

Rajiv Government Vis-A-Vis Sri Lankan Minority Problem

Proletarian Era

"No word is strong enough", as our beloved General Secretary, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee has said in his statement "to condemn the barbarous military methods used against the civilian population of Jaffna by the Jaywardene government in Sri Lanka" in the name of solving the Tamil minority problems hanging for solution over the decades. It is surely an outrage on humanity when the government of that island state imposes economic blockade including that of fuel as also resorts to three-pronged military attacks of shelling from navalships, strafing and bombing from the air and the helpless civilian population die in hundreds even after taking shelter in temples and churches, declared safe by the government. The so-called 'operation liberation' boastfully declared by the Sri Lankan government 'to fight to finish' turns into a calculated 'genocide'. It cannot but be a rude shock to world humanity. The Jaywardene government must be put to the dock guilty of the grave offence of declaring a savage war against its own people. But the way the Rajiv government responded by attempting at first to encroach on the territorial waters and then actually violating the airspace of Sri Lanka on the ostensible plea of 'humanitarian considerations' to airdrop just 25 tonnes of food in Jaffna violates all norms and code of conduct between the States. It has never been prompted by humanitarian considerations which is made out as a plea but for other reasons, ominous for the people of both the countries. But in the bargain, it has done a great disservice to a just and negotiated settlement of the ethnic conflicts in Sri Lanka.

The Sinhalese chauvinism has become the mainstay in the Sri Lankan politics, being practised by all the bourgeois and social democratic parties to the serious detriment of the democratic urge and aspirations of the oppressed and exploited people just as communalism, casteism, regionalism and other parochial divisiveness are being resorted to in the political life of our country. The motive and objective are the same for the ruling capitalist classes of both the countries. These are to drive a wedge between the oppressed and exploited people of different communities so that they cannot stand up united in their movement against capitalist exploitation and draconian laws can be introduced on the plea of containing ethnic troubles and thereby give a lease of life to moribund capitalism, further the parliamentary parties defen-

ding and protecting the moribund capitalist system play upon these divisions among the people, engineered and fostered even with the help of state machinery to reap dividends in petty parliamentary politics.

The Rajiv Gandhi government's act of violating the airspace of a tiny neighbouring state donning the cloak of sympathy for the oppressed minority people cannot conceal its real intention and purpose. It has been widely condemned both within and outside the country. Even the minority people under savage attacks in Jaffna have criticised the act not only for the meagre 25 tonnes of relief for nearly a lakh of people but the reason that it has made the Sri Lankan army more brutal and vindictive.

A government that should have gone long

before had there been minimum democratic norm and principle prevailing in political life of our country after series of scandals and serious charges against it having come to light and widely discussed, takes any desperate means to stay put in power by distracting people's attention from the real issues. Mr Rajiv Gandhi tries by this to bolster up his own leadership and the party and the government he leads, the credibility of which touches now the low comparable only to the emergency days. Not only this, as the mouthpiece of the Indian aspirant bourgeoisie he did not miss the opportunity of showing up the military powers of the Indian bourgeois state already appeared as the regional power in pursuance of its expansionist desire and policy. All these will be obvious from a bare-analysis of facts and circumstances.

TAMIL MINORITY PROBLEM IN SRI LANKA

We have discussed at length in our previous writing (Vol. 17, No. 1, dt. October 17 '83) about the genesis of the problem and its sad developments inspite of centuries long good relations and inter-marriages between the two principal communities in Sri Lanka. We have shown the inherent weakness of the national movement and of the Ceylonese bourgeoisie because of which the society there is dominated even today by religious and communal divisions. Instead of helping the process of assimilation between two principal communities, Sinhalese chauvinism has been fanned up against the Tamils for their preponderance in economic and educational activities and life.

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Founder Editor-in-Chief : COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

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Call of 5th August

As the month of July moves on to its end to yield place to August, a day appears in our memory, takes us back to an evening eleven years earlier—the evening of the 5th of August, 1976. It was the fateful hour when we had to undergo an excruciating ordeal, to sustain the loss of our most beloved leader, teacher and guide Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat. Profound shock and grief had overtaken us, but his physical absence notwithstanding, we felt all the more passionately, his presence within and around us, in all his teachings, in the arsenals he left to us for the struggle — the vast treasure house of knowledge, which continue and will continue to guide us for ages to come in the fulfilment of our noblest of missions, the successful accomplishment of the socialist revolution to liberate the Indian proletariat and other exploited masses from the bondage of capitalism and the victorious march, together with the proletariat and exploited people of all countries towards heralding the classless, stateless, world communist society.

In these years without him, our caravan did not stop, but travelled further and further, won more and more people in its ranks with his ideas, conquered newer and newer regions with his flag and set up greater and greater number of organisational units. And when? No body can ignore the fact that when the political panorama of the country is characterised by the worst sorts of opportunism, corruption and cultural degrada-

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Stand up to Protect Humanity and Civilisation Com. Nihar Mukherjee's Call to People

JULY 8, '87

"The enemies of humanity and civilisation have struck again. Seventysix innocent persons—men, women and children while travelling by buses have become the victims of ghastly murder in two spells within twenty four hours both in Punjab and Haryana. The Sikh community people have been the target of attack in Haryana and elsewhere; killings, arson and looting of their property go on with impunity in presence of mute policemen. The country is losing its identity as a civilised polity.

The crisis is grave when a diabolical fascist design is afoot to plunge the society into medieval barbarity. The periodical sequence of appearance and disappearance of the 'terrorists' to perpetrate dastardly acts of crime to provide the air of plausibility for further concentration of authoritarian powers and

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COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH MEMORIAL MEETING

5th August '87 Saheed Minar Maidan (Calcutta) 5 P.M

Main Speaker—Com. Nihar Mukherjee President—Com. Sukomal Dasgupta

Majority community chauvinism and its domineering role —mainstay of bourgeois politics in Sri Lanka

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The Sinhalese bourgeoisie and their trusted agents the bourgeois and social democratic parties having failed miserably as do their counterparts in our country to touch even the fringe of the burning problems in life, in the midst of ever accentuation of the all out crisis of moribund capitalist order have been engineering ethnic riots breeding further discords and dissensions between the different community people by discriminatory legislative measures and thus are actively engaged in majority community chauvinism. The SriLankan bourgeoisie could well gauge the intensity of people's distress and resentment from the revolt of the Sinhalese youth in 1971 which was crushed with the help of the Indian army during Sm. Gandhi's time. In order to misdirect the exploited and oppressed Sinhalese particularly the youth since then, more especially, ethnic riots have been engineered and fostered by governmental machinery in as much as that more than 80 cases for gross violation of human rights were filed in the Sri Lankan courts and the international organisations.

On the one hand the SriLankan bourgeois government just like their big brother, the Indian bourgeois government has been moving as the main architect of ethnic riots, so also both use these as plea for further concentration of authoritarian powers. In this regard, the tiny island state's rulers and the rulers in our country seem to be in a friendly competition. Jaywardene government is credited with such choice pieces of authoritarian enactments like the Prevention of Terrorist Act, Public Security Act etc. which rob people's minimum democratic rights and liberties.

We need not digress on the long history of suppression and repression of the Tamil minority peo-

ple by the Sinhalese chauvinistic forces and the Buddhist religious bigots. As the big nationality chauvinism so also the small nationality parochialism obstruct the growth and development of the concept of nationhood and the process of nation building in bourgeois countries as can be witnessed both in Sri Lanka and India. That is why big nationality oppression over the minor nationalities, in whatever form, is a common feature in every bourgeois state and it cannot be removed within the bourgeois system. Only the working class state can establish not in words but in practice the bond of brotherhood between the different nationality people by helping the minor nationalities or sub-nationalities to grow and develop free from dominations or sense of humiliation.

Before we recapitulate relevant facts we need to remind ourselves that out of the total population of 15 millions of Sri Lanka, according to the census report of 1981, the Sinhalese, the majority community are 11 millions and the Tamils only 3.4 millions, the rest distributed among the Muslims and the Christians. The Tamils are sub-divided into 1.9 millions of Ceylonese origin, i.e. of Jaffna peninsula forming northern and eastern provinces of state tracing their history back to the 10th century, 8 million of Indian origin who were imported during the thirties to be used as coolies in tea gardens by the British planters and 06 million stateless either citizenship right withdrawn or immigrants. Because of this division, the Tamils are also divided in their political attitude and approach. Though minority, the Tamils of Indian origin tilt the electoral balance and as such they have used it in SriLankan politics. The Tamil Congress, originally a trade union of the plantation labourers and its leader Thondamann who is a minister in the Jaywardene cabinet are opposed to the

demand of *Eelam* or separate state of the Jaffna Tamils.

The demand for Eelam or separate state was raised for the first time at the convention of the Tamil United Liberation Front in 1976. It came as a sharp reaction to successive going back on agreements or pacts reached between the Prime Minister and the Tamil minority leader SJU Chelvanayakam first in 1948, the very year of Ceylon's attaining political independence, with Mr. SWRD Bandaranayaka, and then with the same Prime Minister in 1957 and again with Mr. Dudley Senanayaka in 1956. Not only the pacts or agreements were not honoured but highly discriminatory enactments and measures came one after another to the serious detriment of the Tamil minority people's legitimate democratic rights and liberties.

SYSTEMATIC DENIAL OF LEGITIMATE DEMANDS OF THE TAMILS

Just for a few instances mention may be made of the 'Sinhala only' Act of 1956 which made Sinhala as the only official language removing Tamil language from the equal status working since independence. The Sinhala language was also made the medium of instructions except schools having the Tamil stream. The so-called standardization act of 1970 brought the discriminatory measure whereby for admission in universities the Tamil are to score 25 p.c. more marks than the Sinhalese. Similar restrictions came declared or undeclared in matters of admission in schools and colleges, government services through a 'quota system', entry in police and army. The constitution was amended several times to bring such restrictions. By the 1978 Constitution Amendment Act Mr. Jaywardene not only extended the tenure of the office of the President to 7 years but to get it acceptable to the Sinhalese chauvinist

forces and the Buddhist religious bigots declared Buddhism as the principal religion to be fostered, nurtured and protected by the state. In order to change the concentration of the Tamil speaking population in the northern and eastern provinces the SriLankan government took the scheme of settlement of the Sinhalese in these regions.

As for sharing in administration, the SriLankan government pursued the policy of duplicity by first coming to an agreement and then not honouring that. For example, in 1957, a pact was signed between the Prime Minister Mrs. Bandarnayaka and Chelvanayakam which provided for regional councils, one for the northern province and two other for the eastern provinces. Two or more such councils could be amalgamated even beyond provincial boundaries, they could work jointly for specific purposes in common interest. Parliament would by legislation delegate powers to the Councils. The demand for federal constitution was however not accepted. But even provincial autonomy to the extent accepted and which was very much necessary to bring the minority Tamil community out of a sense of alienation due to successive discriminatory enactments and attitude for the very process of nation building to gain in strength did not come into effect due to appeasement of the Sinhalese chauvinism and the Buddhist religious bigotry. When even the schemes of forming district councils with some amount of freedom to work and to use Tamil language in the Tamil majority provinces, after being agreed and assured repeatedly to be implemented do not come into effect, the process of negotiated settlement is deliberately obstructed and a sense of deep distrust naturally prevails among the minority Tamil speaking people about the bonafide of the government's promises and assurances.

This has embittered the relations between the

two communities and the possibility of a democratic solution has receded further in the background in absence of any democratic movement of the people under an appropriate leadership. The Tamil's meeting at the Federal Party convention in Trincomalee demanded withdrawal of the 'Sinhala Only Act. They demanded federal principles in the constitution so that two or more (for the northern and eastern provinces) Tamil linguistic state with Tamil speaking majority population could be formed. The SriLankan government patronizing Sinhalese chauvinism and religious fanaticism responded with criminal apathy and neglect for decades to a problem that ultimately came to a boiling point.

TAMIL MINORITY PROBLEM TO BE SETTLED WITH SRILANKAN CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

The demand for separate state or the Eelam was raised for the first time at the National Convention of the Tamil United Liberation Front in 1976. In the resolution adopted it stated: "...this convention announces to the world that the Republican Constitution of 1972 has made the Tamils a slave nation ruled by the new colonial masters, the Sinhalese who are using the power they have wrongly usurped to deprive the Tamil nation of territory, language, citizenship, economic life, opportunities for employment, education, thereby destroying all attributes of the nationhood of the Tamil people. And so a "...Free, sovereign, secular, Socialist state of Tamil Eelam based on the right of self-determination has become inevitable in order to safeguard the very existence of the Tamil nation in this country"

(Mainstream—Jan. 10, '87)

Quite conscious of the savageries the Tamil minority people have been go-

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Call of 5th August

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tion in the hands of all the bourgeois, petty bourgeois and social democratic parties including the pseudo-communist forces, when as a consequence politics is becoming a profession of the scoundrels, swindlers and hooligans and losing its nobility in the eye of the common people and they are becoming apolitical more and more, when the entire country is burning in the fire of casteism, communalism, regionalism, linguistic chauvinism, when most of the parties are siding with this or that parochial forces on the calculations of immediate gains, even in such a situation, the SUCI has been advancing and expanding, recruiting cadres and opening centres of activities, by developing class solidarity of the exploited people on the basis of the invaluable teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. This expansion is being achieved at the cost of facing ruthless repression unleashed by the state machinery, the police and administration, the ruling parties and their mafia hirelings, as well as the parochial forces—many comrades laying down their lives on the way.

This year the 5th of August approaches us at a time when the crisis of Indian Capitalism has accentuated further and engulfed the life of the common people in an exasperating condition. This crisis has extended to the sphere of superstructure—of politics, ideology, ethics etc. as Comrade Ghosh pointed out time and again, and the ruling class is rabidly trying to goad the country towards an all-out fascistic regime. This decadent capitalism is baring itself daily and hourly, showing its real, the savage, the corrupt-to-the-bone—features assailing on even the last relics of ethical values, democratic norms, sense of duties, or even the bourgeois parliamentary norms of behaviour.

In the midst of such a frightful situation it was the teachings of our revered leader, teacher and guide Comrade Ghosh that prompted us to keep the flag of class and mass struggles flying, to defend the people's cause braving all odds and even fear of political isolation through the artificial polarisation in the parliamentary arena against us.

Moreover it is on the basis of his teachings on the tactical line of fighting against fascism that our party has been exploring every opportunity to build up united mass movements and platforms of action wherever it has been possible with whatever democratic forces and on whatever legitimate issues.

We shall be observing the 5th of August this year at a time when in the international field, the US-imperialists are threatening mankind with the holocaust of nuclear war and star-war in the name of its strategic defence initiative and engineering local and partial wars in different parts of the globe, and when the present revisionist leaderships of the Soviet and Chinese parties are following a policy of capitulation instead of giving fitting rebuffs to the imperialist war efforts.

The fifth of August, while refreshing our memory with all this precious bequest inherited from the great departed leader Com. Ghosh, poses, simultaneously some kerdinal question before us, the inheritors of the treasury: How far have we been able to advance the cause he left unaccomplished in the mid way at his untimely demise; how much have we been able to heighten our revolutionary consciousness, our cultural and ethical standard, our character to be equal to the tasks that lie ahead; how many of us have been able to completely engage ourselves in the thick of the struggle to identify the self with the great mission of revolution constantly and remorselessly fighting out our ego, our individualism, the impact of the bourgeois society in our life, all the vices of capitalism that constantly and continuously attack us and tend to corrode our moral fabric in the midst of the ups and downs, the turns and twists of the revolutionary movement? How much effort have we exerted to organise class and mass struggles in ever greater number, to more and more free the exploited people from the vicious ambit of economism, opportunism, reformism, from the tendency to com-

promise rather than struggle, to beg for charity rather than assert the right—the evils engendered by the years of exploitation and the bourgeois and petty bourgeois politics playing upon their poverty and hunger?

So on the eve of the fifth of August we have to make afresh a self-analysis. We have to renew our pledge, reinforce our determination, to carry on the two-fold struggle—to acquire higher and higher ideological, political and cultural standard, as well as to organise revolutionary struggles of the exploited masses—towards fulfilment of the task of socialist revolution Comrade Ghosh enjoined us with

We vow Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our most beloved leader teacher and guide to grasp your teachings, to defend the glory of the Red Flag, to uphold the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism amidst all odds and adversities and to advance the cause of socialist revolution in our country.

Com. Nihar Mukherjee's Call

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save the ruling Congress(I), the most trusted agent of the ruling capitalist class from its dire trouble as also the moribund capitalist system by distracting people's attention follows the pattern of the gestapo tactics of the fascist regime in Germany, Italy etc.

It is unbelievable that a government having at its command vast army of police, para-military, military and innumerable intelligence forces, raised at the cost of hundreds of crores of rupees extracted from half-fed, half-clad masses can only identify the community, the culprits are said to belong but cannot apprehend them.

We cannot but note with grave concern that communal frenzy is spreading like wild fire in all corners of the country. It is no longer Punjab but Haryana just after the recent elections, even Hrishikesh and all parts of the country witness organised crimes, as if following a blueprint. People are pushed to dangerous trap of orgies of communal and casteist violence. It cannot simply be the handiworks of any murderous gang or gangs. The direct connivance and involvement of the state machinery cannot be concealed anymore.

As the all-out crisis of moribund capitalism deepens and widens, reflecting among all other aspects in the serious crisis of the ruling Congress(I), its leadership and the bourgeois politics in general, the crisis-ridden bourgeoisie will be exploiting more and more the communal, casteist, regional and other divisive tendencies persisting among the people due to inherent weakness of freedom movement in our country, to pave the way for unopposed march of all-out fascism.

Not only the life, property and dignity but people's unity, harmony and brotherhood have been the worse casualties. We urge the central government, to stop playing with people's genuine demands and grievances, keeping those unresolved for years, communalising and using those to set people of one community against other and one state against the other in furtherance of narrow parliamentary end. Country's and people's unity and integration demand immediate reasonable solution of all outstanding issues in the states particularly those in Punjab, Haryana and Assam.

We appeal to all left, democratic and opposition parties to forge unity on the basis of a common minimum programme and a code of conduct. The only course that remains open to the people when the government deliberately bungles from ulterior motive is to organise countrywide united democratic mass movements, form people's committees from the grass root to higher levels—i.e. people's own instruments of struggle, raise volunteer force, not only to take up all burning socio-economic-cultural problems in their life for solution by bringing sufficient pressure on the government but also to foil the dark fascist designs of the ruling bourgeoisie and its agents."

Bathinda Region Save Education Convention

This time in Punjab, people made a concerted move against the new national education policy, the newest attempt of the ruling class to dehumanise the entire nation.

Twenty two eminent persons from various walks of life—professors of university and colleges, teachers of government and private schools, principal of colleges and schools, lawyers, journalists and litterateurs, exposing the disastrous new education policy, appealed to the citizens to develop resistance against it. This came out in an 8-page booklet.

In this background, Save Education Convention, Bathinda region covering Bathinda district and surrounding areas, was held on June 14 at MHR Senior Secondary School. Prof. Harkishen Singh Mehta, a nationally well-known personality in the university and college teachers' movement, presided over the function.

In the beginning, the convenor Aminderpal Singh narrated the background of the Bathinda region convention of save education movement going on throughout the country. Dr. Jagadish Chander of Post-graduate Institute of Medical Sciences, Chandigarh showed in his speech that the new education policy is nothing but an attempt of the bourgeoisie to prolong the life of the crisis-ridden capitalist system. Among others who spoke were Sh. Jagmohan Kaushal, leader of the government school teachers; Mrs. Jagdev Kaur, Headmistress; Sh. Jagdev Singh Brar, Advocate; Prof. Harkishan Singh Mehta; Prof. Kartar Singh Sidhu; Principal Bhupinder Singh, Prof. Gurbachan Singh and others.

Sri Lankan Tamil people's legitimate problem should be met not in a separate state but in a linguistic province

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ing through, we cannot however support this secessionist demand in the very interest of the oppressed people misguidedly seeking solution in it. Secessionism, except in special circumstances, which we dwell at length in other writings, cannot be supported. Moreover, that the Tamil minority people including the militant groups are for a negotiated settlement is evident from the different proposals being discussed bilaterally between the two governments and even between the Sri Lankan Government and the Tamil representatives.

The process of unification for the growth and development of SriLankan nationhood is to be taken up with sincerity and all seriousness by the democratic forces of all communities so that senseless communal strifes and loss of life of common people can be ended. The rulers dread most the communal amity and harmony. The exploited and oppressed of all communities will then challenge the savage capitalist exploitation and the autocratic rule.

A process has been started. The rulers want it to be disturbed. The August 30, 1986 proposals are for creation of elected provincial councils; chief executive from the council would exercise executive powers which would be developed on the provinces by parliament. The hitch seems to be on denial of the demand for the merger of provincial bodies which was conceded thirty years back in the pact of 1957. The latest proposals of December 19, 1986 comes near by allowing the provincial bodies to work jointly on common interest. The Tamil people will have to fight for their rights and liberties on their own strength and through democratic movements.

INDIA GOVERNMENT'S ROLE

— MOTIVE BEHIND
The Indian Government's role in the matter

of defending human rights in SriLanka conforms to what it plays within the country. It is no matter which community becomes the victim of inhuman torture and even state terror. Had the Sinhalese community people been under brutal attacks then also a civilised Government and the people of that country cannot remain a silent spectator. And the Indian Government claims to be the leader of the non-aligned movement from the platform of which people hear many lofty slogans and humanist appeals. But the Government did not take any vigorous efforts for resolving the ethnic problem to end senseless killings of civilian people of both Tamil and Sinhalese communities locked in fratricidal conflicts.

The Indian Government could very well try to mobilise world opinion by raising the issue in the regional and international forums like the SAARC, Non-Aligned Meet and even the UN Commission on Human Rights. The Government did not do so from a definite motive. During Sm. Indira Gandhi's time the doctrine of special interest of the Indian bourgeois state was declared which was dubbed as 'Indira Doctrine'. The sum and substance of this doctrine was the claim of regional hegemony of the Indian State calling interference of any outside power in the matter of the regional problems without the consent of the Indian Government as 'unfriendly act' to meet with suitable counteraction. It is clearly the approach and attitude of expansionist policy of the State of the Indian aspirant bourgeoisie and has nothing to do with the solution of the human problems in SriLanka. Had the Indian Government been really moved by human considerations the situation would have been definitely better and the human tragedy being enacted could be avoided. The

Rajiv Government's plea of 'human considerations' is therefore just a fig leaf for its show of military might.

RAJIV GOVERNMENT'S ACTION

The Rajiv Government took the decision unilaterally to send a flotilla of 19 relief boats carrying relief materials for the Jaffna people under the banner of the Red Cross on June 1. The encroachment in the territorial waters was obstructed by the SriLankan naval force. The Swiss International Committee of the Red Cross denounced the act of its Indian Committee. The sending of the flotilla, the pretext notwithstanding has been roundly criticised as 'gunboat diplomacy' even by a section of the Indian bourgeois press. Just three days after, the Indian Government decided to violate the air-space of SriLanka, on the ostensible plea of airdropping just 25 tonnes of food, after giving the clear threat that "any resistance would be met with force". A journal (India Today, June 30, '87) that quotes the Indian Government's warning reports: "Indian sources say that the Indian action was not an outright declaration of war but two stages short of it" and that instead of playing the role of mediator, India Government became 'active participant'.

Before going into the plea of the Indian Government thoroughly, we need to remind our people that admittedly there may be cause for a high wave of emotion at the savage ics perpetrated on the Tamil minority people in Jaffna. But we are to judge dispassionately whether the act of the Indian Government flows from any genuine feeling for the oppressed people or in the name of showing sympathy it just puts them to more brutal attacks. We are to judge whether the nego-

tiated settlement for provincial autonomy of the Tamil minority people beneficial for both the principal communities, in so far as it strengthens the concept of SriLankan nationhood, has been helped by the act or obstructed by giving a handle to the chauvinistic and religious fanatic forces. In the reverse, will it not incite further the Tamil small national chauvinism, mistakenly thinking that the pressure of the superior military might of the Indian bourgeois state can solve their problem? They are to realise that India and SriLanka are two different sovereign states and the internal problem of SriLanka is to be solved internally. The sectarian politics of the Rajiv Government at the Centre and that of AIADMK, DMK, Congress(I) and others in Tamilnadu vying with one another to be the grand protector and champion of the Tamil cause in SriLanka has blurred the vision of the Tamil minority people leaders for not seeing the historical truth that they are to settle in SriLanka with centuries old moorings and with honour and dignity. But this is only possible on the firm basis of good will and understanding with the Sinhalese community. No agreement or arrangement can be of abiding value unless the amity and reciprocity between the two principal communities prevail. And here, in this vital aspect, the Indian Government's act has done the greatest disservice

The plea of 'humanitarian considerations' wears thin. For, the act was not at all warranted when modalities for relief distribution under joint supervision were being discussed between the two states as has been revealed in the press and such distribution of relief articles are presently being made. The act violated therefore the internationally accepted norms and conduct between the two states,

Secondly, it amounted to interference into the internal affairs of a neighbouring sovereign state and therefore trampled the five Principles of Panchasheel of which Indian Government has for long been a protagonist. Thirdly, can the Rajiv Government claim at all of having minimum human considerations? Is it not ironical that the Government that tramples humanity by inciting communal riots, engineering casteist holocausts, patronising the regional and separatist forces in the four corners of the country, almost daily, pleads for 'humanitarian considerations' to defend its act patently illegitimate and illegal? Assam, Punjab, Bhiwandi in Maharashtra, Gujarat, Meerut and Maliana village in UP, Arwal and Aurangabad in Bihar among others, stand witness to the hallmarks of the butchery of 'humanist considerations' by the Indian Government and the Congress(I) that runs it. Fourthly, it has been reported in the press that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi himself has admitted that sending of relief 'was nothing but a pretext', the real intention being sending the message to the SriLankan Government of the Indian Government's intention of direct interference if the situation worsens. It clearly reveals the character of the bourgeois state of the Indian aspirant bourgeoisie which has attained the imperialist characteristic features and behaves like a big power in the region claiming it to be its sphere of influence. The act cannot therefore be termed foolhardy as some political parties and a section of the press labour hard to show. Even the Soviet revisionist leadership, a habitual backer of the Indian Government maintained conspicuous silence.

Apart from the expansionist policy of the Indian aspirant bourgeoisie, Rajiv Government had the immediate narrow interest

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Sri Lankan Minority Problem

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in parliamentary politics to serve. The scandals now known to the world in regard to arms purchase deals, the Fairfax enquiry into the economic offences of the Indian capitalists, their spiriting away hundreds of crores of black money from the country to be slashed in Swiss Banks' numbered accounts being stopped by the Government because of the alleged involvement of the Prime Minister and men in his close circle have eroded the credibility of the ruling party and its leader as also set in crisis within the party itself. In order to distract people's attention from the internal crisis Mr. Rajiv Gandhi,

along with the Government he leads was after a plea. The SriLankan situation gave him that which he very promptly took up exploiting the high emotion and attachment of our people especially of Tamilnadu to whip up Indian chauvinism and big power-like arrogance.

Mr. Jaywardene is also thankful to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. He too was feeling the pressure for the withdrawal of the emergency rule. He has now extended it citing the Indian Government's act as a plausible plea.

People to whatever community belong in both the countries have been the losers. They suffer from

the mounting exploitations of moribund capitalism which the rulers of both the countries defend and protect. The acerbation in the mutual relations between the two principal communities are being paid dearly by all people in SriLanka. Already the imperialist forces like USA, UK have made their presence in SriLanka, the Zionist Israeli Mosad Squad and even Pakistani army men do their jobs too. Areas around Trincomalee port have been leased out to the US agencies for making refueling arrangements for the US naval forces in and around the Indian ocean. It has come in the press that the

naval base at Trincomalee will be the 31st naval base of the USA in the world.

APPEAL TO DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN SRILANKA

In the background of all these ominous developments both within SriLanka and in the relations between the two states, symptomatic of the intense overall crisis of moribund capitalist order and of the rulers defending it in both countries the responsibility of well meaning and democratic forces in both the countries increases many times. For it is they who will have to fight to sustain democratic norms and principles and foil the mischievous motive and object of the rulers.

They cannot therefore do anything that helps the chauvinist and anti-people reactionary forces in both the countries to make the situation further fouler. Rather, they are called for showing utmost restraint, cool headedness and rational judgement so that with the help of world opinion they are to work for, can build up pressures on both the Governments for a just and honourable settlement.

The Tamil minority people will have to realise that it is one thing to demand provincial autonomy, definitely supportable but it becomes a completely different thing to raise the secessionist demand of a separate state. In the very interest of advancement of their just struggle they cannot allow the Jaywardene Government to use their separatist demand to fan up chauvinism and religious fanaticism to blur their vision and obstruct the democratic forces and movement to grow in strength.

The Tamils in Jaffra will have to look inward.

They cannot allow themselves and their just struggle for autonomy and civil rights to be a pawn at the hands of the Rajiv Government representing the expansionist state policy of the Indian bourgeoisie as also of the sectarian parliamentary politics of the AIADMK and the DMK. They know quite well from their experience that MGR who now gives them Rs. 4 crore cash help did not hesitate to seal their office and forfeit weapons at the bidding of the Rajiv Government to bring them to the knees.

Not only therefore they cannot rely on the Indian expansionist state and the parochial forces vying with one another to keep the show as grand protector and champion of their interests but in the very interest of a secular democratic current to gain in strength in SriLanka, they are to desist from secessionist demand and cowardly terrorist acts on common Sinhalese people.

The US imperialist power is actively engaged in converting Trincomalee to its naval base. The rulers try to justify this by stoking a sense of insecurity from the Indian state which the Rajiv Government by its act, has only proved correct to the Sinhalese people. The Jaywardene Government gains by confusing the Sri Lankan people.

In such a complex situation, the truly patriotic and democratic forces of all the communities in both the countries will have to fight shoulder to shoulder in defence of democracy against fascist dictatorship, against the danger of imperialism and expansionism and for restoring normal human relations. They cannot let down this urgent important task history devolves upon them.

First DYO Conference in Madras-Chinglepet Districts

A new chapter was opened in the youth movement of Madras-Chinglepet districts with the democratic Youth Organisation (DYO) holding its first conference in these districts on 27-28 June last in Madras. This conference marked a culmination of the arduous efforts of DYO organisers to build up youth movement with a scientific and secular outlook and a higher cultural standard.

Before the conference (open session) began, a decorated and disciplined procession marched through the major streets of the city. Hundreds of youths drawn from different corners of the districts participated in it. Com. Chhaya Mukherjee, All India in-charge of the DYO, hoisted the DYO flag at the site of session and red salute was

given by volunteers amidst thunderous slogan.

The conference was inaugurated on 27th June by Com. Jagannathan, Secretary, Tamilnadu State Organising Committee of the SUCI. The main speech was delivered by Com. Chhaya Mukherjee who analysed, in the light of the teachings of Com. Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat, the problems facing the youth of the country. The ultimate solution to their problems, she emphasized, lay in overthrowing the exploitative capitalist system and establishing the socialist system.

At the delegates' session on 28th June homage was paid to Com. Rabi Bose, member, West Bengal State Secretariat, SUCI and one of the founders of the DYO, who

recently passed away. The conference adopted, after deliberations, the organisational report and the main draft resolution.

Thereafter Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, an all India organiser of the SUCI, addressed the delegates, urging them to learn the revolutionary ideology of Marxism - Leninism as concretised, elaborated and enriched by Com. Shibdas Ghosh and to build up democratic movements of the people in general and of youths in particular.

A powerful council was elected with Comrade Chandrasekhar as President and Com. Elangs as Secretary and Com. Chandran as Treasurer.

Com. Nagarathna, State Secretary of Karnataka State MSS, congratulated the delegates for the successful youth conference.



A view of the DYO Conference in Madras. Com. Chhaya Mukherjee addressing the open session.

Red Salute Comrade Durga Guha



Comrade Durga Guha, Office Secretary of the West Bengal State Committee, SUCI breathed his last on 15th July, '87 at 2-15 P.M. following a sudden heart attack (myocardial infarction with complete heart block). On 14th July at about 11 A.M. he complained about chest pain and was immediately admitted into the National Medical College Hospital, Calcutta. His condition further deteriorated on 15th with massive heart attack and complete heart block and was removed to the ICCU of the hospital. All attempts by the doctors to save his life failed and he ultimately succumbed.

Coming of an well to do family of north Calcutta, Comrade Guha came in personal contact with the great departed leader of the proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in the year 1954, when party's Central Commune was situated in a rented house of which Comrade Guha's father was the owner. Since then Comrade Guha became more and more attracted to the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and the ideology of the party than to the lure of a settled and

secured life coveted to a typical upper middle class psychology. Very soon he left his family and started work as an office staff and then he became West Bengal Office Secretary of the party. He stayed in the party office till his last. He was very much trusted and thorough in his work and tenacious and dogged in his responsibility in the midst of boredom of office work even facing very many adverse situations that the party had to confront with from time to time. Even working in the office he had to face imprisonment in connection with democratic mass movements. He developed a commendable aptitude for technical work. Party was his life and his life was for the party. Flourishing always in the party atmosphere Comrade Guha could also flourish himself as a dedicated revolutionary because of his intense urge and struggle to know and grasp revolution. By virtue of his nature of responsibility in the office—nerve-centre of the party—he became very close and intimate with comrades he came across and was deeply loved and widely respected by them. Particularly admirable was his love and tenderly affection spontaneously showered upon the kiddies. He was also loved and respected by a good cross section of the local people.

As a mark of respect to Comrade Guha Red Flag was flown at half mast at the State Committee office and offices of the districts and localities. Comrades also wore black badges as a sign of mourning. After his dead body was brought to the office in the evening, leaders and organisers of various levels—central, state, district and local—as also leaders of different mass organisations placed floral wreaths as a mark of respect. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, our beloved and revered General Secretary, Comrade Pritish Chanda, respected member of the Central Committee, Comrade Tapas Dutta, General Secretary, UTUC(LS) and Secretary, Orissa State Committee of the party and members of the Secretariat of the West Bengal State Committee, among others, paid their last tribute to him. The body bedecked with flowers and floral wreaths was taken to the Keoratala burning ghat where also a huge contingent of comrades assembled to pay their respect to their beloved "Durgada".

LONG LIVE COMRADE DURGA GUHA
LONG LIVE SUCI
LONG LIVE REVOLUTION

SUCI Assam State Committee's School of Politics in Ahmedabad Deputation before C. M

A delegation on behalf of the Assam State Committee of the SUCI under the leadership of Com. Asit Bhattacharjee, Secretary, Assam State Committee of the party met the Chief Minister of Assam on 7th July '87 at Dispur and submitted a memorandum. The memorandum expressed grave concern at the growing separatist tendencies and observed that the demands of Udayachal and separate state of autonomous Karbi-Anglong and North Cachar

cannot bring any relief to the tribal people rather it will damage the geographical unity of the state. The party strongly opined that only united democratic movement of all section of people can bring some relief to them. The memorandum also observed that from post-independence day tribal people have been deprived from job, education and other economic benefits. Further the eviction policy and language policy of the present AGP Govt. has given the separa-

tist forces easy handle. The memorandum urged upon the State Govt. to declare concrete economic measures aiming to uplift the lives of tribal people and a clear-cut language policy to free them from separatist forces. The Minister gave a very patient hearing and agreed with the urgency of the situation. Other members of the delegation were Com. Kalyan Choudhury, Com. Jaynal Abedin, M.L.A. Com. Sushil Barthakur and Com. Chandralekha Das.

In Ahmedabad a school of politics was organised by the party's Gujarat State Unit. From 10th to 12th April '87 Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, a central leader of SUCI, conducted the school. Comrades from Ahmedabad, Baroda, Anand, Surat and Rajkot joined the school which roused great enthusiasm among the participants.

Discussing the international and national situation in the light of the teachings of Com. Shibdas Ghosh, Com. Chakraborty

reminded the Great Leader's warning about the impending danger of allout fascism in the country and stressed the need to build up the broadest possible unity among left, democratic and opposition parties and to launch a country-wide mass struggle against fascism.

The discussion later centred round organisational principles including democratic centralism and collective leadership, essential for building up a genuine communist party.

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