

# Crisis In Sri Lanka And the Task of the Democratic forces

No need of recounting the horrid details of the July genocide in Sri Lanka. Enough reports have come about the mass massacre of the defenceless minority Tamil community people wide-scale destruction of their property, hearth and home and sources of living. Such ghastly acts, bolts on civilization though, are happening also in India as in Assam, Punjab and elsewhere today.

The real questions should therefore be and to which we must address our mind are—why such black deeds of the rulers? What particular situation is giving them the opportunity to perpetrate the crimes? How can the toiling people, incited to fratricidal strifes and bloodbaths, come out of this criminal design of the vested interests and the ruling class? Is it not essential for saving themselves as also to advance the cause of social progress and civilization? These are the real questions before all of us.

## WHAT WERE THE CAUSES ?

Was the July massacre, an ethnic conflict, only outdoing the orgy of violence repeated previously on six occasions from 1958 to 1981? Was it due to acute crisis in Sri Lankan economy and the ruler's mischievous design of directing the people's mounting discontent to fratricidal strife? Did the foreign finance capitals use it as a device for further penetration and control? Or, was it because of contention between the two super-powers and other foreign powers for using the Island as a base for geo-political reasons? Can it be attributed to the cause of Sinhalese chauvinism finding its worst expression against a minority community, persecuted reserve, a sort of punishment for the same minority Tamil community now demanding a

separate state—'Tamil Eelam'?

Was it also for the reason that the parliamentary parties, whether ruling or in the opposition are feeding the fuel of chauvinism for petty parliamentary ends? Was there not also the deeper interest of the Sinhalese bourgeoisie to gain ground from the Tamil bourgeoisie?

Well, all these questions are no doubt relevant but they fail to speak out the whole truth. And it is this whole truth that is to be realised by both the Sri Lankan toiling people as also by their brethren in India in general and Tamil Nadu in particular where emotion must be running high, not unnaturally. Let us now take up the relevant points.

The first point to be noted is the deepest animosity, developed between the two principal communities—the Sinhalese and the Tamils—although they have been living together with common socio-economic activities for centuries and for the Tamil tea garden workers, the period, though shorter, must be about four or five decades since the last batch went there. There is a long story of systematic persecution to the minority Tamil community, who constitutes about a fifth of the total population. Before recounting the story in brief, let us first of all take cognition of the fact that the Tamils of Indian origin living in Sri Lanka are divided into three categories and their problem, desire or aspiration are not one and the same. In the first category falls Jaffna Tamils who have been living for centuries in the continuous north-eastern district with overwhelming concentration to the extent of 90 p.c. or so. They recall with pride their separate identity as a governing nation since the Chola invasion and conquest of the island in 1017 AD. This

separateness was maintained during the Portuguese and Dutch rules. They were under the same British administration and became merged with the Sri Lankan state after political power was transferred to the Sinhalese bourgeoisie on the explicit assurance that no harm would be done to them. The other two categories including the 12 lakh tea garden workers are spread over all the other districts as minority people having their stake in the economic-political life of Sri Lanka as much as those of the majority community and play a significant role in the Sri-Lankan parliamentary politics. In fact, all the Sinhalese bourgeois parties including the present one had to depend on Tamil voters to come to power. And Mr. Thondaman who is the Tamil leader of Ceylone Workers Congress (CWC) mostly of garden workers along with three other Tamils are in the present cabinet. These groups are opposed to the separatist demands of the TULF, representing the Jaffna Tamils. The July massacre like all the previous riots have caused harm to those Tamils most. Even these sections, one lakh of whom, are still in refugee camps, have become very much frustrated about finding any solution to their problems within the Sri Lankan political life and constitution.

The situation has come to such a pass, as reported by the Statesman (September 28, '83) that the general secretary of the C.W.S. Mr. Sellasamy met the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister with a delegation to request him for taking up the matter of opening the door of India for the 1.2 million Tamils with the Prime Minister. These 1.2 million Tamils are either Sri Lankan citizens or stateless. Not only he but another delegation led by the Tamil section within the Jatika Swevaka Sangamaya, the trade union centre led by Mr. Cyril Mathew of the UNP (Contd on page 2)

As philosophy finds its material weapon in the proletariat, the proletariat finds its spiritual weapon in philosophy. And as soon as the lightning

of thought has struck deep into the virgin soil of the people, they will emancipate themselves and become men.



## Against Slanderous Propaganda

[An ill-designed campaign the Chief Minister's canard has been let loose against Herein below, we reproduce our party centring round the a write up of Comrade unfortunatè death of a policeman who got injured on West Bengal State Committee, 26th September, the day we addressed to the Editor, observed the programme of Telegraph after the daily 'March to Writers' Buildings.' published with much prominence. "Requiem for a policeman", a writing of Mr. S. M. Murshed, a well-known bureaucrat of 'Operation Santaldih' fame. The daily also made insinuating remarks as a sort of introduction to that writing.

—Editor, Proletarian Era]

4.10.83

We are deeply shocked at the unfortunate death of Mohammad Malub, an Armed Police constable of Calcutta, and express our heartfelt sympathy and deepest sorrow for his bereaved family. We firmly hold that it is the Government and none else who must bear the responsibility for this tragic incident. It is indeed a pity that some interested quarters are trying to make political capital against our party out of this unfortunate death of a poor constable and they have even stooped

so low as to throw to the winds the minimum of norms and ethics expected in a civilized society.

Sri Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyaya, a legendary figure of Bengali literature, once observed that "Death of any man is no doubt painful; but what shocks me utmost is the death of human values." But we note that Mr. S. M. Murshed, although he felt pain, quite naturally, at the unfortunate death of an armed police constable (Contd. on page 3)

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# Crisis in Sri Lanka

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Cabinet and said to be the brain behind the July happenings are also pleading with the Tamil Nadu leaders to make arrangement for mass scale exodus of the Sri-Lankan Tamils to India, meaning Tamil Nadu. They also met Mr. Karunanidhi, supposed to be the most ardent champion of their cause. The response, however, has been quite opposite to the enthusiasm, these leaders showed earlier. We do not however, by no means support this idea as it will be a grave tragedy. We mention this fact only to show what harm such politics dose to the real cause. They have however, been told by both the AIADMK and DMK leaders to go with the TULF leadership trying with the Indian governments' help for a negotiated political settlement of the issues.

We have just shown difference in problems as also the desperate state to which the Tamils other than those in Jaffna have been placed now. They are faced with great sense of insecurity but still wait for a solution, suffering dire distress in refugee camps, rather than opting for Jaffna already flooded with heavy exodus of relatives.

To tell the long story in short of betrayal of the Sinhalese bourgeoisie to the minority Tamil community the persecutions suffered by the latter, it can be recalled that on the very morrow of that country's obtaining political freedom, came the hard blow of the Citizenship Act of 1948 which classified 8 lakh Tamils, mostly garden workers as Indian, followed quickly by the 1949 Franchise Act to disenfranchise them and declare 'stateless'. So long Nehru was alive he insisted on the Sri-Lankan government's taking sole responsibility of the nineteenth century immigrants and their descendants which was stubbornly refused by the Sinhalese Government. By the time Shastri-Sirimavo agreement was made over sharing of responsibility, although none fulfilling them later, the number of stateless per-

sons mounted to a million. The agreement was further reviewed and renewed in 1974 but the condition of these people did not improve much. A far more grievous shock, was waiting for the minority Tamil people. It came in the 'Sinhala Only' Act of 1956 whereby the status of the Tamil language as official language along with the Sinhalese was derecognised. Successive parties going to power with the promise to the Tamil voters of removing this grievous injury kept their promise in breaches but not in fulfillment. The present Jayawardene government's announcement for the use of Tamil language remains also on paper. But to crown all these attacks came the so-called Standardisation Act of 1970 whereby, among others, the most discriminatory provision that the Tamils are to score 25 p.c. more marks than the Sinhalese to this admission in the universities was introduced. Similar restrictions, declared, or undeclared, in matters of admission in schools and College, government Services, entry in police and army were brought by successive governments, including the one led by Sinimavo Bandernaike the good old friend of Sm. Indira Gandhi to whose rescue, the Indian army was sent in 1971.

Be that as it may, the systematic persecution of the minority community, denial of civic and democratic rights and equal opportunities for education, service etc. as also the hysteria of Sinhalese chauvinism, whipped up by the Sinhalese bourgeois leaderships led the Tamils to fall prey to separatist ideas and in 1976 they raised the slogan of a separate "Tamil Eelam". In the words of Mr. Amrithalingam, the spokesman of the bourgeois leadership of the TULF:

"...With regard to the federal set up for over 25 years we advocated it. The Sinhalese leadership, however, rejected it. We gave it up in 1975 and for the

past seven years we have been asking for a separate state." That this bourgeois leadership is even now agreeable to have the solution, in the form of autonomy within the Sri Lankan Constitution is made no secret by the same leader. He makes it clear that "unless there is some alternative offer, we cannot give up the objective we placed before the people. Jayawardene himself has accepted the fact that we cannot give up the demand. Actually, he is creating a deadlock". He means by this deadlock, Jayawardene government's insistence on withdrawal of the separatist demand as a pre-condition to negotiations without offering any acceptable proposal. The proposal so far has been the repetition of the promise for extending some financial and/or administrative powers to District Development Council to allow some small share in district administration to the Tamil people. This was the pre-election assurance of Mr. Jayawardene's party, till not fulfilled, and even if fulfilled, cannot satisfy the Tamil people. They want something more—autonomous regions within the Sri Lankan state which has been persistently refused by the Sinhalese bourgeois leadership. Before passing on to other points let us note that Sri Lankan minority Tamil community people, have been under brutal oppression, by legislative means as also murderous assaults by Sinhalese racial fanatics aided and abetted by the ruling bourgeois party, governmental machinery and assisted even by police and military personnels.

The bourgeois leadership has let down the historical duty of absorbing and integrating the Tamils in Sri Lankan socio-political fields to generate among the people belonging to all nationalities one common Sri Lankan nationhood concept. Rather, they have made Sinhalese chauvinism the staple food in Sri Lankan politics from a definite class

design. It is to hide from the people the utter bankruptcy of the system, the government and of the parties run them. And for that they try to divide the people, commonly oppressed, so that they cannot stand up unitedly against their common enemy the exploitative capitalist system and the same. The petty-bourgeois parties, playing the role of opposition, as in our country, are also in the same parliamentary game and commit the crime or not saving the people. The need and urgency of the emergence of a real revolutionary party to organise the people clearly on class basis, class attitude and angularity cannot go any longer by default if the tragedies of the sort in July last are to stop.

## ECONOMY IN SHAMBLES

Next we come to the economic situation of Sri Lanka. What is the condition of the people? From all account it is clear that the Sri Lankan economy is in shambles. It is reeling under the impact of hyperinflation, high amount of deficits in budgets for successive years, trade deficit going beyond bounds, devaluation of currency to the extent of quarter of its previous worth, only very recently menacing burden of foreign loans, opting for so-called 'open economy' on the model of Singapore to make the economy a freefield for foreign finance capitals, particularly of the multinationals of the West and perpetuating stagnation, swelling the number of unemployed to a million. The rulers are so to say, sitting on a volcano of people's wrath.

In such an unenviable situation what the defender of moribund capitalism—the bourgeois leadership can do other than committing crime on the people? The ruling class, the vested interests and the parties defending them, mortally afraid of growing people's movement against

the ineptitude and failure of the Government, were out to take advantage of the ethnic disunity to create further cleavage among different sections of the people in their bid to extend the lease of the life of this moribund system. That is what the Jayawardene government has done. The cost is high. It is estimated in terms of money: no less than Rs 600 crores by the destruction and damage of thousands of shops, hotels, restaurants, banks, textile mills, coconut oil factories, (about 150) and 30 major industrial units—all belonging to the Tamil people. One lakh fifty thousand Tamil people have been rendered homeless and due alk seven thousand jobless. Not only the Tamils have suffered but thousands of Sinhalese workers also have lost their source of earnings. The Sinhalese toiling people are learning by self-inflicted wounds, the devilish design of the rulers. The severe loss, by the most optimistic calculation, can be recovered not before four to five years. That is to say, only to recover to the position as it was before the July massacre, at least four to five year's time will be necessary.

## SAVAGE METHOD FOR SUPREMACY

But why the Sinhalese bourgeoisie did this? Behind the whole tragic episode a definite design is discernable. This is no longer a secret. Among other motives, a definite attempt has been made to help the Sinhalese bourgeoisie gaining bigger share in trade Business, industry, landed property etc. by dislodging forcibly the 'Tamilians.' This fact is given admission by the international agencies like the World Bank, IMF, the US Agency for International Development (USAID), as also others. The Economic Times (Sept. 1, '83) reports that a team from IMF has also been sent to Sri Lanka to assess the whole position. In their opinion: "With Tamils playing a major part in Sri Lankan economy, quite obviously anything under-

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on September 28, in his "Requiem for a policeman", published in the weekend Telegraph of October 1, remained blissfully ignorant of the death of human values occurring everyday now.

Before coming to what actually happened on September 26, and who were responsible for the unfortunate incident, we cannot but feel pity at the unthinkable depth of ignorance or height of hypocrisy, whatever it is, of Mr. S. M. Murshed. But this is not to cast any reflection, far less any personal aspersion on any one but to seek the truth that we ask here the followings: Is it the bent of mind of one in the higher echelon of bureaucracy and born out of a long association with Administration as an officer defending the interest of status quo that accounts for so painful a failure as his to perceive the "relevance and legitimacy" of the cause for which our party, the SUCI, held the rally on September 26 at Esplanade East? Does he not know that even after 36 years of independence the common people of our country are simply gasping today under the grinding wheel of capitalist exploitation? Can he really be ignorant of the echoing cry of the rural poor for food and work which is rending the air in the countryside? Can he be oblivious of the ever soaring prices of essential commodities going beyond the reach of the common people? Yet, to him, the cause of our rally was "non-existent". Even a cursory glance at the memorandum containing the 21-point charter of demands which high-

light the burning problems in the people's life, aggravated all the more by the anti-people policies of both the Central and the State Government—against which the rally was held—could convince one of the "relevance and legitimacy" which are perceived deeply by people with empty belly. But alas! One like Mr. Murshed who does not know the pang of starvation, the burn of unemployment and the anguish of poverty—how could he know "who was shouting for what?" But

surely, like the millions of common people, Mohamad Matlub was not unfamiliar with the curse of the present day capitalist society. His effort for anyhow getting a job led him to join this service, but the institutions like police which defend this exploitative system make thousands of 'Matlubs' jobless everyday. This may sound to be a paradox, to Mr. Murshed but is a stark reality which cannot be simply denied, nor wished away. Now, since 'hunger is a stern mistress' those thousands of hungry people who assembled that day could not afford not to know, with even the modicum of consciousness, what for was their 'cry'. And what else were left for them other than organising themselves for a sustained movement to mount pressure on the powers that be for reverting their anti-people policies? For, who does not know that, unless compelled by the impact of mass movements, these Governments do always turn deaf ear to the just and legitimate demands of the people?

With some persons in the high strata of society it is a fashion to treat the common people as fools. Otherwise, how could the life-and-death struggle of thousands of people, nay, the toiling millions, be painted as a "sport of the irresponsible politicians"? And how is it that Mr. Murshed could be completely silent on the no less tragic death of Dulal Das of Calcutta, Habul Razak and Sovaram Modak of Purulia who all succumbed to police firing in recent past in connection with the movements against fare rise? Why was not a 'disobedient' drop of tears shed by Mr. Murshed for Dipak Mandal, a poor but bright youngman of 18 who died in police firing just the other day? And may we ask: who were responsible for taking the innocent lives in these flowers too whose families are in still more wretched state? Mr. Murshed cannot pluck courage to pinpoint the responsibility supposedly because of his past but famous record of 'Operation Santaldhi' and

because that was done to safeguard the interest of the 'Kings' by the trigger-happy police of the 'Left Front' government. Mr. Murshed is yet to realise that the cause of democracy does not lie with the forces of status quo, which he is committed to defend, but with those engaged in a struggle against the vested interests to eke out bare existence free from the curse of their present-day destitution.

His writing could have been viewed as product of deeply shaken emotions for one so known to him personally, had it not so beautifully been in line with the argument of the Chief Minister to malign our party. Any impartial witness would surely agree that it is the police armed to the teeth and even drunken who attacked the unarmed, disciplined demonstrators on that day and who resorted to an indiscriminate and violent lathi-charge and bursting of tear gas shells not sparing the leaders not woman volunteers even the moment it reached Esplanade East. The Police force as a part of the coercive machinery of State did all this clearly at the instance of the Government. And in a bid to hide the guilt of the Government, the Chief Minister, taking advantage of the unfortunate death of the constable initiated a malicious propaganda to falsely implicate our party with this tragic incident. In protest against this statement of the Chief Minister we said: "We strongly protest against the statement of the Chief Minister made in connection with the unfortunate death of an injured constable. It is known to all that our party does not believe in the politics of terrorism, nor do we indulge in such activities. It is the Government and none else that must bear the responsibility of this unfortunate death of the constable since it occurred as a sequel to mob fury, the mob infuriated by the indiscriminate lathi-charge and bursting of tear gas shells, without prior warning, on a most disciplined demonstration

led by the SUCI on 26th September, and by the mad attack of the police on the innocent passengers of trams and passers-by of the nearby streets, not sparing children, women and the aged even.

The Chief Minister issued such a motivated statement only to malign the heroic movement against the anti-people policies of both Central and the State Governments".

Facts are more telling than fiction. We wonder what with Mr. Murshed cooked up this story of police constable being brutally killed, when found alone, by the S.U.C.I workers? We challenge him, if he has the guts to prove this statement. From the last March-April till date, the mass movement led by the SUCI in Calcutta and in the districts remained all along peaceful and not a single tram or bus was burnt or damaged despite severe lathi-charge, bursting of tear-gas shells, indiscriminate firing and provocation of police-CPI(M) storm-troopers combine. Mr. Murshed probably did not find anything foul when hundreds of our woman volunteers paid the price of pawns when their modesty was outraged by these criminal defenders of 'law and order'.

Another question: Is sec 144 Cr.P.C. so sacrosanct that to defend this 'law' common people need to face such brutal attacks of unthinkable magnitude year after year for such simple "offence" of holding demonstrations to draw the attention of the Governments to their urgent demands? And none could also miss the very pertinent point that ours is not a colonial but a free country where citizens are subjected to such atrocity! This, according to Mr. Murshed, may still be deemed as an act of responsible politicians who are, with all responsibility, engaged in defending this moribund system with the coercive apparatus of the capitalist State machine. Poor and ordinary duty-bound constables do not perhaps know that the system they are defending as policeman

need be overthrown for their two emancipation too from the grip and tentacle of capitalist exploitation.

Be that as it may, it is not unnatural that the outlook of the revolutionaries represented today in India by the SUCI is poles apart from that of the defenders of the status quo. The contradiction between the two is fundamental and irreconcilable. To Mr. Murshed we would suggest with all humility to be kind enough to use his good offices and not homilies for setting up an impartial enquiry by the Government to probe into what had really happened, that is to say to unearth truth. We want that the truth be revealed, that the real cause of death of Md. Matlub comes to light, those found guilty are given deterrent punishment and his poor family be given adequate compensation. We demand, too, a similar probe by an impartial Commission to unearth truth relating to the death of those others named above. Could we hope to get the service of Mr. Murshed in that revelation of truth? Yes, we declare that we stand committed to bear the responsibility, if proved guilty.

## Read organs of SUCI Published in different languages

GANADABI  
(Bengali)  
Published from Calcutta

SARBAHARA YUG  
(Hindi)  
Published from Patna

GANAMUKTI  
(Assamese)  
Published from Gauhati

SARBAHARA  
(Oriya)  
Published from Cuttack

TEHRİK  
(Hindi)  
Published from Rohtak

UNITY  
(Malayalam)  
Published from Trivandrum

MUKTIPATH  
(Hindi)  
Published from Sagar, MP

# Crisis in Sri Lanka

(Contd. from page 2) mining race relations will have disastrous effect on the economy. The same report at the same time gives the information about the IMF's prompt response, quite unusual for it, to extend its help by a large loan package. The multinationals of Taiwan, South Korea are also assuring to 'reconstruct' Sri Lankan economy. Invitation of US and other finance capitalists from the West serves another purpose.

There were many other motives of the Jayawardene government to carry through but all under the cover of an ethnic riot.

## JAYAWARDENE GOVERNMENT'S FASCIST DEVICES

Like their counterparts in India and discontentment of common people, do not hesitate to resort to fascist devices. Let us sort out the devices and motives behind the Sri Lankan ruling bourgeois leadership, one by one.

First, as stated earlier, faced with the severity of economic crisis and being fully aware that let alone having any prospect for solving it, it will accentuate further and further and there is the danger of people's discontent and anger bursting out in revolts, Mr. Jayawardene's government has tried to fortify further the constitutional dictatorship, thrust on the people. It has therefore, engineered a situation whereby not only the most authoritarian measures can be given an air of justifiability but further measures can be taken. The constitutional dictatorship in the form of all powerful President who will not have to face the electorate till 1989 by virtue of a so-called referendum, requires further to be relieved of whatever parliamentary opposition was there.

Secondly for this object in mind, Jayawardene government already put ban on three left-oriented opposition parties. Capitalising the July incident it promptly brought the Sixth amendment to the constitution whereby the biggest of

parliamentary opposition group the TULF has been outlawed. Henceforth the miniscule opposition that will remain in existence on the terms, dictated to them cannot be called anything other than 'dressed up' opposition.

But in order to give an air of so-called justification, what a devilish trick is used! After the fact of complicity of the governments especially of some of the important members of the cabinet and direct involvement of a section of the army in the July massacre, admitted even by the President, having already known to the world and the President justifying those duplicity in his first broadcast after the tragic episode, he tries now to dish out the story of the leftist opposition's hands behind that!

Thirdly, Jayawardene government has already made a mockery of the concept of 'rule of law' by such choice-pieces of enactments like the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the Public Security Act. According to the findings of the Amnesty International, provisions of these amendments giving absolute powers to police administration are most draconian than similar ones in a country like South Africa. Detention without trial for 18 months, torture of suspects in the name of interrogation are some of the features. To these has been the recent provision 15a of the Emergency Regulation which legalises the criminal activity of the security forces to bury or cremate the bodies of people shot to death by them without revealing their identities and carrying inequity. Law of the jungle, in short, prevails in that island under the Jayawardene regime. But as if these are not sufficient guards for a tottering rule. More draconian measures are in the making to nip in the bud any slightest attempt to organise people's opposition to this savage rule.

Fourthly, Mr. Jayawardene and his government whipped up the hysteria of Sinhalese chauvinism,

this time, to appear before the Sinhalese bourgeoisie, the Buddhist fanatic monks and other vested interests as their most trusted representative. It served both ways. Mr. Jayawardene, the contenders within the ruling party to be his successors and the government helped the Sinhalese bourgeoisie, in its competition with the Tamil counterpart by bringing down organised murderous attacks on their life and severe damage on their properties with the help of fanatics and security forces. It wanted, as well, to defuse the severe discontent of the people developing within the country by Sinhalese people against setting the Tamils although both are oppressed, borrowing Hitler's tactics of setting the oppressed Germans against the Jews.

Fifthly, Jayawardene and his government decided long back to open the countries economy to loot and plunder of foreign finance capital, more particularly of the US. The episode gives a cover for that penetration of such capitals under the garb of 'reconstruction' or 'aid'. Sri Lankan cheap labour and natural resources are now for the prosperity of foreign multinationals, to the peril of the country's vital interests.

And lastly, but not of least importance is the news that the Jayawardene government has given 999 years' lease of the port Trincomalee of strategic importance for control over the Indian Ocean. The Indian government knew it through its embassy in Colombo (Mainstream, 21st Annual Number) Quite likely the Soviet and East German embassies also got the news. It should be mentioned in this connection that contention between the two super powers has been very much tormenting the geopolitical scene of the Indian Ocean particularly on the question of Diego Garcia. Now, the content for lording over the Indian Ocean between the two super powers has come in the

doorsteps of the Sri Lankan politics. The reported move of the Jayawardene government to have the umbrella of US military support in the eventuality of Indo-Soviet relation may have the substance from this development. The Jayawardene government pursues the hated path followed by rulers of other South-Asian countries by offering to the and other US imperialist powers to be the guardian of Sri Lanka, which, they will be very eager to accept for geopolitical reasons in pursuit of their global politics. The bourgeois leadership has least concern for the disaster it will bring upon the people and the country. The tragic event of July, over and above being a cover, may prove to be symbolic of the same.

## THE ROLE OF THE INDIRA GANDHI GOVERNMENT AND THE PARLIAMENTARY OPPOSITION PARTIES

Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her government played a very clever and cautious role. For her, the situation offered opportunities to be exploited in the interests of the class. She has been serving most faithfully the aspirant Indian bourgeoisie and its expansionist desire as also the dividend in parliamentary politics by placating the sentiments of 55 million Tamils particularly in the context of disintegration of her party in the southern states. It is to be noted that the Tamils of Indian origin in Sri Lanka were victims in repeated racial riots since 1958 and at no time the Indian bourgeois government did anything worthwhile for them. So what is the reason, this time, for its so much diplomatic activities?

The reason is obvious. The July genocide, by those in power had another objective deeper down. The Indian Tamil capital has been occupying a preponderant position in trade, business, commerce and industries. It is said that upto the July genocide

it had 90 p.c. share in retail trade and 40 p.c. in landed estate. The Sinhalese capital backed by the government has, for long been trying to elbow it out of its position and gain greater share. This time, the genocide has been used as a cover for a violent method to gain bigger share for the Sinhalese bourgeoisie.

So, the Indian government's concern is not so much for the miseries of Tamil people in Sri Lanka but for the interest of defending and protecting one of the old basis of Indian finance capital. Sm. Gandhi, as the most trusted spokesman of Indian bourgeoisie, therefore, could not let the situation go to the disfavour of the Indian finance capital and was very much in diplomatic activities, used her present position as chair person of NAM for that purpose. However from the pursuit of the two objectives, she persuaded Mr. Jayawardene to come to negotiation with the TULF leadership and took mediatory role. Mr. Jayawardene's sending of his brother to New Delhi and Indira Gandhi's sending of a seasoned diplomat, Mr. G. Parthasarathi to Colombo made the presence of India in settling the domestic problem of Sri Lanka, a reality. The Jayawardene government having realised this development is now trying to assert its independence by asking postponement of Parthasarathi's proposed second visit to Colombo.

Mrs. Gandhi, exerting the diplomatic leverage as the chair person of the Non-aligned movement and with the active backing of the Soviet leadership has scored an important, victory in foreign diplomacy. Indian bourgeois state has, already emerged as the principal regional power within the imperialist-capitalist camp. On this occasion, she got this preponderant power position of the Indian state

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in the regional sphere, accepted by the imperialist powers like the USA and the U.K. The Indian government guided as it is by the politics of regional security doctrine, already termed as Indira Doctrine by many, including some commentators in Sri Lanka, while engaged in bargaining between two super powers for giving concessions and all at the same time cannot like extension of sphere of influence by any super power for its own class interest. This is one aspect. The other was the most vulgar rivalry between the ruling party at the centre and the parties like DMK, AIDMK, CPI(M), CPI and the like to prove which among them is the best champion of the Tamil cause, without having least concern for what incalculable harm, they are causing to the Tamil minority people in Sri Lanka. Instead of sensible and matured thinking and behaviour, the politicians of these parties are vying with one another in inciting Tamil chauvinistic feelings as an antidote to the same practised by the Sinhalese politicians.

The DMK called for India's support for the Tamils in Sri Lanka and curving out an independent 'Tamil Eelam' with one third of the land area with 28 lakh Tamils. For Mr. Karunanidhi this was perhaps the last chance to regain his lost position. And so outdoing others, a bandh on July 27 and a 'rail roko' on August 5 were observed by his party. The ADMK chief minister, not to lag behind called for a week-long mourning and ordered a bandh on August 2, treated by the Government as a public holiday, following the pattern of Jyoti Basu government in West Bengal. And Indira Gandhi, not being daunted, supported the state government sponsored bandh by ordering closure of all central government offices in the state including railways.

### CPI & CPI(M)'S ROLE

What about the parties

like CPI and CPI(M)? While, they, in their formal resolutions at national plane, told almost the line of Mrs. Gandhi, but their Tamil Nadu Unit was found to swim with the current of Tamil chauvinistic feelings, generated by the DMK, AIDMK or Congress forces. The duplicity of these parties has a long history and is well known. But to what depth, their parliamentary opportunism has reached and how deep has become their commitment to the cause of the Indian aspirant bourgeoisie can be proved by their behaviour on this single issue.

Let alone demonstrating in practice, the international obligation of standing firmly by the cause of working class unity which is the essence of a party claiming to be 'Marxist', they rally shamelessly behind the expansionist and regional hegemonistic desire of the Indian bourgeoisie expressed through its chief representative, Mrs. Gandhi. Not only that, they also take part in stoking the fire of chauvinistic feelings of narrow nationalism condemning the July incident in Sri Lanka. The poverty of their political thinking emanates from their refusal to adhere to the scientific teachings of Marxism-Leninism on national question in particular and evasion on the solemn task of bringing before the people the correct revolutionary orientation to their struggle in general.

### THE ROOT CAUSE AND THE TASK OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES

In the statement of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, our beloved General Secretary, published in our issue—Vol. 17, No 1, August 25, '83, it was pointed out clearly:

The national bourgeoisie in Sri Lanka grown out of the womb of British colonial rule, which came to state power by arrangement, so to say, with the imperialist ruler and that too of this third intense

phase of general crisis of world capitalism, cannot be expected to undertake, rapid industrialisation, modernisation and mechanisation of agriculture and solving thereby the growing unemployment problem. Not only it has failed to democratise the Ceylonese society including solving the minority Tamil nationality problem, but what is more, it has been trying every means for further division among people of the Sinhalese and Tamil nationalities to keep them embroiled in fratricidal strifes. It is, therefore, obstructing the growth and strengthening of unity and solidarity of toiling people belonging to both the nationalities of Sri Lanka with the sole object of staving off its inevitable doom. And this is at the root of the problem that has now complicated beyond measure in the absence of a mighty democratic movement led by a true revolutionary leadership in Sri Lanka."

Concrete facts and developments prove the correctness of this observation of our party. From the point of historical development, it can be seen that the Sinhalese bourgeoisie showed its utter failure to help assimilation of different nationality people into one Ceylonese nationalism. This is a historic task, the bourgeois leadership undertook at the period of laissez faire, to form a Nation State. The Ceylonese bourgeois leadership let alone undertaking this task by developing a national freedom movement to overthrow the imperialist rule, betrayed a typical petty-bourgeois mental make-up and fear complex about the relatively advanced Tamil minority people, the best example of which can be found in the following words of Bandarnaika, a leading bourgeois politician who later became the Prime minister. Bandarnaika said thus, in 1941, 'Obviously the absorption of what corresponds to one-sixth of the population of the country with the stranglehold that they have more business and

capital as well as employment would ultimately lead to the possible result as many of us see it of the extermination of our own people."

One can find a unity in this approach and attitude of narrow nationalism of the Sinhalese bourgeoisie with that of the parochial attitude of Indian bourgeois regional the glaring example of which we find in Assam and Punjab. For this approach of Sinhalese bourgeois leadership, instead of cementing the unity of the people of different communities, a sense of separation and animosity between them have been encouraged to develop although they have been living together for centuries sharing the weal and woes.

### THE SITUATION AS AT PRESENT

Mr. Jayawardene is now trying to balance faced with internal and external pressures pressure of world opinion against his regime. After the Parthasarathi mission in Colombo following the discussions of the President's emissary his brother, with the Indian Prime minister, discussions and debates have started in all quarters as to the policy to be taken by the government for solving the vital problem of the minority community, Srimavo Bandarnaika, disgraced for long by her political rival, has come out openly in favour of dialogue between the TULF leadership and the government without setting any precondition, it is demanding.

The citizens committee for National Harmony, representing the democratic elements of the Sinhalese people has also appealed to the government to reverse the "trend of confrontation" and take, instead, the course of political solution of the problem by dialogue and discussion. Mr. Thondaman and his three Tamil colleagues in the cabinet have set pressure on the President to take steps against the ministers who were working secretly behind the conspiracy of the July genocide. They are threatening their resignations

from the cabinet.

Now so far as the reports go, Jayawardene has asked his cabinet ministers to condemn racial riot which has not been complied with. On the one hand he wants to maintain the show of neutrality, on the other hand, what he wants to offer to the Tamil leadership is just the rehash of his old promise. As noted by a weekly, "Mainstream" (September 10, 1983) "...All Jayawardene is prepared to do at the moment is to revive the moribund plan for autonomous district development councils, sanction them more money and to devise some measures wherein the Tamils could be allotted a marginally better share in the defence and police forces". The TULF leadership on the otherhand "is willing to settle for a separate state within Sri Lanka comprising Jaffna and Trincomalee, which the Tamils want to administer themselves" (India Today, September 30, 1983) So the matters rest here while pulls and counter pulls behind the scene go on from the different foreign powers.

### OUR APPEAL

To the Sinhalese patriotic and democratic forces we appeal, to ponder seriously whether the ghastly persecution let loose on the minority community people can create to congenial atmosphere for a rational solution of the nationality problem? Let them dispassionately, what has or not the Tamil minority people who are as much Sri Lanka as they are, must find a place in Sri Lanka body politic with equal democratic rights and civil liberties? Are not the systematic denial of these rights and discriminatory treatments meted out to the Tamil people for decade, the cause for separatist demand? Can this separatist demand be defeated by bringing down further persecutions? Do they not see the danger in the forced separation and formation of a small Tamil

(Contd. on page 6)

# Crisis in Sri Lanka In Support of Junior Doctor's Movement in W. B.

(Contd. from Page 5)  
state, which is bound to be a weak state and more vulnerable to foreign influence to the detriment of the interest of country and the people?

Can it be by being misled by the Sinhalese chauvinism that vested interests and rulers whip up or by bringing pressure to bear upon the Jawardane through democratic movement for an immediate and just solution of the minority nationality problem? And in the present situation are not adequate compensation to the families of the dead, restoration of the properties damaged or destroyed and economic rehabilitation of those, losing source of earnings, the correct and just steps? Over and above restoration of such a situation in which all communities enjoy equal right with regard to language, education, employment, civil and democratic right is a MUST to achieve and guarantee peoples unity.

To those who are advocating a separate "Tamil Eelam" after being frustrated about finding a solution within the Srilankan state and constitution, we must utter the words of caution that the problems of the Tamil people cannot be solved even then since they cannot go outside the spell of capitalist exploitation. It will be also absurd to think that more than 18 lakh of Tamil including 12 lakh Tamil garden workers can be absorbed in the Eelam, they are demanding. They have also seen the reception, their leadership got from the India Government Tamil Nadu Chief Minister and his political cotender Mr. Karunanidhi about taking responsibility of this huge number. In our considered opinion mass exodus of the Tamils uprooted from their century old avocation of social economic moorings

will be the tragedy of the worst sort. Not only that how can the Government led by Sm. Gandhi which is directly responsible for the genocide in Assam the worst of which happened in Nelli and which is directly or indirectly inciting one community of people against the other in Assam Punjab and else where, come to rescue of those fallen victim of the same tragedy in Srilanka? It is simply shedding crocodile tears and hypocrisy of the worst kind. Victims of Srilanka tragedy must understand that the solution does not lie here. Both the Srilanka and Indian people should realize that their interest belong to the opposite pole of that of their Governments defending the interest of the main enemy of people the Capitalism.

In the interest of development of the country's politics with democratic orientation democratic and patriotic forces of Sri Lanka must unite here and now. This unity is essential for a just solution of the Tamil minority problem. And this solution is necessary not only for the sake of the people concerned but to foil the heinous conspiracy of the bourgeoisie to play between the common people on ethnic or communal line. Otherwise peoples' wrath, their indignation against the oppressive rule will be misdirected. No more misdirection. Common people between the communities cannot be enemies to one another. They cannot draw blood from each other.

The solution of the minority problem should, therefore, be viewed as the necessary step to clear the ground for a united and common struggle to grow and develop against the common enemy—moribund capitalism and its oppression and tyranny as also exploitation of any foreign

Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta, Secretary. West Bengal State Committee issued the following statement to press on October 12, '83.

"The way Mr. Jyoti Basu, the Chief Minister, hurled insults and abuses, displayed the height of arrogance and held out threats to the venerable representatives of the IMA, the Health service personnel, and the Junior Doctors' Federation in the name of finding a solution to the stalemate that prevails quite sometime in hospital due to the obduracy of the government is simply astounding. It is only unbecoming of a person holding the high office but bespeaks most irresponsible attitude to the people and, what is more, a shocking absence of minimum sense of decency in public life.

It is now known to the people that the All Bengal Junior Doctors' Federation (ABJDF) have been in a just and legitimate movement with such long neglected demands of the people like supply of life saving drugs in adequate quantity, keeping open for 24 hours the services essential to proper medical care and attention like X-ray, ECG, Blood Bank, Pathological Clinical tests etc. which are the quite usual thing in any hospital worth the name.

The left front government led by CPI(M) that shows so much sympathy for the peoples' plight in hospital behaved completely in a different way in practice. The CPI(M) led government has let loose wanton attacks on the doctors and nurses by lathi charging and bringing murderous attacks on them within hospital compound by police and CPI(M) patronised hooligans which has no parallel in any civilised society.

Sensing the movement gaining massive popular support and the solidarity of doctors fraternity further consolidated the 'Left Front' government has taken vindictive measures against the junior doctors like suspending and deducting the stipends and refusal to give Completion Certificates to the house staffs on some false pleas. Not only that, CPI(M) has let loose vandalism of the worst sort to force the doctors to work with the help of police and anti-socials under its patronage. This party has also taken naked terror tactics against the leaders of the movement to the extent of surrounding the house of Dr. Debasis Dutta, President of Junior Doctors Federation.

But what is most alarming is the nasty tactics

of the CPI(M) and the government run by it, when they work overtime to appropriate all blame for the stalemate, in hospitals on the doctors by resorting to all foul means. Such gestapq tactics remind us of the dark days of Hitler or Mussolini and the 'brown shirts' they set on the people.

The Chief Minister's behaviour clearly shows that his meeting with the doctors' representatives was nothing but an eyewash and a calculated step to foil any negotiated settlement.

We demand of the government to settle immediately the just demands of the doctors movement. It is no question of showing mercy by anybody to anyone; it is the minimum responsibility of any civilised government to accept and implement the demands which, it should have put into effect long back out of its own. The doctors have only raised the demands of the people.

We call upon the people to be alert about the governments' fascist tactics not to be misled by the false and mischievous propaganda of the government and come in active defence of the demands of the doctors movement, which, in fact, are their own demands.

## AIDSO Organises Movement in Karnataka

The Gulbarga District Organising Committee is organising the students to fight against various problems faced by the students community and the undemocratic practices prevalent in the field of education. As part of the students struggle in Gulbarga, the

capital.

And for them to undertake this historic task, the Indian democratic minded people can best help by not falling victim to battlecry of overbearing attitude and the same chauvinistic feelings that have done unspeakable miseries to those for whom sympathy naturally flows from world conscience.

Gulbarga district organised a "demands day" on 15th September with the following main demands:

1. Open more Government hostels.
2. Take immediate action against the maladministration of Government hostels.
3. Increase the Bus Facilities in the city.
4. Introduce "Universal education" and abolish donations and capitation fee system at all levels with immediate effect.

On the basis of above-mentioned problems AIDSO started mobilising students from various colleges. DSO volunteers went to colleges and hostels, enticed them to organise themselves to fight against the problems faced in educa-

tional field as well as in day to day life. A number of street corner meetings were planned but they could not be held as police denied permissions in the name of law and order (there were communal tension during this period) on 15th September a procession was planned and thousands of pamphlets distributed all over the city.

In the history of students struggle of Gulbarga 15th September was a memorable day. Never before they had seen in the recent times such an organised procession. The slogans uttered in one voice filled the air. A memorandum addressed to the D.C. was submitted. The authorities assured to take action within ten days time.

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