

PLOT

BULLET--IN



JANUARY '84

VOL. I

NO. I

A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ORGANISATION TAMILLELAM

COMMENT

So.... the way has been cleared for the TULF to attend Jayawardene's latest round of amity talks.

"Birds of a feather" the saying goes "flock together..." and the latest round of talks between these two 'birds' can best be understood when seen in this context. Both Appapillai and JRJ, are men to whom apparently the word principle means nothing more than the head of a school. For these men, going back on their word of honour means nothing. It is like a simple action as changing one's clothes.

Thus, it comes as no surprise to hear the self-same Jayawardene who absolutely refused to have anything to do with the TULF until it gave up its demand for a separate state, suddenly invite them for 'amity' talks in Colombo, without any pre-conditions. Yet, what brought this sudden volte face on the part of Jayawardene,

The simple truth is that Jayawardene had no choice in the matter. He was forced to give up his stand on the issue by his masters who control the World Bank and IMF, and to whom Sri Lanka is totally indebted. In short the one and only United States of America.

With the Sri Lankan economy in ruins, and his image exposed to the world after the last racial pogrom against the Tamil community of July 1983, Jayawardene has found his backers in the western capitalist countries withdrawing their support one by one.

Nobody, Jayawardene is learning, wants to bankroll a man who is committing genocide on a section of his population.

The ordinary men and women in the western capitalist countries are pressurising their governments against the extending help to the Jayawardene regime. These governments are therefore forced to extert this boycott even at the

levels of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund as well.

To change this situation there must be visible signs that the Sinhala and Tamil people are now working together as usual. Jayawardene's intransigence, and the continuing racist outbursts of his ministerial colleagues does not permit for this.

Now, this situation, is not in the interests of the U S. The US and the Pentagon strategists have already a blueprint of the role they intend Sri Lanka to play in their war games. Unfortunately, at the moment the ruling clique in Sri Lanka have, as yet, not signed the dotted line....

The Sri Lanka government has already agreed to provide one thousand acres of land in Trincomalee, for the setting up of rest and recreational facilities for US servicemen.

Negotiations are going on for the US take-over of the oil storage tanks also in Trincomalee. The agreement also includes a clause for the stationing of US troops in the country for security purposes...

A third agreement is for the setting up of a "Voice of America" relayng station also in Trincomalee. Written into the agreement is provision for the landing of US troops for the protection of the station.

With so many deals in the pipeline the US could not afford to let tin pot rulers like Jayawardene and his minions upset their grand design. So, Jayawardene's ear was tweaked, and like a dog forced to come to heel.

THIS is why JRJ is today bending over backwards to invite the TULF. It is not out of consideration for the wishes of the all-party conference which sat in Colombo a few weeks ago. Nor is it because JRJ has suddenly become sympathetic towards the Tamil people whose rights have been shamelessly trampled on all these years. It is not even love of his motherland. Unfortunately it is only because of his
(Contd. Page 2)

P.L.O.T IN SOLIDARITY WITH ANGOLA

The Deputy Foreign Minister in Angola, reported that South African troops have occupied the town of Casinga, about 200 kms inside Angolan territory, in a big military operation throughout the south of country.

He said the operation aimed to create a climate of panic and terror among the population, and in this way destabilise the country.

Angolan troops in the meanwhile, the Minister said had successfully halted the advance of the South African forces. They had also captured a large amount of arms, shot down a Mirage fighter

and destroyed six South African troops.

Mr. De Moura, the Foreign Minister said that the invading force which included three motorised brigades, four artillery groups and a four hundred planes overflew and bombed economic targets, schools and villages.

The People's Liberation Organisation Tamil Eelam (PLOT) condemns this latest adventurist action of the racist South African regime and calls for the immediate withdrawal of its troops.

The General Secretary PLOT has sent a message to the Angolan head of state conveying militant

solidarity of the organisation with the courageous struggle of the Angolan people and government against the forces of imperialism and racism.

The PLOT calls on all states and nations to strictly abide by the United Nations adopted sanctions against South Africa.

A spokesman for the PLOT pointed out that S. Africa was able to flout all accepted norms of human behaviour with impunity, only because they were assured of the open support of the United States and the covert support from the capitalist countries like Britain, West Germany, France and Japan.

(contd. from Page 1)

masters in the US, need TIME to finalise their plans. They have ordered him to do so.

The US has to ensure, that for a while at least, Indian premier Indira Gandhi is not forced to intervene militarily in Sri Lanka's ethnic 'problem'. An Indian military intervention would probably bring into power Sirima Bandaranaike, not known for her pro-American sentiments. Added to this, an anti-imperialist Tamil Eelam would ruin American plans.

For this reason Jayawardene was forced to eat his words and invite the TULF.

But the point that must be kept in mind is that the emphasis is on TALKS, NOT on solutions. Again, the so-called talks are limited to within the framework of a unitary state.

What is most important, is to keep in mind the fact that the talks take TIME. Talks can be staggered. They can be postponed. They can be broken off, and they can be re-started. All of this means time, and time, is of utmost importance to all three parties, to the US, to the Jayawardene regime and of greatest importance to the Tamil nation.

The US needs time to finalise its agreements in Sri Lanka vis-a-vie Trincomalee.

Jayawardene needs time to complete his plans of driving the Tamil people out of their homelands and resettling Sinhala people in their stead. The manner in which he intends doing this is seen from the examples of Pankulam, Wadamunai etc. He also needs time to take as many Tamil youth into custody, as well as to complete the para-military training his goon squads are receiving at training camps in Andankulam and at Polonnaruwa.

For the Tamil nation, and we place emphasis on the Tamil nation because they face national oppression—urgency is the need of the hour. On the one hand while pious pronouncements are being made of 'amity', innocent youth continue to be picked up, tortured and killed. While on the other our traditional homelands are being slowly but surely devoured by Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinism.

In the cloistered comfort of Tamil Nadu, this ongoing calamity appears to have escaped the attention of Appapillai Amirthalingam, whose only desire now appears to be for talking, and possibly regaining his position as Leader of the Opposition.

What in fact Appapillai is doing, is merely to lend credibiliy to a discredited regime, and its imperialist backers. At the same time he is presiding, through his anxiety to make compromises and pacts, over the decimation of the Tamil people and their homelands.

The People's Liberation Organisation Tamil Eelam (PLOT), categorically rejects whatever compromises Amirthalingam may make with traitors like Jayawardene who are attempting to sell the country and people to the US imperialists.

Our aim is to fight imperialism where ever, and in whatever form it may raise its head. We vow to continue our struggle together with the heroic people of Tamil Eelam to set up our goal of a socialist state in the Tamil nation.

We end with the reminder that, **NO-WHERE IN HISTORY WAS JUSTICE GIVEN. IT HAS TO BE WON. AND JUSTICE FLOWS FROM THE BARREL OF A GUN.**

THE BENEFITS OF DIALOGUE

Just two weeks ago Thondaman, Minister of Rural Development in the Jayawardene cabinet was in India on a 'private visit'. During the course of this visit, Mr. Thondaman told reporters that the only way to settle the problems facing the Tamil community was through dialogue with President Jayawardene and the Sinhala majority.

Mr. Thondaman has been a Minister in the Jayawardene

tail parties, as well as many international conferences etc, we feel sure that from time to time at least, he must have spared a wee moment or a thought for the poor plantation workers who made it possible for him to reach the high office he now holds. We feel confident that during these brief moments he did dialogue with his master, President Jayawardene on the plight of this innocent community.

men, agreement was reached to appoint a committee to formulate a collective agreement on the demands put forward by the unions.

A summary of the demands were :

- a guaranteed monthly wage for estate workers, computed current prices and the cost of living.
- equal wages for equal work for men and women.
- a revised formula for gratuities.
- preference to children of estate workers in recruitment without insisting on citizenship certificates.
- improvement of housing and health facilities and
- arrangements for providing essential foodstuffs to workers at reasonable rates.

It is worth noting that these very same demands were put forward by the unions over a decade ago. The most unfortunate aspect of the exercise is that today, nearly three years later, there has been no change for the better. In fact conditions have worsened. To meet the rising cost of living government has increased wage rates for all other sectors three times. Unfortunately, these benefits have been denied to the plantation workers. The only thing the plantation workers received through Mr. Thondaman's dialogue was

(Continued Page 8)

A SAMPLE SURVEY CARRIED OUT FOR THE MASTER PLAN FOR TEA REVEALED

The gross labour earnings per labourer per month (including the employees share of the Employees Provident Fund EPF) ranged from between Rs. 155/- to Rs. 243/62; the medium being Rs. 200/-.

Various items such as union dues, repayment of advances for food, festival advances etc, reduce the actual cash received by a labourer. The deduction in the case of three families studied appeared to be between 23-29 percent, of gross wages.

This had left each of these families with a monthly income of Rs. 212/37, Rs. 238/63 and Rs. 519/45 respectively.

The first family consisted of two adults and four young children, the second four adults and four young children and the third, of four adults and two young children.

The average size of the family in the estates surveyed was 4.68 members.

Source : Survey Circle Exploitation Pack.

government for the past 4 years or so. During these years we are sure Mr. Thondaman has not forgotten that he also represents the interests of the plantation people.

Though, no doubt Mr. Thondaman has been very busy attending diplomatic cock-

Anyway we do know for a fact that in mid - March 1980, Thondaman led a group of his CWC in delegation with the government sponsored LJEW, to meet President J, who had two months earlier appointed himself minister of the plantation sector.

According to union spokes-

Goods per day	Rs. / Cts	Per week	Rs. / Cts	Per day	Per week	Rs / Cts
Rice 3 chundus	..... 2.70	- as per		4.20	as per	
4 lbs bread	..... 4.00	day for		9.20	day for	
2 coconuts	..... 2.00	7 days	126.70	5.00	7 days	285.25
kerosene oil		—1 lb		4.80	—1 lb	
1 - 5 bottles	..... 1.15	fish/	5.00	2.55	fish	8.50
1 / 7 cwt fire		beef			beef	
wood	..... 1.50	—1/2 lb			—1/2 lb	
2 lbs vege-		dry			dry	
tables		fish	3.50		fish	6.00
(incl condiments)	..... 5.00					
			135.20	11.00		299.75
				4.00		
sugar & tea	..... 1.75	Per month		40.75	Per month	
	18.10	135.20 × 4			299.75 × 4	
		Rs. 540.80			Rs. 1,199.00	

The above calculation was done by the Satyodaya Centre as belong the common mans' bearest subsistence needs for food alone. It does not take into account medical, educational, clothing or recreational needs.

THE STORY OF RAMANATHAN

Ramanathan the owner of Yogam Stores is well-known throughout the Badulla town. On July 27, 1983, nearly 200 thugs, most of whom were employees of the Ceylon Transport Board, gathered outside Ramanathan's house. They were armed with a variety of death-dealing implements, and were shouting anti-Tamil slogans. The mob was led by the three brothers of the Member of Parliament for Badulla. Budulla is represented in Parliament by the UNP.

As the crowd shouting slogans such as "Kill the Tamils" etc, attempted to enter his garden, Ramanathan who had a liscenced gun fired a shot over the heads of the crowd. At this the crowd began to scatter. The MP's brothers then began to shout at the crowd to raise their spirits. "...is there none among you..." they shouted "with Sinhala blood in your veins..."

A bus conductor by the name of Piyasena in response rushed towards the house shouting to the others to follow him. A shot rang out and Piyasena fell, wounded. Picking the wounded man up, the crowd scattered in search of a doctor. But the doctor, himself a Tamil, had escaped to a refugee camp in fear. Without treatment Piyasena died.

The scene again turns to Ramanathan's house. The police now arrive to flush out the "Tigers" who are taking refuge in Ramanathan's house and rain gunfire on the inmates. The posse of policemen were soon reinforced by two jeep loads of army personnel. A Sinhala friend of Ramanathan who was watching the scene, fearful of what may happen to Ramanathan, called out to him to surrender to the army and police personnel. At this the police too called on Ramanathan to surrender.

Beleiving he would be safe in surrendering to the police and army personnel, Ramanathan unarmed gave himself up to the security services. With arms raised

above his head together with 2¹/₂ year-old Viji, Ramanathan walked out. He probably believed that no one would harm a little child. Little did he realise how mistaken he was. Suddenly Little Viji cried out "Aiyo". At that moment Nimal an ex-peon in the people's Bank and a resident of Devinuwara, who was dismissed from the bank for stealing, lifted the child up and dashed her to death against a nearby tree.

Behind their father came his four sons, all of whom suffered the same fate. Each in turn, battered to death. R. Pakiarajan also a son of Ramanathan surrendered with his 2³/₄ year-old daughter in his arms. As he walked up a shot rang out and a bullet pierced the arm of his daughter who was clinging to him in fear. The bullet entered Pakiarajan's chest. He fell dead.

THE PRECEPT OF "MAITHRI" ACCORDING TO CIRIL MATHEW Excerpts From Illustrated Weekly Of India

Where do you think lies the roots of this violence, this ethnic confrontation?

I hate all you journalists. You are liars and dishonest people. I would not even have diegned to speak to you if the ministry of State had not insisted. There is nothing that I hate more than journalists, particularly Indian ones. You are always lying.

Why have you had such a raw deal from the Indian press? Your collegus in the cabinet don't feel so strongly about us.

Because I have the courage to speak for my people. The Sinhalese will not be held to ransom by a bunch of ordinary criminals and terrorists. We are the majority community on this island and yet we live in constant fear of being attacked by this small band of insurgents who think they can rule us by fear and intimidation. It is time we stood up for our own rights.

What are these rights you speak of? As the majority community on this island, you have all the rights that are possible.

What rights do we have? These people have guns in their hands and they are constantly shooting down our boys. Look at the number of police stations that have been closed down in Jaffna because no one wants to be on duty there. Who wants to risk his life? Will you risk your life in such a dangerous situation?

Law and ordcr have been subverted. These people are trying to break up our country, destroy our heritage, force us to yield our most invaluable assets. How can we allow them to do this? How can you in India support such acts of terrorism How do you offer these people shelter and guns?

So you think that India is being unfair? That we are playing a negative role?

Behind all this is the dirty hand of India. We all know this. We have the evidence. If you did not give protection and shelter to these terrorists, our problem would have been over a long time back. For we know how to handle them.

What would you have done?

They are only a hundful of peopl, and I don't think that they have the kind of support base they are claiming.

Nimal is a member of Cyril Mathew's gang.

A similar fate awaited Ramanathan. He was burnt with lighted torches, and subsequently battered to death with iron rods, clubs and a variety of other instruments.

A soldier who could not bear to see blood flowing from the wounded child's hand called halt to the massacre.

Thanks to the action of this unknown soldier, Ramanathan's wife, 15 year-old daughter and the little girl Gonezik escaped

Lest We Forget

BY THE LATE V. SATCHITHANANDAM

- In May 1944, Mr. J.R. Jayawardana moved the following motion in the State Council. "That with the object of making Sinhalese the official language in Ceylon within a reasonable number of years, this council is of opinion:
- a) That Sinhalese should be made the medium of instruction in all schools.
 - b) That Sinhalese should be made a compulsory subject in all public examinations.
- In 1948 the U.N.P. passed a law depriving the upcountry Tamils of their votes and citizenship. The first party that passed the motion that Sinhala only should be the official language of Ceylon was the U.N.P. It did not embody even the reasonable use of Tamil. This motion was moved by Mr. J. R. Jayawardana.
- In 1955, the U.N.P. forced the Government to break the Bandaranayake — Chelvanayagam Pact. Mr. J.R. Jayawardana led the famous march to Kandy to break the Pact.
- In 1958 the U.N.P. opposed the "Reasonable Use of Tamil Bill" brought by Mr. Bandaranayake.
- On 27th May 1958, the Sinhalese — Tamil riots started in Ceylon. Just before that, among the quotable quotes from the U.N.P. paper "Siyarata" "Therefore the whole nation should rise up and demand in one voice that he (Bandaranayake) should liberate the country from the Tamils". Siyarata of Jan 8th 1958. "The struggle should be waged by all Sinhalese to call upon Mr. Bandaranayake to resign with his henchmen in order to protect the country and save our freedom. If it is not we shall be subjugated by the Tamils and shall live as slaves; Sinhalese awaken rise and march forward."
- Siyarata of May 16th 1968. Sinhalese youth arise, do not permit it; for the sake of the nation let no one think of life; kill as many; when you cannot do so kill yourself. Sinhalese let us arise. Look and march in front. In the name of the nation hasten and do not idle, but kill. Siyarata of May 16th 1958.
- In July 1958 after the riots Mr. Bandaranayake stated in Parliament "Probably my Honourable friend the member for Maturata may be aware that his own leader Mr. Dudley Senanayake, two days before the Governor General's speech addressed a group of youth leaders and he warned them to be ready, that instructions will be coming in a few days. They must be prepared for everything." Hansard of July 4th 1958 Col 914.
- In July, 1960 the U.N.P. displayed all over Ceylon the frightful map of Ceylon with Mrs. Bandaranayake's hand cutting Ceylon into two with a knife.
- In June 1956, the U.N.P. exhibited maps in L.S.S.P. and C.P. constituencies, also a frightful map of Ceylon showing leftists welcoming crowds of Indians coming from India across a bridge constructed for the purpose, just because the leftists supported the Tamil rights.
- In June 1964 the U.N.P. opposed the 14 point programme of the Coalition Government stating that the provisions for Tamil Language contained therein would abrogate the Sinhala Act.
- In 1965 the U.N.P. cheated the Federal party with a secret pact and never honoured it.
- In 1968 the U.N.P. started two Sinhala Buddhist Schools in Atchurely and Karaveddy, both places in Jaffna with one hundred percent Tamil Hindus. — to save the rights of so called Low Caste

death and were sent to a refugee camp.

The police feared that these persons would identify them. They went round the refugee camps in search of the family to destroy the "remainder" of the evidence. However the heroic refugees hid the family and they escaped to Batticaloa.

★

A Reminder to all

"Throughout the ages the Sinhalese and the Tamils in this country lived as distinct sovereign peoples till they were brought under foreign domination. It should be remembered that the Tamils were in vanguard of the struggle for independence in the full confidence that they also will regain their freedom. We

have, for the last 25 years made every effort to secure our political rights on the basis of equality with the Sinhalese in a united Ceylon.

It is a regrettable fact that successive Sinhalese governments have used the power that flows from independence to deny our fundamental rights and reduce us to the position of a subject people. These governments have been able to do so only by using against the Tamils, the sovereignty common to the Sinhalese and the Tamils. I wish to announce to my people and to the country that I consider the verdict at this election as a mandate that the Eelam Tamil Nation should exercise the sovereignty already vested in the Tamil people and become free.

On behalf of the Tamil United Front I give you my solemn assurance that we will carry out this mandate."

Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam,
Leader of the Tamil United Front,
after winning the by-election at
Kankasanturai, January 1975.

In This Land There'll Be No Peace!

As long as the exploiter wallows
in luxury
As long as the homeless sleep on the
street
As long as the poor toil endlessly for
another's profit
In this land there'll be no peace!

As long as equality exists not
As long as government kindles the
flames of race hatred
As long as Tamil Eelam is not founded
In this land there'll be no peace!

As long as state forces violate laws and
justice
As long as rivers of tears flow from the
eyes of the poor
As long as the fence continues to feed
off the crop
In this land there'll be no peace!

★

WITHER

On the surface, the Sinhala left movement and the Tamil liberation struggle in Sri Lanka may seem to be poles apart. In reality they are inseparable. A paradox, but truth often hides behind paradox.

Let us go back in history. The father of the United National Party, D. S. Senanayake, for all his *saave* exterior was an arch enemy of the Tamils. Through his denial of citizenship to a million Tamils in the hill-country, through insistence on unbridled majority rule of the Sinhalese, and through colonization of Tamil lands, he laid a solid base for the liquidation of the Tamils. At the same time, the defranchising of Tamil estate labour took the wind out of the sails of the Sinhala left movement which was gaining ground in the Kandyan domain.

The mad colonel Kotelawela, saturated with a venomous hatred of the left which he inherited from D. S., but lacking the subtleties of the man, charged along like a bull in a china-shop. He even went to the extent of banning Russian football teams and clashing with Nehru and Menon at Bandung. Sir John soft-peddled the Tamil issue because he was the darling of numerous Cinnamon Garden Tamil maids!

Next came the era of Banda the brilliant, a racist to the core for personal ends. He inflamed Sinhala nationalism, and allowed a limited scope for the left. Philip Gunawardene the father of the Sinhala left movement fell for his machinations and vanished from the political scene, reminiscent of G. G. Ponnambalam after his encounter with D. S.

With the early demise of Banda, Sirima the shy kitchen maid stepped into his shoes. She flirted with the red triumvirat of Dr N. M. Perera, Dr Colvin R. de Silva and Pieter Kuenaman who gratefully swallowed the

ministerial bait she dangled before them. Dr. Colvin R. de Silva sank so low as to author the shameless racist Constitution of 1972.

Today they have reaped their well deserved harvest and faded into political wilderness.

During the interim period however, the Tamil community had become the untouchables of Sri Lankan politics.

There was also a 'dark house' rising within the Sinhala left movement. The one and only Rohana Wijeweera, a virulent anti-Tamil and the trojan horse of the G. I. A. within the left movement. Fashioned and fitted by master craftsmen Esmond Wickremasinghe and J. R. Jayawardene, Wijeweera was let loose in the southern left camp with loads of money and massive propaganda. The Sinhala left movement paid the price for this

THE LEFT MOVEMENT

indiscretion with the life-blood of over 15,000 young lives - the flower of the left movement in the south.

In the meantime the Tamils led by Chelva were meeting a similar fate in the wake of ever recurring racial progroms. 1977 saw the dawn of a nazi era for the Tamils under the jack boot of Jayawardene, and the goon squads of the Cyril Mathews, the Gamini Dissanayakes, the Athulathmudalis, the Premadasas, and the lesser goons like Ananda Tissa de Alwis.

A scientifically programmed genocidal attack was unleashed on the Tamils during this period.

During this same period the back-bone of the left movement was broken in 1981. During the general strike of June '81, 140,000 workers, representing the most militant sections of the left movement were dismissed.

1983 saw the most minutely worked out mass slaughter of the Tamils and the demonic attempts by the government to put the

blame on the left movement, for world consumption.

While Sri Lanka is still to recover from the aftermath of this nightmare, where do the Tamil people and the left movement of Sri Lanka go from here?

The problem of the Tamils is nationalism with a touch of class struggle. The problem of the Sinhala left is essentially of class struggle with a touch of nationalism.

The Tamil youth are braving the storm of the combined might of the capitalist world led by the U S A. ~~Over the years they have~~ learned at the expense of blood and tears the great lesson every great revolutionary has proclaimed "...power flows from the barrel of a gun..." Cash and guns have to be TAKEN from the capitalists.

Will the Sinhala left movement ever learn this lesson? In

the meantime, time is running out for the left in the South Asian region. Uncle Sam and Harkari Japan are girding themselves for a showdown in the "paradise" isle. Can the Sinhala left take up the challenge as the Tamil youth have done? Do they have the courage of their convictions to stand up for the ideology they espouse? The future of exploited millions lies in the balance.

The time is ripe to tear the fat capitalist pig from end to end. In the Tamil state there is to be no place for capitalism.

Can the Tamil liberation fighters and the Sinhala left movement join hands to kick

ASKS

Uncle Sam and his hirelings from both west and east. May be, may be then, we could one day sit down as equals to fashion a new world for the suffering millions of our land.

S. A. David

The U S, the running dogs
(Contd. Page 8)

THAT PRISON MASSACRE

On 25-7-83, the Sinhala prisoners attacked the detenus in the chappel section of the prison and murdered 35 persons along with Thangathurai, Kuttimani and Jegan. From eye-witness accounts of our colleagues, Kuttimani's eyes were gouged out and his blood drunk by his attackers. After killing six Tamils along with Kuttimani in one wing, Mylvaganam a boy of sixteen years had been spared by the attackers. A jail guard spotted him as he crouched in his cell and stabbed him to death.

The 35 dead were heaped in front of the statue of Gauthama the Buddha in the yard of the Welikade prison, as Minister Athulathmudali aptly described to appease the cravings of the blood-thirsty Sinhala masses. Some who were yet alive raised their heads and called for help. They were beaten to death in the heap.

The attackers then made entry into the other wing through openings in the first floor. But the jailors there refused to give them the keys and persuaded them to leave. The twenty-eight Tamil detenus in this wing were transferred to the ground floor of the youth ward and nine of us were accomodated on the first floor.

All was quiet on the 26th. On the 27th at 2.30 p.m. there were shouts around the youth ward that armed prisoners were scaling the boundary walls and beginning to break open the doors of the youth ward.

Nearly 40 prisoners armed with axes, swords, crowbars, iron pipes and wooden logs appeared in front of our cell and started to break the lock. Dr. Rajasundaram walked up to the door and pleaded with them to spare us. The door suddenly burst open and

Dr. Rajasundaram was dragged out and hit on the head with a iron rod. The rest of us broke the chairs and tables in the cell and defended ourselves and managed to keep the mob at bay for half an hour. The army then arrived and dispersed the crowd.

(Source : Detention, Torture & Murder S. A. David.)

According to the Sri Lanka government authorities none of the attackers could be identified. The People's Liberation Organisation now has information on who was responsible and who hired whom to perform the massacre.

Assistant Chief Jailor Rojers Jayasekera gave the contract for the killing of the Tamil political prisoners to a person named

"Gonewela Sunil". Gonewela Sunil is a convicted rapist who has been released on special Presidential pardon. Sunil is a leader of Cyril Mathew's goon squads. This man ranks so high in the governments hierachy now, that a note from him is sufficient to secure employment in the state sector.

Another criminal who was involved in the massacre was "Gampaha Kalu Gamini". For his role in the massacre which went a little beyond the imagination of its authors, Kalu Gamini was on a spell of 30-day solitary confinement. Suddenly Kalu Gamini received a special Presidential pardon signed by Mr. Manikdiwela secretary to President Jayawardene!

THONDAMAN POINTS A FINGER

Who do you think is responsible for fanning these communal passions?

We all know who these people are. I am not naming them right now because I don't want to embarrass the President, who is a good man and an honest man. He is trying his best to heal the situation. That is why I am keeping quiet.

But is any action being taken against these people?

How can any action be taken against them. They are part of this government just as I am. Behind all this are our own people. The racist elements. We all know them.

But unless you take some action against these people, or isolate them, the problems will recur, won't they?

We have to take long term-measures. The Indian Tamils have suffered for too long. They are the real minority in Sri Lanka, and yet no one speaks of them and their needs. Now that things are bad, very bad, they are listening to me. But it is too late.

What can be done now?

Only India can help us to tide this crisis. Wherever I went in India, I found people were very concerned about Sri Lanka and our ethnic troubles. Mrs. Gandhi is our hope. India is our hope. You can help us to survive without being dismembered.

You don't believe that Eelam is inevitable? The only way out, under the circumstances?

No, no. Sri Lanka must solve its problems with out being dismembered. I don't rule out anything not even a separate Tamil state, but this is not the time to talk of it.

But where does India come in? The talks must obviously be within Sri Lanka, between the different communitive, the different political groups.

India has most important role to play. She alone can force us on to the negotiating table.

I have been travelling extensively in India and everyone is keen that we should come to some kind of understanding, so that the interests of the Tamils are protected. Unless this is done, we will have to take our own decisions.

You mean, go to the streets. Like the others?

Yes, yes.

How do you hope to do this politically?

You ask tricky questions. There is no question of hoping. I have to do this politically. And India alone can help me. That is why I have been asked by the President to go back to India with him. When he goes for CHOGM.

(contd. page 8)

PLOT ON NEED FOR UNITY

"We are willing to unite with all the progressive and democratic forces in Tamil Eelam. Such unity is not only desirable but also a necessary condition for the continuation of the resistance. This unity must be based on a minimally agreed programme, and the United Front tactics must be understood by all.

One of the bases of such a United Front is the notion of unity-struggle-unity; We unite on a common programme, we struggle ideologically against each other on strategies and tactics which we do not agree upon, but

Page 3 Contd.

appears to be massacres at the hands of the racist gangs in government inspired pogroms.

Having served in the Jayawardene cabinet for so long we would have expected Thondaman to be the expert on the success or otherwise of dialogue with Jayawardene. But this does not seem to be the case, all his efforts having ended in failure.

"Failures", according to the age old proverb "are the pillars of success...". Unfortunately in the case of Thondaman, failures appear to be merely successive pillars.

in the final instance we unite on a common programme. This is what we mean by unity-struggle-unity."

"While we urge the nationalist forces to come under a United Front, we must guard against the intrusion in this Front of those who masquerade as nationalist, but in their deeds are nothing but fascists and capitulationists. We will not let these forces enter into our proposed United Front, for they are traitors to our cause."

During the past five to six years of active operation we have given practical demonstration to our policies by working on three fronts.

a. On the social front we have worked with organisations like the Tamil

(Page 7 Contd.)

Do you have any hopes of success?

Of course. There are answers. We will have to find them. All of us together, with your help.

Don't your colleagues disapprove of your links with the Tamil extremists?

How can they? There are extremists on both sides. I stay in touch with one kind of extremists. They are in touch with another kind. The important thing is to bring everyone back to the negotiating table. That alone will resolve our problems.

Refugee Relief Rehabilitation Organisation Gandhiam, in assisting hill Th country amils to settle in Tamil areas; opening model farms in Vavuniya, Trincomalee & Batticaloa and cyclone relief work in Batticaloa.

b. On the political front we have organised our branches all over Tamil areas to work at peasants and workers level for political consciousness and action.

c. At the military front we have successfully carried out guerilla action with attacks on Annaikoddi police station, Killinochchi Bank, army personnel at Kurikadduvan and the release of Tamil prisoners from the Batticaloa jail.

We are now working towards a systematic confrontation with the Sri Lanka Sinhala armed forces by training a regular army for Tamil Eelam.

Page 6 Contd.

of imperialism, the J R J ruling clique and their henchmen have set the ball rolling by attacking both the Tamil nation and the Sinhala left movement. The Tamil nation is on the move.

Will the Sinhala left start moving...?



Published by the People's Liberation Organisation Tamil Eelam,
No. 28, C.N.K. Road, Madras-5.

PRINTED MATTER