



# THAMILEELAM NEWS

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## 'Military balance imperative'

New Delhi, Oct. 8. The People's Liberation Organisation of Thamil-eelam (PLOT) leader, Mr. Uma Maheswaran has said that a "military balance" between the Sri Lankan Government and the Tamil Militants is imperative for meaningful political solution of the island's ethnic crisis. In the talks with the Sri Lankan are not to go on for ever, there must be a military balance. Mr. Maheswaran said, "otherwise the talks would continue to be an exercise in which Colombo would be in the name of safeguarding the Tamils actually erode even their existing rights, he added.

Mr. Maheswaran who is here for talks with the foreign secretary Mr. Romesh Bandhari told the Telegraph that as the cease fire had not inhibited the Jeyewardene government from stepping up its imports of weapons and consolidating its bases in the Tamil majority North and Eastern provinces, the Tamil militants too must be allowed a similar military build-up.

Asked what role India was expected to play in achieving this military balance, Mr. Maheswaran said "We should be allowed to import arms. There is at present a cache of arms for us, worth of 40 million lying with the Madras port authority. The Indian government has not yet taken a decision on the matter. These could certainly be released".

Mr. Bandhari is sceptical of the proposed military balance strategy Mr. Maheswaran admits. But he sees no other solution to force the Sri Lankan President Mr. Junius Jayewardene's hand, especially as he is vulnerable to pressure from within the party and the opposition not to grant meaningful concession to the Tamil militants.

The PLOT strategy has all along been to prepare for an all out military confrontation. It has always disapproved of the hit-and-run tactics employed by the LIBERATION TIGERS OF THAMILEELAM (LTTE) and other militant groups as counter productive.

The military balance, Mr. Maheswaran said, would not mean any immediate military confrontation. "The very fact that we have come for the talks means that we are willing to compromise and work for a political settlement, but the Sri Lankan government has so far not shown that it is sincere in its desire to negotiate".

During the first phase of the cease fire from June 18th to Sept. 18 there were about 15,000 casualties. The number was higher than that during the period of unrest since the July 1983 riots. Mr. Maheswaran drew attention to the concerted attacks by the Sri Lankan forces on 83 villages in the Cheddikulam area in Vavuniya district. The attacks had left in their wake 50,000 refugees.

## DEMOLISH ALL REPRESSION

# Rehabilitate Tamil refugees: PLOT

Hindustan Times Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Oct. 13 — People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOT) secretary general K. Umamaheswaran today called upon the Sri Lankan Government to allow the refugees, both within the country and those in Tamil Nadu at present, to return to their homes and to prevent any violation of the ceasefire.

"It would also constitute a concrete step in re-establishing goodwill between the regime and the oppressed people of Tamil Eelam", he said in a statement issued here this evening.

Mr Umamaheswaran sought positive steps from the government of President J. R. Jayewardene, specifically the bringing back of the civilian administration which is now totally absent and the rehabilitation of refugees. This was essential because a time lag

## PLOT firm on boycott

The People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam today ruled out its participation in future talks to find a solution to the ethnic crisis, in view of the Sri Lankan government's "Flagrant violation of the ceasefire ever since it came into force and indiscriminate arrests and killings of Tamils by the security forces in the island nation."

Representatives of PLOT told Mr Rajan Mathai, deputy secretary of the external affairs ministry, when he met them today that PLOT had been pushed to a position of totally losing faith in negotiations.

At last 32 volunteers of the Tamil Eelam Supporters Organisation have been arrested in connection with yesterday's incidents of violence

## Amnesty raps Lanka

LONDON, Oct. 8 (PTI)

AMNESTY International has voiced concern over random killings of non-combatant Tamil civilians by the Sri Lankan security forces and widespread torture of detainees resulting in several deaths in custody.

Violations of human rights of Tamils in Sri Lanka are detailed in the worldwide Human Rights Organisation's annual report for 1984. The 359-page report lists information on political imprisonment, torture and executions around the world.

could easily lead to an unintentional breaking of the ceasefire, he said.

There are at present nearly two lakh Tamils on the island who have been driven out of their homes. Nearly 150,000 Tamils of Sri Lankan origin are residing in the refugee camps in Tamil Nadu.

Mr Umamaheswaran noted that all groups involved in the Tamil movement, and represented at the current round of talks in New Delhi, have unanimously welcomed the extension of the ceasefire. However, there has also been scepticism regarding the Jayewardene's administration intention to implement the ceasefire.

## No progress in The Times Of India talks with Oct 9 Tamil militants

The Times of India News Service  
NEW DELHI, October 8.

NO further progress was made today during the talks between the Sri Lankan Tamil militants and the foreign secretary, Mr Romesh Bhandari, as the former continued to express their reservations about the proposed truce monitoring committee.

The Tamil militants insisted that the monitoring committee must have powers to visit prisons and detention camps and also to make public its findings regarding any ceasefire violations.

The Indian side informed the Tamil group leaders that the Sri Lankan Government was not agreeable to these conditions. The Tamils felt that the Sri Lankan government had earlier conceded these points. This was, of course, devised by the external affairs ministry.

ANOTHER MEETING: The Tamil militants will discuss the issues among themselves tomorrow and meet the foreign secretary again on Thursday. The Tamil Nadu electricity minister, Mr S. Ramachandran, also participated in the talks and he will be available for consultations tomorrow.

Tomorrow's break in the talks will give India time to refer the points to the Sri Lankan government and elicit its response.

# PLOT will counter 'State terrorism'

By Our Staff Reporter

The People's Liberation Organisation of Thamillelam (PLOT) stated on Saturday that it reserved the right to take "further vigorous actions" to face the challenge of the State sponsored terrorism, if the Sri Lanka Government did not implement the clauses of the ceasefire accord in letter and spirit.

Heads of departments and branches of the PLOT under the leadership of Mr. Umamaheswaran met on Thursday.

The meeting noted that when the President himself was responsible for "openly flouting the ceasefire systematically and repeatedly" the setting up of a ceasefire monitoring committee served no purpose. Violations committed by the President left the monitoring committee helpless. The meeting wanted the inclusion of a list of names in the committee.

It ruled out any discussion on the working paper put forward by the Government of Sri Lanka, and also saw no point in proposing any alternatives to those presented by the Sri Lankan Government until it implemented the conditions of the ceasefire in full.

While the vital ceasefire monitoring issue remains unresolved, Mr Bhandari and the Tamil militants also discussed the issues related to a political settlement of the ethnic problem. The Tamil militants will discuss these with the Sri Lankan government only after the ceasefire is formalised.

DRAFT REJECTED: The Tamil delegation has rejected the draft paper for a political settlement on the ground that the monitoring committee would be in no position to prevent ceasefire violations.

Besides the urgent issue of the formalisation of ceasefire, the Tamil leaders are also concerned about the substantive issues contained in the draft paper. According to them, the draft views the ethnic crisis as an administrative problem related to devolution of powers.

The Tamil groups stuck to their four-point charter of demands presented at the opening round of the Thimpu talks demanding right to Tamil homeland, distinct identity for the Tamils, recognition of Tamils as a separate nation and citizenship rights for all Tamils.

# OPINION

## THE WAY FOR FREEDOM.

The immediate goal of the liberation struggle is the establishment of a PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THAMILEELAM, built on the foundation of a strong people's democracy. This alone can guarantee the democratic rights of the masses as a whole, and do away with the pseudo-democracy enjoyed by a section of the people - the privileged class. To make this a reality the PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ORGANISATION OF THAMILEELAM is involved in a massive programme of mass mobilisation to prevent the emergence of THAMILEELAM as a bourgeois state. The aim is therefore to ensure that the working class assumes leadership at all levels of the struggle - so explained COMRADE UMA MAHESWARAN, the political stand of PLOT.

The truth of this clarification can be grasped when compared with the thinking of another great leader.

Any national movement can only be a bourgeois-democratic movement.....

The national bourgeoisie is an exploiter class, and therefore conflict exists between it and the working class.....

As the class struggle inside a country grows more acute the national bourgeoisie tends to cooperate with the forces of imperialism and internal reaction.....

Thus, in the struggle for national liberation the proletariat must retain its independence, rally round its banner the revolutionary-democratic intellectuals, artisans and peasants and prevent the national bourgeoisie from entering into deals with imperialism and local feudal reaction. The proletariat is the staunchest and most consistent fighter against national oppression and social subjugation, - Lenin about liberation struggle.

## Letter from Jaffna

# Where reporters get a bad press

Foreign correspondents are not the most popular visitors in Sri Lanka. Blaming the messenger for the message is a widespread pastime in this warm and beautiful land, and correspondents are held in high disesteem because of the image that Sri Lanka has gained abroad as a result of the treatment of the minority Tamils by the majority Sinhalese.

In many ways, however, the Sri Lankan Government has only itself to blame. For example, the Ministry of State, the Government's information department, declines to talk to certain correspondents.

Fortunately other ministries are not so short-sighted, and though the Ministry of State requires correspondents to be given visas before they may be accredited, the Immigration Service will allow them into the country visa-less like visitors from many countries, even though they declare themselves to be journalists on business.

The Government then tries to prevent journalists from visiting the strife-torn northern and eastern provinces, since they can see with their own eyes and report the physical depredations wrought by the struggle. But now the trains run daily to Jaffna, and correspondents may arrive in the north without having to run the gauntlet of road blocks.

It may, however, have been foolish of me to declare quite so loudly where I was going. Someone at the Meridien Hotel tipped off the police and when I stood on the platform at Maradana station at six o'clock one morning to catch the train a suavely polite assistant superintendent of the National Intelligence Bureau introduced himself to me and invited me to accompany him to the famous fourth floor of the Criminal Investigation Department's building in the centre of town.

Mr Eric Perera and his CID colleague, Inspector A. N. S. Mendis, gently suggested that my being quite so angry would not help, though I wondered whether I was expected to be pleased. They said they had information that I was about

to commit an offence under Section 26 of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

They showed me the section headed "sedition and incitement". It covered such things as bringing the President or Government into hatred or contempt, inciting feelings of disaffection and stirring up the inhabitants of Sri Lanka to feelings of hostility or to acts of physical violence.

They kept me until the train left, bought me breakfast at the hotel and then just as they were leaving I was telephoned by the office of the Minister of National Security, who would like to see me. The minister, Mr Lalith Athulathmudali, who was president of the Oxford Union while I was a more humble student journalist on *Cherwell*, said that I could go, and Mr Perera was directed to write me a *laissez-passer*.

Just as well he did. Two Norwegian charity workers got on the train the next day at the holy city of Anuradhapura half-way to Jaffna, and a message to the military that there were *sudda* - white people - on board had the train stopped at Elephant Pass, the narrow causeway linking the Jaffna peninsula to the mainland.

We were taken off, and despite a cheery greeting from some of the other passengers, I was questioned in the guard house. Mr Perera's letter worked like a charm, and while the Norwegians were sent back to Colombo, I was allowed on the train and made it triumphantly to Jaffna station.

I was nervous about carrying Mr Perera's letter with me when I was being escorted around the town by guerrilla leaders swinging their automatic rifles. It was addressed from the National Intelligence Bureau Headquarters and began: "To whom it may concern, The bearer, Mr Michael Hamlyn is a good friend..."

Good friends of the Intelligence Bureau may not always be dealt with suavely or politely by the Marxist-Leninists in the north.

Michael Hamlyn

# News

OCTOBER 1, 1985.

ARMY RETALIATED IN BATTICALOA.

On the 27th of September, two sub-inspectors were killed by the Thamillelam Freedom Fighters in Batticaloa. The Sri Lankan army retaliated by killing 5 innocent Tamils and burning down several houses at Kallady.

T.E.F.F. ATTACKED POTTUVIL POLICE STN.

The police station at Pottuvil was attacked by the TEFF for the fourth time in a week killing a police officer and injuring two others.

5000 ARMY PERSONAL IN TRINCO.

In Trincomalee more than 5000 army personal engaged in intensive army operation and arrested hundreds of innocent Tamils and shot six Tamils to death. They also molested several young Tamil girls.

LIBERATION ORGANISATIONS RELEASED STOLEN PROPERTY AND RETURNED TO THE OWNERS.

Two liberation organisations captured the proceeds of a robbery by an unidentified group and returned them to the owners Messers Sultan Transport at Kaithady, Jaffna.

PROTEST MARCH CONTINUED IN HEAVY RAIN.

The protest march organised by the students of the Jaffna Campus in protest of the Sri Lankan army atrocities was continued in the heavy rain.

OCTOBER 3, 1985.

TAMIL LEADERS MET M.G.R.

The leaders of PLOT, T.U.L.F., and E.N.L.F. met the Chief Minister of Thaminadu Mr. M. G. Ramachandran today and had talks for more than an hour and a half.

SRI LANKAN 'SUN' REPORTS 600 ARRESTS.

The Sri Lankan 'Sun' news paper reported that more than 600 Tamils were arrested during the last four days.

NO CAMP CAPTURED AT MUTHUR - PLOT.

The PLOT denied the government report which said that a PLOT military camp was captured by the government forces and said that the government forces shot dead 12 innocent Tamils who refuged in the jungle and claimed Tamil militants.

OCTOBER 5, 1985.

FARMERS SHOT DEAD BY THE FORCES.

It was confirmed that the 28 Tamils who were shot dead by the Sri Lankan forces in a massive search operation at Kilinochchi and claimed as Tamil militants were not militants but innocent farmers.

OCTOBER 6, 1985.

POLICE JEEP BLOWN-UP BY TEFF.

At Batticaloa a police commando was killed and 7 more injured when a land-mine planted by the TEFF exploded.

TAMIL DELEGATES TO DELHI.

The delegates of the Tamil liberation organisations have left to Delhi to have talks with the Indian Foreign Secretary Mr. Romesh Bandhari.

PLOT'S VIEW ON THE TALKS.

While expressing his opinion about the talks with Mr. Romesh Bandhari, The Secretary General of PLOT, Com. Uma Maheswaran said that when the Sri Lankan Government is engaged in expanding its military strength, both by sophisticated equipment and personal, the cease-fire monitoring committee is only an eye-wash. The Sri Lankan Government Com. Uma said, has no sincere intention of solving the problem politically. There were deliberate violations of cease fire by the government when the Buttan talks were in progress, particularly, at that time the government was importing modern arms and ammunition. Under these circumstances the functions of these cease-fire monitoring committee would only be finding faults with the freedom fighters and nothing else. This is what the Sansoni Commission appointed immediately after the 1977 riots revealed. A genuine cease fire could only be achieved when the government restricted its military expansion and arms import, and at the same time the liberation organisations equalise their arms strength with that of the government. This would bring a negotiated settlement. Therefore the Indian government must support the liberation organisations which is in fact fighting for peace, so continued Comrade Uma.

OCTOBER 8, 1985.

WANELLA POLICE STATION ATTACKED.

A Sri Lankan government report stated that the police station at Wanella, Trinco was attacked by the Thamillelam Freedom Fighters.

POLICE COMMANDOS ATTACK CIVILIANS.

Sri Lankan police commandos engaged in unprovoked attack against Tamil civilians at Morakkaddanchenai in Batticaloa, as a result 13 Tamils were shot-dead, several houses burnt-down and shops looted.

## Round-up

ARMY ATROCITIES AT MULLAITIVU.

Seven Tamils were killed in army atrocities at Mullaitivu. Another two Tamils were shot dead in Mannar.

PLOT'S OPINION ON COMMENCING TALKS.

The People's Liberation Organisation of Thamilleelam, while expressing its opinion on commencing talks with the Sri Lankan government, stated that unless the Sri Lankan government proves its genuine intention by observing the cease-fire for a certain period, there would not be any material benefits in talks. Therefore the PLOT would only express its intention after the Sri Lankan government proved its sincerity.

PLOT COMRADES ESCAPED FROM POLICE CUSTODY

Comrades Sasitharan and another have escaped from the Batticaloa police station. They were arrested a month ago in Trincomalee by a commando unit of the Sri Lankan police.

OCTOBER 10, 1985.ARMY RETALIATED FOR EXPLOSION.

A land mine planted by TEFF exploded at Thallady Road, wounding 4 soldiers. In retaliation to this the army hijacked a bus full of passengers to Thallady army camp. Their whereabouts are not known.

OCTOBER 14, 1985.SOLDIERS WOUNDED IN EXPLOSION.

At Alamparai road, Mullaitivu an army jeep was blown-up by Thamilleelam Freedom Fighters by setting off a land mine, wounding the army personnel.

RAUBERY AT PUTHUR.

At Puthur an unidentified armed group forced into a house where four brothers were staying, and beaten one of them to death and robbed jewels and money.

OCTOBER 15, 1985.Cease Fire Monitoring Committee Member UN-HAPPY OF JAIL CONDITIONS.

Mr. K. Sivathamby, a member of the cease fire monitoring committee, who visited Welikkade prison has reported that Tamil prisoners were attacked by the prison officers and proper food and facilities were given to the Tamil prisoners.

SRI LANKAN GOVT. FABRICATES STORIES.

It is understood that the news that three Muslims were killed by the TEFF was a fabrication of the government to create tension between the two communities.

OCTOBER 17, 1985.MUSLIM SHOPPERS SHOT DEAD BY ARMY.

Seven Muslims from Div. 64, Muthur who went for shopping in the near by Tamil village in a bullock cart were shot dead by the Sri Lankan army personnel who were hiding there. Their bodies were burnt by them later.

MORE ARMY SHOOTING IN MANNAR.

Two innocent Tamils at Nanaddan, Mannar and another three at Mantai were shot dead by the Sri Lankan security guards.

OCTOBER 19, 1985.INTENSIVE SEARCH AT BATTICALOA.

The Sri Lankan security forces engaged in a house to house intensive search operation at Alankulam, Mandur, Kayankerni and Manakerni villages in Batticaloa, arresting several innocent Tamils.

TAMIL YOUTHS RELEASED.

Eleven Tamils from Batticaloa who were detained at Booza army camp has been released.

HINDU TEMPLE BURGLED.

Vannarponnai Perumal Temple was burgled by an unidentified group. More than 6 hundred thousand rupees worth of things were stolen by them.

FOREST AREAS DECLARED PROHIBITED ZONE.

The Sri Lankan government has declared the forest areas in the Northern and Eastern provinces as prohibited zone.

OCTOBER 20, 1985.SOLDIERS INJURED AT MANNAR.

Five Sri Lankan soldiers were wounded at Chilapathurai, Mannar in a land mine explosion.

SCHOOL CHILDREN KILLED BY ARMY.

At Pt. Pedro three school children and a fish merchant were killed when the Sri Lankan army opened fire at them.

MORE KILLING AT BATTICALOA.

At Shanthamalai in Batticaloa two Tamils were shot dead by the security forces while they were travelling in a bullock cart. Also at AMPARAI 11 Tamils were shot dead and two were arrested.

THREE SOLDIERS KILLED AT MANNAR.

At Chettykulam in Mannar three soldiers were killed when an army jeep was blown up by a landmine and three others wounded according to a government report.

ARMY OFFICER KILLED AT MULLAITIVU.

A Sri Lankan army officer and another were killed in a land mine explosion.

## PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM-LENINISM

Marxism—the revolutionary teachings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels which incorporate the progressive ideas of the past—has become widespread throughout the world. Marx and Engels approached human society as an object of scientific investigation. They elaborated the theory of scientific socialism, which proves that a new, socialist system will inevitably replace capitalism. The building of a new society based on the principles of freedom, equality, fraternity, peace and labour must be headed by the working class with the support of the peasants and all progressive sections of society. This theory, creatively developed by Vladimir Lenin and successfully applied in Russia, was the one that led to the establishment of the world's first state of workers and peasants.

Several countries in Asia have adopted the Marxist doctrine and are building a socialist society. In most of the rest of the countries the ideas of Marxism-Leninism have been gaining ground in one way or another.

Vladimir Lenin, the brilliant continuer of the cause of Marx and Engels, has made an immense contribution to the Marxist doctrine. His article entitled "Karl Marx" is a brief and at the same time the most comprehensive summary of Marxism. Here Lenin emphasises the creative nature of Marxism and its incompatibility with revisionism and dogmatism. He shows that the course of history has fully confirmed the correctness of Marxism.

Lenin realised that Marxism gave the working class the knowledge it needed to secure the triumph of its just cause. He pointed out that Marxism, which has drawn conclusions from and absorbed the entire experience of the international revolutionary movement, gives the working class a lucid idea of the aims, tasks and organisation of their struggle.

He continued the work of elaborating the philosophical foundations of scientific communism and formulated principles concerning the proletarian party, socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the ways and means of building socialism and communism.

He showed the true significance of Marxism as the only true revolutionary theory springing from the sum total of human knowledge, and compared the conclusions of Marxism with the results of the development of human society. All the component parts of Marxism—philosophy, political economy and scientific communism—were studied, enlarged on and applied to specific situations in Lenin's theoretical works and practical activity.

Lenin convincingly proved that the new discoveries in natural science reaffirmed the truth of materialism and that the adoption of dialectical materialism by scientists was indispensable for further progress in science, because dialectical materialism was the only teaching which scientifically explained the world and interpreted the processes taking place in it. This road was indeed the one taken by many progressive natural scientists.

Lenin attached immense significance to the dialectical method, and called it the soul of Marxism. He convincingly demonstrated that the substance of dialectics lies in the law of the unity and struggle of opposites, which provides the key to understanding the development of matter, in the process of which the old is replaced by the new. For this reason Lenin always underscored the critical trend in and revolutionary character of the Marxist dialectical method, which calls for advancement, for the replacement of the old by the new. Dialectical materialism irrefutably proves the transient nature of capitalist society, which has outlived itself and no longer conforms to mankind's needs, and shows that it will be inevitably replaced by a new and advanced social system.

The Party principle in ideology and politics, advanced and substantiated by Lenin, calls upon people consciously to side with the most progressive social force, the working class.

The highest stage of the proletariat's class struggle is revolution. The enemies of communism depict the proletarian revolution as a coup carried out by a small group of communist "conspirators". This is not so. Marxism-Leninism does not recognise "palace revolutions", putsches, or the seizure of power by armed minorities. The causes of revolution lie fundamentally in the material conditions in which society exists, in the conflict between the productive forces and production relations. This conflict finds its expression in a clash between large masses of people, between classes,

which rise to the struggle as a result of objective causes which do not depend on the will of separate individuals, groups or even parties. The Communist Party organises the action of the masses, and directs them but does not attempt to make a revolution "for them", with its own forces.

A number of important features distinguish the socialist revolution from all previous revolutions. Chief among them is the fact that all previous revolutions led merely to the substitution of one form of exploitation for another, whereas the socialist revolution puts an end to all exploitation and leads ultimately to a classless society. It is the most profound of all transformations in history, a complete reorganisation of social relations from top to bottom. The socialist revolution marks the beginning of an epoch of genuine brotherhood and equality among people, the establishment of eternal peace on earth, the complete social regeneration of humanity. It marks a vital turning-point in the development of mankind.

The historic mission of the socialist revolution is the abolition of private ownership of the means of production, and of capitalist production relations, and their replacement by public, socialist ownership of the means of production, and by socialist production relations. But this replacement is impossible so long as the bourgeoisie holds power. The bourgeois state serves the exploiters and guards their property with the utmost devotion. To take away the property of the ruling classes and hand it over to the whole of society, state power must be taken from the capitalists and put in the hands of the working people. The bourgeois state must be replaced by a state of the working people.

The creation of such a state is essential also because only with the help of state power can

the working class carry out the tremendous work of construction which the socialist revolution entails.

In his book, *The State and Revolution*, Lenin for the first time comprehensively and systematically expounded Marx's theory of the state. It was extremely important to examine and interpret this theory correctly because with the socialist revolution maturing in Russia the role of the state had become an urgent practical issue.

Bourgeois ideologists, echoed by opportunists in the socialist parties, put forward numerous theories of the state, intended to justify the rule of the exploiting classes and to gloss over the real class nature of the bourgeois state. In their opinion, the bourgeois state was an institution above class, whose function was to reconcile the interests of the various classes of society. Lenin rejected this and proved that the Marxist doctrine, and no other, had for the first time provided a genuinely scientific explanation of the origin of the state and revealed its true nature.

Marxism defines the state as a machine for the suppression of one class by another. Like other instruments for ensuring the exploiting classes' domination over the people, the state came into being with the emergence of private ownership and the division of society into antagonistic classes. Both in slave-owning and feudal societies and in capitalist society the state is an instrument for oppressing the working people who form the overwhelming majority of the population. In the age of imperialism the bourgeois state machine plays an enhanced role; there is an unprecedented increase in its bureaucratic and military apparatus, which is directed against the revolutionary proletariat, the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples, and so on. Expounding the fundamentals of the Marxist doctrine on the state, Lenin said that all former revolutions had done no more than improve the bourgeois state machine. Different forms of bourgeois states arose, but they were all essentially the same, for the bourgeoisie remained in power. The proletarian revolution must smash the bourgeois dictatorship and replace it with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The proletariat," Lenin wrote, "needs state power, a centralised organisation of force, an organisation of violence, both to crush the resistance of the exploiters and to lead the enormous mass of the population—the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, and semi-proletarians—in the work of organising a socialist economy."<sup>1</sup> Marxism is based on the doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat."<sup>2</sup>

Lenin is one of those thinkers who believe that their main task is not only to explain the world; it is chiefly to remake it. A veritable leader of the proletariat, he exhaustively studied the life and struggle of the classes, maintained close contact with the working masses, painstakingly charted the strategy and tactics which brought the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat to victory and personally supervised the revolutionary action of the workers. All his works are permeated with the spirit of Marxism as an eternally living, developing teaching that demands fidelity to its principles, rejects stereotype patterns and dogmas and

always proceeds from a specific account of the actual historical situation.

As he creatively developed the ideas of Marx and Engels, remembering the experience of the first international communist organisations of the proletariat they had founded—the Communist League and the International Working Men's Association—Lenin evolved a comprehensive teaching of a new type of revolutionary Party, of a Party that is the vanguard organisation and the principal weapon of the proletariat, without which it cannot overthrow capitalist rule, seize political power and build socialism. He was the founder of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the elaborator of its organisational, tactical and theoretical principles.

Lenin attached paramount importance to unity within the Party. He called for strict discipline on the part of all Party members, leaders and rank-and-file alike, and for a relentless struggle against alarmists, capitulationists and opportunists, who violate the Party's general policy and corrupt its ranks. He insisted that Communists should not plume themselves on their successes or lapse into complacency and self-satisfaction, that they should resolutely criticise and correct errors. It was essential, he maintained, that the Party as a whole and every member should be closely linked with the people, value their trust and know their vital interests. The Communists, he said, though small in number, could lead the masses only if they correctly expressed their interests. "In its struggle for power the proletariat has no other weapon but organisation,"<sup>1</sup> Lenin stressed on many occasions.

The interests expressed by a Communist party are not the mere sum total of the private interests of individual workers or groups of workers; they are the interests of a whole class and can manifest themselves only through the common will which unites numerous isolated actions into one common struggle. Only a centralised leadership is capable of uniting all the forces, directing them towards a single goal and imparting unity to the uncoordinated actions of individual workers and groups of workers. Lenin considered absolute centralisation and the strictest discipline of the proletariat to be one of the fundamental conditions for victory over the bourgeoisie.

But the common will of the Party cannot be created otherwise than democratically, that is, jointly, collectively, by comparing different opinions and proposals and then adopting decisions binding for all. Thus the centralism of a Communist party is a democratic centralism, that is, it is based on the will of the broadest membership of the party. Democratic centralism, in which democracy and centralism are the indivisible parts of a single whole, forms the core of the Leninist principles according to which the new type of party is organised.

It signifies unity between the Party's ideological, tactical and organisational principles as embodied in its Programme and Rules and whose observation is mandatory for every Communist and every Party organisation.

The Party has one supreme organ, the Congress, and in the intervals between congresses, the Central Committee. Discipline in the Party is binding on all members. The Party's activity rests on the unconditional subordination of the minority to the majority, of the lower to the higher organisations.

Lenin's greatest contribution to the creative development of the Marxist teaching on the proleta-

rian revolution was his concept of Soviets as the basis of the new type of state. Lenin showed the historic importance of the Republic of Soviets as a state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, one which is immeasurably more democratic than any bourgeois-parliamentary republic.

Lenin drew this conclusion from the experience of establishing the Soviets of Workers' Deputies during the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1905-1907 in Russia. The Soviets sprang from the initiative of the insurgents, and in them Lenin saw the prototype for the working people's socialist state. In a speech delivered in March 1919 Lenin set forth the essence of Soviet power (see Appendix 3).

Lenin made an immense contribution to Marxist theory, creatively developing and enriching it and raising scientific socialism to a new and higher stage. Leninism is the Marxism of the period of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, socialist and communist construction, and the emergence and development of the world socialist system and national liberation revolutions.

Precisely because of the inseparable links between Marxism and Leninism Communists have been using the term "Marxism-Leninism" since the early 1920s.

Lenin stressed time and again that in leading the struggle of the working class for power, revolutionary Marxists are obliged to take into strict consideration the level of material and technical, as well as socio-economic, maturity attained by the country concerned. Failure to take this into account is fraught with adventurism in politics and inevitably dooms the working class to defeat.

The theory of scientific communism, evolved by Marx and Engels and amplified by Lenin, is en-

riched by the practical experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and by the experience of the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties. It is embodied in the world socialist system, forms the scientific basis for the socialist transformations being carried out in the countries of that system, and inspires the struggle of the international working class and the liberation movements of all peoples who see their future in socialism.

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During the first phase of the cease fire from June 18th to Sept. 18 there were about 15,000 casualties. The number was higher than that during the period of unrest since the July 1983 riots. Mr. Maheswaran drew attention to the concerted attacks by the Sri Lankan forces on 83 villages in the Cheddikulam area in Vavuniya district. The attacks had left in their wake 50,000 refugees.

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#### PRIME MINISTER RAJIV CONCERNED.

The Indian Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in a report stated that the Sri Lankan Tamil problem is a complicated one and will take a long time to bring a solution. But the solution would be an acceptable solution he continued.

OCTOBER 25, 1985.

#### ARMY REPRISAL AT MANNAR.

Following the Mannar land mine attack, the Sri Lankan army rigorously retaliated against the civilians. They opened fire indiscriminately, wounding 12 Tamils.

#### CHILD KILLED BY COMMANDO AT VALAICHENAI.

At Valaichenai a Tamil child was shot dead by the Sri Lankan police commandos.

OCTOBER 26, 1985.

#### ARMY FIRED AT EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION.

The Sri Lankan police commandos opened fire at an educational establishment at Veeramunai, Batticaloa killing 7 children, and wounding several others.

#### C.M.C. MEMBER FEARS INSECURITY AT TRINCO.

Mr. Sivpalan, a member of the Cease Fire Monitoring Committee has stated that the Sri Lankan home guards have been attacking the Tamils in Trincomalee frequently for no reasons.

#### FIVE TAMILS SHOT DEAD BY ARMY AT VAVUNIYA.

At Mullaimadu in Vavuniya five Tamils were shot dead by the Sri Lankan army.

OCTOBER 28, 1985.

The office-in-charge of Wellaveli police station and six police commandos were killed in a land mine explosion at Batticaloa.

OCTOBER 30, 1985.

#### GUN BATTLE AT BATTICALOA.

A land mine exploded at Batticaloa junction arade killing two Sri Lankan police. This was followed by a gun battle between the police commandos and the Thamillelam Freedom fighter. Three police commandos were killed in the battle.