



The commemorative committee

# Comrade KAS Commemoration Volume

(A collection of Tributes)





"Sathiamanai"  
ehulipuram



# Comrade K.A. Subramaniam (KAS) Commemoration Volume

(A collection of messages and Tributes)

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Comrade KAS Commemoration Volume  
(A Collection of Messages and Tributes)

K. A. SUBRAMANIAM (KAS)

Born 05-03-1931

Died: 27-11-1989

### First Edition:

K. A. Subramaniam Commemoration Committee

15/1, Power House Road, Jaffna, Sri Lanka.

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The Ceremonial Release of the Commemoration Volume

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Book released by Professor. S. Thillainathan, Head of the Department of Tamil, University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka

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On behalf of K. A. Subramaniam Commemoration Committee

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## Notes from this memorial book in 1989...

The commemorative committee is delighted to announce the release of this memorial book in honor of the late General Secretary of [Sri Lanka Communist Party \(Left\)](#), [K.A. Subramaniam](#), on the first month commemoration of his passing. These are just a few short snippets that commemorate comrade KAS. But these pages show that the deep and meaningful ideas and assessments contained within are not mere lip service or formal phrases usually awarded to a deceased person.

Since a book based on research is set to follow this issue, and due to the increased cost of printing, the memorial committee requests a gift of twenty rupees to buy this book despite the tradition for memorial issues.

### [An overview of the final tribute](#)

The remains of comrade KAS who passed away at the [Kandy](#) Hospital on 27-11-1989 was brought to Jaffna and was placed at the Party Headquarters in Jaffna city for the tribute of Party comrades before being taken to [Sathiamanai](#) in [Chulipuram](#), Sri Lanka for the funeral service on 30-11-1989.

Comrade [S.K.Senthivel](#) presided over the funeral on behalf of the Party's final tribute committee. Twenty-one comrades and friends addressed the gathering. Family, Party comrades and friends paid the final floral tribute. There were no observances of religious practices, caste rituals, old customs etc. at the event. The event was held with the Party's revolutionary respect fit for a complete communist militant.

## We would like to extend our sincere thanks...

To All those who participated in the event to pay their respects despite barriers posed by the current situation in Jaffna; our thanks also goes to those who sent their condolences through telegrams and letters. We extend our love and gratitude to those that provided tributes to be published in this book within the shortest possible time while facing different circumstances and to the cover page designer and the staff and owner of Shri Parvati printing who toiled to give shape to this book.

[K.A. Subramaniam](#) Commemoration Committee  
15/1, Power House Road, Jaffna, Sri Lanka.  
30-December-1989



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## 1. Preface by South Vision Books for Comrade K.A. Subramaniam's Commemoration Volume

Professor George Derwent Thompson (1903 - 1987) of England pioneered the method of reading Greek classical literature in Marxist approaches. His book "Aeschylus and Athens" in 1941 and "Marxism and Poetry" in 1945 received international attention.

He was a member of the Communist Party of England and left the party after the Chinese Revolution due to differences of opinion. However, he continued to write various books enriching Marxism. He was close to the people until the very end. The rise of China today is the basis of his predictions.

Professor K. Kailasapathy is a student of George Thompson. While studying for his Ph.D., Thomson was the master of ceremonies. Following his style, K. Kailasapathy submitted a study on the heroic poetry of the Tamils under the title 'Tamil Heroic Poetry'. Oxford University published it in 1968.

When Kailasapathy came to India on behalf of University of Jaffna, he was approached by Ira Pandian, a postgraduate student from University of Madras in Tamil literature. Pandian obtained permission from Kailasapathy to publish his works. Ira Pandian has published books on literary criticism, poetry, and comparative literature. In turn, Pandian went to Jaffna, Sri Lanka. He had contact with the family of Kailasapathy.

When Comrade K.A. Subramaniam came up with the idea of publishing a book written by N. Raveendran in Tamil under the title "Bharathyiyin Meignanam" (Bharathi's Wisdom), he was looking for a publishing house to publish Kailasapathy's books. K. Kailasapathy died at that time and his wife Sarva Mangala was interrogated. He has issued a letter of recommendation. Comrades S. Thevaraja and A. Chandrahasan came to Tamil Nadu with that letter.

Meanwhile, Ira. Pandian handed over his publication to M. Balaji. In 1985, when M. Balaji was running the publishing house under the name 'Chennai Books', Comrades S. Thevaraja and A. Chandrahasan from Sri Lanka came to the office and wanted to meet Ira Pandian.

Balaji took them to the nearby Pandian's house. They handed the letter to Pandian. After reading the letter, Pandian said, "I do not publish books now. Balaji just publishes. Talk to him. "

The book was co-authored with the National Arts and Literary Association. Published by Balaji's 'Chennai Books'. This is the first time in Balaji's publishing venture that an organization has co-authored a book. It emerged as a new venture.

The present relationship between South Vision Books with the "Puthiya Poomi", "Puthiya Neethi" Publishing Houses of Sri Lanka and the National Arts and Literary Association and its authors began with the publication of Professor Kailasapathy's books. It was further developed by the efforts of Comrade K.A. Subramaniam to publish the books of N. Raveendran.

Currently, the books are growing in the Kindle format so that Tamils all over the world can read them on their smartphones. We feel it is an emotional moment that we are currently releasing the Commemoration Volume of Comrade K.A. Subramaniam on this development path.

Comrade KAS can be said to be like George Thompson of Sri Lanka. They both deal with their confidence as they choose to embark on their play activities. Some within the party have struggled to



advance the debate on it. Today their struggle is proving to be the right one. Those who stood in front of them have all but disappeared.

Comrade KAS was an enthusiastic nurturer of the method of studying traditional literature from a Marxist perspective. The fact that they came in search of contact with the publisher who published [K. Kailasapathy's](#) books reveals the same thing, and the fact that he sent Comrades [S. Thevaraja](#) and A. Chandrahasan in person to turn [Bharathi's](#) wisdom into a book shows his determination.

Our publication, South Vision Books, currently incorporates all the latest technologies, converts all books into e-books, and publishes them on websites, including the [Kindle](#). These books are paving the way for the world Tamil community to grow.

Comrade Buby, his daughter (Sathiamalar), and some comrades asked Balaji if the Commemoration Volume, published in 1989 in memory of Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#), could be put on the [Kindle](#) website as a book. We gladly started work that we would do right away. It is currently being released on [Kindle](#) as well.

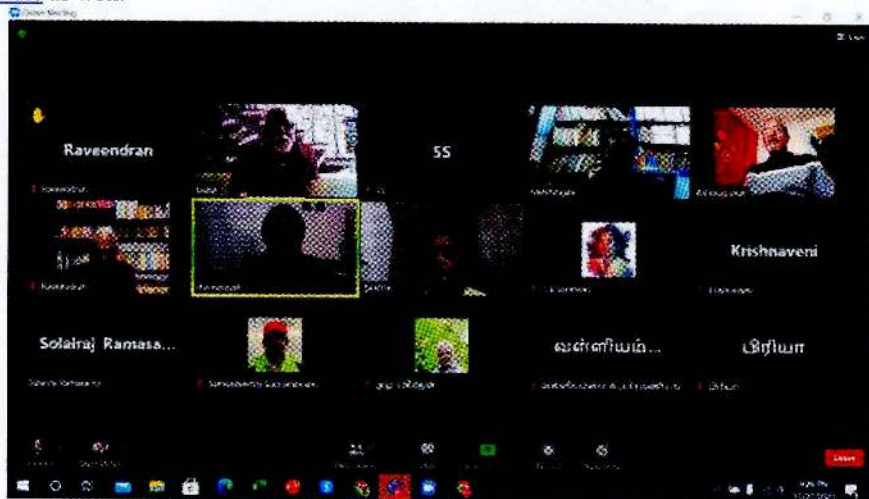


Photo 1: [South Vision Books](#) Founding Editor Comrade M.Balaji , Chief Editor Comrade T. Neethirajan , Comrade Balasukumar, Comrade N. Raveendran and Comrade N.S. Santhi are seen while Comrade [V. Divyarajan](#) addressing the Zoom meeting of the [Kindle](#) Tamil version [Book](#) released on [27th November, 2021](#).

Our sincere thanks and gratitude to Comrades Sri Manoharan Gnanasundaram of Sri Lanka, N.S. Santhi of New Delhi , [Neithalini](#) of USA and Arasi Vickneaswaran of Canada for translating some portions of this book. We would also like to inform you that “Comrade Maniam” is renamed as “Comrade KAS” for the benefit of the readers in English. We are delighted to have this memoir published by South Vision Books.

M.Balaji  
Founding Editor  
T. Neethirajan  
Chief Editor  
[South Vision Books](#)  
Chennai, India  
16 August 2022





in 1951 he joined the Communist Youth Movement and thereafter became a member of the Ceylon Communist Party. As a young Communist, aged 22, the first struggle Comrade KAS participated in was the island - wide **Hartal** of 1953. The **Hartal** which was jointly led by the Communist Party and other left parties, was a great success in the North too and paved the way for the emergence of a class consciousness and a sense of unity embracing the whole island. Comrade KAS who was inspired by the revolutionary fervour roused by the **Hartal**, and who was in close touch with the then leaders who guided the Communist Movement in the North like M. Karthigesan, **Dr. S.V Seenivasagam**, **Pon . Kandaih**, **A. Vaithilingam** and M. C. Subramaniam became a full - time party worker.

At the beginning, he was appointed to be in - charge of party work in the **K. K. S.** Electorate and was based in **Chunnakam**. During this period, the Trade Union in the **K. K. S.** Cement Factory was built amidst great difficulties and challenges. Although trade Union struggles began to make headway, Comrade KAS worked hard to build up the party outside the factory and to establish youth organisations affiliated with the party. KAS's weighty labours bore fruit: during this period, several intellectuals, teachers, students, and government servants were drawn toward communism.



Photo 3: With Comrades **Peter Keuneman**, **N. Shanmugathan**, **Sarath Muttetuwegama**, **V. Ponnambalam**, **Premalal Kumarasiri** and WA Dharmadasa in 1963

In 1956, as a result of **S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake**'s coming to power, some progressive measures were taken: one such measure was the takeover of schools. However, the Catholic hierarchy and



Tamil reactionaries joined hands to launch counter-measures. At this juncture, the Communist Party had to establish a solid campaign to support the takeover. The people supported this campaign. Comrade **K.A. Subramaniam** mobilised youths to support this campaign and was at the forefront of the movement.

In the latter half of the 1950s, he was chosen as a member of the Party's Northern Regional Committee and became the Regional Secretary of the Northern Region Communist Youth Movements.



Photo 4: Comrade KAS at the youth rally with **V. Ponnambalam**, I.R. Ariyaratnam and M.C. Subramaniam held in Jaffna in 1961

He used all his skills and talents to build up the Youth Movement as a politically and organisationally vital force. In 1963, the oppressed caste living in **Neervely**, were brutally assaulted, and caste fanatics set fire to their houses. The Youth Movement staged a protest march in Jaffna Town and collected funds for the affected people. **Dr. S.V Seenivasagam** led the protest march and chaired the Public Meeting held to condemn this brutality. Comrade KAS was at the forefront of this protest campaign. This was a forerunner of the later struggles against caste oppression.



From 1963 - 1964, the Ceylon Communist Party split due to the ideological struggle waged nationally and internationally. At that time, Comrade KAS lined up with the revolutionary forces guided by **Marxism-Leninism - Mao Zedong Thought**. Through this ideological struggle, he resolved to take forward the revolutionary work based on a revolutionary party.



**Photo 5: Comrade KAS in the Chunakam uprising rally on protesting casteism (21st October 1966) with Comrades DD Perera, V.A. Kandasamy and Dr. Seenivasagam**

After 1964, while being one of the leading members of the Revolutionary Communist Party, he led the struggle against wrong ideas and practices both within and outside the party. He joined with other sincere Communists in the party to oppose those who spouted revolutionary textbook slogans while they possessed a **bourgeois** parliamentary outlook. In these struggles, he adopted a balanced ideological stand. At the same time, he stressed that as the party of the oppressed classes, it should launch mass struggles centered on their most pressing problems. He took the lead in getting resolutions to this effect passed in the party. These resulted in the mass upsurge on **21st October 1966 at Chunnakam**. Comrade KAS led the upsurge and was one of those principally responsible for guiding and taking forward the struggles.

Following this upsurge, Comrade KAS rendered invaluable service to the party and the people by providing a correct and balanced leadership to mass struggles that combined both battles within and outside the confines of the law. As a result, the broad united front was built to fight untouchability, and with the principles, practices, and strategy, he helped to formulate a historic, unforgettable mass organisation. The historic victories of the people at **Chankanai - Nitchamam, Maviddapuram, Madduvil - Manthuvil, Karaveddy - Kanpolai** were mainly due to Comrade KAS's guidance which combined practical realism and a balanced ideological outlook. Comrade KAS was confident that the Communist Party should fight not only caste oppression but also spearhead struggles in other spheres, and he acted accordingly.



From 1964 to 1971, Comrade KAS was at the forefront of the Trade Union and farmers' struggles, the youth movement, and the anti-imperialist struggle: all these activities were centered around the party and the youth movement. The climax of these activities was reached in 1969 when the UNP Government banned the **May Day Rally** and Meeting. KAS organised a mass procession to protest the ban. He was brutally assaulted by the police and acquired bleeding injuries. Nevertheless, through this struggle, he shone forth as an exemplary Communist, manifesting the revolutionary fervor, courage, dedication, and self-sacrifice characteristic of Communist militants.

In the history of the left movement in Sri Lanka, on several occasions, Communist leaders have slipped up due to political and economic circumstances, deviated from their ideals, and became inactive. As a result, the enemies of the left and Communist Movement used these lapses as a trump card against the left movement. But Comrade KAS, till he breathed his last, lived as a Communist both in word and deed. This is the legacy he has bequeathed to today's younger generation and the future generation.



Photo 6: Comrade KAS at the Youth Committee with [S. Yoganathan](#), I.R. Ariyaratnam and Neervai Ponnaiyan held in Jaffna in 1962

In the 1970s, Comrade KAS played a decisive role in the struggle against Wrong ideologies and practices within the party. At a time when in defining the stages of the revolution in Sri Lanka and the formation of a united front in the new democratic revolutionary step, dogmatism and sectarianism held sway within the Party, Comrade **K.A. Subramaniam** waged a disciplined, ideological struggle, within the party, against these trends. But at no stage did he form clandestine



groups within the party to violate the organization's rules. On the contrary, he abided by the majority's decision even when they waged ideological struggles based on principles.

After 1964, several hundreds of members and carders who had joined the party because it was a **Revolutionary Party** became dissatisfied with the Party leadership and began to quit the party in 1972 and became isolated individuals. Yet, KAS joined the comrades who decided to stay in the party and were confident they could build up the party anew, on the correct lines.

Comrade **K.A. Subramaniam** and the other comrades who continued to stay in the Party which had Comrade **N. Shanmugathasan** as its General Secretary, were forced to change their position in 1978 at a special Party Conference summoned in the middle of 1978. However, a full report incorporating correct ideological, political, and organisational standpoints was presented for debate under the leadership of Comrade KAS. Unfortunately, the report was not accepted, and arbitrary decisions were made. In this background, Party members who had assembled from various parts of the island decided to form a separate party. Comrade KAS accepted the proposal wholeheartedly and came forward to implement it resolutely.



Photo 7: Comrade KAS at the Rally with Comrades S. Navaratnam, E. Selvanayagam, K. Panchalingam and S. K. Senthivel held in Jaffna in 1980

On 3rd July, 1978, Party members held a Conference at Jaffna. At that Conference, it was decided that the new party should be named **Sri Lanka Communist Party (left)** until a Party Congress was held. The Conference chose an interim Organizing Committee, and Comrade KAS was elected Secretary of the Committee. Comrade KAS deployed all his skills to build up the party as a strong organisation and to make it take root among the working people. From 1978 till the early part of 1984, past faults were weeded out through retrospection and introspection, and the path was laid for the party's ideological, political, and organisational consolidation.



From the bottom upward, they have adhered to the principle of democratic centralism. Dogmatism, sectarianism, extremism, and all the principles and practices rooted in a non-dialectical outlook were criticised and rejected, and laid down guidelines for the assessment of united fronts. As for the [National Question](#), sterile positions were denied and formulated a clear standpoint. Reviewed the national and international situations and adopted correct principles corresponding to contemporary reality. On this basis, the first National Congress of the [Sri Lanka Communist Party \(left\)](#) was held on the 2nd and 3rd September 1984. The Central Committee elected at this Congress chose Comrade KAS as the General Secretary. As a leader, he served the party and people with honor and dignity until the end of his life.

Comrade KAS played the central role in formulating the party's standpoint on the [National Question](#). The sterile views adopted by the old party concerning Tamils as a nation and the right to self-determination were rejected. Instead, a principled, balanced approach incorporating a long-term perspective was adopted. Comrade KAS emphasised that the [National Question](#) could not be solved on a hurried petit-bourgeois basis and that the demand for separation was impracticable. At the same time, he did not fail to stress that a relentless struggle against majority chauvinism was inseparable from the national liberation struggle. Through the Party's Central Committee, he repeatedly stressed that military activities would not provide an interim solution to the ethnic problem and urged the need for an equitable political solution based on tripartite talks (the Tamil militants, the Sri Lankan State, and India).

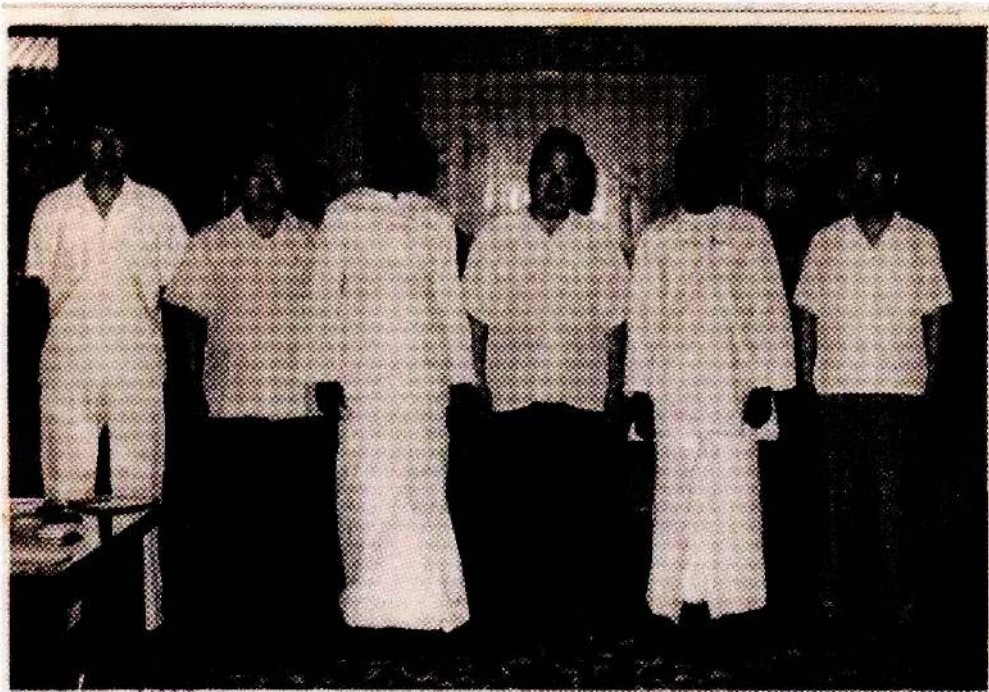


Photo 8: Comrade KAS seen with Chinese vice premier Comrade [Chen Yi](#) during his trip to the People's Republic of China in 1963.

After 1983, when Sri Lanka's ethnic problem became complicated in various ways, India went from being a non-partisan, friendly neighbor to establishing its regional hegemony using the ethnic problem as a tool. As a result, comrade KAS very strongly opposed India.



He emphasized the need for all patriotic, democratic forces to unite and resolutely oppose India's hegemonism and safeguard our country's independence and sovereignty. Comrade KAS was responsible for imbuing into the minds of his party members a conviction that they should be ready to sacrifice anything for the nation's sake, the welfare of the people, and the liberation of the workers. He firmly believed it was meaningless to speak empty slogans or prize hollow honors.

Today, the people of this country, including the Tamils, are experiencing untold misery. Through the party, KAS stressed the need for an alternative government that could provide a minimum solution. On this basis, he supported the candidature of **Mrs. Srima Bandaranaike** the candidate of the popular, democratic forces at the **last Presidential Election**. He played a significant role in her Jaffna campaign. Through this, the way Communist paved for the unity of and mutual understanding between the progressive, democratic, and patriotic forces.

Comrade **K.A. Subramaniam** had very high regard for proletarian internationalism. He worked eagerly to foster the ties and links between Communist fraternal parties. Comrade KAS always stressed the necessity for our party to have direct relations with the Chinese Communist Party and Socialist China. With a clear vision, he strove to establish ties with other fraternal parties and socialist countries. In 1963, 1967, 1975, and 1979, he visited the People's Republic of China, and in 1967 he visited **Albania** as a member of the party, youth movement, and trade union delegations, which undertook goodwill missions to these countries.



Photo 9: Comrade KAS delivers his speech at the **Youth Conference Kongresi I 5-te I BRPSII** held in **Albania** in 1967.

Comrade **K.A. Subramaniam** helped to bring out Party newspapers like the "**Sempathahai**", '**Red Banner**' and '**Puthiya Boomi**' and advised, which helped to win these papers the esteem of the people, and contributed to their growth. Moreover, his guidance and advice greatly benefited the functioning of the '**Thesiya Kalai Illakiya Perava**' ( **National Arts and Literary Association** ) and its organ "**Thayakam**", which rendered excellent service to the cause of art and literature.



Comrade KAS was a committed Communist militant and a worthy leader. At the same time, outside the party, he had several friends among the progressive, democratic, and patriotic forces he respected. He considered advice on how best to use the talents and skills of learned men, educationists, artists, writers, and intellectuals for the people's liberation and social change.

Comrades and Friends,

Comrade **K.A. Subramaniam** dedicated his life to work for the welfare of the country and the liberation of the oppressed people. The Central Committee of the **Sri Lanka Communist Party (Left)** declares, with a sense of inner satisfaction, that Comrade KAS was a worthy Communist Leader who self-effacingly poured all his talents into service for the people. The Party dips its red flag to pay a revolutionary tribute to a selfless Comrade who has passed away.



Photo 10: The police poised to baton charge the banned May Day procession and arrested Comrade KAS in Jaffna in 1969.

The Central Committee and the Party firmly resolve to carry forward, despite all obstacles, the revolutionary legacy left behind by Comrade KAS through his life and guidance and to safeguard the rich experiences garnered on the basis of **Marxism-Leninism - Mao Zedong Thought**.

The Central Committee conveys its sympathies and Condolences to Comrade KAS's wife **Valliammai** and the children Sathiarajan, Sathiamalar and Satheakeerthy who shared the trials, tribulations and triumphs of Comrade K.A. Subramaniam and made it possible for him to lead, both in word and deed, the life of a Communist militant and leader and thus serve both the Party and the people.



CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Sri Lanka Communist Party (Left)

15/1, Power House Road,

Jaffna, Sri Lanka. 17 December 1989.

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India – Sri Lanka treaty did not involve the concerned people’s representatives; It was between the two governments, hence it was not a holistic one and had many practical problems. Not only did it fail at solving the problem but it further generated new crisis. The India-Sri Lanka treaty did not bring solution to ethnic tension yet, some advantageous aspects in that can be used to arrive at a political solution to ethnic problems in Sri Lanka.

What is current crisis in Sri Lanka? (12/10/1989 from Party Manifesto)

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### 3. K.A. Subramaniam ( By Sirima R. D. Bandaranaike )



Photo 11: Comrade KAS at the campaign for 1982 Sri Lankan national referendum with Sirima R. D. Bandaranaike held in Chankanai .

I am glad to have this opportunity of paying my tribute to a man who had dedicated his life to the cause of his people, by making a contribution to the souvenir to be published on the occasion of the 31<sup>st</sup> day of his death. We are aware that he has rendered great service to the cause of the left movement in Sri Lanka. His aim was to bring about unity and understanding among all races living in Sri Lanka.

I must especially mention the fact that he gave me his full support to organise my presidential election campaign in the North in spite of the fact that he was not in the best of health. His sudden death is a great loss for the cause for which he worked and lived.

Sri Lanka Freedom Party offers its deepest condolences to the members of his family and his party.

Sirima R. D. Bandaranaike

12-12-1989 Colombo

Leader of the Opposition

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"What is the problem of the Tamil people? We stand here with all the forces fighting for a solution, not for our own ambitions or anything else. We hope that Sirima Bandaranaike will try to get rid of this Peace Indo-Sri Lanka Accord deal and the Indian Army."- K.A Subramaniam 1988 Jaffna / Pandatharippu Hindu College Play Grounds

Mrs Bandaranake public meeting in Jaffna during IPKF period in 1988 by Sri Lanka Communist Party (Left) Part 1.

Mrs Bandaranake public meeting in Jaffna during IPKF period in 1988 by Sri Lanka Communist Party (Left) Part 2.

Mrs Bandaranake public meeting in Jaffna during IPKF period in 1988 by Sri Lanka Communist Party (Left) Part 3.

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#### 4. Comrade K. A. Subramaniam (By S. D. Bandaranaike )

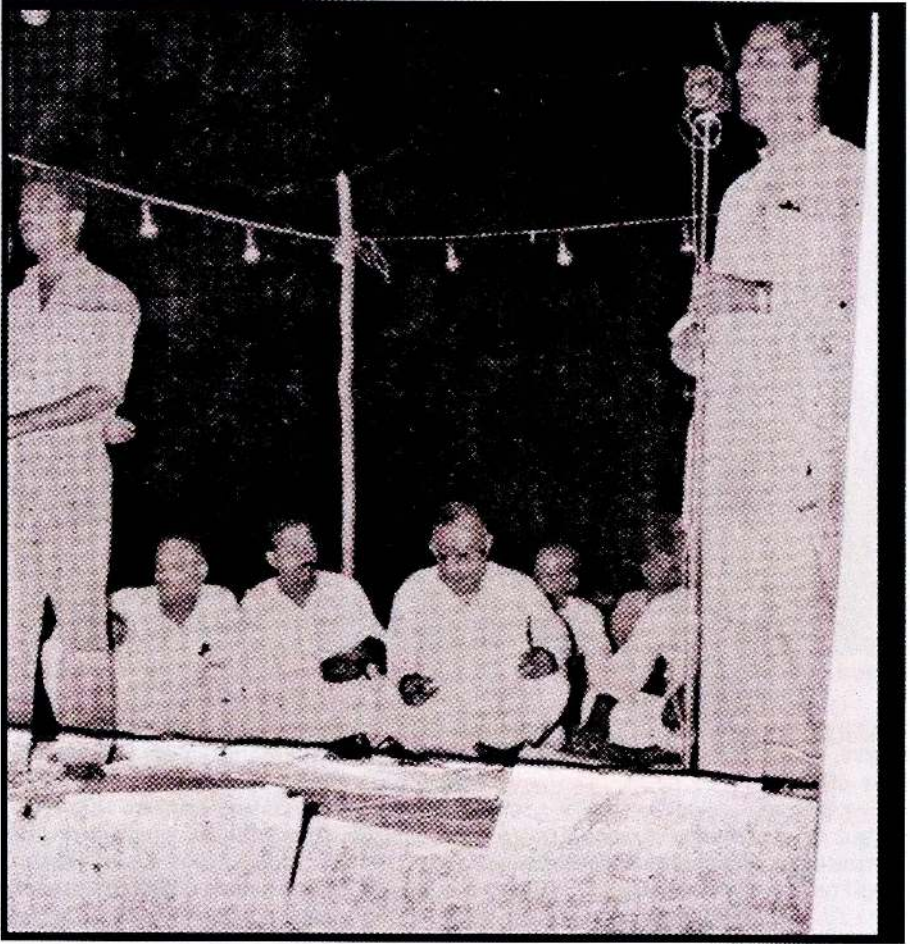


Photo 12: Comrade [S. D. Bandaranaike](#) delivers his speech at the meeting held in [Chunnakam](#) in 1966.

I had the privilege of knowing, Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) the General Secretary of the Sri Lanka communist party (left) a man whose selfless dedication to the betterment of man , for which he had devoted all his life Subramaniam was a great man whom I had known closely.

It would be appropriate to state that his struggle for National Unity in Sri Lanka was always upper - most in all his work. Although he has passed away, I believe his spirit will always live in our minds. The Sri Lankan people will not forget him.

Yakkala [S. D. Bandaranaike](#)  
Sri Lanka Progressive Front



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“Former Member of Parliament [SD Bandaranayake](#) who was a voice of democratic and progressive forces in Sri Lanka and an upholder of positions supportive of the left passed away on 3rd June 2014 at the age of 98 years. The news of his departure saddens the democratic, progressive and left forces and toiling masses of Sri Lanka.

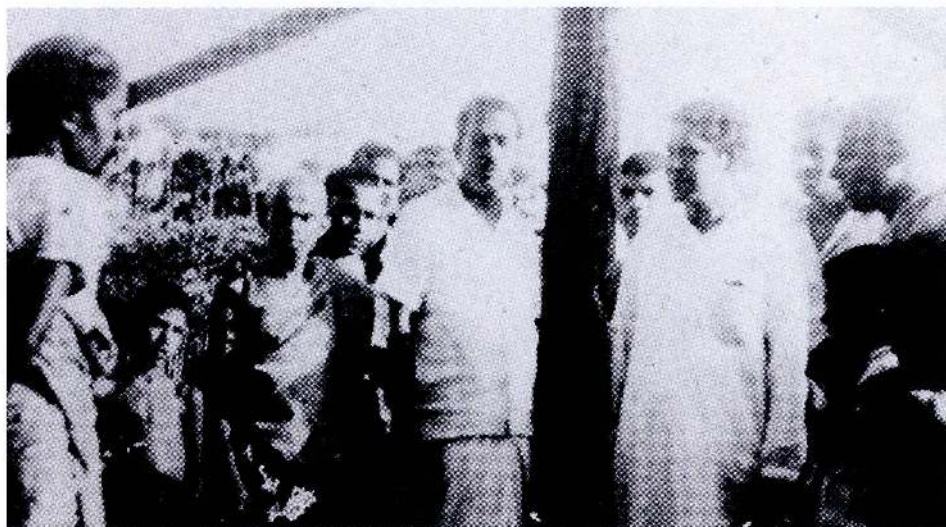


Photo 13: S. D. Bandaranaike inspecting a house burnt by upper caste in 1969 with Comrade KAS

[SD Bandaranayake](#) who was elected to parliament in 1956 remained a consistent democratic progressive, a supporter of the left, and a courageous activist inside and outside parliament. When members of the [UNP](#) led by [JR Jayewardene](#) went on a march to [Kandy](#) in 1957 to oppose the [Bandaranayake-Chelvanayakam Pact](#), claiming that the agreement designed to grant Tamils their rights was a secessionist move, [SD Bandaranayake](#) took the initiative to mobilize people to obstruct the march at Imbulgoda on the Colombo-Kandy road in the Gampaha electorate and force the [UNP](#) to retreat to Colombo. [SD Bandaranayake](#) himself lay across the road as an act of protest.

During the struggles in the North in the 1960s against caste oppression and untouchability, [SD Bandaranayake](#) spoke in support of the struggles in parliament as well as visited the North to personally express solidarity with the struggling masses. At the time, during a parliamentary debate he dared to quote Lenin that “the parliament was a den of thieves” and declare that the Parliament of Ceylon too was a den of thieves. As a result he was forcefully removed from the House of Representatives and suspended from parliament for two weeks. He always supported the people and their just struggles. As a result he was arrested in 1971 and detained for more than two years. He spoke firmly in support of granting the Tamil people their just rights and campaigned for the rights of workers, peasants and plantation workers.

As a result of his above political stand, he was a long standing friend of the [Party](#) who continued to maintain his bond with the Party. In a context in which racism and religious fanaticism are wreaking havoc in the south of the Country, his departure is a loss that very much saddens the Party and the people of the country. The [Party](#) expresses its deepest condolences and heartfelt sorrow to his wife, children and other members of the family and to the people of Gampaha.”

- [SK Senthivel in 2014](#)



## 5. A Dedicated Fighter (By M. HALEEM ISHAK, M. P )

A dedicated fighter for the rights of the working class the late Mr. K.A. Subramaniam will undoubtedly be long remembered for the invaluable services rendered by him to all sections of the people for a period of several decades.

As the General Secretary of the Sri Lanka Communist Party (left) Mr. Subramaniam had to carry on an arduous struggle in a political arena where self centered leaders had always been attempting to bamboozle the predominant Population for their own class interests. But the courageous struggle he carried on was able to earn much fame through the manner in which he approached the problems. His was an objective attitude towards the struggle which called for much valour and vigour.



Photo 14: Comrade KAS at the presidential election campaign with Sirima R. D. Bandaranaike held in Jaffna in 1988

Being an enlightened and exemplary communist he was basically a genuine patriot and true friend all down - trodden people. He was a leading progressive personage well known among all who were fighting for a common cause. His political outlook had always surpassed those of most other Tamil leaders. He had a wider perspective of the struggle of the people, of Sri Lanka. The urgent priority was to achieve national emancipation of the people. Community and even class interest however much they figured high in the political agenda had to take secondary place for such struggle to be triumphant.

It was with this view in mind that he at the last "1988 Sri Lankan presidential election " openly and vigorously supported the candidature of Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike the nominee of the S. L. F. P the party that he correctly adjudged to be possessing potentiality over all other parties to defeat anti people manoeuvres of reactionary forces.

It is an undisputed right of the people regardless of many social divisions to fight together hand in hand as one formidable force for their emancipation and consolidation of their freedom sovereignty and independence. It was with this philosophy that made our K.A. Subramaniam a renowned politician and a progressive fighter he was. It is a laudable gesture on the part of the commemoration committee to put out a souvenir on the eventful life of this worthy leader of the people.

M. HALEEM ISHAK, M. P.

77, Dr. N. M. Perera Mawatha , COLOMBO - 8

## 6. A Human Tree has leaned (Poem by R. Siva Rajendran)



Photo 15: Comrade Siva Rajendran during the last tribute to Comrade KAS 1989

This human tree has not fallen.

It has leaned its head.

Dedicating its

Leaves, roots and flowers,

Everything including itself

To this forest of the masses,

This human tree has not fallen.

It has leaned.

The fertile seeds from its ripened fruits,

Soaked in the sweat and and drenched in the blood

Of the farmers and labourers across the nation

Have now sprouted roots and are yeilding.

While many were gathering oil

Under the pretense of burying,  
This human tree continued to burn  
Despite the absence of oil.

Burning itself  
While creating numerous volcanoes  
To keep the flames going into the future,  
This human tree has put its head down  
And has slightly leaned.

Our hill-country is one-of-a-kind-  
Full of  
Deceptions in the name of God,  
Failures in the name of trade unions,  
And now,  
Destruction in the name of movements.

Our up-country is one-of-a-kind.  
Hard to touch,  
And harder to walk in.  
This camaraderie  
Continued to spread roots,  
Walked until exhausted,  
Gathered masses from all four directions,  
And finally wished to collapse and lean in,  
In the very soil of the upcountry,  
To rest, to get rid of the exhaustion.



Searching the darkness,  
We thought we were looking for wisdom,  
In a directionless deep jungle, blindfolded in black fabric.  
The great camaraderie that directed us  
With emotions,  
Towards the sublime path of loving the working people,  
Has leaned his physical self, resting.

We laid asleep in the drizzle.  
He shook us awake, drew us towards this "Sathiamanai"  
And taught us the truths.  
The great comrade's  
Relentlessly hardworking, tired  
Physical self  
Has leaned in rest.

Comrades,  
This Comrade loved the people.  
Till there is humanity in this world,  
His emotions will continue.  
Wherever the lights are lit  
for the new-born dawns,  
His teachings will be the morning star,  
Lighting the path.

In our hill-country  
filled with  
Beatings and tramlings and  
Walkways that go through Jungles of corpses,  
Tomorrow, there will be a bloom  
Of the up-country roses.  
They will remain open, in the colour of his skin,  
fertilized by the sublime feelings  
Of the great comrade  
Who is leaning in rest.

The ambitions that took shape  
Within this sublime comrade  
Who loved the working people  
Will reach great heights.  
Until then,  
Let the Comrade rest  
His physical self.

Come on comrades!  
Let's conquer this world.  
Let's constantly sow the emotions  
Of the comrade  
Who gave up his entire life  
For our lives.  
Let's beat our thunderous war drums

Until we achieve commonality.

Let's unite and bring our shoulders together

So that the left communist party

Will raise the energy of the youth.

Let's carefully spread out the seeds

Of the left communist party

That was cherished by the Comrade

Like the apple of his eyes.

Let's pave way for dawns,

By protecting dearly, the grand party trees

That have already grown so well

Across the country.

Let's continue to follow the path of Comrade,

This is not chaos,

But only the beginning!

**R. Siva Rajendran (Dean, Batticaloa National College of Education)**



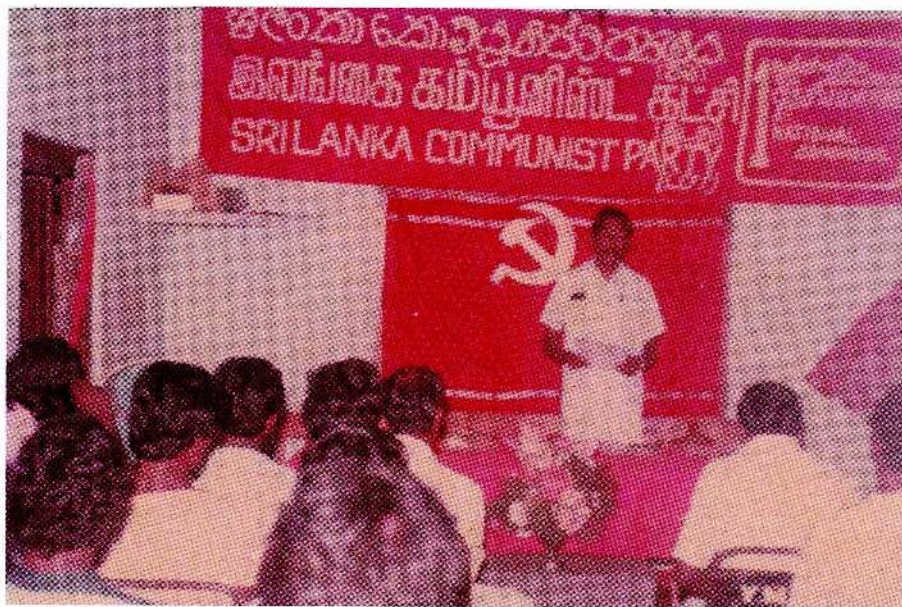


Photo 16: Comrade KAS during the First National Congress of Sri Lanka Communist Party (Left) 1984

## 7. Rare Politician (By Prof S. Sivasegaram )

It requires extraordinary courage to take political stances which are not acceptable to people in power and to people who speak only the language of guns. It takes far more than strength of will to defy the majority Chauvinism in defence of the minority without falling victim to narrow rationalist sentiments and following the emotional tide. K. A. Subramaniam, the General Secretary of the Sri Lanka communist party (left), who died on 27-November-1989 after some months of serious illness was a rare politician in the context of Sri Lankan politics amidst ethnic conflict.



Photo 17: 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Comrade KAS, Prof. Jayadeva Uyangoda delivered the Commemoration Lecture titled “Irreconcilability of Reconciliation. Reconciliation after War: Thinking beyond Solitudes”. Summary translations were provided in Tamil by Prof S Sivasegaram.in 2014

He started his political life as a young communist and remained loyal to the Marxist Leninist line from his early days in the party, through the major split in 1964 between the pacifist parliamentarist section and the proletarian revolutionary section of the Ceylon Communist Party (CCP), up to the very end of his life. The splits which weakened the CCP and the subsequent splintering of the Marxist - Leninist section because of the opportunism of the leadership did neither dent his confidence in the communist cause nor weaken his resolve in taking the struggle forward.

He had remarkable organisational skills and leadership qualities, but he never sought a position within the party and preferred to work for the cause with dignity and determination. It was with much reluctance that he accepted the position of General Secretary of the CPSL (left) a few years ago when the young and enthusiastic members of the party wanted a person with experience and maturity to lead the party during a period of national political crisis.

He displayed a sense of balance and objectivity in dealing with problems small and large. He was in the front line in the struggles against exploitation and oppression and when senior party leaders ran for cover during police attack on a May day demonstration in the late 1960's, K.A. Subramaniam refused to desert and was brutally attacked with batons.



He was among the few leaders of the movement against caste oppression in the north who acted to ensure that the struggle was directed against the handful of oppressors and not allowed to develop into a caste war. This clarity of vision was again evident in the line taken by the [CPSL \(left\)](#) on the [National Question](#), where the [CPSL \(left\)](#) backed the struggle for liberation while firmly rejecting separatism as the only solution.

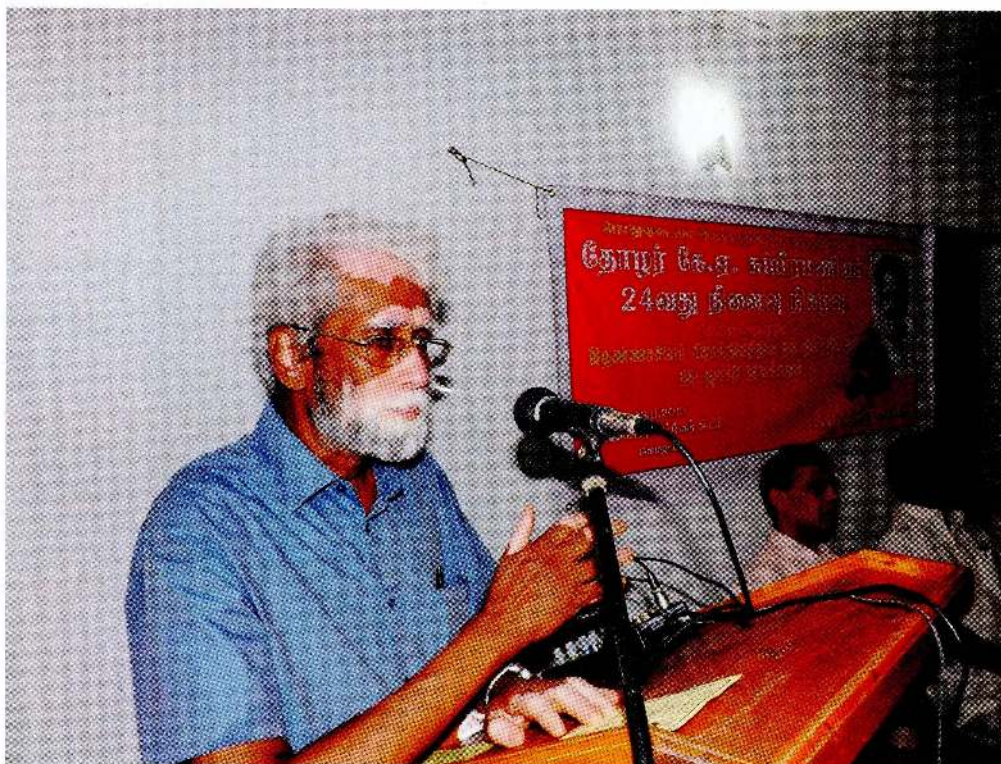


Photo 18: 24<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Comrade KAS, presided by Prof S Sivasegaram. Comrade Sanjay Singhvi, Coordinator, Asian Coordination Committee of the International Coordination of Revolutionary Parties and Organizations (ICOR) and Head of International Affairs, [Communist Marxist-Leninist Party of India](#) in 2013

[K.A. Subramaniam](#) always believed in uniting all progressive forces against the oppressors and rejected sectarianism His ability to mobilise progressive forces with political differences was demonstrated on several occasions and particularly in the highly successful election rally in support of the [SLFP](#) candidate at the last presidential election, organized by the [CPSL \(left\)](#) in the north.

He never believed in taking advantage of individuals or organisations or using others to achieve his ends. To him politics was a matter of unity and struggle, both principled. His death has robbed the Tamil community and the progressive forces of Sri Lanka of a sincere, humble and honest revolutionary political leader.

- [Prof S. Sivasegaram](#). 6-December-1989



## 8. A Sound Politician (By Justice T. W. RAJARATNAM )

At the early stages of my practice as an Advocate and thereafter, [Subramaniam](#) had me retained in the most difficult cases filed against Workers and Trade Unionists. It was at a time when the Workers and Trade Unionists were harassed both by the State and Society.



Photo 19: TWR's son T.C. Rajaratnam represented (for free of cost) in the High Court of Colombo for the cases filed by the Attorney-General of Sri Lanka, against KAS's son Subramaniam Sathiarajan alias [Meeran Master](#), while he was detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and Emergency Regulations from 1984 to 1987.

[K.A. Subramaniam](#) was, however, an inspiring leader and we hardly lost a single case. The last case appeared for him was a Caste case at [Chavakachcheri connected with the Temple Entry](#). The High Class Tamils were out to poison the wells and the police were helping them to prevent the depressed classes from going into the Temple yard.

The depressed classes organised themselves and restrained the police from doing this foul act. They even assaulted the police. It was a sensational case and the high class interests were demonstrating

outside the Court. We won the case. Subramaniam as a true leader had prepared the case so well inspite of all the disadvantages in the Caste ridden area.

K.A. Subramaniam was well read in politics and had his own political philosophies which he often shared with me. We had a few political differences but that did not prevent us from meeting and having useful discussions.

Subramaniam was a very affectionate friend and never failed to meet me when he came to Colombo, had the opportunity to meet his son. He was a family friend, a sound politician and a great gentleman. I share the grief over his death with the members of his family and his friends.

K.A. Subramaniam was patriot, a humanist and a lover of people. He was the Champion of the oppressed and throughout his life he carried on a relentless Crusade against the oppressors.

He has fought his battles valiantly and his life has been a Victory over death.

Colombo. . T. W. RAJARATNAM

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"A man should not be afraid of death. In the event of war. I think the best way to die is on the battlefield. You fight the enemy to the finish, and if you are hit by a bullet, that's If there is no war. You work hard, very hard, until you are drained of your last ounce of strength and drop dead"

- Zhou Enlai

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## 9. Demise of a noble human (By Poet R. Murugaiyan)



Photo 20: Poet R. Murugaiyan family in Sathiamanai with KAS's family and neighbors in 1986

Mr. K.A. Subramaniam has passed away. K.A. Subramaniam was a noble human, and people affectionately called him 'Comrade.' He had ambitious goals, which he revered more than his life. He was more than a thinker, an achiever who worked relentlessly, day and night, for the principles he stood for.

He had dedicated his entire life to the liberation of oppressed and depressed people. He played a pivotal role in the anti-caste movement. The courage, energy and enthusiasm K.A. Subramaniam expressed during those crucial times were exemplary and these traits are worth to be remembered in the history.

I have got an opportunity only in the recent past, to get acquainted with him. Yet even in these short five to six years, I have learned a lot about his innate good qualities. He had clarity in his thoughts and was skillful at prioritizing and delegating his works.

Recently he was interested in publishing pamphlets and books that detailed (Marxist) ideologies. K.A. Subramaniam also envisioned organising regular seminars and research conferences. Even when indisposed, his thoughts were engulfed with planning the party's future and its growth.

The passing of such a great leader gives immense grief to us. Our sincere condolences to his family and friends.

Neerveli South R. Murugaiyan



10. Great loss for progressive people (By S.T.N Nagarathinam's family)



Photo 21: Standing With S.T. Nagarathinam (Left) , [V. Dharmalingam](#) (Right) during the [Soviet Communist Party delegation to Sri Lanka](#)

We have known late comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) from 1956 since he was working as a full-time worker in the [Chunnakam](#) branch party office. He was instrumental in bringing the Soviet cultural group that visited the [Chunnakam](#) office in Sri Lanka in 1957. Subsequently, he played a significant role in the growth of the Communist party in Sri Lanka. In [1966, he led a massive protest against caste atrocity in Chunnakam](#). We witnessed his fighting spirit, courage, and determination during this protest.

Subsequently, he took part personally in all the protests organised by late S.T.N. Nagarathinam for demanding rights and engaged in all activities with genuine interest and intention. Despite being born in a “dominant community”, he was empathetic towards the struggle faced by our people. As he was closely associated with late Comrade S.T.N. Nagarathinam, our families also came closer. His demise is not only a loss for his family, but it is a significant loss for all progressive thinkers who have a love for humanity—our sincere condolences to the bereaved family.

Thanks

Family of Comrade S.T. Nagarathinam's family, [Chunnakam](#).

11. KAS has a great love for humanity (By Prof. S. Thillainathan)



Photo 22: Comrade [S.K. Senthilvel](#) shares the stage with [Prof. S. Thillainathan](#) and Comrade [K. Thanikasalam](#) (Chief editor of [Thayagam magazine](#)) on the occasion of 23<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of Comrade K.A.Subramaniam

We lost Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#), but as [Bharathiyar](#) challenged,

“We searched for material comforts and to satiate our hunger

Engaged in menial activities and gossips

At the end of the day, feel sad because of our suffering

We do hurt many by our actions

And this become routine till we become old

Then became prey for our destiny

Do you think, my life too would end like any other aimless wanderer? ”

He left with the same question. Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) led a selfless life and he not only loved his own country and its people but loved the entire humanity to which he dedicated his life.

He strived tirelessly in liberating the oppressed and exploited people. Even in the face of repressions, ethnic tensions and life threatening situations, Comrade did not give up and fearlessly persisted and stood by his principles, nourished the path that cherished humanity.

His determination and sacrificing nature are reminiscent of the words of English philosopher [Bertrand Russel](#) who said that the nationalists always talks about sacrificing their life for the nation and not about taking away the lives of others.

Even during times when people used politics to aggrandise power, position and popularity, Comrade did not incline to such interests; instead, he was interested in a kind of politics that would result in welfare for peasants, workers, and the poor. To strengthen that sort of political motives, he willingly underwent innumerable sufferings, ignored his acute illness and neglected his health, endured hard ships and embraced the people with generosity to integrate them in his objectives. His constant encouragement for the efforts of people was one of his most popular traits. Even when he realised that death was fast approaching, he had expressed the prominent urge to complete the actions that had been initiated.

His is a loss that is not only limited to his family, friends and relatives. Our sincere condolences to all who bereave his loss.

[Prof. S. Thillainathan](#)

[University of Peradeniya](#) .

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The sky, mountain, land, river, tree, leaves, flowers will wilt away and in the cold melt and disappear

One could see the merit of the labour and awaken

The severity of the cold may go away in the deep valley and get disappear

Don't give up thinking that the atrocities like these may raise its heads

But have a hope that these atrocities will definitely one day it would get demolished one day.

Thanks for '[Sepannitta Padimangal](#)'

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## 12. Comrade KAS revered the humanity (By S. Patkunam )

Being opportunistic is the mark of today's politics. In such situation, he was not depend on the opportunities that come on his way but voluntarily created new opportunities to liberate the marginalised people and he dedicated his entire life for their wellbeing. That great friend had passed away.

He was not making empty promises and not the one who would hide when actions are expected. He was always seen in the forefront of any struggles that aimed to demand the rights of marginalised people. While leading the movement, he guided the people in their whole journey of protest and did not ever try to be away from them. Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#), organised and led anti-caste movements, clarified their thoughts philosophically, followed strategic techniques to handle the agitation, guided the movements throughout and gave his entire life to win collective goals and to uproot all the residuals of dynastic powers. He did not slanderously use the idea of egalitarianism (Socialism). His thoughts, talk and actions were with full of intergeration had been directed towards the liberation of oppressed people.

Comrade KAS had not only respected humanism but also well aware of those who opposed it. He neglected his health though he was suffering but always thoughtful of curing the social evils that affected our society. Even in the state of suffering in bed, he used to always enquire with so much concern about the political situation in the country. He was worried about ever changing and unstable political stands that affected people very badly. Politics used to exploit people but Comrade KAS had exploited his self and his family for the sake of people's politics. This is very rare and now he has taken rest.

The sacrifice flame that has been living in the [Sathiamanai](#) was put off now. It is great loss for people who love humanism. It is huge loss for the society rather than for his own family. Our sincere condolences to his wife, children and family members who stood always by his side to support immensely his goals. Without him the path he traversed looks very much deserted. He cannot be replaced by anyone.

With heavy and saddened heart,

[S. Patkunam](#) ( Chief Secretary, North Eastern Province, Sri Lanka)

[Trincomalee](#)

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"If we want to try to understand the contradiction between us and the enemy and the contradiction between us and the people, we should first of all clarify who are the people? And who are our enemy?"

[Mao Zedong](#)

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### 13. Condolence message for Comrade K.A. Subramaniam ( By Kumar Ponnambalam )



Photo 23: All Ceylon Tamil Congress General Secretary Kumar Ponnambalam with Comrades S.Thevaraja and KAS at the presidential election campaign held in Jaffna in 1988

Comrade K.A. Subramaniam was born in Kollankalatti in the northern region of the country and had his education in various places in this country and became a member of the Communist Party and added value and repute to the party. I am obliged to speak about his merits, commitment and genuineness.

He was not only a communist but an abode of principles. When we heard about his demise on 27/11/1989, I and our party comrades were shell shocked and deeply affected by our loss.

He had started his career as a communist. In those days, he had shown great interest in the welfare of the labourers in the Cement factory. This led to the loss of his job.

He respected others as his own self. He was much revered and popular among workers and common people for his selfless service and generous attitude. Because of his spirited and continuous participation in protests and workers' movements he had come under constant watch of the government and the police and he was physically attacked, which had affected health badly. This the principal reason behind his death and our grief.

He served the party and welfare work without any bias along caste or religion. He was made as a General Secretary of the Communist party of Sri Lanka. He mingled with everyone with ease and had the ability to explain socialist concepts and principles in a most erudite manner. The growth, establishment and day-to-day functioning of the party were his primary concerns. Losing such a worker and friend is a great loss not only for the Tamil society but for the whole country.

Comrade K.A. Subramaniam had served the country not only without any bias along caste and religion but he did not waver in the name of ethnicity or regionalism either. K.A. Subramaniam's



position in the [1988 presidential election](#) is a good example of how he worked not only for irrespective of their caste and religion but also for against their ethnic and regional differences. Despite the fact of the [threat](#) to hold public meetings in the Northern Province, he fearlessly organized and led a massive campaign rally for [Sirimavo Bandaranaike](#), even at the risk of his own life and that of his family. This is an evidence of his determination and resolve he had on principles that he believed in. Losing such a great heroic leader and is an immense loss and an aggrieved moment for the entire Tamil community. Let us come together to share the grief along with the bereaving family members during this time and pray for his soul.

**[Kumar Ponnambalam](#) General Secretary [All Ceylon Tamil Congress](#)**

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"What is the problem of the Tamil people? We stand here with all the forces fighting for a solution, not for our own ambitions or anything else. We hope that [Sirima R. D. Bandaranaike](#) will try to get rid of this Peace [Indo-Sri Lanka Accord](#) deal and the Indian Army."- [K.A Subramaniam](#) 1988 Jaffna / [Pandatharippu Hindu College Play Grounds](#)

[Mrs Bandaranake public meeting in Jaffna during IPKF period in 1988 by Sri Lanka Communist Party \(Left\) Part 1.](#)

[Mrs Bandaranake public meeting in Jaffna during IPKF period in 1988 by Sri Lanka Communist Party \(Left\) Part 2.](#)

[Mrs Bandaranake public meeting in Jaffna during IPKF period in 1988 by Sri Lanka Communist Party \(Left\) Part 3.](#)

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# 14. KAS – A Symbol of Humanity (By SM Gopalaratnam )

Comrade KAS, in his entire life fought for the freedom and emancipation of workers and agricultural labourers. Struggled and succeeded in many struggles for the relief of the oppressed people and for which he travelled far and wide in Sri Lanka. Above all, he stuck to his principles and convictions without any compromise yet he respected and maintain friendly relationship with people who had differed from his views.

This is the proof of how KAS had successfully led workers protests and movements in spite of government’s repression and factionalism within Left movements.

An incident

Don’t remember the year.\* The government had denied permission for May Day procession. Trade union with K.A. Subramaniam as regional General Secretary had announced that May Day procession would be held. Police had plan to trap KAS. KAS went underground.



Photo 24: The Eelanadu news paper on 2 May 1969 about the banned May Day procession in 1969

Police made great efforts to find the details regarding origin and culmination of procession. At that time it was R.Sundaralingam was the northern region police officer, who had friendly and respectful relation with media and public. He was friendly to me. He believed the media would be of great help in controlling the crime in northern region. I maintain similar opinion. I helped in this through my journalism.

The police officer was quite aware of my close friendship with Comrade KAS. That particular May Day from morning to evening around 4.30, the police officer R.Sundaralingam had frequently



telephoned me to enquire about the procession details. I had informed in the morning itself that I had not met KAS for two days and I don't have any information about the procession. He was not ready to believe me. He kept calling me repeatedly.

At the same time, around noon Comrade KAS had called me from somewhere. When I asked from where he was calling, he replied 'nearby' only. When I asked when the procession will be held, he replied 'in the evening'. When I asked about where from it will start? He disconnected on saying 'will tell you later'. KAS who called me 4'o clock again, asked if the SP had enquired. I replied yes. Saying 'will contact later' he disconnected.



Photo 25: Comrade KAS leads the banned May Day procession in 1969 and the police poised to baton charge the banned May Day procession in 1969

KAS was ready to trust me in this issue. Not only me, but he was not ready to trust anyone when it came to the matters related to protests. At 5 in the evening, KAS briefly called to say 'come to Windsor theatre and also send people there' and disconnected.

People who were watching movie in Rajah Theatre, came out in large numbers like a swarm and began to raise slogans and follow KAS who was marching ahead with the red flag in the prominent streets of Jaffna. Police were dumbfounded and that was unique trick of KAS with his burning desire for achieving his goal.

It was looking like a battle field in [Gurushethram](#) and it seemed like the massive gathering would go reckless on either side in that crisis.

[Eelanadu](#) the only daily from Jaffna which very carefully maintained neutral position while releasing news. However, both sides (public and the government side) were condemned us. One night, a hand bomb was thrown on the [Eelanadu](#) office. It was less noisy and there was no causality reported.

Few days after, I met KAS. We were discussing about the protest in [Maavittapuram](#). I asked him that if his people thrown hand bomb on the [Eelanadu](#) office. He said 'I swear' Gopu, we did not do that. We don't do those things to you. Humanity in KAS responded like that.

# Another incident, didn't remember date and month of the happening

The police were looking for KAS fervently. We received the news that KAS was absconding. Two days after I received a letter, which says "if you come to this place, you can meet me". It was KAS's letter. Did not disclose to anyone. I went to that particular place. KAS was alone in deep thoughts walking, tying his hand back.

Both of us were discussing nearly for half an hour. He did not have good food for some days. For two or three days, went and delivered food for him from my house.

After many years in 1987, when the office of "EEZHA MURASU" daily where I was working as an editor and its printing machines were bombed by the Indian Peace Keeping Forces, the daily "EEZHA MURASU" was produced and released from places like Tholpuram and Chankanai.

When 'EEZHA MURASU' was being produced from Tholpuram, KAS had sent word through a friend E.R. Thiruselvam to come and meet him at his place. After reaching there, he requested me to stay in his house. 'I am an editor in the journal which supports the LTTE and you are a supporter of China backed Communist Party' if both of us together caught by Indian peace Keeping Forces, what would be our fate?. Hearing these, KAS had graceful laugh.



Photo 26: A.J.Kanagaratna, E.R. Thiruselvam and SM Gopalaratnam during the final tribute to KAS 1989

'At that time you helped him serving food at his place, now we should take care of you without fail at any cost by arranging food for you. He was determined in helping back were the words by KAS's wife. These were traits of gratefulness by KAS.



I wrote my critical views on the stand point of Sri Lanka's Communist party with regard to liberation of Tamil Eelam in [EEZHA MURASU](#), he also responded to that on their party magazine.

When I met him in [Tholpuram](#), the discussion got attention on these essays too. In his reaction " I have to reply in the same journalistic Tamil ( same tone probably) which I had learnt from Gopu. But despite difference of opinions, nothing come between our friendship and nothing which hamper our friendship will not come in between us" KAS said determinedly.

KAS's defined the friendship in this way. KAS penetrated into villages for the liberation of oppressed and suppressed people. In the struggle for workers and farmers wellbeing, he was also attacked by police and got beaten up by them.

He was known as rebellion and protested against all evils. However, I saw him as humanitarian, some body with human qualities and his humanism only I could observe of him.

KAS – we could remember him as [Beijing](#) KAS in our memory. He never compromised his goals and achieved his objectives and goals. Long live his name and fame.

Veteran Tamil Journalist [SM Gopalaratnam](#) Known as "Gopu" and "SMG" Jaffna.

\* - [1969](#)

# - [1971](#)

## 15. Literary friend – KAS (By K.Ganesh)

Some years before China National celebration was held in Chinese Embassy in Colombo. Among the western dress clad crowd, I noticed a tall majestic person wearing Veshty (dhoti) and enquired with an acquaintance who he was. 'Don't you know him, I am very surprised. I thought you must have been known him. He is the secretary of Sri Lanka Communist Party (Left).

I have heard him as man of his own mind rather than as one who blindly follows orders from the top. When this friend introduced me to him, 'oh. Is it the same Ganesh who translated the works of Hungarian poet Petofi?' (Sándor Petőfi). When knodded, he immediately with a hug he said 'I read that were published in Thinakaran and Thamarai. In those days when I read some of the translations of Petofi, I had suggested a few Tamil poets in Sri Lanka. For some reasons they did not show interest. I was pleased when I read yours '.

As I found his work comparable to that of Mahakavi Subramania Bharathi in arousing emotions in people to raise against the colonial oppression, I had translated his works. I was pleased when a seasoned senior politician like KAS appreciating my work when I was doubting the reach of my works to the right audience. More this, however I was happier for being introduced to a leader who had interest in literature and brought fresh ideas unlike other politicians who are interested merely in delivering long speeches.

He mentioned happily the role played by 'Desiya Kalai Illakkiya Peravai' (National arts and literature association) in promoting literary works and the impressive manner in which Bharathi centenary memorial celebration publication 'Bharathi panmuha paarvai' received. He also mentioned about the efforts being taken to improve the publication of the monthly magazine 'Thavagam'.

His thinking was that struggles of upcountry people should merge with main stream movements to establish an united Sri Lanka. He also suggested that 'Kalai Illakkiya Peravai' could play a role in bringing the translation of Petofi's works in Tamil. As per the discussions the hand written translated copies of Petofi's work

Although the manuscripts could not be published due to then prevailing political situation in Sri Lanka, subsequently he got it published with the help of Chennai Books' in an impressive manner. I had an opportunity to interact with him closely, when he was admitted in an hospital in Peradenya. He often highlighted the vital role played by the literature in shaping the politics of any country.

He mentioned with the concern China's Foreign Language Press not publishing any Tamil books since 1976. He had shown interest in making them resuming publishing in Tamil. Just two days before his demise, he had visited an Exhibition of Chinese Books in Colombo and seems like he had impressed upon the visitors from China resuming the publication of Chinese books in Tamil.

He was also supportive of the 'Desiya Kalai Illakkiya Peravai' publishing the works of Prof. S. Sivasegaram, R. Murugaiyan, N. Raveendran and K. Thanikasalam. The unfortunate demise of a leader with passionate love for the literature, extraordinary organizing capacity and political honesty, is great loss for not only Tamil Nadu but for the entire nation.

Kandy,

K.Ganesh



16. A tireless worker - ( By Dr. S.V Seenivasagam)



Photo 27: Comrade [Dr. S.V Seenivasagam](#) is talking in the condolence meeting for Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) in 1989

I know Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) from the days he joined as a young member of the Communist Party. I still recall the youthful active enthusiastic role played by KAS even as my memories fading in old age.

He was selfless and a revolutionary leader. He was in the forefront of all the struggles that were part of the party, for the welfare of oppressed people, workers and farmers and so on.

Due to participation in the struggles, he was beaten up by police very badly and severely injured with blood loss. Because he was always under the watch of the Government, he happened to lead a absconded life among people. He worked tirelessly and honestly and neglected food and sleep on time which led to his ill health.

At last he had to leave us at the age of 58 years, which was a great loss for all of us. My sincere condolences to the party to which he was the General Secretary and to his bereaved family!

- [Dr. S.V Seenivasagam](#)

17. He dedicated his life to grass root people (By Prof. A. Shanmughathas )

I am not a member of the Communist Party. Yet, I have good involvement with Comrade K.A. Subramaniam, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka (Left). Leading in many ways the struggles and protests against the oppression of depressed caste people in Sri Lanka, he had showed us his humanity and selfless service to others.



Photo 28: Comrade KAS's wife Valliammai and son Satheakcerthy are seen with Prof. A. Shanmughathas and Prof Manonmani Shanmughathas in front of Professor K. Kailasapathy Auditorium on 4 August 2022

We could witness in our own eyes the impact of such protests and fights by such people like K.A. Subramaniam. His vehement protests all through the nights were sung by poet like Subhathiran in his writings as 'even if the enemy tries to attack in the deep night, the burning eyes of Nitchamam - Chankanai will dilute that attack by finding the enemy through their vigilance'



I met first time Thozhar (Comrade) [K.A. Subramaniam](#) in 1970s. He is very noble person. He used to wear white shirt and white [dhoti \(vesti\)](#). He always used to have gentle smile on his face and he was a man of few words. I could understand easily the respect and affection others had on him. I also started developing affection and respect to him. I enquired about him from others. After that many years, I have not met him at all. Yet, he was also one of the persons who were etched in my mind. When I came to know about the news of his demise, could feel the lump in my throat and an inexplicable sadness in me.

I recalled the past incidents once again. Why I remember this person? One reason could be, he dedicated his entire life to grass roots people. At the same time, he did not throw his weight around or boast about himself but expressed himself as a simple man who had inclined towards humanity. That simplicity could another reason that I liked him a lot. I feel proud to write a memorial note about such a wonderful person. I render my sincere condolences to the wonderful person who was amicable, service minded, willingness to struggle, honesty and loyalty to the [Party](#) in which he was associated.

[Prof. A. Shanmughathas](#) Jaffna

18. Person who raised his voice against genocide of Tamils  
(By Comrade A. Seevarathinam )



Photo 29: Comrade [A.Seevarathinam](#) ( Deputy leader, A.V.C.S Colombo -2) was giving eulogy in the memorial meeting in 1989 for Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#)

The passing of Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) was a huge loss for the working class and Left movement as well. His contribution to liberation of oppressed, marginalised people was tremendous. Particularly, his leading role in the movement against pervasive, frenzied caste atrocities in Northern Sri Lanka is unforgettable.

The only path towards the creation of an egalitarian (Socialist) society, where there is no exploitation of one being at the hand of another, is revolution. Comrade Subramaniam not only believed in the revolution but he took real steps towards manifesting that goal. Though this path was laden with challenges and sufferings, he never let that limit his work towards the revolution. Comrade KAS raised voice against the genocide of Tamils. He was General Secretary of the [Communist Party of Sri Lanka \(Left\)](#). With [K.A. Subramaniam](#) as its General Secretary, the [Communist Party of Sri Lanka \(Left\)](#) took the stand that recognition of the autonomy was critical for resolving the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka.

Comrade Subramaniam and the party not only insisted on the unity among the different factions in the left movement, they took steps to arrive at such a unity. The northern region workers' union and progressive associations jointly celebrating international May Day was one of the founding moments of such a unity; in which Comrade KAS played an immeasurable role. Strengthening this unity and taking forward the socialist movement would be the real tribute to Comrade KAS.

The share the grief experienced by his family and friends on losing him.

[A Seevarathinam](#) Deputy Leader, AVCS, Colombo - 2.



## 19. Comrade K.A. Subramaniam– a visionary! (By M. Markandu )

If you are born, you should be striven to become famous. Otherwise, it is good that we are not born.

**K.A. Subramaniam** lived this adage, He was born in 1931 in Northern Jaffna at a place called **Kollankaladdy** to a well-known family. He followed the ideal envisioned in the **Thirukural** 'let a man be educated thoroughly, and let his conduct be worthy of his education.' That was his life's philosophy. He believed that there was only one community and only one God. There is no hierarchy by birth. He stood against the exploitation of the poor by the rich.



Photo 30: Mr. **M. Markandu** is reading the Marriage Greetings (1986) secretly sent by Sathiarajan from **Army Fort Jail**, during the wedding of N. Raveendran with Sathiamalar on 19 November 1986.

By loving and marrying a woman from a different caste amid many oppositions he revolted on a personal level against the caste system. The union of Subramaniam and **Valliammai** went beyond their names. They lived like **Valluvar** and **Vasuki** and actualized those qualities; their son Sathiarajan was martyred in the Eelam liberation struggle.

On the 11th day of the month of December in 1984, the Sri Lankan army suddenly arrested Sathiarajan (Meeran Master). At this time, it was rumoured that he leaked his **Party's** internal information to the Sri Lankan army. Already hurting over his son's sudden arrest, this rumour further pierced KAS's wounded heart. It is possible that the compromise of his party's security hurt more than the arrest of his son.

To enquire about this tragic event, I paid KAS a visit at **Sathiamanai**. At this time, I refuted this view by pointing out that it was difficult to see Sathiarajan not walking the same path as his revolutionary father. To console him, I reminded him of the scars left by the battles he fought to defend his socialist principles. Like him, I told him, Sathiarajan too would have defended the Party; his son could not have betrayed the Party. My reminders rested on his sobs. Though, my words came true– Sathiarajan was released without having disclosed any Party information– these tragic events haunted Comrade KAS, shadowing him even in his last days.

He derived unlimited happiness from his daughter, Sathiamalar (Buby), who he cherished as his wealth; and a son in law, [N. Raveendran](#), who shared his socialist principles and values. Thereafter, a grandchild Subhrah.

KAS's second son Sathakeerthy was highly studious. He became an engineer. He took care of his father when he was unwell in [Kandy](#) and Colombo. As an intelligent student, Sathakeerthy got many special [grants and scholarships](#) at the [University](#) level bringing even more fame to his family and his country. With three gifted children, KAS led a large life.

His life's fundamental principle was that he wanted every living being to be happy. He won everybody's heart and love and lived a great, honest life. I pray for the well-being of my brother KAS's family and friends.

[M. Markandu](#)

[Chulipuram](#) East

Retired Prison Officer

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[Marriage Greetings \(1986\) written by Sathiarajan from Army Fort Jail, Jaffna for of N. Raveendran with Sathiamalar](#)

The Father who wants the proletariat to rule –  
The mother who follows father's footsteps  
The elder brother who wants to dismantle oppression  
The younger brother who is enraged by injustice

To love, Mama and Mamy  
To cherish, Uncle and Aunty  
Comrades to impart knowledge,  
And a supportive neighbourhood-

You were born as a treasure and an honour to them-  
You grew up with affectionate love.  
Kindness and mercy are your habits-  
Reluctance and hesitance are never yours.

Your partner for life is someone who stands for social change  
His work must continue throughout life.  
We know [Marx](#) and [Jenny](#) ([Amma](#) and [Appa](#))  
Wishes to a winning life- just like them!

- [Sathiarajan](#)



## 20. A Humanitarian named KAS (By V. Divyarajan )



Photo 31: [Professor Maunaguru](#), Comrade N. Raveendran and Comrade Valliammai Subramaniam are seen while Comrade [V. Divyarajan addressing](#) the Zoom meeting of the [Kindle Tamil version Book released on 27th November, 2021](#) .

I recall in my mind's screen,  
The many days we spent together.  
Upright gait,  
A gaze held straight,  
The greatness of a clear wisdom, and  
A smiling profile that blossoms from the heart.  
Even when mountains crumble,  
Steadfastness of the mind  
Beholds the truth every single day.

Arts, poetry and music-

We realized you had skills, in addition to an interest-

After listening, one night, in a hostel room in

Colombo Ramakrishna Mission-

The melodies with the “aalaaps”(ஆலாபனை), as sweet as honey.

In your home, at times, when I visited

I saw goodness

That still inspires me.

A holy basil plant

reigned like a god

In the flower garden.

Is a plant being worshiped as god in a Communist's home?

Or is this the supreme wisdom that equates

Crows and sparrows and plants and creepers?

I pondered with surprise.

I came to see that

The status of the holy basil

Followed the status awarded

To the wife who was pious.

V. Divvarajan



## 21. Glowing galaxy! (By National Arts and Literary Association)



Photo 32: [Professor Maunaguru](#) was giving eulogy in the memorial meeting for Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) on 30 November 1989

It is natural for those who love the people and engage in the politics of liberation of the people to be inspired by art literature, as [Bharti](#) said, for writers and artists who have the attitude of "seeing others'." Many of them have been art literary creators, good tasters and good critics. In this way, the loss of Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#), who was a good taster and critic, gives us the impression that his lost not only for politics but also for the field of art and literature.

He was instrumental in the formation of our [National Arts and Literary Association](#) and the editorial for the [Tāyakam](#) magazine. He will inspire people to read and enjoy short stories, poems and novels that will give hope and enthusiasm to those who are praying for liberation; Identifies and encourages those with energy in those fields. Many new generations have been introduced to writing by his encouragement. His connections with many literary pioneers of Eelam such as [Prof. K. Kailasapathy](#), [Prof. S. Sivaseqaram](#), [Prof. S. Thillainathan](#) and [R. Murugaiyan](#) through the field of art and literature are also noteworthy.

On behalf of the [National Arts and Literary Association](#), we also pay tribute to Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#), who wrote in his heart the hymn of hope, which heralds the emancipation of mankind from the frequently published poems of the Congolese poet [Pettobi](#), entitled "The coming of the shining stars and the passing away of the surrounding darkness".

[National Arts and Literary Association](#)

## 22. Up-country Lover (By Sri Lanka Democratic Youth Front, Hatton.)

Comrade KAS, who dedicated his life for the liberation of mankind, must say that the love he had for the up-country people was unique.

Comrade KAS has paved the way for the liberation of the up-country people, who have been living under class exploitation and chauvinist oppression for more than one hundred and fifty years, and for linking them to national struggles.



Photo 33: Comrade S.Thevaraja addressing the May Day Rally presided by Comrade K.A. Subramaniam on 1 May 1989.

He was the keynote speaker at the 1980 Youth Conference in Talawakelle. Comrade KAS was the one who visited all the parts of the upcountry where the preparatory meetings of the conference were held and interacted with the plantation workers and fertilized them. When the youth movement pointed out the problems and presented the basic livelihood rights of the people, KAS was the one who guided them to solve many problems by giving proper advice.

Comrade KAS was the one who guided our leap forward by guiding us to the right and resolute work ethic whenever the comrades of the Youth Movement were arrested and subjected to repression many times. He even mentioned his visit to the Highlands in his last letter to the Highland comrades four days before his death.

Comrade KAS will live with us and our people forever. His proper guidance will pave the way for the complete liberation of the up-country people. We will firmly follow in his footsteps and walk the path.

Sri Lanka Democratic Youth Front, Hatton. (Up-country Committee)



## 23. Determinant idealist (By Krishnapillai Teacher)

Thirukkural 458 says that, "To perfect men, though minds right good belong, Yet good companionship is confirmation strong". Means that although they may have great (natural) goodness of mind, yet good society will tend to strengthen it. Mental health here is an overview of individual character. Racial welfare is a social perspective. Mr. K.A Subramaniam who lived and died in a life where these two perspectives coexisted.



Photo 34: Mrs Pakkiam Ponniah who safe guarded KAS when he was underground, Mr. S.T. Nadesaratnam, Mr. Sithamparapillai, Mr. A. J. Kanagaratna ( with an umbrella ), Mr. Krishnapillai and Dr. S.V Seenivasagam are seen during the 1989 Tribute Ceremony.

From the age of enlightenment to the end, he immersed himself in the philosophy of Communism and was content to dedicate himself to great service. In October 1966, he became one of the passionate pioneer leaders in the tea shop equality march from Chunnakam to the Jaffna town, his first struggle for the abolition of untouchability, and was bombed by the police. He was placed on Police custody.

Comrade K.A Subramaniam was one of the most courageous and pioneering leaders of the Communist Party's Mass Movement for the Eradication of Untouchability since July 1968. He played a major role in the success of the struggles.

Comrade K.A Subramaniam who accepted the unselfish leadership of the oppressed masses in many areas such as Changanai, Mavittapuram, Matuvil, Kodikamam, etc., and sought victory by subduing the enemy, was badly beaten by the police when he led the 1969 May Day procession in Jaffna in defiance of the Government ban. It was this incident that made him sick. Yet his mental strength and valiant courage, his idealistic communist ideology of "everyone should live, the world should be as it is", carried out what he intended until his death and made him live a successful life.

His demise was a disaster for the oppressed, poor peasantry and working people. I pay my respects on behalf of the [Mass Movement for the Eradication of Untouchability](#) for his peace of mind.

[Thondaimanaru](#), Krishnapillai Teacher

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“Communists must always be ready to argue for the truth. The reason is that the truth is in the best interests of the people. Communists must always be ready to correct their mistakes. Because mistakes are against the interests of the people.”

-[Mao Zedong](#)

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## 24. The one who lived the life of truth (By S. Alagaratnam )

He who guards Dharma becomes a defender of himself. This is the scriptural vow; The grammar of truth. Literature for this [Arichandra Purana: Arichandran](#) is the creator of truth in the world.

The answer is that the world has given [Arichandran](#) the gift of eternity. The location of truth in society is equality.



Photo 35: Mr S. Alagaratnam , N. Raveendran and Subharah Raveendran are seen during the 1989 Tribute Ceremony.

Late [K.A. Subramaniam](#) had the courage to protect equality. KAS's dedication to protect the [Communism](#). His life is [Communism](#); He lived [Communism](#) as if it were his life: he emptied himself. Also, the birth burden slipped by itself; The journey also became easier for him.

I have known him for the last 25 years. However, for the past 5 years I have had the opportunity to get closer to him only during his final period. That is my privilege- in a way it is even my baptism.

Because, of all the books I have read KAS biography is like [Thirukural](#)! Every man every book. Some are tasty, some are bitter! Deep, experiential formulas are very, very few. This type of "KAS" is their type of record!



The deep-seated experienced intimate tunnel will appear and appear! It is a treasure trove of pleasure. The self that sold itself. "Were it said that loss of wealth is the price of benevolence, Such loss is worth selling one's self to procure." [Thinukural](#) (220).

KAS is a "Childish" person. Fearless teenager, - "A sorcerer to a naked Maharaja (King) dressed in invisible hypocrisy and marched for public viewing. That was the day of the internal nudity test for all people. People were all amazed at King's invisible, non - existent attire. Why, the same story for the King!

Suddenly a child shouted, "King nude! King nude!!" People were confused; The parents scolded the child. "Then only the Maharaja realized the truth" The same story that happened to this child happened to the "child" KAS in life.



Photo 36: Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) wife Valliammai on 30 November 1989

One voice shouted that many obstacles, such as superstition, bigotry, antiquated traditional rituals, and social ills, had obscured the inner workings of society. That is the voice of Social Equality - [Communism!](#) At the forefront of giving voice to this call is the late [K.A. Subramaniam](#), the General Secretary of the [Communist Party of Sri Lanka \(Left\)](#) !

The manner in which his wife, son-in-law and children who stood firm in these resolve throughout his lifetime is greatly appreciated. His death is an irreparable loss not only to his family but to all of us. May we continue his work for the peace of his soul!

S. Alagaratnam, [Kaalaiyady. Pandatharippu](#).

25. A river of life that has dried up! (Poem by S. Patkunam)

Why did he lean his head carrying the burdens of the undead people?

Why did the whip-raised hands rest to break the beast of the people's hands?

Why is the exploitative ideology of working life frozen?

Why did the legs that ran all their lives stand up to protect the oppressed people?

Did I, who spoke sleeplessly for world workers' unity, dry up?

Why did the eyes of the poor Palmer fall asleep longing to see liberation?

Why did the ears of those who carried the mournful voices of the enslaved people close their ears?

Wire cages, gunfire, poverty alerts,

Perverted pride, thrones all

Did the transgressor KAS not return?

S. Patkunam ( Chief Secretary, North Eastern Province, Sri Lanka)

Trincomalee

This Poem as a Video Song , sung by Comrade Ragala Paneer in 2014



## 26. Your Unforgettable Memory (By BS Perumal - Senior Journalist)

Laughter is the unchanging face: the one who has the attitude of facing failure and success with that smile. Heart that does not yearn for fame: One who understands many achievements, sees many successes, and does not want to be proud of his personal influence or fame even after growing up as a leader.

Opportunistic incomprehensible; A man who, despite his good reputation and the immense influence of the people, never a pyrrhot or an opportunist, and did not seek rank positions.

One who stands up for justice, honesty, and principle. Who was subjected to repression and beatings by the forces because of it. Nevertheless, he continued to fight for the policy he had taken without giving up. Who loved oppressed, oppressed people; Beloved by them.

He is late [K.A. Subramaniam](#)! He had many close friends in many fields beyond the organization on which he depended. As such, it has won the hearts and minds of many journalists like me.

No matter how big the 'serious' thing, I have never seen anyone else have the mentality to face it with a joke. Anything had a plan, specification he had. One of his characteristics is to inquire about the sorrows of friends and to share as much as possible with them.

He must have established many more achievements in the political sky. He had the qualifications, skills and determination to do so. Time, the situation in the country, and the disease that came in between have become obstacles. The man who fought for equality for all has gone to the world of equanimity which is unavoidable by any human being.

Long live the name he who grammatically embodied the highest friendship!

Lord of smiles!  
Guardian of fame!  
For the oppressed people  
The one who worked tirelessly!  
Good for friendship!  
The principle that won us over!  
On the path of equality  
The one who never slipped!  
Why so hurry to leave us?  
Do not forget your memory  
As long as the mind is with us!

BS Perumal,  
Senior Journalist,  
Arali North.

## 27. Nationalist (By R. Sivakurunathan, Colombo Dinakaran Chief Editor)

Mr. [K.A. Subramaniam](#) demise is a disaster for the trade union movement. Despite the complex political situation in the North, Mr. [K.A. Subramaniam](#) was concerned with the welfare of the workers and their rights.

Despite the height of ethnic strife in the north over the past few years, Mr. [K.A. Subramaniam](#) The concern he had for Tamil workers was not diverted. With the racial struggle, although Mr. [K.A. Subramaniam](#) was not closely associated with them, he continued his work with a vision of Tamil welfare and development. Mr. [K.A. Subramaniam](#) has never been accused of acting contrary to their aspirations or being arrogant by any Tamil movement. Everyone respected him because his mission was the welfare of the workers.

Mr. [K.A. Subramaniam](#) was concerned with the progress and development of the Tamil minority. During the temple entry protest held at [Mavittapuram](#) Kandasamy temple, Mr. [K.A. Subramaniam](#) fought in support of the mass movement. Upon hearing the news of his demise, I informed my teacher, [Mavittapuram](#) lawyer MS Kanagarettinam. Mr. Kanagarettinam was a teacher at Zahirak College and later became an Advocate. Who was at the forefront of the Communist movement at the time. Mr. [K.A. Subramaniam](#) reminded them and Mr. Kanagarettinam expressed his concern by recalling his acquaintance with KAS .

With a national purpose and a broad mindset, Mr. [K.A. Subramaniam](#) is well aware of the plight of Tamil Nation. Thus, everyone fell in love with him; Believed. His sudden demise is a tragedy for all those who care about the well-being of Tamils.

R. Sivakurunathan,  
[Dinakaran](#) Editor-in-Chief,  
Colombo.

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“There are two kinds of sociology in the world today, one that is fundamentally based on socialist principles and the other that develops in an anti-social norm. There is no doubt that these two sociologies are the expression and representation of two perspectives on the world in a more nuanced way.”

Professor [K. Kailasapathy](#) - Sociology and Literature

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28. Demise of a great guide- (By A. Ponniah, Trincomalee)



Photo 37: Mr. A. Ponniah's family during the wedding of N. Raveendran with Sathiamalar on 19 November 1986.

He loved this country and its people from his youth until he left us and sacrificed his life for their well-being and freedom. [K. A. Subramaniam's](#) demise is a disaster for the people of this country.

He fought for political, economic and social emancipation and worked hard for the emancipation of the oppressed masses. Adopting the principle that all people are equal, he has won many struggles for equality in society.

He has focused heavily on the educational development of the poor and literary publications focusing on them, and has been responsible for publishing numerous publications, inspiring many old and new poets and writers.

Influenced by his service from lay people to university professors, he has been a preceptor to many like me, a consultant in the field of literature and a guide to higher education.

His loss was catastrophic. We extend our tearful condolences to him.

A. Ponniah,  
[Trincomalee](#)

## 29. Life is a practical thought! – (By K. Jayapalasingam)

Comrade KAS, there are many things that remind us of him. Comrade KAS was well aware of what they meant by struggles among the masses, how to unite the masses through struggles, and how to protect the united masses so that they would not be spared, so that the mass struggles could be won not only in speech but also in action and by living and demonstrating success in struggles. That is the most valuable quality we must learn from him.



Photo 38: Comrade K. Jayapalasingam with S.K. Senthivel and [Shanmugam Subramaniam](#) of Communist Party of Sri Lanka (Marxist Leninist) during the memorial meeting for Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) on 30 November 1989.

For more than 35 years, Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) has contributed in a most dignified manner to the development of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, which he has relied on without deviating from the norms of proletarian thought, despite the occasional divisions and setbacks.

On the contrary, he had the virtue of accepting and self-criticizing when criticism arose, regardless of whether he was educated-uneducated, minor-adult, do-or-don't. This is how we could see Comrade KAS's leadership of the Party even when he laid dead, we noticed how the people love him with dignity.

We must also remember his wife and children who helped make his political career so clean and efficient. This is also the contribution of Comrade KAS. I think Comrade KAS's life is a practical thought for us!

K. Jayapalasingam,  
Irupalai.



### 30. Despite Demise Surviving Man (By E. Thambiah)



Photo 39: Comrade [E. Thambiah](#) during the memorial meeting for Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) on 30 November 1989

"There will be time enough to sleep when I'm dead" ([R. W. FASSBINDER German Film Director](#))

The [Communist Party of Sri Lanka \(Left\)](#) is paving the way for the revolutionary mass struggle for the liberation of the upcountry proletariat, which is being suppressed in every way.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that the late Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#), who served as its General Secretary for the last decade, has set a record in implementing the principled Marxism for the liberation of the whole country and its people.

He was against exploitation and oppression that had been established racially and regionally in the [up-country](#), whether it was racial or regional; Racial and regionalist struggle cannot break the slave animals of the [up-country](#) people. He firmly believed that such a struggle would not bring complete liberation to the [up-country](#) people and did not fail to insist on it.

He did not have any differences of opinion as to whether leadership for the people should be nurtured among them in the exclusive reality situation of the [up-country](#) people, and stressed that such leadership should be developed towards national leadership.

He often highlighted the need for a united struggle of parties, trade unions and organizations among the organizations for the liberation of the upcountry people. Guided the practical work of the [Communist Party of Sri Lanka \(Left\)](#) in the [up-country](#) and made possible unity with other upcountry organizations; Paid close attention. As the General Secretary of the Party, he maintained honest relations with the [up-country](#) institutions and [up-country](#) leaders in the interest of the people.

He showed a keen interest in building the [Communist Party of Sri Lanka \(Left\)](#) with the right basic principles among the [up-country](#) people. It is noteworthy that he, who was the soul of the Party's origins, finally left in the [up-country](#) with the thought for the [up-country](#) people.

Throughout his life he worked tirelessly for the emancipation of all mankind, rightly advocating Marxist policy internationally and nationally. That humanity deserves to be called a genius. "Genius" is said to mean perseverance.

Even during his illness, he continued to work hard to establish the truth. He was firmly involved in learning, writing and Party activities, caring for the welfare of the people even when he had to retire.

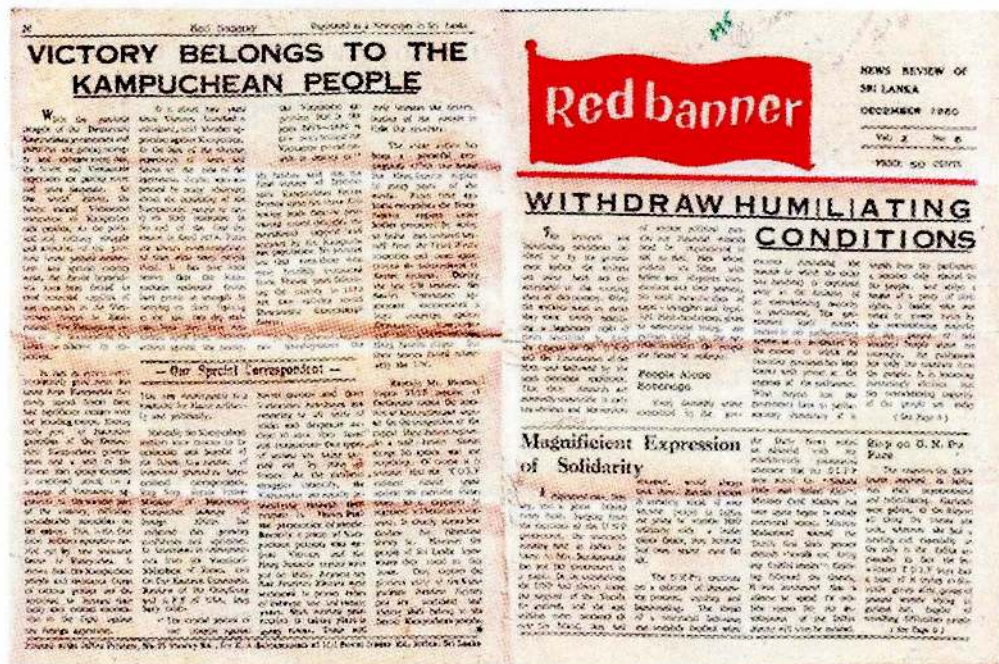


Photo 40: Copy of the 'Red Banner' published by KAS in 1980s

Whatever he thought would be enough time to sleep after death, he did not care much about rest for the rest of his life. Even while in bed he worked for the liberation of mankind at breakneck speed until the very end.

It may be pertinent to share the meaning of the following quote with the thousands of monitors who have rallied to follow the path he has shown until he reaches the ultimate goal of the humanity. "I'll have enough time to sleep when I'm dead"

E. Thambiah,  
Talawakelle



### 31. Happy Memories - (By K.Natanasabapathy )



Photo 41: 13th Commemorative Anniversary was, held in the Ramakrishna Mission Hall, Colombo on 22 December 2002. The K. A. Subramaniam Memorial Lecture entitled 'Future Prospects for the Current Peace Process' was delivered by Tone Marie Buberger of the APK Workers Communist Party of Norway. Professor S Sivasegaram Chaired the meeting with Comrade K.Natanasabapathy.

Although the days when Comrade K.A. Subramaniam got acquainted with me were few, the impact he had on those few days was lasting. He is the one who has the power to unravel many historical events that are not in the record. Aladdin's style of carrying out the revolutionary spheres and effects that took place in various parts of the world after the October Revolution is remarkable.

Knowing the history of the revolution carried out by the people, he guided the people to carry out the revolution which had eliminated the flaws and mistakes. The way he showed us to eradicate the caste inequality that is deeply ingrained in the Sri Lankan Tamil caste is the way we should follow. He is not a word player, he is an activist.

He is kind and gracious to the enemy. Nevertheless, he did not fall short of the ideal for his friends. Although he had little faith in the current electoral system, he did not fail to guide the well-to-do people on how to fulfill their electoral duty. The way he showed the people during the last presidential election, the promises he made to the contestant, the manner in which he boldly welcomed the contestant - were to be commended. Let the instructions that are said to be communicated to the converter also be a lesson to future guides.

His writing 'Cembatagai' and 'Puthiya Bhoomi' were the reason for walking with confidence. The tribute we make to him is to follow the way he has shown- to create new leadership.

K. Natanasabapathy, Point Pedro.



32. He had a unique talent- (By Sri Manoharan Gnanasundaram)

When remembers Comrade KAS, I am reminded of his style of mobilizing allied forces that can be mobilized against the common enemy.



Photo 42: Comrade Sri Manoharan Gnanasundaram donating some books to [K.A. Subramaniam's SATHIAMANAI Library](#) Administrator [N. Raveendran](#).

The Tamil political parties, which were incapable of directly confronting the Left politically, presented their reactionary views at some international event in each period. Following the [Sino-Indian border dispute](#), the Tamil politicians of the day resolved to make China an occupying country. The [Sri Lanka-China Friendship Association's](#) Jaffna branch rebutted with evidence that India is an occupying country. It is no exaggeration to say that the branch suppressed the opponents of China's stand on the [Sino-Indian border dispute](#) by putting forward arguments. Jaffna branch of the [Sri Lanka-China Friendship Association](#) as a broad organization that brings together friends with different political views. It is my opinion that the pride that created the Jaffna branch will go Comrade KAS.





Photo 43: With Comrade Nihal Dias (Standing) , the [Sri Lanka-China Friendship Association](#), Former President [Mr. Ratne Deshapriya Senanayake](#). Current President: Mr. Ananda Goonatilleke.

Jaffna branch of the [Sri Lanka-China Friendship Association](#), may even have been a guide on some occasions to the main central Association. Comrade KAS is unique in his ability to do his work in such a way as to showcase his talent from friends in different fields who have similar views on public matters.

Commemoration of Comrade KAS in following the precedent set by them in mobilizing forces that can mobilize against the common enemy in the political, economic, social, cultural and cultural spheres can only mean to commemorate him.

Sri Manoharan Gnanasundaram, [Kurumpasiddy](#).

### 33. Practical Lifestyle - (By Mrs. S. Kailasapathy )



Photo 44: Ms. Pavithra daughter of Prof [Kailasapathy](#) addressing during the [1989 Tribute in Sathiamanai](#).

Around 1975, my husband [Kailasapathy](#) introduced us to his close friend Mr. [K.A. Subramaniam](#). For the first time we were all impressed by his simple appearance and off-putting nature. He had then come barefoot. "Uncle has come to this awning barefoot," said our children. He would then put on sandals because of their love nagging. This is a small example of his simplicity.

[Kailasapathy](#) and Mr. [K.A. Subramaniam](#) were the contemporary political comrades with two years apart. The two have been in agreement on national and international political affairs until the end. In that sense, it was possible to see mutual understanding and mutual respect. He was not only a communist in speech but also proved it in his life and actions. He did not leave us great political philosophical works. But he has left a practical way of life and rich struggle experiences. There is no doubt that his life will be a great guide for every [communist](#).

Mrs. Sarvamangalam [Kailasapathy](#), Tirunelveli.



### 34. Satyavan who lived in Sathiamanai (By M.Shanmugalingam)

Due to Mr. K.A. Subramaniam's death this soil has lost a good man. We have seen that politics often breeds perversions in the minds of many people. But even with the politics dubbed "dirty game" by the British, Mr. K.A. Subramaniam could not "free" the dirt from them. He was ultimately an impeccable man.



Photo 45: Mr. M. Shanmugalingam, Mr. A. J. Kanagaratna ( with an umbrella ), Professor Maunaguru and Dr. S.V Seenivasagam are seen during the 1989 Tribute Ceremony.

He was one of the few who lived as he spoke, in a world where it was rare to ever write or speak together to correct oneself. Seen from a distance, many of the glittering glitter will shrink in self-expression as they approach and practice. But, this man stood tall and wide as we got closer and closer. This does not make it possible for everyone. It is only possible for one who is self-respected, free-spirited, honest and loving. He was the only one who knew how to accept, swallow, and digest great suffering as if nothing had happened to him. Suffering could not grieve him. The repression could not disgrace him. Illness could not weaken him: because of his high spirits, Could not even touch the cultured heart. He was an upright man, full of wisdom and compassion. So, beyond politics, he embraced everyone and continued to be a human being.

He deserves to live another fifty-eight years. Yet within fifty-eight years he had "settled himself" within a thousand souls. Those souls will inhabit him into tens of thousands more souls. This thought alone gives us comfort.

M. Shanmugalingam,  
Tirunelveli.



### 35. A connecting bridge - (By Mariyadas)

Everyone will agree that the demise of Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) was a great loss to the activities of the progressive forces operating in the North and South.

No one can forget the efforts made by the Tamil and Sinhala progressive people living in the South for the past thirty-five years to unite the mass struggle for their lost democratic rights, especially the struggle for the right to self-determination of the Tamil people in the North and East, the struggle for economic well-being and the well-being of the minority community.



Photo 46: Comrade [A. Vaithilingam](#) addressing the United May Day Rally meeting presided by Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) on 1 May 1980s. Also Comrade [K. Navaratnam](#) is sitting on the stage.

If Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) volunteered to mobilize the progressive minded youth at the grassroots level of society and to speak out for their rights among the downtrodden, what an expression of his immense mentality and determination!

Today, at a time when the Tamil people, especially the people of the North and East, have been transformed into a society where gun culture has turned into a tumultuous society that celebrates their claim to their traditional ancient civilization, it is painful to recall that politicians like



Comrade K.A. Subramaniam, who had the courage and clear political thinking to pursue national unity, have left us. I could not decide who to share my sadness with.

Mariyadas,  
Colombo.

36. When will his dream come true? (By A. J. Kanagaratna )



Photo 47: S. K. Senthivel, [A.J.Kanagaratna](#) and [SM Gopalaratnam](#) during the final tribute to KAS in 1989.

In today's dire situation, the demise of Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) has added to the crisis for the Northern Left Movement.

Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) throughout his life fought for the working people and the oppressed. I do not have to say much about his life of struggle. Because it is the only one that is well known by many!

Personally, I have lost a true friend because of his demise. As I write this his smiling face appears in front of my inner eye.

With that in mind we will both talk about many things, including politics. Although he did not give up his opinion, he had the mentality of listening to the opinions of others.

He passed away before the society of his dreams came true.

But the day is approaching when that ideal society will be formed by the efforts of people like him.

Is that day mine?

[A. J. Kanagaratna](#), Jaffna.



### 37. Comrade Subramaniam lived as a communist (By K. Panchalingam, Navalanga Workers Union.)

As Chairman [Mao Zedong](#) said, the losses of some are like feathers. The losses of some are like a mountain. Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#)'s loss is not like a feather; Truly it is like a mountain. His loss is an irreparable catastrophe for the working class, especially the downtrodden, who live in our country.



Photo 48: Comrade K. Panchalingam speaking at the inauguration ceremony of [K.A. Subramaniam's SATHIAMANAI Library](#) on 27 November 2021

After incorporating himself into the Marxist movement, he became a Marxist-Leninist and a revolutionary who practically lived as [Mao's](#) thinker. One who implements the policy without the principle being one thing and the practice another; He is also a policymaker who devises policy from practice.

He was a man who loved people; Who lived with people as people; He was a leading fighter who laid down policies from the aspirations of the people and united the people for those policies.

He did not lead the people for the movement, he led the movement for the people. "Workers of the world! Join us!" He was an idealist who fought for the rights of the working class under the banner of. Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) was a patriot who not only spoke out against the warnings of imperialism, the threats of fascism and the threats of expansionism, but also on the need to safeguard national unity.

He incorporated himself into the trade union movement and was a trade unionist who fought with the workers for the demands put forward by the workers and won their rights.

Above all, he was a communist with the aim of overthrowing the class-based exploitative social system and continued to fight for the liberation of the working class.

We worry when we think this kind of man is no longer with us. Therefore, the tribute we pay to Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) is to follow the path shown by him.

K. Panchalingam,  
Secretary,  
Navalanga Workers Union.



Photo 49: Comrade KAS listening to Professor [K. Kailasapathy](#) during the eulogy to [Mao Zedong](#)





39. Best friend of working people (By Comrade S. Kanapathipillai - Soodamani)



Photo 51: Comrade S. Kanapathipillai - Soodamani addressing during the [1989 Tribute in Sathiamanai](#).

I first met Mr. [K.A. Subramaniam](#) in 1950 as a trainee at the [Kankesanthurai Cement Factory](#). At the time he had different characteristics than other trainees in my view. [K.A. Subramaniam](#) was very interactive with the workers. Through this he was able to establish contacts quickly among all the workers and gained a good reputation and was also a spreader of new ideas outside the factory.

After that [K.A. Subramaniam](#) started his political career as Comrade Subramaniam. It is undeniable that he has played a leading role in the rights struggles of the working class from then until today and in the mass struggles of the disenfranchised and marginalized, not verbally but in action. So he faced many hardships and difficulties in his own life. He carried out his policies for the people till his last breath without deviating in the slightest from his decisive and clear political policies. He encouraged other comrades to get involved in such activities. His special character is that he does not approach everyone he meets with pride that he is a communist. He will not even select those he meets as communists. Meanwhile, He had the ability to persuade close acquaintances to accept his principles in the course of the day. His selfless work will continue to work for working people.

Former Chairman S. Kanapathipillai, Ceylon Cement Corporation, Kankesanthurai Public Trade Union.



#### 40. Memories of those days (By Kanpollai people, Nellyadi, Karaveddy)

We were stunned for a moment by the news that Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#), the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka (Left), had passed away. Memories of his day came to mind. His explanations and advice on the duties and responsibilities of the battlefield of that day, which gave us great attention, kept us on the path to relaxation and success. He is not much of a talker. However, Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#), who had been acting as the Chief Comrade, humbly advised us to summarize and memorize. Our people will never forget the sober mass protests in Nellyadi Kanpollai Tea Shop Struggle and Temple Entry Struggle. We now extend our deepest tribute to him.

Kanpollai people, Nellyadi, Karaveddy.

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"Language is one of the forces that has enabled humans to emerge from the animal kingdom, to unite as communities, to develop their thinking, to organize social production, to wage a successful struggle against the forces of nature, and to make the progress we have now." - [Joseph Stalin](#): Marxism and Linguistics.

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41. Final days with an esteemed father. (By K. Akilan)



Photo 52: Comrade KAS with Kandy Hostel Mate Engineer K. Suresh (UK), his granddaughter Subharah Raveendran and K. Akilan in 1989.

The sun was spreading its rays on the beautiful hilly soil and was firmly aware of the dawn. Dad, who usually wakes up early in the morning to read and write, did not wake up on that day (26-11-1989). I approached him and said, "What are you tired of? Are you sick?" When asked, "I have nothing. I'm fine." He got up and flipped through a nearby book.



He does not always take grief into account. He will only allow us to go to the hospital at our insistence. Even so, owning one is still beyond the reach of the average person. There have been instances where he has lost consciousness before the said dates. So this time we took him to the hospital with the help of the next room mates against his will. Still, he was as excited as ever during the trip and maintained that his chest would not give way to any fatigue.



Photo 53: Comrade KAS stayed in this hostel with K. Akilan in [Kandy](#) during his final days.

After coming to the hospital, he gradually became more and more tired. Sathakeerthy also came there at this time. I left Daddy for the night reluctantly because there was an exam the next day. Although I returned home unscathed with the hope that my father would succeed this time around, despite his worse health over the past few months.

When I came to the hospital eagerly after the examination, father's health deteriorated further, and he was completely unconscious with no movement. He suddenly raised his left hand and said goodbye at about 5 o'clock, as the mucus was filling his throat obstructing his breathing. The eye woke up, that's all!

"Aw!" We should not cry about that. Because we have to learn many lessons from Dad's every move. I could not digest the fact that today there is no more the great man who has not succumbed to any threat or deadly disease.

He has been able to walk deftly since late 1987 despite having no emotion under his knees. He travelled. Furthermore, he has even bicycled successfully.

He did not tell anyone that his legs were numb. His mental strength, however, was such that he could not move his feet or toes in an incredible way and walked slowly.

Despite the stern warning of the medical expert, he was reading the newspapers till the end and was reading [EMS Namboodiripad's](#) book '[Reminiscences of an Indian Communist](#)'.

Who would not be amazed to see that Dad was standing and talking excitedly for over an hour and a half with his old Comrades and friends at the Chinese Book Fair at the Colombo Library on November 1, 1989!

The last letter Dad wrote (20-11-1989) was belongs to Mr. R. Siva Rajendran. In it he wrote very firmly that he would attend the meeting to be held in Colombo on December 10.

Such a lifestyle of his, who loved this land, people and life, is a beacon for all of us, and he is often quoted as saying by the Hungarian poet Pettofi,  
"The glowing galaxy is sure to come  
The surrounding darkness is guaranteed to pass "  
Hopefully ..

K. Akilan,  
Student,  
K / Hindu Senior School, Kandy.



Photo 54: Comrade KA Subramaniam, married to Comrade Valliammai Asaipillai, on 19 January 1962



42. The language of KAS is also called as "Poiya Moli" (Un-false language). (By S. Nakuleswaran)



Photo 55: Klanai Valarmati Community Center, Kollankalady, Tellipallai Library in the 1950s. V. Dharmalingam was invited to the Bharathi Festival.

KAS's childhood is very short in his native soil. However, the traces he left are very deep.

Mr. K.A. Subramaniam was inspired by Marxist-Leninist ideas around 1949. Moreover, he began to plow in search of truth daily. He realized that no change was going to happen just by wiping out the dust that lay above without finding the root of social ills.

Late KAS was interested in the intellectual development of the village youth by imparting the ideas he had received from comrades Pon . Kandaih, Karthikeyan Master and A. Vaithilingam Master and the thoughts he had read in the progressive philosophical texts.

He learned about national and international politics, the losses suffered by society at the end of the war, and its social responsibilities. Recognizing the need for an institution for community cohesion at the village level to develop the knowledge of the villagers and to explore and advance creative issues, KAS conveyed it to the villagers and set up library with a reading room. He worked tirelessly with the villagers to gain prominence for the library as a Village Development Association.



KAS, who was well aware of the real social obligations, was a great guide in taking people along that path. He is not associated with the determination to accept his views. One who does not contradict differences of opinion. Who does not contradict anyone and is very friendly with everyone. The way he dealt with contradictions with understanding was exemplary for all. His life has become a grammar for others to understand social interaction properly. They are accustomed to thinking and acting very calmly, they are able to anticipate the consequences and express people in a timely manner. He was affectionately known as the "un-false."

KAS is a humanist. His loss is a disaster for mankind.

S. Nakuleswaran (Chairman),  
Klanai, Valarmati Community Center, [Kollankaladdi](#).

#### 43. We will never forget you! (By Puthur Kalaimathi Community Center)



Photo 56: With Comrades Selvam and Comrade [K. Thanikasalam](#) (editor of [Thayagam magazine](#)) at Kalaimathi Community Center

We are deeply saddened by the news of the death of Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) (General Secretary) who was loved and valued and who aspired for a higher ideal - for public life.

We will never forget his time when he embarked on the ideal journey of public life, which did not prioritize his own life for long, and for the liberation and rehabilitation of the oppressed people.

Our village is one of the most backward villages in the north. We came into contact with the [Communist Party of Sri Lanka \(Left\)](#) in the year 1979, when our village of daily laborers were suppressed in various ways. Ten years have passed since the contact between our village and the party on the same day that Comrade General Secretary left us. But no one can deny that its lifeblood is the leadership and guidance of the Left Communist Party if a village of working people, neglected and oppressed for fifty years, stands on its own two feet, builds its strengths and moves forward leisurely and maintains a number of achievements.



Comrade KAS, who later served as the General Secretary of such a vital party, will never end the sober ideal journey he has taught to guide the people and youth of our village. Generations of our villagers will remember the contribution made by Comrade KAS, the party and other leaders to the rise and fall of the old Vempirai into the new Vempirai.

What comrade has achieved so far is very, very small. There is a lot to be achieved. They can only be achieved through a long struggle. For that we need to mobilize more and more people on the right path. One village alone is not enough. That means creating as many as ten, several hundred villages.

It is great that we have lost one of our leading comrades who always thought and worked for the rehabilitation of the working class! We now swear that we will continue the journey of his lofty ideals with great speed, multiplying the grief that comes with it.

Kalaimathi Veedi, on behalf of the villagers of Vempirai,

Kalaimathi Community Center, Puttur.

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“I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.”

- Nelson Mandela -

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44. The Grammar of Mankind (By [Kaalaiyady, Pandatharippu, Panipulam, Santai Youths](#))

If human life in this world is considered literary, Comrade KAS's life becomes its grammar.

He incorporated the omnipresent truth of Marxism-Leninism into his life as a test of truth.

He devised a political system that lived beyond the feudal, bourgeois and neo-colonial domination of Third World countries.

Who considered it the duty of a communist to stand up and fight against any form of oppression.

[Julius Fusic](#), who fought against fascist fanaticism, was confronted with the ideal quest of "I live for pleasure, I fight for pleasure, I face death for pleasure."

The heart of a communist is the one who wants to be understood as deep and wide as the ocean.



Photo 57: Comrade KAS family during the wedding of Writer [S. Yoganathan](#)



Favorite of the institutional political system. He was driven by self-criticism and critique and was adamant that democratic centralism should be maintained within the institution, not subject to anarchy, fascism, opportunism, monotheism and lockout. Who acted as if the Communists lived outside the party system and even as individuals in other institutions.

He applied the scientific practice of unity and struggle in the general struggle of human society because parties, organizations and movements are meant to represent different classes in class society.

Who lived against the remnant caste system of feudalism. Who launched an immediate struggle against caste oppression caused by caste hatred. Although the "caste distinction" had to be eliminated in the course of time, he was the forerunner of the new culture of the Tamil people, with the exception of rituals that reflected caste as a precursor to the activities of his own family and party.

He said that the struggle of the Tamil people against ethnic oppression was justified and that he wanted the liberation of the Tamil people from a class perspective rather than a narrow national perspective against big nation racism.

He was the one who gave the voice with the firm conviction that hegemonic actions should be fought against by anyone, under any circumstances, in any form.

He wanted an international peace environment. He loved the freedom of nations, the liberation of races and the revolution of the people.

Among the people- one who believed in the mass struggle. One who does not entangle himself in submissive actions by uttering slogans or unrealistic demands that are beyond the realm of context. It highlights his inaction in the matter.

When the Tamil people found political leadership in the context of platform, election, monetary power, hereditary domination, he rose to become a political leader by truth, honesty and sacrifice.

He worked tirelessly to create communists around himself, "beyond the empty boast that he was the only communist who ever lived as a communist."

Folding is hard for people. Even harder is to live for the people. Comrade KAS was a man who lived for the people.

**Kaalaiyady, Pandatharippu, Panipulam, Santai Youths.**

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"Repression and racial oppression are enough to justify the people's liberation struggle, including oppression and racial oppression. Moreover, it is an attempt to distort history by the compulsion to justify it and to give a historical animosity to the differences between peoples of different races, in fact trying to deal with the problem in the face of emphasizing a solution to the problem".

- From the Book of 'Sri Lankan ethnic oppression and liberation struggle'

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## 45. Simple Leader (By Mrs. Chandra Navaratnam)

Comrade even though he is no more from us, his memory did not leave our minds. Mixed with our minds. He lived as a strongman for the country, a good man at home and a supporter of the needs of the people among the people. The one who has done in practice that public service is the greatest service. He started the Movement for the Eradication of Untouchability, a mass movement for the oppressed masses, and through it he won many struggles against caste fanatics in many places and in many places. Who partially extinguished the fire of caste.



Photo 58: Comrade KAS with Comrade Chinnathurai Navaratnam

For that he lost his health by sacrificing his bones and flesh to the evil dogs of the reactionaries. With this year we have the misfortune of losing the revolutionary who will have to live and serve for many more years. He was born into the 'upper caste' but without that intention he was one of us who lived a life of love, kindness and companionship. Various party figures lived in our midst. None of them can ever take the place of my Comrade KAS. Because, his course and speech will go with the stage. Not in practice. But, our comrade is the one who has accomplished many purposes in practice. For example, our comrade is responsible for the first lines of the song, "My salutation to Chankanaï , your name will not fade in history for a long time in the soil of Jaffna." Esteemed Comrade has worked tirelessly since the time he embarked on his revolutionary path. We will never forget him for the rest of our lives. I first met him at a public meeting of the party.

Whenever my husband (Mr. Chinnathurai Navaratnam) said that K.A. Subramaniam was a comrade, I weighed heavily on him. Because party leaders and personalities are seen as smart and headstrong. But, contrary to what I thought, he looked very humble and clean. My husband told me a love story when he introduced me to him. In his story one can see the compassion of a father and the clarity of a leader. Which has instilled in him a unique value and respect ever since.

We regret the loss of such a responsible leader and our country. May the memory of our comrade, steeped in the thought of Marxism-Leninism - Mao Zedong, remain in our hearts forever as a revolutionary beacon. Let his life history, such as the history of the struggle, spread and shine. Our revolutionary salute to comrade.

Mrs. Chandra Navaratnam  
Kantharmadam, Jaffna.



## 46. Comrade KAS the Legend (By Nitchamam Rural Development Association, Chankanai - Saraswathi Community Center)

Comrade K.A. Subramaniam has passed away. Only his body evanesced. His memories will never leave us and never fade away. Simplicity, determination and love for the people were his principal leadership qualities. It helped him to carry out the party's policies in a composed way. He has full acceptance and approval from the people of Nitchamam - Chankanai.



Photo 59: Comrade When Nitchamam Leader Comrade Dharmalingam signed as the witness on behalf of the congregation at the engagement of N. Raveendran and Sathiamalar (19-11-1986)

Our people will never forget the determined guidance he gave to our village on the battlefield of that day. It was the basis for us to walk upright as human beings and make other progress. Not only that, but in the aftermath of the October 21, 1966, uprising, the Chankanai struggle was set ablaze. If that lit is misdirected, it would have gone useless. However, the Communist Party and Comrade K.A. Subramaniam, through fierce struggles, defended the small ablaze and calmly turned it into a vast wildfire against oppression, injustice and discrimination.

If any liberation struggle is guided by the right policy and the right leadership, the losses can be less and the victories will be more. Our struggles of the day are proof of that. The basic reason for that is the policy of the Communist Party and the guidance of people like Comrade KAS.

And one more thing, many of the militants who took part in the protests in our village and in various parts of the North were imprisoned for several months on murder charges and taken to court close to execution. At that time the responsibility for the successful conduct of these cases was handed over to Comrade KAS by the party.



Photo 60: With Comrades Kanti Abeyasekere, [S. K. Senthivel](#) and Ratnayake during their trip to the [People's Republic of China](#) in 1975

Comrade KAS's dedication towards those cases, helped immensely in rescuing and protecting the militants from punishment. He never hesitated to break the law or use the law for the benefit of the people and the working class.

Comrade KAS is a man who will never be forgotten by the people of our village. In his way the new generation will surely move forward sturdily towards victories.

Nitchamam Rural Development Association, [Chankanai](#) - Saraswathi Community Center.



## 47. Architect of the Younger Generation (by Vadukkottai K. Gunaratnam)

The news of Mr. [K.A. Subramaniam](#)'s demise pained me deeply. He is a close friend with whom I have been acquainted for many years. He did not live for himself and his family but for the welfare of the community. He is a celebrated man who worked and lived with high ambition and purpose.

In today's era many people involved in social work, for so many reasons move themselves into inactive mode, but Mr. KAS proudly completed the work he had undertaken. He has done it until the end. He shaped many younger generations for the noble cause of continuing the work he was doing. He did not falter in the objective of liberating the working class, even when he was ill at the end of the day. Continuing his visionary mission is the only endowment we make for our best friend.

Vadukkottai K. Gunaratnam,  
Attorney and Prominent Notary  
Justice of the Peace and Informal Magistrate.



Photo 61: [Dr Akilan Kadirgamar](#), a lecturer and political economist at the University of Jaffna, delivered a memoir on the theme of "Covid - 19 Great Infectious Budget" to mark 31<sup>st</sup> Anniversary on 27 November 2020

48. In Your Determined Path.... (By National Arts and Literary Association - Switzerland branch)



Photo 62: Comrades V. Vanniasingam, Selvam and Ravi

Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) is not with us today. But his legacy will forever remain among our people. In addition, my journey will continue in the purposeful path he left behind.

Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) joined the Left Movement at an early age and began his ambitious mission for the liberation of the oppressed masses. He has always been at the forefront of the political ideological struggles of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, positioning himself on the correct side and formulating policies and programs in line with the realities of our country. He played a major role in formulating working programs, setting up mass establishment and advancing in the path of mass struggle.

He fought valiantly at the forefront of all mass struggles waged by the Communist Party of Sri Lanka against the state and other social oppressions in the North. Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) was brutally beaten several times by the police during these clashes. The torture he suffered during the struggle and the illnesses that accompanied it caused him to leave us so quickly.

The demise of Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) is a disaster not only for his family and the Communist Party (Left) but also for the working class and the oppressed masses. Together with his family, comrades, friends and people who are grieving the loss of Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#), we also pay our respects with the highest esteem.

5.12.1989

[National Arts and Literary Association](#)  
(Switzerland branch)



I'm one among those who have known him for 30 years. The first time I met him was at a house on Jaffna Clock tower Road, where he was engaged to be married to a woman from a different community. His marriage, in spite of his parents' opposition at a time, when untouchability and oppression were rampant, had caused a great deal of controversy and sentiment among many young people in Jaffna (Yazhpanam). I had no knowledge or acquaintance with the Marxist-Leninist policy he pursued at the time I met him. However, his activities had an immense impact on my soul. The first in person contact with him took place at their electrical factory in Veeru Maraikkayar, located on Stanley Road. At that time Veeru Maraikkayar was a communist from India.



Photo 63: The 'Thinapathy' news on 3 May 1969 about the banned May Day procession in 1969



At that time I was a DMK activist and supporter who was greatly impressed by the reformist views of [Periyar E. V. Ramasamy](#) and [C. N. Annadurai](#). It was during this period that Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) instilled in me a vision of looking at society from a new angle, saying, "Can we look at society like this?" I have been very interested in learning Marxism ever since. Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) helped me in many ways to shape my vision about society.

By that time the Communist Party (pro-Chinese) decided to override the [May Day march, which had been banned by the government on May 1, 1969](#). It was time for the police to search the party leaders by throwing nets in order to prevent the procession from taking place that day. Police in Jaffna (Yazhpanam) are eager to know where and when the procession will depart. They sniffed around each corner of the city.

At that time, I had the opportunity to stay with Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) in a house in the city of Jaffna. Even on that occasion when he was in the same place, he did not tell me until the last moment where and how the procession was going to depart. His tendency to be restrained made him a unique leader above all. The majesty with which Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) went in front of them during the procession that day and the riot and beatings that took place when he met the police face to face can still be seen before our eyes.

The April 1971 uprising was a time when the police were searching for Communist Party of Ceylon (pro-Chinese) leaders all over the country, including Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#). Even then Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) came to me and said, "Selvanayagathar, We should go find out about the situation of [Comrade Karthikeyan](#)."

Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) and I went to Karthikeyan's house in a car. I parked the car a short distance from his house and went alone to Karthikeyan's house to find about his condition. After knowing that Comrade Karthikeyan was safe, Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) felt much relieved. It was a memorable event. The forlorn before and the relief he felt afterwards made him stand tall as a communist fighter.

His feeling that he considered the safety of his comrades more important than his own could be the feeling of a truly supreme communist fighter.

Both these occasions are events that will always be remembered, whenever I think about Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#).

Jaffna (Yazhpanam) E. Selvanayagam

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"Our nation is strong. Our nation is young. His eminent songs have not yet been played. Our song will come back free from deception, from trifling slogans, from murderers, from executions, from massacres, from uncertainty, from suspicion."

Thanks: The essence of human society

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50. In memory of my father... (By S. S. V. Sathiarajan)

To Sathiamanai...



Photo 64: Comrade KAS with his family in 1969.

At eight o'clock on the night of 1989-11-27 Malaysian time, I heard that tragic news through Kulenthi Anna's phone call. It broke my heart and made my blood swell. I still do not understand what to do.

"The pinnacle of wisdom, The linguistics of love, My Dad!!!". He is a legend, a historical hero, a genius who lived by the grammar of this word. Every moment I think about that my Heart spurn, wilder. Senthil uncle's telegram, got the news.

Dad! The life you have lived is immense, very, very enormous. I have read and heard about many historical figures, great leaders, great martyrs, patriotic warriors, and brave fighters. I wondered about their precious human values. But it was only when I saw those values in you, I began to understand myself. It was the awe of you that made me a human being.

Dad! Even when I engaged in political activities, which is entirely contrary to your magnificent policy, I was able to find and work with the greatest principle, "unity in diversity". It is solely due to the political knowledge you have taught me. Even if I sometimes make "ignorant" mistakes, I can realize the mistakes and correct them, that is the way you taught me.

Dad! You are an intellectual, a walking university. Yes, it was through you that I came to understand the world, and through you I learned to love people. Only you, who taught me that slavery is not permanent, and it can be eradicated. You taught me that slavery was not a "divine law" but a conspiracy of the oppressor. The elemental lesson I learned from you made me a fighter.

Dad! I count the time I lived with you and the time after that. You will be leaving home before we wake up from sleep. You will come home after we are asleep. "People's liberation is none other than the complete liberation of the oppressed. That form of liberation is the true Independence of the country. I will continue to struggle until that day comes. I will not give up the struggle due to old age or illness. I will do my duty until my death." "I would be glad to see you (us) as fellow fighters by my side in that great struggle. Otherwise I will bow my head in shame and be in pain," You raised us by telling that.



Photo 65: Drawn image of Comrade KAS with his signature.

When you spoke to me one day in late November 1984, you said, "A closer look at the political situation reveals the potential for India's hands of expansion to fall on Sri Lanka. If such an alien occupation takes place in my country, I will march as a fighter on the just battlefield against it. I will fight against any form of aggression. I want to say something to you (me) as my son. You



must not knowingly or unknowingly commit such an act of betrayal, that is, of betraying or mortgaging the homeland. That is what I expect from you. " you said that.

When I was released from the torture camp of the Sri Lankan government, my country was enslaved to foreigners. Many who do not understand it said that the country has entered a wonderful era. I even stumbled. Dad, you are my perfect guide, you showed me the path of righteousness. Dad, you are my light of life.

Another incident: Dad, you were the first person to condemn the invasion of foreign planes on June 4, 1987, before the occupation, in the name of "refugee assistance". You stood firm and tall in your policy, when many politically blind people who could not understand it then attacked you with "word of mouth". Dad, your adherence to your policies is much taller than the Himalayas. Time has passed. After Four months and four days, those who entered our country under the name of "Refugee Aid " swam in the blood of innocents and massacred our people.



Photo 66: Comrade KAS meeting with one of the Chinese Communist Party Leader in Beijing 1979.

Only then did many realize their mistake and accept your opinion. No one gets any benefit from the wisdom that comes after the passage of time. Many do not understand your political decisions. Understood but did not admit their mistakes. The world is aware of the attempts made by the state terrorists of Sri Lanka to harm your life and body. Similarly, people know that strangers have indirectly tried to harm you. Politically blind people without all such understanding also exist.

I have heard others say that you worked tirelessly for the victory of the [Nationwide Left in the early 1950s](#) and about your heroic contribution to the nationwide national ownership operations of the late 1950s.

I am pleased to hear that many have lauded you as the heroic commander of the glorious mass struggle waged by the Communist Party on behalf of the subpressed masses against the tight caste oppression in the country, Jaffna (Yazhpanam), 1966.

History has not forgotten your full contribution on May 1, 1969, International Workers' Rights Day, even though your body was badly beaten by state police dogs, thwarting attempts by state terrorists to prevent it.

I remember you being saved in the many murderous actions taken by the Sri Lankan government. Especially during the uprisings launched by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) in 1971. I also remember the brutal life we faced at that time.



Photo 67: Comrade KAS with his wife and children in 1989.

When the country's bourgeoisie "sowing the seeds of racism in the north and south of the country in order to strengthen its power and strength, and when the small seed of those racists has become a great dissent." You boldly said it is not in the best interests of the country.

I recall that when the Tamil leadership of the brokerage bourgeoisie, which claimed to represent the Tamil people, advanced the secessionist slogan based on its parliamentary politics, the party firmly pointed out its consequences and you clearly explained its mistake, despite the large wave of pro-secessionism.

I recall the actions you took when the party launched a determined boycott against the pseudo-democratic system of parliament in 1977 and as a result you were on the lookout for state terrorism and assassination attempts.

At every stage your determination does not falter, except to be fructified. You worked harder for your policy, which made you taller and stronger than the Himalayas. Is that why the Death feared to get close to you?

Even when the economic crisis of the 1980s affected you in many ways, you did not betray your policy. Even when there is a threat to your life, you do not deviate from your policy, you never



deviate. The joy I felt being born as your son is immeasurable. I feel so proud to be your son. Just as your political career, your personal life was equally surprising and magnificent. You made my mother your life partner for the principle you have. As far as I know you are the first of a few who have lived life as a whole couple in both joy and sorrow!

You have done a great job of politics by getting comrades like you who are courageous, principled and determined fighters. I was one of those who was amazed at the new approach when you and your comrades came to each other through exchanges, concessions, criticism and self-criticism to make the right political decisions in a timely manner. It is the social discipline you have taught your children as a father that has helped us to live upright. The priority you gave to Mom's decisions set a precedent for many. Your characteristic of not trying to impose your decisions on others, the way you express your opinion in a nascent way, was surprising to many.



Photo 68: Comrade KAS's children published hand written newsletter called "Siru Pori" ( Mini Spark) in 1970s.

Though you had no faith in religion or other superstitions, the respect you showed towards the faith of others, has multiplied your esteem.

During the time we were reading, you would often say, "Study for knowledge, not for wealth." In the late 1970s your close friend A.C.D, was the Director of Soyza Air Lanka, I had all the qualifications for the job vacancies requested by that company. I would have gotten a job there if you had used your own influence. But you did not do that. I was heartbroken at that age when I could not understand it. But I feel very proud about you when I think about it today. I scorn.

In 1989 a close friend of yours offered me a decent job. I told you about that. In response, you wrote, "I would have been happy if Sathiarajan had got the job. But I think Subramaniam's son was the one to get the job. That's why I don't like this. The status I have belongs to my party. I do not want to use it for my home. I hope my children will not misuse it either." Not only me but many others were amazed at your firm decision. Irrespective to the suffering you went through politically, physically and economically, you took that firm decision.

Many have gratefully remembered that you encouraged and nurtured them to become self-reliant citizens in their community by understanding many talents that they did not even know existed.

It is very difficult for my brother to continue his education in Sri Lanka. Therefore, when asked to apply for a scholarship to a socialist country, you made no change to your firm decision of not using your political influence even for education.

Even during [my sister's wedding, you had an ideal marriage according to your principle](#). You have not failed to acknowledge any of our reasonable decisions. Also, you never fail to support it despite the pseudo-controls of society when it seems fair to you.

Dad! You are so unique. You have proven this in many ways. History has shown many times in your political life that many of the things you prophesied have happened. You were one among the first fighters to carry out the armed struggle for the liberation of our homeland. History has shown that many who wanted to negotiate a political deal with you at gunpoint have had to turn their backs on their own politics. You're a fanatic in politics!

In May 1970, The May Day procession that shook the city have started at the Jaffna, [Chankanai](#), the land of bravery, arrived at City Hall. Addressing a public meeting there, you [recounted the 1969 state atrocities](#), saying, "Even if I am shot and thrown into the flesh, thousands of people will emerge from every drop of blood that flows from my body." They will carry out the people's liberation struggle," you said amidst thunderous applause. The incident is still in front of my eyes.

Dad! Often when you advise us you say, "Do not think that you have to live with the address of, "the children of Subramaniam". Instead, if you live to the point where people say that the father of this child is Subramaniam, I will consider myself a success in my family life." We think of it as scripture and have been going on and on until today.

'A nation, a party, an individual must stand on his own feet.'. Dad, you have developed our self-confidence and responsibility by saying that very often. On the other hand, I have never met someone who values the collective decision, advice, and opinions of his fellow men.

Dad! Dad!! Your memories will continue to guide us. We will never betray you or your policy. We will always be on the side of the nation and the people, and their liberation. We will participate as much as we can in the political activities taken forward by your great comrades. We will do our part for greater human liberation.

Let us walk in the path of the ideas of the outstanding [Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong](#). Long live the [Communist Party of Sri Lanka \(Left\)](#) leader!

Malaysia SSV Sathiarajan



# Attachments

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A1. Letter from Comrade Madhakal V. Kandasamy from China (Chinese Radio Tamil Broadcasting) to Mrs. Valliammai Subramaniam....

Beijing

15-12-1989

Respected Teacher,

A letter from my friend K.Ganesh from Karanthankolla Estate, which I received this morning, conveyed this shocking news to me.

He wrote that his son Sathakeerthy had informed him over the phone, and he had rushed there immediately and paid the homage before the body was taken to Jaffna.

For me, one of the rays that had been working for the communist movement for about 40 years has vanished. One of our frontline soldiers had vanished. It is not possible to find in the future, an untiring comrade like him who has worked and worked tirelessly throughout his life. In short, the era is over. Who like him is going to spearhead this movement? He has left the question mark.

I have been conversant with him since 1954. I also remember those days when he married you in the early 60s. In the early days we were both so accustomed to being colleagues. Later he rose to prominence due to his hard work, talents and noble habits. The movements under his leadership never went sour. His fearless heart and tireless work will be remembered forever. I tried to meet him before leaving for Beijing, but I failed to meet him.

Nevertheless, the last memorabilia I have are the book, the magazine and the letters he sent me a month ago. I will always cherish them as souvenirs. The anxiety of not having to see him before leaving exists within me. What to do, it's my fate!

I have seen very few life partners like you who have worked day and night to support His cause. As we do not have that privilege, we are not able to work in harmony as he did. It was only with your help and support that he was able to move forward with his magnificent path of glory. His loss must be irreparable to you. But it is a disaster for the community and the Party. I hope you find some relief in counting this.

I know he was sick but didn't expect it to be this serious. I intended to seek his advice on several issues from here as well. It is painful to think that my plans of reopening the Tamil section of the

foreign language publication, which I thought he will do all the needed from Srilanka, got spoiled by his demise. However, we all must accept whether we like it or not, something that inevitably happens. Finally, I extend my deepest condolences to you, your three children, son-in-law Ravi and your grandchildren, for forgetting that untimely death, and to lessen the suffering caused by his sudden demise, to remember him and to continue what he left behind. Achievements of K.A. Subramaniam will last forever.

Regards,  
Mathagal V. Kandasamy from Radio Peking

## A2. About History.....A Poem - By Professor S. Sivasegaram in memory of K.A. Subramaniam in 1990

To make history  
Conducting a mighty army  
Many were the swordsmen  
The swordsmen  
History of the sword  
Name changed and name forgotten  
A history of anonymity  
Winners write  
A story full of lies  
Is it history?  
Clay inscription  
Paper or history?  
He who kindled the first fire  
Handloom wheel  
Stone paper  
Those who discovered the pest  
Developers of spoken language  
Unknown history's  
Words and actions are forgotten  
Even if devastated  
A living history  
Human development  
Rare actions of human beings  
History made,  
Settle down without writing  
Living history.

- Prof S. Sivasegaram

Thanks Noolaham "Puthiya Bhoomi" 1990.04 (In memory of Comrade KAS)



### A3. Unity and Struggle - By Professor S. Sivasegaram in memory of K.A. Subramaniam in 1991



Photo 69: Professor [S. Sivasegaram](#) with Comrade KAS family in [Kandy](#) in 1994.

Mr. [N. Shanmugathasan](#)'s memoirs were recently published in English. On reading it, the ghostly image of an individualist, [N. Shanmugathasan](#), was many times larger than the image of a leading fighter who led [the Marxist-Leninist movement of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka](#) and screened the party and the movement. This did not surprise me when I recall my first meeting with [Mr. N. Shanmugathasan](#).

By the time I went on to complete my higher studies in the UK I had a deep acquaintance with left-wing thinking. When he returned to Sri Lanka in 1970, he was [part of the Marxist-Leninist faction of the Communist Party of Ceylon](#) ('[Peking](#) ') I had great faith and sympathy for the so-called 'section'). At the small office of the [Ceylon Trade Union Federation](#) in [Kandy](#), I got in touch with Mr. Malliya Goda and got acquainted with some party sympathizers in the upcountry. Unexpectedly one day I met Mr. [N. Shanmugathasan](#) and got to talk for a while. [Shanmugathasan](#) was convinced when he found out that he was staying at a luxury guest house [Hotel Suisse](#) in [Kandy](#). The explanation for that was revealed to be his health and the need to travel frequently. While this does not give me complete satisfaction it does not seem right to dismiss the leadership of a party for this reason alone. However, Mr. Malliya Goda said that the party's opponents were using the same weapon to attack the party. (Later, at a public meeting, [JVP](#)'s keynote speaker [Rohana Wijeweera](#) joked, "Comrade [Shan](#) needs a pillow if he wants to make a revolution.") [N. Shanmugathasan](#) and his daughter stayed at my house on their next visit to [Kandy](#). [N. Shanmugathasan](#)'s vast knowledge and intelligence are sure to attract the attention of anyone who speaks to him. The two days he stayed with us were spent happily. During that time, and during a conversation with him in Colombo shortly before the April 1971 uprising, one thing went deep into my mind. I could always see [N. Shanmugathasan](#) trying to make himself more important. With this in mind, it is not uncommon for him to repeatedly appeal



with great self-pity that the government has put itself in detention after the 1971 riots. This is why in his memoirs ( *Political Memoirs of an Unrepentant Communist* ) he mentions at length with gratitude the virtue of a high official who allowed him to take food from home when he was in custody. I think he missed the names of many of the comrades who stood in the front line fighting for control of the party despite their differences with him until 1977 and got beaten up by the police.

Even when he now thinks of someone he wants to forget, he still remembers the good times that the Communist Party missed. I did not know my friend K.A. Subramaniam before 1977. I know K.A. Subramaniam was one of those who rejected the decision to expel N. Shanmugathasan during the 1972 riots, saying it was wrong. It was only later that I came to know about the mistakes of N. Shanmugathasan's political position that he had honestly exposed within the party in a very restrained manner. I was, however, dissatisfied with those matters as I was aware of the lack of consultation and explanation at the lower levels of the party about it rather than the manner in which the decision on expulsion was taken. As a result of N. Shanmugathasan's return to the 1977 elections and his misguided stance, his loyal comrades who were close to him ran away from him. It is in this context that I first met Mr. K.A. Subramaniam (KAS) at a friend's (HLK Karavita) house. The next meeting, which took place in early 1982, took place in the same house on a few subsequent occasions. Didn't get a chance to talk to him much longer. All I know is that he approached with the desire to unite the divided good forces and establish a strong establishment. HLK Karavita was unable to explain clearly to friend KAS that it was due to the weaknesses within the Maoist-affiliated Party that day.

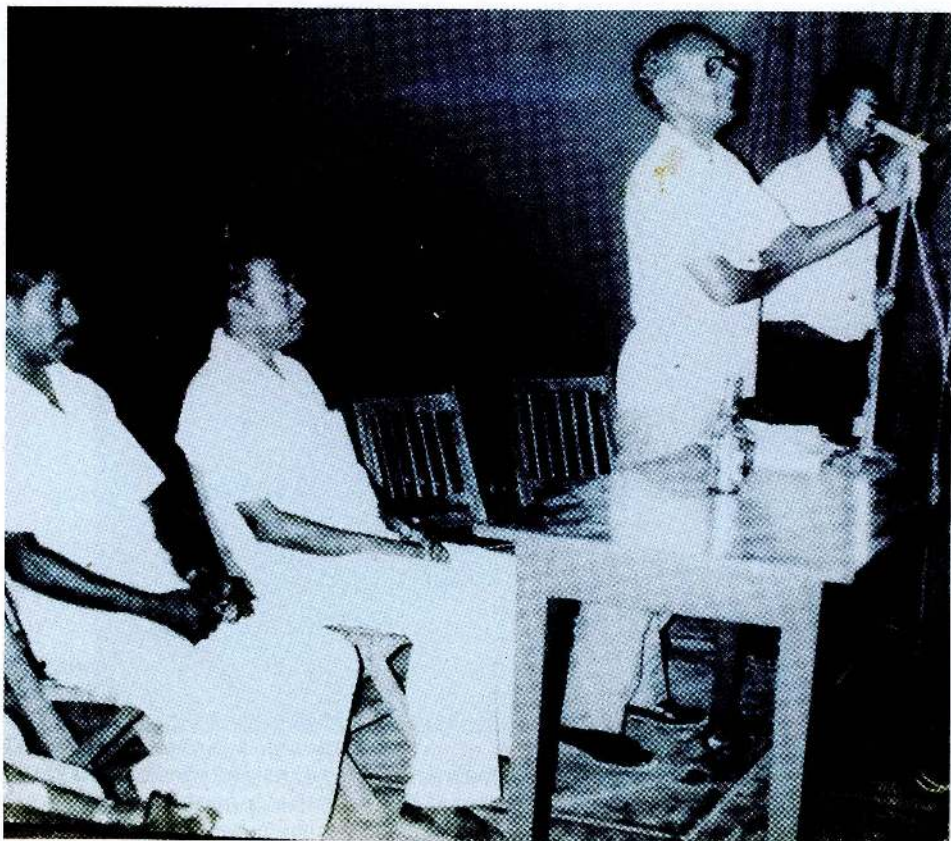


Photo 70: HLK Karavita was addressing the meeting and Comrade Sivathasan translating.



HLK Karavita, however, asked me to co-operate with the left communist forces in the north. That rapprochement, which began with Karavita's recommendation, was fostered by left - wing communist sympathetic press contacts. Following the death of my friend Kailasapathy, my contribution to the press was a little more in demand. In early 1984, before leaving for a foreign country, I went to Jaffna to attend the Kailasapathy Memorial Conference organized by the National Arts and Literary Association and stayed at my friend KAS's house.

When friend KAS was standing at home, even though it was my first meeting with his family, I very easily got used to them being like one at home. There I was able to notice a situation where everyone was saying their opinions with an open mind without restraint. The difference between what friend KAS had told me about the party and himself and what N. Shanmugathan had said had a profound effect on my mind.

Friend KAS, who writes and speaks very clearly and honestly about the past mistakes and contributions of the party, the work done by the party comrades and future plans and the strengths and weaknesses of the party, also said a little about himself. He never spoke or wrote a word about his past mistakes, his achievements, the atrocities he experienced, the sacrifices he made. Even the party comrades did not tell me about these. I came to know about the excellent contribution of the friend KAS through old time comrades in Colombo. When talking about the faults of the party he does not fail to mention his responsibility in it. I do not remember him blaming any individual for any wrongdoing.



Photo 71: Professor S. Sivasegaram addressing in the Comrade KAS's 22<sup>nd</sup> Memorial meeting in 2011.

His influence on the party and the revolutionary movement was greater than his own interests and his own pride. He could never give me everything. For example, I did not embark on the task of translating the poems of the Hungarian poet Santor Petafi into Tamil without fulfilling his request and having the opportunity to do so. Then the poet K. Ganesh fulfilled his wish. I could easily fulfill smaller requests than this. Yet under no circumstances did he ask me for any help for himself. All of his best qualities like this made him realize how he possessed the qualities of a good leader and a good servant at the same time. Yet the most useful lesson I learned from my association with him was about 'unity and struggle'. As he speaks to me he once spoke of the unification of the forces with which we can unite. But he noted that the enemy is united with the forces that must unite with us. I saw this as a warning to all liberation struggles and progressive forces not only in Sri Lanka but around the world. His words are a testament to his long political experience and observation ... I saw



this as a warning to all liberation struggles and progressive forces not only in Sri Lanka but around the world. His words are a testament to his long political experience and observation ... I saw this as a warning to all liberation struggles and progressive forces not only in Sri Lanka but around the world. His words are a testament to his long political experience and observation ...

One can only imagine how many rare opportunities we have missed when comparing the strength of Sri Lanka's progressive, left, patriotic and national liberation movements with the strength of the enemy. Many other movements, such as individualism, right-wing opportunism and left-wing extremism, have disrupted the unity of the masses and weakened the struggle against the reactionary prefectural force. Despite the possibility of unity, the forces that work together have split and weakened themselves in the recent history, especially in the post-1977 elections.

There are many times when unity is emphasized. However unity with anyone, on any basis In the post-1956 elections we saw the surrender of the class to the exploiting class in the name of unity for office and parliamentary seats, in view of the vague short-term benefits of unity. We know left-wing leaders who behave in a way that is convenient to the enemy with the intention of 'teaching a lesson' to others through bitterness and frustration. The Left, which had joined hands with those who had raised racist cries to teach a lesson to the betrayed ITAK in 1966, the leadership of Philip Gunawardena, who joined the UNP to avenge the betrayal of NM Perera's leadership, and the left-wing leaders who acted in such unethical way as to lead the UNP to a landslide victory in 1977 to teach the SLFP a lesson, did not defiance the enemy but cut their noses. If it can be trusted that it belongs to friend KAS who played a major role in the emergence of such a prefectural leadership to Sri Lanka Communist Party (Left) that can be seen within the progressive voices with the determination not to give up its struggle on behalf of the oppressed people while emphasizing unity.



Photo 72: Professor S. Sivasegaram and Comrade Sanjay Singhvi, Coordinator, Asian Coordination Committee of the International Coordination of Revolutionary Parties and Organizations (ICOR) and Head of International Affairs, Communist Marxist-Leninist Party of India are listening to Comrade KAS wife's speech during the 24th Commemoration Event of K.A. Subramaniam in 2013.



Friend KAS never allowed me to make any changes in the publication of the things I write without my permission. On a few occasions he asked me for permission to make some changes and has done them in the accompanying condition. If I explain that such a change is not necessary, he has accepted it and acted. I have admitted twice to a mistake pointed out by [Cheran](#) in one of my reviews. In this connection, I wrote less about a particular writer. That writer died while it was being published. Mr. KAS thought it would be better to avoid that reference in this situation. This also seemed very reasonable to me. On another occasion, the printers omitted the final lines of one of my poems, thinking that it might offend the Indian 'peacekeeping force'. Even though it was somewhat acceptable to me Friend KAS expressed his regret about it and republished the whole poem on the next occasion.

My poems are not easily set to music as I am more involved in revival poetry. Audio Cassette of the [National Arts and Literary Association](#) entitled '[We Will Create New History](#)' reminding me of the importance of music. When my friend KAS sent it to me, he pointed out the problems caused by the structure of my poems. After this, I composed some poems as musical songs. He was very satisfied about these. However he never asked me to write like this under any circumstances. I found in his comments on my writings that he had the maturity to recognize the strengths and weaknesses of each and to criticize without exaggeration and without the listener's mind. Here I felt his experiential maturity in unity and struggle.

An incident that took place at the end of the January 1984 [Kailasapathy](#) Memorial Meeting is also noteworthy here. On the first day of the meeting, a person closely associated with an anti-party newspaper was involved in an attempt to intimidate me with someone who had a difference of opinion with him. He objected to some of the comments he had made in connection with it and sought to intimidate them into continuing to do so. The weight was noticed while talking to friends far away. Friend KAS slowly came to me and asked "What is the problem?" The young man who tried to intimidate me slipped away saying "Nothing, just some doubts ...". The way my friend dealt with the problem made me cringe. When the matter was settled as if nothing had happened without a demonstration, he sent some friends to support me until I boarded the bus to Colombo and returned home. I think that has allowed it and its mass institutions to continue to function effectively. The position taken by the Left Communist Party during the struggle for the right of national minorities to self-determination, the main opposition candidates who contested the presidential election against the anti-democratic measures of the post-1977 [UNP](#) government, and the referendum on the anti-democratic action of the government in the 1983 parliamentary dissolution issue was a good practical explanation for the policy of unity and struggle. The party by working together with all the forces that can unite in a crisis situation. It is still in a position to function today because of the strengthening of itself and the patriotic progressive forces. I think the leadership and exemplary work of friend KAS is very important in this.

Friend KAS who does not consider himself more important than any party comrades. He did not want to endanger himself in vain, not only by party members but also by any of its allies. An example of how the humanity of the Marxist revolution differs from the worldview of other insurgents. Revolution may require sacrifices, but his view that futile casualties must be avoided is very much in line with the views of the Marxist chiefs. It was this humanity that clearly formed the basis for recognizing the contradictions between the people and the people who disagreed with the friend and made him admire and value him.

Friend KAS's leadership of the Left Communist Force came at a time when the Left Movement was in dire straits. It is our reasonable expectation that the contribution of friend KAS will be an important part of the unwritten history of tomorrow's society, leading to great success and a new harmonious society.

- [S. Sivaseqaram](#) - Thanks to "[Chempatahai](#)" November, 1991 )



#### A4. A poem in tribute to K.A. Subramaniam by Poet Sillaiyoor Selvarajan

Comrades who have gathered here  
To recall in a cascade  
Thoughts of a great man called KAS  
His life of bravery, his conduct of humility  
His broad outlook based on service,  
To pay tribute to that immortalised soul,  
Allow me a mere ten minutes to sing of my man.



Photo 73: With Comrades K. Daniel and [S. Sivathasan](#)

Yes, I arrogantly referred to him as my man.  
I called him my man  
For there was such intimate fellowship between us.  
Forgive me if I was wrong.  
I said so since I was one who shared and lived among friends  
In the warmth of his shelter with his wife and children  
And comrades who united as one in the policies of struggle.

Forgive me if I was wrong.  
Our friendship budded in my schooldays  
Then we ran free. We were mere lads  
Who parted company  
In our adolescence, unaware of the revolutionary sweep,  
Not knowing that we will meet again  
To merge through struggles for rights that would dominate,  
Through arguing the case for the oppressed and  
The class struggle of the workers,  
In political debate and in battles for cultural thought.  
We met again in battlefronts, on the same side.



I met at [St. Henrys College](#) Ilavalai |  
KAS, the meticulous student  
Who preserved silence, with little time for chit chat,  
A man of mystery,  
An underground fighter who lives on after his death,  
A leader who breaks his silence at the head of a mass rally,  
A hero who did not sing and swear only to surrender,  
A hero who achieved things without compromise.

Poetry stammers to describe that joy.

A silent tribute for KAS-  
The fighter who refused to be silent  
And spoke up in struggle for the masses?  
A silent tribute in place of a battle cry?  
Forgive me, I cannot!  
We have been captivated by the communist way  
Along the path of Marxism Leninism.

We met. We spoke. We embraced the path  
And entered the battlefield on different fronts.

I, in the front of art and literature, and  
He, in the field of relentless action in struggle.

Having consumed the poison that  
Emerged in the churning of the [cement factory](#) struggle  
To feed the ambrosia to the folk\*  
He continued in struggle in the [Hartal](#),  
In the militant demonstrations for equality in education,  
To dedicate his efforts to working class struggles,  
To lend his shoulder to the oppressed in caste conflicts,  
To lead the way like the flame of the lamp  
Amid ideological confusion in the worker's unions,  
To identify the issues by scientific analysis  
Without losing heat by communal violence,  
To work like a tusker and  
Struggle with character to the end with relentless militancy,  
And to lead a life true to the definition of a martyr.  
I am a friend of [KA Subramaniam](#), my man,  
The personification of friendship,  
The able master of egalitarianism.

Poetry stammers to describe that joy.

I recall the Comrade KAS  
Who identified the principles that prevent filth  
From infiltrating art and literature and,  
When I among others was tempted,  
Stood behind to warn me,  
"Hey, Selva, do not be baffled", and show me the way.  
Poetry stammers to describe that joy.

As the times of close relationship  
Cast their shadows in my mind and soak my thought  
Poetry stammers to describe that joy.

For me to sing of the times  
When KAS and I discussed in privacy,  
The warm hospitality of his dear wife,  
The sweet words of the three tender children,  
Sathiarajan, Satheakeerthy and Sathiamalar,  
Calling me "Uncle"  
In a tone akin to the comfort of a cool spring,  
I have not the words.  
Poetry stammers to describe that joy.

The friend of the dispossessed, we have been dispossessed of you.  
KAS! My Marxist salutations to you!  
Farewell KAS! But  
The golden moments of happiness I had with you,  
The golden moments in which we shared  
With sweet drinks and our majestic confidence in  
The desire to make a new world,  
They have not gone away.

Your little boys, your little girl, your son-in-law  
And so many more whom you had aroused before you went.  
Those are golden moments, tender golden moments.  
Farewell KAS! When you return  
Your task would have been done.

The thoughts that you had,  
The scenes of your great dreams  
Would all have been realised.  
Farewell my prince! When you return  
With the desire for equality,  
Communism would have blossomed on earth.  
With aching hearts we would await your  
Return from leave to see that new world.  
KAS! My Marxist salutations to you.

[This poem in tribute to Comrade K.A. Subramaniam was read out as funeral oration by KAS's class mate Mr. Sillaiyoor Selvarajan a close friend and a leading Sri Lankan Tamil poet.]

\* Note: Refers to Hindu mythology where the Devas and Asuras churned the celestial ocean of milk with the celestial serpent as rope to extract its ambrosia, and when the serpent spat venom Lord Shiva swallowed it to save all living beings.

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## A5. Comrades KA Subramaniam as “KAS Comrade” and his accomplishments and memories ..... – By K. Subbaiah 2012

Today (27.11.2012) is the 23rd Remembrance Day of Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#), one of the Northern Leaders of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka. At a young age he worked in the engineering department of the [Kankesanthurai](#) Cement Factory and was actively involved in trade union activities.

I had the opportunity to meet Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) in mid 1961 at the party office on Stanley Road Jaffna. Due to his friendship I became involved in youth union activities and had the opportunity to become a member of the Communist Party and worked with him. Comrade KAS is the best party organizer. It was natural for him to know his acquaintances in some way and to be able to bring them to join the party, the youth association and the mass organizations.

On 10.03.1963, a major turning point in the history of the Communist Party. He worked hard for the success of the prestigious Youth Conference held at old Jaffna Town Hall. It is noteworthy that he set up branches of youth associations in the hamlets of the North and led hundreds of young people to attend the conference on behalf of the settlements, and provided guidance to many of the youth who attended the conference who later became responsible communists.



Photo 74: With WA Dharmadasa, [Peter Keuneman](#) and [Sarath Muttetuwegama](#) in 1964

The conference was held on 10.03.1963 and was attended by various leaders including comrades [Peter Keunerman](#), [N. Shanmugathasan](#), [Sarath Muttetuwegama](#), [V. Ponnambalam](#), M. Karthikeyan and WA Dharmadasa who were prominent leaders of the Communist Party. At that conference, Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) was unanimously elected as the Northern Secretary of the Youth Organization. The party split in two after the Youth Conference. KAS was actively involved in strengthening the revolutionary team led by [N. Shanmugathasan](#).

After the split in the Communist Party, anti-imperialist struggles intensified as Marxist ideas became more deeply ingrained in the youth, and struggles to establish an egalitarian (Socialist) society in the North began to germinate little by little. During this period the struggles of the oppressed against untouchability and for equality in temples and tea shops erupted.

The Communist Party, which called for an end to caste oppression, united the oppressed masses and the progressive forces to build a [Mass Movement for the Eradication of Untouchability](#). Not only the oppressed people but also the progressives of various castes and writers have joined this movement. Through this, meetings were held from village to village to create awareness among the people against the caste system. KAS, Daniel, Neervai Ponnaiyan and others, including Comrade VA Kandasamy, the party's Northern Regional Secretary, addressed the gathering and worked tirelessly to integrate the villagers with the mass movement.

In such a tumultuous situation, on [October 21, 1966, a huge march](#) took place from [Chunnakam](#) to Jaffna with the slogan "Let the caste system crumble and let equality prevail". Comrades VA Kandasamy and [K.A. Subramaniam](#), who led the procession, were arrested and detained by the police but the procession remained in Jaffna. Reached the courtyard. It is noteworthy that Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) was a key participant in making arrangements for this grand procession and mobilizing the people.

Following the [October 1966 uprising](#), members of mass organizations involved in protests for equality in tea shops in Chavakachcheri, [Chankanai](#), Acheveli and Nellyyadi were arrested on false charges and held in remand prisons. Many dignitaries affiliated with the Communist Party and other progressive movements visited Jaffna to inform the people of the South of their plight, as many were detained under strict legal provisions.

Chief among them is [Gampaha](#) constituency MP [SD Bandaranavake](#). Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) also pointed out that barricades had been erected around the temples, temple pits and wells that had been locked for fear that the oppressed people would enter the villages affected by the northern struggle. In addition, Jaffna. It is noteworthy that Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) had made arrangements for the detainees to visit the prison and visit the prison.

[In May 1969, the then government banned the celebration of May Day on May 1](#), as May Day and Poya Day came on the same day. In this context, the Communist Party "determined to celebrate May Day and determined to uphold the rights of the working class by fighting against any form of government repression. It also called for it. Following the party's call, the working class also held a May Day rally in Jaffna.

Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) led the May Day procession on behalf of the Communist Party. As the procession passed through Jaffna KKS Road, a large number of policemen gathered and attacked Comrade KAS. His fingers were smashed in the attack.



Fractures occurred in the shoulder bone and the bones of the legs. During this time, his comrades Veeru Maraikkayar and S. Nadarasa, who were trying to stop the attack on KAS, were also seriously injured. All three were treated at the hospital for a long time. He later stayed in southern Sri Lanka for some time and received treatment. Comrade Kanzur, who helped him in this moment, is to be remembered. I can still remember Comrade KAS walking with great difficulty due to the physical injuries sustained during this May Day procession.



Photo 75: With [SD Bandaranayake](#), V.A. Kandasamy and Subair Elankeeran in 1966

Jaffna lawyers have refused to appear in court for those detained by the courts during protests in areas such as [Chankanai](#), Achuveli, Manduvil and Matuvil. It is noteworthy that while the Jaffna lawyers refused and expressed their allegiance to the caste system, KAS was instrumental in bringing many of the best lawyers from the South to Jaffna in accordance with the party's resolution and freeing the oppressed from those cases.

It is necessary to point out here what role they played in preserving the feudal socio-caste sentiments when the fake masks of the Jaffna lawyers were torn off by this move.

Comrade KAS and [Sivathasan](#), who were prominent figures in the Communist Party at the time, were close relatives. Both are residents of Kollankaladdy village near [Maviddapuram](#). Both their families were patrons of the [temple](#) and received due respect during the [temple](#) festivities. While their relatives were marching under the leadership of C. Sundaralingam during the temple entry protest, Comrade KAS and [Sivathasan](#) marched with the oppressed people on the opposite side of the temple. Their commitment to policy and their firm stance in dismantling the caste system and their indiscriminate participation in policy and practice were evident.

During the struggle of the [Mass Movement for the Eradication of Untouchability](#) the feudal forces carried out various attacks on the oppressed masses. Demands for equality in tea shops such as shootings, grenades, arson of detainees, preventing the oppressed from leaving their homes for basic

necessities, destruction of their crops, firing on funerals and interfering with the disposal of dead bodies in cemeteries. ! Oppressed people were also forced to take up arms to face such repression.

The armed struggle of the oppressed people, which began with the [October 1966 uprising](#), lasted until the end of 1969. Following this struggle, many temples, including the [Mavittapuram Kandaswamy Temple](#) and the [Panrithalaichi Amman Temple](#) in Madduvil, and all the tea shops in the north were opened to the oppressed and equality maintained. The Communist Party and Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#), who guided the struggle during the uprising, will forever be remembered by the oppressed.

The armed struggle waged by the Communist Party under the leadership of Comrade [N. Shanmugathan](#) for the liberation of the oppressed masses was the first armed struggle in Sri Lanka. Comrade KAS has played a pivotal role in the history of the victory of the oppressed masses in the face of direct repression and intimidation by the dominant powers in the capitalist system following the feudal caste ideology.

Comrade KAS, certainly stood with the people of [Chankanai](#)- Nitchamam who were brutally attacked in all possible ways and he made them world famous for the bravery of their heroism and the determination they showed in the struggle. MP of the [Vaddukottai](#) constituency belonging to the [Tamil Arasu](#) Party (including [Chankanai](#)) [A. Amirthalingam](#) once spoke in parliament that the [Chankanai](#)- Nitchamam people's struggle had intensified to the point where he said, "[Chankanai](#) has now become [Shanghai](#)."

[K.A. Subramaniam](#) was also threatened by the Tamil fascist [LTTE](#) in early 1989 and was rescued by his long-time comrades who somehow learned of the news, despite the date and time of his assassination. However, while living in [Kandy](#) with his youngest son, unable to stay at home continuously, he fell ill and died at the hospital. Comrade KAS tied the [Hammer and Sickle](#) to his [wife](#) as a "[thali](#)" symbol of his mixed caste marriage. He has never compromised on his adopted policy even though it was touched by the threat of fascist forces, and it is no exaggeration to say that he was an ideal Purusha who lived a life of policy conquest and poverty.

Long live the People's Revolution !!

K. Subbaiah 26/11/2012

[Our sincere thanks to.....Soodram](#)

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"Communists must always examine why and how each and every thing. Using their heads, did it fit the reality or not? Is it really well-documented, or not? That needs to be thought through carefully. Slavery should not be cultivated by blindly following one another. "

[Mao Zedong](#)

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Photo 76: Comrade KAS family with Comrade N. Raveendran Family in 1989

At the previous meeting, an article about the [1966 October 21 uprising](#) was the topic of discussion. Our discussion in between was interrupted due to several other commitments. This meeting is on a date that will be of importance once again. This day will have a different meaning for the racist forces who have a counter-racism to feed. That anti-people 'Karthikak Kodunkanavu' (November cruel dream) will soon be forgotten in the annals (those who fought in the [LTTE](#) along with the fighters of [various organizations who fought for the right to self-determination of the Tamil nation](#) should be remembered as heroes as a whole; it is not going to be remembered as the birthday of a [fascist-guided regressive leader](#)). On the contrary, for socialists who love the liberation of the people, this day will be an inspiration to revive the revolutionary spirit.

November 27, 1989, the day when KA Subramaniam, a prominent figure who sparked inspiration whenever we thought of the [1966 October 21 uprising](#), passed away.

Here are some memories that come to mind while we discuss about him. About Ten over years ago KAS's eldest son (Sathiarajan) said; "Appa felt that it was his biggest mistake to separate from [N. Shanmugathasan](#) leadership," I denied angrily . I said, "Do not misinterpret what might have been said in a different context." After Sathiarajan passed away in an accident, about four or five years later, Sathaekeerthy, the youngest son of Comrade KAS, said the exact same thing. He did not know about the interaction I had with Sathiarajan.

Considering that both of them said the same thing, I couldn't continue to assume he couldn't have said it in that context. He has often told me that the [Ceylon Communist Party](#) generally makes the mistake of splitting from time to time and alienating the people. His wish was to write about his political activism as "**A self-criticism of a communist.**" But unfortunately, he passed away before writing.

The idea of presenting his own political experience as a self-criticism stemmed from the fact that [N. Shanmugathasan](#) wrote about his experiences in politics as '[Political Memoirs of an Unrepentant](#)



Communist'. Although Comrade KAS had great respect on N. Shanmugathasan, he has stated on several occasions that N. Shanmugathasan was responsible for many divisions of the Revolutionary Communist Party, which was furiously against the revisionists.



Photo 77: With N. Raveendran during the May Day Rally in 1986

When Premalal Kumarasiri, Karthikeyan and VA Kandasamy split in 1972, their political position was correct but their institutional approach was wrong; That split could have been avoided if N. Shanmugathasan had accepted his political austerities with certain introspection and maintained a democratic approach. At least after that, the expectation that N. Shanmugathasan would give up his austerity and maintain a party structure for mass mobilization was dashed. His writings for the "Worker" ( கைகரூலா / தொழிலாளி) newspaper and publications on the national ethnic issue have been the subject of much debate. He continued to write that Tamils were not a nationality; Inevitably he could only say 'growing as a nationality'.

His obstinacy in denying the right to self-determination on the grounds that it was not a National Question was just a matter of appeasing the Sinhalese; It was unnecessary for him to inquire objective reality, or to search for the denied rights of an oppressed National Question or what should be done to overcome them.

In such a context tertiary theory came up for discussion. N. Shanmugathasan is not ignorant of the fact that on many occasions Mao Zedong approached the relationship between country and country - people and people - party and party in tripartite theoretical approach. Just as there was no search for the welfare of the people in the national and ethnic issue, he failed to see the reality in international affairs as well and sought to comment against the Third World Doctrine in the guise of a great revolutionary. Unlike those who had waged such a struggle in the past, the struggle continued as an intra-party struggle and eventually culminated in a special conference. The vast majority of Tamil members adopted the Third World Doctrine; All but few of the Sinhala members accepted the N. Shanmugathasan leadership correctly. However, N. Shanmugathasan declared that the Party was opposed to the Third World Doctrine, in defiance of the Party's decision to run arbitrarily. Subsequently, the "Communist Party of Sri Lanka (Left)" emerged from him, as he came to the conclusion that he was incapable of leading the revolutionary party leading the joint decision. It is a well-known fact that the N. Shanmugathasan became paralyzed. This split affected him more than ever. When it was discovered that KAS had betrayed him like this, it was true. How could he



expect a faith that transcends doctrine and practice? In fact there was such a militant bond between [N. Shanmugathasan](#)-KAS. [N. Shanmugathasan](#)'s leadership was unwavering in its commitment to the struggle for caste abolition and the subsequent building of the party. KAS was a man who understood the strength of the [N. Shanmugathasan](#) Party in other ideological matters, propaganda and various communications, while at the same time acting in a manner conducive to the proper application of the [N. Shanmugathasan](#) transcendentalism in practical terms. The high respect he had for it was on the [N. Shanmugathasan](#). This is why KAS is confident that he will continue to be with him without noticing any of his dryness.

He concluded that separation from the [N. Shanmugathasan](#) was inevitable because the revolutionary party of the people was to be built rather than a personal relationship. He put forward radical revolutionary slogans and considered that the political direction of 'from people to people' could no longer be pursued without separation from the people. Accordingly, the party name was changed to "[New Democratic Party](#)".

Such a new style is essentially [Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong](#) thought. [Mao Zedong](#), who introduced what appears to be a friendly conflict rather than just seeing it as a contradiction, also spoke of "dealing properly with conflicts among people"; The right-wing reactionary is the extreme minority — the Communists are also the minority; The vast majority are intermediaries, and [Mao Zedong](#)'s thought guidance on overcoming them also emerged in [Third World Doctrine](#). On that basis he would say that getting out of [N. Shanmugathasan](#) was helpful in building a new party.

However, he did not get the new style of party structure he wanted. That is why he has told Sathiarajan and Satheakeerthy that it is wrong to stay away from [N. Shanmugathasan](#). His persistent justification of the need for secession from me, however, basically makes me understand that his assumption that I should arrive at such a correct proletarian ideology past austerity is understandable. At the next meeting I learned about what I had learned from him through this new ideology and [Third World Doctrine](#).

(All these pictures here you can see KAS with Sinhala-Tamil leaders from different parties. This is the result of the healthy environment in which the mass movement of the day was not paralyzed by [N. Shanmugathasan](#).)

[N. Shanmugathasan](#) became a dry plaintiff only after he had the arrogance to lead himself on the right principle after the victories of these struggles.

-[N.Raveendran](#) on 27 November 2012

## A7. Some Records in the 25 Years of the Demise of Comrade KA Subramaniam - Lenin Mathivanam 2013



Photo 78: On K.A. Subramaniam's 25th Farewell Day, a book presentation and critical event on "Works and Activists on Social Literary Sites" written by Lenin Mathivanam was held in Women's Education Research Station (WERC), 58 Dharmaraja Road, Colombo.

Comrade K.A. Subramaniam has made a unique contribution to the history of the Sri Lankan Left Movement. He should be looked at in the order of senior leftist comrades N. Shanmugathasan and M. Karthikeyan. K.A. Subramaniam was, in a sense, a continuation of the former and its next dimension.

The ideas, thoughts and activities of this comrade who fought on the side of a working people against the ruling class and the oppressors are still influential in many ways today. On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of his demise, these twenty-five years have witnessed massive changes in our country and in other parts of the world. Apart from the Commemorative Volume (Comrade KAS Memorial Book, published by KA Subramaniam Memorial Committee, Jaffna, 1989), Comrade KAS being one of the most important figures in the history of the Sri Lankan left movement, it does not appear to have come up with any other research.

It is the need of the hour to examine and evaluate Comrade KAS and to reconcile his characteristics and contribution to the external world. Attempts to evaluate him in the historical context should be exposed. They should take place in three main stages.

- First- Needs to come up with evaluations and studies that will approach him in a multidisciplinary way.
- Second- It is essential to study the generation that came his way and their specialties, and how the legacy of the KAS has remained unchanged.



- Thirdly- Although the ratings came out with are relatively low about him, criticisms of them are also necessary.

Seen in this light, his memoirs and book submissions are necessary, but beyond that, studies and evaluations of this talent are in need of time. His "[I have to go](#)" audio-video testifies to the fact that he was highly regarded for his invaluable work among the people beyond the celebrities, and is set to provide much more information about him. The voice of hope given by this force among the masses, in particular, is a strength for the development of the left-wing movement.

It is unfortunate that the well-respected public he served for were farmers and workers could not put their feelings into words. The above factor is seen as important for the concealment of many personalities who have acted among the public. Although there were no opportunities for me to interact directly with the comrade, the left-wing comrades he nurtured were able to get to know him with the views of his family and those influential in his personality.

The root cause of this comrade's political clarity and success is his activity with a scientific dynamic vision. His personality is versatile. The political vision and practical struggle expressed in him is seen as an easy nature without difficulty. The main reason for this is his pro-Marxist stance. He thus accepted Marxism, applied it to our changing environment and put forward the practice. In particular, the decisions of many Sri Lankan-Indian leftists to simply apply the European class ideology to the Tamil context have led to frustration and regression in our context. The way to mobilize the masses can be found only by understanding that caste, religion, race and language are all identities in the Tamil community. Comrade KAS understood this and carried out his establishment activities.

As such, the most important of the struggles he waged was the struggle against untouchability and caste. In India, [AK Gopalan](#) was the first to take up the struggle for temple entry on behalf of the oppressed people and to advance his struggles by presenting those experiences in a way that suits our environment.

During the struggle of the [Mass Movement for the Eradication of Untouchability](#) the feudal forces carried out various attacks on the oppressed masses. Demands for equality in tea shops such as shootings, grenades, arson of detainees, preventing the oppressed from leaving their homes for basic necessities, destruction of their crops, firing on funerals and interfering with the disposal of dead bodies in cemeteries. . Oppressed people were also forced to take up arms to face such repression.

The armed struggle of the oppressed people, which began with the [October 1966 uprising](#), lasted until the end of 1969. Following this struggle, many temples, including the [Mavittapuram Kandaswamy Temple](#) and the [Panrithalaichi Amman Temple](#) in Madduvil, and all the tea shops in the north were opened to the oppressed and equality maintained. The Communist Party and Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#), who guided the struggle during the uprising, will forever be remembered by the oppressed. ([K. Subbarah](#))

It was possible to see echoes of two trends on caste issues during and shortly before KAS. A section of those who saw it from a casteist point of view. These are the majority. The anger that arose in the wake of the ensuing caste repression by clinging to the rituals and ceremonies that came along the way was simply burning like an unstoppable riot. And the upper middle class among the oppressed put forward a cultural struggle alienated from the working people in order to defend their class interests. Their struggle was for the emancipation of the Dalit middle class.

Another faction distinguished the caste issue from the class issue. Their arid class vision led to a kind of compromise. There is not even a hint of dynamics in their vision and thinking. They both deal with

their confidence as they choose to embark on their play activities. Comrade KAS saw the caste struggle as part of the class struggle in such an environment.

His main contribution was to clarify the political direction of complete liberation towards the unification of the dimensions and atrocities of the caste. His vital contribution was the mass mobilization of all democratic forces in the struggle against caste and untouchability. Thus, the Mass Movement for the Eradication of Untouchability is the result of the Sri Lankan left seeking to develop Marxism in our context.



Photo 79: With Comrades S. Patkunam, Chulipuram Nadarajah and Neervai Ponnaiyan in 1962

One of the key features of KAS was his dialectical recognition of the fact that caste conflicts had become a class issue in the Tamil cultural context. His main contribution was to understand this contradiction in the political arena and to be involved in the organizational process. His life was marked by a desire to reform and change more than others.

The following statement by Prof. S. Thillainathan, who was in touch with him at the time, is noteworthy for his selfless contribution. "In a situation where many have resorted to the politics of power and position and prestige, he has devoted himself to a politics that seeks to liberate ordinary workers, peasants and the poor without resorting to them. He worked hard to strengthen that political norm, ignored indifference and disease, embraced others and encouraged efforts to adapt. Specialties of K.A. Subramaniam. Despite his sense of imminent death, he was overwhelmed by the urge to finish what he had taken".

India has been instrumental in creating Tamil-based liberation movements in Sri Lanka and misleading them. This has to be seen as part of the Indian expansionist argument. All of India's activities in relation to Sri Lanka were based on the regional hegemony that unites Sri Lanka into the states of India.

The Communist Party (Left) boycotted them until the 1977 elections. In response to the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord of 1987, the Indian Army spread the red carpet across the country and was welcomed by the government and the Tamil fascist forces. We know the humiliation, destruction and loss of the people who benefited from it. In that case, in 1989 Jaffna. The only reason why he welcomed Sirimavo Bandaranaike to the meeting at the Pandatharippu Hindu College Play Grounds was because of the Indian expansionist argument. Kumar Ponnambalam, Motilal Nehru and



others were present at the meeting which was chaired by KAS. Large numbers of people were attending the meeting. KAS spoke in this meeting - "What is the problem of the Tamil people? How to find a solution? Has raised such questions and we stand united with all the forces we are fighting for today. Besides, we are not standing here for our own ambitions or anything else. We hope that [Sirimavo Bandaranaike](#) will try to get rid of this [Indo-Sri Lanka Accord](#), the Indian Army."

He was adamant that the solution to Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict was beyond the interests of Indian supremacy and that it should reflect the interests of the Sri Lankan people. I have heard my comrades and his wife say that he addressed the gathering amidst the [LTTE](#) threat and the atrocities of the Indian Army and went into hiding.

Then he fell seriously ill and was discharged from the hospital. At a meeting on Stanley Street on 1st May 1989, he said, "If the [Premadasa](#) government has come to negotiate with the [LTTE](#), then it can understand that what we have already said is true. We accept negotiation. At the same time, it can not be a bouquet. It must truly pave the way for the establishment and preservation of unity where both races can live in freedom and sovereignty in our country. Before that, [Weli Oya](#) should abandon the formation of a separate district. In addition, the Communist Party of Sri Lanka (Left) is urging the suspension of the referendum in the Eastern Province and why it should be abandoned altogether. Only then will it give confidence to the institutions and the people who can go to the negotiations. A situation can also arise where mutual concessions can be negotiated. Apart from this, resolutions, decisions and weapons that can be made at the will of the Government of Sri Lanka, the Government of India or unilateral decisions cannot establish peace in our country. This is our position. We have opposed India's intervention from the beginning. The people of Sri Lanka have to make some concessions because of the agreement made by the Sri Lankan government. That concession was a tripartite negotiation that annexed India as well. The Government of Sri Lanka, the Government of India and the other Liberation Organizations should co-operate in these negotiations for a concerted and successful effort. Leaving it and doing strangulation work on each other would pose a great danger to our country and people. You already know our position on India. I have to say a few things back though. From the beginning, the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, led by the likes of [Peter Keuneman](#) and [Wickremesinghe](#), and later after the split, our party has been warning of "foreign intervention". Political parties and liberation movements in Sri Lanka have failed to heed this. India began its expansion by taking advantage of the 1983 ethnic riots. The Sri Lankan government acted in support of it. The deal was struck. It's confusing in many ways. In some respects, there are certain aspects that can help the liberation and future of the Tamil people. But most of the issues in the agreement affect not only the Tamil people but all Sri Lankans. This must be resisted or modified.

India began its expansion by taking advantage of the 1983 ethnic riots. The Sri Lankan government acted in support of it. It was against this background that the agreement was formed. It was seen as a confusing one in many ways. In some respects, there are features that can help the liberation and future of the Tamil people. But most of the issues in the agreement affect not only the Tamil people but all Sri Lankans. Therefore, KAS is adamant that such disadvantages should be resisted or reversed.

Although the Left had opposed India's intervention from the outset, the Sri Lankan people had to make some concessions because of the [Agreement](#) made by the Sri Lankan government. After insisting that the compromise and the tripartite talks could be the solution, Comrade KAS resumed his absconding life and bid farewell while in [Kandy](#).

He had such an involvement not only in politics but also in literature. He was also responsible for the series release of [Motherland \(Tāyakam\)](#) Magazine. I have also heard Mrs. [Valliammai Subramaniam](#) and Mrs. [Raveendran](#) (daughter) say that he continued to write editorials for the magazines of the [Motherland \(Tāyakam\)](#) until he died. If so, it would be a matter of time before they would be compiled and published to commemorate his 25th birthday.



He has also created the Art Literary Cultural Council, the [National Arts and Literary Association](#), and has carried out a number of community-based activities. Through this organization, many people have spread their knowledge of the community and many new generations have entered the literature. Many have reported that they enjoyed reading liberation literature and then became a guide for others to learn it. Apart from politicians, he has maintained friendly relations with art and literature. Relationships with [Prof. S. Thillainathan](#), Mauna Guru, B.C. Mani, [K.Ganesh](#), etc. are exemplified. Records of this- [R. Murugaivan](#), [K.Ganesh](#), [S. Sivaseqaram](#), A. Shanmugas, Mrs. Sarvamangalam [Kailasapathy](#), C. Patgunam and [A. J. Kanagaratna](#).

As such, [K. A. Subramaniam](#) has often said that literature is the lifeblood of a country's political development. He regretted the non-publication of Tamil texts by [China's Foreign Language Publishing](#) from 1976 and expressed interest in republishing them. Apparently, he attended an exhibition of books in Colombo two weeks before his death and urged the Chinese delegation to republish Chinese books in Tamil. ([K.Ganesh](#))

[R. Murugaivan](#) has recorded that KAS was responsible for the publication of the books of [S. Sivaseqaram](#), [R. Murugaivan](#), [N. Ravcendran](#), [K. Thanikasalam](#) etc. through the [National Arts and Literary Association](#) during his lifetime. It is safe to say that his loss of literary honesty and efficiency had a profound effect on the literary field as well.

Born in Jaffna, he was able to transcend the land of his birth and influence far and wide through his knowledge, energy and activities. His political philosophy and practice took root in the hills. Through [N. Raveendran](#) he had formed a Marxist political faction in the hills. The following paragraph should be noted in the message issued by the Upcountry Committee of the Democratic Youth Front of Sri Lanka on his death:

"When the Youth Movement held their conference in [Talawakelle](#) in 1980, he attended and delivered the keynote address. Comrade KAS was the one who went to all the parts of the upcountry where the youth movement held preparatory meetings for the conference and made contact with the plantation workers. Comrade KAS was the one who pointed out the problems and guided the youth movement to solve many problems by giving proper advice when the youth movement presented its basic livelihood rights.

In this way, it can be observed that Mr. [E. Thambiah](#), Johnson, V. Vijayaratham and many others who later entered politics in the hills were influenced by him. In addition, the task of overcoming the political union conflicts in the upcountry and uniting the people in a mass political direction was built.

Comrade [Peter Keuneman](#), Comrade [Sarath Muttetuwegama](#), Comrade Dharmadasa and Comrade KAS, who was the Secretary of the Northern Youth Association, also addressed the procession for the Badulla Conference held in early 1964. (Information - Mrs. [Valliammai Subramaniam](#))

There is no doubt that KAS has a high place in the development of the left movement in Sri Lanka. However, there are very few memoirs, reviews and studies about him. Everything in his writing should be threaded. Quests and studies about him should abound. Only then will the importance of Comrade KAS become widely perceived.

[Lenin Mathivanam](#)

From the book Works and Activists (in print) ..... [Our Mountain](#) 2013



## A8. Commemorate the 25th anniversary of Comrade KAS and 25 Lessons Learned From Him - S. Thevaraja

Contemporaneity is governed by class division. The physical and brain workers, the workers, make up about 95 percent of the majority, and the capitalists, who prioritize capital, make up the vast minority of less than five percent.

The world's largest minority capitalists have adapted themselves to be the ruling elite of this vast earth. Their capital rules across the borders of all nations.

Do the dominant funds, through the maneuvering divisive maneuvers of these big bosses, feed the differences of caste, race, language, religion, region, gender and color into the antagonisms of the working class of the world and refute the idea of a 'people's society' through the media? We are all experiencing the contemporary conspiracy of international imperialism.

The working majority, on the other hand, is forced to immerse itself in narrow identities as a victim of the machinations of imperialism that has globalized capital beyond its worker identity.

Within these narrow identities, the 'big boss' class has prioritized itself over subjugation of leadership. As a result of this plunder, the working-class community, which has a monopoly majority, has temporarily lost its universal identity and has been plunged further into massive oppression into caste, race, religion, region, gender and color.

The meaning of 'production' and 'labor' has been blurred in a society of people caught up in the vortex of consumption culture, to the point of obliteration of the term worker.

While the possibility of global workers uniting in this unequal world is near, in reality, reports of a number of international efforts to cross the narrow mark of a fiery furnace give us hope.

That is why on the 25th anniversary of Comrade KAS we have the need and the compulsion to reclaim the lessons we have learned from him.

- First, we must boldly declare who we are as members of the working class.
- Second, the working class must identify itself in the form in which oppressed people (caste, race, etc.) are subjected to oppression and develop a program that will enrich its ability to fight universally and truly from the perspective of time, nation and the press.
- Third, the working class or parties must defend themselves against falling prey to the hypocritical agenda of the imperialist-capitalist-landlord alliance.
- Fourth, it must acquire the personality to function as a 'movement', not 'being' a working class party among the masses.
- Fifth, every Marxist and communist must have the capacity to work with a broad heart, like the great ocean that any great ship can reach, by engaging in work among the masses beyond monotheism, lockout, opportunism, liberalism and strainism.
- Sixth, the party must be an influential party operating in everyday life to see hope and success among the people who are reeling under despair, failure and hopelessness.
- Seventh, those within the Communist Party must not only be reduced to communists, but must also have the courage to identify the communists living in and out of other parties and on various platforms, knowingly and unknowingly, and to strengthen the establishment of the Marxist-Leninist establishment and expand its work.
- Eighth, the party must be activated with vigor by continuing to engage in critique-self-criticism, unity and struggle within the party establishment. Daily movement should take shape. Everything must be started and conducted from the keen interest for the unity of the party and should not lead to divisions.

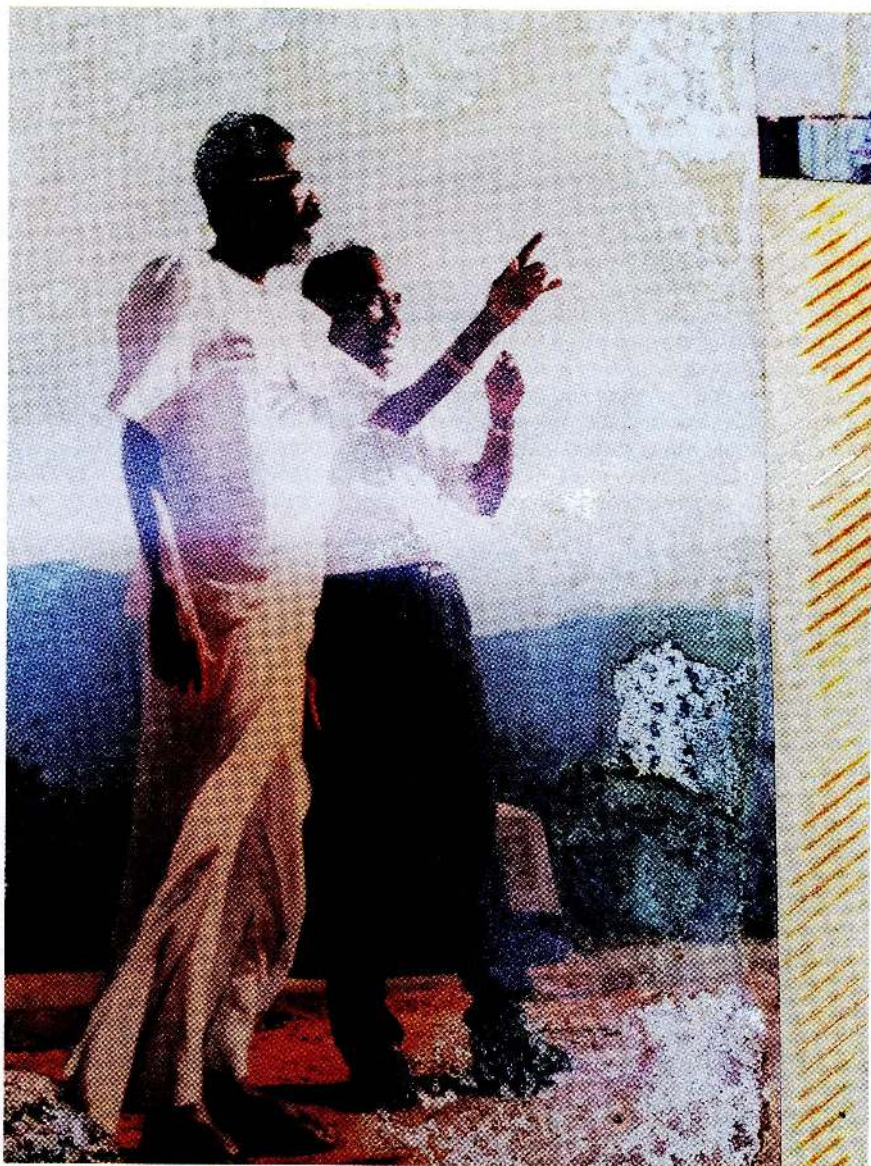


Photo 80: With Comrade S. Thevaraja during their trip from Kandy to Colombo in 1989

- Ninth, within the party, there is no sectarian attitude, no ambiguity, no preconceived notions, no conclusions, no preconceived notions, with an open mind and democratic centralism beyond the allegiance of the land grant leadership, manipulate material conditions, find out the facts, and conduct discussions without anger, likes, dislikes, successes and failures, everyone should have the ability to maintain a friendly relationship that is peaceful and relaxed with complete freedom.



- Tenth, we must identify the crises, tragedies, discrimination and neglect that befall the people, stand with the people immediately, inspire and mobilize the people for proper action, strengthen them, identify and create combat environments where they can be liberated, protected and overcome.
- Eleventh, the party must not be weakened as a "tent of the poor" but must be strengthened by the use of bourgeois democratic laws and regulations in the context in which the party operates, by building the party's resources, infrastructure and machinery.
- Twelfth, party politics must not only be satisfied with the party's slogans and the party's annual events, but must also have the power to create and carry out daily revolutionary activities among the people, like fish living in the sea on many platforms and on all fronts.
- Thirteenth, every communist must be prepared to act boldly as the 'absolute materialist fearless', and to be able to sell party newspapers and mass media magazines to the general public, to ask for money, to listen to their grievances, and to communicate with writers and the party about them.
- Fourteenth, the unity of word and deed is the focal point of a communist.
- Fifteenth, the communists must shine as new casts, subjecting themselves to self-criticism so that land-capitalist thoughts and actions do not occupy us on a daily basis.
- Sixteenth, the Communists must have the courage to think and act with a revolutionary attitude, not to allow surrender through concessions, awards, titles and positions so that no one can fall victim to class compromise.
- Seventeenth, the communist must have the ability to lead the people in front of the people without pulling the tail behind the people.
- Eighteenth, the communist must exercise restraint in not confining himself to the land-capitalist ideology of himself, his family, his child, his relatives, his descendants.
- Nineteenth, we must transcend beyond the ego of 'I' or 'mine' and possess the common denominator of "one for all, all for one."
- Twenty, it is the behavior of communists to avoid things like duplicating and insulting others, to respect everyone, to understand their own character and to relate to them accordingly.
- Twenty-first, party employees must understand whoever has the potential and use it for the benefit of the party and the public.
- Twenty-second, it is the responsibility of a communist to observe that every intellectual working in the party is surrounded by seven workers and that his ideas emerge from the daily practical movement and are not merely bookish. That is, practicality is the text stone of a communist.
- Twenty-third, we must embrace the professional energy microcosm in various fields and focus on their potential and work tirelessly to eliminate differences between them and develop skills that work in unison for the benefit of the institution.
- Twenty-fourth, even if it is useful, if any activity disturbs the unity of the institution, it should not be allowed to rush into attempts to impose it, and comrades with alternative views should not hesitate to act patiently, quietly, and leisurely, until they have obtained the mood to accept it on their own.
- Twenty-fifth, any hard work, sacrifice and dedication should be for his own pleasure and should not be done under the compulsion or wage of anyone. If any decision of the establishment is decided by a majority, he should not deviate from his responsibility in implementing it even if he disagrees with that decision.

- [S.Thevaraja](#) - 2014

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## Some Speeches, Statements and Works of K.A. Subramaniam

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### B1. STATEMENT OF CHINA & CEYLON YOUTH GROUPS via Peking NCNA International Service in English 1632 GMT 14 November 1963

A joint statement by the [All-China Youth Federation](#) and the Ceylonese Federation of Communist and Progressive Youth Leagues was made public here today. It declares that both sides have reached agreement on further consolidating and developing the relations of friendship, unity, and cooperation between the two organizations, on the present international situation, and on major questions of the present world movement. The document, ratified recently by the two federations, was signed by Chieng Li-jen, vice president of the [All-China Youth Federation](#); D.B. Alwis, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Federation of Communist and Progressive Youth Leagues; and [K.A. Subramaniam](#), member of the Central Committee of the federation. The two Ceylonese youth leaders paid a friendly visit to China from 18 June to 20 July at the invitation of the [All-China Youth Federation](#).

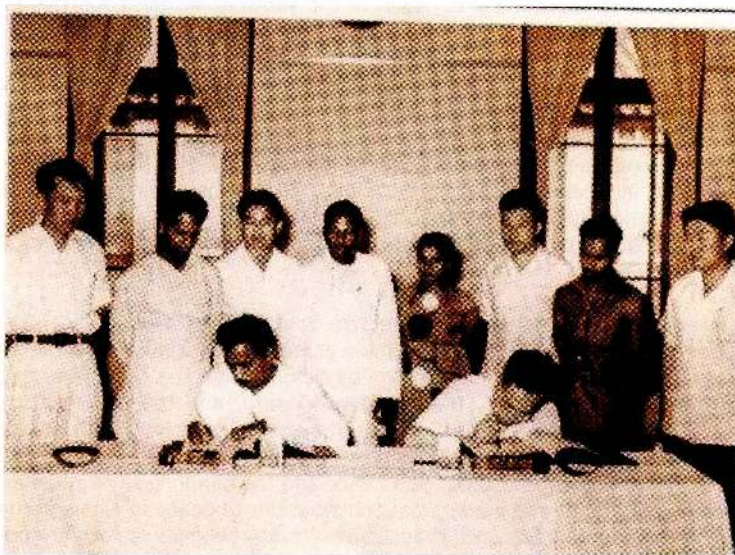


Photo 81: On the occasion of signing the statement by the two federations, by Chieng Li-jen, vice president of the [All-China Youth Federation](#); D.B. Alwis and [K.A. Subramaniam](#), members of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Federation of Communist and Progressive Youth Leagues in 1963

The statement says that both sides unanimously agree that the present international situation is favorable to the national independence struggles of the people and youth of the Asian, African,



and Latin American countries: "The national democratic movement has become a great irresistible historical current of our tie, battering the foundations of the rule of imperialism and old and new colonialism, and making great contributions to the defense of World peace and the promotion of the cause of human progress. The youth and students of the countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America constitute a very active force in fighting imperialism and safeguarding World peace."

The statement continues: "Both sides unanimously agree that imperialism and old and new colonialism will never allow Asia, Africa, and Latin America to act on their own accord. The aggressive nature of imperialism will not change. The more it approaches its doom, the more it will engage in frenzied struggles. The Kennedy administration of the United States is pursuing a policy even more adventurous and more cunning than before, and is vigorously pushing ahead with its counterrevolutionary global strategy. It is engaged in frenzied arms expansion and war preparations, carrying out activities of aggression and war everywhere, trying in a thousand and one ways to undermine and break up the socialist camp, and doing its utmost to suppress the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. All that U.S. imperialism has done shows ever more clearly that it is the international gendarme suppressing the Just struggle of the people of various countries, the mainstay of modern colonialism, the chief force of aggression and war, the archenemy of World peace, and the common enemy of the people and youth throughout the world."

The statement says: "It is now more than ever necessary that the people and youth of all countries should maintain sharp vigilance and cherish no illusions about imperialism, and that they should further expose imperialism and oppose prettifying imperialism and echoing its tones. It is now more than ever necessary for the people of all countries, including the youth, to strengthen their unity, form the broadest united front and Wage a tit-for-tat struggle against their common enemy." "Both sides express the firm belief," the statement says, "that in Our times, when the forces of socialism have surpassed those of imperialism and the forces of peace have surpassed those of war, it is possible to safeguard world peace and prevent a new world war and a nuclear war by relying on the unity and joint struggle of the masses of the people of all countries . . . ." "The youth of both countries resolutely support the struggles of the youth of various countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, considering this their lofty international duty. Both sides express their desire to join their efforts in every possible way to strengthen unity among the youth of Asian and African countries." The All-China Youth Federation firmly supports the Ceylonese people and youth in their struggle against imperialism, for the elimination of the remnants of colonialism, for the safeguarding of national independence, and in defence of the vital rights of youth and social progress; it wholeheartedly supports the legitimate and just stand of the Ceylonese people and youth in safeguarding independence and sovereignty, defending their national interests, and opposing U.S. intervention in Ceylon's internal affairs by way of suspending U.S. "aid." The federation holds that the just struggle of the Ceylonese youth has made an important Contribution to the defense of peace in Asia and the world.

The Ceylon Federation of Communist and Progressive Youth Leagues warmly praises the Chinese people and youth for the great successes they have achieved in socialist construction under the leadership of the CCP and Chairman Mao Zedong by holding high the three Red banners of the general line for socialist construction, the big leap forward, and the people's commune. The statement says: "The Ceylon Federation of Communist and Progressive Youth Leagues reaffirms that the CPR is the initiator of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, that it has always adhered to the Five Principles of Peaceful coexistence and the Bandung spirit, pursued a policy of friendship toward its neighbors, and made great contributions to peace in Asia and the world. The Ceylon Federation of Communist and Progressive Youth Leagues strongly condemns U.S. imperialism for its obstinate occupation of China's inalienable territory of Taiwan and expresses firm support for the Chinese people in their struggle for the liberation of their own territory of Taiwan.

The Ceylon Federation of Communist and Progressive Youth Leagues firmly supports China's consistent stand for peaceful settlement of the Sino -Indian boundary question through negotiation ; warmly praises the Chinese side for the unprecedented measures taken on its

initiative to cease fire , withdraw its own frontier guards , and release all the captured Indian military personnel ; holds that these measures fully demonstrate the sincerity on the part of China in seeking a peaceful settlement of the Sino - Indian boundary question ; expresses regret over the fact that India has not taken responsive measures , and hopes that both the Chinese and Indian sides soon will enter into direct negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the Sino- Indian boundary question .

Both sides hold that they should hereafter continue to develop the existing friendly relations between the Ceylon Federation of Communist and Progressive Youth Leagues and the All - China Youth Federation through mutual support, through the exchange of delegations , exchanges of views on questions. Reference page 260 : BBB 9 CHICOM INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS dated 15 November 1963



## B2. An incident in China ..... K.A. Subramaniam 1963 (Secretary Communist and Progressive Youth Association Jaffna Division)

The "Worker" ("தொழிலாளர்") news paper emerges as a special edition on the day of the Chinese Revolution. I was asked to have an article on it. How many things I have seen, known and gained experiences in China. Not everything can be summarized in this article. I have decided to continue writing about my experiences as much as possible. I am writing only one incident in this article.



Photo 82: Comrade KAS in China in 1963

The talk of China has reached its climax in the world today. The press and radio have been actively propagating that the Chinese government, unable to cope with the growing population, is descending into war of attrition and diverting public opinion. Our neighbor India in particular has been busy with this campaign. I visited China in mid-June at a time when the planned campaign (Communes) in China was being driven by industrial production – growing population – and poverty-starvation-starvation-death-dictatorship.

I stayed there for six weeks and got to know first-hand the working-class cities, the farms, the educational institutions, the cultural forums, the living conditions of the workers and the countryside, and so on. Foreign delegations visiting China at the same time were able to gain many more facts and experiences about China through discussions with journalists and embassy officials. The false propaganda of the enemy about China was so fast that even China did not make much progress - in the 59's, 60's and 61's there were natural disasters and great damage to crops. How can China stand alone and move forward? With that in mind, I began my journey by underestimating China's tremendous progress. But what I saw and knew there was completely different. China is making great strides! This view was shared by the delegations present. Some of

them were second-time visitors and acquaintances who had visited the West and witnessed the conditions there. We had the opportunity to talk to some of them and exchange our experiences.

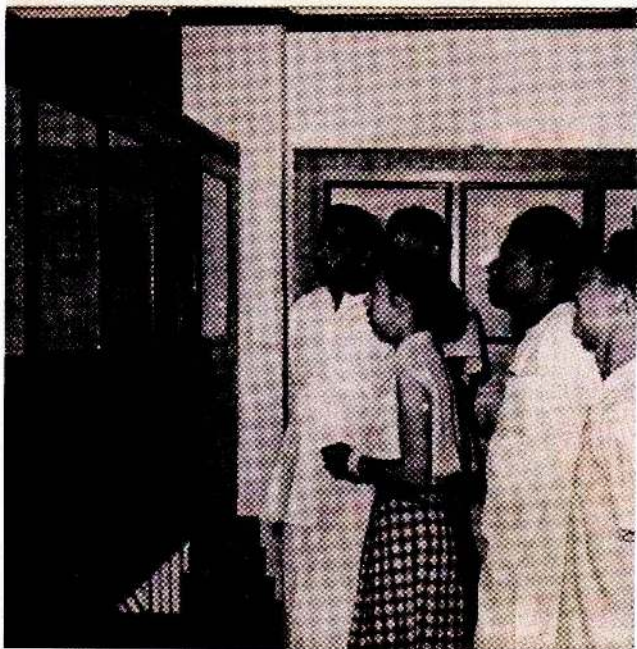


Photo 83: Comrade KAS in China in 1963



Is there a poverty shortage among the Chinese people? How do you know that? These are the questions that arose in front of me as I was leaving. Having thought that I should come to a conclusion and go to the villages and labor houses as much as possible. Are there family fights going on around their homes? I thought I should notice that. My prediction is that if the husband and wife fight loudly even though we do not understand the language, it could be for deficiencies. I told this to Comrade Alwis who had come with me.

From the day we left China until the day we returned we went to as many rural houses and working houses as possible. Sometimes when we are going somewhere else we suddenly stop the car and go to those houses where we talk-inquire with them. Let's ask how many people are in the house. Let them ask the types of food. Take care of the clothes – live the happiest lives anywhere. Communes are proud to have just saved themselves. Men's Communes have been looking for success in their lives. Vegetables like eggplant, and tomatoes sell for half a pound a pound. Fruits Fish Egg Meat can be bought in sufficient quantities and it is also available at low prices.

Communes do not produce only vegetables, grains and fruits. They are also doing road construction, city building, irrigation and small scale industries that support agriculture. Facilities such as sports stadiums, hospitals, health centers, schools and art and culture forums have been set up in the Communes. Commune farmers also elect their representatives to oversee the administration. In plain language it can be said that in China every commune is located in every village government. In 1962-63 the country witnessed a massive increase in production and livestock farms also flourished. Now the Chinese are focusing on cotton production and the use of modern equipment in agriculture.

During the crisis in China in 1959, 1960 and 1961, the Chinese people did not ask for any help from abroad. They succeeded by the power of their labor and the proper guidance of the Chinese Communist Party. To mark the expansion of the industry, the 5 year plan for 1958-63 was completed in three years. I did not see any sign of family strife or any sign of it except that I was able to learn these things directly from the rural people and the workers.



Last day we flew from Beijing to Guangzhou to return home . Had to travel a little further by train. Coming from East Canton Railway Station and getting off at one station, Comrade Alwis and I walked for a while to board the next train as the three Chinese comrades narrated and laughed.

A Chinese man sweating on the platform is carrying a heavy load on both sides on a stick. A man goes to him and tells him something . He takes something out of his pocket. Abba! The man stood like a bondman . He rolled the coin and threw it . He said something with a loud noise . Immediately he left the load and went to beat the man. I was stunned. Incident that should not happen. There was an incident where I tried and disappeared all these days I stayed in China. My mind wanders. See! What! Are there still problems in China! Hmmm! Se! The only thought. My mind seeks comfort. China is a country of 65 crore people. Can everything be solved within 14 years? My mind seeks to comfort me whenever I need more time. The mind does not listen. The mind is the only struggle. I told Comrade Alwis, "Comrade have you seen the fight, the situation is not right yet." I looked up and saw that it was Hong Kong!. Hong Kong is a territory under British rule.

Thanks to ("தொழிலாளி-THOLILALY") "Worker" 1963.Oct.01 -This is an automated file created by Google Tamil Voice Typewriter . Ms. Bharathpriya Dhatsinamoorthy and translated by Google translator script on 14-07-2020



## B3. Colonial system is collapsing: The revisionists are opposing the liberation wars. Written by K.A. Subramaniam in 1964

From ("தொழிலாளி-THOLILALY") [Worker 1964.05.09](#)

The revolutions that erupted in the colonial and semi-colonial countries after the First World War suffered great losses due to the oppression of the imperialists and their henchmen. But they could not extinguish the flames of the war of national liberation after World War II.

So the colonial system began to crumble to the foundations of the system. To date, more than 50 Asian, African, and Latin American nations with a population of 170 million have been freed from colonial slavery. Among them China, North-Vietnam, North-Korea and Cuba followed the path of socialism.

In other countries, the national liberation revolution is beginning to spin like a hurricane. So the imperialist colonialists began to change their tactics and intrigues. They pretended to be good to the colonial powers, made a number of reforms and sought to preserve their interests.

### **Modern colonial system**

However, their nature has not changed. To continue their exploitation, they abandoned the old colonial policy and adopted the new colonial policy. They left their direct rule and exploited the colonial powers by handing them over to the bourgeois classes who did not compromise their interests.

For example, they handed over to the representative of the big bosses and landlords, India to [Jawaharlal Nehru](#), and Sri Lanka to the [United National Party](#) (UNP). In a few other places they gave nominal freedom and established their puppet regimes. They enslaved other liberated countries, especially in military alliances with [SEATO](#), [CENTO](#), [NATO](#), [ANZUS](#), etc. They set up military bases in those countries and sabotaged their independence.







They are trying to unite a few countries into a federation and keep them under their control. The best examples of this are the British colonial work of Malaysia and the Southern Arabin League. They are exploiting the wealth of those countries by giving them 'aid' with political and economic conditions.

They are still using the UN as a tool to interfere in the internal affairs of many countries and carry out military, economic and cultural occupations there.

Without saying much about these, one can only speculate somewhat on its universality if one hears what the Havana Declaration says about the new colony.

"Latin America is trapped under imperialism far more powerful than the Spanish colonial empire. After World War II, United States (USA) investment crossed the \$ 1 billion mark. Money for the USA is running rampant. \$ 4000 per minute, 50 lakh per day, 200 crore per year, 1000 crore per 5 years, for every 1000 dollars that leave us, a corpse is left. \$ 1000 per corpse. This is the gift that imperialism gives us is \$ 1000 per corpse, 4 corpses per minute."

## American imperialism

This is the essence of the new colony. Its main masterpiece is American imperialism. The Moscow statement said, "Today the United States is the main source of colonial power. The US-led imperialists are constantly making frantic attempts to exploit the old colonial people in new ways and in new forms. The monopoly bosses are trying to maintain their influence over the economies and politics of Asian, African and Latin American countries." Therefore, the anti-colonial struggle is an anti-imperialist struggle. There has always been a great difference between Marxist-Leninists and modern revisionists in how to conduct this, whether through revolutionary struggle or peace.

Lenin, a Marxist, claims that the oppressed people and classes must carry out a revolution if they are to liberate themselves completely. Such revolutions are inevitable. In his book, The War Plan of the Proletarian Revolution, he states that "the history of the 20th century is one of unbridled colonial wars in which unbridled imperialism prevails."

He goes on to say, "Denying the possibility of a national liberation war under imperialism is not only ideologically wrong but also historically erroneous."

## Anti-colonial wars and revisionists

Not all the revisionists who lived then and today could directly oppose the anti-colonial wars. Because they will have to lose the support of the oppressed masses. To that end, they literally supported the oppressed nations and peoples. But on the pretext of opposing the war, they opposed and even opposed the just wars waged by the oppressed people against all wars.

Kautsky, a fanatical member of the Second International, said that the danger posed by imperialism to world peace was minimal. The danger from liberation efforts in the lower countries is great."

Today's revisionists, Khrushchev and his entourage, follow the logic of the Second International Tripartite and indirectly liberate the nationalist war, claiming that "even a small territorial war can wreak havoc on world war, and that any war today could turn out to be a non-nuclear war, a destructive nuclear war." Yet thus, Khrushchev threatens to destroy Noah's ark, our planet.

Even during the Second International some revisionists said that the war of national liberation would turn into an imperialist war, a war in which many imperialists would intervene. Junius (Rosa Luxemburg), for example, put forward this theory when she said, "This argument that every national liberation war will be transformed into an imperialist war is wrong." What is the response to the fact that the Algerian National Liberation Revolution and the Cuban Revolution (many more) did not cause world war?

## Cheat for help

Now the modern revisionists have given some methods to solve the problem of colonization. These, too, show blatantly their opposition to national liberation revolutions. One of them is help. The report of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, presented during the 22nd Congress, stated that "the ill effects of colonialism must be eliminated. They need to be helped to grow as fast as they can at the level of economically and culturally developed countries."

In this, the leaders of the Soviet Communist Party, who are on the path of separatism, claim that the liberation of the colonial people is not by their liberation struggles but by aid, which is in fact a Marxist perspective beyond Marxism-Leninism. During his visit to the United States in 1959, Khrushchev said that the funny thing was that the United States' assistance to other countries, which were the stronghold of the colony, would help those countries to stand on their own two feet.

He said, "Both yours and our economic achievements will be admired by all the people of the world who have lagged behind in their economic development for centuries, and who will be able to stand on their own two feet and seek the help of our two superpowers" (1959-9-17).

This is with the help of the socialist countries, the aid of imperialism provided with political conditions. Not only balancing, but also aiding other countries with the help of Soviet Communist Party leaders raises suspicions that Khrushchev's word is that the colonial powers can be liberated with the help of the imperialists at the hands of the revisionists.

## The struggle is the only way for liberation

The next treatment Khrushchev would use to dismantle the colony was disarmament. Bernstein, a revisionist of the Second International, also said that "international treaty and disarmament can uphold equality between nations." Revisionist Kautsky also said that "Western European countries can reduce military spending by doing public works in China, Turkey, and South America, such as railroads, to help develop businesses."



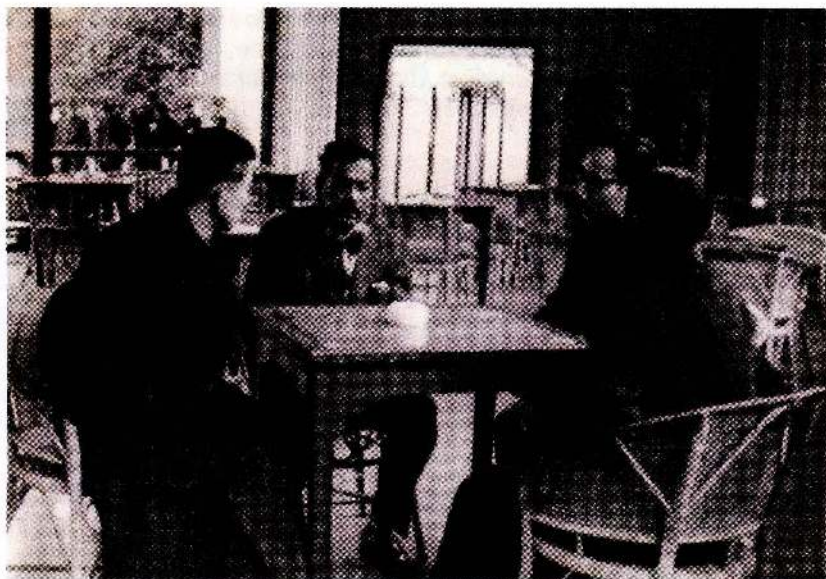


Photo 85: With Comrade [K. Thanikasalam](#) (editor of [Thayagam magazine](#)) during their trip to the [People's Republic of China](#) in 1979

When [Lenin](#) criticized the disarmament of that day, he said that the main mistake of their demand for disarmament was to slip away from the material problems of the revolution. Or a new kind of disarming proponents of disarmament! Do you stand for revolution?" He asked in an article entitled 'War Plan'.

At this point, [Khrushchev](#), who boasted of being [Lenin's](#) successor, immersed himself in [Lenin's](#) views on the armed revolution. Yet he has brought back to the forefront the reactionary view of the [Second International](#) revisionists that the liberation of the colonial people is possible only through disarmament.

"Disarmament means the disarmament of war forces, the elimination of military fanaticism, the elimination of armed interference in the internal affairs of another country, and the complete and final abolition of all forms of colonialism," [Khrushchev](#) said.

Not only that, 'disarmament will greatly increase the chances of assisting new countries. Allocating 8-10 percent of the \$ 12 billion annually to military spending would help eradicate hunger, disease and illiteracy in the region within 20 years. "

According to [Khrushchev](#), the people of the oppressed countries did not engage in anti-colonial and liberation struggles, and it seemed as if the imperialists could wait until they were merciful and agree to disarmament, but once the disarmament was over, they would be freed and slaughtered. It is utterly strained, nothing but the original opportunism, and yet waxing and waxing imperialism.

## United Nations an Imperial Instrument

Khrushchev's next call for the abolition of the colony is to implement it through the United Nations. "Who else but the UN can guide the abolition of colonial rule?" Khrushchev asks.



Photo 86: With Comrades Kanti Abeyasekere, S. K. Senthivel and Ratnayake during their trip to the People's Republic of China in 1975

Today's UN They dominated the former 'League of Nations' just as the imperialists had taken over the council. In reference to this Stalin said that today the world is divided into two camps so that they 'cannot make the alley. One is the imperialist camp and the other is the socialist camp. Imperialism on the verge of death is holding the last trumpet of the 'League of Nations' and trying to save itself by siding with the thieves of other nations. This is a futile effort. Because time and circumstance work against it and in favor of socialism. "

But the existence of one League of Nations, the old Revisionist Kautsky said, "represents a great achievement of the ambition for peace, a lever that no other institution can provide for the preservation of peace."

He did not stop with this. 'Today the United States is the most powerful power in the world. He said it was possible to prevent a war within the League of Nations, or work with it.

Today, Khrushchev also describes the United Nations-not accommodating the People Republic of China, home to a quarter of the world's population, as the father of peace. Today he is also promoting that the abolition of colonization can be accomplished with the help of the UN.

"We appeal to this high-level UN body for the rationality and foresight of the West. We appeal to their governments and representatives. Let us agree to the move to end colonial rule and accelerate the natural course of history", he told the UN.



But what has the UN really achieved? It helped to liberate the Congo from [Belgian imperialism](#) and turn it into a US colony.

It's good to have a little perspective on this. In the Congo, described as a "repository of global raw materials", Belgium carried out spontaneous exploitation.

Meanwhile, the UK joined. It is rich in all kinds of chemicals, metals such as gold, silver, uranium, cotton, cocoa, coffee, rubber, etc. This has aroused great appetite in the United States. Congo was liberated on June 30, 1960.

But in five days the United States created a state of chaos and prompted the UN to intervene. At this point, a 1959 research report by the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee found that Congo's minerals were helping the U.S.'s industrial and military needs. Therefore, our future relationships must be such as to guarantee the continued availability of these provisions".

## **Khrushchev, the guardian of the colonial system. The clown's policy killed Lumumba.**

On the pretext of suppressing the Congolese insurgency, [Khrushchev](#) also supported the United States, which dreamed of eliminating the colony through the UN for its own needs. At the UN General Assembly on July 13, 1960. Russia joins [UN Security Council](#) Voted to send troops to the Congo. Not only that: on July 15, 1960 [Khrushchev](#) told [Patrice Lumumba](#) by telegram that "the UN Security Council has taken effective action". But what happened? [Lumumba](#) was murdered. [Antoine Gizenga](#), who came after him, was imprisoned. The Congo escaped from the wolf's mouth and was captured by the tiger. This is how [Khrushchev's](#) policy of annihilating the colony through the UN ended.

The United States, still dreaming of building a stronghold in the Mediterranean, has provoked ethnic strife between Turkey and Greece in tiny Cyprus. (The role of the United States in the [Sri Lankan ethnic conflict](#) is significant.) [President Macarios](#) has also rejected US and British deployment of "peacekeeping forces".

The Cyprus issue was brought to the UN. Russia has failed to abide by its decision to send UN troops to Cyprus. This is [Khrushchev's](#) second aid to the United States. Formerly in Congo, today in Cyprus, therefore, the United States has sent [PS Gyani](#), from the American new colony of India, as [UNEF](#) Commander-in-Chief. We must not forget that Indian forces also helped the United States in the Congo.

Is this the abolition of colonies by the UN? Or create new colonies for America? Today is a critical time to think about that. Here we recall what [Mario de Andrade](#), the leader of the [people's movement for the liberation of Angola](#) (MPLA), said.

"We are fighting today for those political rights that we have failed to achieve in a peaceful way. The gift of the Salazar regime to our demands for peace is to reject freedom and unleash repression. This is forcing the Angolan people to take up arms".

- [Written by K.A. Subramaniam in 1964 in Tamil \("தொழிலாளி-THOLILALY"\)](#) [Worker 1964.05.09](#)





23/7 Schofield Place  
Kollupitiya, Colombo-3 .  
2<sup>nd</sup> May 1969

My dear sister,

We were deeply saddened to learn of what happened on May Day in Jaffna last night. Importantly, we were immeasurably saddened to learn that our comrade KAS had been injured. If this is the case with us, I know how hard your mind will work. What to do? The struggle under the bourgeois regime we are in is not an easy path. We must be ready for any hardship and sacrifice. From this time on you should be in good spirits, comforting the bell and the children.

It should be our first job to heal the wounds of the wrist as soon as possible. If he is a police prisoner or in a government hospital where he is not being treated properly, or if he does not recover quickly, you should bring a good doctor from outside and treat him well. Doing so is permitted by law. Do not be afraid of police intimidation. They exercise dictatorship in violation of the law. We must strive to achieve our achievements. **The best treatment for KAS** should be done as soon as possible to protect his health. We will send the required cash assistance. Today is Liberation Day and the post office is closed. We will send the money by telegram tomorrow.

The amount of ava we have to come there right away and see the clock is past. But a case for the Shan tomorrow at nine o'clock in the morning. That too was put on hold by the police on May Day. He and I are leaving for Albania tomorrow morning. Will be back at the end of the month. So we are not in a position to come there.

Tell our wonderful comrade KAS that 'Shan' and I inquired very kindly. Do not be discouraged. Feed the power of Mao's thinking and tell him to be brave. **Our main job** is to get him to full recovery as soon as possible. If the treatment given to him is not right, bring in good doctors from outside and do what needs to be done without delay. There is a law that allows them to do that. Do not be afraid to fight if you refuse to break the law.

Inform our office by telegram or telephone. S. D. Bandaranayake can also be notified. He will be there soon. Let the children be happy without letting them be sad. Take care. These are all for the better. Our enemies are afraid to see our strength increase. So they are abusing repression.

What else to write? You can write as much as you want to write. We are very sorry for the inability to see you in person. Do not give up courage. Revolutionary greetings.

Parameswari Akka(Sister).  
2<sup>nd</sup> May 1969





## B5. The Tamil people need a new path and leadership to liberate themselves from racial oppression .... 'Worker' 1971.01.19

By **K.A. Subramaniam** by the name of 'A. Chinnathambi' in "[தொழிலாளி-THOLILALY](#)"

For more than 20 years, the **Illankai Tamil Arasu Kachchi** (Sri Lankan **Tamil\_Arasu** Party ) has been claiming that the Federal system of government, known as the Coalition, is the most appropriate for a multi-ethnic country like Sri Lanka.

The **Tamil\_Arasu** Party (ITAK) claimed that their ambition was to form a Federal government. In an agreement with **SWRD Bandaranaike** in 1957, they dropped the Federal slogan, agreeing to form **Pradeshiya Sabhas** and then to form district councils in an agreement reached with **Dudley Senanayake** in 1965.

**Dudley-JR's UNP** opposes formation of '**Pradeshiya Sabhas**' when the party later agreed to the district councils, it was strongly opposed by the coalition, including **Sirimavo Bandaranaike**, **NM Perera** and **Peter Keuneman**. They strongly condemned not only the Federal Party but also the federal demand and Tamils. Now they demand that they have no hatred for the Tamil people and that the Tamil people must support and co-operate with them to create true socialism in this country.

### Arguments about Federal System.

With the aim of somehow gaining the support and co-operation of Tamils, these federalists, especially **Peter Keuneman**, **Lankaratna** and **V. Ponnambalam**, have been claiming that Federal is possible in socialism and that Federal will solve the problem in socialism.

At the same time, the **ITAK** responds that socialism will fall behind Federal. Arguments about Federal are now more important than ever in speech and writing. These arguments underscore the fact that the issue of **National Question** is one of the main contradictions in this country.

For the past several years, the **ITAK** has largely led the Tamil people. The **ITAK** has negotiated with the **Senanayake** and **Bandaranaike** families who have been in power in the past and obtained some concessions.

Bargaining and anti-government activities are carried out in the interest of their class. Despite its leadership today in compromises and concessions for the benefit of the class, the Tamil people still feel that they are being treated as second-class citizens and that their rights in this country should be as complete and free as any other.

The Tamil people have consistently resisted their opposition, regardless of their leadership, even as the **ITAK** leadership sought to bargain and win concessions with successive governments from time to time.

There have been many instances in the **ITAK** that have seen this reaction. The leadership of the Tamil state is now looking for socialism, realizing that the persistent, uncompromising opposition of the Tamil people is turning into an ongoing opposition to the **ITAK** itself.

K. A. Subramaniam Memorial Lecture

'Recent Trends in Human Rights'

Delivered by D. W. ABAYAKOON

Attorney-at-Law (President, Lawyers for Human Rights  
& Development) and  
(Chairman, Human Rights Committee,  
Bar Association of Sri Lanka)

on 09. 12. 1990.

Before dealing with the subject itself, I would like to thank the members of the K. A. Subramaniam Memorial Committee for having invited me to deliver this Memorial Lecture in commemoration of the first death anniversary of the late Mr. K. A. Subramaniam. The late Mr. K. A. Subramaniam was one who stood for principles and spent almost his entire life fighting for the cause of the working class and the peasantry of Sri Lanka, following the path of Marxism-Leninism. Since he was one who was very concerned in the struggle for human rights, it is most appropriate that the subject of the lecture should be 'Recent Trends in Human Rights'

Coming on to the subject itself, before I deal with the question of recent trends in human rights, I would like to deal with the rationale or reasoning behind human rights. With the growth of national security states in Asia as well as in other regions, there is a growing control over the lives of people. The scope for human rights activities becomes limited. One finds that there is a curb on human rights activities. Human rights activists are taken into custody under National Security legislation and kept in detention for long periods without being brought to trial, some are killed while still others have disappeared in various parts of the world. In spite of all this, people still indulge in human rights work. What is the reasoning or the rationale behind their commitment. It is because we have faith in the dignity of the human person. It is because we want the dignity of the human person to be restored. All people may not be born equal economically, but with regard to the dignity of the human person, no one can claim precedence. Civil and Political rights mean little to the poor unless their social, economic and cultural rights are guaranteed. It was Justice

(... 12)

Photo 89: The First Annual Memorial Series of K.A. Subramaniam Memorial Lecture was held on 9 December 1990 : 'Recent Trends in Human Rights' by D. W. Abayakoon, President of Lawyers for Human Rights and Development



## Samasti (Federal) and racial oppression in capitalist countries

At present there are countries in different parts of the world with different types of Federal system. The bourgeois nations have experienced the failure to build governments of many nationalities. The fall of the old Austrian and Hungarian empires tells of many experiences. Today, socialism alone can solve the problem if countries like the United States, Canada, and India (which they admire as following parliamentary democratic regimes) are not taken as examples by either side (the federalists and the Samasti), but by so-called socialist countries.



Photo 90: Comrade KAS calls on one of the China's head of state [Ji Peng Fei](#) during his visit to the People's Republic of China in 1979.

In the capitalist system of class divisions where man is exploited by man, the national ethnic problem can never be solved by the Federal system or any other organization.

In countries with a capitalist system, exploitation and discrimination continue. Village to village, village to city, race to race, man to man exploitation, difference, enmity, oppression will continue and thrive.

This is evidenced by the fact that for many years after the emergence of the Federal system in countries like the United States, India and Canada, there has been daily chaos, terror killings and ethnic riots.

The Soviet Union, led by the great Lenin-Stalin, found a solution

Worse still, racial oppression prevailed in Tsarist Russia, shocking the world. It became a prison of nationalities. The October Revolution, led by the great leader Lenin and his ally [Stalin](#), completely changed this situation and showed the world a new path, transforming the Soviet Union into a people of all races living in brotherhood.

The world praised the Soviet Union and its great leader, the late [Stalin](#), for successfully resolving the national ethnic question. President [Stalin](#) received deep condolences from all over the world when they passed away. [SJV Selvanayagam](#) also sent a telegram from Sri Lanka. It is noteworthy that in his telegram he also mentioned the issue of national race.

## Why the repression in the Soviet Union?

What is the situation today? With the exception of the Soviet Union and other countries (Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia that came its way (China, Albania), many years later, the ethnic issue is once again facing crisis.

The Soviet Union, led by the great leader Stalin, was initially a union of several nationalities. Such a union could have been established, stabilized and nurtured only under socialist conditions and on the basis of equality and volition. Then, as the counter-revolutionary change brought about by the traitor Khrushchev has been transferred back to the capitalist system, crises have arisen among the nationalities as well as other crises. Minority nationalities are suppressed. Conditions such as discrimination, forced immigration, segregation, and imprisonment have become commonplace. Today's Soviet Union is once again becoming a prison for all nationalities.

Other countries (China, Albania) claiming to be socialist have come to the same situation. Similar conditions prevail in these countries.

What do these countries teach us? In the capitalist feudal system, racial oppression is similar to other forms of oppression. The national race issue will not succeed in the capitalist system. At the same time as teaching that the national ethnic problem can only be solved by the socialist system or its predecessor, the People's Democratic Organization, the danger arises again if this system is endangered and a different bourgeois system is introduced into the socialist or populist system.

What does Marxism-Leninism - Mao Zedong thought teach?

What is the path of socialism and people's democracy?

An armed revolution can be waged in a country by the leadership of other non-working classes. But a socialist revolution or a people's democratic revolution can only be sustained by armed struggle with the support of the working class and the revolutionary section of the peasantry and other classes. Until socialism triumphs over the world and the emergence of communism, those countries must be defended by proletarian dictatorship. The Marxism-Leninism - Mao Zedong ideology teaches that one should always be vigilant against counter-revolution, as happened in the Soviet Union.

The Tamil people must unite nationally for a democratic revolution

Countries around the world today are based on these principles: the People's Republic of China, the People's Republic of Albania and the People's Republic of Korea. National ethnic issues in these countries have been completely resolved. In China, 92% of the Han people have all the rights of a very small minority of the other 8% of the nearly fifty nationalities. The four nationalities have territorial autonomy and the races have rights according to their geo-economic, ethnic and cultural structure. Thus even a small race of only 600 people in total enjoys the rights of the Han people.

The language of very small nationalities that do not have a written form has been facilitated to develop a written form. If Mao Zedong, the great leader of China, calls them the great leader of all nationalities in one voice, that voice is the voice of freedom, equality and unity of all nationalities!

Capitalism can never solve it



What is the situation in Sri Lanka? No matter how much those in power chanted the slogan of socialism, there was no revolution in Sri Lanka like the one in which they could exemplify themselves. Moreover, imperialism did not seize feudalism by its state apparatus, by force of arms. The dictatorship of the working class did not take place. Without these there is no socialism. This is the conclusion of Marxism-Leninism.

“The proletarian state cannot take the place of the bourgeois state in the process of self-destruction. As a general rule, it can only happen through a violent revolution.”

The bourgeois state apparatus, which is already defended by the colonialists and the brokerage bourgeoisie and the feudal class, is still being ruled by other sections of the same classes, with the support of its army, police and courts.

In this case, those who understand the **Marxism-Leninism - Mao Zedong** ideology will call those who seek to find socialism in this regime just plain innocent.

### Symbols of imperial praise and humiliation

Tamil people in this country are fighting for their language, ethnic, economic and cultural freedom. This struggle for absolute justice has unfortunately gone to the wrong leadership. In today's bourgeois social system, the Tamil people are beginning to realize that they have been subjected to many years of vain hardships and unnecessary sacrifices in their quest for parliamentary rights through the parliamentary path, and that instead of uniting with other ethnic minorities in their public struggle, they have developed a level of difference and enmity.

Once upon a time, the Jaffna Youth Congress, an organization of Tamil people and youth, raised the demand for complete independence against British imperialism. The Tamil people boycotted even the general election held under the **Donoughmore Commission** for not giving it full independence and expressed their anti-imperialist and national oath. Their pro-imperialist activities are a disgrace to the Tamil people of such a tradition as the leaders of the Tamil people.

The **ITAK** leadership, which claims to be fighting for language, ethnic and economic freedom, does not support the liberation struggle of Asian, African and Latin American countries such as Vietnam, Cambodia and Palestine, which are fighting for similar freedom and liberation from the clutches of imperialist plunder. Imperial praise is said by showing silence in response.

**ITAK- All Ceylon Tamil Congress** Head Bank, Major Companies. Rubber, belonging to the feudal bourgeoisie, who owned large tracts of property and large tracts of land in tea estates; Those who are bound by imperialism.

No matter how much they talk about freedom, they will not go against their class, against their class state system. That is why the Tamil people must follow a path that is completely different from the one they have followed so far and is a path to success. The Tamil people, like any other people, need to realize, as experienced and deeply as possible, President **Mao Zedong's** statement that [“Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun”](#).

### Democratic revolution is the way to liberation

The workers, peasants and other patriots of all nationalities in this country must unite and defeat the armed struggle of the ruling class and the state apparatus – the people's war, through a protracted struggle – to win the people's democratic revolution. Armed struggle is the only way to win the people's war.

In this country, the working class, among the oppressed and exploited majority Sinhalese and other Tamil and Muslim populations, will fight for the land against the great feudal class and foreign companies who have usurped the lands owned by thousands of rural peasants through their tearful

and bloody tragic wills. Existing plantation workers, students suffering from colonial education - teachers, people under the oppression of the feudal **Patham Pasali (Simpleton)** caste, national bosses suffering from foreign domination, patriots opposing the imperialist plunderers who plunder billions of rupees from this country, enslaved foreigners. The Tamil people must give national shape to their struggle by uniting with the militants mobilizing in the **Communist Party of Sri Lanka** to advance towards a non-exploitative social organization through the people's democratic revolution, overthrowing the three mountains of the bourgeoisie and the repressive state apparatus that give the green light to imperialism through the people's war.

This struggle covers not only the national ethnic issue of Tamils but all other issues as well. Imperialism that enslaves nations and peoples; Exploitation and racial oppression as well as other forms of oppression.

The socialist system for the elimination of exploitation and all forms of oppression has a system of mutual equality with every nation and people.

The era of world revolution

While capitalism is inevitably doomed, socialism is advancing unstoppably.

Our era today is the era of world revolution.

Indo-Chinese countries, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, the heroic struggle of the Arab people and countries for the liberation of Palestine, the struggle of the Korean people against the preparation of the Japanese war against the homeland of South Korea, the struggle of the people of the country against the social imperialism of Czechoslovakia, the motherland of the Polish people. Surrounded by struggles, US-led imperialism and Soviet-led social imperialism cannot be left in crisis by mass uprisings in their respective countries.

The great socialist China is the universal power in the east of the world, and in Europe as the socialist beacon, **Albania** and the international revolutionary peoples and nations are their own territories.

US-led imperialism and Soviet-led social imperialism are being beaten more and more by international revolutionary peoples and nations by spreading their legs wide in an attempt to forge world partnerships with a false alliance. Its destruction and the victory of the world revolution are inevitable.

The prophecy of President **Mao Zedong**

"Beginning now, in the next fifty to one hundred years or more, the social structure of the world will change completely. It will be a great era, an era that will shake the earth and the sky, an era that has never been seen before by any historical stage. "

Written by **K.A. Subramaniam** with the name of 'A. Chinnathambi' in ("தொழிலாளி-THOLILALY") "Worker 1971.01.19 Press" in PDF. "Tamil people need a new path and leadership to get rid of ethnic oppression ...." in PDF Original source 19 January 1971

This is an automated file created by Google Voice Typewriter and Google Translator from the Original source dated 19 January 1971



B6. Comrade N. Shanmugathasan Letter to KA Subramaniam in 1973

4 August 1973

To Comrade KAS

I will rewrite the article as you suggested. Without saying anything about the Chinese Communist Party. I think your opinion is correct.

I regret not being able to send your allowance before the 10th. I will try to give when I visit. Apologies.

Herewith

Comradely

Shan.

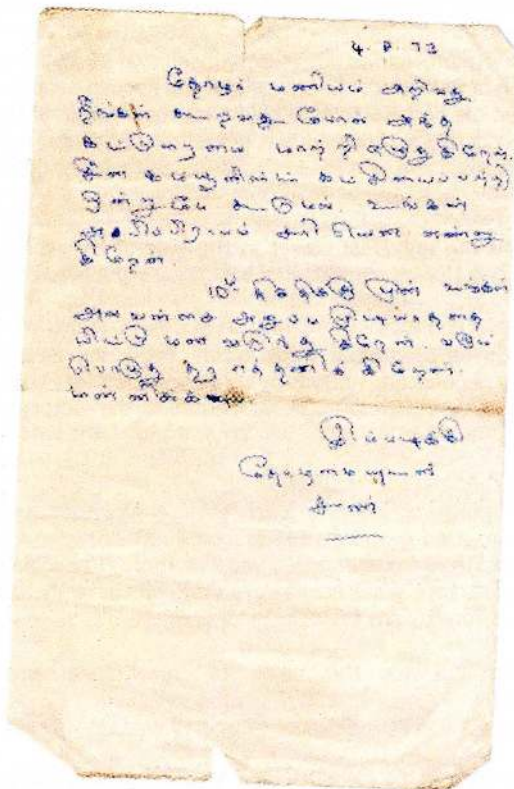


Photo 91: The original letter of Comrade N. Shanmugathasan in Tamil written on 4 August 1973

B7. The Editorial for Art and Literary, April 1974,  
 'Thayagam' (Motherland)  
 New Democracy!  
 New life!  
 New civilization!



Photo 92: Front cover of the January-February 1990, 'Thayagam' (Motherland) published after Comrade KAS's demise.

Motherland emerges. It's yours. Let's start the magazine first: then policy! The homeland does not appear to be in the process of emerging headlong with a policy of its own.

In the field of art literature, the motherland has emerged with the need to create works that reflect the national and international needs and to create a strong team.

With a progressive scientific perspective, the homeland will be a weapon of national forces that reflect and stand for historical change. It is undeniable that any work in the field of art literature embodies a social perspective. Works are divided into two political directions. One is the political direction of the forces that will create the new democracy, the well-being of mankind, the world for a new civilization. This political direction is being promoted by the democratic forces led by the working class.



The second is the political direction that is the direct opposite of the previous right political direction and that is building the old exploitative social system that is being destroyed. It is led by the imperialist powers and the bourgeoisie.

The first political direction and the world is the purpose of the homeland and its aspiration. Decisive changes are taking place nationally and nationally. This influence is also reflected in the field of art literature.

In Sri Lanka it can be divided into three phases.

- One: Anti-fascism, World War II, national liberation struggles and the national uprisings in Sri Lanka created an art and literature awareness here.
- Two: The period 1952-56 marked another stage in the popular uprising against foreign and foreign reactionary, foreign language, cultural and economic occupations, and the Great Hartal struggle. Many of the creators of this period succeeded in denouncing and exposing this social system, but also failed to transform this social system and outline the right path for it.
- Third: The mass movement against foreign and domestic reactionary forces in the years following 1966, the struggles of plantation workers in the highlands, and the mass movements and struggles against untouchability and caste oppression in the North ushered in another period.

These struggles and movements united the working class, agricultural and other working people and democratic forces of the country with its actions and their struggles. Were to give hope and support to the movements as well.

The works of art and literature of this period were born out of the movements and struggles of some people. These helped to some extent to put the right path and path ahead.

Criticisms are born out of works. Works are further enriched by criticism. To this end, these works need to be further critiqued. Such reviews will help many new works. Motherland will carry out this work.

The motherland opposes anti-people, anti-democratic and anti-national ideologies in works of art and literature. - The country needs new creations and creators. There are a lot of energetic artists among the people. Approaching them homeland. Bringing new creators and their creations to the forefront.

The rise of the homeland may cause panic among the elites and their masters who despise art and themselves as the pawns of the reactionary class and religion.

The forces that will create a new democracy, a new life, and a new civilization will be glad to know that they have come to know the period of effort they expected or took.

The homeland is yours.

- K.A.Subramaniam, on behalf of the editorial board 01 April 1974

## B8. Debate on the leadership of Comrade N. Shanmugathasan - Report by Samal de Silva & K.A. Subramaniam in 1978



Photo 93: Comrade [N. Shanmugathasan](#)'s family photo, preserved carefully by KAS's family for decades though they moved to various rental houses in the past.

Reject [N. Shanmugathasan](#)'s counter-revolutionary leadership!  
Appeal to the members of the [Communist Party of Sri Lanka](#) !!

Dear Comrades!

Let us call on the sincere Communists in the [Communist Party of Sri Lanka](#) to reject [N. Shanmugathasan](#)'s counter-revolutionary religious-destructive leadership and call on the Communist Party to build a strong Communist Party that will validate the universal truths of [Marxism-Leninism - Mao Zedong](#) ideology in line with the concrete practice of the Sri Lankan revolution. For this purpose we call on the party Central Committee, the Divisional Committees, and the responsible staff, on behalf of the other members, to mobilize at the Special Congress to be convened by Comrades Samal de Silva and [K. A. Subramaniam](#).

The reasons why we demand that [N. Shanmugathasan](#)'s disorganized leadership reject the counter-revolutionary leadership are as follows:



(1) N. Shanmugathasan denounced the Third World Doctrine as a reactionary theory put forward by President Mao as the first step in abandoning the Marxism-Leninism - Mao Zedong thought, the philosophical guide of our party. After deciding to reject this theory, he launched a vile campaign against the giant Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, through the reactionary press and with the help of revisionists. In doing so he offered to help the Soviet social imperialists.

(2) In defiance of the decisions of our party's Eleventh Congress and the principles of democratic centralism, N. Shanmugathasan, with the help of his close associates, barred the vast majority of delegates from attending the party's special convention, which was hastily convened with the aim of imposing his counter-revolutionary disorder on the party. He deliberately delayed sending the report submitted by his opponents to the various party branches. He failed to submit a statistical report to the conference to cover up his sabotage activities.

(3) N. Shanmugathasan's fourteen years of leadership failed to build a powerful Communist Party that could lead the masses. His monotheistic, disruptive, counter-revolutionary political direction was an obstacle to building a broad united front against the common enemies of the people and the country. He was feared to be the only revolutionary thinker, the only leftist, the only revolutionary. His monotheistic lockout was an obstacle to all efforts to unite the vast majority of the population against the common enemy. He vehemently opposed the need to isolate the main enemies by defeating the neutral forces and building a broad united front. In fact all of his attacks aided the main enemy by targeting intermediate forces.

(4) Instead of approaching the national-ethnic issue of the Tamil-speaking people on the basis of Marxism-Leninism - Mao Zedong ideology, he approached the issue in a bookish, and one-sided manner, thus hindering thousands of Sinhalese-Tamil youths from uniting nationally in the struggle for the democratic rights of the Tamil-speaking people and their legitimate aspirations. By preventing the people's revolutionary, he betrayed the ideals of the anti-imperialist approach.

(5) He destabilized the party by putting his own interests above the interests of the party and abusing the post of General Secretary. He does not tolerate criticism and refuses to make honest self-criticism. N. Shanmugathasan's bourgeois position hindered the party's progress and left the party unable to serve the people in the best possible way.

(6) Through his foreign travels and other means, without the knowledge of the Central Committee of the party, he propagated his own destructive, counter-revolutionary political direction internationally among the fraternal communist parties in an attempt to create dissension among them. He thus isolated our party from the mainstream of the international communist movement.

(7) N. Shanmugathasan waving the red flag is to oppose the red flag. While he quotes President Mao Zedong but rejects the idea of Mao Zedong. By spewing revolutionary slogans he opposes the progressives along with the reactionaries. In essence, N. Shanmugathasan's leadership, principles and position are counter-revolutionary. The party's special congress will take place soon. The Preparatory Committee meeting of the Congress will announce the date and place of the Congress.

The Production Committee will send a copy of the National and International Status Report and Copy Organization Report to be discussed by the Party Branches and submitted to the Special Congress. Long live the Communist Party of Sri Lanka!

Victorious Marxism-Leninism - Mao Zedong thought - Long live !

Source

Colombo (Signed) Samal de Silva and (Signed) K. A. Subramaniam

## B9. Letter written by KA Subramaniam in mid-December 1979 to his wife about his visit to Kunming, Yunnan

Mani,

We stayed in Kunming, Yunnan Province, China, on the Vietnamese border, from 1st to 6th of December 1979. As you know, the Chinese-Vietnamese border war took place here. We visited many places. About 1/3 of the population in this province is from 22 national minority groups. Opportunity to learn more. The largest Stone forest in the world is situated here. Stone forest is also found in Italy. However it is small. Thousands of people visit Kunming daily, including foreigners. It is filled with natural resources and a variety of gardens, as well as buildings and paintings depicting ancient art. A wide variety of grains and fruits including mangoes and jackfruits are here.

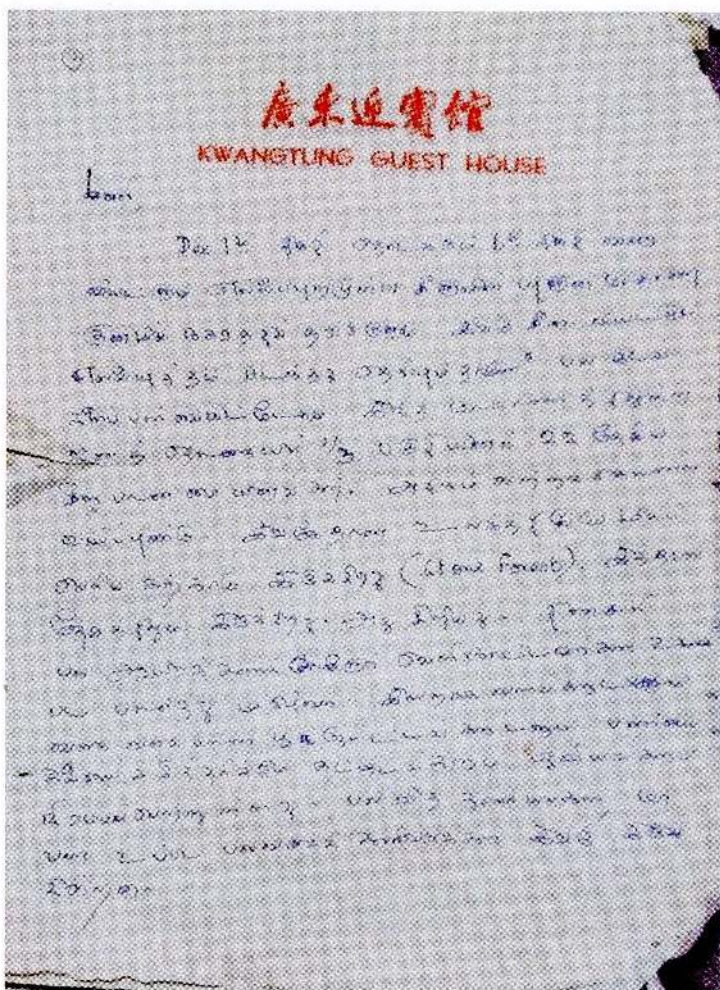


Photo 94: This letter written by K. A. Subramaniam in mid-December 1979 to his wife ( Comrade KAS used to call his wife as "Mani" ) about his visit to Kunming



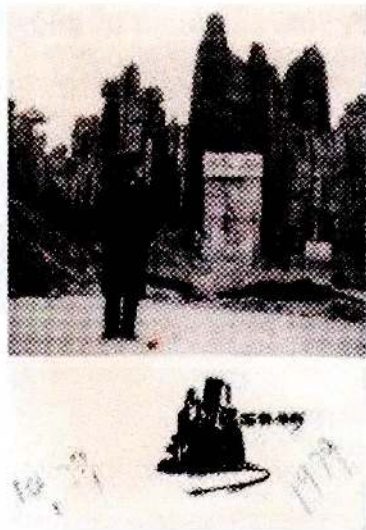


Photo 95: Comrade K. A. Subramaniam in mid-December 1979 in Kunming Stone Forest

Kunming, which is the capital and largest city of Yunnan province, People's Republic of China. Also known as Yunnan-Fu, today it is a prefecture-level city and the political, economic, communications and cultural centre of the province as well as the seat of the provincial government. The headquarters of many of Yunnan's large businesses are in Kunming. Its economic importance derives from its geographical position. It is positioned near the border with Southeastern Asian countries, serving as a transportation hub in Southwest China, linking by rail to Vietnam and by road to Burma, Laos and Thailand. The Stone Forest or Shilin (Chinese: 石林; pinyin: *Shílín*) is a notable set of limestone formations about 500 km<sup>2</sup> located in Shilin Yi Autonomous County, Yunnan Province, People's Republic of China, near Shilin approximately 90 km (56 mi) from the provincial capital Kunming.

B10. Video transcript of some snippets from Comrade K.A. Subramaniam's video interview in Sathiamanai for Diaspora through Comrade S. Thevakumaran (Kumar) of Italy in June 1982.

"Tamil comrades who may have left Sri Lanka and Sinhala comrades who may be there must work together to protect the unity and independence of the nation. They have gone there solely because of the economic crisis and the labor issues.

Well, even if they take that position, it will be for the benefit of the country and for the independence of the country.

Kumar is coming and going for the second time now. He will also have experiences in Italy. Italy is undergoing the right changes. Economic and social developments have also taken place. While they work there to build and defend Italy's economy, they must also play an additional role in protecting our country's independence and building its economy. To that end, they are mobilizing the Sri Lankan youth there, educating them and explaining the situation in the country so that they can serve as much as they can!"

He was accompanied by comrades S. Thevaraja and S.K. Senthivel in Sathiamanai in 1982 Video.



Photo 96: Comrades S. Thevaraja , E. Thambiah and S.K. Senthivel with Sirima R. D. Bandaranaike in 1988



## B11. The Editorial for Art and Literary, April 1983, 'Thayagam' (Motherland)

New Democracy!

New life!

New civilization!

It is gratifying to see the return homeland that emerged nine years ago in 1974.

Today's national and international conditions are vastly different from those in which the homeland emerged.

The homeland has seen many crises and experiences during this medieval period and is in the throes of political, economic, socio-cultural changes.

However, the lines of grief were not on its face. It can be seen in the facial expressions that compile, explore, correct mistakes and advance the right ones.

Today our country is witnessing a massive economic crisis, a poor living standard, inter-ethnic hatred, unrest among youth and students, the gradual deprivation of the democratic trade union rights that working people fought for, cultural disruption and foreign cultural infiltration.

The deprivation of human rights as a whole, freedom of speech, freedom of speech, and the judiciary are all subject to neglect and intimidation, and the state is observed to be operating under the dictatorship of the individual with state terrorism.

The motherland feels the need for all natives to speak out against this on many fronts.

It is the duty of the homeland today to unite and mobilize them, to unite and advance the democratic forces and movements against the common enemy and to work for it.

That is what the motherland is determined to do with courage.

We cannot underestimate the role of writers, artists and literary enthusiasts in carrying out the above duties. With this in mind we recalled the Lu Xun and Bharathi centuries over the years.

Centennial celebrations are not just annual funerals. Here we recall the various scientific ideas, works of art and literature of those who, in the face of the social, political, economic and cultural influences of the time in which they lived, fulfilled their life struggles in fulfilling the duties of the class on which they depended - in accordance with their respective personalities. The history of mankind has been evolving by compiling and enriching such experiences.

Our aim is not to dismiss only the multifaceted aspects of the context of time in the name of the dissertation with the literary illusion that the past of art literature is merely darkness and that we stand alone. The blindness that can occur even in the daytime can be cured only when one realizes how powerfully they stood up and gave voice to the progress of mankind even in those dark times.

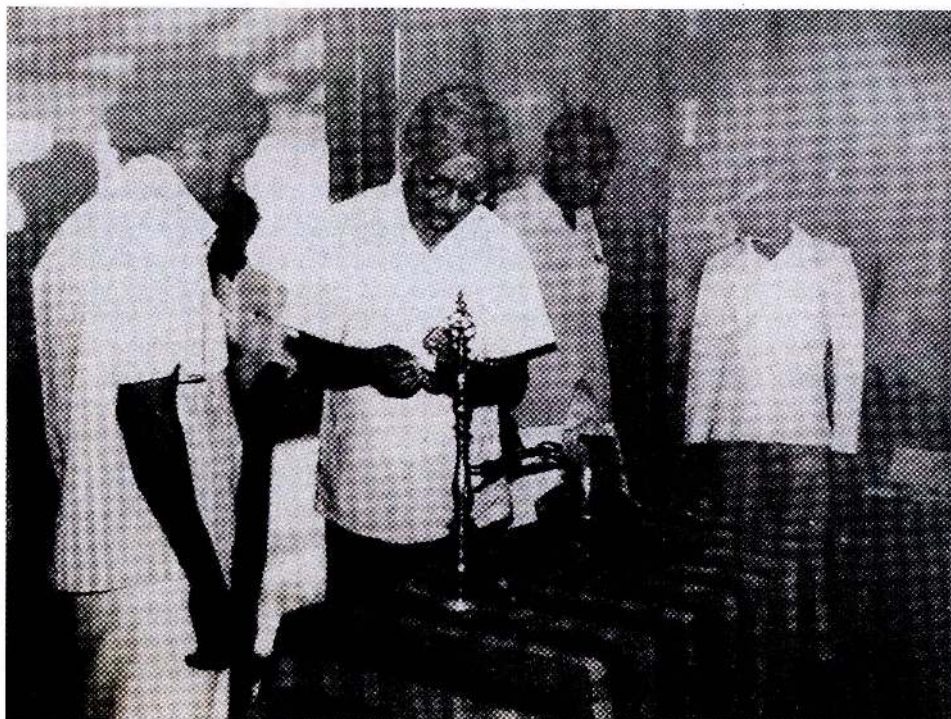


Photo 97: Comrade KAS with Prof [Kailasapathy](#) .

As we recall the Bharathi Centenary Seminar held monthly last year, we feel that our hearts are heavy with the memory of the late Professor [Kailasapathy](#). We feel that the loss of a Tamil scholar, a literary man of many energies, active and humane, who was preparing himself not only to make the seminar useful to that extent, but also to make many new contributions, still haunts our minds many months later. It is a pity that even his dissertation on "Bharathi and Renaissance Theory - A Reassessment" is incomplete in the form of an article.

He wanted to get the text of Bharathi Studies; Encouraged researchers; He worked with us for that. With the arrival of the 'Motherland' we find solace in the fulfillment of his wish to some extent.

The homeland stretches before you. Its rise and growth rests on the strength and contribution of the awakened patriotic forces and the wider masses.  
Your homeland headache will continue to give your tireless cooperation.  
On behalf of the Motherland Editorial Board.

K.A. Subramaniam 01 April 1983



## B12. Speech of K.A. Subramaniam in 1986 May Day Rally .....

Due to the volatile situation that existed in Jaffna, meetings, gatherings, protests or processions were not happening. Even in that tense situation, the Left Communist Party of Sri Lanka was able to organise a huge rising procession. Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#), did lead both the procession and the meeting. His speech in that occasion is given below,

We are aware that [Jayewardene](#) and his associates, voice for truce, peace on the streets and peace in the country in the media regularly. When democratic rights, freedom and justice to the people were denied, definitely there would be a possibility for conflict and violence. People were in such a situation where they have to take back their rights compulsorily. So, [Jayewardene](#) who voice for justice and who feel proud of restoring peace in the country, first and foremost should sanction all democratic rights to people, particularly the rights of Tamil people should be given in this country.

Only in that premise where rights of the people were restored, we can bring back peaceful situations in the country. [Jayewardene](#) had delayed deliberately all these days to arrive at the peace agreement. If they are ready for a political solution, we will cooperate and support that decision. Regions where Tamil people have been living for ages and the north eastern region of the country should be declared and recognised as their independent statehood. On that basis regional autonomy should be given. That is the prerequisite for achieving at least one part of their demands. Delivered by Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#). [Video link of 1 May 1986](#)

People who gathered their in huge numbers, were enthusiastically raising slogans. Few slogans were given are listed below.

- All labourers of the world mobilise
- Labourers are the one who are there to rule this world
- Buddha preached nonviolence
- [J.R](#) declared war
- Where is this country heading?
- Who are all terrorist?
- [J.R](#) is terrorist
- [Athulathmudali](#) is terrorist
- [Regan](#) is extremist

## B13. Minimum Proposals of the Central Committee of the Sri Lanka Communist Party (Left) for an Interim Solution to the National Question

The Sri Lanka Communist Party (Left) released the following statement containing the minimum proposals of the Central Committee of the party for an interim solution to the National Question. The statement has been signed by the General Secretary of the Party, Comrade K.A. Subramaniam on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party.

The statement reads as follows:

The people of the entire country are undergoing the painful effects resulting from the serious situations for which the present government has been responsible.

The national oppression committed particularly against the Tamil people has resulted in unbearable sufferings. The economy of the country has deteriorated and the living standard of the people has eroded considerably.

Defence expenditure incurred per day is approximately Rs. 20 million. The entire burden is borne by the working class. Several persons of the UNP have come to realise that the National Question cannot be solved by means of war.

The entire people including Tamils desire a peaceful life. They eagerly await an interim political solution. No one expects that such an interim political solution will be lasting solution to National Question. But failure to pay attention to a short-term solution as well as a long term solution may lead to more serious problems. To perceive Sri Lanka's National question merely as a racial problem between Tamils and Sinhalese will lead to a dangerous situation. National oppression by the present chauvinistic government leads to international threats to the country's independence through direct and indirect intervention by neighbouring countries. The UNP since 1977 has been trying to barter our independence to American imperialism.

The intention of the UNP government to lease facilities of the Trincomalee harbour to America was thwarted by Indian intervention. Systematic and planned communal violence and pogroms in July 1983 against the Tamil people by the present government has resulted in direct Indian intervention in Sri Lanka's internal affairs.

The attempt of the Indian government to find a political solution to the National Question acceptable to both parties is appreciated. However, the Indian government should not impose a solution to meet its regional political interests.

The targets of liberation struggle should not be to worsen the country's National Question. It will lead to the loss of sovereignty and independence of our country. The threat to Sri Lanka's independence and sovereignty is increasing, and it is being felt by all sections of the people.

That is why all sections of the people are pressing the government for an urgent political solution to the problem without worsening the crisis. All forces fighting for the emancipation



of Tamils should take into account that an interim political solution through negotiations will thwart the emergence of a military dictatorship, put an end to genocidal military violence against the Tamils and also give a chance and time to build up a mass organisation by democratic forces and Tamil liberation forces against the UNP's right-wing parliamentary dictatorship.

The SLCP(Left) has acknowledged and stressed that the Tamils have a traditional homeland and that they constitute a distinct nationality. Our party recognizes the traditional homeland of the Tamils by rejecting the government sponsored planned Sinhala colonisation.

The Party Central Committee stresses that an interim political solution should incorporate the following proposals with a clear guarantee:

- 1 . The traditional homeland of the Tamils — the Northern and Eastern Provinces — should be granted regional autonomous status and autonomous bodies be set up.
2. These autonomous bodies should have the right to merge and if necessary, function separately if they so decide.
3. The regional autonomous bodies should have maximum independence to manage the affairs of economy, employment, internal security, education, culture, health, social services etc. without the intervention of the Central Government
4. The Muslims, the people of Indian Origin and Sinhalese who reside within these areas should be given the right to establish inner autonomous bodies and thereby ensure their basic human rights, and language and cultural rights.
5. The autonomous bodies should, in the absence of external aggression, be responsible for the security of the autonomous areas.
6. The autonomous bodies should have the freedom to set up colonisation schemes within the area. At the same time, the autonomous bodies should have the right to accept or reject any colonisation scheme of the Central Government within their area.
7. Concrete steps should be taken to eradicate discrimination based on nationality, language or caste at the national and regional levels.
8. Basic rights of plantation workers, Tamils and Muslims who reside outside North and East should be recognised by setting up inner autonomous bodies.
9. There should be a guarantee to hold elections at the national and regional level without the intervention of the government, armed forces and others.
10. Depressed communities and backward sections of the society should be given institutional guarantee by way of concessions and facilities in the fields of economy, employment and education for their social uplift. While stressing the above proposals as

basis for arriving at an interim political solution, our party emphasizes the necessity of taking steps to solve the problems that arose in recent years owing to the warlike situation.

To ease the present turmoil in the country, our party emphasises that the following steps should be taken without any further delay:

1. The [Prevention of Terrorism Act](#) be withdrawn, the state of emergency be lifted and all persons detained under the act and regulations be released unconditionally.
2. Those persons who are wanted under [Prevention of Terrorism Act](#) and Emergency Regulations be pardoned unconditionally. Charges against them and those who were arrested prior to the enactment of the Act or its promulgation be withdrawn completely.
- 3: The freedom of expression of the Tamils be respected by withdrawing the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution.
4. Government troops be withdrawn from populated Tamil areas and the camps be closed based on a time table.
5. Home guards be disbanded and disarmed, and that establishment be scrapped.
6. Government should give compensation to those affected for losses caused by the troops and home guards by way of murder, arson, and burglary.
7. The government should give facilities to people who were forced to leave their homes and villages by the excesses committed by the government troops and home guards, and those displaced be allowed to return to their homes and restart their vocations peacefully.
8. Government troops and home guards who committed excesses be tried before an impartial commission of inquiry.

The above actions are minimum expectations of the Tamils for the security of their lives and property. If the government tries to keep its troops and political thugs in the Tamil areas, the interim solution will not be genuinely implemented.

The [SLCP\(Left\)](#) calls upon mass organisations, personages, patriotic forces, democrats and others to firmly press the government to take steps on these lives.

Our party is very clear that this interim solution will not be a lasting solution to the problems within the present social set up, and until the advent of power of the working class through a mass revolution there cannot be a lasting solution to the National Question. However, our Party's stand is that the solution we suggest will to an extent ensure that there will not be repetition of the present situation in the near future and bring about sanity for the present.

21-December-1986

[K.A. Subramaniam](#)

General Secretary Central Committee, [Sri Lanka Communist Party \(Left\)](#)

15/1, Power House Road, Jaffna. Sri Lanka.



**B14. Life is a struggle..... Wedding wishes!! (By K.A. Subramaniam on 7 February 1987)**

"The wedding ceremony of Thevakumaran and Vallinayaki takes place here.

In their lives, it means they are starting the second phase. Life is a struggle.

The first phase of their lives, the school education - the struggle against social oppression, the struggle against poverty, the two have passed separately.

Today they come forward to focus and advance their lives today in a position of life partner.

It is now time for them to support each other, depend on each other and carry on their life struggle, at the same time looking at the situation in the world as a whole, the nations and nations of the world are fighting for the preservation of independence, for the liberation of nations and for the people's revolution.

May your struggle be combined with their struggle and your role in the great struggle for world peace and human well-being! On this auspicious day, I wish the bride and groom all the best and live a great life !!"

[K.A. Subramaniam on 7 February 1987 Video](#)

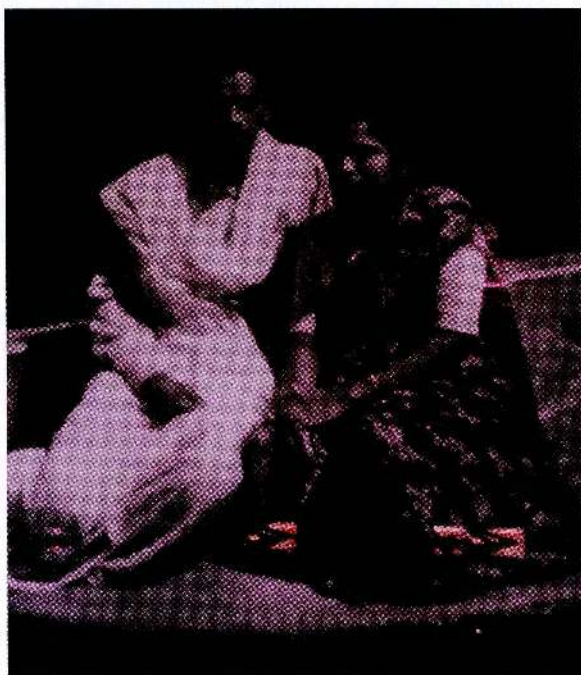


Photo 98: Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) with his wife just a fortnight after their marriage in 1963

B15. Our party completely rejects attempts by the Indian government to detain LTTE Chairman Mr. V. Prabhakaran. (Press release on 2 August 1987)

The Central Committee of the [Sri Lanka Communist Party \(Left\)](#) is continuing its in-depth study of the "[Peace Accord](#)" between the Governments of India and Sri Lanka. Although the agreement has seen some progress in resolving the plight of the Tamil people, the Central Committee believes that the agreement between the two governments will not bring a short-term or long-term solution to the [National Question](#).

This is because an interim solution to the Tamil issue can only be reached through the participation, cooperation and consensus of all parties involved. It should not be a one-sided solution.

The forced threat solution should not be imposed on them. The [LTTE](#) claims to be forced to comply with their wishes. Our party completely rejects attempts by the Indian government to detain Mr. V. Prabhakaran. The Governments of Sri Lanka and India should take steps to enable Mr. Prabhakaran and the [LTTE](#) to present their views and participate freely and voluntarily in the negotiations for a solution. At the same time, youth militant groups and the [Tamil United Liberation Front \(TULF\)](#) and the Communist Party of Sri Lanka (Left) urges the Sri Lankan government to find a solution through negotiations.

The above is part of their statement issued by Mr. [K.A. Subramaniam](#), the General Secretary of the [Sri Lanka Communist Party \(Left\)](#) on behalf of the Central Committee. The report also warns the Sri Lankan people that the call for an Indian peacekeeping force under the [Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord](#) has undermined the country's independence, sovereignty and integrity and posed a new threat to South Asian countries. Instead of resolving the national ethnic issue at every turn, the Jayewardene government is engaged in mortgaging the sovereignty of the country to every possible foreign power. The culmination of that operation was the summoning of the Indian Army in the guise of peacekeeping.

Our party has already expressed its acceptance of India's role with caution that India as a regional power should not prioritize its interests as India has interfered in our national ethnic issue in many ways and it is our closest neighbour.

Our party has submitted proposals for an interim solution to the national ethnic problem and stressed the need for a political solution. That is the will of all people, including Tamils. All militant youth organizations, the [TULF](#) and a conciliatory political solution can only be reached through protracted discussions between governments. It will correct the interim solution. Our party believes that this is the only way to achieve honest peace.

[K.A. Subramaniam](#)

General Secretary, [Sri Lanka Communist Party \(Left\)](#)  
15/1, Power Station Road, Jaffna  
1987.08.02



## B16. The Last Editorial for Art and Literary., August 1989.

Freedom! New Democracy! Prosperous life!  
Magazine 20 August 1989 - September

New democracy  
New culture  
Let's fight for a new life!

Motherland is overjoyed at the unveiling of the twentieth issue. The magazine expands with the pride of having published twenty magazines despite unlimited restrictions.

Not only are direct barriers to literary prosperity extinguished; Some of the limitations set by the people themselves can be a hindrance. Contemporary socio-economic and political activities are set to limit people within such limits.

The obligation to pave the way for the extermination of such beasts, which are locked up by external forces and by the people themselves, has the power to benefit the people. Literary - Art literary movements, can not deviate from this obligation.

The motherland has continued to fulfil this historic task of its own. From the outset, the homeland emphasized the need for a broad united front to defend the nation's independence, sovereignty and to build a new democratic culture. In its twentieth track, Motherland emphasizes the need for united action for any crisis facing the people.

In general, the relatively dominant social outlook among Sri Lankan Tamil writers, despite having different worldviews, has been arguably a good feature; In more than half a dozen Sri Lankan Tamil magazines published today, we find works depicting contemporary life. At the same time, it is necessary to emphasize the broad unity of all, based on the interests of the people. Although not explicitly emphasized so far, not all of them have ever commented against this principle.

Sri Lankan Tamil magazines are united on another point. Nothing was released in due course. Motherland Twentieth Magazine should have arrived at least three months ago. No need to explain because everyone knows the reason for the delay.

The Motherland still promotes the bi-monthly issue of a magazine. Continuing obstacles must lead. The motherland will continue its work for our own cultural development despite any difficulties.

Let us fight together for a new democracy, a new culture, a new life!

K.A. Subramaniam on behalf of the Motherland Editorial Board. 21-Aug-1989



Photo 99: Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) with Comrade [K. Thanikasalam](#) (editor of [Thayagam magazine](#)) during their trip to the [People's Republic of China](#) in 1979



B17. The last speech of K.A. Subramaniam, after he came out of the hospital in a critical condition on Jaffna / Stanley Road on 01 May 1989

"If the Premadasa government has come to negotiate with the LTTE, then it can understand that what we have already said is true. We accept negotiation. At the same time, it cannot be a bouquet. It must truly pave the way for the establishment and preservation of unity where both races can live in freedom and sovereignty in our country. Before that, Weli Ova should abandon the formation of a separate district. In addition, the Communist Party of Sri Lanka (Left) is urging the suspension of the referendum in the Eastern Province and why it should be abandoned altogether. Only then will it give confidence to the institutions and the people who can go to the negotiations. A situation can also arise where mutual concessions can be negotiated. Apart from this, resolutions, decisions and weapons that can be made at the will of the Government of Sri Lanka, the Government of India or unilateral decisions cannot establish peace in our country. This is our position.

We have opposed India's intervention from the beginning. The people of Sri Lanka have to make some concessions because of the Accord made by the Sri Lankan government. That concession was a tripartite negotiation that annexed India as well. The Government of Sri Lanka, the Government of India and the other Liberation Organizations should co-operate in these negotiations for a concerted and successful effort. Leaving it and doing strangulation work on each other would pose a great danger to our country and people.

You already know our position on India. I have to say a few things back though. From the beginning, the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, led by the likes of Peter Keuneman and Wickremesinghe, and later after the split, our Party has been warning of "foreign intervention". Political Parties and liberation movements in Sri Lanka have failed to heed this. India began its expansion by taking advantage of the 1983 ethnic riots. The Sri Lankan government acted in support of it. The Accord was struck. It's confusing in many ways. In some respects, there are certain aspects that can help the liberation and future of the Tamil people. But most of the issues in the Accord affect not only the Tamil people but all Sri Lankans. This must be resisted or modified." -- K.A. Subramaniam Addressed after the long hospitalization. Meeting held at Stanley Road, Jaffna on 1989-05-01

[Video link of 1 May 1989](#)



Photo 100: Comrade Sanjay Singhvi , Head of International Affairs, [Communist Marxist-Leninist Party of India](#) giving Memorial Lecture on "Imperialism and the Left Movement in the South Asian Region" during the 24th Commemoration Event of Comrade [K.A. Subramaniam](#) in 2013, Chaired by [Professor S. Sivasegaram](#) Emeritus Professor, Department of Mechanical Engineering, [University of Peradeniya](#), Sri Lanka.





Photo 101: This Photo was taken by Dr. S. Visaharan in 1983 in front of 'Sathiamanai' Entrance's which had no doors at that time. From left S. Sathiarajan alias 'Meeran Master' (1962-2001) of PLOTE, Ponniah Lambotharan alias 'Viji' (1974-1990) of LTTE, S. Suthaharan, K.A. Subramaniam (1931-1989) and S. Kirupaharan.

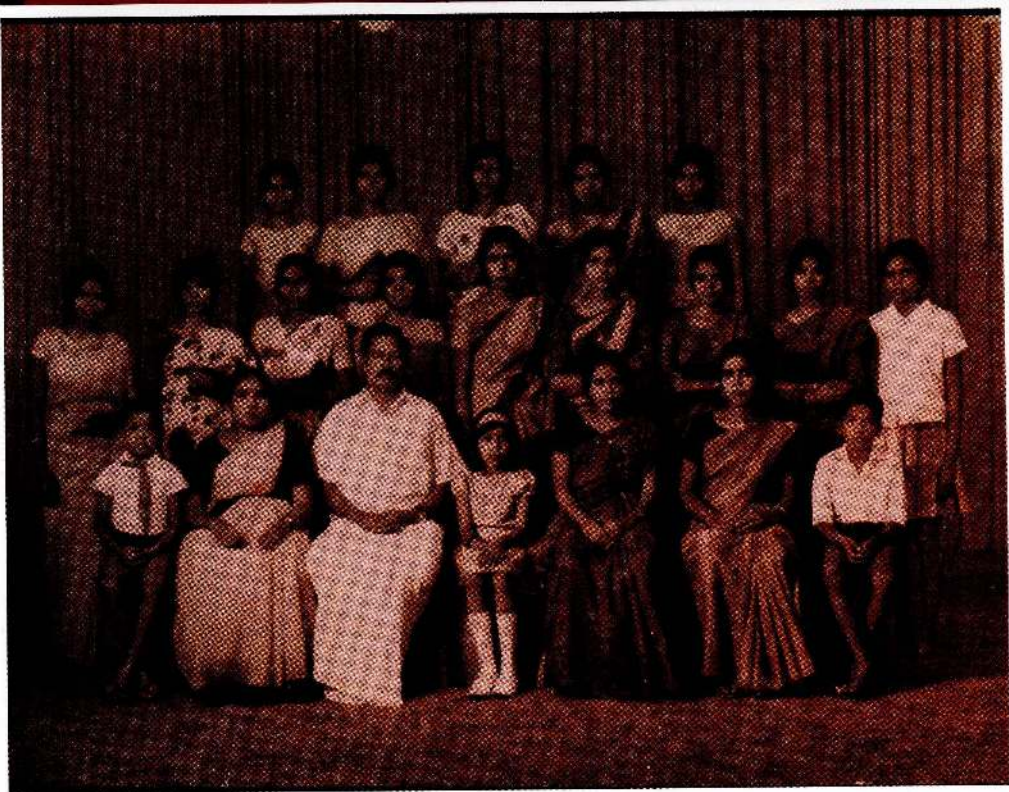


Photo 102: Comrade KAS family with [Tholpuram](#) Weaving Center staff in 1972



Made in the USA  
Columbia, SC  
15 April 2023



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The commemorative committee is delighted to announce the release of this memorial book in honor of the late General Secretary of Sri Lanka Communist Party (Left), K.A. Subramaniam, on the first month commemoration of his passing. These are just a few short snippets that commemorate comrade KAS. But these pages show that the deep and meaningful ideas and assessments contained within are not mere lip service or formal phrases usually awarded to a deceased person.

Comrade K.A. Subramaniam (1931-1989) devoted his whole life to working for the Sri Lanka and for the oppressed people of this land. He was a noble Communist fighter who conducted his struggles on the lines of Marxism - Leninism. He has set a valuable example to all the communists, the leftists and the progressives of this land by living in accordance with the maxim 'Simple life, hard struggle'.



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