kuruchevian revisionism and Liu-Shao-Chi's "productive forces" the capital-

ist revivalism, can the proletariat achieve socialism at the national and international level by a violent form and also that class struggle should continue even after the revolution. Khrushchevian revisionists in their Russian party's 21st congress dropped all sorts of compromises they made with their counterparts in the international communist movement and shifted their name from proletarian party, proletarian dictatorship into "people's party" and "people's state". Openly they admitted to the compromise in class struggle and revival of capitalist forces. In fact, Khrushchevian revisionism is only an extension of the capitalist revivalism brought into the communist international by Brezhnev and Tito which was exposed by Marxist-Leninists at that time. Suggestion on common path to be adopted by "comintern" taken up in June 1963, nine critical essays by Chinese communist party under Mao's leadership between 1963 November and 1964 September, became the great debate. This was the struggle against the Khrushchevian revisionism within the communist international. This is the great contribution by Mao against the revisionist capitalist revival in the 3rd international in the 'later revolution' period. Of the greatest contribution by Mao to the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice was his article in 1937 'on practice' and 'on contradictions', which add strength to the Marxist-Leninist line. Marxist-Leninist Mao's thoughts only stand as the philosophical guide for the international revolutionary proletariat.

The capitalist roaders within the Chinese communist party tried continuously to put forward the revisionist path. In the 8th congress of the Chinese communist party, the resolution put forward by Liu-Shao-Chi on 'principles of productive forces, economic incentives, profit based production, productivity based wage' provided for the return of capitalist revivalism through the new revisionist method in the economic sector. These policies were supported by Deng and Lin Biao and developed later. For this, the Deng-Lin combination gave leadership with the clear understanding of the Chinese social basis that prevailed for the return of capitalism, Mao put forth a 16 point programme to bring about a cultural revolution in the political and cultural sectors. Mao, who believed that only if the revisionists were allowed the "let 100 flowers bloom let 100 thoughts blossom" movement to come to the forefront. This turned out to be the development of Marxism at the cultural level. In the socialist society, it provided for class struggle under the leadership of prole-

tarian dictatorship and also to expose the capitalist roaders inside the party and bureaucracy and hence to overthrow of the same, by the people. Cultural revolution shook the new-revisionists. Only by conducting 100s of such cultural revolution in the proletarian dictatorship, only by conducting class struggle in the socialist society in power, can communism be achieved. All these are Mao's contribution to International communist movement and Marxist-Leninist thoughts. In 1968, Mao said on the victory of the socialist revolution that 'in Lenin's view, for the lasting victory of socialism efforts of national proletariat and common man who not only suffice. The victory of the world revolution lies in destroying the structures that allow to exploit man by man and in that only the world's salvation lies.'

In 1976, after Mao's death Hua-Hua-Feng, Deng captured power, and also the party. The Deng group which was removed from power by cultural revolution twice, put Hua-Hua-Feng in the forefront and allowed new revisionist line to entrench thoroughly inside the party and international communist movement. The socialist roaders within the party were arrested by the sudden actions by Hua-Hua-Feng. 'Gang of four' were maligned. At the same time, the external affairs ministry was in the control revisionist. They tried to defy Mao. "The three world policy", which was said to have been given wrong interpretation by Deng in 1967 at UN, was brought forth by Hua-Hua-Feng during the 11th congress of Chinese communist party. "The four modernisation" policy clearly put out China in the new revisionist line to prepare for a return to capitalism. In the name of Mao's thoughts, Mao era, New era. Deng, Hua-Hua-Feng line on three world policy was brought back to provide for return to revisionist path. Till date directly and indirectly its effect prevails. The same approach was classified by Lenin in 1920 in a different form. But, neither Lenin nor Mao declared it as a common approach for the International proletariat along with there was no thought of putting it in the communist International. But Hua-Hua-Feng, Deng group made it a common approach and to justify propaganda projected it as Mao's approach. International socialist revolution was, with the help of Khrushchevian revisionism prevailed upon by imperialist forces to bring revolution through "peaceful means". Deng's revisionism projected the same external, internal contradictions have developed armed revolution could be taken up very fast and as a short term path. Thus, diverting Mao's "Long term people's war" path. With the "three world

policy" to oppose Russian Social Imperialism, in collaboration with American imperialism, joint functioning with second world imperialists, to align with agents of Russian or American Imperialists at international level, drop class struggle and look for class compromise at the national and party level was preached. This had great impact on the communist international movement. The international communist movement and party which fought the Khrushchevian revisionist line during Mao's period, was totally diverted by the 'three world theory' of Deng group. The stand exposing the Chinese revisionists, taken by the Sri Lankan communist party was a well known to one and all. But this did not become an international phenomena. But soon, few were diverted by Hoxa of Albanian labour party. In 1977, 'Enver Hoxa's book on "Imperialism and revolution", 'Reflections on china' twisted the basis of Marxism and Leninism and ridiculed Mao's contributions and joined the revisionist camp. Even today, among the European party, revolutionary groups of Sri Lanka in the European continent, there exist a trend to follow Hoxa's revisionist line in the name of developing Marxist-Leninist thought or Mao's thought. At the national and international level revolutionary forces is putting the common path towards- particular situation, reviews with respect to their own country, there is a necessity to be cautious about the Khrushchevian -Deng revisionist path and Enver Hoxa's Anti Marxist Line.

Exploiting classes, imperialist forces are conducting a wide propaganda against the Marxist-Leninist Mao Thought, their originators, the revolutionary communist movement. And on the other hand they suppress these forces using the state machinery. The forces like new left revisionism, left revisionism, trotskyism, reformists direct the people in their fight against imperialist forces to a compromising attitude. The other form of capitalist, imperialist forces puppets- the voluntary organisation groups, financial institutions, the Human rights organisations all these function as a redeemers of the reactionaries, not participating in any form of people's struggle. 'Democracy, peace, amity to oppose bureaucracy, opposing violence rejection of party and politics" such are the philosophy put forth by them in support of the exploiting classes. along with this, they attack the proletarian revolutionary movements and the Marxist-Leninist Mao thoughts.

At the International level, ruling classes and the imperialist forces have let loose, suppression spree on

the people's revolutionary struggle, & revolutionary proletarian parties. On the other side proletarian revolutionary movement faces a stagnation on the political and operational fronts. Parties break year after year. The support groups of revolutionary parties shrinks. Even when fighting for the cause of the people against the attack by enemies in a militant way, even after great sacrifices by the comrades in the struggle against the enemies, not a satisfactory progress is made as far as the people's are concerned. Internal stagnation is also at a very solid form.

At the basis, primarily, the opposing trends against the Marxist-Leninist Mao thought has gained strength at the theoretical, political, organisational, operational form at the national and international level against common approach by the international proletarian revolutionary movements. If against the Marxian, Leninian approach, whether small or Big, the errors should be corrected particularly at the philosophical level. That alone will guarantee the unity of all revolutionary forces at the national, international level.

For this, primarily, the Marxist Leninist Mao line has to be followed. For this, we have to demarcate clearly between the Marxist-Leninist Mao approach and the anti Marxist's all sorts of revisionist approach. Based on this, at the international level and at the national level the errors will need be corrected at the organisational and political side. All forms of class compromises should be defeated. The revolutionary proletariat, parties, institutions have understood the prime necessity of this at the international level should, on this centenary year of Mao, take up the task to move forward towards the victory. Marxist Leninist Mao thought helps the proletariat to understand the world and utilise it as a tool to change the world and push towards a historical progress. It is sure the movement of Marxist-Leninist-Mao thought is merged with the millions of revolutionary people, with the party, it becomes a concrete operating form of the revolutionary people, then it would bring out the strength to change the whole world by breaking the old with the real revolutionary power.

Polit Beureau

26-12-1994.

**Proletarian Vanguard Organisation**

## An open letter to the LTTE Chief Mr. V. Prabhakaran

Let our journey continue correcting the mistakes!

The Proletarian vanguard organisation extends its warm greetings and revolutionary salutation to LTTE, Which continues to remain as the decisive principal military force determining the twists and turns and the ebb and flow of the liberation struggle of Tamil Eelam from the day it entered the stage of armed struggle, to this day.

The Tamil elam liberation struggle has undergone a strategic change, after the Indo Lanka accord was signed. Till now this struggle that was waged against the sinhala big nation chauvinist govt. of Sri Lanka, now it has to tight the Indo - Lanka military alliance as its immediate, direct and its principal enemy.

The Hindi - brahminical regional hegemonic tie Indian govt as an expert in unleashing the worst racial, casteist, religious and national oppression in India, today has come to the level of oppressing the other national movements even beyond its borders in southAsian region, the Indo - Lanka military alliance is the first expression of this.

Provo expresses its rovolutionary solidarity with LTTE for its contribution in exposing this alliance and struggliling against it. when it was expected that the fire of the Tamil Elam Liberation struggle will die, today it is you who are the decesive force in keeping that fire glowing and struggle further continue and proctecting it; and it is not at all exaggeration.

Your militancy is a motive force and an additional strength to the struggle of sri Lankans against the national treachery andmilitary dictatorship of Jayawardane. And not just that, your militancy acts as a catalyst in developing the growing fire in the hearts of the people of Tamil nadu against chaunvinist oppression of central govt of India. To say more, your contribution has become much vital in shattering the presently existing illusion about the military might of the Indian central govt in this region, if your struggle becomes an unbeatable one, then it will have its political implications felt in the north eastern states of India.

For having taken this hard task of historic and strategic importance bodily on your shoulders, you will have the solidarity and affection of the revolutionaryorganisations in this region, for ever and ever.

During this task, including you as the head of LTTE may embrace death or even be arrested. Yourmovement might also face a severe setback. Even if this happens, your sacrifice will never go a waste. As

you stand firmly in the struggle, if you also concentrate in correcting your mistakes, definitely your movement will grow flourishingly.

To run to world imperialisms in order to face the south asian imperialism, it will be a betrayal to all people. Our region is changing to be the action field of national liberation movements. Only when they consolidate themselves, they candefeat their principal and immediate enemy in their own region. So it is very much essential that friends of this region should develope atleast a common understanding. And this is the essential strategy for the long drawn war.

A few accuse you, that your present struggle is disrupting the peace in south asia and pave the way for the penetration of imperialisms.

All the nationalities of South Asia should develope a relation among themselves based on equality and only this relation can be of a real peace. The unity and peace created specially by one section by trampling all others under their foot, should be broken. Struggles to break such a peace, are only part of the essential revolutionary disturbances to establish a permanent peace. This is also like defeating a war by a war.

While we greet you for having taken such big responsibilities, at the same time, it is also our bounden duty to point out the mistake of strategic importance of your movement.

- (1) Today you have been isolated. And you hold the Indian intelligence service and sri Lanka intelligence service responsible for this. This is not the main reason. It is true that your hegemonistic aspirations and its implications were used favourably by these intelligence service forces to wipe out all the liberation movements.

It is an undisputable truth that there are intruders from foregn secret service in the Tamil Elam liberation movements and a few in high level also act as their spokesman. With the pretext of fighting this penetration, to attempt to wipe out a whole movement is grossly wrong. All such activities of yours and your aspiration that after establishing Tamil Eelam, only your movement will be in rule and the rest of them will be wiped out, have caused, so many losses to the Tamil Eelam liberation struggle, and just not that, but also have brought your very existence to question. And only you should find solution to the mistakes you committed, it is wrong to smash any liberation movement or a political party just by armed power. Only the spies should

be treated in that manner. Only political struggle is principal in resolving the political contradictions. Even now it is not too late to respect and to develop friendly relations, with other movements.

- (2) You were oppposing, the people getting mobilised organisationally. In the struggles against the feudal land lords and other upper classes, you found amicability with exploiting classes. By this you got isolated from basic class people. We hope that understand that today these very upper class people who supported you, are supporting the compromisers and national betrayers. And at the same time the working class people - with their modesty of forgiving and supporting the liberation fighters - are extending their support now without considering your past mistakes and we hope you understand this. On behalf of those people we request you, at least in future you take this practical experience into account without rejecting it, and it's not enough that you just thrive for Tamil Eelam but also concentrate on the interest of the working people.
- (3) The next important matter is about the recent (first fortnight of October) military attack against the settlers of Sinhala resettlement plan.

Your attempt to take forward a political struggle against the JR gov't's action of establishing Sinhala colonies in the north and eastern provinces, very much against the Indo-Lanka accord, is a commendable one. But the Sri Lankan gov't through such resettlement attempted to separate the eastern province from the northern province. On the other side, when the liberation movement takes action against these Sinhala people, it is the JR gov't's scheme to exaggerate them, and tarnish the political status of the liberation movements and suppress these Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, with regard to, the unity with Sinhala people, you were trapped in the conspiracy of the JR and IPKF and it is a regrettable one. It is the JR gov't and the IPKF permitting it, - are primarily responsible for the killings of Sinhalese in such resettled areas.

If any area of the people is used as the gambling pawn by the reactionaries and that too as the pawn of the political military activities, then, a critical situation will be created to the liberation fighters to take political military action against that people. So, no specific event should be seen only as an event but that specific event should be evaluated on the basis of which social process it is part of, and what type of impact it creates on that process.

When we say this, we do not consider this event as an ethnic chauvinist activity. We are not comparing this even, either with the gov't sponsored riots of 1985 July or with the event of Anuradhapuram Killings of ethnic revenge. Our approach is only from the angle, that this is a wrong military - political action.

With the possibility of such a crisis continuing and through what political strategy, it should be approached, is what is important here.

The liberation struggle of Tamil Eelam, and the struggles of Sinhalese against the military dictatorship of JR and the imperialism - are connected with one another. And they are interdependent. The development of one remains on the other mutually. After the Indo-Lanka accord this situation has developed further. The possibilities and necessity of a Sri Lanka wide united front of all patriotic forces including the liberation fighters of Tamil Eelam, has emerged.

Being with this strategic stand point, the liberation fighters of Tamil Eelam should face the afore said crisis.

As you stand firmly to realise the birth of Tamil Eelam, if you also stand firmly also in correcting your past mistakes, your strength to face the chairman of LTTE.

You have addressed all the liberation fighters as comrades and has called everyone to become tigers. Surely, all those who have joined in a struggle with a common goal are comrades in the sense that the proletarian class revolutionaries, and other fighters of the working peoples democracy are your comrades. At the same time as per the Marxist tradition and those who want to establish proletarian dictatorship through the struggle against the private property. In this sense you are not comrades of the afore said people. But fighters! The serious differences you and the afore said people are based, on the deeper ideological problems.

In the years of 1986-87, you have also contributed enormously in annihilating many and also making many people inactive. But they had neither political revengeful attitude nor had any sectarian groupist individualistic mentality. They were the people who had understood the strength & weakness and the good and bad aspects of the nationalist fighters. To your great contribution today to the national liberation, through your struggle against the Sri Lankan gov't and the Indian hegemony, and your unquenching thirst to attain Eelam you will ever have the Co-operation & support of all the proletarian class revolutionaries and other leftist who fight for the liberation of Tamil Eelam. Not only in Sri Lanka but also in India, and this region you can expect this.

Extending our hands of friendship,

With revolutionary salutations,

1987 DEC

Editorial board

Navasahaptham.



## May the Tamil Elam People's Revolutionary struggle progress!

From the day, the national self-determination struggle of Tamil people turned into an armed struggle against Sinhalese dominant racist rule, the racists, fascists rulers have been constantly and continuously crying that the political solution alone will solve the problem of Tamil people. In fact, they wish to crush Tamil people's National awakening, fighting quality and thirst for freedom through racial massacres. The after effects of massacre of Black July 1983 have brought in pathetic situations in daytoday life of our people. "Premadasa's Last good initiative' tried to perform planned racial destruction through ruthless massacres with the help of all the three armed forces in July 1992. Tamil Elam people have been forced to strengthen, further their armed struggle for freedom, into a Revolutionary people's struggle and (prolonged) protracted people's war to win their national liberation and good life. Widespread curfew combing operations implemented in our traditional areas and military activities unleashed on the northern province are set to be "to control liberation Tigers and its Terrorism and to save Tamil people". When the situation is very complex in the fighting areas the above propaganda is let loose simultaneously by all enemies of Tamil people in all directions. This propaganda hides the racial destruction, massacre on the Tamil people by the Srilankan combined forces; the simultaneous colonisation of the Sinhalese people; and the war against the Liberation Tigers. This propaganda indirectly demands the Liberation Tigers and Tamil Elam people to accept the worthless compromise plan doled out by Sinhalese racists and state (including the parliamentary select committee for resolving Tamil people's problem) disregarding the Tamil peoples struggle for basic rights and the precious sacrifices the time had compelled them to pay. It is a welcome gesture that the solutions, announced as the first phase of the parliamentary select committee for resolving Tamil peoples problem, have been condemned by all Tamil organisations. But their attitude becomes clear while seeing their silence and the support they render to the state-terrorism unleashed by the Premadasa Government in the North East. They intend to counter Liberation Tigers' individual terrorism and their monopolisation of military Dictatorship

with the help of State Terrorism. By this they show that they are not a part of people's movement and that they can never become one.

Those (TELO, PLOT, ENDLF, EPRLF, EPDP) who boasted that they are fighting the Tamil Elam peoples National Liberation and peoples welfare, are leaving the peoples side in the struggle against the common enemy and are supporting and serving the common enemy.

By supporting the state forces they want to weaken Liberation Tigers or by destroying them, they want to establish their power over Tamil people. Of course, Liberation Tigers activities have caused setbacks to the growth of peoples struggles. This can be encountered only with the peoples support and ones's own power and criticism and not by supporting the state forces to wipe of the Liberation Tigers. Supporting the state forces, they are not only hindering the people's struggle but enacting a treachery. Do they use the state forces as a tool when they themselves do not have any means to counter Liberation Tigers and their atrocities? (whether this is right or wrong is immaterial). Even in the areas under the state control from where the Tigers have been driven out, though these movements and their leaders are free to move about ( mind that the people are not free to do that) they are not supporting the people. They are supporting the atrocities of the state forces and are identifying and eliminating the progressive Revolutionary forces operating in those areas. They are further engaged with Anti-people, Anti-Democratic activities, Heroism and anarchic activities of old and new kinds. These leaders and movements should be identified as counter-revolutionary forces against the struggle of Tamil Elam people's National Self-determination.

Liberation Tigers are fighting against the State forces but at the same time, with their monopolistic dictatorship, they not only prevent any political forces to function but as well they engage themselves in destroying those forces. This is the problem that is congenital to the formation LTTE, The politico-military ideology and practice, that came out of the formation of LTTE, do not allow the organisation of masses or

linking of the democratic demands of proletariat class with national Liberations struggle or arming the masses for the struggle.

Thus, the deviation of certain forces and limited activities of certain others in the Tamil People's National Liberation movement, have caused several hurdles in fighting against Racist Government with full vigour and proper direction. This situation has inevitably given a chance to Srilankan Government Indian Expansionist State and Imperialists the peoples's enemies to crush the Tamil Elam Struggle.

On the pretext of massacre of Tamil people and Tamil Elam refugees, India has entered in to the Tamil Eelam struggle as a false friend with the idea of regional expansion. Indian rulers and central-state Government have earned distrust and hatred of the Tamil Eelam people by signing a treacherous agreement of 1987 and waging an invasive war. Their "colours of Tamil Eelam support" and neutrality and all have become naked before the eyes of Indian people especially Tamil Nadu people. The innocent Tamil refugees (and not Tigers) are waiting on the shores of Tamilnadu having escaped from the atrocities of combined forces of Srilanka. (When thousands of innocent refugees of Somalia were about to land on the shore to seek asylum in Yeman, Yeman State and ruling class prevented them and due to which hundreds of people died in hunger and by committing suicide in the sea).

The Indian State pretending to play a neutral and progressive role in the international arena has unmasked itself by torturing the Tamil Elam refugees and its principle of giving asylum to the affected people collapses before all.

From 1983 onwards both Indian central and State Governments have been continuously both directly and indirectly trying to prevent the good will and relationship developing between Tamil Eelam people and Indian people especially Tamil Nadu people and have been trying to create a state of distrust and hatred towards each other. For this purpose some times the movements with limited objectives have been utilised or their activities have been exploited by these states.

Due to good effect of Rajiv Gandhis assassination Rao at the centre and J' at the state, in the name of setting right the Law and order problem are attacking directly the Tamil Elam Refugees and the militants. The ruling class has got entangled in a flux due to the forced repatriation and due to the inevitable supply of food

and clothes and shelter to Tamil Eelam refugees. They are trying their all out efforts to crush the background support (moral and material) by the Tamil Nadu to Tamil Eelam people's just struggle against the Srilankan Government through "BAN" and "TADA". This helps the Indian rulers in two ways. This helps to fulfill the Indian External policy of preventing the growth of Tamil Eelam struggle and to bring to the forefront the Tamil Eelam traitors and envoys who owe to every dictum of the Indian State.

Secondly this "TADA" and "BAN" come handy in Tamilnadu to crush the peoples struggles against "J"'s endless corruptions, scandals, unemployment, poverty and Rao's open Economic exploitation, National, racial suppression and as well as to strangle the voice of the Ruling Class opposition parties and Democratic and revolutionary movements.

On one hand, they are torturing the refugees and militants in the camps and jails. While the Tamils, living outside are afraid of even threatening TADA and Ban, on the other hand, Indian envoys, declaring Tamil Eelam, are talking aloud of Tamil Eelam; planning strategy; living luxuriously and roaming about freely. To the Tamil Eelam people and Tamil nadu people, the true face of Tamil Eelam envoys (Traitors) is open to see.

Tamil Eelam people have to continue their struggle for National Self-determination till the final victory. They have to strengthen their fighting spirit and determination. We have to consolidate and retain the goodwill and support of the people around the world for our just struggle for freedom., We have to identify the friends and enemies (enemies infiltrated in to the struggle) of National self-determination both at the national and international levels.

Liberation Tigers movement is maintaining its military dictatorship promptly. By fighting against the State forces with its armed strength, it gains prestige, which used to conduct anti-people, anti-democratic and fascist activities. This alone gives the strength to LTTE to remain as a unique force and at the same time this is the reason for the static condition of Tamil Eelam people's struggle and LTTE movement. Though the LTTE leadership understands this, still petty bourgeoisie ideology, pure military set up and activities would not allow them to change the course. if necessary they would perform certain reformist activities to retain their position. Since other movements have accepted the 1987 treacherous agreement, they have been exposed as treacherous movements by LTTE and it justified its

activities of annihilating the movements to remain as a single power prior to 1987.

"Kill the enemy's friend before killing the enemy" has become the guiding principle for its all kinds of revenges, annihilations and eliminations. LTTE movement is even arresting imprisoning and killing the Tamil Eelam patriotic and progressive, Revolutionary Democratic forces who are determined and clear enough to fight against Srilankan Racial state, Indian Expansionist state and imperialists. Because of this it is not implied that our primary task is to annihilate Liberation Tigers or that as a tactical stand we can join hands with the common enemy of Tamil Eelam people, who is ready to destroy the LTTE or the activities of Srilankan State and that of LTTE can not be weighed on the same scale by any patriotic Revolutionary forces and should not be done so.

Though there are hundreds of theoretical contradictions with the Liberation Tigers movement, though its activities are unbearably fascist, Tamil Eelam Revolutionary forces, with the angle of self preservation, should formulate the approaches of political organisation and get ready for strong self-defensive military activities to strengthen the forces of Revolutionary movement.

Till the LTTE stands in the struggle against Srilankan State, it should be considered as a friendly force in the National Liberation front and at the same time the LTTE's activities causing obstacles to the struggle should be strongly criticised.

The Primary contradiction existing now in Srilanka is between Srilankan Racist state and the ruling classes on the one hand and Tamil Eelam National people on the other hand. The struggle between Racist state and Liberation Tigers is also based on the abovesaid primary contradiction. Our relationship with Liberation Tigers can be determined only after analysing in every respect the contradictory aspects of relationship between Liberation Tigers and Tamil Eelam people's Democratic demands and on that basis, the characters and fighting spirit of various classes existing in the Tamil Eelam people's national Liberation struggle should be assessed by a patriotic Revolutionary movement and taking into account of the concrete situations and their course and Liberation Tigers' concrete theory and practice. disregarding the above, the formula of struggle experiences of the world can not be straight-away applied and should not be applied.

It should be noted that even the progressive Revolutionary groups like NLFT, T.M.P.P, P.L.F.T., who approached Liberation struggle for Tamil Eelam peoples National self-determination from the revolutionary angle are unable to cope with the changes in the struggle and could not only stand in the struggle arena but are withering away, when there is a great necessity for revolutionary leadership.

Both the sides of their experiences should be assimilated. The forces that would like to continue the Tamil Eelam struggle in the revolutionary path :- Those glorifying with progressive groups, those who have got depressed due to the inactivity of these groups; those who have consciously rejected the theory and practice of petty-bourgeois, pure military movement, those who have / or not joined in any movement so far at various planes (Tamil Eelam, Srilanka, Tamilnadu, Western countries). All these people would turn Tamil Eelam peoples National Liberation struggle and the struggle for Motherland into a struggle for liberation of working people, who have been suppressed for thousands and thousands of years. Those who understand that Tamil Eelam people's National self-determination Armed struggle is not only against the Srilankan Racist state but as well against the Imperialist forces behind it and inevitably against the Indian Expansionist state, will see that our struggle will be prolonged people's war and the Tamil Eelam people should be organised widespread and armed for Tamil Eelam National Liberation war. Struggle should be conducted in a planned way. With the deep understanding of the situation and on the basis of patriotic Revolutionary politics- military standpoint and organisation is to be built. Let us clarify the new phase of our struggle to the people and movements all over the world, who recognise the Tamil Eelam people's National Liberation Struggle!

**Let us fight against the Srilankan States war of  
Tamil destruction!**

**Let us expose the forces behind the war of such  
destruction!**

**Let us defeat the conspiracy of India Expansion-  
ists!**

**Let us unite in the struggle against America's  
Imperialists!**

**All the Fighting forces! Let us join our hands!**

**Let us unite!**

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The ongoing struggle for the liberation of Tamil Eelam, for more than a decade now, has also raised more questions. Why the movement is not able to advance further but suffer with serious stagnations while the Communist forces in Ceylon have failed to lead a movement to resolve the nationality question, the various ideological - political and practical questions of the present movement stands unresolved. With fond hope of contributing to this historical task of throwing light on these questions, Proletarian Vanguard Organisation would like to place them before the International Readers to promote a serious ideological debate in order to meet this rising need, here we are publishing the translated versions of a few important articles in English which were already published in our Tamil organ - Navasahapatham.

Though, it is our wish to bring out regular English Publications, presently we will not be able to fulfill it, due to our serious limitations. Even this compilation might suffer with some imperfections. We look forward, for your opinions regarding this translation and this first edition. And moreover, we call upon all readers to actively participate in this debate.

We earnestly request the readers to forward their valuable criticisms, suggestions and contributions and also help us by sending the various related articles, books and literatures you may come across. For all communications, refer to the address mentioned in the inside coverage of this Publication.

PROLETARIAN VANGUARDS ORGANISATION  
CEYLON.

\* CEYLON: is the name given by the British imperialism after they forcefully annexing the Tamil and Sinhala Kingdoms.

In the struggle against British Colonialism, the Tamil and Sinhala people - were got united as the people of Ceylon.

Gradually when the history of Ceylon changed from the stage of colonialism to neo colonialism, the Sinhala big nation chauvinist Government, changed the name of the country Ceylon itself as Sri Lanka in the year 1972 - as the country of Sinhala Buddhist exposting the policy of its internal colonialism.

Specifically, in the process of the Patriotic struggle of the people of the country - Ceylon, against the neo-colonialism and the internal colonialism of Sinhala buddhist chauvinism, can get united only with the notion of equality of nations. We the Eelam as the nation of Tamil people and Sri Lanka as the nation of Sinhala people. Only such an integration will get the form of a new country - New Ceylon.

Regarding Translations:

Ceylon is the name given to the united country of both the nations of Tamils, Eelam and Sri Lanka in some of the articles this is not taken note of. And instead the name Sri Lanka is used for Ceylon. We request the readers to consider this error.

We appreciate the readers those who can cross check these translations and correct the errors. With these corrections we may update them in our next edition.

# THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF TAMIL EELAM

**Proletarian Perspective**

- \* Struggle against the genocidal war of the SriLankan Govt.
- \* Expose the abeting of India and other countries in the genocidal war against Tamileelam.
- \* Oppose the intervention of Peace keeping forces of NATO, UNO & INDIA Demand them to:
  - \* *Pressurise Chandrika Govt. to stop the genocidal War*
  - \* *Recognise the right of self determination of Tamil Eelam people*
- \* Place the *Thimpu demands* as frame work for the talk.
- \* Patriotic & Revolutionary forces of Tamil Eelam Unit & Struggle

**collection of Articles published in  
Navasahaptham**

**PROLETARIAT VANGUARD'S ORGANIZATION  
(PROVO) CEYLON**

## **AN APPEAL TO PRABHAKARAN & LTTE LEADERSHIP**

- \* Permit those who uphold "Thimpu Demands" and are opposed to war, to functional recognise their basic rights to wage struggle.
  - \* Resettle the muslims who were driven away from the North.
  - \* Don't fall a prey to the tactics of the chauvinist sinhala Govt. which depicts the sinhala and muslim people as the enemy of the struggle.
  - \* Lift the ban imposed on the organisations like NLFT, THEEPORI, PERAVAI, PLFT, and PAASARAI.
  - \* Release all the imprisoned patriotic revolutionary and democratic forces immediatly.
  - \* Don't ban, burn and destroy the patriotic democratic organisations, publications, libraries - functioning abroad.
  - \* People of Tamileelam, supporters of Eelam in Tamil Nadu, & elsewhere - Exert presssure on the LTTE leadership.
-