

PLOT

BULLET--IN



MARCH '84 Vol. I No. III A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ORGANISATION OF THAMILEELAM

COMMENT

A socialist Thamilceelam is the goal of the People's Liberation Organisation of Thamilceelam. A few other liberation groups too have made clear that they too will not permit one section of the people of Eelam to fatten on the blood, sweat and tears of the others, yet what exactly do we mean when we say that we are for the setting up of socialist Eelam.

At the People's Liberation Organisation of Thamilceelam we are quite clear about this. What we mean by socialism is that in the social fabric of the Eelam there will be no room for exploitation. There will be no landless, there will be no homeless, there will be no jobless. We are referring to a complete change in the existing structures of present-day society. But we are not speaking of the fragmentation of the land into small uneconomic blocks as happened during the land reform carried out by the SLFP regime. We are speaking of the socialisation of the land and the means of production. To implement this programme PLOT has already taken a number of far reaching steps. In the rural areas of Eelam the village committees look after the needs of people in those areas and a process of politicisation and mobilisation is going on.

In the absence of the normal security services these councils settle the outstanding problems in the areas without recourse to the police and courts of law. Collective agricultural activities have been organised in a number of areas, and the agricultural workers or labourers are beginning to see the injustice that has been done to them. They are beginning to learn that the land is common to all people and not the monopoly of a few rich families or individuals. In the cities the workers together with their comrades in the rural areas are learning in a practical manner that they are equal in all respects to their so-called superiors. They learn this not only through the politicisation classes, but in their confrontation with the hated security services. In their defence of the mother land through the enormous sacrifices they are called upon to make daily they are beginning to see that this land is theirs and that they have a stake in it.

Therefore they too look forward to a socialist state of Eelam where justice and fair play co-exist. But there are many obstacles to the setting up of such a state. Leading the opposition to the setting up of a socialist state is the United States of America, the enemy of the poor oppressed freedom loving people the world over. A socialist state does not suit the interests of the USA, For the United States to prosper it must be able to exploit the less fortunate people of our countries. Together with the US are their local collaborators and paid agents, the local elite who see in a socialist Eelam the vanishing of their fond hopes and dreams of a capitalist paradise. Along with them are some of our liberation groups itself who because of their political shortsightedness may soon find themselves entangled in the web of conspiracy spun by organisations like the CIA.

Let us take a look therefore at the groupings involved and the alignments and see how they relate to the dream of a socialist Eelam. As we mentioned earlier the biggest threat to Socialism is the USA.

Then we have the TULF a group confining itself to the parliamentary way of achieving its demands (after 7 years with nothing but beatings, burnings, arson, murder and rape to show for its efforts) The TULF has allways been close to the US.

However one point stands out clearly against this dark backdrop. The masses of Thamilceelam are clearly ranged on the side of socialism and this is where the real power lies. We have seen from the lessons of Vietnam, Kampuchea and more recently from the experience of Lebanon that despite the tremendous fire-power of the Americans and their local collaborators the will and power of the people has prevailed.

Another factor favouring the liberation struggle is the fact that the American presidential election is at hand and therefore Ronnie Regan is not likely to poke his fingers up Sri Lanka's racial fires at this moment.

An even more important factor in favour of the Eelam socialist cause is the fact that the anti-imperialist forces in the region led by India could

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The Second World Tamil Eelam Convention-New York

So once again wizard Dr. Panchacharam has struck the gong, and raised the batten. The orchestra will now roll in the drums and play the old song, the marionettes will march in as ordered and play their part and receive their rewards of course not on stage but back stage. And old pedagogue Benedict will keep the cane ready if anyone attempts to play his own tune.

The power of the wizard is so strong that at the last convention Amir TULF leader proposed and Eelaventhan TELF seconded!

I attended the First convention in New York on the request of Tamil youths who were not invited to this august assembly to express their views. I stressed two important points at this convention. First the TULF had sold the self respect of the Tamils to J. R. by entering into negotiations with him. Second there are 50,000 Tamils overseas and if each contributed Rs. 1000/= We will get Rs. 50,000,000/= immediately to help the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

On the first statement Amiralingam foamed and frothed. He wanted me to withdraw or leave the meeting. He said I implied they took money. Can't you exchange freedom and self respect for personal power, pomp and glory, for political gain? Is this also not selling? I am not a lawyer. His ever present Don Quixote M. Sivasi-thamparam took the platform. As usual he took a deep breath, put his chest forward and head back and in deep bass intoned "Wait and see Mr. David Amir will teach JRJ the lesson of his life" I am still waiting while Amir is going from pillar to post.

The second point I stressed has been conveniently forgotten by all as it involves hard work and dipping into their pockets.

On return to Sri Lanka TULF wrote to the press that I was frightened to face Amir and the crowd at the convention and left the meeting. The fact was I had to leave at 2-30 p.m. that day to attend a seminar in Holland.

Be that as it may, we will return to the Second Convention. Will any man with a semblance to self respect draft a document that is now-going its rounds requesting reservations for this convention?

The object of the convention is to prepare and be in readiness in order to usher in the Lost Kingdom of Tamil Eelam. This is in very close character with Amir waiting for talks with JRJ to usher in Eelam! Have the organisers of the convention first of all the right to call themselves the Liberation council? Who is the Liberation leader in the world who has lived in the cool comfort of Nanuet in New York and achieved Liberation? No wonder he has to wait to usher in Eelam.

The Agenda is discussing everything but Liberation. This is as it should be as Liberation can't be a hobby while you are actively amassing wealth for your kith and Kin. Liberation calls for laying down of your life as the Tamil youth are doing it.

Second days proceedings will be 'academic exercises'. Well said, that is exactly what this convention is? But why call this Liberation and lost Kingdom why not just plain bourgeoisie armchair discussion?

The list of subjects looks like many are preparing and waiting to jump on the band wagon of Eelam, once it starts moving Revolutionaries and Liberators have forewarned the masses against the scums of societies

who are cunning enough to take advantage of revolutions. And believe me the Eelam Tamil youth is no fool. He is made of much more stern stuff many of you are unaware of.

A word about the subjects of the convention. I was once talking to an American on Eelam. He listened patiently and then posed the 64,000 dollar question. What about the economy? Do you seriously think it can work? I told him if he is thinking of Western economics, import, export, foreign exchange etc. it can be difficult, in terms of Gandhian economics we can start today. He admitted he was not thinking of this. May be it is hard for people in Nanuet New York to fit in to this, but still it is also a way of Life.

"Appropriate adjustments will be made according to the political situation prevailing at the time of the convention". I expect the convention is going to have several options. One for Capitalism if the cronies of the USA and CIA take over. Another for Marxist Leninist group working overtime in London and another for Socialist crowd marking time in India. In any event you win that is the main thing.

Third day Sounds formidable Think—Tank, Task Force and consolidation of resources. It looks like all this is after Liberation. What about Liberation it self. Who will think? Who will act and who will provide for Liberation? Of course the Tamil youth, not the Liberation Council in Nanuet, New York.

Preconvention Session is more like the show this convention will be. "Meeting, greeting and getting to know" and it will be presided over genially by Dr. Panchacharam himself

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TAMIL TALKS IN SRI LANKA

Ever since the dawn of the modern era in Sri Lanka the Tamils have kept on talking. The tragedy of the Tamils in Sri Lanka has been that all their leaders have been lawyers and all great talkers.

We start with Sir Ponnampalam Ramanathan, a talker of international calibre. He talked for the independence of Sri Lanka and displeased the British. He talked for the Singhalese during the racial riots of 1915 and displeased the Muslims. He even talked for Buddhism. For all this talk the Singhalese carried him on their shoulders. Then he started talking for the minorities inclusive of the Tamils. The Singhalese dumped him in the ditch, like a dead dog. It was too late to mend. He was too old.

We pass on to another illustrious speaker Sir Ponnampalam Arunachalam younger brother of Ramanathan. Arunachalam against the anxious warnings of his brother Ramanathan joined the Singhalese and spoke for the Ceylon National Congress. The Singhalese applauded and egged him on. Then one fine day he spoke for an honourable place for Tamils in Colombo. Even Singhalese of the calibre of Sir James Peris and the Senanayake brothers could not stomach this.

They stabbed him on his back. Broke all the pledges they had given him and pushed him by the way side. In anger and sorrow he dashed off to Jaffna and started the Hindu Maha Sabha. He even talked of Eelam. But it was rather late in the day for him too. He too was an old man now.

Now, on the stage in the lime-light, stalks G. G. Ponnampalam, the uncrowned king of the Tamils, He talks for the Tamils, for 50/50, for equal representation. He talks for 6

hours in the State Council and for seven hours to the Soulburry Commission. He is still young and energetic to be thrown in the ditch. D. S. Senanayake sets the trap. He offers a ministry. Ponnampalam 'bends low' and accepts. He is kicked out of the stage, a humiliated, may be a wiser man.

Now follows the enigma. A lawyer who talks very little and even that very low. The Father of the Tamil Nation S. J. V. Chelvanayagam. Banda the brilliant orator talks too much and soon learns his lesson. Chelva is silent and he continues. This man, the Singhalese did not know how to handle. So they wait for him to die. This too is a way to deal with the Tamils.

We arrive, may he at the end of the modern- era of talks in Sri Lanka. We have hit rock bottom, sure and certain. The Tamil leaders mere novices, in comparison to the giants of the past start talking, in season and out of season. They talk for Eelam and against Eelam. They talk against the Singhalese and for the Singhalese. They talk ill of J. R. Jayawardena and well of him, Sometimes as the sametime. Now there are three instead of one. May be they think three is more than one. Little do they realise any member of zeros never add up to one. Yet they keep on talking. Never say die. But the Tamils are dying, never mind. They talk in London. They talk in New York. They talk in New Delhi and Madras too. They even talk in Seoul, in Bagdad, in Bonn and Havana too. They talk on the stage and back stage too. No end to the talks. It still continues.

Now don't forget the tongue in the cheek talkers for uncle Sam and C.I.A. They are really not talking only assisting in the talks. But remember they

are also lawyers and Tamils too. The nett result of all the talk for the past fifty years, the Tamils who had their own lands, their own kingdom and ruled themselves are now waiting for talks at every fortnight giving time to let J. R. allow Cyril Mathews to get the guns to kill the Tamils. What are they all talking about? Wait a minute, go slow, don't rush. A catchy, witty, legal, pharase from another Tamil lawyer with a wig "Devolution of powers". He tells J.R. Jayawardena at the saturday breakfast table. He has earned his rewards. And he is not alone. There are many lawyers, behind him too. All Tamils to boot.

But alas the pity of it all, their sons devoid of education because of singhala Standard sation can't talk, even won't talk. They all want action. Good for the Tamils. Now they are moving. They are silent, steady and strong. They will reach their goal, that is sure and certain.

S. A. David

Tiruvalluvar Circle

Mauritius

Thiruvalluvar Circle Mauritius is organising an Exhibition and symposium on the life and work of the immortal sage in Mauritius on the occasion of the next Tamil New Year in April 1984 (Tamil year 5086) Thiruvalluvar circle in Mauritius is a band of intelligent, energetic, and devoted Tamil youth who have dedicated themselves to take the wisdom of Thiruvalluvar to the four corners of the Earth. They need the whole hearted support of Tamil speaking people all over the world. Please send in articles or poems or stories on Vallvar to V. Poinen P. O. Box 56 Rose Hill, Mauritius.

-PLOT

The Tamil problem and Shanmugathasan's confusion

by GOWRIKANTHAN

This article was written a few years ago in a different context but because of its stress on basic principles PLOT is publishing it in full.

- Editor

The leader of the C. P. C, Shanmugathasan has not yet broken away from his former stand with regard to the National question. Instead of reconsidering his earlier political decisions and the basis for these decisions, he has merely covered-up his earlier stand on the National Question in a cunning way according to prevailing conditions. The articles "Why the Left Failed" and "Tamil Problem" printed in the L. G. are cases in point. I will, however, deal only with the later for discussion.

According to Shanmugathasan's theory, the most reliable and proper tool to identify a movement's revolutionary character is to find out whether or not it is engaged in extra-parliamentary activities. Shanmugathasan in his article claims that the good feature of the "militant youth movement" "was the realization that their aims could not be achieved by constitutional or peaceful means, but only through armed struggle." Before proceeding to analysing the above statement, it must be mentioned that the choice of correct forms of struggle is interwoven and a logical extension of the choice of a correct political line will inevitably lead to the emergence of correct forms of struggle, gradually and systematically, although not immediately.

Coming back to Shanmugathasan's theory, he further states that "such method (correct forms of Struggle) had been advocated by the left movement for a long time but had never been put into practice." What is this left movement that Shan refers to? According to him, the Ceylon Communist Party (Macist) and the J. V. P. are the only parties which advocated "correct forms of struggle." Further, it was the J. V. P. which had actually put it into practice. Shan apologetically states that the C. P. C had (it is not clear whether it still continues to have) formulated a correct form of struggle, but its main fault was in not putting it into practice. The question then arises as to why or how this came to be. Shans' reply could well be that this was due to certain practical problems. If so, what then are these practical problems for which no solution had been found since the inception of the party in 1963 i.e. for 17 years?

It is my argument that the main and sole reason for the impotence of the C. P. C was its incorrect political line. The struggles waged by the oppressed caste in 1965, under the leadership of the C. P. C against caste eradication in the Jaffna Peninsula, were of extra-parliamentary forms and had wide support. But ultimately it failed. And the further development of the movement was halted. Instead, what we witnessed was its fragmentation and atomization. Why was this? These struggles which were against caste oppression failed to identify itself with the most exploited class within the oppressed caste. The party limited its activities by mobilizing only the petty-bourgeoisie of the oppressed caste. It had not gone beyond that. In short, the caste-class relations were not handled properly and as a result class struggle was not taken into consideration. This was one error. The other error was that caste-class relations were not handled properly.

The other serious error was that the nature of relations constituting caste-class relations was not properly handled. Due to the party's incorrect political line with regard to the National Question, the struggle against caste oppression was not linked up with the national liberation struggles. This lapse was one of the reasons for its failure and degeneration, which was due to the Party's incorrect political line.

As regards the J. V. P. Shan says, "But the J. V. P. could not carry on a sustained campaign, nor were they able to hit their targets successfully; for the J. V. P; it is clear now, was neither well-trained nor well-armed." Is it correct, then to say that the reason for the deviation of the J. V. P. from extra-parliamentary struggle to parliamentary forms of activities was the lack of military training? Most definitely not. The real reason goes to the very source—namely, an incorrect political line. They confused national liberation with the liberation of the working-class. Their aim was only an independent Sri Lanka, i.e. national liberation, where the class character of the State was not clearly defined. Further, even their notion of national liberation was reactionary in the sense it was based on Nationalism bordering on Sinhala Great Chauvinism. That is precisely why they were able to emerge as a National Party. In short, what dragged them towards this position was not

their inability to put into practice "correct forms of struggle" (as Shan claims,) but their incorrect political line.

Let us now proceed from Shan's attempts at explaining the failure of the Left to the militant character of the Tamil youths. Is it correct to say, as Shan does, that the sole reason for the development of the 'militant section of the Tamil youth is their adherence to extra-parliamentary activities? Most definitely not. On the contrary, based on an objective analysis of the concrete situation, the following could be said to be the main reason for their development.

- Their close integration with the Tamil national liberation struggle.
- Their firm faith in forming a separate State.
- Safeguarding and gradually developing their distinct identity with regard to their relations with the Tamil ruling classes.
- The rejection of rigid working programmes based on a mechanistic understanding of liberation struggles in other countries.

The shift of the Tamil militant youths towards Marxism-Leninism can only be judged on the basis of the following:

- To what extent do they integrate national liberation struggle with class struggle?
- To what extent do they integrate the national liberation struggle to the class-caste relations within the peninsula?
- To what extent do they integrate Eelam liberation struggle with the national liberation struggle waged by other sections of the people of this island?

In short, the crux of the matter is to what extent are the Tamil militant youths moving towards an action programme aimed at forming a national government based on workers-peasants unity, under the dictatorship of the proletariat. If we use the above criterion then what Shan says is correct, i.e. "there are signs that sections of the leadership of the resistance are drawing near to Marxism-Leninism."

What then is the duty of Marxist with regard to the leftward shift of the Tamil national liberation struggle towards Marxism-Leninism? Before analysing this question, we have to recognize that the Eelam Marxists

emerged from two different sources. One is the national liberation movement itself. While on the one hand they are directly participating in the national liberation struggle, on the other hand, they are fighting against certain erroneous tendencies within the national liberation movement. The second source from which the Eelam Marxists have emerged are the traditional Left parties. Their main struggle is against the dogmatic views and erroneous programmes of the traditional Left.

What is the duty of the second category of Marxists? Do they limit themselves solely to recognizing and appreciating the growth of national liberation movements? Apparently, this is what Shan says and feels. But this is not enough. They must, on the contrary, be direct participants in the Tamil national liberation struggle.

In order to activate the move of the 'militant youth' towards Marxism-Leninism, Shan puts forward the following programme: (1) Drop the Eelam demand, (2) Formulate a programme that is acceptable to the Sinhalese, and (3) Reduce the national liberation struggle to the level of economical and cultural demands. Shan, in short, is asking the 'militant youths' to abandon all the factors which activated the 'militant youths' to move towards Marxism - Leninism - a most unfortunate confusion! In his early political career, Shan was against Eelam on the principle that the Tamil people did not constitute a nation. But now he rejects the demand from a military point of view. The Tamil people cannot win a fight against the majority Sinhalese is his naive argument. Shan must realize that the Tamil liberation struggle is not against the Sinhalese masses. In fact, Shan has himself accepted that "their highly selective targets are State institutions, members of the security forces hated by the people because of repression and others who could be branded as traitors or informers." Then why does he confuse a national liberation struggle based on the principles of guerrilla warfare to a civil war? The struggle of the 'militant youth' and the Tamil

nation is against the State, not the Sinhala masses. This struggle will surely influence the minds of the Sinhala masses, resulting in a gradual change in their position. This change will take place in the following manner. Firstly, anti-Thamil chauvinism amongst the Sinhala masses will become neutralized and a vanguard of a section of the Sinhala masses will begin to extend ideological and moral support to the Tamil people. Later, this vanguard along with other organizations working within the Sinhala nation will directly participate in the Tamil liberation struggle in both; overt and covert ways. There are already distinct signs that the history of this island has begun to traverse this path.

Shan in his article also poses another naive question, namely, as to how anyone could call the present government, that includes Thondaman, Devanayagam and Rajadurai has, a "pure Sinhala government". Can one (especially a Marxist-Leninist) characterize a State purely on the basis of the "character" of the Ministers in the cabinet and M.Ps in the legislative body? This position is as absurd as the statement that since India has a woman Prime Minister, the women of India are emancipated or that the women of India constitute the ruling class! The "character" of the State can be identified only by identifying the class or classes that are represented by the State and the most dominant section of the ruling class i.e., its "class base." The Sri Lankan State represents the class interest of a dependent bourgeois class, a semi-feudal exploiting class and multi-national companies which cut across ethnic and religious differences. But could one say that different sections of the ruling class belonging to different nationalities have an equal hold on the State? Surely not. The TNCs and the dependent bourgeois class constitute a single bloc, so that when the dependent bourgeoisie and the semi-feudal sections of the ruling class are taken into consideration, the dependent bourgeoisie clearly emerge as the dominant class. It is this class which plays a decisive role in determining the character of the State. The

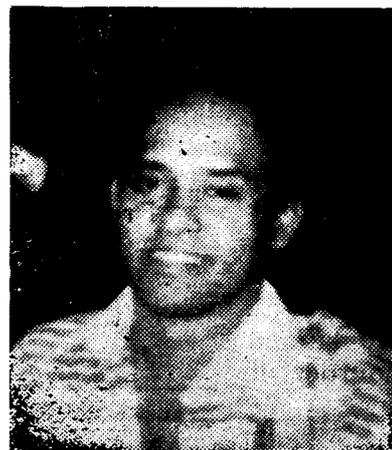
numerical majority of the petty-bourgeoisie and semi-feudal elements in the legislative and judicial arms of the government will not change the character of the State.

When the Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim dependent bourgeoisies are taken into consideration, it is the Sinhala dependent bourgeoisie and semi-feudal character of the State is determined by the dependent bourgeois class of all sections of the people without any ethnic discrimination, the national character of the State is determined by the ruling sections of the Sinhala nation and not by the exploited sections of the Sinhala nation or the ruling class within the Tamil nation or other ethnic groups. This is precisely why the State is referred to as the Great Sinhala Chauvinist State. This term denotes the national character of the State and not its class character. The present Tamil national liberation struggle therefore, is not against a 'pure Sinhala State', but against a Great Sinhala Chauvinist, Dependent Bourgeois and State.

Shan mentions in his article that "they must formulate demands that are acceptable to the Sinhala". Is the sheer numerical majority of the Sinhalese and the influence of Sinhala racial ideology among the Sinhala masses the reason for this? Is this not a populist tendency serving the interest of Sinhala Big Nation Chauvinism?

Finally, Shan poses the question 'What is it that the Tamils want?'. The reply that he gives to this question is that the Tamils want job opportunities, education in their mother tongue, cultural autonomy and an halt to the Sinhala colonization of the Tamil areas. His position is absolutely incorrect, both, as a Marxist and as a Tamil, Democrat. What the Tamil people now want is political independence in order to manage their own affairs i.e. the right to secede stemming from the inalienable right of nations to self-determination. Past history has brought them to this position. They now want a future history in accordance with their collective will.

On 23-3-84 is the 42nd Birth Anniversary of Late Dr.S. Rajasundaram of Gandhiyam. PLOT remembers our comrade and guide with love and respect and re-dedicates itself to make his dream come true, to bring justice, peace and prosperity to people of Tamil Eelam. He taught us to work **with** people not for people.



J. R. JAYAWARDENA AGAIN ON THE MURDER TRAIL

We are now certain J. R. Jayawardena who let loose on the Tamils a bloody racial riot in July 1983 is again making hurried preparations to subject them to torture.

As advance party for the holocaust Prime Minister Premadasa has sent 2000 of his thugs. The Tamils will certainly have not forgotten that a similar party of thugs were brought into Jaffna prior to the burning of the public Library. Now in the same manner 2000 Singhalese thugs have arrived in Jaffna.

At the same time the Singhala Government is reinforcing its army in Jaffna. In Mathagal Velvettithurai and Thondamanar army camps have been restarted and are digging in for action. The strength of the army at Palali has been increased. Jaffna is being turned into a military outpost on the lines of Beirut in Lebanon.

J. R. Jayawardena has appointed colonel Neil Seneviratne as Brigadier in charge of the Army in Jaffna. district. This too is part of the pattern. Brigadier Seneviratne has earned a name for himself in army circles for his expertise in torture and murder of Tamils. J. R. Jayawardena has chosen Brigadier Seneviratne to kill and burn and turn Jaffna into a crematorium.

At the same time British war ship the "Invincible" is anchored outside the Colombo harbour. With atom bombs on board and helicopters capable of combat in the air are now flying over Jaffna. 'Invincible' was employed successfully in the Falkland war, With the help of U. S. and British Imperialism J. R. Jayawardena is now preparing to let loose violence on the Tamils.

The aim of this preplanned violence is not just murder of

the Tamils in Jaffna. It is an attempt to wipe out the Tamil Liberation youths together with the Tamils. It is with this intention Tamil freedom fighters in many jails in the Tamil areas are being collected together at Welikade Prison. In July 1983, fifty three Tamil freedom fighters were done to death at Welikade Jail.

A similar action preceded the violence on the Tamils in Colombo in July 1983 It is on the strength of these preparations J. R. Jayawardena has promised "to wipe out Tamil Terrorism in a month" It fact he has forewarned the Tamils of his intention to strike them.

People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam requests the Tamils to take note of all

there activities and extend their co-operation to courageously defend Tamil Eelam. Tamils must realise these are frantic efforts of a desparate Government to solve the crisis in Sri Lanka by turning the attention on the Tamils.

PLOT hopes the Tamils will stand firm and united at this hour of crisis and take all possible action to defend our people to the best of our abilities. Uncoordinated mock heroic adventures can play into the hands of the Singhala government. Now is the time for cold calculated moves to meet the offensive. We hope Tamils will stay calm and collected and ready to meet all threats with discipline and determination.

PLOT BULLET ... IN is moving

SUDASIEN BURO
(South Asian Bureau)

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5600 Wuppertal 2
West Germany
23-2-84

People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam

Dear Friends,

With great interest we read your bulletin. please send us all the information material on your Organisation. Specially we are interested in details on the ideological background of your group.

For your notice. The "Sud Asian Buro" took over the coordination work of Sri Lanka groups in West Germany from the "Sri Lanka Coordination Centre" Kassel. Enclosed you find a press statement. As we intend to publish the "Sri Lanka In fo" every second month it would be very usefull for our work to receive regular information from your Centre.

Hoping to hear from you.

I remain in solidarity.

Yours Sincerely,
HELGA OSTERMAN

PLOT Exhibitions in Tamil Nadu

PLOT has planned a series of exhibitions in all the major cities and towns of Tamil Nadu to acquaint the public the problems of Tamils in Sri Lanka and the work of PLOT in the Liberation Struggle.

The first of these exhibitions got off to a flying Start on 10-3-84 in the historic City of Tanjore with very Close contact with Tamil Eelam over the centuries.

Ramanathan Hall seating 1000 in the heart of the city was filled to capacity and overflowing when the Chief Guest Hon. **S. D. Somasundaram**, Revenue Minister, Tamil Nadu arrived with **Muhundan** Leader of PLOT and Mr. S. A. David, President Gandhi-

yam to open the exhibition.

The exhibition housed in a separate temporary building attracted much attention with 6'x8' Coloured panels depicting Singhala atrocities against the Tamils of Sri Lanka 2'x2' Portrait Gallery of PLOT members who have laid down their lives for their country and nearly 100 photographs depicting gruesome torture and murder of Tamils

rape, arson and looting of Tamils in Sri Lanka. Coloured maps depicting planned genocide, plunder of Tamils in Sri Lanka attracted large crowds who were eager for information on the problem of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

At the meeting opening the exhibition Revenue Minister spoke at length giving facts and figures on the genocide of Tamils in Sri Lanka He gave numerous examples of violation of Human Rights and called for Solidarity of Tamil Nadu people with Tamils of Tamil Eelam. Mr. David explained the philosophy, the work of Gandhiam and the part played by Gandhiam in the freedom struggle of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. Muhundan, Leader of PLOT traced the history of Tamil struggle non-violent satyagraha, written pacts with UNP and SLFP, guerilla action and stressed the time has come for face to face confrontation with the Government and Armed Forces of Sri Lanka He stressed unity among Tamil youth and pledged PLOT was always ready for united action.

One and a half hour colour video film with Tamil commentary and music showing racial riots, settlement of refugees and PLOT activities was a very popular item of the exhibition.

After 7 days in Tanjore the exhibition will move to Madurai and then to other major cities, and towns of Tamil Nadu.

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who if nothing else is a born stage manager.

My honest opinion is a lot of money has gone down the drain in mindless carnival at the First Convention. Sweet nothing has been done for Liberation for two years.

Please do not make the Sri Lankan Tamil a laughing stock in the world especially the Tamil youth. They are men of vision and action. Just carry on your own sweet way only contribute liberally to a Liberation Fund and help the boys to buy the guns as good old Dr. Dharmalingam TELF advised after living with the youth in the jail.

Last but not least thou shall not take the word of God in vain. Remember the way Nkrumah went!

- S.A. DAVID

COMMENT...

(Contd. from Page 1)

not help but note the closing imperialist net in the region, slowly but surely, the American net is closing around India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, China and now Sri Lanka is about to be converted into a take-off point for destabilisation attempts within India.

Yet another force supportive of the Eelam cause are the left forces now apparently lying dormant in Sri Lanka, but in reality in contact with the revolutionary forces in the north and east and fully supportive of our cause. During the days of the struggle these forces will be on the side of the revolution not necessarily actively but to help make their people aware of the revolutionary struggle being waged in the north and east. These forces too will come out openly in opposition to the US imperialists in the

south and the liberation of the Tamil nation will be a fact.

The other dominant force working against a Socialist Tamil Eelam is the Singhala bourgeoisie state which is totally opposed to a free and independent Tamil Eelam and a socialist Sinhala state.

The above three groups are now working hand in glove to impose their will by force on the people of Tamil Eelam and Sri Lanka and if opportunity permits on the Indian subcontinent and even on all South East Asia.

A vast paradise indeed for multinational war mongers, a heaven on earth for the idle rich to exploit the poor for labour and sex. The total might of the capitalist West and East has already been mobilised and China is being coaxed as a partner in this dastardly deed.

An analysis of the basic cause and reasons for the present plight of the Tamils is necessary prior to embarking on a liberation struggle.

From 1956 onwards there has been a deliberate spurring of racial feelings by the Sri Lanka politicians merely to gain popularity among the masses. Politicians who could not see the real economic needs of the people of Sri Lanka and Eelam kindled the emotional feelings of the poor people merely to distract them from the real sufferings and poverty.

The present capitalist gang ruling Sri Lanka has caused tremendous losses to both the Sinhalese and Tamil people as a result of the senseless communal hatred sowed between the races. Since this gang came into power in 1977, the poor masses have become poorer and the rich richer.

Now there is a dangerous decline of the moral standards in the country. Murders, rapes, and arson committed by the army, police and hoodlums are excused by the government. The judiciary has become a farce. Under these circumstances an armed struggle is the only solution to replace the

existing rule. This is vital not only for the Tamils but also for the Sinhalese people.

One interesting fact is not known to many. It is said that the rape of three Tamil girls by Sinhala soldiers, and the resulting vengence by militant youth sparked off the havoc in the whole country. If one visits Sinhala villages, in many parts of the country it will be found from Madewachchi to Moneragala many are the peasants (all Sinhala) who are forced to provide their wives and grown-up daughters to satisfy the beastial sexual needs of the security personnel. The situation has become so bad

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that the security forces have come to look on this as their right. Many are the peasants who tell this tale of woe with tears in their eyes and heads hung in shame.

An inhuman security force such as this one, has to be fought by the people at large. Unfortunately, the uprising of the

Sinhala youth in 1971, was lead by adventurists who led the flower of the Sinhala youth into a pre-planned massacre.

Another failing of that uprising was, that it was unknown to the mass of the people. The aims, the ideals and vision of the youthful insurgents were never made known to the ordinary people. Thereby they never gained their support and today the blood of more than ten thousand young men and women still cry out from their graves.

The Tamil youth who have taken up arms to win their genuine right of a Tamil Eelam should heed the lesson of the 1971 uprising well.

It was in recognition of this danger that the Peoples Liberation Organisation of Thamil-eelam was formed in 1979. When the PLOT strikes for the liberation of Thamil-eelam. I am convinced that it will be a blow against the dictators by the *people* of Thamil-eelam. It will no be an isolated killing of police or army personnel.

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