



VOICE OF TIGERS

Official Bulletin of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam — July 84 — Volume 4

THE GREAT ESCAPE

TIGERS FREE NIRMALA

In a most daring and meticulously executed operation an assault commando unit of the L.T.T.E. secured the freedom of Nirmala Nithyanandan from the maximum security prison of Batticoloa. Nirmala is a renowned feminist, and a revolutionary freedom fighter who suffered twenty months of solitary confinement under the notorious Prevention of Terrorism Act. She was arrested along with her husband Professor Nithyanandan on 20th Nov. 1982 for providing refuge for wounded Tiger guerrillas. Having survived miraculously from the horrendous massacres at Welikade prison, she was kept in detention at Batticoloa. The sloppy execution of the first jail break at Batticoloa on 23rd Sept. 1983, when Nirmala was left behind, led to the tightening of the prison security system with Sinhala army commandos and dashed all hopes of her freedom. Yet the Tigers engineered a REAL BREAK by a sudden and daring assault on the prison and set Nirmala free.



On the 10th June at about 7.15 P.M. an assault unit comprising of fifteen heavily armed Tiger guerrillas arrived at the scene. Some of them were dressed in prison guard uniforms. Sentries were placed at strategic point outside the prison. The guerrillas then stormed the main gate and overpowered the guards. In the scuffle that ensued two prison guards sustained serious injuries, the rest of the guards ran amok in panic.

The commandos then approached the women's section of the prison. The keys to Nirmala's cell door was kept elsewhere. The guerrillas had to physically break open the cell door to get her out. Thus Nirmala was released by the Tigers adding a new

legend to the history of armed revolutionary struggle of our liberation movement.

Nirmala has been the centre of political controversy since her arrest in November 1982 as she was the first woman victim of the infamous Prevention of Terrorism Act. Her arrest also indicated the growing support from the intelligensia for the armed revolutionary struggle advanced by the Tiger Movement.

Her arrest triggered off mass campaigns inside Sri Lanka and abroad demanding her release. Progressive human rights organisations in Sri Lanka and in the west made fervent appeal to J.R. Jayawardane to let her free for humanitarian reasons. But the fascist regime failed to respond to

such appeals. Nirmala did suffer the worst form of humiliations at the hands of the male chauvinist Sinhala military and the Police. There were times when her health deteriorated due to prolonged asthma attacks in solitary confinement. She survived the ordeal of Welikade massacres and was transferred to Batticoloa jail. Due to the clumsy operation of those who organised the first Batticoloa jail break she was left behind to suffer intimidation and threat. During the Allen's affair Nirmala's release was one of the demands. Yet Nirmala appealed to the kidnapers to release the hostages on humanitarian grounds. Finally, it was our revolutionary movement that organised and executed the jail break and secured the freedom of Nirmala.

OPEN LETTER TO LALITH

Voice of Tigers

FROM L.T.T.E.

In the guise of eradicating what you misconceive as 'terrorism' your Government has installed a military regime in Tamil Eelam and declared a war against our people. You have imposed a racist war on a people who have committed no crime other than seeking their legitimate rights based on human justice. In your pathological hatred for a people, you categorise all innocent civilians, including the elderly and the children, all those who have been wantonly butchered by your racist troopers as 'terrorists'. You have declared a war against the innocents, a dirty genocidal war, the objective of which is the systematic extermination of our people. Thus, you have opted for a military solution, the Hitlerian final solution, to the Tamil national question. Yet, you have excelled the German dictator in the art of genocide and will enter into history as a perpetrator of crimes against humanity. You will carry the sin of having stained the pages of a history of a freedom struggle with blood and tears.

It is quite incomprehensible to us as to why you and your Government have failed to grasp what you call the 'spectre of terrorism'. Let us explain to you this elementary political fact. What you refer to as terrorism is nothing other than a political phenomenon of people's rebellion, a phenomenon of people's revolutionary resistance against repression. Armed resistance in Tamil Eelam arose as a historical consequence of State repression. Therefore what you misconceive as 'terrorism' is

the child of state terrorism, in other words, your own creation. It is something that which cannot be destroyed by military means, since it is people's phenomenon, a phenomenon of mass resistance. Therefore, we advise you to reflect the meaning of your concept grounding them on historical realities. What you call 'terrorism' is inextricably bound up with our people's struggle for freedom and justice, our struggle for liberation. You will never comprehend our people's struggle without a clear perception of a mode of a struggle which is revolutionary in character. Your characterisation of revolutionary political forces as 'terrorists' will never resolve the Tamil problem. Your military option will bring your own disaster. You cannot find and identify us, since we are everywhere, immersed with the sea of masses, or rather, we are the people.

Our people are our mountains. No state, however powerful, has ever won a war against a people. You are going to learn this historical lesson in the most bitter manner. Every drop of blood, every drop of tear that our people shed in their day to day agonies will transform into arms against your Government. We will raise a revolutionary army of thousands of liberation fighters from the very ashes of those innocents who were murdered for no reason by your armed forces. Your very acts of savagery have raised the level of national consciousness of our people and poised them for a national liberation war. Unable

to confront the liberation fighters, your timid, panicky mercenaries are turning their guns against ordinary civilian masses, a cowardice strategy that has shocked all civilized nations and brought shame to your Government. Our people are aware of your diabolical scheme. They are not cowards. They are a proud people, a civilized people. Their repressed anger will one day explode into a volcano, a volcano of revolutionary insurrection.

You cannot expect us to be idle spectators when our people are butchered and burned on the roadsides. We will never down our arms and surrender as you foolishly expect us to do. We will continue to fight you. We will strike hard more intense, than ever, with more determination. We will continue to fight until your armed forces are chased out from our homeland. We will turn Tamil Eelam as a graveyard for the Sinhala state terrorists and their foreign agents.

We wish to state categorically that we will carry forward our freedom struggle in the face of any obstacles until we reach our cherished goal, i.e. an independent socialist state of Tamil Eelam. We are committed to the goal of freedom and are prepared to die for this noble cause. We will certainly win our liberation struggle, whereas you will fail in your evil design in crushing the genuine aspirations of a nation of people. In the end you will stand convicted by the world conscience and condemned by history.

Poster commemorating the anniversary of the Revolutionary heroes of the L.T.T.E.



PRABAKARAN APPEALS FOR NATIONAL DEFENCE FUND

In an urgent appeal to Tamils of Eelam and abroad, Mr Prabakaran, leader and military commander of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, has requested funds for a national defence programme. He emphasised the urgency and necessity of protecting the civilian population during phases of a war of national liberation. The L.T.T.E., he said, has mooted a National Defence Fund for the purpose of implementing the programme of civil defence.

Following is the text of Prabakaran's statement:

"We are facing the most critical phase of the history of our national struggle. The Government has imposed a tyrannical military rule on our people. The Sinhala state has unleashed a barbarous form of military violence to crush by violent means the political aspirations of our people. The objective of the Government seems to subjugate our people at the point of gun. The heightening of State sponsored terrorism has plunged our people into great suffering and despair.

The arrests, detention, torture, mass murders, massive destruction of property have made life intolerable. Our people are living in constant fear and anxiety. Yet they have not lost their hope. They begin to realise that such condition of existence is inevitable in a national liberation struggle. The oppressor in his inability to contain a revolutionary upheaval resorts to intensifying armed violence as his ultimate means. Yet, his objective in subjugating a people by armed violence never succeeds. The more the people are subjected to oppression the more they become committed to liberation and the horizon of their national consciousness widens. The Sinhala chauvi-

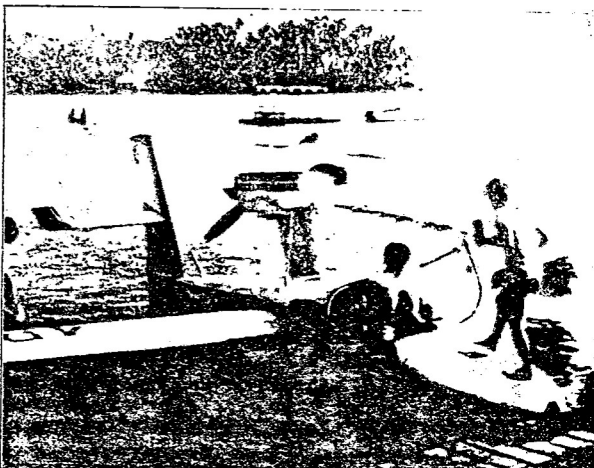


nism and oppression has thus spread the fires of revolution all over Tamil Eelam.

It is our revolutionary movement, the Liberation Tigers that has become a challenge to the Sinhala state and its paid agent, the armed forces. For the last ten years, our movement has been fighting effectively and resolutely, an armed revolutionary struggle against State terrorism. Today, we are expanding into a mass movement and have become the embodiment of the aspirations of our people. Unable to contain our armed struggle our enemy is unleashing his resentment against the innocent people causing them tremendous suffering. Their devious strategy is to turn the public against the freedom fighters.

We are aware of the treacherous designs of the enemy; we do not ignore the suffering of our people. At the same time it will be absurd to lay down our arms and give up our struggle as our enemy demands. If we relax, the enemy will stabilise his military hold in our homeland. We should not allow the enemy to relax. We should continue to strike, strike hard enough to destroy his morale. We must impress upon the enemy that he cannot crush the aspirations of our people by armed violence. While we intensify our armed revolutionary struggle, we must be able to protect and defend our people. Therefore our freedom struggle must incorporate a programme of defence. Such a civil defence programme necessitates enormous funds. In view of this national emergency we have organised a national defence fund. This fund will be collected in Tamil Eelam and abroad. Representatives of our movement will approach the Tamil public with proper identity cards issued by us. I appeal to all patriots and freedom lovers to contribute generously to this national fund at this time of great national crisis to protect our people from genocidal assault.

I am calling upon the people to prepare themselves for a national liberation war aimed at the emancipation of our nation. Since it is a people's war of liberation, the participation of the masses is vital. The whole Tamil nation must be mobilised to fight against the State. Our liberation army will be the vanguard of the struggle. We call upon the other liberation organisations to join us in this war of liberation. I am sure that the conditions of the struggle will compel us to unite against the common enemy.*



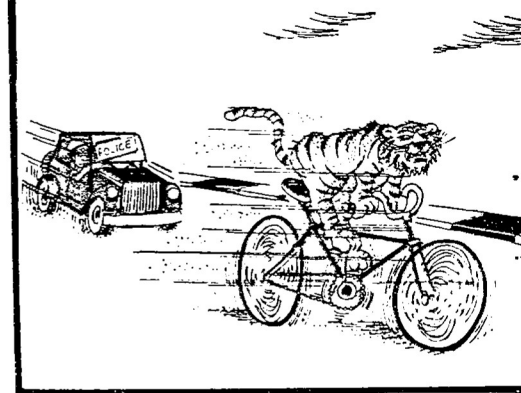
TIGERS BLAST SEAPLANE

a guerrilla unit of the L.T.T.E. successfully destroyed a Sri Lankan sea plane at the village of Panithithiadaippu near the Karainagar naval base on the 15th June 1984.

CYCLING CAMP

BANK ROBBERS IN THE NORTH BEER ET AWAY ON BICYCLES.

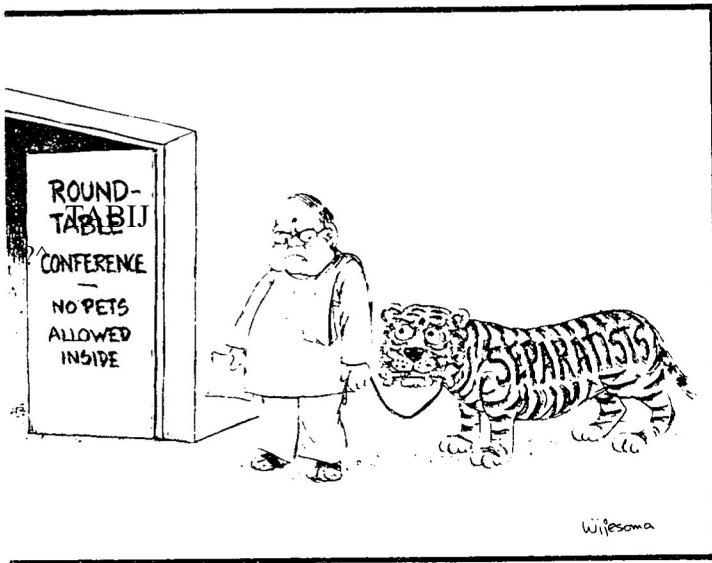
-APOLOGIES TO RIPLEY'S RESERVATION NOTHOT-



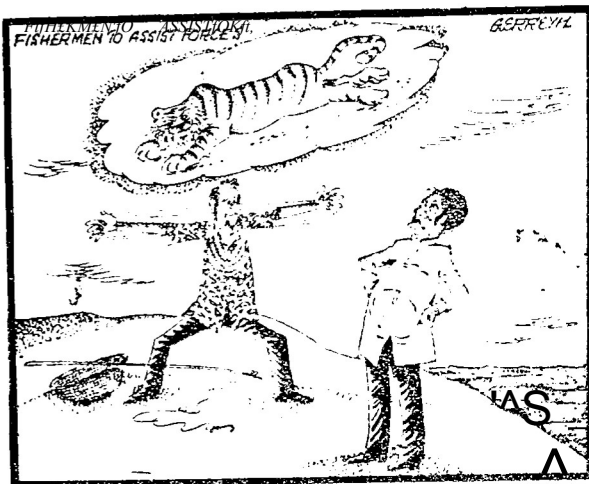
HOW THE LANKA MEDIA VIEW THE TIGER



Courtesy: The Island, Sun
Courtesy: The Island, Sun



Wijesoma



YOU SHOULD HAVE SEEN THE ONE THAT GOT AWAY.....



"INTERESTS SECTION" OF ISRAEL
IN SRI LANKA MOCKS N.A.
POLICY TOWARD I.C.
SHOCKED AND ALARMED.



Wisesoma

"THE ISRAELIS ARE COMING!"

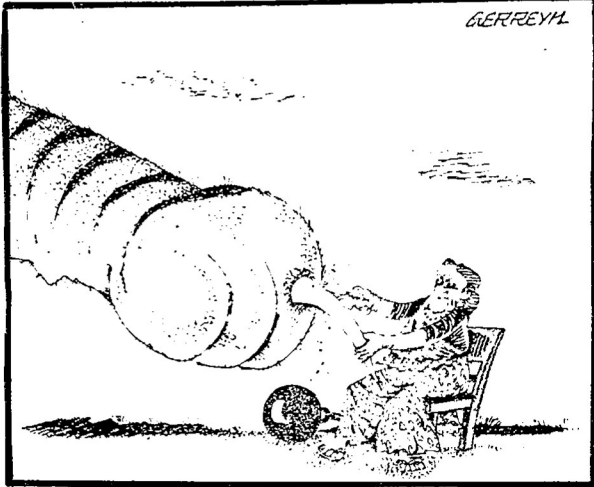
IBSON'S CHOICE



Must be to taste
Some Orange juice

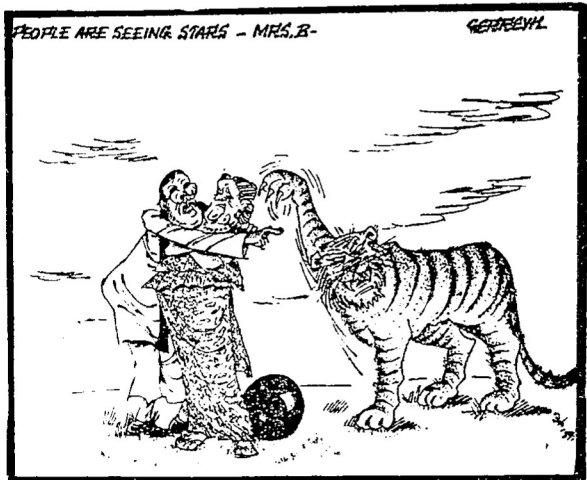
MIA KHAZI - FAN(W)

GERREYH

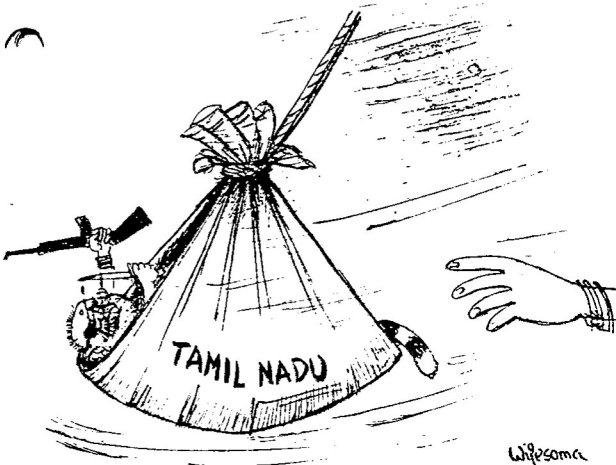


PEOPLE ARE SEEING STARS - MRS. B.

GERREYH



.....AND STRIPES



Wisesoma

ROCK-A-BY-BABY

OUT OF HANU!



GERREYH

TAMILS BACK THE TIGERS

Violence in Jaffna has erupted again—This time meeting a newly-formed resistance, reports Amrit Wilson.

Extract from 'New Statesman' (London) on 27 April 1984.

THE ARMY in Sri Lanka has once again gone on the rampage in the Tamil north of the country, firing indiscriminately on civilians and burning shops and homes. The official reason given for this new spate of state violence is, incredibly, an article in *India Today*, a wide-circulation Indian magazine. It claimed that 'leftist inspired' Tamil guerrillas are being trained in South India.

The article appeared in Sri Lanka on 21 March; within two days a new minister of National Security, Lalith Athulathmudali, was appointed. On 24 March he sought the blessings of the Buddhist Mahanayakes (priests) for his aim of 'wiping out terrorism' and the next day he was in Jaffna, the main town of the Tamil north, with 2,000 commandos. Three days later the armed forces, under Brigadier Seneviratne, a well-known 'tough soldier', went into action. The crowded market in the village of Chunnakam was sprayed with bullets. Eight people were killed and at least 22 injured. On 9 April, after an attack on an army convoy by guerrillas of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (L.T.T.E.), the army went on the rampage, burning shops on the main street of Jaffna and attacking the Church of Our Lady of Refuge. Catholics poured out of their homes in angry retaliation. They attacked a Buddhist temple and a Sinhala school, both of which have long been used as army bases. No Sinhalese person was injured but the army began to fire on the crowd. They killed 35 people.

Since then arbitrary killings have continued, along with massive arrests. In one village, 40 people were rounded up and taken away. In Jaffna, with its battered buildings, army helicopter patrols and frequent curfews, some families are stocking up with food. Others are moving out to the comparative safety of the villages.

A PLETHORA of liberation movements claim leadership for this new resistance. For, after the violence of last summer, there is no doubt that Tamils now see their political voice in a nationalist movement, conducted through guerrilla action. TULF, the Tamil parliamentary party, is quite discredited. But most of the nationalist groups are based in India, and only the L.T.T.E. — or Tigers as they are popularly known — have any real organisation or membership in the country.

L.T.T.E. has evolved over the last 12 years from a loose-knit youth movement reacting spontaneously to state violence with hit-and-run tactics to a disciplined guerrilla organisation. Its base is strongest in the rural areas. People in the villages

and towns', claims L.T.T.E.'s representative in London, 'may not call themselves Tigers, but they shelter and protect us and see us as their hope for the future, so we can move among them like "fish in the sea".'

L.T.T.E.'s wall-posters and pamphlets are to be found in towns and even small villages all over the north and east, and occasionally there are instant meetings advising people on a variety of issues. For example, in May 1983 the Tigers called for the boycott of a local election — more than 99 per cent of the population accordingly did not vote. L.T.T.E. have also had some success in administering their own law and order. In one case the Tamil Chairman of a Rural Development Board, who was cheating the contract labourers of their wages, paid up when he was 'warned' by the Tigers and, in another, L.T.T.E. intervened in a Hindu-Muslim clash which the police had failed to stop by cornering and threatening the Hindus.

Tamil nationalism has drawn the contempt of many Sinhalese marxists; nonetheless, the L.T.T.E. is managing to represent popular feeling. For example, last November the government asked Tamil students who had fled from southern universities in the summer to return. The Tigers issued a pamphlet asking them not to. The students obeyed and, instead of returning, organised sit-downs in the Jaffna University campus,

demanding the right to continue their studies in the Tamil area. On 9 January, nine students began a 'fast unto death' on their own initiative.

The government was adamant and when a woman student became comatose the authorities began to discuss calling in the army and beginning force-feeding. The L.T.T.E. met the students' organisation and under the eyes of the university authorities the nine hunger strikers were whisked away to India. But L.T.T.E. then issued a pamphlet on proper tactics, pointing out the failure of Bobby Sands and the Irish hunger strikers to shift an intransigent government.

Behind the Jayawardane government and Sinhalese state lie the West's military and economic interests, causing deep unease among Tamils. This year US-funded agencies are carrying out 'water research' in order to provide fresh water to Tamil villages. In the process they have carried out detailed surveys of the whole area — surveys which the Tamils fear will be made available to the army.

Meanwhile a series of US politicians has visited Sri Lanka, reaffirming an 'excellent relationship'; promising 'modern training' for the Sri Lanka navy and even complimenting the Sri Lanka Embassy in the US for countering Eelam supporters there. Underneath is a tacit understanding that sooner or later the US will move into the naval base at Trincomalee. When it does Mrs Gandhi is unlikely to intervene to support the Tamil nationalists. As L.T.T.E. spokesman A.S. Bala Singham has said in an interview in the Indian magazine *Sunday*: 'Mrs Gandhi's hands are tied... The Sri Lankan government has always wielded Trincomalee as a trump card — they had earlier agreed to keep it a free zone' (i.e. free of bases) provided India helped to crush the Liberation Tigers. ★

TIGERS DEMONSTRATE IN LONDON

Liberation Tigers express solidarity with the African National Congress at an anti-apartheid demonstration during Pieter Botha's visit to London recently



BEHIND THE ROUND TABLE

'Tamil militancy is not 'TERRORISM' but a political phenomenon'.

THE HINDU

In an editorial entitled 'Continuing crisis in Sri Lanka' the Hindu of 7th July 1984 argues that the phenomenon of what Sri Lanka calls terrorism is nothing but a political phenomenon. The paper points out that the development of militancy and the recourse to violent forms of struggle arose as a consequence of repeated failure on the part of the Sri Lankan Government to resolve the ethnic problem through constitutional means. The Hindu observes:

"The second point concerns the bogey of 'terrorism' which Colombo imagines it can use in a bid to place India on the defensive. Since the very use of the term 'terrorist' tends to pre-empt the argument, it must be clarified that the phenomenon of militancy among the Tamil youth in Sri Lanka is primarily a political phenomenon, reflecting the maturing of the crisis. When progress along constitutional lines becomes blocked, when normal and legitimate political expectations are repeatedly frustrated, when it appears that there is no solution within the rules of the game, historical experience demonstrates it is a situation tailor-made for the development of militancy, including that part of it which takes recourse to non-peaceful methods."

Arguing that Jayawardane is not genuine in bringing about a peaceful solution to the Tamil question through negotiations, the paper further notes:

".....the conservative government of Mr. J.R. Jayawardane seems to be going out of its way to undercut the process. No other reasonable construction can be placed on its handling of the situation in the island since the genocidal state-backed pogrom against the Tamils a year ago — which, on top of the large-scale loss of life, property and avocation, brought about an unprecedented uprooting of the minority population, physically as well as spiritually. From the standpoint of both the Tamils of Sri Lanka and India, whose good offices represent a major positive factor in the situation, Mr. Jayawardane has been chopping and changing his position so much that an evaluation of his substantive approach, or reliance on any conceivable goodwill element in it, becomes especially difficult."

WE MUST at the outset state that we do not have much faith in conferences be they "roundtable" or "square".

We do not, on the other hand, completely reject them or act in a manner that would be detrimental to them. Let us not forget that all the politicians who are assembled around Jayawardane's table today have been immersed in parliamentary politics. Each and everyone of them has "Communal Skeletons" in his cupboard. At one stage or other, everyone of them has contributed towards the eruption of our communal volcano. If these gentlemen would now volunteer to stop the game of musical-chairs and help to put down the flames of communication, even within this Capitalist framework, we should welcome such a step. The oppressed masses never stand to gain from communal violence.

Do not the 1983 July incidents once again confirm that those who stand to gain from communal violence are the imperialists? Has not the attention of our masses been diverted from their economic problems even temporarily? Which force other than U.S. imperialism, which lies scheming to convert our motherland to a military base, benefits from the "Indian Phobia" which is being systematically propagated?

It must however be appreciated that the January round-table sessions would doubtlessly be more difficult than the December one. The only concrete point of agreement in December was the decision to invite the T.U.L.F. for these discussions without any pre-conditions. We are, of course, not trying to belittle this achievement. It was the President himself perhaps in fear of the communal wave, who closed the door on Amirthalingam in July.

The hurdles he now confronts are clearly, more formidable. We would like to pinpoint three problematic areas. Firstly, there is the problem of the geographical limits (centering on the amalgamation of the northern and eastern provinces) of the proposed, "Regional Councils". Secondly, there is the question of the extent of authority to be delegated to them. Thirdly, there is manner in which the assent of the people is to be obtained for the proposals agreed upon. Of course, numerous other problems are bound to crop up as the talks progress.

We should have some assessment of the so called "Sinhala forces" which are

likely to stand in the way of a reasonable settlement. Chief amongst these would be Jayawardane's own "Purohithaya" from Kelaniya. The person who is most likely to serve him is the "paper lion — cub" who, due to the short-sightedness of some of our leftists, managed to creep into parliament and having done so, is trying his utmost to base himself upon the Sinhala trading and upper-petty bourgeoisie. There has also emerged two Capitalist newspaper groups bent on blowing-up these "heroes". It is our fervent hope that the radical forces of the S.L.F.P., who are today pulling out in opposition to the Party's "National government leanings" would not get attracted towards communalism, which would appear at first sight to be a short-cut to popularity.

When we turn towards the North a basic question would be as to whether Amirthalingam, who was "brought" to Colombo with much fanfare, does in fact retain a popular base there today. Many in the north look upon these "Leaders" as persons who fled the country when the Tamils faced the most severe crisis in recent times. We can understand why the U.N.P. is taking considerable pains to reestablish these gentlemen, who fled the country with their families, having in some instances even disposed of their properties, in their base areas. Is this not a classic example of class collaboration?

A Capitalist newspaper has stated that the round-table without the T.U.L.F. was similar to a wedding without the bride. In reality it is not. Amirthalingam is not the "bride" but the Tamil youth movement. Though it is a fact that their representatives would never be part of the "round-table" we should have an assessment of their attitude towards these talks.

We are of the view that the Prabakaran-group, which is reckoned to be the most formidable of the youth groups, is totally opposed to the round-table conference. On the other hand, the other groups, who we learn have formed a front under the leadership of Uma Maheswaran's group, are likely to lend it critical support. But one could expect them to maintain this stand only if some result evolves from the talks which would appear to them to be a step towards their ultimate goal.

(A slightly abridged version of the "Desha Vimukthi" editorial, 2nd Jan.).

THE EAGLE HAS LANDED



Indian Ocean Turning into a War Zone

In his mad frenzy to crush the legitimate aspirations of the Tamil Nation J.R. Jayawardane has sought the help of the devils — the international forces of subversion, and turning the Indian ocean into a war zone. Acting in accordance with his recent statement that he would get the help from the devil if he could, Jayawardane has invited the notorious Israeli Intelligence Agency — The MOSSAD and the infamous S.A.S. mercenaries. The induction of these forces of subversion, the assistance sought from the Chinese to modernise the Sri Lankan Air Force, the agreement signed in Washington allowing U.S. oceanographic ships to survey Sri Lankan coastal seas, have firmly entrenched Sri Lanka in the U.S. — Israeli — Chinese axis generating tension in the Indian ocean region. Thus, the U.S. Eagle has landed in Sri Lanka and turning the island into an imperialist puppet state posing a threat of destabilisation to India.

We wish to point out that the Sri Lankan leaders have no genuine intentions to resolve the Tamil problem by negotiations through the good offices of India. Whipping up anti-Indian, anti-Tamil paranoia, the Sri Lankan chauvinistic ruling class is seeking a military solution and slipping into a dangerous trap. Adopting a ruthless policy of repression and domination of Tamils, Sri

Lanka is turning a regional, national crisis into an international conflict. The problem is no more an 'internal affair' as Jayawardane attempts to impress upon the Government of India, but rather it is fast growing into an international affair, with a direct and indirect participation of external forces hostile to India, whose objective is not simply crushing the Tamil liberation struggle but the encirclement and destabilisation of the Indian nation.

India should take a serious view of the operations of the Israeli Intelligence Agency, which is a covert organisation of the C.I.A. whose project is not simply confined to training the Sinhala military in anti-guerrilla warfare, but rather to draft a programme of subversion in that region. Exploiting the Tamil problem, the U.S. is penetrating in the island through the medium of its allies. Already the U.S. has stepped up its penetration by gaining a contract to run the oil tanks at Trincomalee through a consortium of covert firms with American interests, and setting up power communication network in the island. The so-called agreement on Science and Technology co-operation signed in Washington recently between the two countries, will enable the gradual and systematic entrenchment of imperialism in Sri Lanka and will finally turn Lanka into a U.S. base posing a direct threat to the southern flank of India.

LANKA SEEKS THE DEVILS

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