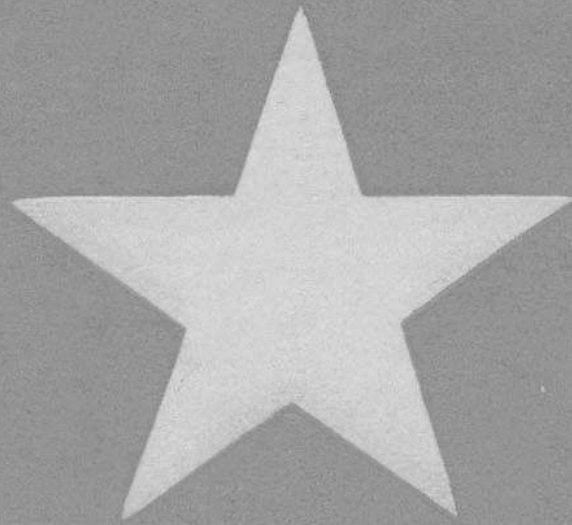


**EPRLF**  
**in**  
**Eelam**  
**Liberation**  
**Struggle . . .**



**Eelam People's  
Revolutionary  
Liberation Front**

**EPRLF**  
**in**  
**EELAM LIBERATION**  
**STRUGGLE**

PUBLISHED BY

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## EPRLF in Eelam Liberation Struggle

### THE LAND

The Island of Ceylon (later known as SRI LANKA) is situated at the southern extremity of the Indian sub-continent, separated by a narrow sea lane of 22 miles called the Palk Strait. The island has an area of 25,332 sq. miles (65,627 sq. km). Historically the Sinhalese inhabited the Southern, Western and the Central parts and the Tamils the Northern, Eastern and the North Eastern parts. Eelam territory consists of the Northern and Eastern parts and a portion of the Central parts of Ceylon.

### COLONIAL PAST

**Portuguese :** The historical experience of colonialism which Ceylon underwent was one of the longest in Asia. Some 450 years of colonial domination, to the present day, has left its ugly mark. Portuguese invaded the island in 1505 and conquered the coastal low lands. At the time of the advent of the European colonialists, the island was a conglomerate of kingdoms and principalities. The Portuguese established an effective trading control of the island and used it especially to control the wild cinnamon collection of which Ceylon then had the world monopoly.

**Dutch :** With the active collusion of the Kandyan nobility, the Dutch captured the territories in the island held by the Portuguese in 1658. In the 150 year period of Dutch dominance, for the first time the plantation system in an organised manner was introduced when cinnamon production was organised in plantations. Both during the Portuguese and the Dutch periods the Kandyan kingdom remained independent. However there were already signs of the Kandyan feudalism disintegrating by the end of the Dutch period.

**British:** The third European conquest came in 1796 when the British invaded Ceylon. By 1815, they had the whole island under their control. With the communications infrastructure constructed to link the whole island, the political and military preconditions were ripe for the transmutation of the island's economy. Now for the first time in the colonial history, the whole of Ceylon was brought under one united administration.

### THE PLANTATION ECONOMY

The abolition of slavery in the West Indies and the subsequent decline in coffee production created the climate for capitalist production to be introduced in Ceylon. Coffee was introduced as a plantation crop in the 1830's and flourished. Kandyan villagers could not be wooed or pressurised by the British to leave their traditional subsistence holdings and become wage workers in the newly created estates. Thus, British imperialism drew the required manpower from the massive reserve army of labour from South India to man the plantations. In the 1840's and 1850's alone more than one million were brought in to work in the estates. The death rate was over 25 per cent for these Tamil labourers on the journey to the plantations as well as in the abominable conditions of those early plantations. Thus, on this super exploited class was founded the enormous fortunes extorted from Ceylon, by British imperialism. At the same time the British successfully divided the plantation labour from the rest of the population and manipulated the ethnic antagonism to their advantage in their now classic and infamous strategy of 'divide and rule'.

The coffee economy collapsed in the 1870's with a leaf disease. But the economic system it created, survived into the period of its successor, tea after its introduction in the 1880's. As tea was more capital intensive and required a large initial capital investment, individual estate owners were supplanted by large consolidated companies. Essentially this situation still remains unchanged, with the only difference being that the state owns the plantations, but the same multinationals control the market.

It is also important to note that the Sinhalese plantation owners and the bourgeois leaders supported and encouraged the

'IMPORT' of Indian labour to man the plantations even upto 1940 when India imposed a ban on the export of Indian labour.

### POST COLONIAL STATE : THE BEGINNINGS OF ETHNIC CONFLICT

With very little anti-imperialist struggle and without a mass base, independence was granted to Ceylon. The Ceylonese bourgeoisie, both Sinhalese and Tamil fought for constitutional reforms only. In the 1930's and 1940's Tamil leaders asked for equal representation with the Sinhalese for Tamils and other minority communities in the legislature. But the British withdrew in 1948 leaving behind the Sinhalese and the Tamils yoked under a constitution modelled on the Westminster style. Even though the Tamil bourgeois leaders had reservations about the constitution, they accepted it and its unitary framework with the hope that there would be a partnership of the bourgeoisie.

It was not long, before the inherent weakness in the constitution began to be exploited by the Sinhala bourgeois leadership. Citizenship to nearly one million plantation workers, all Tamil speaking was denied together with their franchise. Within the parliamentary political framework this was an act to disembody the Tamil plantation workers from voicing their opinion and in a broader context it was an act of the emerging bourgeoisie to dominate the island. Following this S. J. V. Chelvanayakam broke away from the Tamil Congress (TC) to form the Federal Party (FP) with a prophetic slogan of 'TODAY IT IS INDIAN TAMILS. TO-MORROW IT WILL BE CEYLON TAMILS WHO WILL BE AXED'. For the first time, in the 1953 annual conference the FP passed a resolution about the right of self-determination of the Tamil people, but politically this was to lay dormant for nearly two decades to give way to the bourgeois betrayals.

### NATIONAL OPPRESSION AND EELAM

Immediately after independence the United National Party (UNP) government started a systematic scheme of colonisation in the traditional Tamil homelands. With a Westminster model of parliamentary representation, these colonisation programmes were aimed at changing the predominantly Tamil areas into Sinhalese majority areas, thus striving to destroy the Tamil territorial integrity.

In 1956 Sinhala was made the only official language. Even though there was a clause for the reasonable use of 'Tamil Language', in reality Tamils were discriminated against and virtually made second class citizens of the country. Under the leadership of the F.P. which dominated the political stage of the Tamils, non-violent forms of struggle to win the rights of the Tamil speaking people were launched. 'Satyagraha' being the most popular form of civil disobedience, was successful as it evoked a mass response from the Tamils in terms of participation. However, the bourgeois F.P. leadership was incapable of harnessing this force and take the struggle any further.

1950's witnessed the rapid rise in Sinhala Chauvinism. As a reaction to the comprador orientation of the UNP, a new class force emerged amongst the Sinhalese. With its forces on Buddhist and Sinhala national emotions, this class had its roots in the Buddhist clergy and the rural elite of landlords, rich peasants, school teachers and ayurvedic physicians. Anti Tamil riots were seen in 1956 and again in 1958.

The 1960's saw the steady erosion of Tamils in public sector employment. Between 1956 and 1970 the percentage of Tamils in administrative service declined from 30 per cent to 5 per cent and in the clerical service from 50 per cent to 5 per cent to give just two examples.

In the early 1970's standardisation of university admissions which discriminated against the Tamil student population brought students and youths to the forefront of the political arena. There were early signs of extra parliamentary movements which did not exclude the use of arms. In the course of time the objectives of the movements broadened eventually leading to the Eelam struggle.

The period between the enactment of Sinhalese as the only official language and 1971 was marked only by pacts between Sinhalese leaders and the F.P. and the abrogation of the pacts. The 1972 republican constitution almost eliminated all the so called guarantees against discrimination. Several proposals which were agreed by the Sinhalese leaders over the years and not implemented were proposed by the Tamil representatives in drafting the constitution, but were rejected. This was the turning point in the bourgeois Tamil leadership. The TC, FP

and CWC (Ceylon Workers' Congress) met in May 1972 to form the Tamil United Front (TUF). But in 1976, TUF reconstituted itself as the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) resolving to restore and reconstitute the state of Tamil Eelam. In 1977 the TULF contested the parliamentary elections on one issue only—a mandate for a separate state. The Tamil people overwhelmingly endorsed the formation of Eelam. However the bourgeois leadership had no clear strategy or plan to attain this objective. The TULF went to parliament riding the wave of Tamil nationalist sentiments. Further, from the then Ramanathans to the present Amirthalingams represented the interest of the bourgeoisie.

#### THE LEFT AND ITS BANKRUPTCY

The Communist Party (CPSL) and the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) which earlier stood for the rights of the Tamil speaking people over the years became the victims of United Frontism for parliamentary expediency. To gain Sinhala votes, these parties gradually dropped the demands of the Tamil people thus isolating themselves from the mainstream of the Tamil nationalist sentiments, especially from 1964 onwards. These left parties which saw a progressive role in the Sinhala nationalism with the rise of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), were blind to the rise of Tamil nationalism. They were only capable of condemning Tamil political needs from a Sinhala chauvinist standpoint. Today these parties are in such a disarray, politically confused and have to some extent become chauvinistic themselves that they are incapable of looking at the Tamil national question in its historic perspective. To-day the left parties have taken stands varying from completely rejecting the Tamil national liberation to accepting the right of self-determination but rejecting secession. Only some small groups of the left and individual lefts have accepted the right to secede.

#### TAMIL PLANTATION WORKERS AND EELAM LIBERATION

Since their disenfranchisement the plantation workers were almost completely isolated from the mainstream of political life of the rest of the community. Resistance to the Tamil national oppression did not affect the plantation Tamils. They were also divorced from the working class movements of the South. As the left parties capitulated to involve themselves in

the parliamentary struggle, the plantation workers without votes were ignored. Hence they did not take part in the working class movements in the rest of the country. Trade unions began to dominate their social and political life. The largest of these trade unions, the Ceylon Workers Congress (CWC) led by S. Thondaman, has always played into the hands of the bourgeois state and became an effective tool of oppression. Thondaman, being a member of the Jayewardene cabinet since 1977 has done very little to alleviate even the human misery let alone their basic human rights.

Further, attacks on the Tamil speaking people has now spread to the plantations too. The Sirima-Shastri pact to repatriate a substantial number of workers to India has not solved their human problem. In India to-day most of the repatriates have joined the millions of Indian poor on the streets and are not readily integrated into the Indian society. Resettlement in Northern and Eastern parts of the island, following the pogroms, has resulted in the Sri Lankan Government forcibly evicting them. In the future, according to Sri Lankan Government plan, when uneconomical tea lands in the low country are converted and diversified, they face the prospect of being thrown out of their homes and made destitute. Eventhough the historic evolution of the two Tamil communities in the island had been fundamentally different, the Tamil national question has increasingly brought the plantation Tamil into the picture. There has not been any economic interest common to both sections, except for the fact that they are Tamils. As the national oppression of the Tamil speaking people escalated, the plantation Tamils have been drawn into the conflict. Since the coming into power of the present Jayewardane Government, the plantation Tamils have been attacked by organised Sinhala mobs on no less than three occasions. Those who have sought refuge in the traditional Tamil areas through the resettlement programmes have actively participated in the national liberation struggle. Those who remain in the plantations, which is the majority, have faced the prospect of being attacked only because they were Tamils.

Sinhala chauvinism and communalism is such at this point in their history that as Tamils everybody wherever in the island could only live in fear of Sinhala attacks. As such, as Tamil speaking people those in the hill country will increasingly face

the threat of hostile Sinhala mobs at their doorstep any day. As the national liberation struggle intensifies the Tamil people of the plantations will find it necessary to defend themselves with arms.

However the liberation of these toiling masses has also its historical role in the liberation from oppression of the people. To carry out this task the EPRLF has formed an organisation called the Plantation Proletariat Front (PPF). From assisting the plantation workers in their day to day problems to raising their revolutionary consciousness are activities in which the PPF is engaged. The PPF and the EPRLF has a programme of resettling people living in insecure areas in Tamil areas and also to provide them with the necessary self-defence. EPRLF does not see this resettlement as a solution, but only as an interim measure to alleviate the human misery. Workers in increasing numbers are rallying behind the PPF to play the vanguard role for the establishment of socialist Eelam.

#### BACKGROUND TO THE FORMATION OF THE EPRLF

The formation of the Federal Party in 1949 provided the vehicle for nationalist aspirations of the Tamil people. However, the contradictions between the militant forces within FP and the party leadership came to a head with the formation of the so-called National Government in 1965, with the UNP in partnership with the FP. This led to the formation of the Eela Tamil Ilaguer Onriyam (United Organisation of Tamil Youth). This never became a political force to challenge the Tamil leadership. In the opposition to standardisation was born the fore runner to the various youth organisations, calling itself the Tamil Students League. For the first time in the history of Tamil people in Ceylon these students took to some armed actions against the state, primarily against standardisation but including various other grievances as well over a period. When the FP, TC and the CWC came together to form the TUF in 1972, it was expected that they would provide the leadership to the new tendency. The bourgeois TUF leadership was incapable of providing what was expected of them. They had no vision for the future of the Tamils except that they had a need to come together for their own existence. The militancy of the youth and the lack of leadership in the TUF together with the government oppression of youth in the wake of the JVP uprising sharpened the differences. Several

youth leaders were arrested and imprisoned for nearly two years. Even though, at this stage, there was an understanding of the linkage of political freedom to the socio-economic freedoms, it did not stem from a clear exposition of Marxist-Leninist principles. Petty bourgeois tendencies cropped up within the movement which resulted in the progressive sections forming the Eelam Revolutionary Organisers (EROS) and General Union of Eelam Students (GUES). Certain internal contradictions on the question of organisational structure and programme resulted in the splitting of EROS and the formation of EPRLF which took GUES under its umbrella.

#### OBJECTIVES OF EPRLF

The political programme of EPRLF that was approved by the meeting of the central committee held between the 4th and 10th of October 1981, declares its ends and the means :

1. To liberate Eelam, the Tamil nation from oppression.
2. To found a socialist society to complete the political liberation by social, economic and cultural liberations.
3. To fight against Imperialism, Zionism and Racism since the Eelam liberation struggle can not be separated from the international progressive struggles.

EPRLF proclaimed,

1. To organise all the progressive intellectuals and the petty bourgeoisie under the leadership of the proletariat and peasantry.
2. To organise all the working people, especially the plantation workers and the agricultural workers of the northern and eastern provinces for the struggle against national oppression.
3. To work for the defeat of capitalism, by establishing ties with the progressive forces of Sri Lanka especially those working for the Sinhalese peasants and workers revolution while recognising fully and unconditionally the Eelam liberation struggle and the right of self determination.

## SOME ACTIVITIES OF EPRLF in THE PAST

From the outset, GUES continued to be the frontal organisation which got involved in struggles. The advantage being its apparent student character and its acceptance within the remaining democratic and legal framework, GUES adopted revolutionary practice to advance the struggle.

Several other bodies were created for practical and tactical reasons. The organisations which came under the EPRLF were the General Union of Eelam Students (GUES), Rural Workers and Peasants Front (RWPF), Eelam Youth Front (EYF), Plantation Proletariat Front (PPF), Eelam Women's Liberation Front (EWLF) and the Fisher Workers Front (FWF). These organisations jointly or independently engaged in propaganda, cadre training, rehabilitation, political education and struggles of various nature.

To further consolidate and advance the struggle in the military sphere the People's Liberation Army (PLA) was formed from within the cadres of the various other organisations of the EPRLF.

When Batticaloa was hit by a cyclone in 1978 and a number of people made homeless, GUES organised and ran many refugee camps carrying out rehabilitation work. GUES organised classes for students who were affected by the cyclone and prepared them to sit for their examinations in time.

When the United National Party Government introduced a new form of standardisation in 1981, GUES organised a massive meeting in Jaffna to protest against this move. More than 5,000 students took part in this meeting which was addressed by professors, head-teachers, teachers, parents and students. This meeting exposed the discriminatory nature of the Sri Lankan educational system and brought hundreds of students into the fold of GUES. This was followed up by a meeting in Colombo

to protest against both the standardisation and the white paper on education making close contacts with the Sri Lankan progressive forces.

When the Government of Sri Lanka unleashed terror in the Batticaloa District with the intention of driving out the Tamils living in the electorate of Paddiruppu to make way for forced colonisation, a poster campaign was launched by GUES all over the island and this campaign successfully stopped the racist design.

"Eelam Students' Voice" was published bringing out the problems of Eelam students and creating political awareness among students along the progressive lines. However this paper was to be sealed very soon by the Fascist Government of J. R. Jayawardene. But the branches of GUES in India, Burma and UK continued to publish journals while the publication in Eelam was organised in secret. GUES also organised successfully a network of poster campaign to promote its ideas.

When the reactionary leadership of the Tamil speaking people in collusion with the ruling UNP indulged in corrupt practices at the Jaffna co-operative stores, GUES organised a hunger strike together with the workers and exposed the true nature of the TULF leadership.

When the Sri Lankan Government attempted to transfer the chemical factory in Eelam to a Sinhalese area, hundreds of workers went on a strike, supported by GUES. The strike continued for six months and when the government tried to shut-down the factory using this strike as a pretext, GUES made this an islandwide issue and waged a united struggle bringing in other political parties and trade unions. This brought limited success to the workers.

The 1982 May Day rally in Jaffna organised by GUES proved the strength of the EPRLF.

Soon after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the Zionazi genocide, GUES organised an exhibition on the struggle of the Palestinian people at Manipay Town Hall and a mass meeting was held exposing the nature of Zionism and American Imperialism.

When death sentences were passed on Eelam patriots Kuttimani and Jegan, GUES organised protest meetings all over Eelam and Tamilnadu and brought to the people the plight of Eelam liberation fighters and the true nature of the oppressive legal system in Sri Lanka. While GUES organised protest meetings together with other political parties and movements in Eelam, the foreign branches of GUES organised meetings and demonstrations in other parts of the world.

GUES took up the issue of Theegawabi where Tamil peasants of Islamic faith were driven out of their lands to make way for Sinhalese settlements. When the people were in danger of losing their lands, an international outcry was aroused exposing the evil design of the government of Sri Lanka.

When the President of Sri Lanka visited Jaffna for the first time to ask the Tamil speaking people to vote for him in the presidential election, GUES brought together all the movements and called for a boycott of the visit. The boycott and the hartal was a hundred percent success and it was led by GUES.

GUES called for the boycott of the presidential election together with many movements and led the struggle firmly and resolutely. The fear that struck the Government led to the arrest of the General Secretary of GUES, Comrade Davidson who was subjected to cruel and inhuman torture. The demand for the release of Davidson was taken up internationally and the pressure forced the Sri Lankan Government to release him. It was an unusual step for the Fascist Sri Lankan Government to release a political prisoner with such speediness.

When the Government of Sri Lanka arrested priests, lecturers, students and women for taking part in the liberation struggle, GUES called for a Satyagraha bringing together more than twenty organisations. More than 5,000 people participated in the joint action programme and the participation of women in large numbers was a notable achievement of the struggle.

Apart from organizing various struggles on its own, GUES actively participated in every struggle relating to socio political and educational questions, initiated by the students of universities and colleges.

### RURAL WORKERS AND PEASANTS FRONT

The Rural Workers and Peasants Front was founded in order to mobilise the revolutionary potential of peasants and labourers at village level. This organisation has fought for wage increases and the abolition of caste discrimination so prevalent in the Jaffna peninsula. RWPF has helped the peasants and labourers in a number of land disputes. Some of the activities which RWPF was engaged in are:

The farm labourers in the village of Siruppiddy went on a strike putting forward many demands to improve their working conditions and wages. Some of the demands of these Tamils who belong to the so called low-castes are that they should be served water in glasses instead of being served in coconut shells and that they should be treated as equal human beings and their wages be increased. The cultivation in the entire village was badly affected due to the participation of all women and men in the strike. When the so called high caste land owners refused to accept the demands, RWPF organised a 10 mile long march and the struggle continues.

When a leading member of the TULF at the village of Urumpirai claimed the ownership of a land which was occupied by some members belonging to the so called low castes for many years and attempted to drive these people out, RWPF organised a long protest march to his house. His attempt to bring the Sri Lanka police was foiled by the firmness of the people. Later the struggle was intensified through posters and other means of publicity. The struggle ended with the victory for the people.

In 1981 in the city of Ampara in the Eastern province (Ampara is well known for forced Sinhalese colonisation) many Tamil speaking people became refugees following forcible eviction. Again at the village of Vadamunai and in the surrounding areas Tamil speaking people were driven out with the intention of settling Sinhalese people. EPRLF guarded the villagers and drove out Sinhalese hoodlums set up by local Buddhist monks with the support of the police and made possible the continued living of the people. However in August 1983, with the support of the Sri Lankan armed forces Government has settled 35,000 Sinhalese at Vadamunai.

RWPF has taken up the question of rural indebtedness in a number of villages of the Eastern province.

### FISHER WORKERS' FRONT

This arm of the EPRLF was set up with the objective of mobilising the fisherfolk of the Northern and Eastern provinces for the Eelam struggle. The Tamil fishermen have been affected by the systematic colonisations of the Sinhalese fishermen with the active connivance of the Sri Lankan Government. FWF defended the people in some villages of Trincomalee where the Tamils were attacked by the Sinhalese thugs and armed forces of the Sri Lanka Government.

FWF has closely worked with the people all over the Northern and Eastern provinces and conducted classes to make the people in the fishing areas understand how exploitation goes on in these areas. In the early 1983, fisher folk from the villages in Mannar district, clashed over fishing rights in these areas. The Sri Lanka Police instead of settling the matter tried to fish in the troubled water and fomented the trouble with the intention of bringing Sinhalese fishermen from other areas. FWF through its branches in these villages intervened in this matter. FWF brought together youths of the villages and educated them on the danger if they fought among themselves. The FWF succeeded to some extent in forging unity among the villages.

### EELAM PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FRONT

General Union of Eelam Students (GUES), Rural Workers and Peasants Front (RWPF), Fisher Workers Front (FWF), Eelam Youth Front (EYF), Eelam Women's Liberation Front (EWLF) and Plantation Proletariat Front (PPF) are all the arms in Eelam People's Liberation Front (EPLF) which is the mass front of the EPRLF.

EPLF took the struggle further through the following activities:

Demanding the withdrawal of the notorious Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) and unconditional release of political detainees and withdrawal of Sri Lankan armed forces from Eelam a sixty mile long Patha Yathra (march on foot) was called. The Sri Lankan Government unleashed state terror at the very inception of the march using the armed forces and brutally crushed the march wounding and arresting many of the marchers. However

the marchers started a Satyagraha and the police dispersed the crowd using tear gas and attacked the people brutally. Immediately the General Secretary of EPLF called for a Hartal and for two days the entire Eelam areas went into protest. It should be noted that in these revolutionary activities a number of workers from the plantation areas and from the Sinhalese Trade Unions and representatives of other progressive organisations took part.

In the town of Kalmunai in the Eastern Province, the state owned Building Materials Corporation (BMC) dismissed many Tamil workers without notice and the branch of EPLF organised a mass protest march never before seen in the town of Kalmunai. The Government relented and reinstated the workers.

EPLF conducted the 1983 May Day celebration in Jaffna under extreme oppressive conditions. All marches were banned in Jaffna. Defying the police order over 5,000 people marched in a 20 mile long procession from Udupiddy to Jaffna and the procession ended with a largely attended meeting. The response of the people struck fear among the reactionary leadership in Jaffna.

#### ACTIVITIES OF EPRLF IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

To further its objectives EPRLF was engaged in many activities using GUES, one of its frontal organisation. GUES branches in India, Burma, Canada, U.K., West Germany, Switzerland and in many other countries carried out the propaganda work for EPRLF.

The first conference of GUES was held in London on 19th and 20th of August, 1977. Among the representatives of the many organisations who addressed the conference were Mr. Michael Srinioyo from African National Congress (ANC), Mr. Rex Chevera from Zimbabwean African National Union (ZANU) and Mr. Trevor Philips of National Union of Students from U.K. The U K branch of GUES has organised meetings and marches in support of Palestinian struggle, South West African People's Organisation, (SWAPO), ANC, ZANU, Sandinista of Nicaragua and the struggles of the People of El Salvador and Chile.

GUES organised a sit-in in front of the Sri Lanka High Commission in London during the pogrom on Tamils in August 1977. GUES joined many other organisations in several protest marches focussing the attention of the world on the plight of the Tamils of Eelam.

In India over 10,000 students participated in a march organised by GUES in protest against the atrocities on the Tamils in Sri Lanka in August 1981. In 1983, protesting against the death sentence on Eelam Patriots Kuttimani and Jegan, GUES organised meetings, processions and poster campaign.

EPRLF has worked among the repatriates in India through its frontal organisation Union of Repatriate Eelam Students (URES). It has highlighted the various difficulties faced by the repatriates. In India and U.K., EPRLF has set up branches of Eelam People's Information Centre (EPIC) which was started by EPRLF in January 1980. The EPIC branches have focussed attention on the problems of Eelam Tamils through publications and exhibitions of books, photographs, etc. EPIC publishes the monthly bulletin 'EELAM NEWS' and it is distributed free of charge. GUES releases the monthly magazine 'EELA MULLAKKAM'.

#### PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY

In established democracies main effort to gain power should be directed towards a political struggle not excluding the use of the election machinery, but in an oppressive fascist regime such as that existing in Sri Lanka, the struggle to capture power and the emancipation of the Tamil speaking people can not be achieved without the armed revolutionary struggle based on politically organised masses.

In continuing to take the Eelam revolution to a new dimension EPRLF has formed People's Liberation Army as its military organisation. When the so called non-violent struggle is crushed continuously by the armed forces, the people accept the military operations as essential for the total defeat of the enemy and the liberation of the Eelam people. However EPRLF took into special consideration the nature of the enemy who always carries out massive realiations to frighten and drive away

the people from the struggle. The activities of the PLA were carried out to destroy the moral of the Sri Lankan armed forces without retaliation.

When EPRLF launched a struggle in April 1983 against the death sentences on Eelam patriots it was crushed by the armed forces. The premises of the Law Courts in Jaffna were attacked with explosives by PLA as a symbolic gesture to demonstrate the degeneration of Sri Lankan justice.

In July 1983, fifty three of Eelam patriots were massacred at the Welikade prison by the agents of the Sri Lankan Government. The international outcry against this killing forced the Sri Lankan Government to transfer the surviving prisoners to the Batticaloa prison. It was necessary to show that barbarism of this sort will not deter the liberation struggle of the people and that Eelam Liberation struggle shall not stop until the establishment of a People's power. The Batticaloa prison jail break was carried out by PLA and about 60 of Eelam Patriots including 30 members of EPRLF were rescued. It should be noted that not a single political prisoner who escaped the jail has been arrested by the Sri Lankan security forces. This is one of the most outstanding jail breaks in the revolutionary history of the world. This is a tribute to the correct tactics and planning of EPRLF. PLA is constantly being strengthened as the army of the people that will establish the State of Eelam crushing the Fascist power of occupation and carry out the socialist reconstruction. The politicised army of EPRLF will carry out its international obligations to the progressive forces.

#### CONCLUSION

For obvious reasons, EPRLF is unable to present a total picture of all its works and activities.

With the perfection of Fascism by the Sri Lankan Government during the July pogrom against Tamils all legal and semi-legal organisations of EPRLF had to be withdrawn into the underground. EPRLF's official organ 'Senthalam' has been banned.

Petty bourgeois ideas are so prevalent among the various groups fighting for Eelam. Over the years we have made significant headway in fighting this tendency. The fact that almost all the groups of the Eelam freedom fighters are having to write and talk of Marxism Leninism is a tribute to the heightened political consciousness created by EPRLF.

Adventurism, heroism, personality cult and publicity mania have been so dominant among the people fighting for Eelam. It was left to EPRLF to wage a relentless struggle against these tendencies and EPRLF has made great advances towards establishing a movement based on People's participation along concrete ideological programme that would lead to social revolution. However EPRLF always stood for unity of all the forces. EPRLF has constantly explored the possibility of forming a united front with other groups. Even now EPRLF is taking the correct steps to found a united front.

At a time when the TULF, having succumbed to the pressures of national bourgeoisie at home and the American Imperialism abroad, failed to mobilise the people on the avowed path of non-violent struggle to liberate Eelam it was left to the EPRLF to uphold the true aspirations of the Eelam People for a new free sovereign state and EPRLF has successfully integrated open political activities with armed struggle to achieve total liberation.

**EPRLF's MARTYRS**

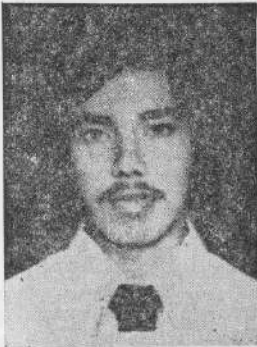
As the EPRLF recalls its past it is dutybound to record the names of those who have sacrificed their lives while working for the organisation. Comrade T. Natesalingam, a central committee member of EPRLF and Comrade Kanagalingam, a GUES worker, were killed on 28-11-1981 by the Sri Lankan army at Vavuniya. On 27th July 1983 Comrades T. Baskaran and P. Devakumar were killed in the Weikade Massacre.



Comrade NATESALINGAM



Comrade DEVAKUMAR



Comrade BASKARAN



Comrade KANAGALINGAM

