

J.R. JAYEWARDENE

## "India is not our enemy"

**S**RI Lanka's 81-year-old President, J.R. Jayewardene, has come up the hard way, rising from the post of a municipal corporator to the head of state. Not surprisingly then, he is adept at converting political adversities to his advantage. Till six months ago, Jayewardene was the target of attacks by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), an aggressive opposition and even his own ministers. And when he signed the Indo-Sri Lanka accord on July 29, 1987, he was accused of surrendering Sri Lanka's sovereignty to India.

But the shrewd politician is nobody's fool. He has got the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) to do what the Sri Lankan Army could not accomplish in four years—crush the LTTE. As one prominent minister put it: "JRI has silenced his critics by involving Rajiv Gandhi in his fight against the terrorists. We have saved money and manpower."

Jayewardene does not try to hide his satisfaction at having got India to do his work for him. At a meeting last fortnight he said: "But for the IPKF we would have had to fight this war and that would have cost in monetary terms." He pointed out that in the last four years, the Sri Lankan Army had lost an average of one soldier a day, but since the IPKF took over, "not a Sinhala, Tamil or Muslim soldier has died. Their place has been taken by the Indians. I want to stop that also."

But some controversial statements made by few Indian Army generals—where they hint at a permanent stay in Sri Lanka—have troubled Jayewardene. As a result of this, he has now adopted a defiant stance on the implementation of the accord, and has started promoting an Indo-Sri Lankan Peace Treaty, with which he hopes to limit India's influence over Sri Lanka. In his first exclusive interview after the commencement of the IPKF operations, Jayewardene spoke to Senior Editor PRABHU CHAWLA at his residence. Excerpts:

**Q. You have been invited as chief guest to India's Republic Day parade. But a section of the Opposition in India has opposed it. How do you react to this?**

A. Rajiv has invited me. Now it seems he will be in difficulty if I come. I will be the last one to embarrass him by coming there. Probably some of them are trying to work out their feelings because I criticised M.G. Ramachandran (Tamil Nadu chief minister) in my press conference in New Delhi. I did not say any untruth.

**Q. Do you have the same opinion about MGR after the IPKF operations?**

A. Now Rajiv has told me that MGR is working with him in the implementation of the accord. If he is working with us and not helping the terrorists, I admire him and I am also grateful to him. My main criticism against MGR was that he was entertaining a self-confessed murderer, Pirabhakaran, who is the LTTE chief. Pirabhakaran openly admitted that he killed the mayor of Jaffna. But I meant only what MGR did in the past.

**Q. Do you think that the Indo-Sri Lanka accord is being implemented successfully?**

A. As far as we are concerned, we have done everything mentioned in the accord. The only thing left is the election in the provinces. We will do this also. I have to pass the law. After that I have to hold elections. But I can do that only when there is peace in the north and the east.

**Q. Till the elections take place, will you revive the proposal of an Interim Administrative Council?**

A. Not necessarily. If I can have elected people then where is the need for an interim council?

**Q. But earlier you had promised to appoint an Interim Council.**

A. These chaps (the LTTE) are not allowing us to do so.

**Q. Can't you nominate representatives of other Tamil groups to the council?**

A. Why should I do that if I can hold elections? I am willing to hold provincial elections in January or February. I want to choose people who I can talk with. How can I talk with these fellows? Who do they represent? If they surrender arms, let them come forward and fight elections.

**Q. So you will not talk to them now.**

A. No. Let them get elected. We will also fight elections as a political party.

**Q. Do you think the LTTE will be finished before the elections?**

A. Yes. As a terrorist force they will be liquidated. They are withering away.

**Q. If the accord is working well, then why do you want a new Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Treaty? Are you under pressure to delete some provisions of the accord?**

A. That treaty is in connection with annexures attached with the accord. If India wants us to do certain things, we also want India to reciprocate by doing

something for us. I am not under any pressure. I want to make it reciprocal.

**Q. What are the provisions in the annexures?**

A. Letters exchanged between Rajiv and me deal with the foreign trainers, use of Trincomalee port and the Voice of America broadcasts from Sri Lanka. We want India to assure us that she will not do anything against our interests.

**Q. But what do you want from India?**

A. If India wants anything to do with our harbour, broadcasting corporations and training facilities, I also want the same thing from them.

**Q. Foreign trainers, like Keeney**

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"The IPKF must stay here in Sri Lanka only till the LTTE gives up. They will not be required after that.... They are here for restoring peace."

Meeney and some Israeli security advisors, have not been sent back yet, though this was part of the understanding.

A. They won't go even now. Somebody must train our people here or abroad. We never said that they will go. We only promised that we will consider it.

**Q. If LTTE cadres surrender arms, will you grant them amnesty?**

A. I have already announced that all those who surrender arms and join democratic forces will be let off. Even Pirabhakaran.

**Q. Don't you think that India could train the Sri Lankan Army for you?**

A. India can't train both terrorists and the army. I told Rajiv that. But that is not the situation now. We will consider India's offer of training our forces.

**Q. Rajiv wants your assurance that Trincomalee port will not be used in any**

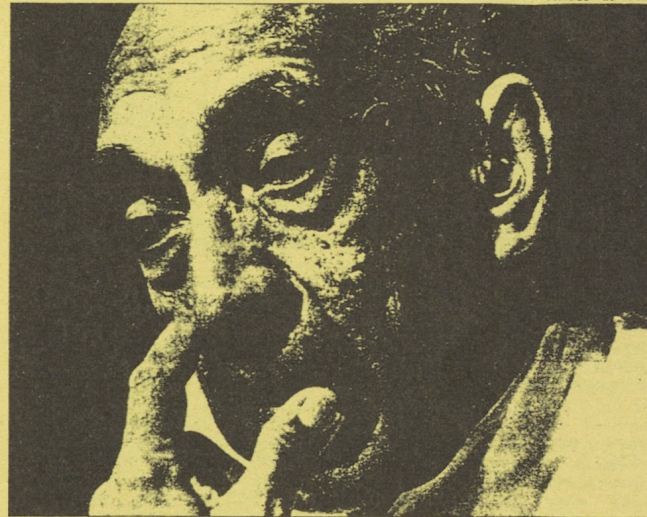
way against India's security interests. What do you want from Rajiv?

A. We want him to ensure that no harbour in India is used against Sri Lanka. Why should our ports be used against India? She is not our enemy.

**Q. Are you saying that foreign trainers and other irritants to India will remain in Sri Lanka till a reciprocal arrangement is worked out?**

A. Yes, certainly. We have started discussions and are preparing a draft treaty.

**Q. Rajiv Gandhi and the IPKF have paid a heavy price in implementing the accord. How do you propose to reciprocate this?**



A. We will fulfil our part of the accord totally. That is the only way.

**Q. Don't you think that Rajiv Gandhi has suffered a lot in the process?**

A. So have our people. Look at the refugees in Trincomalee. There were none earlier. There are a few thousand now.

**Q. Have they become refugees after the IPKF operations?**

A. Yes. They are blaming the Indian troops. They are saying that IPKF personnel are the ones who harass them.

**Q. Do you believe that?**

A. That is another matter. But they are saying that they left their homes due to the Indians only.

**Q. Do you also believe the rumours that the IPKF will stay for a longer period than you had in mind?**

A. Statements of some of the Indian Army officials have been quoted in Parlia-

ment. But they have been refuted. The IPKF must stay here only till the LTTE gives up.

**Q. Once the LTTE is eliminated and peace is restored, will you ask the IPKF to pack up?**

A. Yes, they will not be required after that.

**Q. But under the accord, the IPKF has to stay on to ensure implementation of other clauses like holding the elections.**

A. No. They are here for restoring peace. There are different conditions for holding elections.

**Q. Will you ask India to help you crush Janata Vimukthi Peramuna's (JVP) terrorism in the south?**

conducting the elections.

**Q. Under the accord, you were supposed to release all Tamils in Sri Lankan jails.**

A. I released 3,000 to 4,000 of them and they went and joined the terrorists.

**Q. Now that the IPKF has been forced to fight the LTTE, where do you think things went wrong?**

A. Nothing went wrong except that they trusted the LTTE too much. The IPKF thought the LTTE cadres would give in. Instead of putting the blame on others, they should completely eliminate those fellows (the LTTE). Because of them, innocent people are dying.

**Q. Rajiv Gandhi is being accused of doing your dirty work for you.**

A. We are just implementing an accord and nothing else.

**Q. Why have some clauses like the return of Tamil refugees from Tamil Nadu not been implemented?**

A. I have not stopped any one. They are not returning because they are frightened. Jaffna is in turmoil now. There is also a problem of sending both Sinhalese and Muslim refugees back to the north and the east. They don't trust some members of the IPKF.

**Q. What exactly do you want from the IPKF?**

A. They should complete their part of the deal. They have not yet taken away arms from the terrorists. They have to disarm the terrorists.

**Q. The IPKF is killing them instead of disarming them.**

A. But they are not finished yet. Their primary job is to liquidate the terrorists in the north and the east.

**Q. Do you perceive any role for the IPKF in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Sri Lanka?**

A. We are capable of doing that ourselves. They can offer us grants.

**Q. Is the IPKF working under your directions?**

A. Yes, they have to work under my charge. But I don't go into the details of their operations on a daily basis. That is left to their commanders.

**Q. Do you subscribe to the Opposition belief that the IPKF's presence in Sri Lanka is largely determined by India's designs in the region and that Rajiv Gandhi will not withdraw the IPKF in a hurry?**

A. No. I asked them to come here and I will ask them to go as well.

**Q. Do you foresee them refusing to leave your country in the near future?**

A. I can't dream of this. I have full trust in Rajiv Gandhi and our ability to look after ourselves.



# Parliament, Constitution and Ethnic issue

Sirima Bandaranaike

I suppose the current situation and the Constitutional aspects are linked together in a certain way; because two dominant aspects of the present situation would be seen to be very much a product of an undemocratic Constitutional measure — that is the wellknown Fourth Amendment to the Constitution, which extended the life of the first parliament elected in 1977 to August 4, 1989 — after — What shall I call it? The Famous — or the Infamous — referendum of 1982.

What I mean is — that the merciless, aggravated, and blood-thirsty phase of the so-called ethnic problem is a result of that Constitutional measure. Equally, what is called Terrorism in both the North and the South is another result of the same step.

Take the Ethnic problem first. You know, 265,534 voters in Jaffna district voted in favour of a General Election, to be duly held in July 1983 — that is against extending the life of Parliament. Only 25,349 voted for the government proposal. Put in another way. In the Northern and Eastern provinces taken together, out of 1,123,192 voters — 502,218 voted for a General Election in July 1983, as against 229,341 for the government proposal to extend the life of parliament.

In the rest of the country, it was by the barest of margins, that a majority voted to extend the life of Parliament, and it is now well-known what the Commissioner of Elections has said about all the irregularities that took place, before, that result was obtained. Those allegations meant, transgressing Article 93 of the Constitution which provides how the franchise has to be exercised; that the voting "shall be" free, equal and by secret ballot".

The Commissioner shows, as we also know ourselves, and have seen from other authoritative

studies on the subjects, that this interpretative provision in the Constitution was not followed. But there was no way of challenging the validity of the Referendum; the Commissioner also pointed it out — and so we go on.

Even after all that misuse of power, that we see in the Referendum, the total vote in the Galle, Matara, Hambantota districts put together — that is the Southern province voted against extending the life of Parliament; and we know — what a turbulent area the Southern province is today. Kalutara district was also against.

Now you remember the explosion of pent-up frustration that took place in July 1983; and how, the Northern and Eastern provinces have drifted towards separation through some of the most horrible scenes of carnage you can think of. You know the rest of it also, up to the present day.

Then see what people speak of as Southern Terrorism; and when we blame the young, let us remember the great harm done by those who participated in mutilating the basic principles of the Constitution, which are also fundamental to society, as stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to which our country has subscribed.

See what it says:

## Article 21:(1)

"Everyone has the right to take part in the Government of his country, directly or through freely chosen Representatives". Not through Representatives nominated by a Party Executive or in fact by the Country's Executive, as we see here.

## Article 21:(3)

"The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of Government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures."

So the 4th Amendment has no place in this scheme of things; and the Referendum idea to replace an Election is just completely wrong; not done anywhere else, or in history. We are a unique phenomenon, here. These are human rights, and the universal declaration shows in its preamble that if human rights are not protected by the rule of law, man rebels.

It is simply this: if people in the North and East, as well as in the South, and the rest of the country had a chance of discussing their problems among themselves and with their leaders at a General Election, and voting for the parties or representatives who could voice their aspirations in parliament, all these problems leading to and after the July 1983 Ethnic Massacre, and the wave of Southern discontent, later would never have surfaced as we have seen.

One big undemocratic measure against the spirit of the Constitution — see the calamity that has followed. And here, please remember, the preamble to the Constitution which speaks of accepting what are described there as "Immutable principles of representative democracy." And where do people find any bearing, when these "Immutable principles" are dashed to pieces, on the sprawling rocks of election thuggery, all over the country, to deny the people the sovereign right of a General Election?

All these rocks and thugs, and a sumptuous dinner, can never mix. But you see how, when leaders drift away from democratic principles, the lesser people also get carried away in the same torrent of valuelessness and cynicism. One set of people break principles; others break heads; and then we whine and mewl: Oh! there is violence, there is terrorism, international terrorism and all the rest. How innocent we try to look, after having started the rot, by not following established democratic methods of Government.

The whole problem is — the Constitution, called Supreme Law; the basic law; the embodiment of the democratic mandate of the people — is created as just another law to be amended and added to as the wielders of power think it necessary for their temporary advantage; and having regard to accepted human rights, today, it is being treated often, that is in daily administration, as a mere scrap of paper.

No, my friends; the Constitution of a country, is not to be lightly treated as yet another law; nor as a scrap of paper. It is a sacred trust, not to be quibbled away by clever arguments or words. It embodies certain principles which must ever be respected; it is a trust; and if you undermine the principles, ignore the trust, you break all the tender cords that bind society together.

Even in the world of commerce, you get documents you have to honour. For what are bills of exchange, cheques, promissory notes, letters of credit — but essentially documents of honour and trust?

Take away that base of trust, the world of commerce cannot function properly; it is not a pure matter of law; of words; it is trust. So we have to honour our Constitution; and its principles, we must respect, if we have to survive and progress together in peace, as a people, as a nation.

But see how we have behaved? Take an example from my own political life. When the Constitution was enacted, there was already the trap laid for me by this Government, in the special Presidential Commissions law they passed. There was in it, a punishment called the Imposition of civic disability. So when the 1978 Constitution was framed, this "civic disability" was brought into the Constitution, by adopting that definition for the Constitution and also enacting Article 81 to expel one from parliament to expel me really. You don't enact National Constitutions to destroy one person politically,

and prevent the party led by that person from forming a Government: they did it here.

I overcame many of these obstacles when the Court of Appeal held, in a petition made by me, that the inquiry contemplated against me could not be done. Then what happened? The Constitution was amended, for the first time, to take away the power of the Court of Appeal to deal with cases like mine. That the first Amendment — against me, then the judgement of the Court of appeal in my favour was also nullified.

There were other things that happened. I am telling, you the bare essentials, to show how lightly, and wrongly, the Constitution was treated; and a judgement of a Superior Court was set aside.

Then, take the 2nd Amendment to the Constitution. One of our M.P.'s joined the UNP. Under the Constitution as it stood, he had to lose the seat. But the Constitution was amended, with retrospective effect, to prevent that — to make it necessary for such an MP to go before a select Committee, and for a vote of not less than 85 Members to send him out of Parliament. We had only eight M.P.s at that time. Just see the level of Constitutional Amendments.

The 3rd Amendment proposed was to seat a chit M.P. and an elected M.P. for the same electorate, together, in Parliament. It was so absurd that it fell through.

Then what about those famous letters of resignation given by Legislators to the Executive? Where do you get Democracy or the Spirit of the Constitution, after that? Virtually the legislative function is swamped by the Executive.

What about Presidential Immunity? Any person who actively participates in Government activity must be amenable to the jurisdiction of the Courts. In the

Constitution, the President is *de facto* the Government. But courts have no jurisdiction over him. When the Judiciary has no jurisdiction over this kind of executive, democracy is really at a standstill.

The President can participate at Elections. But he is not subject to the Election Law. What happens, you will know. He can say or do anything he likes. He can even malign the opponents and get away with it. There is no control. Can you say if any Election can be fair, with this kind of privilege? So the law of the land cannot control the working head of the Executive. That is the stark reality.

I will not burden you too much with this story. But just see the odd picture you get. A Parliament elected under the 1972, Constitution. Largely elected, shall I say — because there are also nominations chit M.P.s as we call them under the 1978 Constitution. There are then, the President under the 1978 Constitution; the operating Election Law for by-elections: 1947 order-in-council of the British Crown. And the actual Government is a sorry mixture which leaves what is called the Sovereignty of the people badly mauled and the youth protesting in anger at the spectacle they see.

In 1972, we effected a transfer of sovereignty from the British Crown to our own people, thinking that is the best way to advance them further in the path of progress.

When the British monarch was sovereign, there were so many areas in which people could rely on him for protection, and fair play, whatever shortcomings there may have been in particular instances.

But what has happened today? The people are only Sovereign in name; and if a man takes his position too seriously and comes forward to assert some of his Sovereign Rights — the fellow is



served with a detention order, or locked up in a police cell. The Sovereign has only to grin and bear; be fooled by the mass media, and pay the taxes.

That is how it is; and thanks to this 1978 Constitution, the new Sovereign has only the rights of a slave. He has no choice, free choice, in having his own Government; and when that choice is denied, there is no democratic way of redress.

There have been some Elections, no doubt — but Elections that cannot change the composition of Parliament; that is the conscious operation.

He has no choice, even when the entire system of Government is changed. He has no choice, as to whatever is done to the country which is said to be his. He is virtually a Cypher.

The sovereign today is not worth apenny. And we live in a community where the monetary unit and the human unit are both devalued. Yet there is no remedy. The only democratic appeal possible is to the very people who have brought about this State of things, or to those who have a financial and job interest in continuing it. The writing on the clouds seems to be despair and collapse.

But there yet seems to be a silver lining or two. And we of the SLFP have some intuition that 1988 may yet be a year of hope; and we will do our utmost to restore our sovereign, to the pedestal from which he has been dragged down. In that task, I must tell you, in all humility, the main platform on which I hope to appeal as our party's candidate at the next Presidential Election, is to restore parliamentary democracy in the island, as when I first entered politics in 1960 and as when our government was defeated in 1977. Restoration also of our national self-respect so badly battered in recent times. Restoration of our cultural values and economic growth which means something

for the physical quality of life of our people, are other aspects.

Our parliamentary democracy is the most important; and I do not need to speak of its value to a liberal audience. Still, I must say, we will never use the devices that have been recently used, to rob the people of their right to a General Election when it is due.

This country will be safer in the hands of its people; a single person or a small group, however, well-intentioned, is not a substitute for good sense of the people acting together, and through their elected representatives in Parliament who are answerable to them, and who ask for a renewal of their mandate periodically in General Elections.

Aus: 'Lanka Guardian'

15. Januar 1988



## Open Letter to J. R. and Sirima

Fr. Tissa Balasuriya

Our dear country has reached a most sad pass. Death by violence has become the most common event of our everyday life. The fate of our people is being determined by armed groups: of the State, the Tamil militants, the I.P.K.F., the Southern armed youth, the government sponsored home guards and armed civilians. The system of law and order is deeply challenged by the conflicts of these groups.

During the past thirty years the U.N.P. and the S.L.F.P., led most of the time by the two of you, have ruled the country, with different combinations of smaller parties supporting them. While the ethnic conflict, including its socio-economic aspects, has been the main cause of our troubles, the power struggle between your two political parties has been a principal impediment to Sri Lanka finding a satisfactory solution to the ethnic issue, specially in 56-58, 65-68, 72-74, and since 77. The uncompromising attitude of the Tamil groups is a corresponding cause of our national tragedy.

The 1980s have brought about unprecedented suffering to our people: ten thousand or more deaths, about 500,000 refugees of all the communities in the country and abroad, and a grave damage to our economy including a very heavy foreign debt.

In this situation, the main political parties and specially the two leaders have an immense public responsibility to save our country and peoples from further impending disasters. If the two parties led by their two leaders come together to resolve our country's problems amicably, there is a strong likelihood of the people in the country agreeing to a package of proposals that can be the basis of a national consensus.

The ethnic issue must be resolved by taking it out of party

and electoral politics and seeking a reasonable understanding that can satisfy the claims of the Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim communities.

Towards such a national consensus I would make the following proposals:

1. An All Party Conference be convoked — including the youth militant groups in case they accept the invitation.
2. There be agreement on the date of the Presidential and General Elections to be held in 1988, preferably as soon as possible after the proposed Provincial Council elections. The Government should guarantee the date. The political parties must work out together the conditions for a fair and free general election.
3. Removal of the proscription of the J.V.P. and invitation to them to participate freely in the democratic process at the Provincial Council, Presidential and General elections.
4. The main political parties to agree on the basic outlines of the solution to the ethnic conflict. The Indo-Sri Lanka agreement of July 29, 1987 and the 13th Amendment and Provincial Councils Act to be the main framework of such agreement. All the parties including the Tamil parties and groups undertake to work out a system of devolved administration on that basis.
5. The compromise temporary merger of the Northern and Eastern provinces if implemented be in a fair manner. The referendum concerning the future of the merger to be held as early as possible after the fulfilment of the required conditions. Citizens' bodies in the Eastern province be entrusted with the monitoring of the return of refugees and

the conduct of the referendum.

6. The I.P.K.F. should return as early as possible to a peace keeping function. The normal civil administration of the North and East must be restored to political authorities, under the Provincial Councils Act and the Central Government.

There should be some monitoring body that is entitled to inquire into grievances concerning the I.P.K.F. This could be a joint Sri Lankan — Indian government body, or from the Red Cross of both countries or even the International Committee of the Red cross.

7. The future of the I.P.K.F. should be clearly announced by the two Governments. The process for the take over of the civil administration and law and order by Sri Lankans should be worked out by all the political parties and groups.
8. The foreign policy of Sri Lanka should be decided by the main political parties as national policy. The foreign policy implications of the Indo-Sri Lanka accord should be renegotiated with India by the Government of Sri Lanka in consultation with the main political parties. Any treaty agreements with India should also be based on a search for a national consensus.

The leaders of all the religions in the country should be encouraged to come together to provide the spiritual support for a national consensus that restores peace with justice in Sri Lanka.

In order to arrive at an enlightened solution the two main political parties and the two leaders must come together in a spirit of reconciliation and give and take for the sake of the country. The government can

take the initiative in this. This can be the path "from darkness to light".

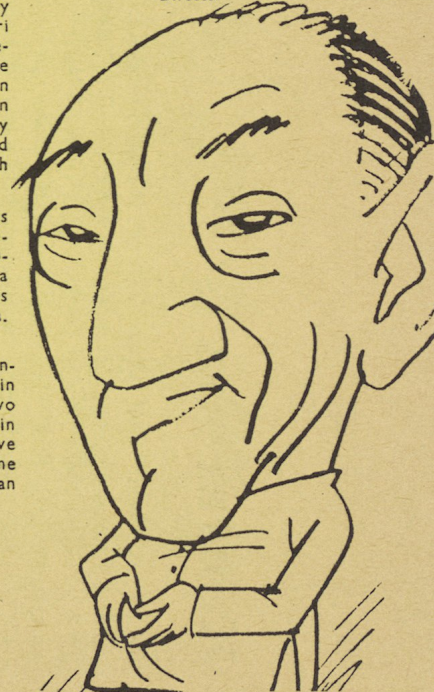
Dear Mr. J. R. Jayawardene and Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, an immense public responsibility lies on each of you and both of you together. If you do not give the necessary leadership in this crisis further generations will hold you responsible for our return to a new "dark age".

I appeal to you both in the name of the lives of the people of our country and the entire future of Sri Lanka. Please transcend your partisan political interests and come forward together to work out a national consensus for our manifold problems. The Tamil leaders and parties should likewise cooperate in an enlightened manner to save our country, our civilization and people.

Citizens' groups would doubtless be prepared to give of their best towards such a long awaited solution of peace with justice and democracy.

Sincerely yours,

Father Tissa Balasuriya, (O.M.I.)  
Director





# Konferenz

Am 26. Dezember 1987 haben sich in Colombo sinhalesische Linksparteien, ('Communist Party of Sri Lanka', CPSL, 'Lanka Sama Samaja Party', LSSP, 'Nava Sama Samaja Party', NSSP und 'Sri Lanka Mahajana Party', SLMP), Gewerkschaften, Frauenorganisationen, Studentenverbände und andere Organisationen sowie zwei tamilische Organisationen ('Eelam Peoples Revolutionary Liberation Front', EPRLF und die 'People Liberation Organisation of Tamileelam', PLOT) getroffen und die nachfolgende Resolution verabschiedet:

"This conference of political parties, trade unions, organisations of peasants, students, and women, professional associations, and religious and social bodies condemns and opposes the increasing use of terrorism for political purposes, which is reaching extremely dangerous proportions in our country. We consider that the main responsibility for this lies with the UNP and the present government. This government has shown that it is both unable and unwilling to take meaningful steps even to ease the massive and deepening unemployment, the social frustration, and the sense of alienation of the young people, who form the majority of our population. Its political and economic policies have only deepened their sense of desperation and the search for short-cuts, however illusory, to escape from what they suffer. On top of this, the UNP government has used various forms of state terrorism to suppress and punish those who oppose them or who dare to seek changes in the present situation. State terrorism has been used against workers who fight for higher pay or other legitimate demands. It has even been used against judges and respected intellectuals and academic personalities. Terrorism has become a regular, unchecked and growing feature at by-elections and other exercises of the franchise. As the events of the last four years have shown, the government's resort to state terrorism gave the ethnic question the dimensions of a civil war. This led to considerable loss of life, damage to state and private property, the increasing brutalisation of social life, the poisoning of ethnic relations, and the near division of the country. Notwithstanding this costly experience, the government continues to repeat the same methods in its campaign against so-called "southern terrorism" which, in its view, includes all its political opponents. Recent speeches of President Jayawardene at Matara and Galle, where he gave the security services and the Police open license to shoot and kill those they suspect of subversive activities and connections on a promise of subsequent legal indemnity, is the most recent and shocking example of the blessing and support given to state terrorism by the UNP government. Its setting up of various armed para-military organisations of the UNP and its supporters, including recent efforts to set up a private

political army of the UNP in the shape of the so-called "green Tigers" are further examples of the fact that the UNP and its government are now set to make the use of terrorism for political purposes an essential part of their political strategy and activities. Their call to meet terrorism by counter-terrorism only aggravates the situation.

We also condemn and oppose the increasing resort to the use of terrorism for political purposes by some parties and organisations that purport to be fighting the UNP government to achieve national and social liberation. This is especially so in the case of the LTTE and the JVP. Although claiming that their use of terrorist methods is directed against the government, the leaders of these organisations have, in practice, not hesitated to use terrorist methods against other militant Tamil organisations and innocent civilians; in the case of LTTE, or against left parties and other opponents of the government, as in the case of the JVP. We reject resort to terrorism for political purposes as a false outlook based on a profound disbelief and distrust of the capacity of the working class and other oppressed peoples to make their own history. Such political terrorism is self-defeating. It inevitably results in strengthening the reactionary forces and in providing them with excuses for themselves adopting more and more terrorist and fascistic methods to oppose social change and re-inforce their dictatorship over the people. Democracy is the inevitable first casualty in such situations. The use of terrorism as a political weapon by the LTTE and the JVP is having just such an effect. Far from stimulating mass movements for the removal of the present government, the activities of these two organisations are only helping to intimidate people into withdrawal from political life, paralysing democratic activities and processes, and creating conditions of near anarchy which help those who are set on establishing even more dictatorial and state terrorist rule. We declare our determination to fight back, unitedly and politically, all attempts, from whatever quarter they may come, to use terror as a political weapon. We demand that all norms of democratic activity must be restored, protected and strengthened. We demand that the "green Tigers" movement should be scrapped and that the government's political armies that parade as para-military forces should be disbanded. We demand that the disgraceful orders issued by the President to the armed services and the Police at Matara and Galle should be immediately withdrawn. We demand that the LTTE and JVP leaders discontinue their use of terrorism as a political weapon, which is only helping the UNP to continue to deny to the people their democratic rights and choices. We appeal to all who share this view to join us in a movement to stop the further spread of terrorism for political purposes, to restore democratic norms and processes, and to build a mass democratic movement to get rid of the present oppressive government.